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PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

Second Session—Fifth Legislature.

BUDGET SPEECH

—DELIVERED BY—

HON. JOHN NORQUAY

PREMIER AND PROVINCIAL TREASURER

APRIL 16th 1884.

WINNIPEG, MAN.

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Hon. John Norquay, Provincial Treasurer, rose, amid cheers, and moved, seconded by Hon. M. LaRivière, that the House resolve itself into Committee of Supply, to consider the Message of His Honor, together with the estimates and the statements accompanying the same. The motion before the House, he said, will, no doubt, evoke a wide range of discussion; and Hon. members will need to have ample explanations both as to the course to be pursued by the Government in the future, as well as a defence of their actions in the past. In moving the House into Committee of Supply, Hon. members will observe that the estimates placed before them range very nearly equal to those voted a year ago for the public expenditure of the Province,—giving color to the view that our normal expenditure, as a Province, has about arrived at that stage when it may be considered in a measure stationary,—or, at least, the normal expendi-

ture of last year and the present may be considered, I think, very good indices of our future necessities in that direction (hear, hear). In order to realise thoroughly our position to-day as a Province in confederation, it will be necessary for us to take a retrospective view of events. It will be necessary to look back to the time when we became confederated, and were started into political existence in 1870 by investment with the constitution given us, known as the Manitoba Act. In that year we were placed, financially, in a position which might have appeared to be a good one in the eyes of those unacquainted with the responsibilities of self-government. But it was an illusion soon to be dispelled. We find by reference to the terms on which we entered confederation in 1870, that the financial position accorded us was such that our revenue, when all its sources were reckoned up, reached \$67,204.50. To a community accustomed to meet all its necessities out of a much smaller sum, this appeared to be a very extravagant and generous provision made by the Parliament of Canada. Innocent as they were of the complications and cost of responsible Government, the people who received this subsidy for the first time might well be excused for thinking it a handsome one. They were, it is true, accustomed to a Government and had to pay for it, too; but it was a Government as simple as it was effective and inexpensive. By a reference to the early records of the old Colony of Assiniboia, we find that, as far back as 1835, Government obtained in this country to an extent not generally known. In that year the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Sir George Simpson, calling to his aid some of the most influential settlers to assist more fully in carrying out the object of Government here, made them a speech which, in the light of present events, has a good deal of interest for us. It appears to have been the first of the kind ever delivered here of which any record is handed down to us; and its tenor indicates

unmistakably that those old colonists understood and were resolved to maintain good government. Here is the speech, which corresponds to that delivered at the opening of each session of the Legislative Assembly now-a-days :

GENTLEMEN,—

In order to guard as much as possible against misapprehension within doors or misapprehension out of doors, I shall briefly notice the subject which I am now to bring under your consideration.

From the deep and timely interest you will feel in the welfare and prosperity of the colony, I am satisfied you will afford me the benefit of your assistance and support towards carrying into effect such measures as may appear to you best calculated, under existing circumstances, to answer every desirable object.

The population of this colony is becoming so great, amounting to about five (5,000) thousand souls, that the personal influence of the governor and the little more than nominal support afforded by the police,—which together with the good feelings of the people have heretofore been its principal safeguard—are no longer sufficient to maintain the tranquility and good government of the settlement ; so that although rights of property have of late been invaded and other serious offences been committed, I am concerned to say we are under the necessity of allowing them to pass unnoticed, because we have not the means at command of enforcing obedience and due respect according to the existing order of things.

Under such circumstances it must be evident to one and all of you that it is quite impossible society can hold together, and that the time has at length arrived when it becomes necessary to put the administration of justice on a more firm and regular footing than heretofore. Immediate steps must be taken to guard against dangers from abroad for difficulties at home, for the maintenance of good order and tranquility, and for the security and protection of lives and property.

Here is evidence to show that, long anterior to Confederation, a community existed on the banks of Red River, in which obtained the regular forms of Government, not generally known such as they were. They might have been wanting in some particulars ; but we are not left in any doubt of the fact, that, such as they were, they served their purpose admirably. Law and order were maintained and the interests of the community generally were subserved (hear, hear). As British subjects they had the enjoyment of their rights,

—they enjoyed in a measure every right outside those guaranteed by elective and representative institutions (hear). And in pressing as we have done, and as we will continue to do that we, too, as British subjects should be allowed the full enjoyment of our rights, we call the attention of the Federal authorities to the fact I have just noted, and ask that the precedent established in Eastern Provinces be followed now,—we are pressing for that which was ours, in the olden time, and which will be ours yet again (loud cheers). It has been clearly established that nearly fifty years ago, law and order were maintained here on a firm basis ; and the rights accorded to all civilised communities had been already enjoyed by those resident in the heart of the continent here, although they were then cut off from almost all communication with the outside world (hear, hear). I have pointed out that, on entering Confederation, the financial condition of the little community then established here, might have appeared to be a good one under the change. The exigencies of Government had been met up to that time by an expenditure of £200 or £300 at the utmost ; and hence the allowance with which we set out on our career as a Province—seemed a generous and extravagant one, the effect of which was to subdue alarm and take away all scruples to entering Confederation (hear, hear). Experience as I have said, soon dispelled the illusion. We had not been confederated four years until our expenditures were \$150,000 ahead of our subsidies ; and then the exigencies of responsible government began to manifest themselves very fully (hear, hear). In the beginning the improvement of highways along the river banks,—then the main arteries of travel,—might be said to be the principal item of expenditure. But with the increase of immigration, with settlements radiating from Fort Garry in all directions, attention had to be paid to highways and bridges in the interior of the Province, stretching far away from the old lines of travel. The expenditure, as a matter of course, grew

