

down upon the road. My conviction is that, in order to present an appearance of economy, the stock has been deliberately allowed to run down, and that the road-bed is not in the condition in which hon. gentlemen opposite found it. My duty, Sir, as the late Minister of Public Works, led me to enquire very carefully into railroad management, and I was satisfied, as every railroad manager must be, that the first duty of a railroad superintendent is to get his road-bed in thorough condition, and then his rolling stock in thorough condition. Everything about the Intercolonial Railway was in such a condition. At the time I left office, there was no better equipped road on the continent, no better road in any respect, and I venture to say no better managed road; but as I said last Session, if the hon. gentleman could effect any economy in the way of reducing salaries and at the same time maintain its efficiency, I should be delighted. I should be delighted now. These remarks have been forced upon me by the very extraordinary course I complained of a moment ago in submitting cooked and partial papers to one or two individuals in this House, to which other members are denied access. Now, Sir, about the state of trade. The Speech from the Throne informs us "that the effect of the Tariff of last Session in the development of the varied industries of the country has on the whole been very satisfactory." Well, in the first place, I have to complain that such a paragraph should be here at all. It has been usual to have the Speech from the Throne written in an entirely non-committal manner, so that no member of the House, no matter how small the minority he represents, should be committed by any statements in the Speech. We are asked, however, to commit ourselves to that statement, and I have to complain of this statement that it is not true, and it is impossible for us to allow ourselves to be committed to a statement which we believe to be wholly inaccurate. I believe, Sir, that for the beautiful harvest that Canada had during the last Session, and but for the deplorable accident of a serious deficiency in the harvest in Great Britain and Ireland, but for those accidental circumstances, the state of Canada this winter would be most deplorable that was ever known. There would have been no precedent for the distress which would have existed. Why, Sir, even as it is, in this city, what is the state of affairs? Almost every second house and shop is empty, and "To Let" is found everywhere. It is admitted by Government papers that there is an unusual amount of distress in the city. I know it is so in other cities, and we are told to go to the soup-kitchen, to see in the fact that a Protectionist Government is in power. My hon. friend the Minister of Finance will attend meetings of manufacturers and their workmen at comfortable places, or of temperance gatherings and weep pathetically, as Job Trotter alone could weep, for the miseries that existed before he came into office, and afterwards rejoice over his success in procuring more employment. Now, Sir, I say there has not been more employment. I say that at this moment there is a much larger degree of distress than there was at the time the late Administration went out of office. I say that the state of trade in the country is infinitely worse than it was at that time. We have the extraordinary fact also that while in 1878 the failures in Canada showed as the amount of liabilities \$23,908,000, in the year just passed, under hon. gentlemen opposite, the failures have reached \$29,347,000. Now these failures represent manufacturers as well as trades; they represent all classes that come under the Insolvent Law. I know, as a fact, that, at least, half the manufacturers in the country have been seriously injured by the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite. We are called upon to rejoice that the trade of the country is on the whole, been satisfactory, although it is known that the hon. gentleman opposite has taxed which should have been applied for the State some \$7,000,000 for the year; and he has not to confess that he has actually received nothing from the new duties except what is represented by the burdens upon the necessities of life, breadstuffs and coal. We are promised, I understand, at least the hon. member for Cape Breton (Mr. McLeod) announced during his election campaign, that he had the authority of the Minister of Railways for stating—that the coal duties would be reconsidered with a view to their increase; and we are told to-day by the hon. member who moved the Address so well as the coal question should and must receive the consideration, and he is willing to have the price of coal increased to his own city of Halifax, as well as to our poor people in Ontario, who must pay the duty upon every ton of coal we consume. I say, Sir, that the state of trade, instead of having improved, has very much retrograded. I blame the hon. Minister of Finance for this, because he obtained his position in St. John by representing that there was to be no increase, but merely a readjustment of the Customs duties. I congratulate the hon. gentleman that he found so many as forty-six persons to give him a dinner under these circumstances. It must have been very pleasing to him. The hon. gentleman complained in his speech, therefore, that I had spoken of him as lying spirit sent forth to delude the people. I referred to a well-known incident in ancient sacred history. There is just this difficulty in the simile, however, that I can nowhere find the representative of the angel that sent him forth, angelic qualities being scarce in that quarter. In another address which the hon. gentleman made in his own Province, he pointed out that what was really to be looked to in New Brunswick, was the fact that it was becoming, or would become, a large manufacturing centre for the West. Manitoba was to be filled up immediately; the waste places in the Province of Ontario were also to be filled up by an emigration induced by the liberal policy of the present Administration. New Brunswick was to manufacture all the goods that this vast population would require. I venture to tell the hon. gentleman that New Brunswick has no peculiar facilities, that I know of, for manufacturing purposes, beyond other Provinces, and that it is impossible for a large class of manufacturers to exist at all, except where there are large cities and a large population from which to draw the class of workers that are required. This has led to the failure of several manufacturing industries in various parts of Ontario. It was found impossible for one manufacturer to live in the town of Windsor, because he was only able to procure the class of labour he required from the city of Detroit; and so it would be elsewhere. I have always believed that the coal and iron of Nova Scotia would come into active operation as a large factor in the trade of the country at a distant day. There, these are elements of manufacturing wealth, but there are no such elements in the hon. gentleman's Province. When the hon. gentleman led the people to believe, as I presume he did, that New Brunswick would furnish this

