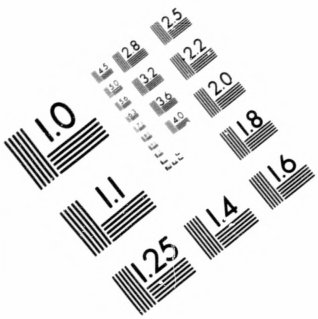

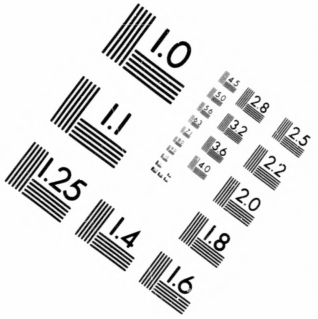

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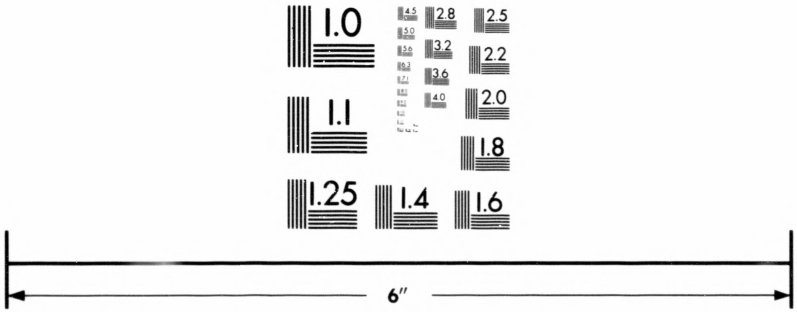

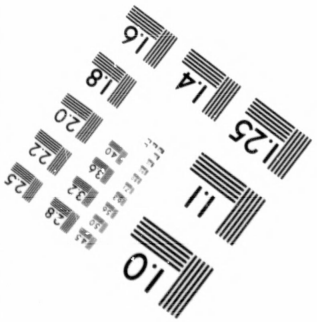

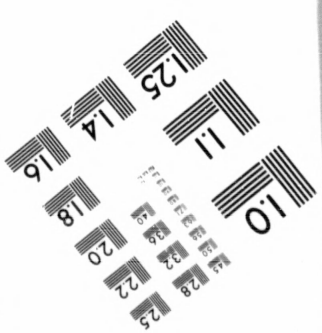

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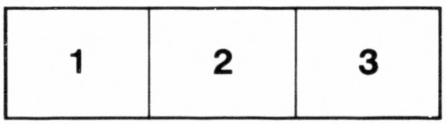

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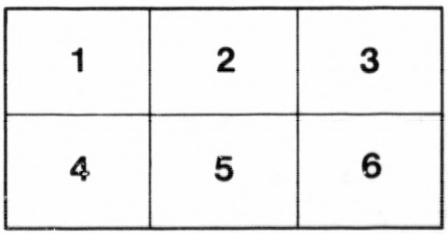
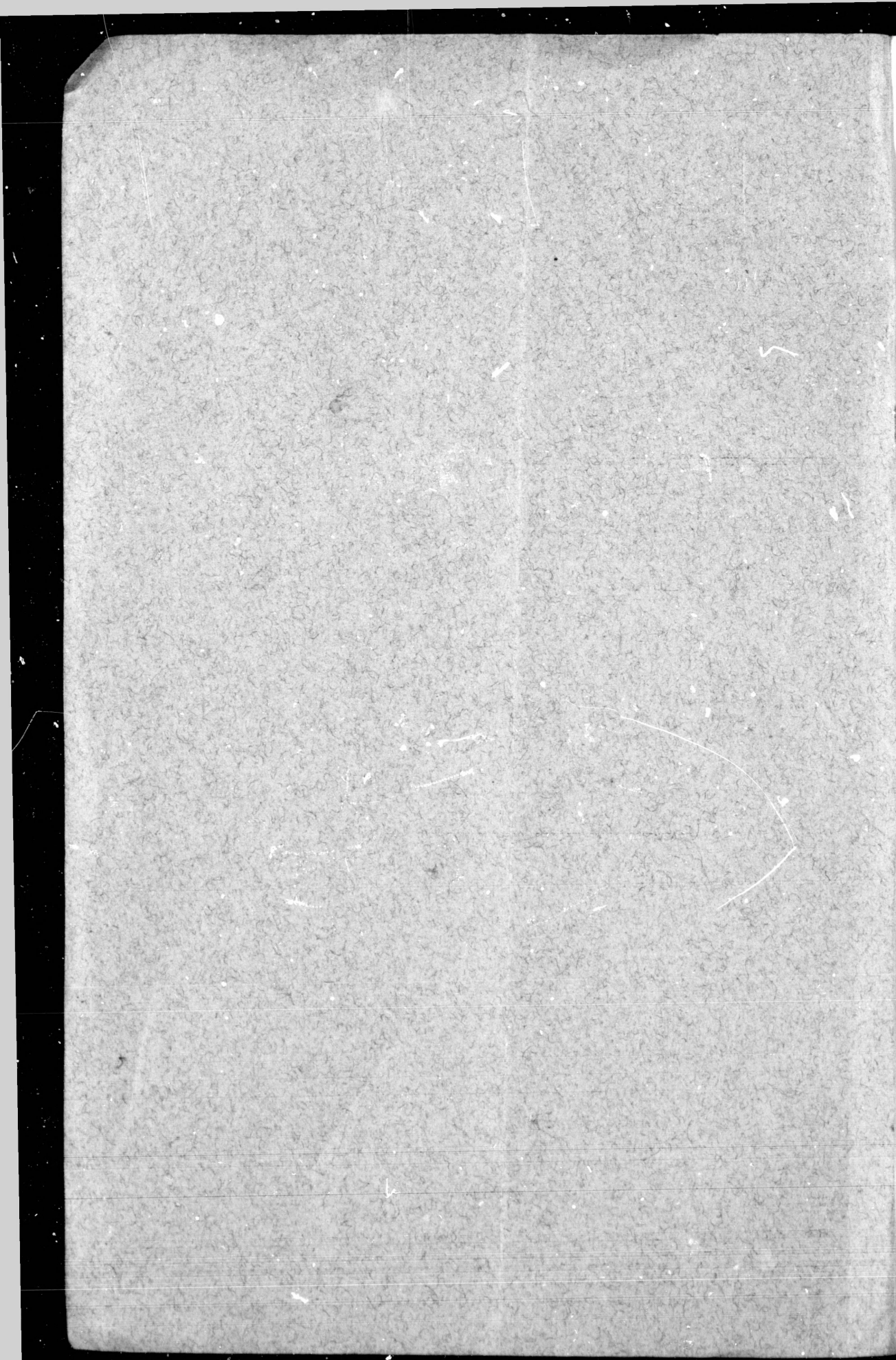


SPEECH OF MR. CHARLTON, M.P.,

ON

THE CENSUS.



