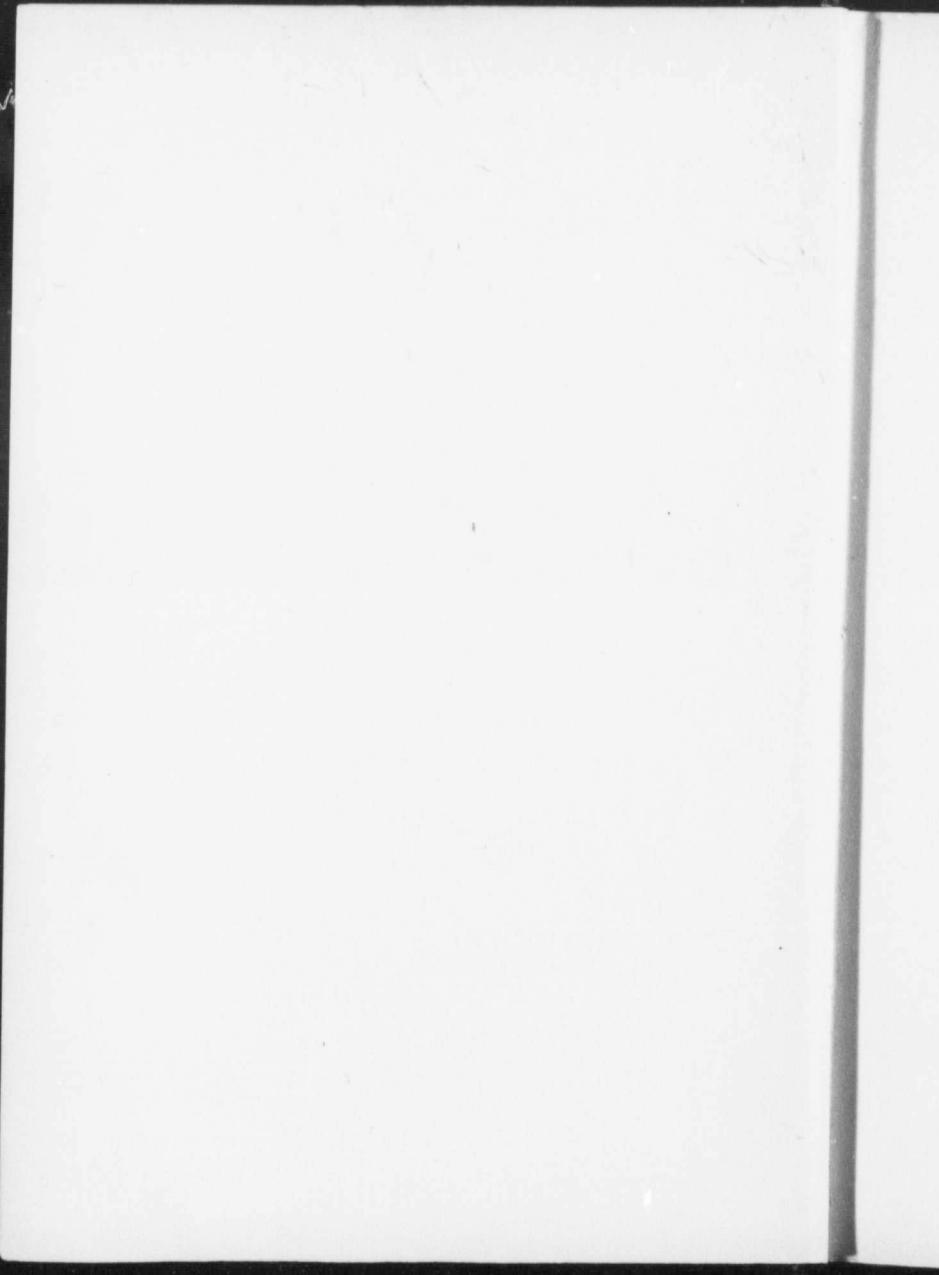


RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT

REMINISCENCES









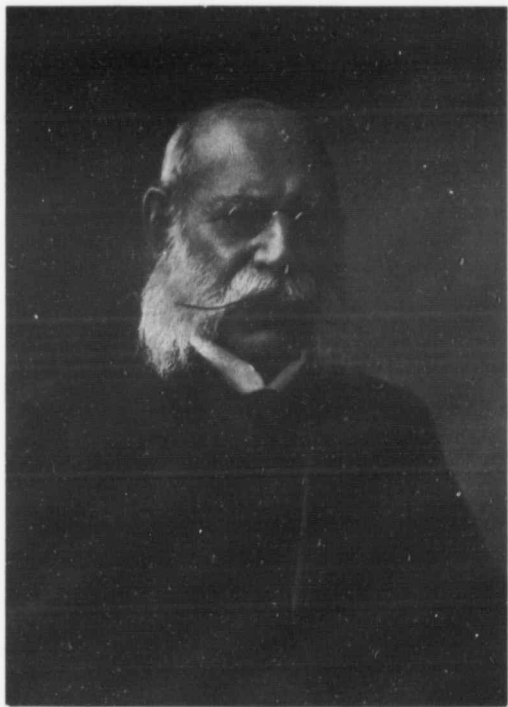




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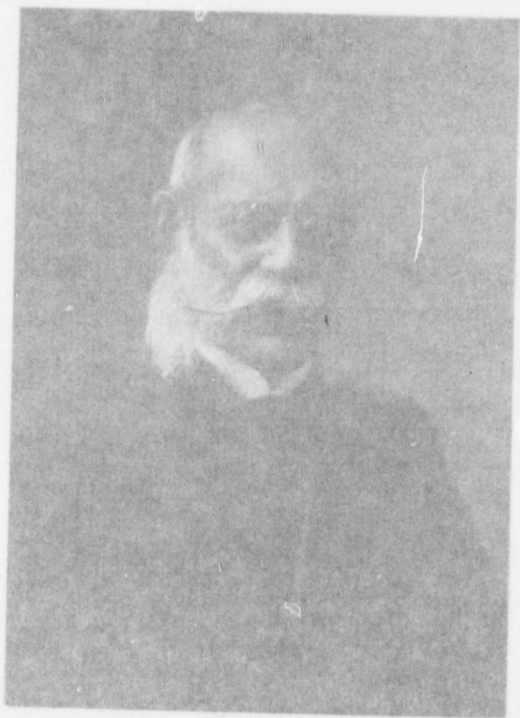
O. J. Caton

REMINISCENCES

By the
RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT
G.C.M.G., P.C.



TORONTO
WILLIAM BRIGGS
1912



A. J. Catmpt

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By the
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TORONTO
WILLIAM BRIGGS
1912

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CARTWRIGHT, R.

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
Alexander Mackenzie
SOMETIME PREMIER OF CANADA
THIS VOLUME
IS
DEDICATED

"I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity,
therefore I die in exile."—*Dante*.



P R E F A C E

I HAVE been asked to write a short preface to the volume of Reminiscences of Sir Richard Cartwright. It is impossible to refuse the request, and probably I knew him more intimately than any other person; but could there have been secured any other of his acquaintance who had a personal knowledge of the old political controversies in the Province of Canada this preface would have been more interesting to the reader who wishes to be informed as to the questions that stirred the people of the old Province just previous to Confederation.

My acquaintance with Sir Richard Cartwright began in 1870. I had arrived in Canada in the summer of 1869, and, being a stranger and utterly uninformed as to the public business in Canada, I felt some curiosity about the young man just at the outset of his political career who preferred principle to party and who, with another member of the party, had just gravitated to the cross-benches. Frankly, I did not then understand the question involved, but it seemed odd that a young man of culture and wealth, a member of one of the historic families of Canada, of Conservative instincts, should stand aloof from his old associates, and from such a leader as Sir John A. Macdonald. To my mind it seemed there was nothing to be got by it, and, moreover, that a promising career would likely be shattered. In 1860 there was nothing to indicate but that Sir John A. Macdonald might be the leader in Canada for very many years.

