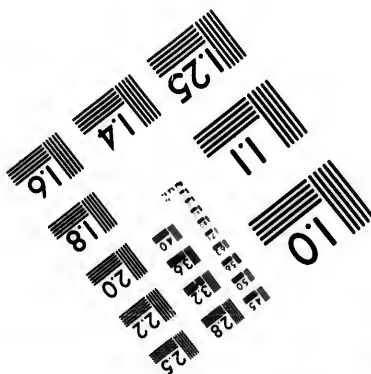
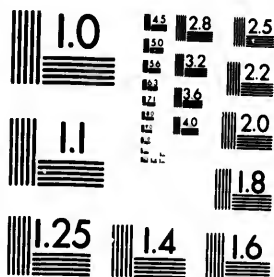


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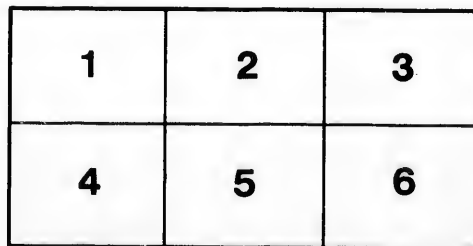
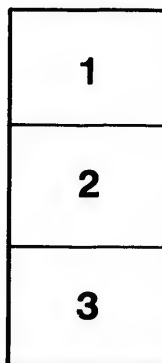
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SPEECH
OF
MR. COCKBURN, M.P.,
ON
UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCIITY

DELIVERED IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
OTTAWA,
ON TUESDAY, MARCH 19th, 1889.

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S P E E C H
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Mr. COCKBURN. In view of the fact that it has been arranged that this debate should close this evening, and also in view of the fact that this debate has already been protracted to a considerable length and a number of gentlemen desire to speak on the subject, the observations which I have to make will be as brief as possible. I had not intended to deal with any statistics on this occasion, as I think we must all agree that the House has been fairly flooded with figures and statistics, and we have had a supply of them *usque ad nauseam*; but, in view of the extraordinary statements of the hon. member who preceded me, the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan), I think it is necessary that I should call attention to some of the misstatements contained in his address. He starts out by stating that he is a farmer, and that he represents the farmer, and has the farmer's interests at heart. He poses as the representative of the agricultural interests, and he tells us that his heart is fairly wrung—when he sees the farmers, not indeed actually begging from door to door, but in the miserable plight to which they are reduced. I am not a farmer, but I have enough sympathy with the farmers of Canada to unite with them in the feeling of woe depicted by the hon. gentleman if the position to which they have been

reduced is such as he states; but I shall endeavor to show the hon. gentleman that some of the statements he has adduced as to the miserable condition of the farming population exist only in his own fervid imagination. I think, in view of the hon. gentleman's position in the agricultural community, he should have been more careful in the statements he has made in regard to the condition of the farmers. I can imagine that, if he warmed up as he did the other evening in this House, before the agricultural audiences which he has been in the habit of addressing, the honest farmers must have left the meeting under the impression that they were indeed a badly-treated people, though they had no idea before that that they were suffering in that way. After such a speech as that of the hon. gentleman, they must have found that they were under a load of burdens, grievous to be borne, and that they were suffering, to an extent, which they never understood before. As long as the hon. gentleman contented himself with the old stale arguments of blue ruin and agricultural depression, I was contented to leave him alone, but when he descended to particulars, I felt it necessary to say something in answer to him. He tells us that not every well-to-do farmer, but "every ordinary farmer" pays to-day \$29.50 per annum in duty on agricultural implements. He says that he went to the Experimental Farm at Ottawa to ascertain the prices paid for the implements, and he went to the Auditor General's Report and got the prices there, so that they must be correct. He gives us the duty on two ploughs, two harrows, cultivator, gang-plough, bob-sleigh, drill, scuffler, roller, and so forth. These, he says, are the ordinary requisites of the ordinary farmer, and he finds that on these implements, the farmer pays a duty of \$295. He gives ten years for the life of these implements, and adds \$3 a year for the duty on the article of twine, thus making the total duty \$32.50 a year. I think, last year, it was allowed by both parties in this House that the number of farmers in this country was between 600,000 and 650,000. If I take the number of farmers at 600,000, and multiply \$32.50 by that number, I find that the duty paid by the farmers each year on agricultural implements is no less than \$19,500,000. The whole revenue from Customs is only some \$22,000,000. God be thanked that our farmers are so very wealthy, that in these items alone, they can pay nearly the total amount of the Customs duties of the whole Dominion. Not content with that, the hon. gentleman says that the annual duty on clothing and groceries of ordinary farmers is still more. Let us see then what this