House of Commons Debates.

FIRST SESSION—SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.

SPEECH OF MR. CHARLTON, M.P.,

ON

THE CENSUS.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2ND, 1891.

Mr. CHARLTON. Mr. Speaker, before recess the Minister of Finance, in closing his remarks, appealed to members on this side of the House, as well as the Liberal party in the country, to stand together with the Government and to give the best picture possible of public affairs, and to say nothing against the country. Well, Sir, it is far from our intention to say anything against the country. We desire to give Canada that meed of praise which is its due, and in doing so we will ever assert that it is a glorious country, a country with great capacities, a country with great resources, a country which is calculated to furnish homes for millions of freemen in the future, and we will very carefully avoid on the present occasion, as we have done on all previous occasions, saying anything against the country. But we shall probably have something to say against the men who have failed to secure for the country its best interests. We shall have something to say against the men who have retarded the progress of the country, who have burdened the country with debt, who have placed the country in such a position that in the race of progress with its great neighbour to the south it is handicapped with numerous disadvantages which do not rest on that people. We shall have something to say with respect to the policy of this country, and the bearing of that policy on the prosperity of this country, as shown by the census returns which have lately been placed on the Table of this House.

The Minister of Finance accused the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) of intemperate language, of vituperation, of bitter partizanship. That hon. gentlemen said that my hon. friend's speech, from the beginning to the end, was a prolonged wail, with one note of jubilation only, that in which my hon. friend referred to the fact that the census returns were proofs of the correctness of the predictions he had made. There is abundant reason for wailing over the fortunes of the country. I doubt not, if we lived in the time of the Israelites, we would not only wail, but rend our garments and put on sackcloth and ashes. And it was perfectly proper that my hon. friend should indulge in sorrowful reflections over the present position of the country, as evinced by these census returns.

The hon. gentleman charged my hon. friend from South Oxford with having made an untruthful statement in having asserted that the estimates of population furnished from year to year by the Government were misrepresentations. My hon. friend stated that these publications of the estimates of population were either misrepresentations, or they showed the greatest ignorance on the part of the Government, and the hon. gentleman is left free to take his choice as to which horn of the dilemma he will accept, that of gross misrepresentation or of gross ignorance. One or other of them he must accept.

The hon. gentleman disliked the charges made with respect to the policy of the Government in making large appropriations under various pretexts for the purpose of subsidizing the press. He informs us that this money is appropriated or paid on a business basis, and the papers gave value for the money they received. If the business is done on a business basis, how is it that not a Reform journal in the Dominion received any of the Government patronage? If the Government desire to advertise for tend[illegible]ublic works, if they desire to place before th[illegible] advertisements respecting public works, w[illegible]ld they confine the publication of their adve[illegible]ents to the papers of one party? If the business [illegible]one on a business basis, ought not the Government to employ the press indiscriminately and impartially for this purpose? But large sums of money are paid to the Tory press of this country, and that press is, in point of fact, a subsidized press, and the policy and purpose of the Government, in appropriating and expending this money, is to be attach that press to its fortunes as its slavish supporters and slavish vindicators.

Then the hon. gentleman told us that no doubt the member for South Oxford was very sorry indeed that the census returns had not been available for him to criticise before the elections, that he would fain have had them as a club in his hand for the purpose of influencing the elections, not that he wished to propose a remedy,

but he would have used them to the detriment of the Government. It is natural that the member for South Oxford, and the members of the Liberal party should have desired to have been able before the elections were held to give the people as convincing a proof as is shown by these census returns as to the policy of the Government. The Liberal party had been engaged in criticising the policy of the Government, and it had made assertions with respect to the outcome of that policy, the results of that policy. We were unfortunately in a position in which it was somewhat difficult to prove that our assertions were true, and the census returns would have furnished exactly the proof required as to the truth of our allegations. We did propose to furnish a remedy, and it would have been more apparent than ever that a remedy was needed, if we had been able to place these returns before the people. We have been looking for years to furnish a remedy, and we went to the electors of this country at the last election with a remedy for the evils that exist. We have tha remedy to propose still, and the census returns have emphasized the assertion we have made, that some remedy for the ills and evils this country labours under is necessary. The hon. gentleman tells us that the result of the census returns was indeed a disappointment, and I am not able to see how he could have said otherwise. But he says that the United States also felt the same disappointment at their natural increase. He says that they supposed they would have a natural increase as great as my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) says is the normal natural increase of a country situated as this is. What was the natural increase in the United States? Their natural increase was nearly 14½ per cent., or about 3 per cent. greater than our total increase, and our natural increase was about 8 per cent. less than nothing, if our immigrants had stayed with us; because, according to the returns of the Agriculture Department, we received immigrants to the amount of 20·49 per cent. of the population of this country in 1881. Therefore, with a total increase of 11·52 per cent. we fall very far short of having any natural increase at all. Then the hon. gentleman tells us that the United States are not in a very satisfactory position. I suppose that the increase of population of 24·85 per cent. in the United States was hardly satisfactory to that country, but we must bear in mind that it was considerably more than as much again as the increase in this country, and in a young country like Canada, with a young and vigorous population, it is needless to say that an increase of 11½ per cent. is very far from what we might reasonably expect as the result of the census. We have also to bear in mind with regard to the United States, that it is claimed that in the census of 1880, there was a very serious mistake with regard to the black population, and that the actual population of the United States was one or two millions less than that given by the census of 1880.

The hon. gentleman next referred to the decrease of the rural population and the tendency of the people to leave the farms and drift into towns, and he said that this is a tendency manifested in all civilized countries of the world. He tells us that farming has become unremunerative, that owing to the invention of labour-saving machines, and the increased ability to produce food with a given amount of labour, there is an over-production, and that farming has become an unremunerative industry. Yet, Sir, in face of that fact, the policy of the hon. gentleman has been for years to pile upon the shoulders of the farmer, with his unremunerative industry and the prices declining, a vastly increased burden of taxation. If he wishes to relieve the farmer, if he wishes to increase his prosperity, surely it is not a good way to reach that result by increasing the burdens placed upon him, as has been done by the Government for the last twelve years.