From 1870 to 1873 my acquaintance with Sir Richard Cartwright was a club acquaintance for the short time each year that Parliament sat in Ottawa. We were both readers of books; we had each in our youthful days studied and read the works of the famous men who lived in the past; and having had that kind of training we were able

to read and enjoy every new novel that made its appearance. The seventies were to some extent a studious period. Typewriters were unknown, the production of books was scanty as compared with the present day, there was no golf to distract, and the leaders of that time had always a book at hand to beguile the time, and Sir Richard Cartwright read everything, and could talk on the morrow of what he had read the night before. At that time, and for many years after, Sir Richard was an athlete; he dearly loved a boat, he exercised with clubs and dumb-bells daily, and every morning he took a very long walk. When in Ottawa he used to go every Sunday morning to church in Hull, partly because he liked the clergyman, but chiefly because it was further to walk.

From 1873 to 1878 our acquaintanceship grew into intimacy. He was the Minister of Finance; I was one of the chief clerks. We met daily. My duty was to prepare the estimates to be laid before Parliament and to get up the financial statements for the Budget Speech. It was a very unfortunate period. Just previous to the Mackenzie Government taking office new Provinces had entered the Dominion, large obligations had been incurred, an era of world-wide depression had just then set in, which was unfortunate for the Government. Sir Richard and Mackenzie tried their utmost to make both ends meet, but they were defeated. Their defeat was honourable; they went down maintaining their principles, and in the next Parliament their party was in a miserable minority. Sir Richard in his five years of power in the Finance Department obtained the respect and affection of the entire staff. His messenger, now a veteran in the Public Service, all through the long period of opposition from 1878 to 1896, met Sir Richard at the train on his arrival in Ottawa, engaged rooms for him each session, and was devoted to his former chief. To those who know Ottawa it will appear strange that a messenger should worship a setting sun.

I have one personal remark to make at this point. In August, 1878, I was appointed, on the recommendation of

Sir Richard, to be the Deputy Minister of the Department. I had no political influence, and there were supporters of the Government who deserved the office. Sir Richard never told me of his action, and I never solicited the office. I only knew of the appointment when I received the Order-in-Council, and naturally I venerate the name of Sir Richard with gratitude and devotion.

From 1878 to 1896, although our politics differed, I saw him two or three times each session. Anybody might have listened to our talk: very little was said about Canadian politics, but a great deal respecting English politics. Of course, as I had to attend at the House of Commons at each Budget Speech I heard each yearly criticism by Sir Richard. Looking back and remembering the composition of the House of Commons, I am more and more struck with the admirable patience with which Sir Richard, in most admirable English, assailed the principles of the Ministry.

From 1896 our relations again differed. He was a member of the Government and until 1906 I was still in the Public Service. I saw him frequently at the Treasury Board, but he was not the head of the Finance Department, and while we met frequently our talk was in accordance with our respective positions. He was becoming infirm, and liked his friends to come to see him. We rarely talked of his old Department; but at times, as he always acted during the absence of the Minister of Finance, I had to consult him, and frequently Mr. Fielding asked me to lay a memorandum before Sir Richard; but on both sides we were very scrupulous. It was foreign to the nature of Sir Richard to interfere with or to talk about his colleagues.

After I left the Department in 1906 Sir Richard would occasionally send for me. His talk was then of proportional representation or of matters of higher import than departmental affairs; to the end he was working after high ideals. I do not know how he would have viewed the present warfare in Eastern Europe, but he believed in

peace and had dreams of how universal peace could be obtained.

Sir Richard has left us. I do not know whether his fellow Canadians ever really understood him. When he died the Canadian papers gave him the praise of being a great Parliamentarian. It is true he fully understood the rules of the game; I do not remember of his having ever been called to order; but little was said of his courtliness, of his patience, of his courage, and of his scholarly manner of speech. Like many other prophets he had little honour in his own country, but the leading papers of the Motherland were always glad to receive and publish his letters, and the scholar and visitor from the Old Land made a point of meeting Sir Richard Cartwright. Sir Richard had another admirable trait. While he was a sincere friend and most generous to his party when in opposition, he never in the hour of success was envious at the exaltation of another, but faithfully gave his great ability to carry out what was his dearest wish, the establishment of good government in Canada.

J. M. COURTNEY.

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REMINISCENCES

INTERVIEW NUMBER ONE.

FIRST ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT, 1863.

SCENE.—Sir Richard Cartwright in his Library.

Enter REPORTER.

REPORTER. Sir Richard, I have been directed to call upon you to report any historical reminiscences you may see fit to make public.

SIR RICHARD. You will, of course, understand that I do not propose to attempt anything like a complete history of the period during which I have sat in Parliament. The time for that has hardly come. All I intend to do is to give a sort of summary of my own impressions and recollections of leading men and events, and to put on record certain facts.

REPORTER. When did you first enter Parliament?

SIR RICHARD. Some forty-nine years ago. I was elected to the last parliament of the two Canadas in June, 1863, and took my seat in August of that year at Quebec. Of the sixty-five members from Ontario who sat in that Parliament I am, I believe, the sole survivor.

REPORTER. That was a very critical period.

SIR RICHARD. Yes. The political cauldron was boiling over in more ways than one. The American Civil War was at its fiercest, and no man, not even among the strongest friends of the union, felt at all sure of what the future might bring forth. In Canada the situation was exceedingly complicated. Parties were almost equally divided and party feeling was very bitter. Then, too, the financial position was almost desperate and there was a very uneasy underlying sentiment that once the Civil War was over

Canada might find herself an object of attack by our neighbours.

REPORTER. Were you not a very young man to be elected to Parliament?

SIR RICHARD. I believe I was considerably the youngest member from Ontario. There were three or four about the same age from Quebec.

REPORTER. May I ask how it came about that you were elected?

SIR RICHARD. The circumstances were rather unusual. My family had been long and intimately connected with the County of Lennox and Addington for several generations. This county had been originally settled in great part by the U. E. Loyalists, who had been expelled from the United States, among whom my grandfather and his father had been prominent men. In my first campaign I came across a great many old farmers who had served under my grandfather, the Hon. Richard Cartwright, in the War of 1812-14, when he was Commandant of the Midland District, and had in that capacity ordered a levy of the whole able-bodied population under forty-five. Then among the middle-aged there was hardly a man who had not been acquainted with my uncle, Mr. J. S. Cartwright, who had represented the constituency in the early forties of the last century, and whether they had supported or opposed him, I found them all alike well disposed to welcome me for old times' sake. Also we had large material interests in the county. Its principal town was built entirely on our lands and we had direct business connections with many persons all over the county.

REPORTER. Under what political banner did you fight?

SIR RICHARD. Pretty much under my own banner, as an independent Conservative with very decided views of my own on sundry matters. As a matter of fact I had about as many Liberal as Conservative supporters, both in my election of 1863 and 1867. But party lines in 1863 were very much mixed in that part of Ontario from a variety of causes, *e.g.*, in Lennox and Addington in the

election of 1861, immediately preceding my election of 1863, Sir John, then plain Mr. Macdonald, had supported as his candidate an old Reformer against the nominee of the Conservative Convention and was himself opposed in divers constituencies by very well-known Conservatives, several of whom at a later date became members of his Cabinet.

REPORTER. Then Sir John Macdonald was not at that date the head of a united Conservative party in Ontario?

SIR RICHARD. Very much the reverse, but that is a subject which can better be discussed later on.

REPORTER. What was your impression of the working of the union of Quebec and Ontario?