amount of manufactures to the west, he was merely indulging in a figure of speech, by which he, for the moment, got over a very unpleasant situation. The hon. gentleman showed a great deal of moral courage, for which I give him credit, in going to his Province at all after the disasters he had brought to that Province, in common with the rest of the Dominion. I admit that the measure of the hon. gentleman opposite at last Session has increased the wealth of certain individuals. I have always maintained, I maintain now—and I believe every political economist who thinks at all and speaks the truth must say the same thing—that no Government can create wealth, though any Government can distribute wealth justly or unjustly. The hon. gentleman has succeeded in re-distributing wealth by his legislation; he has succeeded in putting a million dollars into the hands of sugar-mongers at the expense of the whole country. He has succeeded in building up a few vast monopolies by his enormous duties, which are now imposing enormous taxation on all the rest of the country. He has, in the matter of India rubber manufactures, for instance, and in some other cases, compelled the people of the country to pay largely increased prices for, I am sorry to say, a very inferior article. In some manufactures which he has stimulated, he has by the measure very strongly depressed the rate, and by the measure forcing the people to take what was unsuitable at whatever prices the manufacturers thereof chose to impose. I maintain that any policy which, for the sake of employing a few hundred men, or a little steam power, any policy which deprives the people of the country of the privilege of buying cheaply, does a great injury to the country. I am glad that a distinguished Canadian authority of the hon. gentleman's own party took that ground years ago. Sir Alexander Galt, in a lecture in Toronto, pointed out that it would be utterly impossible for any Government or Legislature to build up a system of manufactures in this country by the imposition of high duties. What we really want is an extended market. What the late Administration did was to encourage manufacturers by developing markets in foreign countries. Under the impulse given by the exhibition we were able to make in Sydney, in the first six months after that exhibition was held, a large amount of goods were sent to the South Seas. I venture to say that, under the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite with respect to these articles dearer, our people will find that that market cannot be kept, and that the so-called protection of our industries has resulted disastrously to the manufacturers themselves. Hon. gentlemen, over and over again, both in the House and out of it, have declared that the policy of the Government was retaliation upon the United States. Within the last few days, the chief organ of the Government, alarmed at the menace thrown out in United States political circles, has endeavoured to prove that that was not the case, that the discrimination was rather the other way. I need not remark upon the value of any Canadian demonstration representing a people of 4,000,000 of people threatening a people of 45,000,000. Why, Sir, that people are strong and powerful enough, have a sufficient variety of climate and other advantages, to set your idle threats at defiance. Our policy should be to cultivate peaceable relations and conditions of trade which would be just to both countries; but for a small country to threaten a big one is an act of supreme folly. That folly ministers have been guilty of. I am not at all surprised, but rather gratified, to find that the chief organ of the Government is endeavouring to show that there was no retaliation against the United States in the tariff. I trust that whatever is done with our tariff during the present Session, there will be no tariff by responsible Ministers—whose utterances must be taken in foreign countries as if that there will be no utterances which would show that they were determined to destroy the most profitable trade which Canada has had in all her connections. There is one point in reference to our trade that I must advert to for a moment. We are given to understand in the Speech, what we have understood months ago in the newspapers, that the Administration had determined on appointing a General Agent in London. I did not credit that myself at first, because the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government attacked the late Administration because they appointed a General Agent. He declared it was wholly unnecessary, and objected to his continuance for one year; and I could not imagine that he had so soon changed his ground. The late Administration made arrangements whereby financial matters should be attended to by Sir John Rose, and the attention of the Chief Emigration Agent confined wholly to his own department. I am not aware that that arrangement has worked ill, or that Sir John Rose, has failed to attend to the duties entrusted to him, or has the mover or seconder of the Address given the reasons for this appointment. The hon. gentleman who is to receive the appointment—Sir Alexander Galt—is a gentleman of the highest standing in the country—a gentleman for whom I have personally the greatest respect, although I am not able to agree with him politically. I am glad to find that the hon. gentleman opposite and that gentleman have become reconciled so thoroughly. It must have been much more pleasant for the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government to be toasted by Sir Alexander Galt at the late banquet in Ottawa as his "distinguished friend and leader," than to be designated here, as he