

Dominion Elections, 1882.

EDWARD BLAKE

AND

LIBERAL PRINCIPLES,

ANTI-MONOPOLY

AND

PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

PAMPHLET No. 1:

Hon. Edward Blake's Address.

The Pacific Railway Monopoly.

The Dominion Lands Policy.

London, England

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THE ADDRESS

—OF THE—

LIBERAL LEADER

TO THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF
WEST DURHAM :

GENTLEMEN,

The Government, which but a brief space since was craving a longer trial before judgment, has prematurely dissolved Parliament, and precipitated a general election.

For what reason? Because it felt that it would be weaker next year than it is to-day, and that its only chance of victory lay in a surprise! But it has not ventured to appeal to the constituency of 1878.

IT HAS PACKED THE JURY.

By an iniquitous measure it has concentrated in a few districts large numbers of Liberal voters, in order to weaken the effective Reform strength in many ridings, to impair the prospects of election of leading Liberals, and, if possible, to turn a minority of the people into a majority in Parliament.

For these purposes it has disregarded the county bounds, disturbed the electoral districts, and violated long-standing associations of friendship, business, and convenience throughout the greater part of Ontario.

But even this was not enough.

Repealing the law which makes sheriffs and registrars the return-

ing-officers, it has taken power to appoint where it pleases its own nominees to do its work, and to re-enact the scenes of ten years ago when men defeated at the polls in Muskoka and West Peterboro' were made into members of Parliament by the will of these officials.

Such acts are subversive of those principles of justice, equality and fair play on which our constitution rests, and which give a moral sanction to the laws.

They show that Government, notwithstanding all its boasts, feels itself beaten in a fair fight, and so attempts foul play.

We are appealing to all good men, without distinction of party, to rebuke this gross abuse of power, and to show its authors that though they may exchange townships and cut up counties as they like, the votes of the electors on whom they count cannot be transferred to the supporters of iniquities like these.

We are calling not only for an enthusiastic, vigorous and organized effort on the part of Reformers, but also for the support of many, heretofore indifferent or hostile, who will yet decline to become accomplices in this transaction. And our call is answered! Such a spirit has been aroused among the people at large as I have not seen before—such a spirit as warrants the belief that the attempt will fail of its base purpose, and will recoil with just severity on the heads of the concocters and supporters of the plot!

BROKEN PLEDGES AND ADDED BURDENS.

On what do the Government ask a renewal of your confidence?

On a record of broken pledges and of added burdens.

They promised that they would not increase the rate of taxation; they have enormously increased it.

They denounced the former scale of expenditure; they have largely raised it.

They declaimed against the additions which were made to the public charge in order to carry out a policy and engagements settled under their own former rule, and left by them as legacies to their successors in 1873; they have greatly added to that charge, and have, as far as in them lay, ensured the recurrence of a period of severe financial difficulty and distress.

They boast of an increased revenue; due, so far as they are concerned, to increased taxation only.

They boast of an enlarged prosperity ; due not to them, but to the general revival of trade throughout the world, to large products at home, and high prices abroad.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY CONTRACT.

They pride themselves on their Pacific Railway contract. I condemn that bargain as improper, being made in secret, without public tender, contrary to the existing policy of the people and of Parliament, and opposed to the provisions of the law. I condemn it as extravagant, since the enterprise will cost us sixty million dollars and twenty-five million acres of the choicest lands, while the road is to belong to the company which will realize the cost of its part of the work out of its land and money subsidies.

I condemn it as outrageous, in conferring on the company a practical monopoly, for twenty years, of the trade of our North-West Territories, and large privileges and exemptions very valuable to them and still more detrimental to the public.

I condemn it as indefensible, being consummated in the face of a tender to perform the same obligations for three million dollars less money, for three million acres less land, without the monopoly of trade without the exemptions from taxation, and on other conditions much more favorable than those of the contract.

I condemn it as premature, since the true policy was to provide for the rapid completion of the line from Thunder Bay and for the immediate construction of railways through the prairie, and by securing the early development and settlement of the North-West to give value to our lands and a traffic for the road before contracting for the completion of the eastern and western ends.

The progress of the North-West is due to the work we did and proposed to do.

The difficulties and drawbacks which exist—very serious now and far more serious in the future—are due to the obnoxious terms of the contract.

One short year has vindicated our policy ! Who can doubt that, had it been adopted, we could to-day make a bargain for the undertaking infinitely better than that to which we are now committed ? The Government and Parliament declined to give you an opportunity of

deciding on the question. We have now to ask the popular judgment on the men who refused that opportunity and consummated that contract.

THE TRADE QUESTION.

You know well that I do not approve of needless restrictions on our liberty of exchanging what we have for what we want, and do not see that any substantial application of the restrictive principle has been, or can be, made in favor of the great interests of the mechanic, the laborer, the farmer, the lumberman, the ship-builder, or the fisherman. But you know also that I have fully recognized the fact that we are obliged to raise yearly a great sum, made greater by the obligations imposed on us by this Government; and that we must continue to provide this yearly sum mainly by import duties, laid to a great extent on goods similar to those which can be manufactured here; and that it results as a necessary incident of our settled fiscal system that there must be a large, and, as I believe, in the view of moderate protectionists, an ample advantage to the home manufacturer.

Our adversaries wish to present to you an issue as between the present tariff and absolute free trade.

That is not the true issue.

Free trade is, as I have repeatedly explained, for us impossible; and the issue is whether the present tariff is perfect, or defective and unjust.

I believe it to be in some important respects defective and unjust.

We expressed our views last session in four motions, which declare that articles of such prime necessity as fuel and breadstuffs should be free; that the sugar duties should be so adjusted as to relieve the consumer from some part of the enormous extra price he is now liable to pay to a few refiners; that the exorbitant and unequal duties on the lower grades of cottons and woollens should be so changed as to make them fairer to the masses, who now pay on the cheapest goods taxes about twice as great in proportion as those which the rich pay on the finest goods; and that the duties on such materials as iron, which is in universal use, should be reduced, so as to enable the home manufacturer, to whom it is a raw material to produce a cheaper article for the benefit of his home consumer and the encouragement of his foreign trade.