Then, Sir, when my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) alluded to the $100,000,000 spent during the last twelve years, and stated that the results flowing from that expenditure in the North-West were of a very meagre and unsatisfactory character, the Minister of Finance tells us that this expenditure was made for the ages. Well, Sir, I judge that it will be some time in the future ages before we get a satisfactory return for it. It was unquestionably made for the ages, and the ages must roll around before we get the return that the Government has promised as a result of that expenditure.

The hon. gentleman goes on to tell us that it is somewhat singular that immigrants should leave this country, with a tariff of 30 per cent., and go to the United States where there is a tariff of 60 per cent., and that if they wish to escape heavy burdens and taxes it would be natural to suppose they would remain here. Now, Sir, the average rate of duties last year was 21¼ per cent. in Canada on the total importation, and in the United States 29·99 per cent. This difference has been largely decreased under the McKinley Bill by the readjustment of the tariff, but the burden of taxation from Customs duties in the United States is much lighter than it is in the Dominion of Canada. The *per capita* charge of Customs for the year ending 30th December, 1890, in the United States was $3.59, while the *per capita* charge in Canada last year, on the basis of our population then, was $5.03. The Customs taxation of Canada is $1.44 per head, or 40 per cent. higher than the Customs taxation of the United States. Although their rates of duties are somewhat higher, yet our importations are proportionately larger than theirs, and their taxation from Customs is only about two-thirds as much as in this country. Therefore, the statement made by the hon. gentleman that we have lighter burdens in this country than in the United States is not a correct statement. We should remember also that the expenditure in the United States is of a different character from that of Canada. Last year in the United States $106,000,000 were paid as pensions, and that money was spent in the country, It was equivalent to a gift of money to the people of that country. A large amount of their taxation was paid last year in reduction of the public debt and in reduction of taxation, and the consequence is, that the public burdens of the United States are very greatly less than ours; and a large portion of the money disbursed in the United States, from the Customs duties, is disbursed in the country—paid in pensions and spent in the country. The enormous sum spent in pensions, and serving to relieve the wants of a portion of the population, is quite a different thing from sending the money out of the country to pay interest on the public debt, or the expenditure of money in

an ordinary way by the Government.

The hon. gentleman also told us in the course of his speech, in justification of his National Policy, that it was necessary to inaugurate a policy that would retaliate upon other countries, in consequence of their impositions on our commerce. If that were true, what imposition did Great Britain impose upon our commerce? We send our productions free, and without any restriction, into that country, and why was it necessary to retaliate against her? Why was it necessary to adopt a policy which discriminates, in fact, against that country and which is a most onerous burden upon her and her commercial transactions with us? While she does not impose a duty of a cent upon a single dollar's worth of the millions we send to her, we impose burdens upon the English commerce which lessens the volume of that commerce and is felt to be a grievous burden by the people of that country. Yet my hon. friend has said that the sole justification for his policy was to retaliate upon countries that had imposed burdens upon Canada by their fiscal policy.

Then, Sir, the hon. gentleman came around to the question of corruption, and he seeks to minimize the extent of the corruption existing at Ottawa, and he offsets it by what? Was it by Liberal corruption in the Dominion Government? Oh, no. He offsets it by the assumption, not by the proof, but by the assumption that corruption exists in some one of the provinces in this Dominion. Forsooth, because it is charged that corruption exists in the Government of the Province of Quebec, he thinks that exonerates the Dominion Government for the course of corruption which it has pursued since it came into office in 1878. The people of the country will not accept that justification of the conduct of the Government here. Two wrongs do not make one wrong right; the loss of chastity on the part of one woman would not justify another in losing it, and if the Government of Quebec had been guilty of corruption, which is not proved, it would not justify my hon. friend or his colleagues for having been guilty of the same thing.

He says the only remedy we propose for all these evils we have been complaining of is that the gentlemen on the right of the Speaker are to step out, and the gentlemen on the left of the Speaker are to come in. Well, I suppose that would be one of the necessary stops towards a reform of the abuses that exist. Of course, if my hon. friend will accept the policy we promulgate, if he will attempt to relieve this country of the embarrassment that weighs upon it, by adopting a sound and common-sense policy, we will be glad to aid him, as he has invited us; but if he refuses the remedy for our evils that we offer, it will be necessary for parties to cross the House, because it is necessary to inaugurate a new policy, and if the Government will not do it, the Opposition must necessarily be called upon to do it.

Then the hon. gentleman reverts adroitly to the old stock argument which we have heard here a hundred times or more. With regard to the small increase of population which has taken place in the last ten years, and the unsatisfactory condition of the country, he tells us that matters are not worse than they were or as bad as they were. He says: In 1878 when they came into office they found an unsatisfactory state of trade, they found the country depressed, an excessive taxation, and a policy that had starved out the industries of the country, and they made a change that brought prosperity and created diversified industries. Now, let us examine the broad assertions made by the hon. gentleman in that portion of his speech. When the Conservative party came into power in 1878, what did they find the condition of Canada to be, as compared with other nations? It is true, trade was not in as good a state as we should have desired; it is true, Canada had laboured under a depression since 1873; but was Canada relatively in a worse condition than other countries? Were the reasons which caused that depression confined to Canada, or did they originate in Canada, or were the Government responsible for those conditions? They were not. The depression which existed in Canada existed to a greater degree in the United States; it existed to a greater degree also in England, in France and in Germany; it was a world-wide depression; all civilized nations shared in it; it had overtaken the whole commercial world, and Canada was in as good a position as any other country. Canada was struggling successfully with those difficulties; and the truth is, that the United States, during all that period of depression, having the policy which hon. gentlemen opposite adopted as a panacea for those ills, was in a worse position than Canada. There were half a million tramps roaming up and down the United States without employment; trade was paralyzed there and in England; and in Canada we had a careful, prudent Government, keeping down the burdens of taxation, carefully husbanding our resources, and waiting for the turn of the tide which was sure to come, and which did come in 1879. Had we a policy that starved the industries of this country? On the contrary, the manufacturing industries of Canada were more prosperous than those of the United States under a high protection; they were actually more prosperous than those of England. Under a revenue tariff of 15 per cent., increased in 1876 to 17½ per cent., we had developed a prosperous, diversified manufacturing industry in Canada. There is scarcely a branch of business in operation to-day that was not in operation in 1878; and a careful comparison of the statistics of manufacturing establishments shows that the manufacturing establishments of Ontario and other parts of the Dominion were paying from 6 to 25 per cent. dividends, and that they paid much higher dividends than the manufacturing establishments of New England during that crisis. Most of our manufacturing establishments were paying fair and in many cases high dividends all through that period from 1873 to 1878, and the manufacturing industries of the country were actually developing and growing, notwithstanding the depression that existed throughout the world. And yet my hon. friend had the hardihood and effrontery to say that the policy of that Government had starved out the industries of the country. Well, Sir, in what condition were our manufacturing industries in 1878? Why, Sir, in 1871 the census returns revealed the fact that we produced in Canada $211,000,000 worth of goods and employed 189,000 operatives; in 1881, according to the census returns, we produced $309,000,000 worth of goods and employed 246,000 operatives; and it was scarcely time yet for the National Policy to produce any material effect towards that great increase in the manufacturing industries of this country. So that