poor, down-trodden farmer has to pay on his clothing and groceries. We find that the duty on clothes for a family of five persons, as he says, amounts to \$39; on a barrel of sugar, \$8.50; coal oil, 10 gallons, \$1.24; rice, corn, starch, spice, soda and raisins, \$2; and so on, so that \$54.84 duty upon clothing and groceries for the house, and \$32.50 on implements, amount to \$83.34 during the year, according to his statement. When I multiply that by the number of farmers, I find a total of \$50,000,000. Under these circumstances I call on the hon. gentleman to impeach the Minister of Customs, I call on him to impeach the Minister of Finance, and to demand what they have done with the surplus \$23,000,000 which have been paid by the agriculturists of this country. Can it be that we have here in the Conservative party a body of men, whose Minister of Finance has been able to wring the vast sum of \$23,000,000 from the horny-handed sons of toil and dispose of it without the knowledge of any one? It is possible that there may be some secret explanation of this, and I would call on the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), for once in his life to soar above the minutiae of details in which he revels and endeavor to solve this mystery. Then there is the question of the balance of trade. The hon. gentleman from North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) tells us there is a balance of trade, as determined by the exports and imports, against us for the period 1881 to 1888 of no less than \$166,420,104. Now, if the country has been able to suffer this supposed loss of \$166,000,000 in eight years and still stand in the proud position it occupies to-day, all I have to say is that we have the grandest and the most wonderful Government that ever directed a country's affairs. Can it be that these \$28,000,000, to which I referred to a moment ago, were surreptitiously sent over in gold to help to offset this wonderful balance of trade, which the hon. member for North Wellington cannot understand. The hon. gentleman is still away in the backwoods of political science of over fifty years ago and wants to settle the accounts of the country on the principle of the simple balance of exports and imports. My hon. friend from South Huron (Mr. McMillan) then says: Look at twine. The farmer pays \$3 a year duty on twine. I turned up the Blue Books Report Trade and Commerce, and I found twines of all kinds paid a duty of \$15,904.14, or 2½ cents per armor. I take these 600,000 farmers and credit each with \$3 apiece, and I get \$1,800,000, or more than enough to pay one-sixth of the annual interest of the national debt. Then he comes to sugar, and he asks, Why should not the farmer sweeten his poor cup of tea with

a little sugar? Will we refuse him that comfort, or will we deny that the poor lone widow, after a day's hard labor, is entitled to put in her cup of tea a solitary morsel of sugar. I find the duty paid on sugar to be \$3,433,333, but my hon. friend says every farmer pays \$8.50 per annum duties, so that the farmers pay \$5,100,000. Again must I call on the Minister of Finance to answer what he has done with this surplus balance of \$1,666,666 which has been paid by the poor farmer.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. He has handed it to the refiners.