I believe that by changes of the character I have indicated monopoly and extravagant prices would be checked, a greater measure of fair play and justice to all classes would be secured, and the burden of taxation would be better adjusted to the capacity of the people who are to pay. Depend upon it, a day will come when by sharp and bitter experience we shall learn the truth; and many who even now applaud will then condemn these particular incidents of the tariff.

But I believe that our brief experience has already convinced many former supporters of the need of amendment, and that a majority of the intelligent electors are in favor of such modifications in the direction I have pointed out as may be made with a due regard to the legitimate interests of all concerned.

THE NORTH-WEST LAND POLICY.

I challenge the North-West land policy of the Government, which has in various forms given facilities for speculation, whereby great areas of the choicest lands are falling into the hands of middlemen, who will hold them till they exact from the immigrant large profits, thus at once retarding the development of the country and lessening the prosperity of the settler.

Our motto is, "THE LAND FOR THE SETTLER; THE PRICE FOR THE PUBLIC."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The Report of the Civil Service Commission shows that the existing system has resulted in bad appointments, extravagant salaries, the retention of unfit officers, the discouragement of many deserving men, and great injury to the public. It shows that the true remedy is the abolition of political patronage, the substitution of appointments by merit, and the reorganization of the system.

Agreeing in the main with these views, I believe that the new Act which proceeds on other lines, will not remedy the admitted evils.

Provision is needed to prevent improper practices in connection with tenders and contracts for public works; but the Government has thwarted such legislation.

Those who have not forgotten the events of 1872 will know the reason why.

PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

Our provincial rights are amongst the chief jewels of our constitution; and on their preservation rest the prosperity and the permanence of the Confederation.

Of these the most valuable—that indeed on which all else depends—is the right of effective local legislation on local affairs.

This right has been grievously infringed by the disallowance of the Streams Act, which dealt with a subject purely local, and in no wise conflicted with Dominion interests.

Its disallowance, on the ground that in the opinion of the Federal Cabinet it was not a proper Act, creates a dangerous precedent, and asserts a power destructive of the autonomy of the Provinces.

The majority of the late Parliament sanctioned, while we denounced, that disallowance.

It is now for the people to decide whether they will abandon or regain their threatened liberties.

THE ONTARIO BOUNDARIES.

The respective Governments some years ago submitted the boundary question to the judgment of a commission of eminent, able, and impartial men. The fact was communicated to and discussed in Parliament, and although several sessions elapsed no adverse motion was proposed. On the contrary, Parliament without dissent voted the money necessary to carry on the reference, and thus adopted the policy.

It was the received opinion that the natural, reasonable and customary mode of settling an international question by arbitration would not be thereafter questioned.

The award was made in 1878; the present Government in 1879 declined to state its policy on the question; in 1880 it promoted the appointment of a partisan Committee of Inquiry; in 1881 it brought Manitoba into the controversy by its mode of enlarging her eastern limits; then it announced the opinion that Ontario did not comprise even her old settlements in the neighborhood of Fort William; and at length, in 1882, it took courage to declare to Parliament that the award should be disregarded in order to a struggle to contract, if possible, within those narrow bounds the limits of our Province.

The majority in the late Parliament has sanctioned, while we have condemned this action. It is for the people to decide whether the reference and award shall be repudiated or respected.

REFORM OF THE SENATE.

The Senate is constituted on the principle of appointment for life by the Administration of the day, thus creating a legislative body responsible to no one, without provision to secure effective Federal representation, or the necessary degree of harmony between the two Chambers.

I think this plan defective, and out of keeping with the true principles of popular government as at this time developed.

I do not propose that the Provinces should be deprived of the right, which many value, of Federal representation in the present proportions, in a second chamber; but I would advocate the reduction of its numbers, and the election by the people of its members. Our own experience in Old Canada gives proof of the wisdom of this plan.

THE TRUE NATIONAL POLICY.

I am in favor of a true national policy and of every measure tending to the real progress of our country and the fulfilment of its great destiny.

The other day I gave my heart and voice for the assertion of our right, as members of the Empire, to express our views on the subject of Ireland, a truly Imperial question, beyond our legislative competence, indeed, but in which, notwithstanding, we have from many points of view a most substantial interest; and I congratulate you on the action to which Parliament agreed.

It is a main ingredient in our national progress that we should secure a larger trade and a freer access to the markets of the world.

Our efforts in this direction have hitherto been abortive.

I believe that a fuller freedom to manage for ourselves this part of our own affairs would give a better prospect of success; and, as advocates of a truly national policy, we have recorded these views in a motion, which was defeated in Parliament, but for which I ask a verdict at the polls.

Gentlemen, the occasion is a grave one.

To the people is now remitted the opportunity of judging of the conduct of its rulers and of settling the lines on which public affairs shall be conducted, for five years at any rate, and mayhap for a much longer time.

I hope to be able, before the close of the election, to explain at greater length my opinions on public affairs ; but I have thought it right, at the earliest moment, to state frankly my views on some important questions as fully as is compatible within the limits of an address.

I cannot expect every one, even of my own supporters, to concur entirely in every sentiment I express.

Men's minds are not so constituted that one can hope to secure such absolute and complete assent.

It is on a large, general, and comprehensive view that we must act. If in the main you differ from me, it is your duty to reject me as unsuited for your service ; and I shall accept your decision with unfeigned respect and unabated friendship.

