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THE GREAT QUESTION

(Continued from page 1)

every member to at least give an expression of opinion on the matters relative to provincial autonomy. The hon. gentleman from Prince Albert West had referred to the question of transportation and he quite agreed with him that it was the most important question. The experience of the past year had taught them a lesson in that respect and the matter must be dealt with without delay. After stating this the hon. gentleman had gone on to say that he could not agree with the resolution brought in, which regretted the action of the Dominion Government in refusing to grant the powers necessary to deal with this question. To say the least, he considered the hon. gentleman's position inconsistent.

The member for Prince Albert West had also stated that the Commissioner of Public Works said that there were no public lands left. True, there were few lands left, but the Commissioner had not said there were no lands. The proposition made by the Government asked for the lands that were left over and above those alienated.

AN EXTRAORDINARY POSITION.

As to the statement that the Government had no mandate, and the statement of the member for Prince Albert West that if the autonomy question took any definite shape during the term of this legislature he would resign. Mr. Gillis said this was an extraordinary stand to take, to resign his seat to show that he was opposed to taking any steps in that direction yet he voted for the resolution to enter into full negotiations with the Ottawa Government. This was a most extraordinary stand to take.

Mr. McKay—I said that it is time to lead up to this question, but if the legislature was to plunge the people into the matter and create us into a province during the term of this legislature I would resign my seat and the people of Prince Albert West would at least have an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the matter.

Mr. Gillis was pleased the hon. gentleman had made the explanation but it did not alter the case one iota. No time was fixed in the resolution and the Government were empowered by the unanimous vote of the House to enter into negotiations for our entering confederation. The hon. gentleman should have moved a resolution that the Government should not have done so before an appeal to the people. That was the proper course and the one he should have taken.

DR. PATRICK'S STRIDES.

Mr. Gillis then said he desired to congratulate the hon. member for Yorkton upon the strides he was making in the House. Up to a few days ago that gentleman had occupied a seat on the back benches, but now he had taken a step forward and occupied the third position in the Opposition ranks which meant that he would occupy a position of eminence and prominence in this great country if the Opposition ever got to the treasury benches. He did not wish to build up any false hopes, however. That hon. gentleman in his speech referred to the draft bill submitted by this Government to the federal government and went on and recited several of the principal provisions of that bill, discussed them carefully and agreed with the main principles all the way through. (Hear, hear.) He agreed with all that and then went on and moved his extraordinary amendment. If he had read his amendment and said nothing the country would have been just as wise. (Laughter.)

The hon. member for Yorkton dwelt at length on the subject that the Government had no mandate. He (the speaker) quite agreed with the hon. gentleman from Wolseley that provincial autonomy was the live question at the last election. In his district it was the prominent question and it was thought that during the life of this Assembly it would have to be decided. The premier at the last meeting at Whitewood had stated that during the life of this Assembly it would be discussed and in all probability full arrangements made. As far as he knew in the other districts in Eastern Assiniboia the candidates also had this plank in their platforms and were agreed that it would be a question which this Assembly would have to discuss. The statement that the Government had no mandate was contrary to the actual facts in the districts he knew of.

THE MISSION TO OTTAWA.

The hon. gentleman from Yorkton also objected strongly to the manner in which the local Government approached the federal Government on this question, and claimed that they had no right to go to the federal government and Parliament but should have done it through the Territorial representatives at Ottawa. What was the premier elected to this House for if not to look after their own business. It was the duty of the federal representatives to look after Canada in general, and it was the duty of the local legislature to look after their own interests, and in going to Ottawa the premier did nothing but what was right and his duty, and nothing but what would have to be done by the present or any other government in the Territories. It was a local question that must be dealt with by them. One would imagine to hear the hon. gentleman talk about secret negotiations that the draft bill was something new and the principles in it unknown to the people. Everyone knew them and yet the hon. gentleman spoke of secret negotiations which were not divulged when they ought to have been.

Mr. Gillis stated that on the question of the number of provinces he had always held certain definite views which he had expressed in the House and his constituency, and that was that when they came to be a province they should enter confederation on the lines laid down in the draft bill. He had heard nothing to lead him to change his opinion. The conclusions of the member for Yorkton had very little weight. The question they had to deal with was a practical one.