Mr. COCKBURN. Then I come to coal oil. What is the duty on coal oil? I find the duty collected was \$325,656, but we have 600,000 farmers, all gushing with patriotism, who, the hon. gentleman said, are paying a duty of \$1.24 apiece per annum, or \$744,000, thus giving us a surplus of \$418,344. Why, in these three articles alone, of twine, sugar, and coal oil, there is a surplus of \$3,870,107. Under those circumstances, Mr. Speaker, what is the use of our analysing statements of that kind any longer? They may do for the backwoods constituencies of hon. gentlemen opposite. They may do for people who have been duped by their false statements, but they will not do to bring up before a house like this, where we have the means at our disposal for refuting such statements. But I have, no doubt, despite the flat contradictions these statements have received, and received from authorities which cannot be gainsaid, the same old stories will be repeated again and again as if they had never been nailed on the floor of this House. Then the hon. gentleman says, Look at the exports for 1878 to the United States of \$37,300,000, and of only \$33,600,000 to Great Britain, showing an excess in favor of the United States of \$3,700,000. Why, within a moment after these words had passed from his lips he told us that the exports to the United States in 1888 were, not \$37,000,000, but \$42,572,065, and that those to Great Britain were not \$33,600,000 but \$40,084,964, and he told us this because he wanted to prove a different story. He told us that in 1878 our exports to the United States were \$25,245,000, and in 1888, \$42,572,000, showing an increase of \$17,327,000, or an increase of 75 per cent., while just before that our exports to the United States were \$37,000,000 in 1888, or \$5,000,000 less than his last statement. But what do \$5,000,000 matter to a man like this? His great agricultural soul soars far above figures—millions or billions are alike to him. He told us that in 1878 we exported to Great

Britain \$46,000,000, and in 1888, \$40,000,000, showing a decrease of \$6,000,000, or 15 per cent., and this, he says, proves conclusively that the United States is our natural market and that our trade with that country is increasing. I thought it right to examine one or two points in connection with the United States being our natural market. The hon. gentleman took up the items of hides and wool, and I thought it best to find out what was the real state of the trade with reference to these items. I hold in my hand a letter from one of the largest dealers in the Dominion, a man whose word, I think, will be taken by hon. gentlemen opposite, inasmuch as he has always been a constant supporter of their policy and a steady enemy of the present Government. I refer to Mr. John Hallam, of Toronto. He says:

"Now allow me to state, that we do not import one single pound of wool which is the produce of the United States. It is quite clear that the United States is not entitled to this part of the trade, as all the wool is grown in other countries and shipped to the United States in bond, then bought by our dealers and manufacturers from wool merchants in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. In these cities there are a number of very large wool concerns, which import largely from Africa, South America, England and Australia; they sell what they can to their own merchants, and then offer the balance to Canadian dealers and manufacturers.

"Under the head of Hides and Skins the figures from United States are also misleading; seven-tenths, if not more, of all the hides imported into this country are South America stock and are usually bought in Boston or New York, and are sold by the pound, except sheepskins with wool on, which are usually sold by the piece, but we import very few sheepskins in this country, and when we do they are not the produce of the United States but of Africa, Australia, Buenos Ayres, or Monte Video."

We must thus credit, not to the trade of the United States, but to the trade with foreign countries in those two items alone of hides and wool, no less a sum than \$1,743,000. In the matter of lumber alone I am credibly informed that we ship by the United States, through Boston, from 50,000,000 to 70,000,000 feet of spruce for the South American market. Hence hon. gentlemen opposite will understand, perhaps, the reason why the policy has been brought forward by the Government to subsidise steamship lines to foster that foreign trade which we see has already assumed so large proportions. I may tell my hon. friend from South Huron (Mr. McMillan), with reference to the farming population, that I find from returns just made that, in 1868, Canada exported to the United States 61 per cent of her farm produce, and to Great Britain 34½ per cent. But 20 years later the exact reverse took place, because we then shipped in 1887 to the United