But if in the main you value the principles and approve the policy I have announced ; if you are prepared to condemn the fraud which would cheat our people of a fair representation, the wrong which would deprive us of our Provincial rights, the injustice which would repudiate an international award, the crime which has placed our future in the North-West in the hands of a great monopoly ; the additions, in breach of solemn pledge, to taxation, expenditure, and public charge ; the schemes which substitute for the good of the masses and for fair taxation, the aggrandizement of the few and the rich and the oppression of the many and the poor ; if you are prepared to give your voices for freedom and justice, for retrenchment and reform, for fair play and equal rights, for real progress and true national development—then I ask for your support, and will do what in me lies to justify your decision.

And in the hope and belief that such will be your verdict,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

Toronto, May 23, 1882.

EDWARD BLAKE.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Bartering away the Heritage of Canadians in the North-West.

The Government's Secret Bargain with the Syndicate—A Vast Monopoly Created at an Enormous Cost to the Country.

It may with perfect safety be asserted that when time shall have fully developed the nature of the transaction, the contract with the Pacific Railway Syndicate, entered into by the Macdonald Government, 22nd October, 1880, and ratified by the House of Commons January 27th, 1881, will be pronounced by all impartial men to have been the MOST DISASTROUS PUBLIC CONTRACT AND THE GREATEST RAILWAY SWINDLE not only of the nineteenth century, but of any age. It is desirable and proper to call the attention of the people of Canada at this time to some of the leading facts connected with it.

THE CONTRACT MADE IN SECRET.

1. The contract was made secretly, and in violation of law, no tenders having been advertised for. The Public Works Act, 1867 (31 Vic., chap. 12, sect. 20), provides as follows :

“It shall be the duty of the Minister to invite tenders by public advertisement for the execution of *all works* except in case of pressing emergency, where delay would be injurious to the public interests, or where, from the nature of the work, it could be more expeditiously and economically executed by the officers and servants of the Department.”

And again in the Canadian Railway Act, 1874 (chap. 14, sec. 8, sub-sec. 1), it is enacted as follows :

“That the works on any section or sub-section of the said railway shall not be given out to any contractor or contractors *except after tenders shall have been obtained for the same.*”

The Public Works Act of 1867 and the Railway Act of 1874 were unrepealed when the Pacific Railway contract was secretly entered into, and consequently it was made in violation of law.

A SECOND-CLASS ROAD.

2. The Government required of the Syndicate only an inferior, second-class road, while both the Allan Contract of 1872 and the Railway Act of 1874 provided for a first-class road, which would have cost at least twenty-five per cent. more than the line which the Syndicate are permitted to build.

ENORMOUS SUBSIDIES GRANTED.

3. The Government granted to the Syndicate moneys, lands, exemptions and privileges vastly in excess of the amounts really required. The Allan Contract and the Act of 1874 provided for a subsidy in money and land only, but the Syndicate contract provides for a subsidy in six distinct forms, viz. :

(a) Cash	\$25,000,000	
(b) Land, 25,000,000 acres, selected in the fertile belt, and estimated by Sir John Macdonald (see official Report of the Debates, 1880, vol. 1, page 1056), to be worth \$3 per acre.....		75,000,000
(c) Work already performed by Government upon the railway and handed over for benefit of the Syndicate, as follows, viz. :		
Surveys of the line.....	\$3,119,000	
703 miles railway built, or to be completed, and handed over to the Syndicate, composed of the following sections:		
Pembina branch, 85 miles, cost.....	1,556,900	
Thunder Bay Division, Fort William to Selkirk, 406 miles, cost.....	14,670,000	
Kamloops to Emory Bar, 127 miles, cost.	8,431,800	
Emory Bar to Port Moody, 85 miles, cost.....	2,486,255	
Allowance for miscellaneous payments and engineering work (see return No. 23, Sessional Papers, vol. 14, 1880-81).....	902,000	
		<hr/> 32,165,975
(d) Exemption from duty on rails, cars, engines, lumber, wire, and all material (estimated).....		1,000,000
(e) Exemption from Dominion, Provincial, and Municipal taxation on land grant for 20 years (estimated).....	\$5,000,000	
And on road and capital forever (estimate capitalized).....	7,250,000	
		<hr/> 12,250,000
Total	\$145,415,975	
(f) Transportation monopoly of the North-West for 20 years (see Contract, section 15), value unknown, but greater than the cash bonus at least.		

A "SOFT THING" FOR THE SYNDICATE.

4. For this vast amount of Government aid, amounting, without any reference to the three last mentioned forms of subsidy, to \$132,165,975, the Syndicate are to build 2,000 miles of railway, which it was estimated by Sandford Fleming, Government Engineer, should not cost more than \$48,000,000 (see Sessional Papers 1880, No. 133, p. 555), and which will be their own property. In other words, the Government gives the Syndicate the money and land to pay for building 2,000 miles of road for itself, and then presents it with land and completed railway worth \$83,665,000 more, freedom from duty on all material, freedom from taxation on lands and capital, and a transportation monopoly to enable the Company to exact unjust charges from the settlers of the North-West for the next 20 years.

A BETTER OFFER REJECTED.

5. When a *bona fide* offer was subsequently received by the Government, to build the road for \$3,000,000 less bonus, for 3,000,000 acres less of land, and other important concessions worth many millions to the country, the Conservative party refused to entertain it, although the second Syndicate possessed more financial weight than the first Syndicate, and put up \$396,000 more money than the \$1,000,000 required by the Act as security. In justification of this betrayal of the public by refusing a better offer, the absurd allegation was made by the Government that the offer was a bogus one. All the members of the second Syndicate were Canadians, whereas many members of the favored Syndicate were foreigners.

A FAIR INFERENCE.

6. The inference may fairly be drawn that if an offer, so much better than the terms accorded by the Government to the Syndicate, was voluntarily made, still better offers could have been secured had the law been complied with and tenders advertised for.

THE BETTER TERMS.