SIR RICHARD. It was not favourable. The fact was that the union of 1841 was at best a political *mariage de convenance*. There was very little real rapprochement between the two provinces. French and English did not intermarry, and it was a curious fact and struck me a good deal when I first joined, that although the great majority of the French members spoke English very well and were quite able to address the House in either tongue, I do not think there was a single member from Ontario who was competent to do so in French, though there was no doubt at all that any Ontario member who would have taken the trouble to qualify himself in that respect would have become quite a power on that score alone.

REPORTER. Did you take any pains in that way?

SIR RICHARD. I could read French and understand it when spoken pretty well, and I had fully intended to learn how to speak it if the two provinces had continued to be united, but after Confederation the House became so overwhelmingly English that the necessity or desirability of speaking French was but little felt, and I dropped it. But there were other grave and real differences besides the question of language.

REPORTER. Of what kind?

SIR RICHARD. Apart from the very radical differences of race and religion, the economical situation alone made harmonious action very difficult. Quebec, as a whole, in

those days was in a very stagnant condition. The majority of the people were, as compared with other sections of North America, Ontario included, very poor. They had enough for their needs, which were few, and they were as a rule frugal, industrious and contented, and quite willing to live and die where they happened to be born, and with very little ambition or inclination to better their condition. In fact, it was only within a very few years before 1863 that they had emerged from a semi-feudal condition, in which a large part of Lower Canada was in a sort of servitude to their seigneurs, and in other respects they were pretty much as their forefathers had been in the days of Louis the Fourteenth and our good Queen Anne. Ontario was exactly the reverse. It had increased immensely in wealth and population in the ten or twelve years from 1850 to 1863, and its people chafed furiously at the idea that, while they contributed perhaps two or three times as much to the revenue, and outnumbered the people of Quebec by several hundred thousands, they had legally no greater voice in Parliament than a province which was much inferior to them in wealth and population, but which nevertheless managed to absorb, as they contended, far more than its fair share of the total expenditure. This feeling had been very much accentuated by the recent passage of the Separate School Act, to which the majority of the people of Ontario were most decidedly opposed, and also by certain scandals which had occurred in the Department of Public Works and which were being paraded as proofs that Ontario was being steadily and continuously robbed for the benefit of Quebec. It was simply throwing time away to argue with these men that they were bound for all time to submit to what they considered rank injustice because some two and twenty years ago it had been agreed that the two provinces should be equally represented on the floor of Parliament. The elder men who remembered that at that time Quebec was the more populous of the two, and that Ontario had been the gainer by the arrangement, might yield a grudging assent, but the younger would not listen to such a plea for one

moment, and the same was true of the very large immigrant population, of whom the vast bulk had settled in Ontario; and, in truth, if, as then seemed certain, Ontario had continued to increase in the next decade in the same proportion as it had done from 1850 to 1860 the position would have become impossible.

REPORTER. Who was Premier in 1863?

SIR RICHARD. The nominal Premier was Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, a Catholic Scotch Liberal. But we had at that time a very peculiar arrangement under which we had a sort of dual premiership, one leader representing Ontario, and one Quebec. Ministries in those days were known as the Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte, or Macdonald-Dorion, or Taché-Macdonald, or Macdonald-Cartier, as the case might be, and the real Premier, although not always the nominal one, was the leader who brought most supporters to the combination. In the latter part of 1863 the Government was known as the Macdonald-Dorion Administration.

REPORTER. How did the arrangement work?

SIR RICHARD. Better than might have been expected. But it was essentially in the nature of a make-shift. In a sort of way it reminded me of the old Roman custom of selecting two Consuls, each representing one of the great parties in the state. In our case the parallel went even further, for we had in Ontario in the person of Mr. George Brown a very apt imitation of that other Roman institution, a tribune of the people with power to veto any measure of which he did not happen to approve. Altogether the combination was a curious one. We had, as I said, a Scotch Catholic Premier, allied with a French Liberal of a rather free-thinking turn of mind, and both supported by a stubborn Presbyterian element, with whom they had probably very little sympathy except on one or two political questions, and to whom the very names of Catholic and free-thinker were an abomination.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWO.

PERAMBULATING SYSTEM.

REPORTER. I think you said, Sir Richard, that the Parliament was sitting at Quebec when you joined in 1863. Was not this very inconvenient?

SIR RICHARD. It was, undoubtedly, to the members from Ontario, but it had its compensations.

REPORTER. In what way? Please explain.

SIR RICHARD. Well, first of all the perambulating system, as it was called, under which Parliament spent four years at Quebec and four at Toronto, had undoubtedly the effect of making not only the public men but all men of large affairs in either province, very much better acquainted with the state of things and the temper of the people in Quebec and Ontario, respectively, than they ever were before or since.

REPORTER. Would not this have occurred if Parliament had remained at Montreal?

SIR RICHARD. I do not think so. Montreal was largely English, and the two nationalities kept very much apart from each other. A man might live in Montreal a long time and come very little in contact with the French population if he chose. He could hardly do so in Quebec.

REPORTER. How were the Ontario members affected?

SIR RICHARD. On the whole, their sojourn in Quebec did them good. They were mostly self-made and self-educated men, especially those from Western Ontario, with the true English insularity of thought well developed. To these men it was a sort of revelation to be dropped and kept for several months at a time in a city which was almost a bit of Old France, as France was three centuries ago, and (though that was a detail) a walled and fortified town at that time with a considerable garrison of regular troops. Spending nearly half of every one of four con-

secutive years in such a place modified many of their ideas, even in their own despite. If it did nothing else, they were compelled to understand the political situation a good deal better and to realize the difficulties of governing such a country.

REPORTER. You were pretty completely isolated, I suppose?

SIR RICHARD. In winter to quite an extraordinary degree. At that season it was quite common for the railway journey from Toronto and the western peninsula to Quebec to consume three or four days each way. Winnipeg is now, in point of time, nearer Ottawa than Western Ontario was to Quebec at that season, and members frequently spent two or three months together at the seat of Government without being able to return home once.

REPORTER. Rather a curious condition.

SIR RICHARD. It had its bad side, no doubt. Members got out of touch with their constituents. They felt themselves practically free from all restraints, and sometimes formed dissipated habits which they would not otherwise have done. Still, on the whole, they generally profited considerably by their experience.

REPORTER. How was it with the Quebec members?

SIR RICHARD. I am afraid in their case the results of their sojourn in Toronto were by no means so satisfactory. They were rather reticent in speaking of their impressions of Ontario, but as I got to know them better I found that they usually returned in a rather dissatisfied frame of mind. They complained, and I am afraid not without reason, that they were ignored and treated with but scant courtesy by the people of Ontario and, in fact, were looked down upon as members of an inferior race; also that their religious prejudices were constantly sneered at. They could not help admitting the wealth and progress made in the Upper Province, but as a rule they returned home with a very strong determination not to give up any privileges they possessed, and a very firm conviction that they would receive but scant justice at the hands of an Ontario majority if they allowed the demand for representation by

population to be acceded to. I very well remember discussing this matter with the late Luther Holton, who was in close touch with many of the French Liberals, and his telling me that in his opinion the removal of the seat of government from Montreal, and the attitude of the people of Toronto towards the French members, had put back the chance of obtaining that measure by twenty years; and on looking back I am by no means sure but that he was correct. Sentiment is always a great factor in political affairs, and it was especially so in dealing with a people placed as the French were in Lower Canada.

REPORTER. Would you please explain.