States only 35 per cent., and to Great Britain 60 per cent. In fact, if anyone will look at the tables which have been prepared by Mr. Johnson, he will find that the trade in farm produce during the last 20 years is steadily increasing with Great Britain, and steadily decreasing with the United States. Our friends tell us, Look at the United States, look at the State of New York. Well, I live in Ontario, but I know the State of New York, and I find that the official returns given by the State authorities of New York show that three-fourths of their farms are under mortgage, that 1-20, or 75,000 farmers are hopelessly in debt, that the decrease in land value in ten years from 1870 to 1880 was nearly as much as our whole national debt, or \$216,000,000; whereas the increase in land values in Ontario in four years from 1882 was \$66,750,000. I find by the Ontario statistics of the total value of real estate, that the mortgages held by the Land Companies amount to \$30,400,000, or only 6½ per cent. of the actual value of the property, or considerably less than one-half of the value of the farm implements and live stock alone. Then in New York State, with a population of 5,000,000, equal to that of the Dominion, there are, say, 1,000,000 wage-earners, who pay per head \$20 per year, or 4 per cent. on the enormous sum of \$500,000,000, for the support of paupers. This is the report given Mr. Ford of the Congressional Investigation Committee. In fact, we are told to look to the United States for everything. I am afraid that our friends, in looking to the United States, are simply looking to a matter of dollars and cents; they are confounding a plutocracy with an aristocracy—a plutocracy that will be, and has already become a curse to that country; a plutocracy whose names are not emblazoned in the glorious records of its country, but whose names are written in the defalcations and crimes of the police and other courts; a plutocracy whose names have never been associated with struggles for their country's liberties, but simply with struggles for its boodle; a plutocracy whose names are connected with no efforts to broaden the liberties of the people, who have never wrung from any Parliament a Magna Charta, but whose whole contest seems to have been for railway charters; a plutocracy which seeks to become master of every industry, which seeks to control the price of even the bread of the people, of the sugar that sweetens their tea, of the very light that lights them on their way, and which seeks to control the very coffins in which they are to lie. Why, Sir, look at that plutocracy, and you will find none of the kind relations that exist in

this country between landlord and tenant, or that exist in Great Britain between landlord and tenant; and you will find that they ignore all political duties, sneer at those who attempt honestly to discharge them, and in their effrontery they have even gone so far as almost to drive the people of the United States into what we can only call one vast system of communism. But I wish to speak more particularly with reference to the resolution brought forward by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). The resolution reads:

“That in the present condition of affairs, and in view of the recent action of the House of Representatives of the United States it is expedient that steps should be taken to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States, for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith.”

He here alleges two distinct grounds on which he bases his motion; first, the present condition of affairs, and second, the recent action of the House of Representatives of the United States. Let us briefly examine these. I am free to confess that, after the clear and lucid statement of the hon. the Minister of Finance, and the able addresses of those who followed in his support, I am at a loss to see why, in the present condition of affairs, we should be justified in reversing the policy under which, during the last ten years, Canada has prospered to so unexampled a degree. I can only regret that during the last three consecutive Sessions so much valuable time has been wasted in the reiteration of arguments and statements, which, again and again, have received their emphatic condemnation from the electors at the polls. The constant and increasing efforts on the part of the Opposition to effect the most radical changes in our commercial and political relations, naturally tend to frighten capital. Capital, gentlemen, is always shy, and is ready to take flight at the least alarm. A mere flash of the electric wires, a mere mote on the political horizon, may, in a few hours, or a few minutes, effect the transfer of millions of capital from here to New York or to London. Such being the case, I ask why it is that, year after year, we are asked to make these radical changes in the conditions under which it is able to protect itself. I feel that unless we have a time of rest, unless we feel that we are to have for years to come the same beneficent policy pursued that has produced such good effects during the last ten years, we shall experience troubles that we little calculate on now. If any person really and impartially desires to ascertain the pre-

sent condition of affairs, I can refer him to a tribunal, composed of the keenest, the shrewdest, the best informed men to be found in the world, to men who have no direct or immediate interest in Canada, to men to whom Canada is merely a commercial or financial asset, who look upon all these matters with a cold and calculating eye, whose business it is to become thoroughly acquainted with the internal and external resources of every country in the world—need I tell you that I refer to the capitalists of Europe, to the men constituting the Royal Exchange, or the Stock Exchange at London. These men, when asked by Canada for a loan of 4 million dollars, tendered her 12 millions, and they offered the money at a less rate of interest than they ever offered money to any other Province, the lowest rate, either comparatively or positively, at which a loan has ever been effected by a colony. Sir, I am perfectly willing, apart from all political squabbles, to pin my faith to the calm and steady belief of those men who back their belief by the offer of 12 million dollars. As to the recent action of the House of Representatives, let us see, first, what that action really was, and secondly, why it should become expedient that steps should be taken to ascertain “on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity” with them. I may, in passing, state that action of a similar character to the joint resolution of Mr. Hitt, of Illinois, was taken over a century ago, and that the following offer was incorporated as article XI of the Federation of the thirteen states, in the year 1777, and has been standing since that time. The following is the offer :—

“Canada acceding to this confederation and joining in the measure of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this union, but no other colony except on agreement of nine states; and in the address drawn up in French to the inhabitants of Canada—who then stood loyally by the Crown of Great Britain, as they were ever since (Mr. Dickinson says), ‘Your Province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union.’”

