THE DOMINION'S DESTINY.

SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT ON CANADA'S EMANCIPATION.

Annexation Not Desirable—Imperial Federation Impracticable—Independence Worth Discussing.

I desire, before resuming my seat, to say a few words on a subject of great interest for all of us, but a subject which I must admit is more or less within the domain of speculative politics, and on which, therefore, I desire it to be most clearly and distinctly understood that I am speaking for myself alone, and am in no way speaking with the intent or desire to bind any other person by anything I may advance to-night. I have found in my various discussions, particular with the younger portion of the reform party, that there appears to be in many quarters a considerable feeling of unrest, a considerable amount of discontent and doubt as to the stability of our present form of government, and anxiety as to what in the long run is likely to be the fate of the confederation. I cannot wonder that it should be so. I cannot even desire that it should be otherwise. I believe it is a wholesome sign when we see the young men beginning to discuss and agitate these questions. [Cheers.] It is a natural thing. There can be no doubt whatever, that as we grow and our country becomes more consolidated, by-and-bye our people will naturally aspire to a more independent form of existence than we now have; [cheers] and for myself I have begun to think that this is a question which may well be faced and may well be discussed. [Renewed cheers.] As you all know, there is more than one course open before us.

As you all know, two or three distinct courses have been suggested for our consideration. Practically, as everybody knows, there is always in the background, situated as we are, a small country alongside a great one, the possibility, and in the minds of some people the desirable possibility, that we may be absorbed into our great republican neighbor. For myself, I say frankly that to me that has always appeared as an ignominious surrender. [Loud cheers.] As only one form of national suicide. [Renewed cheers.] I say that, however great the people of the United States may be—and I do not desire to diminish their greatness one whit—however excellent their institutions, I think there is enough vitality and strength in Canada to ensure more than the mere merging of our national existence in that of United States. I am not in favor, even if I were better convinced than I am, that it would be for our material advantage of bartering our birthright for a mess of pottage. [Loud cheers.]

Whatever the history of the United States may be, it is one which we have no part in; and I believe it is as true of nations as it is of individuals that neither men nor nations live by bread alone, nor by mere material considerations; and therefore, though I cannot ignore the fact that there are among us some, and there may be among us more particularly under the pressure of misfortune who may desire to seek that refuge, I can only say that I should regard it as a distinct lowering of our position, as much so as if one of you owning a small farm were to sell it to a richer neighbor and agree to become a tenant of the land which you formerly held and controlled. [Cheers.] Then there is what is a natural and obvious thing—the possibility of Canada in a speedy period becoming an independent power, and acquiring an independent existence. [Loud cheers.] That is a matter to be discussed, to be seriously and gravely discussed.

I will venture to say that if Canada desires it, and when Canada thinks herself fit for that independence and chooses to ask for it, no English statesman will be found in the least degree disposed to place barriers in the way. (Renewed cheers.) But I am bound as an honest man to tell you this, that in my judgment and in the judgment of those well entitled to speak, that that time has hardly as yet come. (Renewed cheers.) Canada is not, as I have pointed out, a very homogeneous country. A very considerable, needless weight has been placed upon us; needless impediments have been placed in our way by that mis-called national policy, which, as I have shown, has greatly and grievously exhausted the resources of the dominion.

Although I quarrel with no man who discusses the question, although I do not believe it is just to accuse any man of disloyalty because he does so, yet I point out to you that at the present moment there is probably in many portions of Canada rather a sentiment of loyalty to the province to which men belong, rather a sentiment of loyalty to the British empire, of which these provinces are a part, than, as yet at all events, a sentiment of loyalty to the dominion of Canada. [Cheers]. Still, I say, these are subjects to be discussed and thought over, and if the people really feel within themselves that they are fit for the new position, then they have only to say so and their wish will be very speedily accomplished. There is another possible course which has also been considerably discussed, which deserves consideration at your hands—that is the question whether it is or is not possible for us to further confederate the whole British empire. [Loud cheers.] In a short time, in all human probability, we will be stretching out our hands from the other side of the continent to our brethren in New Zealand and Australia—[cheers]—and no doubt, and there is no doubt whatever, that much may be said for the project of the confederation of the British empire. At the same time you must remember that our colonies are very widely scattered; you must also remember that the British people themselves, who in this matter, I think, should give some certain sign or indication of their desire if the change is to be agitated for, have as yet bestowed but little attention upon the matter. [Hear, hear.] Though I say the thing deserves discussion, though it is a thing which there is no reason whatever why we should not seriously consider, I admit, in this case, that there are considerable difficulties in the way.