SIR RICHARD. You see, they were practically alone on a continent on which they had been by a considerable space of time the first settlers, and which they had long hoped to make a second and greater France. They had not by any means forgotten those days, and they clung the more to their laws and language and religion. Also they considered themselves in some important respects as a better educated and more civilized people than their rough neighbours in the United States or in Ontario. Altogether, while I heartily regretted it, I ceased to wonder at their aversion to deliver themselves over, bound hand and foot, as they thought they would be, to the tender mercies of a Parliament completely dominated by Ontario. You will recollect that in 1863 it was believed by both parties that if representation by population was conceded, Ontario would have had, in a very few years, a majority of two to one in the Parliament of Canada. It did not so turn out in fact, but that was the universal expectation at the time, and it goes far to account for the temper with which the public men of Quebec regarded what in itself looked a very fair and reasonable proposition.

REPORTER. Did anything else strike you as to Quebec?

SIR RICHARD. I was much struck with the ability and high standing of the English representatives from that Province. There were, I think, some fourteen or fifteen all told, and more than half of them were men of very considerable note, and the rest decidedly above the average.

REPORTER. For instance?

SIR RICHARD. There was Mr. Holton, Minister of Finance; Mr., afterwards Sir, A. T. Galt; Mr., afterwards Sir, John Rose; Mr., afterwards Sir, J. J. Abbott; Mr. Huntingdon, Mr. D'Arcy McGee, Mr. George Irvine, Mr. J. H. Pope, Mr. C. Dunkin, and others of nearly equal weight. I doubt if either Ontario or the rest of Quebec at that time could have shown an equally good list.

REPORTER. Who were the most notable in Ontario?

SIR RICHARD. Oh, there you had tumbled into an almost perfect Scotch settlement. You had Sir J. A. Macdonald, Sandfield Macdonald, George Brown, Alexander Mackenzie, Oliver Mowat, Alexander Campbell, J. H. Cameron, W. Macdougall, and representatives of nearly every clan you could name. Others more or less notable in Ontario were Mr. Buchanan; Mr., afterwards Sir, John Carling; Mr. Wallbridge, Mr. Cockburn, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Shanley, Mr. M. C. Cameron, Mr. Morris, and some others. And, in Quebec, Sir G. E. Cartier; Mr., afterwards Sir, H. Joly; Mr. Cauchon; Mr., afterwards Sir, A. Dorion, and his brother; Mr. Taschereau, and Mr. Turcotte. I think Mr. Foley was almost the only prominent man in Ontario at the time who was not of Scotch origin.

REPORTER. Who were at that time the most notable figures in the two provinces?

SIR RICHARD. Cartier in Quebec and George Brown in Ontario. Mr. Cartier had a huge and solid majority in Quebec and pretty much the unanimous support of the Church, with which his opponents at that period were at decided variance. Mr. Brown, though not in office, practically dominated the Liberals in both provinces also, and, apart from his personal influence, which was great, he possessed in *The Globe* newspaper a power of forming and directing public opinion which we can hardly realize nowadays.

REPORTER. No doubt *The Globe* was a powerful party organ?

SIR RICHARD. It was that, certainly, but it was a great deal more. There were probably many thousand

voters in Ontario, especially among the Scotch settlers (who always formed the backbone of the Liberal party in that province), who hardly read anything except their *Globe* and their Bible, and whose whole political creed was practically dictated to them by the former. You see, for some twenty years there had been a long series of struggles for full responsible government, for municipal institutions, for the abolition of the Clergy Reserves and, lastly, for fair representation, during all which period *The Globe* and Mr. Brown had been their champion and mouthpiece, and they prized it accordingly. No other newspaper in my time has ever possessed a title of its influence; nor, indeed, could any hope to attain such a position unless it has been the steady and successful advocate of objects as dear to the popular heart as those of which *The Globe* was the protagonist from very nearly the date of the union of the two Canadas to 1863.

REPORTER. What of Sir John Macdonald?

SIR RICHARD. Sir John was for the time being under a cloud. He scarcely enjoyed the confidence of more than a moiety of the Conservative party in Ontario, and his following in the House was small, probably less than half of that possessed by Sir George Cartier, a fact of which he was often unpleasantly made aware.

REPORTER. What had impaired Sir John's position?

SIR RICHARD. A good many things had combined. In the first place he had been leading a very dissipated life from 1856 to 1863 and afterwards. In the next, he and his colleagues had brought the public finances into a very bad condition. For several successive years he had had deficits of 20, 30, 40 and even 60 per cent. in ordinary expenditure over income. Then many of his former supporters had disapproved of his sharp practice in the matter of the famous "double shuffle" of 1858.

REPORTER (interrupting). Would you kindly explain what that was?

SIR RICHARD. In 1858 Sir John and his colleagues had resigned and Mr. Brown was called on to form an administration. The moment Mr. Brown and his Cabinet were

sworn in, Sir John induced the House to pass a vote of want of confidence, and further succeeded in inducing Sir Edmund Head, the then Governor-General, to refuse to grant Mr. Brown a dissolution and to recall Sir John, himself, to office. This of itself, under the circumstances, was an almost unheard of proceeding, but, to cap the climax, while Mr. Brown and his colleagues, having accepted office, were obliged to seek re-election from their constituents, Sir John, availing himself of a somewhat singular provision in the Election Act, under which a Minister who had resigned an office might be appointed to another within thirty days without vacating his seat, gazetted himself and his several colleagues to different offices from those which they had formerly filled, and a few days after gazetted them back again to their former positions, without voiding their seats. The courts held, I believe, that his action was within the letter of the law, though they doubted, as well they might, whether such a proceeding had ever been contemplated; but the gross unfairness of the whole proceeding produced a most unfavourable impression against Sir John. It was severely commented on in England as well as in Canada, and, as I afterwards found out, cost Sir Edmund Head the peerage which he would otherwise have received on ceasing to be Governor-General. There were, besides, divers minor matters, such as his defence of the sale of public offices by the occupants thereof; and lastly, he was in direct antagonism to the wishes of the vast majority of the people of Ontario, whether Liberal or Conservative, on the question of representation by population.

REPORTER. You say Sir John had enormous deficits. Perhaps you can give details.

SIR RICHARD. Certainly. I have here a statement prepared by the late Mr. J. Langton, Auditor-General, and a staunch supporter of Sir John's. I give a statement from the Public Accounts of Old Canada, prepared by J. Langton, Auditor-General of Canada, and countersigned by J. M. Courtney, afterwards Deputy Minister of Finance, showing the condition of affairs from 1858 to 1864.

REMINISCENCES

| | Revenue. | Expenditure. | Deficit. |
|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1858..... | \$5,270,627 05 | \$8,645,944 64 | \$3,375,317 59 |
| 1859..... | 6,597,017 58 | 8,091,761 85 | 1,494,744 27 |
| 1860..... | 7,436,585 10 | 9,410,575 09 | 1,973,989 99 |
| 1861..... | 7,543,926 20 | 9,542,934 29 | 1,999,008 09 |
| 1862..... | 7,377,165 90 | 9,441,497 04 | 2,064,331 14 |
| 1863..... | 8,602,364 48 | 9,472,854 67 | 870,490 19 |

These would have been equivalent to deficits of twenty, thirty, or even sixty millions to-day in our ordinary expenditure, and there were heavy capital charges besides. Altogether, when I entered Parliament, Sir John's political fortunes were at a very low ebb, indeed.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER THREE.

MANY ABLE MEN IN THE EARLY PARLIAMENTS.

REPORTER. How did the members of Parliament of 1863 compare with those of to-day?

SIR RICHARD. As to the present and the two immediately preceding Parliaments I do not feel qualified to speak, having left the House of Commons in 1904, but as to those prior to that date I may offer an opinion with some confidence.

REPORTER. How then did they compare?

SIR RICHARD. In one respect the later Parliaments had the advantage. There has certainly been much less intemperance of late years. But otherwise, I think the Parliament which sat from 1863 to 1867 was the best and ablest I have known.

REPORTER. In what especial respect?