7. The offer of the second Syndicate was, as already stated, backed by an actual cash deposit of \$1,396,000, and would have been carried out if accepted. Viewed upon the basis of cost and advantage to the country, it was better than the offer of the first Syndicate in the following particulars and amounts :

(a) Less cash.....	\$ 3,000,000	
(b) Less land 3,000,000 acres, worth, at \$3 per acre...	9,000,000	
(c) No exemption from duty on material.....	1,000,000	
(d) No exemption from taxation on land, road or capital.....	12,250,000	

Direct cash advantage.....\$25,250,000

(e) No transportation monopoly, an advantage to the North-West of untold value.

(f) Canadian control secured.

(g) Right of the Government to purchase at any time on fair terms.

BEGINNING TO BEAR ITS FRUIT.

8. The stupendous character of the undue advantages secured by an unscrupulous Syndicate from an equally unscrupulous Government, are only beginning to be understood by the people. It is building its road through the prairie section so far mainly with the proceeds of sales of town lots. Its land grant, selected in the fertile belt of the rich North-West, is of as great value as the entire grant contemplated by either the Allan contract or the Railway Act of 1874, located, as those grants would have been, in a large degree in British Columbia and east of the Red River, where the lands are comparatively worthless. Its grants from the Government in the various forms above named will prove to be at least three times as great in value as the cost of the road it is to build. It will, by the use of the people's money, blindly bestowed upon it by an infatuated Tory Government, become a railway monopoly controlling almost the entire railway system of the Dominion, and with powers so vast as to endanger the free institutions of this country. It is an American corporation, with its headquarters at St. Paul, and prosecutes its operations with the aid of an American superintendent, American engineers, American contractors and Ameri-

a sudden
price -
this has
\$1,500,000
the
name

can employees who are being imported by scores into Manitoba to take the places given at first to Canadians, who are now being discharged *simply because they are Canadians*:

CREATURES OF THE SYNDICATE.

9. The Macdonald Government having given the Syndicate the enormous grants and advantages above enumerated, at the expense and to the lasting injury of the people of Canada, now clearly manifest a purpose, where the interests of the Syndicate and those of the people of the North-West and of Canada clash, to take the part of the Syndicate in every possible way. The people of Manitoba, disliking the prospect of having the trade of their Province and the country to the west of it made tributary to the extortionate exactions of a great and soulless corporation, sought relief from bondage by securing access to a competing route, viz., the Manitoba and South-Eastern Railway, which would have crossed the boundary line at Emerson, and connected with an air line to Duluth. By means of this proposed line a second railway outlet for the North-West would have been secured, and competition for the business of the country would have been established to the great advantage of farmers and business men, while the grinding monopoly of the Syndicate would have been effectually broken. The charter for the road was duly granted by the Manitoba Legislature, and a remedy for the great outrage perpetrated by the monopoly clause of the Syndicate contract seemed about to be applied. But the Syndicate speedily proved that their power exceeds that of the Legislature of Manitoba, for at their command their creatures, the Tory Government at Ottawa, disallowed the charter, and thereby denied to the people of Manitoba and the entire North-West the right to secure increased railway facilities and relief from unjust charges which the constitution gave them. To those who can understand the great advantage resulting to a country from competition of rival railway lines, the extreme injustice of the Government done to the struggling people of the North-West by the disallowance of the South-Eastern charter will be apparent without comment.

THE MONOPOLY TRIUMPHANT.

During the session of Parliament of 1882 a charter was refused by the Macdonald Government to a projected road from Thunder Bay to Duluth, *on the express ground that it would be a competing line with the Canada Pacific*, thus again proving that the Government of Canada is the tool of the Syndicate and not the guardian and upholder of popular rights and the people's interests.

Quite recently the Minister of the Interior issued an order withholding Government land in the Railway belt from homestead settlement and pre-emption entries. This was done to enable the Syndicate more readily and rapidly to sell their own lands.

USING THE GOVERNMENT AS A TOOL.

It will thus be seen that this huge American corporation, which has received from the Macdonald Government, as the agent of the people of Canada, money and aid in various forms to an extent from two to three times greater than the entire amount it will expend for its own benefit, possesses already the power and the will to make use of that Government as its tool, and that through the implicit obedience of this tool it is able, with cool contempt and disregard of popular rights, to set aside the acts of legislatures, to defy the wishes of the people of

provinces, and within an extensive region of country to deprive the settler of his right to the soil which the law of Canada gives to him.

A BRAVE FIGHT AGAINST HEAVY ODDS.

For upwards of one month from the day (December 10th, 1880) the Pacific Railway contract was laid upon the table of the Commons until the day (January 27th, 1881) the Bill was carried by the subservient Tory majority, Mr. Blake, with his devoted supporters, fought it inch by inch. Speech after speech was made against it, and resolution after resolution moved against it. On the 26th of January no less than seven, and on the 27th no less than twenty, amendments were offered to the main motion to read the Syndicate Bill a second time. All that the assaults of the Opposition on the floor of Parliament and in the press could do, was done ; but Sir Charles Tupper, the hero of such railway legislation from his political youth up, was able to whip his followers into line, and compel them to vote with such unanimity that not one amendment was carried through.

Mr. Blake and public opinion, which was clearly at his back, did force the Syndicate to offer several modifications in their demands which were even then too outrageous to be patiently considered by the tax-payers of this country, who should resent the legalized robbery and oppression, which are and will be the results of this infamous Act.

THE DOMINION LAND POLICY.

Speculators and Land Grabbers Taken Under the Protection of the Tory Government.

The Land Shark gets his Land at Half Price, and the hardy Son of Toil is handed over to his Tender Mercies.