rapidly and increased far beyond the income, a state of affairs necessitating frequent visits to Ottawa in order to find a remedy for an evil, which, in the long run, only grew worse (hear, hear). From 1871, till the present time,—with the exception, perhaps, of one year, the people of this country had been obliged to send their representatives on these annual pilgrimages to Ottawa, to insist on effecting such an adjustment of their position as would enable them to carry on the work of self-government, (hear, hear). They made their wants fully known at Ottawa; and over and over again pressed for the settlement to which they were fairly entitled, (cheers). And if these representatives had not been met in the spirit in which, on entering confederation, the people had every reason to believe they would be met,—if they had resulted in merely partial measures of relief,—if there had been no full concession of the claims frequently and fully urged,—it was because the Ottawa authorities took their stand and refused to go farther. But the people here, having determined that they would not abandon their cause, have maintained that stand to the present day, (cheers). Of the frequent journeyings to Ottawa, the result was the increase of the subsidy by something like \$5,000 a year in 1873, so that thereafter our annual subsidy rose to \$72,000. In 1875, owing to withdrawals from capital account, our allowance shrunk to \$65,000 a year, and the necessity for another appeal to Ottawa became at once apparent. An appeal was made by my predecessor, Hon. Mr. Davis, and thereupon there was a readjustment which gave as a subsidy of \$90,000 per annum. These various increases of subsidy, I may add, were made on the constant and reiterated complaints of the people; and the amounts so doled out were, in fact, so many acknowledgments of the justice of these claims, (hear, hear). It is evident from a glance at the estimates brought down to the House to-day, that the end of

these visitations to the Capital, is not yet. But now as then we are determined to stand by our cause as a just one,—one that we must press not only with all the Executive force the Government has, but with all the Legislative authority that this House can convey (loud cheers). And should we fail to obtain from the authorities at Ottawa that full measure of justice to which we are entitled,—in other words, should our right as British subjects be denied us,—we intend to ask that an appeal be next made direct from this House to the foot of the Throne, (cheers). The Federal authorities have already taken notice of the resolutions of the House in reference to the discriminating policy pursued towards this Province, to the injury of its best interests,—and they can be approached again by the Legislature (hear, hear). Going on to point out the different stages in the increase of subsidy, the hon. gentleman said : In 1880, the subsidy went from \$90,000 to \$105,000 ; and again, in 1882, there was an increase to \$227,153.04. I had occasion, as one of the delegates representing Manitoba, to urge her claims when the last two increases, were asked and given (hear, hear). In fact, occupying my present position in the Ministry, the responsibility of pressing these questions on the Federal authorities,—urging Provincial claims—devolved largely on me (hear, hear). And I will now take the opportunity of asking from the House a vindication of what I often asserted,—that the terms made by the Executive of the day, in accepting the \$227,000, were only temporary,—and were not at all in the nature of a permanent arrangement (hear, hear, and cheers). I claim it on the authority of one of the Ministers at Ottawa, who, discussing the situation as a Minister, said that the terms made between the Province of Manitoba and the Federal authorities, were only temporary in their character (hear, hear). The old colony of Assiniboia,—the parent, as we may term it, of the Province of Manitoba,

—prior to entering into the Dominion, enjoyed all the privileges that the other Provinces of Canada enjoyed before they entered Confederation,—minus elective institutions and responsible Government. The four Provinces relinquished some of their privileges on forming the confederacy. In the Colony of Assiniboia the authorities had power to levy customs and excise duties; and on reference to early history we find these imposts to have been very light, a four per cent. duty being found sufficient for all the requirements of Government, such as it was (hear, hear). You, yourself, Mr Speaker, know that the Government was not one indifferent to the wants of the people, for it can be said truthfully that justice was then administered with as strong and impartial a hand as it has ever been administered since (cheers). The necessary improvements conducive to the interests of the settlers in that old colony were attended to as promptly and efficiently by its Government,—and perhaps even more efficiently than similar wants have ever been attended to by succeeding Governments (hear, hear). The early history of the country was in fact one of contentment. The requirements of the day were all fully met by the then rulers. What do we find now? Instead of a low tariff of four per cent, the people here are subjected to a high tariff, ranging all the way from 15 to 35 per cent,—and, in many instances, with the addition of a specific duty, reaching even to more than 100 per cent (hear, hear). Was that tremendous addition to the burdens of our people, imposed to meet their wants? No—decidedly not. It was imposed to meet the wants of that larger community called the Dominion of Canada,—and more especially the wants of the eastern end of that Dominion (hear, hear and cheers). We have but to consider the application of the proceeds of the revenue to see how unfair our treatment has been, and that there is ample cause for the dissatisfaction through-

out the Province with the small pittance allowed us for development (applause). Before entering Confederation the four provinces originally forming the union had full possession of all revenues as sovereign Provinces,—the right of levying customs and excise,—the rights of revenue accruing from the possession of lands, timber, mines and minerals. All the revenues coming from these sources, were their's. As I have said, some of these sovereign powers were relinquished when the Confederacy was formed, and were vested in the Dominion. Up to that date the four provinces had incurred liabilities to the extent of \$90,000,000 or more. This debt had been created in the development of the Provinces and any advantages resulting from the expenditure remained with them on becoming confederated. They had the full benefit of them,—the public works thus secured being as much the property of these provinces to-day as they were before Confederation (hear). Notwithstanding this fact, when eastern statesmen are approached as to the policy of discrimination against this Province—and when it is shown that we have to bear a full share of that huge debt without deriving the least benefit therefrom, but being treated, on the contrary, with the grossest injustice by these very provinces, when that is pointed out, we are told—Oh! yes; Canada did assume these debts, but then these are assets. Well Mr. Speaker, we are willing to give them assets, too, if they will furnish us with the money to create them, or pay for them after they are created as was done in the case of the other provinces (loud laughter). Do they mean to say that there is any fairness or equity in the present arrangement under which we are heavily taxed for the Intercolonial Railway, the Welland Canal, the Lachine Canal, the Grand Trunk Railway, and all those other improvements and expenditures made and kept by the Eastern Provinces for their own special benefit,—used by them for their own development,—an arrangement by