LET US DOUBLE EVERYTHING.

The change the hon. gentlemen who occupied the Opposition benches had taken was a marvellous one. Last year when it was proposed to increase the salaries of the hon. gentlemen occupying the treasury benches a great howl was raised by the Opposition; and only a few years ago one hon. gentleman opposite advocated cutting off the small allowance of $500 to the Speaker. It was all right to economise but that was carrying it too far. They had changed their front entirely and now said in effect that the country was too cheaply governed. They said instead of one lieutenant governor let us have two; instead of three or four paid ministers let us have seven or eight; instead of five or six deputy heads let us have ten or twelve: let the civil service be multiplied by two and let us double everything. If, said Mr. Gillis, we have two provinces it will cost just double and that is one thing the people of this country will not for a moment tolerate.

AN ECONOMICAL GOVERNMENT.

There was a reference made to the amount of $50,000 they would receive as the grant made to each province from the Dominion for legislative purposes. A cent a head was not much but the item would be considered in bulk. They had examples in eastern Canada but he did not think a comparison could be fairly made between conditions prevailing there and here. In this country they had a system of their own intended to cover and meet all requirements and deal out proper treatment to all parts of the Territories. The people were wisely and economically governed and no matter how far away they were, they enjoyed the same privileges as those near Regina or any other central point, and it would be unwise, therefore, to make any changes in that respect. Under their system of government they had built up in this country the most economical system of any province in Canada. In one large local improvement district it cost less than $50 to collect $4,500 in taxes, while it cost $600 to collect the same amount in the municipality of Indian Head. No part of the country suffered or was being ill-treated, and, therefore, they should endeavor as far as possible to continue that form of government.

Who wanted two provinces? The farmers did not, and the only answer that occurred to him was a few ambitious politicians. The majority of the people were strongly and very strongly opposed to two provinces. Our duty, concluded Mr. Gillis, is to get together and establish a system by which this country can be well and economically governed. (Cheers.)

MR. F. VILLENEUVE

was the next speaker. He said the question had been brought so suddenly on the people that they were not quite ready to discuss it in all its important details. The Government did not want to proceed on the question last year without the sanction of the Assembly and yet they had done exactly the opposite of what they promised, and although he was in favor of provincial autonomy as soon as possible he could not express any regret at the refusal of the Dominion Government to grant it without the people having been consulted by a general election, or a referendum (laughter), or by the premier taking the advice of the members of the House. The Government party had told the country that the members of the Opposition took no interest in this question or even thought about it. They practically said to the member for Yorkton: "You should not have spoken. You did not clear off the deck and you did not enlighten the member for Whitewood or the member for Wolseley.

There were, however, going to move now and if it came a little late it was the fault of the Attorney General who for the first time had come before the House with a regular and straight announcement of his policy of one province. The resolution of May, 1900, was never intended to give the Government authority to go to Ottawa and pledge the Assembly or people of the Territories to accept whatever proposal the Government of the country wished to present them without first asking the approval of the House or people. The last paragraph of the resolution of 1900 said, "and that a proposition should be submitted to the people of the Territories, through their representatives, before any final action is taken."

THEIR DUTY TO GIVE ADVICE.

Have we, the accredited representatives of the people, asked Mr. Villéneuve, been consulted and asked some advice? (Laughter.) The premier never condescends to ask advise from us. Well, we have a right to give it to him. (Loud laughter.) I hope he will take my advice in the same sense of duty I give it. I give it as a duty to myself, my district, the Territories and Canada, because I consider that this question must be approached by a western man not only as a resident of the Territories but as a Canadian who has not only the interest of the Territories themselves at heart, but at the same time Canada as a whole, and it is in this frame of mind I intend discussing a few of the proposals.

In the resolution of May 1900, the premier had asked them to drop all controversial questions. It was not one, two or three provinces but the provincial autonomy question, and before it came to the front they had to make an enquiry into their accounts and see how they stood with the federal Government and whether they were in the good column or not, and on what terms the Territories should enter confederation, and then at that time the Assembly would have occasion to discuss them. Had they? No, the Government went to Ottawa and presented their memorial purporting to be the ideas set forth by the Assembly but which they were not because they certainly were not discussed there. They had been discussed in an exactly contrary manner.