When Canadians became owners of the North-West, a most important step towards securing the material resources from which a popular and powerful state might be evolved was taken, for in that region we have a vast expanse of fertile soil fitted by nature to become the home of many millions of intelligent and prosperous people. The area of land in the North-West, including Manitoba, fit for settlement, is roughly estimated at from 150,000,000 to 250,000,000 acres. *The latter figure gives ten times the amount of land now under cultivation in the entire Dominion.* The greater portion of this region is admirably adapted to the growth of wheat. Coal is abundant, and the entire country from the boundary line to the Peace River Valley, and from Red River to the base of the Rocky Mountains, offers no serious engineering obstacles to the construction of the railway lines necessary for carrying its productions to market. It is estimated that this region will easily afford the means of subsistence for 25,000,000 of people. That the utmost care should be taken to devise and carry into effect

A WISE AND LIBERAL POLICY

in the regulation, sale, and management of this great public domain is a proposition which requires no argument. Its rapid settlement by an energetic and intelligent population is a most important question, and should command the best efforts and the most careful consideration of the Government. In fact, no other question now demanding the attention of the Government is of as great moment. The first and foremost requisite of the North-West is population. The millions of fertile acres are worthless till they are tilled. The actual settler alone can produce the necessary change. When he goes in, the varied industries of prosperous communities will follow, and towns will speedily grow up. Towards the actual development of the

country the mere speculator will contribute very little. The gain he makes in land speculations merely represents the loss sustained by the farmers who are compelled to purchase his lands at a great advance upon Government price.

THE RAPID SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST

can best be secured by a liberal homestead law, and by offering such lands as are not set apart for homesteads at reasonable prices to *actual settlers*. To sell such lands in unlimited quantities to speculators, whose purpose is to pounce upon and make the settlers pay a heavy advance upon the Government price, is most unwise and unjust, and must seriously retard settlement. To offer special inducements to speculators by selling public lands to them at a lower price than is required of the actual settler is worse than unjust, and should be condemned at the polls by every patriotic Canadian. The Government should allow no middleman to come between itself and the actual occupant of the soil. The public lands are the heritage of the people, and ought to be managed by the Government in their interest.

THE WILD SPECULATION

now rampant in the North-West bodes no good to this country. It has already reached the proportions of a mania, and must inevitably end in a collapse more or less severe. A similar land speculation fever in the United States in 1835 and 1836 was largely instrumental in bringing about the crisis of 1837, which completely prostrated public and private credit. The course of the Macdonald Administration in adding fuel to the flame of this furious land craze, by affording unprecedented facilities for the wildest land speculations, is one of its greatest sins. Already millions of acres which should have been carefully reserved for the actual settler have been placed in the grasp of speculative companies on terms practically amounting to sales at half price, and these companies will inevitably exact from the actual settler the uttermost farthing that it is possible to obtain. As

ACTUAL SETTLEMENT ALONE CAN DEVELOP THE COUNTRY,

the Government should make every effort to secure a large immigration of *bona fide* settlers, and it can well afford to make its policy a liberal one. The mere question of the amount of revenue to be derived is of minor importance. A liberal Canadian policy towards settlers becomes doubly necessary from the course pursued by the Government of the United States. That country has vast tracts of wild land open for settlement. It fully realizes the importance of inducing settlement, and its policy towards actual settlers is a most enlightened one. If we are to compete with that country in securing the rapid settlement of our public lands *we must make our policy at least as liberal as theirs is*. Our own policy as compared with theirs is not sufficiently liberal.

THE TWO POLICIES CONTRASTED.

In the United States all unappropriated public land is open for homestead; in the Canadian North-West four sections in each township are reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company and for school purposes, and sixteen sections for railway grants, or for sale. *Only eight sections in each township of thirty-six sections* are available for homesteads, or less than one-fourth of the whole. In the United States all unappropriated lands are open for pre-emption; in the North-West only eight sections in each Township of thirty-six sections are available for that

purpose; and the entire homestead and pre-emption reserve in all that region north of the Canada Pacific road and outside of the twenty-four mile railway belt can, at the pleasure of the Government, be sold at auction, or can be granted to speculative companies. The results show that our policy is not sufficiently liberal to enable us to compete with the United States in securing the desired class of population. In fact, we get nearly all the speculators and land grabbers, while that country receives the great mass of the settler class, as the homestead entries in each country for the last two years clearly indicate.

ACRES HOMSTEADED IN CANADA.	ACRES HOMSTEADED IN THE UNITED STATES.
1878..... 308,640	1878..... 6,288,779
1879..... 555,296	1879..... 8,026,785
1880..... 280,640	1880..... 8,238,735
1881..... 438,707	1881..... 6,791,900
<hr/> Total acreage... 1,583,283	<hr/> Total acreage... 29,346,199

From this it will be seen that in the United States the rate of homestead settlement, for the last four years, has been a fraction over eighteen times greater than in Canada, while in the last two years the rate has been a small fraction less than twenty-one times greater. Had it been in proportion to the population of the two countries, it would have been only twelve times greater in the United States than in Canada.

CANADIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1870 nearly half a million Canadians by birth (equal to about one-eighth of our population) were living in the United States. It is not yet known to how great an extent that number has been increased, as the full census returns of 1880 are not yet published, but we know that Canadian emigration to the United States for several years past has been very large. In 1880 there were 29,631 Canadians in the new State of Minnesota, and 10,678 in the territory of Dakota, and if we take into account those of English, Scotch, and Irish nativity who emigrated from Canada to the same region, we will be safe in assuming that in 1880 the Canadian population of Minnesota and Dakota was greater than the entire population of Manitoba. The Canadian emigration to Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas and Nebraska, was probably still greater. These facts show that hitherto our land policy has not been sufficiently liberal to secure more than one-third of the Canadian emigration to the West, and that it has secured a very small portion of the foreign emigration. It is quite evident that, so long as the American land policy continues to be more liberal to actual settlers than our own, their public lands will be settled with a relative rapidity entirely out of proportion to the relative population of the two countries. The land policy of the Canadian Government has not only been deficient in liberal provisions for the settler and too liberal to the speculator, but it has been

FITFUL AND VACILLATING.

Since July 1st, 1879, four separate and distinct series of Canadian regulations have been in force. The first was issued July 9th, 1879, and went into operation on August 1st. Under these regulations five belts were established on each side of the assumed line of the Canada

Pacific Railway, designated as Belts A, B, C, D and E; the first 5 miles wide, the second 15 miles, the third 20 miles, the fourth 20 miles, and the fifth 50 miles.