which while bearing a full share of the \$90,000,000 of debt thus incurred, this Province is absolutely denied by these Eastern Provinces the power of inaugurating similar public works for the development of this country? Is the arrangement to be, that we must contribute to their benefit, while at the same time they will not allow us to contribute to our own development, but keep a firm hold on these resources,—our own resources,—which would enable us to promote that development? (hear, hear and cheers). Were we to be dealt with on the basis of a population of only 17,000 souls, while other Provinces were credited with having one million? Is that to be our position? Is this to be our status for years? If that is to be the position of Manitoba in confederation, then I am afraid that confederation will soon be a thing of the past, as far as Manitoba is concerned, (hear, hear). It is impossible that confederation can exist, unless the Provinces generally are placed in a more uniform position, (hear, hear and cheers). If it is a partnership at all,—and I always understood it was,—we have been always led to understand that our great national highway was being built as a bond of union between the Provinces,—if, I say, there is any partnership at all, it must be one in which the Provinces are all dealt with fairly, (cheers). In my innocence I believed that the object of the framers of Confederation was to preserve and extend the rights of all; to accord to all the same treatment; that there should be nothing like allowing one of the sisters of Confederation to eat in the dining room of the establishment, and fare sumptuously, while another sister was confined to the kitchen, (laughter), without being able to procure enough to eat even there, (renewed laughter). We are told in the despatch sent in answer to the resolutions of this House, in reference to our school lands, that,—

“ These lands form the subject of a special trust, for which they were set apart immediately after the acquisition of the country. The trust is one which His Excellency is advised, considering its object and character, this Government cannot in good faith towards the settler in Manitoba and the other Provinces which may be constituted out of the Northwest Territories, part with or be relieved from. This Government is therefore unable to advise a compliance with the request of your Ministers that these lands should be conveyed to Manitoba.

Reciprocity in compliments being in order sometimes, I suppose, I may say that I can interpret that statement as nothing short of a want of confidence in the Ministry and Legislature of this Province being able to properly administer these school lands,—which of right belonged to us, which I reciprocate most heartily in so far as regards the Federal Ministry, (hear and laughter). Now in demanding these lands from the authorities at Ottawa, it was not on the ground of mal-administration,—but because they have not been administered at all, (hear, hear). And the Government at Ottawa seems to be powerless to remedy the evil.

Instead of being administered wisely and judiciously, parties were allowed to settle on them without undertaking permanent improvements. Actuated only by the motive of getting all they could out of the land, such people used it without paying any rent, and never built on it, but allowed it to be overrun with weeds. Of course in the case of the *bonâ fide* settlers,—and there were such, they ought to get a title from the Government, on paying a fair price for the land; while in the other cases he had mentioned, it was an injustice to allow such persons to go upon the lands and impoverish them, (hear, hear). Taking everything into consideration, I will venture to say that we have as little confidence that the lands will be administered to the best advantage by the Federal authorities, as they seem to have in our administration of them, (laughter). And so far as that goes, although we do not want to have the last word and cry scissors! we feel that we are on an equal footing with them,

(laughter). In answer to the demand made by this House for the control of the public lands of the Province, we are told from Ottawa, that,—

“The free homestead and pre-emption policy of the Dominion Government has been proclaimed throughout Europe and carried out with advantage to Manitoba, and this Government is of opinion that the faith of the Dominion, as well as the best interests of Manitoba, are pledged to its being permanently adhered to. Beyond this and how far it may be expedient to change the arrangement existing between Manitoba and the Dominion in respect of the lands of the Dominion situated within the Provinces is one of those questions involving financial considerations which, His Excellency is advised, could advantageously be enquired into in the manner contemplated by the Legislature of Manitoba in the first of the resolutions above referred to in regard to the financial relations of the Province with the Dominion.”

I need scarcely say that, under any circumstances, we would not deem it a disadvantage to this Province to receive a large accession to its population. We are sufficiently patriotic, I hope, to receive cordially all good settlers coming here; and, while, as a member of the Dominion, we feel a pride in seeing her swell into larger proportions, we cannot at the same time avoid looking carefully into the effect that increase has on the internal economy of this Province (hear, hear). Nobody welcomes more heartily than I do, the settler coming here, but it is obvious that this increase of numbers entails increased responsibility,—increased outlay on our part (hear, hear). Additional road-making and repairing are incurred,—educational institutions must be furnished the newcomers, the maintenance of law and order has to be extended to them. Our wants are increased at an alarming rate. Are the ways and means increased also? This is a question which must force itself on the attention of every member. And I say here from my place in the House, as leader of the Government, that we do not receive that consideration from the Federal authorities to which we are entitled. Their immigration policy, while tending to build up the Dominion, does so in an

especial manner at the expense of this Province. Each new settler within our limits becomes at once a revenue-producer for Canada, and a tax on the resources of Manitoba, which has not been enabled to carry out the objects of government as the other Provinces are enabled, by the assistance of the Federal authorities, to carry out (hear, hear)

Who gets the fees from the sale of our land? The Federal Government. Who pockets the customs and excise duties raised by the Province, duties largely increased, as I have said, by every additional settler? The Federal Government. We bear the burden. They draw the revenue,—an arrangement altogether too one-sided for us (hear, hear).