In reply to the address drawn up in French at the time they stated they were loyal to the Crown of old England, as they have remained ever since, and as I am persuaded they will remain. These were the events of 1777, and the offer as stated is still open to hon. gentlemen opposite. I must say that I prefer the open, downright honesty of such an offer as this to the underhand attempt to entrap Canada into negotiations with the United States under false pretences. Perhaps the word “false” may appear to be a strong term

and it may be unparliamentary; but let me read the words of the joint resolution of Mr. Hitt, and then Hon. gentlemen will see whether I am justified or not in using such a term. The joint resolution is in these terms:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that whenever it shall be duly certified to the President of the United States that the Government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to establish commercial union with the United States, having a uniform revenue tariff, like internal duties to be collected, and like import duties to be imposed on articles brought into either country from other nations, with no duties on trade between the United States and Canada, he shall appoint three commissioners to meet those who may be likewise designated to represent the Government of Canada, to prepare a plan for the assimilation of import duties and internal revenue taxes of the two countries, and an equitable division of receipts, in a commercial union; and said commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress."

Mr. Speaker, there is not a word here about that hybrid monstrosity, unrestricted reciprocity. Let me read also Mr. Hitt's own explanation of commercial union, as given by him only a fortnight ago when speaking to the resolution. He said:

"What is commercial union with Canada? It means, as set out in this resolution, the adoption by both countries of precisely the same tariff of duties, or taxes to be levied upon goods coming from abroad, abolishing altogether our line of custom houses on the north by which we collect tariff duties on goods coming from Canada, abolishing their custom houses along the same line by which they collect duties upon goods we send into Canada, and leaving intercourse as unrestricted between this country and Canada as it is between the States. The line of custom-houses would follow the sea and include both countries. The internal-revenue systems of taxes on liquors and tobacco in the two countries would also have to be made uniform in both countries. The proceeds of taxation thus collected would be equitably divided, and the fairest way would seem to be in proportion to population."

And then further on he says:

"Undoubtedly they (the Canadians) in being subjected to the same tariff with us, would in all fairness be consulted as to its provisions; but we, sixty millions, would in all fairness generally have the prevailing voice in determining what the rates should be. The particular methods in which questions of detail should be treated need not now be discussed."

No, Mr. Speaker, I think they had better not. We had better first be inveigled into the net and then we shall feel, in all its force, the "prevailing voice of the people" who, in "all fairness," have overreached us in almost every transaction, who cheated us by false maps out of the State of Maine, dishonestly pocketed millions of dollars in connection with the Alabama award, and who recently applauded the infamous threat of the Retaliation Bill by a President who

had, only a few days before, declared publicly that Canada had done everything that was fair, just and honorable. This Bill of Mr. Hitt calls for commercial union, not for unrestricted reciprocity; that is a mongrel which no self-respecting citizen of the United States would for a moment tolerate. Well do I recollect, Sir, during my recent pleasant visit to Washington, when casually introducing this resolution into an assembly of gentlemen there, I was asked: "Do you imagine we are such fools as to keep a back door three thousand miles long open to you to flood us with British goods?" I said: "Gentlemen, no doubt we shall be able to arrange everything honorably, so as to protect you against an onslaught of British and foreign goods." They looked at me. There was first a look of inquiry, and then a look of pity stole over their faces, and I could read the impressions passing through their minds: "Poor fellow, there is something wrong with his head." The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), in defending his friend the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) against the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, said:

"It is not commercial union that is advocated by my hon. friend, it is not commercial union that is asked for by this resolution, but unrestricted reciprocity, and unrestricted reciprocity would leave in our hands the entire control of our own tariff, except in so far as relating to imports and exports between this country and the United States. They"—

That is to say, Messrs. Hitt and Butterworth.