INDUCEMENTS TO SETTLERS AS COMPARED WITH THE UNITED STATES.

In Belt A homesteads were not permitted, while in the United States no Government lands are withdrawn from homestead. Outside of Belt A the size of homesteads and of pre-emption entries was restricted to 80 acres each, while in the United States 160 acres are allowed. Outside of Belt A only 8 sections in a township were open for homestead entry, while in the United States all public lands are open. In Belt C settlers were to pay \$2.50 per acre for pre-emptions, and \$3.50 per acre for all public lands not reserved for homestead and pre-emption. In the United States, public lands situated the same distance from railway lines are sold to the actual settler at \$1.25 per acre. In Belt D settlers were to pay \$2 per acre for pre-emptions and other public lands, or 75 cents per acre more than is charged for lands of similar situation in the United States. In Belt E lands were sold at \$1 per acre, and in this belt only—*situated 60 miles from a railway line*—could settlers procure land as cheaply as in the United States. Under these regulations speculation was encouraged by offering lands for sale upon a payment of one-tenth down and the balance in nine annual instalments, and the law was violated by permitting sales of more than 640 acres to one person.

THIS POLICY LASTED SEVENTY-FIVE DAYS.

The regulations of July 9th remained in force from August 1st, 1879, to October 14th, 1879, when they were replaced by regulations which made a change in the conditions of homestead grants and pre-emption entries by allowing grants and entries of 160 acres. In this respect alone were our regulations made as liberal as those of the United States. Restrictions as to lands the settler could enter and the evils of credit sales were continued; and in Belts B, C, and D the prices charged the actual settler continued to be *from 75 cents to \$2.25 per acre higher than prices charged to actual settlers in the United States for lands similarly situated*. Under these regulations, speculators, with their command of capital and superior means of information, forestalled the settler, and vast tracts of land were bought by them at \$1 and \$2 per acre, much of which has since been sold to the actual settler at from \$5 to \$10 per acre. These regulations remained in force about a year and a half, and it was natural that the illiberal terms to settlers, as compared with those of the United States, and the discrimination in favor of the speculators, should send almost if not quite two-thirds of the Canadians who were seeking homes west of Ontario, to Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other American States. On May 25th, 1880,

THE THIRD SERIES OF REGULATIONS

was issued by the Department of the Interior. Under them credit sales ceased, but the same conditions were continued as to lands open to homestead and pre-emption entry. The price of pre-emption claims and public lands within railway belts 24 miles in width on each side of projected railway lines was fixed at \$2.50 per acre. The price of pre-emption claims and public lands outside of the railway belts was fixed at \$2 per acre, or 75 cents per acre higher than lands of similar situation in the United States. As under the previous regulations, 8

sections were reserved for homesteads and 8 sections for pre-emption claims in each township. This absorbed all the lands within the railway belts except those for railway grants, school lands, and Hudson Bay reserves. The right of the settler to the homestead and pre-emption reserves rested, however, upon the insecure tenure of *the Government's pleasure*, as these lands, by Order-in-Council, could at any time be withdrawn and sold at auction. These regulations, however, will be chiefly remembered in consequence of the invention of a new and more perfect plan to

DEFRAUD THE POOR AND FAVOR THE RICH.

This new device enabled individuals or corporations to purchase in blocks of townships all the Government odd-numbered sections outside of the railway belts, amounting to 10,240 acres in each township, at half price, or \$1 per acre, upon the condition of placing two settlers on each odd-numbered section, and a settler upon each homestead within three years, with the right to take a mortgage upon each homestead to the amount of \$500 for advances to the homestead settler. If at the expiration of three years the individual or company had failed to place the requisite number of settlers upon the lands, the Government could either resume possession of the same, or exact the remaining \$1 per acre, in which case the individual or company would have the advantage of *three years' credit upon one-half of the purchase money without interest*. Under this plan it was also provided that an individual or a company might, with the consent of the Government, purchase in the townships within the railway belts the lands reserved for pre-emption claims, amounting to 5,120 acres in each township, at \$1.25 per acre, *being one-half the price charged the actual settler*, on the condition that 32 settlers should be placed upon homesteads, and 32 settlers upon the lands of the individual or company within three years of the date of agreement, the individual or company making the purchase being allowed to take a \$500 mortgage upon each homestead for advances or loans. There was no condition as to the amount of land that should be sold by the company to each of the settlers; if 32 tenants were placed upon their lands, the conditions of settlement would be fulfilled. Under this plan all the land in townships within the railway belts devoted to pre-emption could be *sold to speculators at half-price*, and if at the expiration of three years the settlement conditions had not been complied with, the purchaser, upon obtaining the consent of the Government, could pay \$1.25 per acre more, without interest, and take out the deed. Under this so-called colonization scheme corrupt influences might easily be brought into play in securing allotments, and in getting the permission of the Government to waive the forfeiture clause at the end of three years and accept payment of the regular price if conditions of settlement had not been complied with, as both matters were determined by the Minister of the Interior. On the 23rd December, 1881,

THE FOURTH SERIES OF LAND REGULATIONS

was issued, and went into effect on January 1st, 1882. These provide that the public lands of the North-West shall be classified and designated as follows:

Class A—Embracing all lands within 24 miles on either side of the Canada Pacific Railway or its branches.

Class B—Embracing all lands within 12 miles on either side of any projected line of railway, other than the Canada Pacific Railway, approved by Order-in-Council published in the *Canada Gazette*.

Class C—Embracing all lands south of the main line of the Canada Pacific Railway not included in classes A and B.

Class D—All lands other than those in classes A, B and C.

Under these regulations homesteads and pre-emptions are restricted as before to 16 sections in each township; pre-emptions and public lands are held in class C at double the price of public lands in the United States similarly situated outside a railway belts, while pre-emptions and public lands in Class D are 75 cents per acre higher.