There should, surely, be some sort of proportion between our revenue and our responsibilities,—as our population increased, so should be our power of providing for the wants of that population (cheers). That is one of the objects for which the resolutions brought down to this House in the early part of the session, were submitted,—to elicit from the Legislature a full expression of opinion as to the policy that should be adopted in dealing with this Province, (hear, hear). We ask that we should be dealt with as the other provinces were on entering confederation. We ask no extraordinary privileges. Were we to seek for more than the other provinces, the demand might be refused. But we are doing nothing of the kind. All we request is fair play (cheers). We are Canadians, and as such we require that we shall be placed on an equality with the other Provinces (cheers). Give us equality,—fair play,—and we will work out our own destiny (renewed cheers). It may not, perhaps, be out of place to remark here on some of the projects that engaged the attention of the four Provinces originally confederated, to show how they expended pretty largely their revenues and for which they obtained their credits. In

Québec the abolition of the Seigniorial Tenure was accomplished at a cost of \$5,000,000. But this outlay being of no material interest to Ontario, she had to get from the General Government, as a quid pro quo \$5,000,000 also, which constituted what is generally known as Municipal Loan fund. This represents \$10,000,000 of the debt assumed by Canada, on which we are taxed. Besides this, the ambition of Ontario led her to undertake the construction of important public works. There was the Welland Canal, costing \$50,000,000,—which canal cost the Dominion annually \$16,000 beyond the receipts. These properties, defined by the term assets, should yield a revenue were assumed by the Dominion, and all put into a common pot, as it were. I might go on also to include the Grand Trunk Railway, which cost the Dominion in the neighborhood of \$25,000,000 ; and also the Intercolonial. We have to bear a full and large share of all this burden (hear, hear). Swelled from the sources I have enumerated, the debt of Canada to-day ranges between \$150,000,000 and \$250,000,000. Taking it at the latter figure and it would represent \$50 a head on the whole population of Canada (hear, hear). This is a matter that will strike every member of the House very seriously,—even though we should be told that we have no business to discuss federal matters (hear). Again, what do we find latterly? By recent legislation, another \$9,000,000 has been added to the public debt of Canada to subsidise roads in the Eastern Provinces (hear, hear). Innocently enough, we believed at one time that the C. P. R. being a national institution, would be the only railway to be subsidised by the nation ; and it is often cast up to us that it was built directly in the interests of this Province ; and that we ought to be very thankful for the boon. Now a new theory prevails down East. When the idea was broached as to Manitoba's share of this \$9,000,000, the public prints are the authority for the statement that the Minister of Railways said that Mani-

toba's share of this great railway grant consisted in the construction of the C. P. R. and in the aid granted to the Hudson's Bay Railway (laughter). Verily we are a highly favored community (hear, and laughter). I have before stated that a continuance of the present Dominion policy must compel a resort to direct taxation,—not a pleasant prospect by any means (hear, hear). Looking ahead, we feel it to be our duty, by every means in our power, to prevent the Province from drifting into such a state of circumstances. We have to enquire, what sources of revenue will remain to Manitoba when the public lands within her borders are all disposed of? When we look to the large sums realised from mines, minerals, timber and land sales yearly by the other Provinces, we cannot doubt that their rights were duly conserved when they cast in their lot with the Dominion. Manitoba, unluckily, found herself in far different circumstances,—a state of things for which the people of this Province cannot be blamed if the truth must be told,—Manitoba was forced into Confederation, figuratively speaking, at the point of the bayonet, and the people submitted to the conditions imposed on them, not knowing the extent of the responsibilities they were assuming, and confident that in any event they would be treated with full and impartial British justice in dealing with the Federal authorities. They knew that as the last resort there was the appeal to the foot of the Throne; and if that step has not yet been taken, it is because of the reluctance of the people to take that final step in order to assert their rights (hear, hear). They believed that, on becoming part of Confederation, the utmost justice would be conceded to them; and that belief was justified by the utterances of a prominent statesman of the day, the late Hon. Jos. Howe, who at that time was visiting the Province, and said:—“ I have conversed freely with all classes of the community, from Governor Mactavish downwards, and to all held the same language “ that the same constitution as

the other Provinces possessed would ultimately be conferred upon the country." They expect to enjoy the same constitution as the four Provinces already confederated. All we desire now is full completion of the promises then and since held out to us, (cheers). That is the position we are striving to attain. It is, I honestly believe, the aim and ambition of every man in Manitoba to have this Province placed—not in an inferior position—but on a footing of equality with the other Provinces in Confederation, (cheers). It is often urged by persons in the East that Manitoba and the Northwest are a heavy burden on Canada,—that in fact we would soon ruin the Dominion, (hear, hear). Talk to an Eastern statesman to-day, and he immediately tells you,—You are a discontented lot,—a "spoon-fed" lot, (loud laughter). Look, they tell us, at the C. P. R., to be built at a cost of \$120,000,000—all for you! Those who argue in this fashion never stop to consider that they entered Confederation with \$90,000,000 of a debt, whereas Manitoba had always had a full treasury and had no debt, (hear, hear). They forget, too, that they have taken away our means of revenue to a large extent. Had we the enjoyment of our local resources to-day, very few of us, I am sure, would be found to grumble, (hear, hear). One of the questions frequently brought before the Privy Council was "the control of our public lands;" and latterly, I observe, the Federal authorities have taken to shielding themselves by reference to the policy obtaining in the United States. This had been pleaded as a justification of Dominion policy towards us. They say:—

"Following in this respect the example of the United States, where all public lands in new territories remain the property of the nation, the Crown lands in Manitoba are vested in Her Majesty, as represented by the Government of the Dominion. They have been freely granted in aid of the Canadian Pacific and other railways, of colonization companies, actual settlers, and towards other objects calculated to develop and augment its population."