we had a stable, prosperous, and firmly-established manufacturing industry of the Dominion under the policy which preceded the policy adopted by the hon. gentlemen now on the Treasury benches. Then let us compare the burden of taxation. The Customs duties from 1874 to 1878 were :

In 1874	$14,325,000
1875	15,351,000
1876	12,823,000
1877	12,736,000
1878	12,782,000

That was the measure of the burden of Customs taxation imposed by the Mackenzie Government upon the people of this country. Now, how did my hon. friend and his colleagues manage this matter? Did they reduce the burden of taxation? Did they keep it where it was? Let us see. In 1880 they were fairly in the saddle ; and in that and the following years the Customs duties show these increases :

In 1880	$14,000,000
1881	18,400,000
1881	22,582,000
1883	23,000,000
1890	23,968,000

They have nearly doubled the taxation imposed upon the people of this country in the shape of duties upon imports during their period of office commencing with 1879 and ending with 1890, the last year for which we have returns. Yet, in the face of this record, the hon. gentleman tells this House and the country that the policy of the Mackenzie Government had increased the taxation of the country. Why, Sir, an assertion of this kind is entirely destitute of a single iota of truth. Still more, an assertion so utterly false, so utterly misleading, is quite in character with the position taken with regard to the financial policy of the Government in almost every respect by the speakers of the opposite side.

Then, we are told that the change of policy on the part of the Government led to the swelling revenues which we have had. Well, it did, because it increased the taxation of the people. We are told that the Government of Mr. Mackenzie had deficits. So they had, because with wise foresight the Minister of Finance of that day realized that the prevailing depression was a temporary one, and that when prosperity returned and the volume of trade increased, the revenue of the country would increase, and that then the existing rate of taxation would be high enough ; and so he forebore increasing the tariff, although perhaps he would have been wiser to have done so.

Mr. FOSTER. He did increase the tariff.

Mr. CHARLTON. He did increase the tariff in 1878, but from 1876 it remained at 17½ per cent., and the Government waited for that turn in the tide that would bring a return of prosperity in the commercial world and increase the revenue of the country. The change in the tariff in 1879 by the present Government was made too soon to ascertain definitely whether this would have been necessary or not in our case, but we have the experience of the United States, and the movement of Customs duties in that country will illustrate pretty fairly what would have been the movement here if no change had been made, because no change was made in the tariff of the United States. Now, the revenue of the United States from Customs duties in 1878 was $130,000,000, and in 1879 it was $137,000,000. Then the tide turned, prosperity began to come back, and in 1880 the Customs duties amounted to $186,000,000. In 1881 they amounted to $196,000,000 ; in 1882 they amounted to $220,000,000, or $90,000,000 more than in 1879. Well, Sir, the same rate of increase in Canada, with our old tariff, would have given us a surplus of $4,000,000 or $5,000,000, instead of the deficit we had in 1878. The forecast of my hon. friend was, therefore, absolutely correct ; and had the Mackenzie Government remained in power we would have had, from our tariff of 17½ per cent., not only sufficient revenue, but an overflowing treasury. There can be no question of the truth of that assertion.

Mr. FOSTER. That would have frightened you.

Mr. CHARLTON. We would have reduced the taxation instead of inaugurating a reign of corruption in order to spend money. The late Henry Ward Beecher said every boy, when he got a new knife, was given to whittle ; and when my hon. friends opposite got more money they were bound to whittle ; and they did whittle down the surplus to a remarkable extent.

Mr. FERGUSON (Leeds). When you got a new knife you whittled away the stick altogether.

Mr. CHARLTON. The Finance Minister has told us that our debt and taxation have enabled us to make the country what it is. That is as true as the Gospel of St. Luke. It has made the country what it is, simply that and nothing more, and the hon. gentleman has stated the truth. He said it has placed us in the vanguard—I do not know whether he means in the vanguard of colonies or nations, or in the vanguard of those governments that delude and plunder the people. I rather think the truth would be in the latter. It has placed us, he said, in the vanguard, and in a better position to get settlers. That is a most astounding assertion. The idea that the increase of the debt, the doubling of the debt, the doubling of the interest charges yearly, the increase of expenditure and taxation—the idea that these put us in a better position for securing settlement is an absurd and stupid assertion, quite in keeping with many other assertions of the hon. gentleman. It will not for a moment bear investigation. It cannot be shown to be even a plausible assertion.

Then, he told us that the Opposition raise their voices to deprecate the country. Well, suppose my hon. friend were ill and called in a physician, and that the physician made a diagnosis and gave a prescription, would he accuse him of being the author of his disease? That would be just as reasonable as the charge he brings against us. We raise our voices against the country? No, Sir. We raise our voices against the men that are ruining the country. We raise our voices against the policy that is destroying the country. We do not raise our voices against the country, but in defence of the country. We raise our voices against the cormorants that prey upon the country. That is what we do. And we hear that howl all over the country : Oh, you are doing all this mischief ; you are driving the people from the country ; you are destroying the country ; you are defaming the character of the country. Nothing of the kind. We are attacking the policy of the party who have kept this country in the background and retarded its progress. We are attacking that policy which must be removed before this country

fulfils the destiny Providence has designed it shall fulfil.