AT THE MERCY OF THE MINISTER.

Under these regulations homestead and pre-emption settlers have no security that their privileges will be continued or their rights regarded. They are placed at the mercy of any whim or caprice of the Minister of the Interior, *who may at his sovereign pleasure make the homestead provisions of the Dominion Land Act a dead letter.* Sub-section C of section 2 of the regulations gives him power to withdraw homestead and pre-emption lands from settlement, and offer them for sale in such townships as he may choose, at public auction. A part of section 24 of the Dominion Land Act of 1882 contains the following:

“Provided also that, except in special cases, where otherwise ordered by the Governor-in-Council, no sale to one person shall exceed a section, or six hundred and forty acres.”

Under this innocent-looking paragraph the Government assumes the power to sell at its pleasure, to companies or individuals, unlimited quantities of public lands, including the homestead and pre-emption reserves in class D.

THE SPECULATOR MADE LORD OF THE NORTH-WEST.

These regulations are remarkable for having introduced under the names of Colonization Plans Nos. 1 and 2 the most complete and villainous scheme ever devised in America for making the hardy pioneer and settler the prey of that natural enemy of all new communities—the land-shark. Under Plan No. 1 agreements may be made with any company or persons, to be called “the party,” for the sale of the public lands in class D not open to homestead and pre-emption, amounting to 10,240 acres in each township and without restriction as to extent, at \$2 per acre, payable one-fifth down and the balance in four equal annual instalments without interest, except upon past due instalments.

PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF “THE PARTY.”

If at the expiration of five years “the party” places 32 settlers upon the 32 homesteads in a township, and 32 settlers upon its own lands, it is to be entitled to a rebate of one-half the price of the land, and to receive its tract at \$1 per acre. It may also advance to each homestead settler \$500, and take a mortgage upon his 160 acres for that amount. In each year a rebate of \$120 is granted for each *bona fide* settler placed on the tract during that year; and at the expiration of the five years, if the whole number of 32 homestead and 32 other settlers have not been placed in a township, “the party” is entitled to receive a rebate of \$160 for each settler so placed. If the homestead settler does not take entry for the pre-emption lot to which he is entitled, “the party” or company may, within three months after the settler's right has lapsed, purchase the same. The regulations also

provide that, if "the party" or company fail to perform the conditions of the agreement, the Governor-in-Council may cancel the sale of the land and deal with "the party" as may seem meet under the circumstances. This so-called Plan No. 1 is

CONCEIVED IN THE INTEREST OF SPECULATORS.

and is calculated to perpetrate a cruel wrong upon the actual settler. When put into operation it will be found open to the following objections :

1. It enables the speculator to obtain control of immense tracts of land upon credit purchase by making a cash payment of 40 cents per acre, while the actual settler must pay \$2 in cash per acre for lands of the same character.

2. It enables the speculator to obtain his tract at half price by allowing certain rebates upon the performance of certain easy conditions, while the actual settler can obtain no rebate but must pay in full.

3. It enables the speculator to seize upon the pre-emption claims reserved for the actual settler if the latter allows three months to elapse before availing himself of his right.

4. It not only permits, but invites, corrupt practices in the sale of influence for procuring grants, and in placing power in the hands of the Minister of the Interior of a nature to be likely to subject him to the temptation of having a valuable consideration offered for his decision in favor of applicants.

A GROSS OUTRAGE.

Although Plan No. 1 is sure to work most mischievous and disastrous consequences, Plan No. 2 is capable of working a still greater degree of mischief. Under this plan *all* the public lands, *all* the homestead lands, and *all* the pre-emption lands in blocks of townships in class D, *to be limited only in the discretion of the Government*, may be sold to speculators at \$2 per acre, with a provision for the rebate of \$1 per acre at the expiration of five years if 128 settlers have been placed in each township, a portion of which rebate, at the rate of \$120 for each settler placed during the year, is to be paid back annually. Under this plan the homestead and pre-emption reserve in each township is swept away, and the actual settler is left at the mercy of great land holders. The speculator may purchase *all* the land in a township except the two school sections and the Hudson Bay sections, or 20,480 acres in each township out of a total of 23,040 acres. There is no condition as to the amount of land that must be sold to a settler, and the 128 who are to be introduced into each township may be placed in a group on small holdings in one corner of the township, or they may be tenants subject to eviction at the will of the landlord. Under plan No. 2 great landed estates can be formed, with the lands in solid bodies of great size, even if the settlement conditions are complied with, and the lands obtained at \$1 per acre; or the purchaser may retain the title to the whole of his land, and, by bringing in farm servants and tenants, may obtain the rebate of \$1 per acre.

THE LAND SHARK'S PROFITS.

Under Plan No. 2, if the speculator complies with the easily performed settlement condition requisite to secure the rebate, the sale of one-quarter of his lands in a township at \$4 per acre leaves him with three-quarters of the land in each township, or 15,360 acres, cost-

ing nothing. If the entire tract is sold at \$2 per acre it leaves a profit of 100 per cent. ; if at \$3 per acre the profit is 200 per cent. ; if at \$4 per acre the profit is 300 per cent.

TWO SCHEMES WORTHY OF FEUDAL DAYS.

Schemes such as the so-called Colonization Plans No. 1 and No. 2 are worthy of the feudal days, when the tiller of the soil was a vassal or a common chattel belonging, like any other beast of burden, to his landlord. They do not belong to a civilized land or a progressive age. They are framed in the interest of speculation alone. They trample upon the rights of the only class which can found communities and develop the resources of Canada. They were conceived and shapen in iniquity and brought forth in sin, and the Government guilty of such a crime deserves the scorn of every honest man, and especially of him who tills the soil or earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, for it is his dearest interests that have been sold to political favorites and conscienceless land gamblers.

WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE.