If the Federal authorities really desire to follow the example of the United States in this respect, by all means let them do so. Let them adopt in dealing with us as liberal a policy as Congress adopted towards at least some of the States, and we will be satisfied. Take as an example which we may urge on the Federal authorities, the adjoining State of Minnesota. Situated immediately to the south of us, occupying a large and fertile prairie territory, and lying contiguous to Lake Superior, Minnesota occupies a position corresponding to that occupied by Manitoba north of the International boundary. Her physical features and mode of development are similar, and she offers, too, similar facilities for railway construction. Taking these things into account, we may fairly conclude that the policy under which her development was effected, would, if tried here, produce like results. We find Congress granting that State 11,699,200 acres to aid in railway construction. In the United States, the State Governments possess chartering powers similar to those supposed to be conferred on Canadian Provinces. Minnesota, exercising this privilege, has chartered railways and granted them aid (under a regular system of State railway aid within her limits) to the extent of the 11,699,200 acres. This grant has been given towards the construction of 1,828 miles of railways. In fact, the State invested the congressional grant in companies organised under State charters. These companies are superintended by a State railway commissioner, and the State exacts from them three per cent of their gross earnings, yielding a revenue of \$614,000 in 1882 and \$622,000 in 1883, which is increasing every year (hear, hear). So that the Congressional land grant has been so judiciously applied as to be a yearly-increasing source of revenue to the State ; until, within a few years, it may be that all the State institutions will be supported by the revenue derived

from the railway companies, based on the grant originally obtained from the Federal authorities (hear, hear). I say that if the Dominion Government will only carry out in Manitoba the application of the same principle such as I have illustrated,—even if we are not placed on the same footing as our sisters in Confederation, we will not be disposed to grumble very loudly (hear, hear). If they will only adopt towards us a liberal, generous policy like that adopted by the American Federal authorities towards the State adjoining our borders, we would not only be the gainers as a Province, but the whole Dominion would eventually be the gainer also. We are a large profit to the Dominion now, but, less hampered, and with full opportunity for development, our worth to the Dominion would be greatly enhanced (cheers). Or, if they will only leave off meddling with the charters granted by this House for the promotion of local railways, we might reasonably expect in a few years to be deriving a large revenue from these sources (cheers). The railways might be made to contribute towards the expense of Government as had been done in the case of the railways south of the line (hear, hear). In addition to the liberal gift just mentioned, Congress has granted 5,000,000 acres of swamp lands—not needing a large expenditure for their reclamation. This grant is given towards the support of State institutions such as asylums, with an occasional grant in aid of railways. In addition they have from Congress a grant of 6,400 acres in aid of public buildings. They have also one-eighteenth of the state lands for purposes of education; for University purposes they get 92,160 acres; towards the maintenance of an Agricultural College 150,000 acres, and 46,000 acres of salt lands are handed over to the State; and for internal improvements other than railways, they have 500,000 acres of the choicest lands that can be selected by the Governor of the State,—worth, probably, \$8 or \$10 an acre. So that we find

Congress allowing the State of Minnesota over 17,000,000 acres, exclusive of the grants in aid of the Northern Pacific Railway and the educational grant (hear, hear). If a similar policy were pursued towards us by the Federal authorities, how would the case stand? We would be in possession of public lands to the extent of over 36,000,000 acres. Certainly, if Minnesota, with an area of 53,000,000 acres, has been granted over 23,000,000 of them for public improvements, Manitoba, with an area nearly double,—or 96,000,000 acres—might, in like ratio, expect to obtain from the Federal authorities for similar purposes, at least 36,000,000 acres (hear, hear),—and this, too, exclusive of her grant for schools or the C. P. R. land subsidy. Here then is the comparison fairly worked out; and if as they profess, the Federal authorities are willing to give us bounties for local objects, similar to those given by Congress, here is an illustration, drawn from parallel cases to which they themselves have specially called our attention (hear, hear). If as I said, they will not accord us the status given the other Provinces, let them treat us as Congress treats the neighboring State of Minnesota, (hear, hear and cheers). If they want to go back on that arrangement, although held up to us as an example fit for imitation, by themselves, then let them give us the status which is ours by right, (hear, hear). At this stage, perhaps it would be as well that we should look back and try and acquaint ourselves with some of the causes that led to the withholding from the people of the Province the control of the public lands. On a reference back to the commencement of Provincial history the following demands will be found embodied in the Bill of Rights presented to the Federal authorities by delegates from the old Red River settlement, or colony of Assiniboia,—in two of the clauses,—one and eleven:—

Clause I.—“ That the Territories heretofore known as Rupert’s Land and the Northwest shall not enter into the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada except as a Province, to be styled and known as the Province of

Assiniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different Provinces of the Dominion.”

Clause XI.—“That the Local Legislature of the Province of Assiniboia shall have full control over all the public lands of the Province, and the right to annul all acts or arrangements made, or entered into with reference to the public lands of Rupert’s Land, and the Northwest now called the Province of Assiniboia.”

It is apparent from this manifest of that the people then, and their representatives, had a very fair conception of at least one thing:—that on coming into Confederation they were entitled to privileges such as the other Provinces of Canada enjoyed, (hear, hear). The 11th clause of the Bill of Rights is an extraordinary demand and shows that it was intended that the Local Legislature should have full control over all the lands not only of the Province but also the right to annul arrangement that may have been made or entered into with reference to the public lands of Rupert’s Land. The two clauses I have cited were, I find, specially referred to by Sir Clinton Murdoch, then acting as mediator between the Federal authorities and the people of Red River; and he held and rightly too I think, that as the latter clause particularly covered a very wide stretch of territory, there would at that stage be some danger in giving up the control of the public lands to the Province as the land included in the Bill of Rights would extend into the Territories; and having control of these, the Provincial authorities might thereby be enabled to hinder if not prevent immigration into the country and stop the building of railroads. Whatever reason could be advanced for holding those views then, could not, certainly, be brought forward now. The C. P. R. has been already built beyond the limits of the Province, and immigration to a large extent has flowed into and beyond our bounds. Thus those old reasons,—whatever their value,—for with-holding the public lands of the Province, cannot obtain now; and in insisting on our right to get