was, as the Pecksniff of the House. I have no doubt that the hon. gentleman will administer his duties in such a manner as to reflect credit on Canada. The only thing to be regretted is that his appointment and their reconciliation took place at the same time. The hon. gentleman who spoke last congratulatory remarks in the course of his remarks, on the result he and his friends have reason to rejoice over this small victory; and I have personally, as well as a party sense, to regret the absence of the late member for Argenteuil, who so long and so worthily, represented that county. At the same time we, in other respects, have reason to congratulate ourselves on this side of the House. The hon. gentleman on the other side committed an indiscretion on his own standpoint in going to Ontario last summer, immediately after the prorogation of Parliament, and causing the local elections in Ontario to be conducted on protectionist principles, as the Dominion elections in 1878 were conducted. Many of his own friends were unwilling; he succeeded in carrying out his policy. The hon. the Minister of Railways, the Minister of Finance, and the hon. the Minister of Justice, I think, the two former gentlemen certainly, were good enough to go to the several constituencies in Ontario, and lecture the people as to their duty to maintain protective views at the elections, and the gauntlet thus thrown down was

taken up by the Reformers. I was surprised to find the member for Hamilton here when I came into the House, and when he was here, he was not to be doubted, and, if the newspaper reports are right, he stated that Mr. Mowat's candidates were elected, it would be impossible for him to take his seat in the House of Commons. (Hamilton) I never said so. Mr. Mackenzie: It was so reported. Mr. Robertson: A great many things are reported. Mr. Mackenzie: Perhaps in the course of the Session we will come to know who the bad reporters are. We will find out what he did say. It was the general report that such was the ground taken by the member for Hamilton; and the Mowat candidate was sustained in that city. Mr. Mowat's Government was sustained over the whole Province by a majority of two to one. A decided verdict was then rendered against the policy of the present Administration by their own showing in matters of trade. They selected the ground and that was the result. Hon. gentlemen cannot avoid accepting the policy of their own leader. Why not follow him loyally in this as in all other matters? He may hope before the end of his Parliamentary term, that he will be able to reverse this verdict. But I am greatly deceived, if he does. I do not propose to take the time to do that which he much longer upon topics of the Speech, and the measures to be submitted to the House. These measures, and particularly that relating to matters of banking, will receive from this side of the House the consideration to which they are entitled; apart from any political bias whatever; for these banking and currency matters deeply affect all our great commercial interests. We are to have a Railway policy, I fear that it will be impossible for us to coincide in the views expressed in the Speech and those of the hon. gentleman opposite, and subsequent enactments, declared the intention of the country to proceed, as far as the resources of the country will permit, without increase of the existing rate of taxation, with the construction of the Intercolonial all proposals, promises and negotiations were subject to that limitation. A resolution to that effect was proposed in the House first by the late member for Cape Breton, and was subsequently carried by the two Administrations which followed, and stands, therefore, as a parliamentary declaration of policy. The hon. gentleman, with great alacrity, the prospective expenditure as being far beyond our resources. I do not object to the completion of the operations, so far as to enable emigrants from Lake Superior to proceed to the free prairie. This might be done with comparatively small expense. It is well known that the late Administration aimed at two things: first, to build sections of the railroad where no other means of conveyance could be had, and, in the meantime, to utilize the surplus of the such points till the position of the country would permit us to proceed further, but building every section on the right line for an all rail route. The hon. gentleman opposite affirms to believe that the sale of lands would defray all expenses of completing the railway. I differ wholly from that opinion, and I do not see how the supposition that we are to commit ourselves to the expenditure which is foreseen in the Speech from the Throne and in the late Administration's proposals, in reference to it. We will be opposed, on our part, to consider every thing that may be submitted, in a fair, impartial, and unprejudiced manner, and as may best conduce to the general benefit of the country; but we will not be deterred, though small in numbers, from asserting what we believe to be true, and what course the country demands to be pursued in reference to this and other public works involving an expenditure on the part of the Government. I have a few words about the Ministerial changes. The hon. gentleman at the head of the Government will doubtless give us information when he comes into office, but I think it is a matter of great interest to us to know how Senator McPherson came a member of the Administration and the preceding office. He was appointed to an office to which he will not doubt impart weight and dignity. He published two remarkable pamphlets, containing a great deal that was not very complimentary to the Government; but there are certainly very remarkable statements in one of those pamphlets about another matter. We will not discuss that matter, but we will wholly and completely condemn, and wholly disapprove, the course which he has pursued in reference to this and other public works involving an expenditure on the part of the Government. I have a few words about the Ministerial changes. The hon. gentleman at the head of the Government will doubtless give us information when he comes into office, but I think it is a matter of great interest to us to know how Senator McPherson came a member of the Administration and the preceding office. He was appointed to an office to which he will not doubt impart weight and dignity. 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