Already 7,000,000 acres of land have been granted, and applications for 3,000,000 more have been agreed to. These grants under Plan No. 1 would absorb *all the public lands not reserved for homestead and pre-emption in 978 townships. Under Plan No. 2 it would take all the public lands, the homestead lands, and the pre-emption lands in 489 townships.* The effect of this course upon immigration into the North-West in the near future will be disastrous. The settlers now flocking into that country will find no available lands for sale. Under Plan No. 1 it will be found that landed companies control all the accessible lands except the homestead and pre-emption reserves, and there is no guarantee that the last refuge of the actual settler will not be swept away by selling homestead and pre-emption reserves at auction to the greedy friends of the Government—the grasping speculators. Aside from pre-emption claims the settler will find

SCARCELY AN ACRE OF LAND FOR SALE

at Government prices. The speculator has bought it at half price, and will sell to the settler at a hundred per cent. advance, or as much more as he can get from him. So great an outrage upon those who emigrate to the North-West for the purpose of securing land and making themselves homes has fortunately been hitherto unknown in the legislation of Anglo-Saxon states.

TIMBER LIMITS AND PASTURE LEASES.

Not alone in its management of the agricultural lands of the North-West is the policy of the Macdonald Government open to grave objection. Valuable timber limits may be let to political favorites without competition or public sale, and pasture leases of immense tracts of lands for cattle-ranches may be disposed of in the same improper manner.

THE TRUE POLICY.

The public lands should be held by the Government as the heritage of the hardy men who reclaim and till them, and who, in doing so, are compelled to brave the dangers and privations of the wilderness. If the lands are sold they should be sold to the actual settler at first cost, and no middleman should be allowed to come between the Government

and him to coin money from his toil, and needlessly increase his hardships and difficulties by selling him land at a heavy advance upon the first cost.

THE POSITION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

Upon the question of the settlers' and the labourers' interests in the public lands of the Dominion, the Liberal party has taken an unequivocal and statesmanlike position. It condemns in unmeasured terms the subservient truckling to political expediency, the chicanery and the fraud which permit the taking away from the people their sacred heritage in the public domain. It condemns the Tory Government :

1. Because its policy is dictated by and in the interests of speculators, and because it has forgotten that Canada is a free and democratic land.

2. Because it gives immense tracts of choice agricultural lands to speculators at half price.

3. Because its policy is calculated to create in Canada great landed estates.

4. Because it seeks to introduce that tenant system which is the curse of the British Islands.

5. Because it compels the *bona fide* tiller of the soil to pay vastly more for his acres than the Government receives, the difference going into the coffers of the land-grabbers.

6. Because it loses sight of the future, and barter the priceless inheritances of the people for the benefit of a comparatively few camp-followers and gamblers.

THE LESSONS OF A CENTURY.

In its position upon the land question the Liberal party takes the enlightened stand that the United States has taken, after an experience of nearly a century in the management of public lands. Its position is substantially the same as that of both the great parties of the United States, as well as the Workingmen's Union of that country. On June 2, 1880, the Republican Convention, in session in Chicago, adopted the following as a part of its platform :

"Section 5.—No further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway, or other corporation."

On June 22, 1880, the Democratic Convention in session in Cincinnati adopted the following as a part of its platform :

"Section 12.—Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers."

The Convention of the Workingmen's Union of the United States has also adopted the following as a part of its policy :

"The reserving of the public lands, the heritage of the people, for actual settlers ; not another acre for railroads or corporations."

THE LIBERAL POLICY FORMULATED.

The position of the Liberal Party of Canada on this subject was pithily expressed by Mr. Blake in the debate on the Address, at the opening of the late Session : "The motto," he said, "we have adopted year by year for the North-West has been, 'THE LAND FOR THE SETTLER ; THE PRICE FOR THE PUBLIC.'" It was further set forth in the resolutions moved in the House of Commons, April 12, 1882, by Mr. Charlton, on amendment to the motion of Sir Leonard Tilley to go into Committee of Supply, which are as follows :

Mr. Charlton moved in amendment, that Mr Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be

Resolved,—That the present Land Regulations provide that odd-numbered sections in the Canadian North-West, outside of the Canadian Pacific Railway Belt, shall be open to sale without conditions of settlement.

That the so-called Colonization Plan No. 1, provides that parties may purchase large tracts of land on credit at \$2 per acre, with a proviso for the rebate of one-half of the price on certain conditions, thus reducing the cost to \$1 per acre; or one-half the price charged to individual settlers for their pre-emptions, or other purchases in odd sections.

That the so-called Colonization Plan No. 2, provides that parties may purchase large tracts embracing all the Government lands within their area (from which homestead and pre-emption settlers are thus to be excluded), paying \$2 per acre, without any express conditions of forfeiture in case of non-settlement, and with the additional advantages of a large rebate, amounting under certain conditions to \$1 per acre from the price, in case the purchasers choose to effect a so-called settlement within each township, but without any provision as to the acreage to be given, or the interest to be secured to each so-called settler.

That these regulations are calculated injuriously to affect the future of the country by facilitating the creation of large landed estates, by placing extended areas of the choicest lands in the hands of speculators, who have favorable opportunities of securing them in anticipation of the settler, and who may hold them for a large advance to be paid by the ultimate settler, whereby the country will gain nothing in price, and will lose through the diminished ability of the settler to contribute to the public revenues.

That in the opinion of this House, our aim should be to people the agricultural regions of the North-West with independent freeholders, each cultivating his own farm, and paying therefor no more than the public treasury receives; and that, save in the case of town plots, or other exceptional cases, the sale of North-West agricultural lands should, as a rule, be made to actual settlers only, on reasonable conditions of settlement, and in quantities limited to the area which can be reasonably occupied by a settler.

The motion was lost on a strictly party vote. Yeas (Liberals), 47; Nays (Tories), 112.

R.P.

My policy -

Boundary defined

Separate transparency

Local measures

Personal responsibility