SIR RICHARD. For one thing the times were critical, and this helped to call out the higher qualities of the members. But apart from that, I think the standard of honour was higher and the members were ready to make, and did make, much greater sacrifices for their political beliefs than they seem disposed to do at present. Then prizes in ordinary life outside of politics were far fewer and smaller than at present, and a much larger percentage of the ablest minds of the community were willing to devote themselves to public life, regardless of the cost, which in those days, in proportion to the average fortunes of the members, was relatively much greater than at present. I should say that out of the 130 members of the House in 1863 nearly every third man, certainly every fourth, was fairly well fitted to become a Cabinet Minister. The same could not be said of any of the succeeding Parliaments.

REPORTER. What has caused the change, if there is any?

SIR RICHARD. Many things have contributed. The creation of so many local legislatures, besides the Dominion Parliament, has caused a very undue drain on the number of capable men available for public life. Then the development of large and very important business interests, and the great power and wealth obtainable thereby, have drawn off many men who otherwise would have taken an active share in political life, and who now shun it or find it impossible to combine it with their ordinary avocations. The tendency is clearly to specialize everywhere, and each particular coterie appears to know less and less of the other. It is not a mere phrase, but really a true statement, to speak of a political world and a commercial world, and a railway world and a literary world, and so on, and I have often been astonished to find how supremely ignorant prominent men in these various walks of life were of what was going on outside of their own spheres, more particularly in politics. On the whole, I am disposed to think the better class of public men know very much more of what is doing in those other occupations than any one else, even though their knowledge is apt to be rather superficial.

REPORTER.—Was there any special cause for the gradual deterioration you speak of?

SIR RICHARD. There was one which I must mention, though at some risk of being misunderstood and misrepresented. I think that there is no doubt that the introduction of several small and relatively poor provinces into the Confederation had a distinctly demoralizing effect.

REPORTER. In what way do you mean?

SIR RICHARD. I do not know that it was altogether their fault, but the fact was that the minor provinces were rather forced into the Confederation than willing associates. Consequently they thought it quite fair to spoil the Egyptians if they could. In any case (though there were many honourable exceptions) their representatives, as a rule, thought themselves justified in obtaining concessions for their respective provinces without much regard for the results to the Dominion at large. In short, it

became plain at a very early date that we had introduced into the body politic a number of representatives who were always on the make, though not, I think, so much for themselves as for their constituents. They had one perpetual slogan, "For better terms," and looked on any political difficulty as an opportunity for securing some local advantage. In fact, the ink was scarcely dry on the B.N.A. Act before they succeeded in tearing up the financial basis on which it had been adopted with very mischievous results then and afterwards.

REPORTER. Was there no help for this?

SIR RICHARD. It is hard to say. When several small and poor provinces are brought into partnership with a large and wealthy one, and when the larger province is pretty equally divided between two hostile parties, the temptation on one side to buy and on the other to take advantage of the situation is too great for frail human nature, and especially for political human nature, to withstand. It is a danger always inherent in the federal form of Government, where the several states forming the confederation differ very widely in wealth and population. Probably the wisest thing the framers of the Constitution of the United States ever did was to separate the local and federal finances absolutely. I can conceive nothing more repugnant to sound government than to allow one assembly to expend and require another to provide the funds, which is just what we have done in Canada. It was very much to be regretted that the various Maritime Provinces had not been united into one province before they entered into the larger federation, and indeed there was some chance of this being done before we intervened in 1864. I believe they were actually in session for that purpose at Charlottetown when our representatives made their appearance.

REPORTER. Do you think such a union now possible?

SIR RICHARD. I am afraid it is not, at least for a long time. It may be that the rise of four or five powerful provinces in the West may bring about a better state of things and indirectly incline the Eastern sections to coalesce. But

the local jealousies are great and their public men have an idea, not without some reason, that they can obtain more consideration as separate entities. As things stand, it is a grave peril to the future of Confederation.

REPORTER. Are not the members from that region too few to dominate the remainder?

SIR RICHARD. That is quite true if the members from the larger provinces are united. But the others are quite numerous enough to hold the balance of power as between two parties. Speaking practically, they have long ceased to have any interest in checking the public expenditure. All they are likely to concern themselves about is whether their representatives can secure a sufficient sum for so-called local needs. That provided, they do not care whether the national debt is one hundred or one thousand millions or what extravagance may be committed in the conduct of public affairs. In fact they rather prefer that the Government should be extravagant, knowing that in such a case their demands are much more likely to be acceded to.

REPORTER. I would have supposed these people would have been disposed to be frugal.

SIR RICHARD. So they were in all matters which did not immediately concern themselves, at any rate at first, but it soon became apparent that their penuriousness could always be overcome by liberalities for their direct benefit. It was an initial difficulty and is now hard to be got over, and as we proceed it will make itself continually apparent.

REPORTER. Were not these risks foreseen by the framers of the Confederation Act?

SIR RICHARD. So far as regards the danger of subsidizing the Provinces from the Dominion Exchequer, it was foreseen. But for several reasons it was decided that there was no help for it. I believe it was quite true that with the exception of Ontario, the other Provinces would never have consented to enter the union on any other terms, and I rather think that some of the leaders considered that the Provinces would be much less disposed

to dispute the Federal authority if the bulk of their revenue came from that source—in which they were much mistaken. Had more time been given the matter might have been better arranged, but there was a general and well-founded opinion that if the Confederation was delayed it could not have been accomplished at all. Its success depended entirely on being able to maintain the coalitions which had been formed to bring it about, and coalitions of any kind are seldom long lived. These things must be borne in mind always in judging of the way the work was done.

REPORTER. Did the representatives of the smaller Provinces express any very decided opinions on this matter?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Joseph Howe defined the situation pretty accurately to two or three of us one evening when he remarked: "You have got us and now you have got to keep us"—a fact which he illustrated very shortly after in his own person by accepting office and making a bargain for divers concessions to his own Province.

REPORTER. What sort of position did Mr. Howe take in the House?

SIR RICHARD. It would not be at all fair to judge him by his appearances in the Canadian House of Commons. He had the double misfortune of entering it with a very high reputation and at an advanced time of life when he could hardly be expected to adapt himself to his new surroundings. His case was a good deal like that of several distinguished Irish parliamentarians after the union, who found themselves quite "fish out of water" when they were transplanted from Dublin to Westminster. Moreover, Mr. Howe had the further ill-luck of being attacked by a serious illness shortly after he came to Ottawa from which he never fully recovered. To say the truth, and indeed he hardly made a secret of it himself, his opposition to the scheme of Confederation had never been very deep-rooted. He had taken up the question as he did because he found Confederation very

unpopular in Nova Scotia, but I think at bottom he considered it inevitable. In any case, he saw very clearly that it was *un fait accompli* and that he must either accept it and make the best of it, or be content to remain in hopeless opposition for the remainder of his life, a position which, as he frankly said, would not suit him at all. Personally, I found him a very witty and agreeable acquaintance, full of good stories, and in some important respects a man of very considerable breadth of view. I have no doubt that with a substantial grievance to handle, Mr. Howe' would have justified all that his friends claimed for him as a popular leader. He was always ready to discuss questions with the younger members, and indeed seemed to like to do so, and he was one of the comparatively few men who even at that early day understood the possibilities of the North-West, to which, in spite of his age, he paid a visit shortly after it fell into our hands. Unhappily, he had got into a radically false position in which he could hardly hope to do himself justice, and from which he retired at an early day by accepting the Lieutenant-Governorship of Nova Scotia.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FOUR.

EXPENSIVE ELECTIONS SPREAD OVER MANY WEEKS.

REPORTER. Your first session must have been an exciting one.

