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HON. MR. MACKAY ON PROVINCIAL FINANCES

(Continued from page 8.)

The T. & N. O. Railway. Now, Sir, with reference to the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, instead of endeavoring to work himself and the province into a state of alarm over the decreasing earning powers of this railway as a result of proposed freer trade relations, let me show him the better way. Allow me to point out to him, first, that this road was in its conception intended to be its early history a colonization road. As such, Sir, I think it still should be treated; that this Government has an entirely wrong conception as to its duties with reference to that railroad, and with reference to Northern Ontario. It is an absolute mistake to charge excessive freight and other rates, and to attempt to produce annually a balance on the right side. It does not lie in the mouth of any citizen of Old Ontario to say to this or any other Government, you must at once make that road absolutely pay. The pioneers have a right to be treated liberally. It is true that the forest wealth and the mineral wealth belongs not to the Northland especially, but to the whole Province of Ontario; but it is also equally true, Sir, that the province has ever since Confederation derived a very large percentage of its revenue from that Northland. Honorable gentlemen opposite have been even fulsome in their laudation of the Honorable the Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines. I desire to ask him frankly but firmly the question "Are we doing the square thing by the Northland by ourselves, and the Province of Ontario?" The Honorable the Premier, in his speech on the Address, took the strange position, that if Ontario increases its population there is apparently no beneficial result, but there is an extra outlay by way of aid to municipal government, pending lockups, etc. The inference from such an argument is that it does not pay this province to see its cure settlers for our Northland. It is a strange coincidence, of course only a coincidence—a case of great minds, etc.—that almost on the very day upon which the Honorable the Premier delivered himself of this strange doctrine, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, speaking before the Empire Club, advanced exactly the same argument. The argument of both, and that of the latter as published by Toronto Saturday Night, simply means this: that if the province spends money in securing settlers for Northern Ontario, and opens up and settles new townships, that the results will be increased expenditure by the province, with the further inferential result that the province derives no benefit from these settlers; but that the Dominion is greatly benefited by a direct benefit to the province. If, Sir, we roll back the map of settlement, we do not thereby of absolute necessity increase the value of the crown lands and crown timber lying immediately beyond the line of settlement? Does any sane man doubt this? Sir, if we increase the population, or as I have already said, roll back the map of settlement, do we not "ipso facto," necessarily, increase the land and timber wealth of the province lying directly behind the line of settlement? These settlers will in time form companies, and develop interests, pay for commercial and other charges through the Provincial Secretary's Department, and will thus directly increase the finances of the province, to say nothing of the indirect benefit that will be obtained by developing trade between the Northland and North Bay, Toronto, and other points.

Effects of C.P.R. Stocks. Returning again to the question of Reciprocity, let us follow to their logical conclusion the remarks of the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer. He says in effect, that the Reciprocity agreement is consummated and the duty is taken off our grain, that the grain from the West will go south, and our whole transportation system will be injuriously affected. On the other hand, Conservative newspapers say "Let us stay our hands. The Democrats are likely to get the order, and the duty will be taken off anyway." What difference does it make as to how the duty is taken off once the American duty is taken off? Would the effect on transportation not be the same? Or, is it not better if the duty is taken off anyway, that it should be removed by the consummation of an agreement whereby we get advantages to counterbalance any seeming disadvantages? But, in view of the doleful wail of honorable gentlemen opposite as to the effect this agreement will have on our whole transportation system, it is not very peculiar that since the announcement of the agreement, C.P.R. stocks have run up to the highest figure they have reached in the history of that company? The purchasers of that stock are sane, intelligent business men. If, therefore, the result of the agreement means destruction of our whole transportation system, of which the Canadian Pacific Railway constitutes a very important part, one would naturally expect that the price of C.P.R. stocks would have greatly declined. As against the vagaries of honorable gentlemen I place the substantial fact that these stocks have greatly advanced in price. Disloyalty. When argument fails, we have in this House, as elsewhere, the loyalty cry raised, and it is expressed that the opening of another market to Canadian goods will mean discrimination of the whole Empire. The honorable member for West Hastings closed his speech with an expression of fear "that the obtaining of reciprocal arrangements will certainly lead to disintegration of the Empire." This House might be pardoned in view of the fact that the honorable member's name is Johnson, if his remarks drove honorable members to a recollection of a statement made by the greatest Johnson of the time, namely, that "Loyalty is often the last refuge of a scoundrel." Of course, such a remark would not apply to any honorable gentleman in this House, but the statement is absolutely true, nevertheless. Loyalty is too often dragged out as a cover, or a cloak where argument and reasoning fail. May I be allowed, Sir, to address an "argumentum ad hominem" to the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer? Suppose he has a horse to sell, and a purchaser for the British market offers \$200. A purchaser for the American market offers \$25. Which will he accept? If that extra \$25 is flaunted before his face by the buyer from the American market I venture to say it will be a case of "Now you see it, and now you don't see it." The larger price would be accepted. I desire, Sir, to use this homely illustration to make the point that by accepting the larger price the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer would be a more loyal Britisher than if trade barriers prevented him from receiving the greater price. Canny Scot that he is, he would be better pleased to receive the larger price, and let me say, Sir, that consent with one's lot and one's environment produces, may I say, twin sister to loyalty, and discontent with conditions, including trade relations, produces disloyalty. If a man is prosperous, if he is satisfied with conditions, including trade relations, if he is satisfied that they give fair play, he will be contented, and if contented he will not only be contented with