But ladies and gentlemen there is another plan which has been whispered, and only whispered as yet, which all those men who are not frightened by the magnitude of a proposition, who are not necessarily led to regard a scheme as Utopian because it promises great results, admit to be worthy of mature consideration. I present it to you as a suggestion. It has appeared to me for a very considerable time—I speak as an individual mind and not in any respect as a member of a party—that our confederation, which in some important respects has no doubt been a considerable success [cheers], might be made the stepping stone to a project which would be of much greater magnitude and importance—the project of a confederation of all the English speaking countries in the world. [Loud cheers.] I do not mean to suggest to you the possibility of these countries being combined under one government as we are, but I say this is a fitting place, and in many respects this is a fitting time to consider whether such a union might or might not be.

Within a few weeks you are about to celebrate the centennial of the settlement of Canada by the united empire loyalists. I wonder if any of us have ever thought out what the true meaning and significance of that title was. I may say that I do not think we have quite appreciated our forefathers in that matter. I do not think that at any rate we in North America have appreciated the extent to which the men of the eighteenth century grasped the possible future of the English race. I would not feel as proud as I do of the loyalty and self-sacrifice of the united empire loyalists if I thought their leaders were actuated only by a desire to enable the people of Great Britain to levy taxes upon the people of the United States. I have felt, and indeed I have good cause to know that it was so, that many of the best of these people, realizing the sacrifice the people of England had made to secure for the English race the dominion of North America, thought it a thousand pities, as Burke and Chatham did, that these sacrifices should be made in vain. I believe also, though I may be wrong, that there are men enough who appreciate that sentiment. It would be a great benefit, not merely to these two great nations, but to the whole world, if these views were generally held and a permanent reconciliation effected. [Loud cheers.] I will grant you there are difficulties in the way, but remember this is an age of great national movements all the world over. Remember that in parts of other great countries separated by wide distance there have been for many years back a strong and growing disposition on the part of kindred races to come together. I may say, to quiet the qualms of ultra-loyal gentlemen who might oppose such a union, that I have not hesitated to discuss this matter with eminent Englishmen and Americans, and I can truly say that the larger the man with whom I discussed the subject the more I found he favored it. [Cheers.]

There is one point on which I differ from many who have more or less discussed the matter. I entertain no desire to see these nations combined under one sovereign. What I desire is simply to see a union which would remove it possible every risk of hostility between the great branches of the race. [Cheers.] I look to a sort of defensive alliance something like (only better organized) the old Germanic bund which subsequently ripened into the German empire. I know that the amplest powers of self-government must be given to all the points of such combination. There are [illegible] of union. We speak the same language, we enjoy substantially the same laws, we have in many respects similar institutions, we have a common literature, and if it were possible to add a few further points, such as a common navy, a common flag, a common coinage, and a common consular system, all of which could be done without infringing on the independence of any of the powers, and which would be sufficient for a start, there is very little doubt that closer union would follow from time to time as occasion might arise. (Applause.) There are many things that such a confederacy might effect. They might have a common court and effect a number of objects to promote the general interest.

In many important respects that is a project which Canada might well enough begin, and which Canadians might set before themselves. Neither of the older nations could very well take the initiative in a matter of that kind, but England has long since repented the folly—for such I must call it—which led to the loss of half of North America, and from what I have seen of the people of the United States I am led to believe that they are best fitted to appreciate the magnitude of a confederation of this kind. I see great benefits to the whole world arising from such a union. This would be no confederacy for conquest, no confederacy for taking away the liberties of other people; but where in all the world would you find a nation or a combination of nations bold enough to attack a confederacy which would begin with a hundred millions of English speaking people under its flag? Now I said that Canada—and particularly I think Ontario—is in a position to speak on this question. Among her hundred colonies, acquired in every possible way—by war, by purchase, by barter, by discovery, by the natural instinct of settlement on the part of men who wished to better their condition—England has but one colony—Ontario—of which it can be truly said that it was won for her by men who gave up all else they held dear for the sake of their allegiance to the British crown. [Loud and prolonged cheering]. I know of no other colony that can say as much, and I know of no nobler origin for any nation or colony than that—[cheers]—and for that reason I think if any of us be true descendants of the united empire loyalists we might take this occasion, the celebration of their centenary, to consider whether it would be possible to assist in settling the feud which has so long severed the great branches of the English race. [Loud cheers].