Then he told us that Canada has passed its hardest period ; that it has built railways and canals, and can now go ahead. Well, Sir, we have heard assertions from that side before. We have heard something about the tall chimneys that were to rise in every little village in 1879, but we have not seen them yet. We were told that 640,000,000 bushels of wheat would come from our west alone this time, but it has not come yet. We were told that we would have a revenue of $70,000,000 from the lands of the North-West up to 1891, but we have not had a cent of it yet. And now we are told that we have passed the turning point, that the hardest struggle is over, and that we are about to enter upon an era of prosperity. No, Sir, we are now about to reap the fruits of our folly unless we change our policy. We have now reached the point when a heavy burden is upon us, when the interest on our debt must be annually met, when we have incurred enormous expenditure, which we find it almost impossible to reduce. We have reached that point when the fruits of all the sins and follies we have been committing are coming home to us. We are now in that position that the Government tell us that they cannot enter into a trade arrangement which would secure the prosperity of the country, because forsooth it would reduce our revenue somewhat. We are in that position that we can not forego one dollar of the revenue we now derive from this tariff which exacts from the people sums much greater than they are able to pay. No, Sir, we have not passed the turning point. The hardest is not over ; we are not about to go ahead, but we have to pay the price of our folly. We are now about to be called on to pay from year to year for this great burden that rests upon us, and every year we must strain every nerve to meet the burden which the folly of my hon. friend and those associated with him in office have placed upon the people.

So much for the remarks of the Finance Minister, to which I intended to refer briefly only ; and now I propose to give my attention for a short time to a question more particularly pertinent to the matter under discussion, the census returns. I may say, by the way, that my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, seems to have forgotten what the question before the House is. I think he did make one incidental allusion to it, but that was all. In approaching the discussion of this question the first thing we have to do, Mr. Speaker, is to account for the fact that our increase of population has been very small. How shall we account for it? Shall we assert that the country has not the scope, has not the undeveloped resources, has not the facilities necessary to enable us to add to our population? Will we say that our resources are fully developed, that the limit of our ability to maintain population has been reached, and that now we have no choice but to serve as a hive, as the fully populated countries of the old world do, from which to send out our surplus population to the United States year after year. Will that assertion be made ? I do not think it will, for when we come to look at our country what do we find ? If we start at the Atlantic coast we find first the Province of Nova Scotia, with its fisheries, and its lumber, and its agricultural resources, not fully developed, with its great stores of coal undeveloped, and with its coal mine owners, under the influence of the cowardice begotten of protection that leads them to fear open competition in the markets of the world and prevents there seeking the natural markets where they might sell millions of tons annually We find in that province vast deposits of iron ore where iron can be made cheaper than at any other point, if we except Birmingham, Alabama ; we find that province with room for millions of people, with room for indefinite expansion and development, and we cannot say there is no lack of room in Nova Scotia. We come to New Brunswick, and find there undeveloped resources and room for a great number of people in addition to those now inhabiting it. We come to Quebec, and we find a province controlling the Imperial highway to the great inland seas of this continent and the teeming west ; we find cities placed where their birthright was that they should be great commercial entrepots and centres of the trade of this continent; we find great areas undeveloped around Lake St. John and in the St. Maurice district, and we cannot conclude that in that province the limits of population is reached. We go to Ontario, the most beautiful and fruitful of all the provinces, resting its southern border upon four great inland seas, with a stretch of country along Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Georgian Bay, the finest, the most salubrious, the most productive section on this continent, not one-half of which is under cultivation, and with great stretches of uncultivated land in the Rainy River Valley and Algoma, with its stores of nickel, of copper, of iron, of silver, of gold, of structural material, a province infinitely rich in resources, one of the grandest commonwealths of this continent, and we cannot say there that the limitation of population has been reached, for there is room for a score of millions more. We go to the North-West, with its enormous tract of arable land, from a small fraction of which a score of million bushels of wheat will be sent to market this year, a country suited for mixed farming, and with great stores of petroleum, iron and coal, and certainly it is not there the limit of population has been reached. We go to British Columbia, with its grand mountains and its scenic wonders, with its agricultural lands in the valleys, with its mineral wealth, its timber, and its fisheries, and it is not there that the limit of population has been reached. In these various provinces there is room for at least four score million of people, and we have less than a quarter of a score of millions. We have the room for the people who are here ; we have room for the increase of that people ; we have room for the immigrants who will come from the old world ; we have room for all these and for many millions more. Will we assert that our population is effete—that, like the population of the Sandwich Islands, the decree of fate is on them, and that they are doomed to gradual extinction? Not so. We have one of the most active, one of the most energetic, and, physically, one of the best races in the world here in British America. We are bound to conclude that this population should show the highest rate of natural increase, and that every immigrant who comes to our shores should find a home congenial to him. Then what is the matter? Have we increased as we should ? The only gratification we can get out of these returns is something like that which the old Methodist minister got. He was preaching in the backwoods, and he sent his hat round for contributions, and the hat came back without a copper in it. He

turned it up and looked into it, and then he said: "I thank thee, O Lord, that I have been permitted to receive my hat back from this congregation." We may feel this degree of thankfulness, that we have as many people here as we had ten years ago and very few more.

Now let us look the field over, and first we have the Maritime Province group. They have increased by 10,209, or 1·17 per cent., about one half the increase in the towns. Quebec and Ontario have increased by 315,626, or 9·60 per cent., about the increase in the cities and the towns and the district of Algoma. Then, we have the vast North-West, which has increased in ten years by 173,000 souls, including British Columbia, while just south of it is Dakota, with an increase of 376,350, or about double the amount, and Minnesota with an increase of 521,053, or three times the increase of our North-West, or in those two sections an increase of 897,403, or five times the increase of the entire North-West and British Columbia.

Now I propose to make a further analysis of our census returns, and as I embarked in this investigation it led me to results which surprised me. I revised them, I went over them, and yet the results were the same, and our increase is of a character more unsatisfactory than I supposed it to be. Between 1871 and 1881 the increase in our population was 638,314, or 17·31 per cent. During the same period the increase in the population of the United States was 11,597,402, or 30·08 per cent. In that period the number of immigrants to Canada amounted to 362,675, or an increase of 9·53 per cent. out of the total increase of 17·31 per cent. The immigration to the United States in the same period was 2,812,191, or a percentage of 7·29 out of the total increase of 30·08 per cent., that is, provided that in each case the immigrants were retained in the two countries. The natural increase in the United States was 8,785,221, or 22·79 per cent., or the natural increase in the United States was 15 per cent. greater than the natural increase in Canada in the decade between 1871 and 1881. The excess of the addition to the population of Canada over that of the United States from immigration amounted to 2·24 per cent., while the total excess of the increase in the population of the United States over that of Canada was 12·77 per cent.