SIR RICHARD. It was like taking a raw recruit straightway into a desperate pitched battle. No such deadlock had ever existed before nor has any such ever arisen since, and it had a profound influence on all who took part in it. It is hardly too much to say that for nearly a year at a most critical period in her history, Canada had no Government. Neither party could attempt anything of real moment, and the inconvenience, especially to members from Ontario, was extreme. We were almost man to man for most of that period. No one could absent himself without a pair, and pairs were extremely hard to get. I have known cases where the House was kept in session for twenty-four and sometimes forty-eight hours to enable a single individual member to be present. There were some curious attempts at kidnapping individual members, and on one occasion Mr. Sandfield Macdonald went the length of declaring with closed doors that if he saw reason to believe that any such tricks had been practised he would refuse to recognize any vote of want of confidence unless it was supported by a positive majority of the whole House.

REPORTER. Could Mr. Sandfield Macdonald have made good his threat?

SIR RICHARD. It would certainly have been a *casus improvisus*, but the circumstances were unprecedented, and I am much disposed to think that Lord Monck would have sustained him, always provided he was able to obtain a vote of confidence within a decent space of time. Fortunately for the credit of the House the attempts proved unsuccessful and the contingency did not arise. But the

battle was a desperate one. It was no common party struggle, but was fast becoming a contest of race against race, province against province, and creed against creed, Ontario against Quebec, Scotch Presbyterian against French Catholic, an absolutely overwhelming majority of the popular vote in Ontario against a similar one in Quebec. It needed no particular political sagacity to see that if this state of things continued the union between the two Provinces must come to an end very speedily, and in any case that another dissolution was imminent at any moment, a thing which meant a good deal more in those days than it would now.

REPORTER. In what respects?

SIR RICHARD. Well, at that time most of the members fought out their contests much more on their own individual responsibility and at their own expense than they do at present. As a rule, and especially if the candidate was on the unpopular side, the expenses of an election were, relatively to the means of the combatants, much higher than at present. Two, and much more three, successive elections within as many years would very often mean absolute financial ruin to both victor and vanquished.

REPORTER. You surprise me. I had supposed elections were comparatively inexpensive at that period.

SIR RICHARD. They were, perhaps, where the great bulk of the voters were of one way of thinking and where the public mind was agitated on particular issues, as was largely the case in Western Ontario. But wherever there was anything like a fighting chance, the cost was apt to be very great. The conditions have been greatly altered for the better since 1863, but at that date the opportunity, and I might almost say the necessity, for spending a large amount of money was very great. The elections themselves, instead of being held on one day, were spread over many weeks—a most mischievous provision and productive of much irregularity. Then there were no less than four days, the nomination, two days polling, and declaration day, on all of which, by a sort

of unwritten law, the candidates in many constituencies were compelled to keep open house for their supporters. There was only one or, at most, two polling places, even in the largest townships, with the result that whether legal or not many teams had to be provided to bring the voters to the polls and refreshments found for them when they got there. Lastly, there was no appeal to the courts, but all election petitions were disposed of (after certain preliminary investigations before the Speaker) by committees of the House itself. In those days no residence was required, and men could vote in as many constituencies as they held property in, with the result that there was generally a considerable outside vote to be brought in at heavy costs.

REPORTER. Was there much direct bribery?

SIR RICHARD. Very much less than was supposed. No doubt a good deal of money was often distributed among leading partisans, but it was pretty well understood that although these worthies very often worked hard, a very large proportion of such funds remained in their pockets and but little found its way to the voters. What money was used in this way was generally at the close of the second day's polling where the contest was a hard-fought one.

REPORTER. Not a very wholesome state of affairs.

SIR RICHARD. Do not misunderstand me. I have been pointing out the causes which made elections in former days so needlessly expensive, but I am very far from meaning that the great bulk of the electors were open to corrupt influences. So far from that I am quite sure that by far the larger number were as firmly devoted to their political party as the members they sent to Parliament, and these last, whatever their other faults may have been, were most surprisingly staunch to the side they had chosen. The fault lies rather with our representative system.

REPORTER. I do not quite follow you.

SIR RICHARD. The facts are plain enough. We divide each Province into a certain number of constituencies,

averaging so many thousand votes each. As a rule these are pretty evenly divided between the supporters and opponents of the Government of the day. As a rule, too, the great mass of the voters, more particularly in the rural ridings, adhere very firmly to one or other of these two parties and are very slow to change and are quite free from any suspicion of accepting bribes. But also as a rule in a very great many cases there stands between the two parties a certain percentage of loose characters whose votes can be had for a consideration. In most instances each party secures a nearly equal share of these worthies who are pretty well known in the localities where they reside. But if, for any reason, one side cannot or will not employ the usual means to divide this vote, it goes without saying that if the constituency be at all evenly balanced, the party which chooses to spend money will win.

REPORTER. Is there no remedy for this?

SIR RICHARD. Theoretically a good deal has been done. Practically, the courts to the contrary notwithstanding, the evil has not been checked, much less extirpated. I think an effective remedy can be found, and may discuss it hereafter. At present I wish to point out how very difficult it was at that time to conduct a hotly-contested election without a large expenditure of money. One thing is certain, that under such conditions the parliamentary life of a member was apt to be very short, and, further, that very few members were able to contemplate the probability of a couple of successive elections in as many years with any sort of equanimity. I have dwelt on all this at some length because it undoubtedly had a good deal to do with the comparative ease with which such a question as Confederation was afterwards put through.

REPORTER. If I am correctly informed, the question was not before the people at all in 1863.

SIR RICHARD. Not in the very slightest degree. The thing itself had been mooted many times long before and discussed as desirable in an academic sort of way. But

neither party had made it a plank in their platform in 1863, nor had it been debated at all on the hustings.

REPORTER. Was there no speculation in the public mind as to the probable future of Canada?

SIR RICHARD. There was naturally a good deal of unrest and uncertainty. In the first half of 1863 everything in the Civil War in the United States seemed to hang in the balance. The South had just won a marvellous series of victories under Lee and Jackson. The French had established themselves in force in Mexico, and it was more than rumoured that in the event of any further decided success on the part of the Confederates Napoleon had made up his mind to recognize the South. Not a few persons who were in a position to know have since assured me that if Lee had won at Gettysburg (and if he had not lost Jackson a very short time before he probably might have won that battle) this would certainly have occurred.

REPORTER. And would this have seriously affected the situation in Canada?

SIR RICHARD. If it had brought about the cessation of the Civil War and the permanent severance of the North from the South, it is very likely that it would. I much doubt if that war had come to an end in 1863 if the project of Confederation would have been mooted in 1864. By that time the success of the North had become assured and it was growing clear to us that if we were to exist at all as a separate state in North America, we must unite together in some shape.

REPORTER. Incidentally what was the feeling in Canada on the subject of the Civil War in the United States?

SIR RICHARD. As regards Ontario as a whole, I think the sympathies of the bulk of the people were with the North. The Conservative party probably leant to the South, but they were decidedly in the minority. For one thing, a very large number of Canadians took service in the United States armies. I believe the United States

army records show that they had from 40,000 to 50,000 in their ranks.

REPORTER. Was it for love or money?

SIR RICHARD. Both, perhaps. The United States Government and the municipal authorities between them offered immense bounties, but apart from that there was a strong anti-slavery sentiment in Canada which had a large influence on the people. Both in Canada and in England the sympathies of the great majority of what are called the upper classes were with the South and those of the rank and file with the North. I very well remember on one occasion when news of a Confederate success was received, the Conservative members in the House of Commons broke out into a cheer, and I very well remember also that Sir John Macdonald did his best to repress it and was seriously annoyed at the incident. Like Mr. Disraeli, whom, by the way, he came to resemble pretty closely in his later days, so far as personal appearance went, and perhaps in other respects, Sir John, whatever his personal feelings may have been, was very keenly alive to the extreme inexpediency of saying or doing anything which could give umbrage to the North, and in that respect, both as leader of the Opposition and afterwards as Minister of Justice, he did his duty firmly and well. Indeed, I had reason to believe that he had made up his mind in case of need to pass a short Act under which all such outrages as those committed in the St. Albans raid should be treated as extraditable offences and the perpetrators handed over to the United States authorities to be dealt with as ordinary criminals. He did take authority to deport the offenders at the discretion of the Government.