If neither of these plans be possible, if it be not possible to carry out such a confederation as I have hinted at or a confederation of the British empire, I think we might as well at once begin to turn our attention to the task of preparing ourselves for the duties of independence. [Tremendous cheering.] Gentlemen, there is room enough for you. [Cheers and laughter.] There is half a continent before you. There is room enough in Canada for half a dozen first-class European states, and if we may be at first dwarfed by the great people beside us, those among that very people who know us best are those who speak most highly of Canada and who take most trouble to explain to their fellow-countrymen what a valuable heritage the people of Canada, and particularly the people of Ontario, possess. I have quoted it before, but I do not hesitate to read again the words of an eminent American, respecting the country in which we live. They are worthy the attention of every Canadian:

North of Lakes Erie and Ontario and the River St. Lawrence, east of Lake Huron, south of the forty-sixth parallel, and included mainly within the present dominion of Canada, there is as fair a country as exists on the American continent—nearly as large in area as New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio combined, and equal, if not superior as a whole, to those states in agricultural capacity. It is the natural habitat on this continent of the combing-wool sheep, without a full, cheap and reliable supply of the wool of which species the great worsted manufacturing industry of the country cannot prosper, or we should rather say exist. It is the region where grows the finest barley, which the brewing interests of the United States must have, if it ever expects to rival Great Britain in its present annual export of over $11,000,000 worth of malt products. It raises and grazes the finest of cattle, with qualities especially desirable to make good the deterioration of stock in other sections; and its climatic conditions, created by an almost encirclement of the greater lakes, especially fit it to grow men. Such a country is one of the greatest gifts of Providence to the human race; better than bonanzas of silver or rivers whose sands run gold.

Sir, we know that many years ago a great Indian confederacy—the confederacy of the Iroquois—occupied about the same territory we now occupy. We know also that but for the coming of the white man the inhabitants of this country north of the lakes would have asserted their supremacy over all the other nations of red men on the American continent. [Loud cheers.] I would have you worthy of our red ancestors—if I may call them so—in that respect. [Cheers.] Those of you who take an interest in cattle breeding know that if you bring high-bred cattle here from the old country, after a few years here they become so much better than the original stock that they are gladly bought back by their original owners at much more than what they cost you. [Loud cheers.]

I have spoken to you frankly and at some risk of being misunderstood, of being misinterpreted. Those are risks which all public men must take from time to time. All I have to ask you is to understand that in what I have said, be it good or bad—and I do not ask you to agree with me or to disagree with me—I have told you what I thought was for your advantage, and what I thought was true. [Cheers]. Sir, in Canada, which is more to you and me than a mere place of residence we need to combine and work together. [Cheers] Canada has been called a Scotch colony, and looking upon the list of our great men that would seem to be true. If you put out Mackenzie you put in Macdonald, if you put out John Sandfield Macdonald you put in (with a short interregrum of my friend Mr. Blake) Mowat. I believe that Ontario has been in the main a Scotch colony. I would have the people of Ontario, I would have the people of Canada, remember one of the noblest characteristics of the Scotch people. I would have them as the Scotch people do prize Canada, the honor of Canada, the welfare of Canada as their home, and I would have you believe and see and feel, as Sir Walter Scott did, that if there was any man, no matter how rich, no matter how great, no matter how dignified, who cared not for the welfare of his country, that man was unworthy to live in the country. [Loud cheers.] I tell you, whatever may be the future of Canada, whatever may be her destiny, I believe if Canadians are not able to make sacrifices for Canada such as Scotchmen have made for Scotland, Englishmen for England, and such as Irishmen, with all their faults (laughter), have many times made for Ireland this will not be such a country as we would desire Canada to be. Not until then shall we see Canada take the place among the nations of the earth which I believe, in spite of all that has come and gone, Providence intends her yet to occupy. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

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Vanderbilt's Mission to England.

LIVERPOOL, May 20.—Vanderbilt stated his object in coming to England was to witness the Derby at Epsom. The news he has received about the panic may necessitate an alteration of his plans, in which case he may return to America by an early steamer.

—By land or at sea, out on the prairie or in the crowded city, Ayer's Cathartic Pills are the best for purgative purposes, everywhere alike convenient, efficacious and safe. For sluggish bowels, torpid liver, indigestion, bad breath, flatulency, and sick headache, they are a sure remedy.

The French government has decided to introduce a bill for the taxation of imported cereals and cattle.

TORONTO RAILWAY TIME TABLE.

Grand Trunk Railway.

Trains Leave Toronto Under

EASTERN STANDARD TIME.

(a) For Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, Portland, and Boston, 7.15 a.m....Fast express, 9 a.m., (b) 7.50 p.m....5.30 p.m.—Local for Cobourg and intermediate stations.

(a) 1 p.m.—Mixed for Kingston and intermediate stations.

GOING WEST.

(a) 7.55 a.m.—Local for all points west to Detroit....(c) 12.15 p.m.—Express for Port Huron, Detroit, Chicago and beyond....(a) 4.00 p.m.—Local for London, Goderich, Georgian Bay branch, with through car to points north of Guelph....(b) 6.25 p.m.—Mixed, for Stratford and intermediate points....(d) 11.00 p.m.—Express for Port Huron, Detroit, all points in Michigan, Chicago and the west.

ARRIVE FROM THE EAST.