Taking the present census of 1890 in the United States and 1891 in Canada, we find, as the first bulletin states, though that will be slightly varied by the subsequent statement of the Postmaster General, that our population has increased by 498,534, or a percentage of 11·52. The population of the United States has increased by 12,466,467, or 24·85 per cent. The immigration to Canada from 1881 to 1891 is represented to have been 886,173, or a percentage of 20·49 on the population of 1881, or 8·97 per cent. more than our total increase. We have an increase of 498,534 in the population, and we had an immigration of 886,173, showing a loss of 387,639, besides our natural increase. The immigration received by Canada in the last decade was much larger in proportion to its population than that received by the United States. The immigration to the United States from 1880 to 1890 was 5,246,695, or 10·46 per cent. of the amount of increase. The immigration to Canada was 886,173, or 20·49 per cent. of the population in 1881. If the immigration to the United States had been equal in proportion to population to the immigration to Canada, it would have amounted to 10,985,779 instead of 5,246,695, or the United States required an additional amount of immigration to place them in the same position as Canada of 5,739,084. Take another view of the case, and you find that to place Canada in the same position as the United States we should reduce the amount of our immigration from 886,173 to 416,464, or we received 469,709 immigrants too many in order to place ourselves in the same proportion as the United States. Our excess of immigration over that of the United States amounted to 10·03 on the population of 1881. Had our natural increase equalled that of the United States in the last decade it would have amounted to 14·39 per cent., and if we had retained our immigration that would have amounted to 20·49 per cent., so that our total increase in the ten years, instead of being 11·52 per cent., would have been 34·88 per cent.

Now, I propose briefly to compare the results of the census of Canada for 1881 with the census for 1891. In 1881, as I have stated, our increase was 638,214. Now, deduct from this the immigrants received during that decade, 363,000, it leaves a natural increase of 275,000, or 7·78 per cent. That is the natural increase in Canada in the decade between 1871 and 1881 if we had retained the immigrants received during that period. Now, let us apply that rule to the last decade and see what the result will be. We will estimate that in the last decade we had the same natural increase that we had in the preceding one, and that we retained the immigrants received during that decade; that would have given us a natural increase of 336,476 during the last ten years; add to that the immigration, assuming that we retained it, of 886,000, and that gives the total increase for the last ten years of 1,222,643 souls. Now, we did increase in population according to the memo. that has been laid upon the Table of this House and upon which my calculations are based 498,534, so that we fall short of the population we should have, if our natural increase had been the same as it was during the previous decade, assuming that we retained our immigration—we fall short by 724,109 souls of the increase we should have secured in the last decade. Now, this is a bad showing. England and Wales, hives of industry, teeming with population, sending off swarms annually to Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Canada and the United States—England and Wales show a larger increase than we have done. Their average increase since 1801 was 14·07 per cent.; the lowest increase between 1851 and 1861, was 11·93; the next lowest, between 1871 and 1881, was 12·11, therefore making a far better showing than we have done.

Now, my hon. friend from South Oxford this afternoon estimated that the natural increase of Canada was 2¼ per cent. per annum. Good authorities estimate the natural increase of Quebec at 4 per cent. per annum. I think I will be able to convince the House that it is reasonable to assume that a population such as that of Canada, a vigorous population, with ample room for expansion, inhabiting a healthful country, should have a natural increase of 30 per cent. each ten years. I assume that is the case, and I will give reasons for making that assumption. I will take the United States as

a parallel case. The United States from 1790 to 1840 maintained a natural increase every ten years of from 29·33 per cent. to 35 per cent. In 1790 that country had a population of 3,929,000, just about a quarter of a million more than we had in 1871. Now, the United States received during the first 30 years of its existence a very small amount of foreign immigration. That country received only 250,000 from 1790 to 1820. That country, with a population of 3,929,000 in 1790, had a population of 7,219,000 in 1810. Upon the same basis, starting as we do in 1871, upon a quarter of a million less population than that country had in 1790, we ought to have very nearly seven millions of inhabitants 20 years afterwards without the aid of immigration; so it is evident from this parallel case that our increase has been ridiculously small. The rates of increase in the United States from 1790 to 1890 were as follows:—

1790 to 1800, 35·10	per cent.	1840 to 1850, 35·83	per cent.
1800 to 1810, 36·38	" "	1850 to 1860, 35·10	" "
1810 to 1820, 33·06	" "	1860 to 1870, 22·65	" "
1820 to 1830, 32·50	" "	1870 to 1880, 30·08	" "
1830 to 1840, 33·52	" "	1880 to 1890, 24·85	" "

Average 31·90.

Now, while there is no record of immigration to the United States from 1790 to 1820, it is certain that the natural increase of each of those decades was not less than 32 per cent., and in some cases 35 per cent. The first year in which we are able to make any comparison is that of 1830, when the immigration for the previous ten years had been 128,000. The total increase of population for the decade was 32·50, and the natural increase was 31·03, and that is the lowest figure of the natural increase in the United States up to that period. In 1840 the natural increase had only fallen to 28·33; in 1850 it was within a fraction of 28·12. Now, this comparison convinces me that the population of Canada, a population as vigorous as that of the United States at any time between 1790 and 1830, with conditions of expansion just as favourable as those enjoyed by the people af the United States, has lost a large portion of its natural increase. I assume if the population of the United States maintained a natural increase of from 30 to 35 per cent. for the three decades ending in 1820, and of from 31 per cent. in 1830 to almost 30 per cent. in 1840 and 1850, it is fair to assume that the native population of Canada would have a natural increase every ten years of 30 per cent. I assert that to be the case; there is not the slightest doubt that it is the case. I do not believe the population of this country is less vigorous, less strong physically, less likely to increase rapidly, than that of the United States at any period in the history of that country.