Dr. Elliott—You should have done your duty and discussed them.

A CAUSE FOR REJOICING.

Mr. Villeneuve said that was what they did. He said no advice had been given at all by the House to the Government. The only instruction that was given,—and that had been taken a little rashly by the Government—was when the House decided that the boundaries of Manitoba should not be extended westward. That was the only instruction given and since then they had never been asked for any. Why should they regret because that proposal was not accepted? Instead of regretting they should rejoice. When he saw the sad face of the Commissioner of Agriculture he, too, should rejoice with them for in the event of a general Dominion election he might have to support some of the candidates of this Government they were asked to condemn. (Laughter.) He thought the Federal Government did right in refusing to entertain Mr. Haultain's proposal.

WOULD ACCEPT THREE PROVINCES.

He agreed with the Opposition in declaring for two provinces. He was not against three provinces and if the Federal Government granted them it would only be following the idea of the Government when the provisional districts were made. Sir John Macdonald thought there should be three provinces and if the member for Wolseley ridiculed the idea he (Villeneuve) could stand with Sir John Macdonald. But that was not the question now.

The hon. member for Whitewood had referred to economy. If the Government at Ottawa were prepared to give the money for two legislatures western people should not object. The people of the north were for two provinces, and a representative was to represent the ideas of the people and as his constituents were in favor of two provinces he must come there and state the facts, and again the eastern provinces would never allow the equilibrium of the confederation to be broken. Was it possible that Ontario and the other provinces would say that fifty years hence the country west of Lake Superior will control the rest of Canada? No, they would say: We will make it into provinces so that while they will have some general common interests they will not have that overwhelming influence one province would possess. The Opposition were pledged to two provinces and would give evidence that it was fighting a good fight, and whatever the result of their battles everyone would be satisfied that the Opposition had been working for the best interests of the people. (Cheers)

MR. A. S. SMITH.

Mr. A. S. Smith (Moosomin) said for some years this had been a very important question but this session was the first time that they had any indication that the Opposition had an opinion on it. The people expected the Government to have opinions. He had discussed this question through every portion of his district and he considered it the duty not only of the Government, but of the Opposition as well, to lay before the people their ideas so that public opinion would be educated up to the position of being able to vote at the elections this year. If the people were not familiar with the question, the different members of the House were responsible for that condition of things, and the Opposition seemed to say that the people were not prepared for the step the Government had taken. One of the first questions dealt with in the House after he had a seat in it was the provincial autonomy question, and since then it had been taken up at every session, and last session the Government introduced a resolution which went to Ottawa asking for provincial powers. If the Opposition were not acquainted with it they would find when they went to the country that the people were quite acquainted with the conditions the local Government had laid before the federal Government. The member for St. Albert said this was very sudden, but he feared that hon. gentleman had not been in the Territories for a year or more if that was the position he took. Every paper in the Territories had been discussing the question and he failed to see where there was anything very sudden in it.

He was surprised that some gentlemen should say they were in favor of two provinces but were unable to state in what shape they would have them. Some would have the Territories cut from north to south; others from east to west. As he was not in favor of two provinces it did not make much difference to him, but when the Opposition went so far it was regrettable they did not tell the people what shape the provinces would be. The Government had been quite frank in taking the people and the House into their confidence on this question, although there were some gentlemen who state they have not been taken into the confidence of the Government but every member of the House knew that that was not the fact.

CANADA WAS OVER-GOVERNED.

Here in Canada we were over-governed. There were too many local legislatures and in the opinion of himself and many other men it would be better if the eastern provinces were united. It would be a benefit to the whole Dominion. The argument brought before the House that afternoon that it was cheaper to govern small provinces than large ones would be a revelation to the business men of Canada, and of the Territories in particular. It was like cutting a farm of 100 acres up into two farms of 50 acres.

Dr. Patrick—Take the Bell farm.

Mr. Smith contended the Bell farm was not a case in point. If it were not put on a business basis it would not pay but if it was it would pay.

Dr. Patrick—Politics is politics; business is business.