"—are truly patriotic in their efforts to promote the interests, not only of the United States, but the interests of the Anglo-Saxon commonwealths upon the continent of North America."

Now, if it is unrestricted reciprocity with entire control of our own tariff, with the preceding modifications, and not commercial union, that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) desires, why does he base his motion on the recent action of Mr. Hitt, and of the United States Congress, when Mr. Hitt emphatically tells him that all the Custom houses in the north would be abolished, that the Custom houses would follow the sea and include both countries. It suggests to my mind a little incident that occurred in this Chamber this morning. I asked the member for West Toronto, if he had a copy of the Toronto directory at hand. He replied, he had not. An Irishman, sitting at his right hand turned round and, with that wit for which his countrymen are famous, offered me a copy of the Quebec directory, asking if that would not suit. I think the two cases are very much on a par. One party asks for commercial union and the other offers unre-

stricted reciprocity with the United States. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), in the course of his address, also said :

"The feeling in the United States, I saw it evinced in Washington when I visited there, is an unmistakeable desire on the part of American public men to cultivate friendly relations with Canada, to impress upon Canadians who visit their capital, their desire to treat us fairly and in a friendly spirit, and to show that they are ready to enter into a reciprocity treaty on a fair and equitable basis. There can be no doubt we can get it if we desire it, and the assertion that we cannot get it is not borne out by the facts."

I appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, if the terms of Mr. Hitt's resolution and the explanations I have read to this House are such as to confirm the statement of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) that the United States are ready for a reciprocity treaty, however great we may acknowledge to be their kindness and hospitality to Canadians visiting their capital. But, happily, we are not left to decide this question solely by the words of the joint resolution and the subsequent explanation of Mr. Hitt; we have the public declarations of Senator Sherman, the leader of the Republican party in the Senate, to this effect, that if we wish to trade with the people of the United States on equal terms, we must join them politically and bear all their burdens as citizens of the United States; and that no uncertain sound may be given out in this matter, a few months ago, while addressing his constituents in Maine, the present able Secretary of State—the actual head of 60,000,000 of people—said :

"You pay your taxes in Maine; you pay your taxes in the United States; you yield obedience; you owe allegiance; you observe the laws, you live under the flag. You stand ready to fight for the national union, as you have already fought. Beyond the frontier, across that river, our neighbors choose another Government, another allegiance. They are subjects of Queen Victoria, they are loyal to Her Majesty. They live under a foreign flag. They do exactly as they have a right to do. I neither dispute their right nor envy their situation. It is their right to choose for themselves, as it is our right to choose for ourselves. But I am opposed, teetotally opposed, to giving the Canadians the sentimental satisfaction of waving the British flag, paying British taxes, and the actual cash remuneration of American markets. (Great applause.) They cannot have both at the same time. If they come with us they can have what we have, but it is an absolute wrong against the rights of American citizens that millions of men who owe the United States no allegiance, and who have no part nor lot with us, who are not of us, but choose to be foreign to us; it is an absolute wrong for a Democratic congress to say that they shall have exactly the same share in our markets and the same privileges of trade under our flag that we have."

We have seen within the last few weeks in the large daily journals spread broadcast over the land, from New York,

Chicago and other large centres, maps in which our fair Dominion is parcelled out as so many states, and I have had sent to me to-day a large print from one of the New York papers in which the glorious old flag of England is represented as being trampled under foot and the flag of the stars and stripes has, forsooth, been hoisted. Here you see on one side stand the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal family, while on the other side stand President Harrison, Vice-President Morton, and the other members of the Cabinet. This and similar representations on the part of the American papers are simply attempts to familiarise their readers with the annexation of our great Dominion. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite if they are prepared to pay their taxes to the United States? To whom do they owe their allegiance? Whose laws do they observe? Under which flag do they live? They have taken the oath to be loyal to our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, and I ask, in the name of common sense, if loyalty can lead to language such as we have heard from hon. members on the opposite side of this House? I say if a man is truly loyal and should find that his words are unfairly construed into such a shape as to be considered disloyal to England by sixty millions of people in America, it is time for him to alter his course, and try to observe the oath which he took at the Table before he was allowed to occupy a seat in the House. I ask such men, are you subjects of the Queen? Are you loyal to Her Majesty? Do you wish to live under the old British flag? Or do you wish to register yourselves under the stars and stripes? Already have you done too much to lead people to think that you wish to pursue that course? Come out like men, and say in a straightforward way, as Mr. Blaine said, that when you go in for unrestricted reciprocity you go in for annexation to the United States. One would think the declaration of Mr. Blaine explicit enough to set at rest all hopes of our having unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, unless we deserted the British flag for the stars and stripes, and so we are treated by the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) to a picture of the easy conquest of Canada, as follows:—