Now, let us see what we have been doing in this race of national progress. Upon that basis, instead of the natural increase being 30 per cent., we find this last decade is has been only 11·52, including immigrants. We received immigrants enough to make the increase 20·49 per cent. more, so that we should have had an increase of 50 per cent. in place of 11·52 this last ten years, if all the population of the country had stayed here, and we had retained our immigrants. Now, let us see what would have been the result in ten years, if my assumption with regard to this matter is true. We started with 4,324,000 in 1881; 30 per cent. increase in ten years would give 1,297,000. We had 886,000 immigrants coming into this country, and if they had remained here we should have had an increase of population, during that decade, of 2,183,616. Allowing nothing for the difference between the birth rate and the death rate of immgrants received during the ten years, what would be the result? Why, Sir, we should have a populatiou in 1891 of 6,508,426. Assuming the natural increase was 30 per cent., which I believe it was, assuming that the immigrants coming to Canada stayed here, we would have an increase of population of $50\frac{41}{100}$ per cent., or an increase of 2,183,616, instead of 498,000, or a total population of 6,508,426. The population is 1,685,082 less than it should be according to these figures.

I propose to pursue this investigation a little further. I start with the assumption that the natural increase of the population is 30 per cent., that our people are just as virile and vigorous as the population of the United States were at any time in their history from 1790 to 1850, and I assume our increase was 30 per cent., because their increase was that percentage, and in some cases 5 per cent. more. Let us work that out for 1871, the first census we had after Confederation. We start with a population of 3,686,596, a quarter of a million less than the United States in 1790, and their population was over 7,229,000 in 1810. Add 30 per cent. to our population in 1871, and it would give us an increase of 1,105,978. We received during the ten years, from 1871 to 1881, 362,675 immigrants from the old world. So the population in 1881, with a 30 per cent. increase in the native population and with the retention in the country of the immigrants, without any allowance for the difference between the birth and death rate of the immigrant population, in 1881 should have been 5,155,249, instead of 4,324,000. Now we will start out in 1881 and compute the natural increase of 30 per cent. for the decade, which would give 1,546,574. The immigration amounted to 886,173. So the population by the returns which the Minister of Finance says are not entirely satisfactory should have been 7,587,996 in 1891, if there had been no emigration of native population or of immigrants. I reiterate what I stated, that this calculation makes no allowance for the increase of population from the difference between the birth rate and death rate of the immigrants arriving during that decade.

This is a bad showing. But there is something more. I am endeavouring to point out the effect of the exodus on the population for years past. At the commencement of this period, 1871, the point where I commence the calculation, we had Canadians living in the United States to the number of 490,041, they having been born in Canada. The census returns for 1871 give no return of children born in the United States of Canadian parents, the father or mother being a Canadian. The census of 1881 does, however, show this, and by that census it appears that there were 712,000 Canadians in the United States, that there had been 939,000 children born in the United States whose fathers were British Canadians and 931,000 whose mothers were British Canadians. On the data thus furnished, I estimate the number of children born of these 490,000 Canadians in the United States prior to 1871 at 627,000, besides the 490,000 people born in Canada. These figures give in the United States, in 1870, 1,117,040 of population properly belonging to Canada, if there had been no exodus.

Add that number to the rest, and the result of the computation of the increase of population in 20 years, on the basis of a 30 per cent. natural increase, would give a total population now of 8,705,037. I make no allowance for the increase in the population on 1,117,041 Canadians and their children who were in the United States in 1871, during the two following decades, which at the rate of 30 per cent. in each ten years would be 770,754. If you add the natural increase of 30 per cent. each decade, amounting to 770,754, these figures would give as a population we should actually have in Canada 9,475,791 in 1891, if there had been no exodus from this country, and if we had maintained a natural increase of 30 per cent. each decade, which is less than the United States maintained for 50 years of its natural existence.

It is evident that something is wrong, and it is to be lamented that the interests and the future of a magnificent country like this, stretching from ocean to ocean, with all its resources in timber, soil, minerals and fisheries, a country capable of supporting 80,000,000 of people, a country starting on the race of progress with prospects so fair, should have had its interests so mismanaged by incompetency that in place of having what it might have had if it maintained the ratio of increase which the United States has maintained, and kept its people and immigrants at home, a population of 9,475,791, has less than 5,000,000. Truly my hon. friend was correct when he said that taxation and increase of debt are just the factors to produce the results we have in this country.

To recapitulate for a moment. This calculation may seem extravagant. I was led to this result step by step. First, I took the United States census returns and found that the natural increase there was over 30 per cent. every 10 years, and had been so for the first 50 years of their national existence. I enquired, Is there any reason why Canada should not present as good a showing? I could not find any reason, for I believe the Canadian people are as vigorous and as likely to increase in population as are the American people, and if any one can show a reason to the contrary I will revise my figures. But as I believe we are as vigorous as a race as the Americans, I hold that we should show at this stage of our national existence what they showed for fifty years after their national existence began, over 30 per cent. increase every ten years, and I assume that our natural increase is as great. Assuming that point to be established, I go on then and show beyond peradventure that if our immigrants had stayed with us we should have had a population of 7,500,000, entirely independent of the number of people who have left Canada prior to 1871; and the whole calculation was thus worked out, and the result cannot be questioned. If the basis is right, the result is right. If we have a natural increase of 30 per cent., as the Americans have had, if we had retained our immigrants, as we ought to have done, and had had no exodus of the native population, we would have had the population I have indicated, which the census returns show we have not got.