Mr. Smith went on to state that the hon. gentleman put himself up to educate the people on business matters in this country. The large financial and commercial institutions were amalgamating and putting them under one head and management. For what purpose? For the purpose of cheapening the management.

Dr. Patrick—To squeeze the people.

Mr. Smith replied that Dr. Patrick was referring to monopolies, he was not. The trend of times was along the line of increasing amalgamations, and putting all lines of business under a proper head so that one man could look after the whole of it and do it more cheaply. This applied to the business of Government, and if it was done properly it could be done more cheaply. The argument used by the hon. gentleman would have no weight with the business men of the Territories and other parts of Canada.

ECONOMICAL CONDUCT OF BUSINESS.

He would refer the House to the Government of the Territories and by the last returns in the Public Works report he found that the percentage of cost was 3.86 for the expenditure of money in the Territories, and he claimed the people should be proud of the economical conduct of business in the North-West. It was further stated that in the large local improvement districts taxes were collected and all services done for 2½ cents on the dollar. That was a marvellous thing and it must be very gratifying to the people of the Territories to find that the money of the country had been spent so well. The percentage of cost for expenditure on superintendence and inspection was 2·16. It was a most remarkable thing from a business standpoint that the Government were able to give such a service for so small an expenditure. If they took the Financial Year Book of the Dominion they would find that no province in the Dominion spent money so cheaply as the North-West Territories. This was very gratifying to him and he was sure it must be even to the members of the Opposition.

He thought when the time came the hon. gentlemen who had been asking for two provinces would find that the people had pronounced ideas on the question. They had been giving it their consideration for some time and realised the fact that this country must be developed. He regretted that the hon. gentleman who preceded him was not sorry that the Government had been blocked and that the time for the establishment of a province was in the future.

They had a great deal of trouble and loss over the grain blockade. They felt that something must be done; that transportation facilities must be provided; there must be a better way of getting the grain out of the Territories and if that was the case the local Government had a part to play and a responsibility, and the Assembly had a responsibility at the back of the Government, and it must in every way see that proper transportation facilities are given to the people who were developing this great country. They were only on the eve of a great development. If they sat down and said they were glad at the action of the Dominion Government he would leave the responsibility to those who said it, but for himself he was sorry that the Territorial Government had not been placed in a position to be able to take hold of that great question and give the relief the people expected. They needed railways and needed them quickly. They could not wait for four or five years and leave their grain in granaries. They must have railways and at once. With the immigration that was pouring in, and the responsibility thus placed on the local Government, it was amazing that the Opposition was so glad that the Government could do nothing, and it would find that the people did not sympathise with it.

He had noticed in a newspaper report of a meeting held in Prince Albert that the member for Prince Albert West had said that the people of the Territories were not as well fitted to govern themselves as the people of Manitoba were when they entered confederation. He thought this a remarkable statement, that the people were not qualified to govern the country and thought possibly the hon. gentleman had come to that conclusion, not by travelling through the Territories, but by staying at home. He certainly was not speaking for any of the eastern districts and he was sure that the western country was on a par with the east as far as development was concerned. When Manitoba, nearly 30 years ago, entered confederation the people had not the training to start out with the people in the Territories had. Here they had a provisional government for many years, and the people were as well qualified to govern themselves as were the people of any province in the Dominion. He hoped the member for Prince Albert West was wrongly reported but he had not said he was or was not. The Territories had very nearly all legislative powers except to borrow money on the public credit. That was about the only difference.

The question had been fully discussed from all points of view. If the Opposition were sincere in their views it was all right, and if they had taken the same stand two years ago he would have thought they were going in the right direction. At that late date the Opposition said they had a policy and their amendment was the policy. It was not quite completed yet as they did not know how they would cut the Territories up. They would have to fight that out among themselves and the people would also have something to say about it. (Cheers.)

Mr. McKay rose to a question of privilege and stated that he was incorrectly reported in the newspaper quoted by Mr. Smith with reference to the Prince Albert meeting.

A report of the closing speeches in this debate will appear next week.

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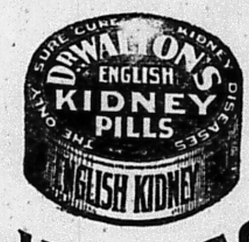

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