possession of these lands, we can, amongst other things, point to the fact that these old objections have faded out of sight (hear, hear). In discussing our position as a Province, I have endeavored to show that we never acquiesced in the partial measures of relief accorded to us, but from the very outset we indicated plainly that our position was at once unfortunate and eminently unsatisfactory—a state of affairs resulting from our not having got a fair start in the provincial race (hear, hear). The earliest opportunity offered the people of this Province was taken advantage of by them to represent the true state of affairs and endeavor to set themselves right. In the first session of the Legislature of Manitoba there was a motion brought forward by a minority of the House, taking exception to the speech then delivered, because it contained no assurance that a promise of the restoration of the public lands was held out to the people. So that from the very inception of representative institutions here, down to the present time, it is clear that this question was never lost sight of, (hear, hear). There is no missing link in that chain, (hear). And for my part I believe that the justice of our cause is such that we will yet triumph, (cheers),—that we will be invested with the full control of the lands not disposed of,—and also that there will be full recognition of our right to that which has been already parted with, (cheers). That, I believe to be the claim the Province makes; she will be satisfied with no less; and until her reasonable demands in this respect have been complied with, the present discontent in the Province will go on increasing, (hear, hear). As British subjects we know and cherish our rights; and we believe in the end, right must prevail, (cheers). We are not different from other British subjects in believing that in the end our rights cannot be withheld from us. On the contrary, did we tamely submit to wrong—did we abandon our rights,—we would be less than British subjects, (hear, hear and cheers). Per-

haps, in proportion to our population, we have in Manitoba as many, if not more men of talent, business enterprise and solid worth than they have in any other Province of the Dominion, (hear, hear); and these are not the men to tamely suffer wrong, (hear, hear). Did we do so, we would, in all probability, injure others as well as ourselves. The action taken towards Manitoba, it must be remembered, may be duplicated in the case of the remaining Provinces to be carved out of the great Northwest; the course we take will be to some extent a precedent for them, (hear, hear). All the more need then for a firm stand on Provincial Rights, (cheers). All the more need that we should be careful so to conserve and maintain our powers and privileges as a Province, that we will not endanger in any way, by a bad precedent or otherwise, the future of the Provinces to be created there, (hear, hear). We have, as it were, not only to maintain firmly our own position for ourselves, but also one which is very likely to influence the future of other Provinces yet to be called into existence in this land, (cheers). We have, so to speak, to stand in the front of the battle, and to fight not only for ourselves but for the other Provinces yet to be created, (cheers).

When the House adjourned yesterday (continued the Hon. gentleman, in resuming his speech on the following day), I had just concluded, following out the analogy cited by the Federal authorities as one applicable to Manitoba,—viz: the policy of the United States Government towards newly-admitted territories. I noticed since, on looking over the despatch of the 2nd April, in reply to the resolutions of this House, that another analogy is quoted, which they take as a justification of their policy towards Manitoba. In this instance they cite for our benefit the case of Prince-Edward Island. According to their own figures, it comprises an area of 1,365,720 acres,—about equal to a respectable sized county in the Province of Manitoba (hear, hear) Yet

in dealing with Prince Edward Island, in consideration of her misfortune in having no lands of her own, she was allowed the magnificent sum of \$800,000 (hear, hear). If corresponding treatment were meted out to Manitoba, let us see how the case would stand. For the sake of being liberal, we may compute the area of Prince Edward Island as even larger than they have made it. Compare it with the area of this Province, and it will be found that instead of receiving an annual subsidy of \$45,000 in lieu of her lands or a capital of \$900,000, Manitoba should,—on the showing of the Ottawa authorities themselves,—have had a credit of something between \$53,000,000 and \$55,000,000, or an annual interest resulting therefrom of \$2,500,000, (hear, hear). I do not pretend to set up a claim on the part of the Province to this amount (laughter), but I quote it to show the false basis on which the financial arrangements with this Province have been calculated at Ottawa (hear, hear). I am merely carrying out or extending an analogy expressly cited for our benefit by the Federal authorities; and demonstrating that if they are satisfied with such an arrangement, we should be, provided the sum is carried out or extended to its legitimate issue (hear, hear). The Dominion Government, in its official statements, calls attention to the fertility of our lands,—being, indeed, the most valuable on the continent, and we, most assuredly, are not disposed to under-rate them. With a less fertile soil, and a paltry area of 1,365,120 acres, Prince Edward Island is granted \$800,000 in lieu of lands. What, then, ought to be the proportionate recompense given to a Province such as ours, with an exceptionally fertile soil and an area of something like 96,000,000 acres? Our lands,—admitted to be some of the best on the continent,—should have formed a valuable patrimony for the Province, for the advancement of all those public purposes, in aid of which the other Provinces had their lands or an equivalent therefor (hear, hear). If a quid pro quo was given to

this Province for the lands to which she is entitled,—which are within her borders, I have indicated on the basis favored by the Federal authorities themselves, what it should be (hear, hear). They have instituted a comparison. I say that if we are to have any comparison at all, it ought to be one in its entirety. Let it be a real one. We can abide by any fair comparison (hear, hear). We have urged certain claims. It is absolutely essential that these claims should be settled once for all. When I come to speak of the Estimates, I will show how essential these claims are; and hon. members will be able to judge for themselves when they observe that the Provincial revenue is absolutely unable to meet,—and, indeed, is a long way from meeting the demands made on it for the barest necessities of Government (hear, hear). I referred yesterday to the oft-repeated expressions of eastern statesmen in dealing with the interests of this Province,—to the effect that we were a burden on the Dominion. I do not need to go over much ground to expose the absurdity of these opinions. I have already noticed that before Manitoba became confederated, the other provinces forming the Dominion had incurred heavy liabilities in the prosecution of local improvements,—improvements similar to those which it is incumbent on this Legislature and Government to prosecute in the interests of this Province. In making like improvements, and in other ways, the Provinces I have alluded to, ran up a joint debt of \$90,000,000. And now, as I have noted, their position is this: They are relieved of that debt, and they have those improvements the making of which helped to create the debt, (hear, hear). I desire to call special attention in this connection to the subsequent arrangements with Prince Edward Island, in order to disabuse the minds of members of this Legislature of the absurd idea, broached some time ago,—and contradicted by me at the time,—that the \$45,000 per annum had been accepted as compensation