6.40 p.m.—Mixed, from Kingston....10.30 p.m—Express from Montreal....9.10 a.m.—Local, from Cobourg....11.30 a.m.—Fast Express....10.—Express from Montreal.

ARRIVE FROM THE WEST

8.10 a.m.—Express from Detroit....11.30 a.m.—Accommodation from Stratford...7.05 p.m.—Express from Chicago, Detroit, &c....11.00 p.m.—Passenger from London....7.50 a.m.—Mixed from Stratford.

The Midland Division.

Trains leave Toronto as follows:

7 a.m.—Mail—Sutton, Midland, Orillia, Coboconk, Haliburton, Lindsay, Port Perry, Whitby, Peterboro, Lakefield, Port Hope, Madoc, Belleville, Hastings, Campbellford and intermediate stations....4.00 p.m.—Mail—Sutton, Midland, Orillia, Coboconk, Lindsay, Port Perry, Whitby, Peterboro, Port Hope and intermediate stations.....Trains arrive at Toronto: 11.20 a.m.—Mail. 8.45 p.m.—Mail. 6.55 p.m.—Mixed.

Great Western Division.

(a) 7.35 a.m.—For Niagara Falls, Buffalo and local stations between Niagara Falls and Windsor....(a) 9.15 a.m.—For Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis and points West....(b) 1.10 p.m.—For Detroit, Chicago and points West....(a) 3.55 p.m.—For Niagara Falls, Buffalo, New York and local stations between Hamilton and London....(a) 6.30 p.m.—Local stations between Toronto and Niagara Falls....(a) 11 p.m.—For Niagara Falls, Buffalo, New York, Boston, Detroit, Chicago and all points East and West.

ARRIVE.

8.40 a.m.—Express from Chicago, Detroit and Hamilton....10.35 a.m.—Express from London, St. Catharines and Hamilton....12.50 p.m.—Express from New York, Boston, Buffalo and all points East....(b) 4.25 p.m.—Express from New York, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, London, etc....7.05 p.m.—Mail from Buffalo, Detroit, London, Hamilton and intermediate stations....7.25 p.m.—Express from Detroit....11.10 p.m.—Express from London and intermediate stations.

(a) Daily except Sundays. (b) Daily, Sundays included. (c) On Sundays leaves Toronto at 12.50 p.m., via the Great Western Division. (d) Runs through to Detroit daily, except Sundays, with Pullman attached.... SUBURBAN TRAINS leave Toronto at 6.45, 10.35 a.m., and 2.05, 5.20 and 6.55 p.m. Returning—Leave Mimico 8.15 and 11.15 a.m., and 2.40, 5.55 and 7.30 p.m., calling at Queen's Wharf, Parkdale, High Park and the Humber, both going and returning....Trains leaving Toronto for Hamilton at 12.50, and arriving from Hamilton at 4.05 p.m., will run on Sundays, but will not stop at intermediate stations.

Credit Valley Railway.

Trains Leave Toronto, Union Depot, as follows:

St. Louis Express, 7.10 a.m., for all stations on main line and branches, and for Detroit, Toledo, St. Louis and Kansas City....Pacific Express, 1.05 p.m., for Galt, Woodstock, Ingersoll, St. Thomas, Detroit, Chicago, and all points west and northwest....Local Express, 4.50 p.m., for all points on main line, Orangeville and Elora branches.

ARRIVE.

9:30 a.m.—Express from all stations on main line and branches.... 3.45 p.m.—Atlantic Express from Chicago and all points west and stations on main line.....7.00 p.m.—Montreal Express—All stations on main line and branches.

Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway.

Trains Leave Union Depot as follows:

7.20 A.M. MAIL.—4.50 P.M. EXPRESS. For Orangeville, Mount Forest, Harriston, Teeswater and Owen Sound. Express connecting with Owen Sound Steamship Line for all ports in Georgian Bay, Lake Superior and the Canadian Northwest. Trains depart from Union Depot....8.10 a.m.—A mixed train leaves Parkdale for Owen Sound direct.

ARRIVE AS FOLLOWS:

10.45 a.m.—Express from Owen Sound and intermediate stations....9.40 p.m.—Mail from Owen Sound and intermediate stations....4.50 p.m.—Mixed—Arrives at Parkdale.

Northern and Northwestern Railways.

Trains leave City Hall station as under:

7.55 a.m.—Mail for Gravenhurst, Orillia, Meaford, Penetang and intermediate stations. ....11.45 a.m.—Accommodation for Meaford, Gravenhurst and intermediate stations....5.20 p.m.—Express for Collingwood, Penetang, Orillia and Barrie....Trains are due to arrive at 10.05 a.m., 2 p.m. and 9.00 p.m.

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Montreal, December 1884. SECRETARY

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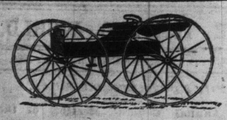

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