REPORTER. Would not this have been looked on as a breach of the custom of refusing to give up political offenders?

SIR RICHARD. It might, but the circumstances would have most fully warranted such legislation. I can conceive no baser act of ingratitude and no greater crime against humanity than those St. Albans raiders and

others of that ilk were guilty of in attempting to embroil Canada in a war with the United States. They had been kindly received and sheltered by us, and we never would have surrendered them to the United States for any act of war committed before they entered Canada, but to accept our hospitality and then to plot to bring down the horrors of war on the country which had sheltered and protected them was an act for which had I been in supreme command, with power of life and death, I would have hung every man concerned in the St. Albans raid with no more hesitation than I would have despatched so many wolves. For the matter of that I would have meted out the same justice to their Canadian accomplices and sympathizers. Morally considered, the crime was far worse than ordinary piracy and should have been dealt with as such.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER FIVE.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE ORANGE ORDER.

REPORTER. I suppose the question of annexation came up more or less in 1863. What was the feeling?

SIR RICHARD. I can only speak for Ontario. I do not know what the temper of the people of Quebec may have been. But I very well remember that on my return to Canada in 1856, after several years' absence, I spent some considerable time in travelling over Western Ontario, and I was both astonished and disgusted to find how strong and widespread at that period was the sentiment in favour of a union with the United States. Even those who disliked the idea *per se* appeared to look upon it as a foregone conclusion. There were only two considerations which seemed to stand in the way. One was a very sincere and honest repugnance to any change in the political condition of Canada which might result in placing her in an attitude of hostility to the Mother Country, and this feeling had been a good deal accentuated by the pro-Russian sympathies displayed by the major part of the press and people of the United States during the Crimean War, which was then just closing. The other was an equally marked aversion to becoming a portion of the United States so long as they permitted slavery to exist among them, and a very just pride in the fact that the moment a slave touched the soil of Canada he became a free man. I refer particularly to the feeling in the Western Peninsula. In the East of Ontario there was rather an apathetic conviction that a merger was inevitable, but in the West, save for the above considerations, I believe that then, and for several years afterwards, there would have been a decided majority in favour of annexation. The tide began to turn the other way after the *Trent* incident in 1861, and from that time

on the inclination of our people for union with the adjoining Republic seems to have grown steadily less. It may be added that prior to the Civil War the South, who were then the dominant party in the United States, were decidedly averse to bringing in any new anti-slavery states, and they were very well aware that on this point the representatives of Canada would be opposed to them.

REPORTER. May I ask what was your own opinion.

SIR RICHARD. I was always keenly alive to the immense commercial advantages of reciprocity with the United States. But both from early education and from reasoned convictions I have always preferred the British form of Government to theirs and have therefore been stoutly opposed to any political union with them unless, indeed, it took the form of an alliance among all English-speaking nations.

REPORTER. If I am correctly informed, your early associations were strongly Conservative?

SIR RICHARD. Of an independent sort. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that they were of the United Empire Loyalist type—the feeling of the men who adored Chatham and who detested the unutterable blockheads who threw away the Empire his genius had won.

REPORTER. Was it not all for the best in the long run?

SIR RICHARD. In my judgment it was all for the worse—for Canada, for England, and for the United States themselves. I hold with Carlyle that both England and America were losers in a very high degree by that most fratricidal contest and I believe that, more especially for England, her true salvation lies in repairing that blunder and in establishing a firm alliance with the great Republic of the West.

REPORTER. Do you think that is possible?

SIR RICHARD. I do. Many things are converging in that direction and Canada may help much. But we are straying far afield. Is there anything else you wish to know as to the situation in 1863-4?

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REPORTER. Yes. Besides Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Brown, who were the most salient figures?

SIR RICHARD. In the strict political sense, John Sandfield Macdonald and Mr. Cartier, but as men of influence with their party perhaps Mr. Holton and Mr. Wm. Macdougall with the Liberals, and Mr. Galt and Mr. J. H. Cameron with the Conservatives.

REPORTER. The others I know by name at least, but what of Mr. Cameron?

SIR RICHARD. He was at that time, and for a good while after, one of the men who were powers behind the throne and who did far more to shape the policy of the party than any average Cabinet Minister.

REPORTER. Is that often the case?

SIR RICHARD. It is rather always the case, especially if the number of Cabinet Ministers is large. But Mr. Cameron occupied a very exceptional position. He had held office himself and had refused it more than once, and indeed had been at one time put in nomination as a leader of the Conservative party in room of Sir J. A. Macdonald. Apart from this, he was at the same time a High Anglican and Chancellor of the Diocese of Toronto (which then included all Ontario), a great friend and ally of the celebrated Dr. John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, and he was also Grand Master of the Orange Order of all British North America, if I remember right. He was besides a very prominent lawyer and Treasurer, which meant the official head, of the Law Society of Ontario.

REPORTER. That seems a curious combination.

SIR RICHARD. It was; and he was perhaps the only man who could have prevented the Orange Order from breaking completely away from Sir John Macdonald, which they were very much disposed to do in 1863.

REPORTER. You amaze me. I thought the Orange Order was always intensely Conservative.

SIR RICHARD. It is now, but though it was always a powerful factor in Canadian politics it was very much divided in 1863, and the rank and file at any rate had no great confidence in Sir John Macdonald and his French

allies from Cartier downwards. It was not till long afterwards that the Order cast in its lot as a body with the Conservative party. In any case at that time Mr. J. H. Cameron was almost the only real connecting link between them. A curious incident, now I suppose quite forgotten, which occurred during the Prince of Wales' visit to Canada in 1860, may serve to show the influence Mr. Cameron possessed and the rather difficult relation which subsisted at that time between Sir John Macdonald and his brother Orangemen. The Prince, in company with the Duke of Newcastle, and with Sir John Macdonald in attendance, had arrived at Kingston and was preparing to land when it was discovered that the Orangemen, who had assembled in large numbers to meet him, had erected an arch profusely decorated with Orange emblems exactly in the line of march which had been mapped out for him. The Duke of Newcastle, foolishly perhaps, required that this arch should be removed, whereupon the Orangemen went wild and drew up in a body opposite the steamer with the avowed intention of taking possession of the Prince's carriage and conducting him under the arch, willy-nilly. The result was, to the intense disgust of the feminine portion of the population of Kingston more especially, that the Prince, after remaining on board ship for two whole days, steamed away without landing at all, but hotly pursued by a boat crammed with Orangemen with the intention of making sure that wherever he landed he would have an escort of loyal Orangemen to take care of him. Sir John, who was, as I have said, himself an Orangeman, and also member for Kingston, was in a desperate quandary, and finally, on the ground of high political expediency, elected to leave the Royal party and stay behind at Kingston. By this time the matter had become rather serious and the Prince was very nearly on the point of proceeding to the North-West or to the United States without setting foot in the chief Province of Canada, a result which would have been little less than a scandal of the first proportion. At this crisis, Mr. Cameron intervened and by a discreet use of his authority as Grand

Master, and also by pledging his word that he would proceed to England in person and lay the case before Her Majesty herself, succeeded in arranging for a peaceable entry into Toronto. Sir John Macdonald was certainly in no way to blame for the incident and could not control the Duke of Newcastle, but it gave him a great deal of trouble and entailed on him two unusually bitter contests in Kingston. Many years afterwards I had occasion to be presented to the Prince of Wales at a State ceremony in London, and he enquired, with his usual courtesy, what part of Canada I came from, to which I replied that I belonged to a town which I was afraid he would recollect quite too well, in fact that I came from Kingston. "Ah," he said, "it looks very well from the water." It was a small thing, but I have always thought that it was a very good illustration of the remarkable tact which the Prince was in the habit of displaying in dealing with all sorts and conditions of men.