for our public lands. I maintained then, as I do now, that the action of the Government of this Province in accepting that \$45,000 could not be interpreted as a forfeiture of the rights of this Province in its public lands. We then claimed, as we do now, that we must be invested with the full control and management of our public lands, and be placed on the same status in that respect as the other Provinces (cheers). To day the intention of the Government is to submit to the House a proposition by which, as a Legislature, we will be enabled to submit to the Federal authorities, our full claims in this respect; and it will remain with this House then to accept or reject whatever terms are offered (cheers). In my reference yesterday to the old Colony of Assiniboia, I forgot to mention that in those early days they were in possession of a homestead law,—a circumstance which will still further illustrate and justify my position that that colony exercised all the rights of the old Provinces before Confederation. This is the enactment,—simply phrased, as the enactments of those days generally were.

“ On motion of the Bishop of St. Boniface, seconded by Solomon Hamelin, and carried:—That in difficulties arising between persons who take land outside that part of the Colony already surveyed, or even that exceeding the limits of the Colony, the Magistrates be authorized to take for the principle that ten chains shall be the limit of the pre-emption right arising from occupation.”

This enactment (continued the Hon. gentleman) was never set aside by higher authority. Sanctioned by custom, it remained in full force (cheers). The very production, I say, of such evidence of the exercise of authority, with the evidence already cited, is sufficient to justify us in the premises that that old colony enjoyed rights similar to those exercised by the other provinces prior to Confederation.

And I go further, and state that it was a violation of the terms of Confederation that those gentlemen occupying official positions here then were not consulted before the union with the Dominion (hear, hear). Further, I may state that the occupation of the class of claims referred to in this Homestead Law, has been recognised by the Manitoba Act, and confirmed by giving grants to those who satisfactorily established undisturbed occupancy of land within the Provincial limits on the 15th July, 1870, under that very provision (hear, hear). As to this puzzle to Eastern people, the cost of Manitoba to the Dominion, let me bring forward a few facts. Let us take the cost of Manitoba to the Dominion as compared with those Provinces that entered subsequently to 1870,—as the cost in the case of the other Provinces has been very fully discussed of late. In British Columbia, for instance, their receipts during the last ten years amounted to \$2,793,543.30. Manitoba's income from similar sources during the same period was \$1,541,448.10—showing that we received in that time \$1,252,095.20 less than our favored sister Province on the Pacific. To estimate this state of things correctly, we must consider the status of British Columbia in the Dominion. She had control of all her public lands—owned valuable mines—and extensive timber limits. And she received the revenue I have specified to govern a white population which is only about a quarter of the population of this Province. For her necessities in this direction, she received nearly double as much as we did in the ten years instanced (hear, hear). As evidencing still further the inequality of the terms on which Manitoba was taken into Confederation I will cite the state of affairs financially in Prince Edward Island during the ten years mentioned. She received in that time for her public expenditures \$2,249,920.15, as against Manitoba's \$1,541,448.10. Thus the little island at the Atlantic end of Confederation heads us off in financial resources, by \$708,472.05 (hear.

hear). Pushing the enquiry still further, it will be seen that while this Province received less than the Provinces named, she could not obtain the ways and means to carry on government, as these two Provinces were enabled by the Federal authorities to do,—more was exacted of us,—heavier burdens were imposed on us than on either of the two favorite Provinces cited (hear, hear). While we received less than they did, we have at the same time been contributing to the Dominion Treasury in a far greater ratio than they did (hear, hear). In making these comparisons, I may explain that I have taken the trouble to classify the various expenditures, so that none of an exceptional character should be taken into account, and that only such contributions as we give yearly should be included. I regret very much that for the purposes of this comparison we are unable to show the receipts from the sales of public lands in Manitoba; but, taking the receipts in customs and excise alone for the past ten years and comparing them with similar contributions from British Columbia and Prince Edward Island,—the two Provinces entering Confederation after us,—we will see what becomes of the statement that we have been a burden on the Dominion. During the decade British Columbia's net revenue to the Dominion (arising from customs and excise) was \$2,755,588. In the same period Manitoba's net contributions to the Dominion from like sources, reached \$3,858,938.92,—showing her to rank fifth among the members of Confederation as a revenue contributor to the Federal Treasury (cheers). From this it is apparent that Manitoba proved more profitable to the Dominion than British Columbia by \$1,003,350.92. This amount would, as I have said, be largely swelled, if we were able to take into account the Dominion revenue derived from the land within our limits. As it is, however, the comparison clearly establishes that Manitoba is the largest contributor to the Dominion Treasury, of the above provinces cited while in receipt of the smallest

subsidy. She cost the Dominion less in the administration of justice and collection of revenue than either of the Provinces mentioned. In the ten years she received \$708,472.05 less than Prince Edward Island, while contributing \$3,332,383.73 more; and while receiving \$1,252,095.20 less than British Columbia, Manitoba contributed \$1,103,350.92 more than the Pacific Province (hear, hear) Once more, we make a deduction from these figures for presentation to the Federal authorities. It is this:—Prince Edward Island having been subsidised during the period named to the extent of \$2,249,920 having yielded a profit of \$535,555 while Manitoba's profit to Canada during a corresponding period was \$3,332,383.73, reckoning Manitoba's profit to Canada as compared with Prince Edward Island receipts she should have had as subsidy an amount of \$14,000,000 (hear, hear). This, it is to be noted, is the result to which the comparison instituted by the Federal authorities leads (hear, hear). In reality our subsidy for the period mentioned reached \$1,541,448.10. Is there equality or justice in a state of affairs such as this? (hear, hear). Manitoba has been, in fact, the most profitable investment the Dominion ever made in her whole public existence (cheers). In point of fact, the revenues accruing in Manitoba and the North West have been the principal sources by which of late the credit of the Dominion has been placed on a firm basis in the money markets of the world, enabling the Federal authorities to pay interest on the large and heavy debt thrown on the Dominion by the Eastern Provinces on entering Confederation (hear and cheers). Canada's western possessions are shown conclusively to have largely contributed to her sources of revenues; while the maintenance of her institutions in the East have been sources of loss rather than gain to the Dominion. We must not forget, too, that on going into the Confederation partnership in 1870, our principal