such conditions and trade relations but naturally contented with and loyal to the national flag that guarantees him such. I repeat, Sir, that if trade relations help to make a man's circumstances more prosperous he will be the more loyal. Further then, Sir, in the last analysis, the question of a reciprocal agreement comes down to a simple question of business, pure and simple. If, Sir, trade with our American cousins tended to make Canadian goods dearer and to make "Old Glory" that over the whole continent, I wonder, Sir, how long ago became disloyal, and that "Old Glory" is not about flying over Canada. Look at the figures of our trade with the United States: For the year ending March 31, 1910, we shipped in value over seven times as many horses to the United States as we did to Great Britain, and the value of our exports of poultry about 100 times as many, or eggs twenty per cent. more; of our greater quantity of pease about 60 per cent. more, and so on with a large list of produce that might be named. If then, the argument of the honorable gentleman in question, our farmers, my countrymen, who sent \$5,000,000 worth of pease last year, by this time have their loyalty partly well tested. It is not fair to any man in Canada, it is an insult to the intelligence to tell him that it will make him disloyal if he follows that law imposed by the flag, and nature, which is part of the way of life, and of his very existence, namely, that he has a right to sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest market. This, Sir, is a law of the human race, and it is an insult to the intelligence of any gentleman or any people to pretend to tell them that they should follow that law. As well as once argue that, if a man ships a horse across the line he must ship his nationality with it. Generally speaking, the parties that are loudest in preaching the doctrine, that every man's loyalty will be affected, if allowed to trade with his neighbor, will be found as a matter of fact to be directly, or indirectly, interested in trading with that very neighbor. I have already clearly shown, Sir, that both political parties from time to time since 1896 down to the present date endeavor to get the trade relations with our neighbors to the south of us, and yet, Sir, no true Britishers were ever in this Dominion than the two leaders of the Government who attempted to secure such trade relations. Sir, when the history books are written the history of Canada, and when through the lapse of time he will have a better perspective, he will give an outstanding place to two Premiers of this Dominion, both of whom sought wider and freer trade relations with the great north-western markets, and both of whom were British in the true sense of the word. The names of two great nation-builders will stand distinctly out, two men; who by different methods and means did much to make a united and contented Canada, two men who sought in a similar way, whose endeavor it was to obtain the best markets for the produce of the soil, to make us more happy, more prosperous, and a more contented people. These two names are none other than those of the late Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald and the Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

The tremendous anxiety of honorable gentlemen opposite as to the loyalty of their fellow-Canadians is in strange contrast to the cry that was heard when a preference was granted by the present Liberal Government at Ottawa to British goods in Canada. Then one heard frequent statements that there was no "quid pro quo," and occasionally a harking back to the statement "so much the worse for British connection!" But, Sir, every intelligent Canadian knows that the history of the Dominion of Canada, not the markets that Government ever did in Canada brought this nation out so conspicuously, not only before John Bull himself but before all the nations of Continental Europe. We know the opinion then expressed by British statesmen how the new markets for our goods dealt with it; but perhaps, Sir, nothing that has been said or written, so beautifully describes the situation as the words of Rudyard Kipling, when he says: "A Nation spoke to a Nation, A Throne sent word to a Throne: 'Daughter am I in my Mother's House.' But Mistress in my Own. The gates are mine to open, The gates are mine to close; And I abide by my Mother's House, Said Our Lady of the Snows." Honorable gentlemen opposite, who talk loyalty, forget that British preference remains still intact. If honorable gentlemen opposite urge that now that preference should be increased from 33-1/3 per cent. to say 50 per cent., I fear they will speedily, and in no unmistakable terms, hear from their manufacturing friends, some of whom, regardless of party, but ever mindful of their own pockets, and properly so, are at present apparently extremely apprehensive as to the loyalty of their neighbors.