“In case of war with the United States, England would be utterly unable to place an armed force upon the frontier between these two countries, adequate to the defence of Canada. The United States, with no greater exertion than was put forth in the rebellion of 1861 to 1864, could place in the field an army of 3,000,000 men, and it is folly to talk of England being able to cope with such a force, in British North America, so far from her base of operations.”

Mr. Speaker, my recent visit to Washington led me to very different conclusions from those of my friend. I know we shall never get unrestricted reciprocity, but I know also that the people of the United States will never knowingly provoke us to war, or wantonly commence war upon us, and that for very good reasons. The Republican and Democratic parties are so very nearly equal in numerical strength that they cannot afford to pursue a policy leading to the forcible annexation of Canada, for, in that event, their action would serve to consolidate Canada, and when it entered the Union, under the title of eight or nine new states, these new states would, for some time, at least so long as they smarted under the sense of defeat, vote for the opposite or Democratic ticket. Indeed, they would temporarily hold the balance of power between the conflicting parties, and for similar reasons we may rest assured that the Democratic party will not, with their eyes open, force us into the arms of the Republican party. We may, therefore, bear with equanimity the hon. member's threat of the invasion of Canada by 3,000,000 of stalwart Yankees. The United States know too well what has been the cost to Germany of the forcible annexation of Alsace-Lorraine; to England, of Ireland; and to Russia, of Poland; and we have ample proofs in the manner in which they reconstructed the Southern States after the surrender of General Lee that they do not wish to hold any territory subject to conquest. If ever Canada becomes part of the Union, it will do so by its own free will and consent. I can only say that I sincerely hope that I, for one, shall never live to see that day, and I hope, Sir, also that I am expressing the not uncharitable hope that gentlemen on either side of the House will never live to see it either. It is said by hon. gentlemen opposite that England will not object to our forming a commercial treaty with the United States. Why, Sir, what does such a treaty involve? It involves a common tariff; it involves a common commercial law and a common court of appeal for the interpretation of that commercial law; it involves a power behind to enforce the decisions of that court; it involves, I almost think, power on the part of Canada to make peace with a nation at war with England. And what is England to do? England the mother from whose loins we have sprung; the mother of arts and civilisation; the mother who has nursed us so tenderly in our infancy, who has stood by us in many a hard battle. What is she to receive? She is to be treated as a foreign power; she is to assume all the responsibilities of a parent; she is to guarantee us from invasion, to protect our trade, and to

assure us at the same time all the rights and privileges of British citizenship; and yet she is not to utter a word of control or even of remonstrance. Why, the whole proposition of commercial union is simply too absurd, unless political union is to accompany or follow it in the near future. In short, Sir, the United States cannot grant us unrestricted reciprocity, as such action will be in direct violation of the numerous commercial treaties that country has already made with foreign nations under the most-favored-nation clause. Hon. gentlemen opposite will tell me that that matters not, that the United States would trample under foot those treaties and obligations. Well, Sir, I tell you that if the United States are prepared to break their word with a foreign power, if they are prepared to trample their honor in the dust, we are not prepared to associate ourselves with them. But finally, Mr. Speaker, Canada is not for sale. We love our country dearly, Sir; we are proud of its past, we are hopeful of its future; and come weal or come woe, we are determined, with God's help, to work out our own destiny, and we refuse—aye, indignantly, scornfully refuse—to exchange the proud title of citizen of the great British Empire for that of any other nationality under heaven.

A. SENECAI, Superintendent of Printing.