source of revenue was taken from us in the interest of the Dominion. We came into the compact, having possession of an asset that was better than any of the "assets" so often quoted as belonging to the other Provinces. "We entered the Union free from debt." The others came in loaded with "assets,"—in reality, incumbrances,—amounting to \$90,000,000. As indicating still further the one-sidedness and inequality of this curious partnership, I have noticed how Manitoba, the worst treated member of Confederation, became one of the largest contributors to the purse of Canada. The acquisition of Manitoba and the North West gave the Dominion fruitful sources of revenue; while, as I have also noticed, the confederating of the sister Provinces in the East not only placed a huge load of debt on the Dominion, but proved in every way a far less profitable operation than the acquisition of this portion of Canada (cheers). Is it any wonder, then, that under these circumstances the people of the West should look with anxiety and doubt into the future,—the short existence we have had in the Dominion partnership being sufficient to illustrate to us the necessity of a radical readjustment of our position (hear, hear). I will now briefly refer to the estimates which His Honor has transmitted to this House, but not with the intention of entering into any detailed explanation as to the application of the sums required. I will merely say that we ask the sanction of the Legislature to an expenditure of \$144,096.61 more than we show any reasonable hope of being able to meet from any revenue at our disposal (hear hear). The other Hon. gentlemen exercising supervision over departments will be able to give details of the Estimates. In bringing them down, I may also observe that they are merely for the ordinary current expenses of the Province; and, while endeavoring to be as economical as possible in the administration of the

public funds, it will be admitted that it would be bad policy on our part so to curtail that expenditure as to prevent our being able to meet all necessary expenses. The Province is in course of rapid development, and any undue economy at this juncture would therefore be false economy, as tending to retard that development (hear, hear). In regard to the position of affairs financially, the Government have had occasion before this to state it as their opinion that the present position of affairs was inevitable. The whole question as to the financial standing and prospects of the Province is one that has been very fully discussed before on the floor of this House, at the hustings, and everywhere throughout the country (hear, hear). Public opinion has been gradually solidifying in relation to this matter, until it has become so strong and our necessities as a Province so pressing, that the Government believe the time to be most opportune to urge again and finally on the Federal authorities the claims of this Province,—urging them, too, in such a manner as will, we doubt not, be attended with success (loud cheers). I will now close my remarks by moving that the House resolve itself into Committee of Supply to consider the message of His Honor ; together with the Estimates and statements accompanying the same.

ADDENDA.

AMOUNT of Customs Duties per head of population paid in each Province, from 1874 to 1883.

YEARS.	ONTARIO.	QUEBEC.	NOVA SCOTIA.	NEW BRUNSWICK.	MANITOBA.	BRITISH COLUMBIA.	PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.
1874	\$2 69	\$5 55	\$3 63	\$4 89	\$ 5 69	\$ 6 73	\$2 33
1875	2 97	5 68	3 85	4 79	14 46	8 27	3 37
1876	2 71	4 28	3 18	3 65	20 69	9 76	3 12
1877	2 87	3 87	3 35	3 82	6 41	8 07	2 83
1878	2 90	3 79	3 14	5 07	7 45	8 52	2 46
1879	3 06	3 97	3 05	3 67	9 14	10 32	2 19
1880	3 14	5 03	3 14	3 05	9 92	9 00	2 11
1881	3 32	5 94	3 40	3 91	8 84	9 99	2 38
1882	3 82	6 74	3 99	4 54	16 00	13 72	1 82
1883	3 98	6 80	4 16	4 71	9 02	18 38	1 53
	\$31 46	\$51 65	\$34 89	\$42 10	\$107 62	\$102 76	\$24 14
	3.14 ³	5.16 ¹ / ₂	3.48 ⁴ / ₁₀	4.21	10.76 ¹ / ₅	10.27 ³ / ₅	2.41 ² / ₅

COMPARISON between the Provinces of Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island.

Manitoba, net Revenue.....	\$3,858,938	92
British Columbia.....	2,755,588	00

Balance in favor of Manitoba.....	<u>\$1,103,350</u>	<u>92</u>
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Manitoba.....	\$3,858,938	92
Prince Edward Island.....	535,555	19

Balance in favor of Manitoba.....	<u>\$3,323,383</u>	<u>73</u>
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Disbursements made by Federal Government—

British Columbia.....	\$2,793,543	30
Manitoba.....	1,541,448	10

	<u>\$1,252,095</u>	<u>20</u>
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Contributions of Manitoba
in excess of British Colum-

bia.....	\$1,103,350	92
Receipts less.....	1,252,095	20

	<u>\$2,355,446</u>	<u>12</u>
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Manitoba worth more to Canada than British Columbia.

Disbursements made by Federal Government—

Prince Edward Island.....	\$2,249,920	15
Manitoba.....	1,541,448	10

	<u>\$ 708,472</u>	<u>05</u>
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Contribution of Manitoba
in excess of Prince Edward

Island	\$3,332,383	73
Receipts less.....	708,472	05

	<u>\$4,040,855</u>	<u>78</u>
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Manitoba profit to Canada over Prince Edward Island.