Does Trade Follow the Flag? The old slogan has been sounded in this debate, that "trade follows the flag." That may be true in the experimental stage, when any empire is pursuing a colonization policy; but as applied to the trade of nations generally it is a distinct economic heresy. What constitutes the trade of one country with another? An empire per se does not trade with another empire, per se. The individuals of one empire or nation trade with individuals of another empire or nation—so with partnerships, so with companies, corporations; and the sum total of trade between these individuals, partnerships, companies and corporations constitutes what we call the total trade between these two empires or nations. That individual men, partnerships, companies and corporations will sell in the dearest market and buy in the cheapest goes without saying. They do this absolutely regardless of the flag; therefore to say that "the flag rules trade" is simply to give utterance to an economic heresy that no sane business man believes. Take, Sir, as a striking illustration of the disproof of this economic heresy, the trade between Great Britain and Germany. Everybody knows that for the ten years prior to the year 1909, the last year for which we have returns, that these empires looked somewhat askance at each other. The low, rumbling growl of the British Lion might be heard as he glanced across the Channel and saw the German Eagle plume her wings and stretch her

beak; out, our, during those very years there was a steady increase of trade between the two empires, culminating in 1909, the year of the war scare, in the largest figures ever obtained between these two empires. In 1909 German exports to Britain amounted to \$58,000,000, while British exports to Germany amounted to \$32,000,000. In the same year German exports to the British colonies amounted to \$12,000,000, while exports of the colonies to Germany amounted to \$44,000,000, the grand total being \$146,000,000 or \$708,000,000, the largest figure ever reached in the history of the two empires. This, Sir, is but one of many striking illustrations that might be given, showing how little the flags have to do with trade. These large figures are arrived at, not on account of the friendliness of the flags, but as a result of the people of both empires following what may be termed the natural instinct of every man, that is, the desire to sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest markets, utterly regardless of the fact as to whether the flags were friendly, or otherwise. Amendment.

Now, Sir, I desire, by way of amendment, to place our positions and that of the Government in direct contrast, and I therefore move, seconded by Mr. Clark (Northumberland): "That all the words of the motion, after the first word 'That' be struck out and the following inserted: 'This House regrets that the Financial Statement issued by the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer is inaccurate and misleading, inasmuch as when current receipts and expenditures are classified even as classified by the present Provincial Treasurer in his Financial Statement of 1905, there is a large deficit last year of \$531,578.68.' And this House recognizing the fact that our forests are our greatest source of revenue, strongly urges upon the Government the adoption of a proper system of conservation and reforestation, in order that this source of revenue may become perpetual and abiding. This House further regrets that neither the Honorable the Minister of Education, the Deputy Minister, nor the Superintendent of Education, has any practical knowledge whatever of the condition of our rural schools, and that the results of changes improperly made by this Government has been to increase the cost of education in the rural schools by at least fifty per cent., and to necessitate the employing as teachers in a large percentage of said schools of persons with no qualification whatever, either professional or non-professional. This House further regrets that this Government, while liberally aiding students in educational courses, that lead to the professions, has taken no practical steps whatever to establish a system of technical and industrial schools throughout the province, in which the mechanics and artisans may receive training supplementary to his practical training in the workshop. This House further deplores the fact, that this Government is apparently of the opinion that increased population is of no benefit to this province, and this House strongly recommends the adoption of a vigorous and active colonization scheme for peopling Northern Ontario, and regrets extremely that its settlement has been hitherto retarded by the enforcement of laws and regulations that are oppressive to the pioneer, whether prospector, miner or settler. This House deplores the growing tendency on the part of members of the Government to introduce Federal issues into our debates, and regrets the organized attempt of Ministers and their supporters to discredit the agreement for better trade relations made between Canada and the United States, which, if consummated, will prove so beneficial to Canada, and especially to the agriculturists." This amendment was defeated on a straight party vote.

He Looks Good. Arthur Gilbert, the Arthabaska farmer, who was the corpse upon which the raval post-mortem was held, and the man solely responsible for all the trouble, was promptly sent to Coventry, when he made his appearance in the House, but judging by the looks of the agriculturist from Sir Wilfrid's home riding, he is not the kind of chap to let a little thing like that worry him. He stands six feet high, sports a heavy black moustache and a Prince Albert coat, and has the appearance of being well able to take care of himself. And by a strange turn of the wheel of political fortune, the very first vote he cast in Parliament was with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and his followers, against the amendment of Mr. Borden, calling for the submission of the Government's naval policy for the endorsement of the people. And to show the fickleness of politicians, when the new man with the soil of his Arthabaska farm hardly off his boots, rose to register his first vote about the rear of cheers from the right caused a blush to flood the visage of him who met the foe on the battle ground of his own choosing and laid him low. Those cheers sounded strangely, especially as a few moments later a chorus of jeers was substituted, when Mr. Gilbert voted for the Munk amendment this time with Mr. Borden. But those who would take the same Mr. Gilbert for a political dunder are apt to be fooled ere long. He has the look of a man who knows his own mind. His maiden speech was modest and unassuming, and even his loud party men could not find a little tribute after it was over. Gilbert may be anti-party, the campaign which gave him a seat in Parliament may have been anti-British, but unless all signs prove misleading, the same Gilbert's career will be worth watching. He looks all right—Saturday Night.

Opening for Boy Scouts. Why not have the Boy Scouts' idea on the farm? Instead of the poles, they could carry hives or hay bales, according to the season, and among their duties would be: Hunting for concealed eggs in the barn and barnyard; breaking up encampments of Canada thistles and other agricultural enemies; apprehending stray detachments of chickens; doing entrenchment work along rows of potatoes and around corn hills; and staking and branding loose cows—Canadian Courtesy.

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