So much for the general question. I desire to refer for a moment to the section of country in which I am immediately interested. I find on examination of the partial returns brought down that the group of ridings along Lake Erie, commencing at the Niagara frontier and running as far west as Elgin, embracing Norfolk, Haldimand, Monck, Welland, Lincoln and Niagara, this group of ridings had in 1881 a population of 127,004. It has by the last returns a population of 115,810, a loss of 7,194, or 6 per cent. in 10 years. When I call attention to that portion of the country I think it will strike hon. members as strange that this should be the result. These ridings lie along Lake Erie. They are traversed by two through lines of railway passing from east to west, giving connection with Detroit on the west and Buffalo and New York on the east. They are excellent agricultural counties; they are excellent fruit counties; Lincoln and Niagara are the finest peach regions in Canada, and if any section should show an increase of population these ridings should show it, as they possess the finest soil and superior facilities for reaching markets. My own riding of North Norfolk has declined from 20,933 in 1881 to 19,400 in 1891, or a loss of 1,533, equal to 7.32 per cent. South Norfolk has decreased from 19,019 to 17,780, being a loss of 1,237, or 6½ per cent. Now, Sir, there is not a more beautiful country on this continent than these two ridings. They are abundantyl watered with pure spring streams and copious living springs; a magnificent fruit country, a country raising the finest wheat, a country admirably adapted to the production of fruit, and clover, and root crops, and barley, and oats, and all crops that grow in the temperate zone; the finest corn country in the Dominion, a country that is capable of being made a garden, a country not one-half of which is under cultivation at the present moment; and yet that country, situated as it is, with two great lines of railways traversing it from east to west, presents a loss of population of 6½ per cent. in one riding and 7½ per cent. in the other. That is surely a commentary on this National Policy that does not require further dwelling upon.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there was a time when the Province of Ontario increased in population at a satisfactory rate. That period was from 1851 to 1861, when we had for seven years of that period the benefit of reciprocity with the United States. Ontario increased during that decade from 952,000 to 1,396,000, an increase of 46·60 per cent. That was a satisfactory increase, and we never have had a satisfactory increase since. Quebec, during that same decade, increased from 890,000 to 1,111,000, an increase of 221,000, or 24·96 per cent. I repeat, Sir, that this was during the operation of a reciprocity treaty, because for seven years of that period, from 1854 to 1861, we had reciprocity. During the next decade the increase is not so satisfactory, but during that period we had the retarding influences of the American war, and for five years of that period we had no reciprocity. It was natural to suppose that the decade from 1861 to 1871 would not be as favourable or as satisfactory as the other. So, Sir, I affirm, from the data furnished here, from the fact that Ontario increased by 46 per cent. of population in the ten years, during a portion of which we had reciprocity, from the fact that it has not increased satisfactorily since reciprocity was lost to this country, I infer that reciprocity with the United States and access to our natural markets had very much indeed to do with the expansion of the population in that province during the period I mention. I assert that the showing of the present census returns is unsatisfactory, and I assert that it proves conclusively, when we come to ex-

amine it, that there is something wrong in the policy which is now prevailing in this country and which has prevailed for the last thirteen years. A country situated as Canada is, a country possessing the resources that Canada does, a country inhabited by the kind of population that inhabits Canada, is a country that should increase faster than at this snail's pace we have been going. Something is required to give an impetus to the progress of this country, something is required to secure for this country that measure of prosperity which it certainly has not enjoyed for the last twenty or thirty years.

While this last decade has been passing away we have been making progress in some respects. We have made satisfactory progress in the matter of accumulating our public debt. We started out with a debt of $155,000,000, and we landed at the end with a debt of $237,000,000. We have increased our debt $82,000,000, or 52 per cent., even if we have only increased our population by 11 per cent. We started out at the commencement of the decade with Customs and Excise taxes amounting to $23,942,000, and we ended with Customs and Excise taxation amounting to $31,587,000, or an increase of $7,644,000 in taxation. If we take the previous year of 1880, we find that we have increased our taxation by $13,107,000, or 70 per cent. since then, and we have increased our expenditure from $25,502,000 to $35,994,000, an increase of $10,491,000, or 41 per cent. increase. Here, Sir, are the results of this miserable fiasco called the National Policy. Here are the results of this political falsehood, of this fiscal confidence game, that enables the few to plunder the many, that makes the fishermen, the farmers, the lumbermen and the miners the prey of a very small portion of the population. That is the outcome of what the Government designates by the high-sounding title of the National Policy; and yet we are told by the Minister of Finance that under its operation for twelve years, with the evidence we have now before our eyes, that that policy has been a satisfactory one. What do we want in this country, Mr. Speaker? We want access to our natural market; we want to have done with this condition of things which has brought this country to the verge of ruin; we want to put a party in power that will manage the finances of this country with that prudence with which they were managed from 1873 to 1878, we want to put a party in power that will secure for this country such commercial treaties and such commercial arrangements as will give us access to the population of 63,000,000 at our doors, which is a matter of vital importance to us. We want, Sir, to inaugurate a policy that will put an end to that system of things that leaves us with a population of less than 5,600,000, when we should have a population of 8,500,000. This year we are likely to export to the United States, of the produts of Canada, a quantity very much less than in 1866, at the end of the reciprocity treaty. After the expiration of twenty-five years we will have a smaller trade with that great country than we had in 1866, when it had only half the population it has now. We want to inaugurate a policy which will cease to require this country to act as a hive to send off its annual swarms to the United States, and which keeps our population down to low-water mark, with a beggarly increase of 11 per cent. in ten years, when there ought to be an increase of 30 per cent., in addition to the increase from immigration. We want, Sir, a policy that will drive from power the men who have doubled the public debt of this country, who have piled upon this country an extravagant, and unjustifiable, and unnecessary expenditure; the men who have made the name of this country a by-word among the nations of the earth, giving us a character for corruption, and peculation, and fraud, and contract sweating, the most unenviable reputation enjoyed by any civilized country in the world. I say, Sir, we want to drive from power the men who are responsible for this condition of things and whose garments smell very strongly, to say the least, of the odours that emanate from this foul sink of corruption. Sir, we want in short, and the sum of it all amounts to this, we want to participate on equal terms, and without impediment and without exaction, in the energies and in the activity that characterizes all the Anglo-Saxon people of this continent. We want, in place of having free trade with seven Anglo-Saxon nations under the British flag, to enlarge the number, so that we will have free trade with forty-nine. We want the market of 63,000,000 of people across the border; we want to sell them the productions of our mines, and our forests, and our seas, and our soil. If the Liberal policy is carried into effect, if that arrangement which the Liberal party is able to give to this country, and which the Liberal party if in power would secure for this country, if that arrangement is carried into effect, then, as my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance says, the turning point would indeed come; then we would have prosperity, and then Canada would show to the world all the things she is capable of; she would show to the world that with her grand resources, her extensive sweeps of fertile soil, her forests, her mines and her fisheries, that her energetic population are capable of accomplishing as much as any given number of people on the face of the earth is capable of doing. Sir, it is melancholy to see a noble young country like this, with all its magnificent resources chained down; it is melancholy to see it overburdened by debt; it is melancholy to see it in the hands of such men as we see sitting opposite us, incompetent, if not worse, who have brought the country to the verge of ruin; and unless they are driven from their place of power, unless their grip upon the country is released, we shall see even worse times than we have seen yet.

OTTAWA:
Printed by BROWN CHAMBERLIN, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.
1891.