REPORTER. Were you intimately acquainted with Mr. J. H. Cameron?

SIR RICHARD. As it happened, I had been brought into close contact with him in several ways. Among other things, Mr. Cameron was a man of great social qualities and he was for many years a sort of perpetual president of a small informal mess of seven or eight members who always dined together at the Club during the session, and of whom I, myself, was one.

REPORTER. Would it be indiscreet to ask you who were the others?

SIR RICHARD. No, and it will serve to illustrate the peculiar position Mr. Cameron occupied and some other things as well. The other members were Mr. Galt and Mr. Holton, both at one time or other Ministers of Finance and both men who had been partners in the construction of a large portion of the Grand Trunk Railway and had retired with handsome fortunes for that day; Mr. J. J. Abbott, afterwards Premier; Mr. G. Irvine, first Attorney-General for Quebec; Mr. Sandfield Macdonald; Mr., afterwards Sir, David Macpherson, Mr. Cameron and myself.

Everything was discussed among them with amazing frankness on the understanding, very honourably kept, that nothing said at that table was to be repeated elsewhere, and, bearing in mind the positions they respectively held, it speaks volumes for the tact and *savoir faire* of the President that, so long as he lived, the mess kept together without serious friction.

REPORTER. You say this arrangement lasted many years?

SIR RICHARD. From 1866 to 1876, when Mr. Cameron died. To say the truth, it would have been very hard to find any half-dozen men in Canada more conversant with the inner history of political life in Ontario and Quebec from the days of Lord Metcalfe downwards than the majority of those gentlemen, and I have always considered it a very great advantage to have heard both sides of every question discussed by men who had taken a large share in their settlement. In a way it was a liberal education in itself, and as much the youngest man, I listened and learnt, and I am glad to be able to say that with perhaps one exception, for which I was myself partly to blame, I continued, in spite of political differences of opinion, on excellent terms with every one of the party, including the late Sir Alexander Campbell, who sometimes joined us, to the day of their deaths.

REPORTER. Quebec was well represented, but you had no Frenchmen.

SIR RICHARD. We met at the Rideau Club and there were but few French members of that body at the outset. But in one way or the other, the four men I have named, Galt, Holton, Abbott and Irvine, were exceptionally well acquainted with the views and feelings of their French compatriots. Still, it is true that as a rule there never has been any real intimacy between the French and the English members of Parliament, and without intending any reflection upon the former, I do not believe that any similar number of French representatives of different politics could have met together as we did, without sharp

collisions. I am not very sure, for that matter, that the situation is at all likely to be paralleled again by anybody, French or English. Mr. Cameron was an exceptional man, and the little institution died with him.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER SIX.

THE LAST PARLIAMENT OF THE TWO CANADAS.

REPORTER. Was there anything very noteworthy about the autumn session of 1863?

SIR RICHARD. Not much. It was pure dead-lock. Each party had done its utmost and they were generally taking stock of the situation and wondering what would be the outcome. There were a very large number of new members. I was assured by one old parliamentarian that hardly more than one-third of the members who had held seats in the House which was dissolved in 1861 were returned to that of 1863, a circumstance which should not be overlooked. About half of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Cabinet of the early part of 1863 had quarrelled with him and resigned just before the general election, including Mr. Foley, Mr. McGee, Mr. Abbott and Mr. Sicotte, and had constituted themselves into a sort of Cave of Abdullam, leaving him at times in a very awkward predicament. It was this difficulty which induced him to resort to the dubious expedient of appointing Mr. Sicotte to the Bench a very few days after the latter had moved a want of confidence against him and denounced him in very severe terms. The real struggle, however, did not begin till he appointed Mr. Richards Solicitor-General early in 1864.

REPORTER. What occurred then?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Richards was defeated after a very desperate contest and Mr. Sandfield Macdonald shortly after resigned, although I believe he had still a very small majority of perhaps one or two in the House. His action was somewhat criticised at the time, but I do not see how he could have done otherwise. He could hardly have asked the Governor-General for a second dissolution within a few months of that of 1863, and he could not hope to carry

a budget involving a considerable amount of additional taxation in a House so evenly divided.

REPORTER. What did Lord Monck do?

SIR RICHARD. He sent for Sir E. Taché and thereupon ensued a curious little episode now, I suppose, forgotten. Sir E. Taché, in forming his ministry, had, according to the then custom which practically required a dual premiership, asked his Ontario supporters to advise him whom he should select as their leader. They had a meeting accordingly, and after some debate it was decided that they would request Sir Etienne to select Mr., afterwards Sir, Alexander Campbell, also of the Senate, to act as Ontario leader. Sir John Macdonald was not present at that meeting, and after the decision was come to there was a very considerable reluctance on the part of the older members to communicate it to him. The upshot was that, as the youngest member, I was delegated to "hell the cat," a mission I did not greatly covet. Somewhat to my surprise, Sir John took the matter in much better part than I had expected. He discussed the position frankly enough and admitted that as there must be an early dissolution the Conservative party in Ontario had very little chance of success under his leadership, while they might make a fair rally under a new man and might regain some of the supporters they had lost. He only stipulated that he should not be asked to serve under Mr. Campbell, which I assured him, with some emphasis, was far from our intention. (See Appendix "A.")

REPORTER. What was the objection to Sir John?

SIR RICHARD. The Ontario members, much as many of them admired him, knew right well that he was still very unpopular with a great many of our own friends, and that with him as leader the Conservative party in that Province would have been wiped out in the event of an early dissolution. As a matter of fact, this must have occurred if we had gone to the country in 1864 but for the intervention of Mr. Brown. I have myself no doubt they were right. I can recall a very curious incident which went far to show how the current was setting. Mr.

Campbell, though a Senator, had to be re-elected in taking office. Sir John took an active part in his campaign, and on nomination day he attended at the village of Odessa, a very few miles from Kingston, and attempted to speak on his behalf. To our extreme surprise, he could not get a hearing, though the audience was perfectly quiet with the other speakers. This was the more remarkable as the great bulk of those present knew Sir John well personally, Kingston being their shire town at that time and Sir John having been brought up among them and having done business with an immense number of them. As far as I know, this was the only occasion on which such a thing had ever happened to him.

REPORTER. Did Sir John really stand aside or did he interfere against Mr. Campbell.

SIR RICHARD. He did not help him, which perhaps could hardly be expected from him. I cannot say whether he interfered actively against Mr. Campbell. In any case, it soon became apparent that the latter had undertaken an impossible task.

REPORTER. Where did Mr. Campbell's difficulty lie?

SIR RICHARD. Well, he was an untried man and had never been in office. Also he had never so much as sat in the Lower House, having been elected to the Senate. Consequently he lacked that familiar acquaintance with the members of the Commons which it was almost indispensable for a leader to possess. Lastly, and this was his greatest difficulty, any Ontario member who took office under him knew he would have to face a bitter contest at once with a strong chance of another in a very short time. There were but few who could do that.

REPORTER. Men will generally risk a good deal for office.

SIR RICHARD. In any ordinary case they would. But this was no ordinary case. As one man said to me when I asked him why he would not accept: "I began canvassing my riding in 1862. It is now 1864. I have had in those two years two long sessions and two hot and costly elections. In all that time I have not spent ten

days consecutively in my own house or in attending to my own affairs. I am quite ready to retire and hand over my seat to anyone Mr. Campbell will nominate, if that will do him any good, but I cannot risk two more elections within six months."

REPORTER. So Mr. Campbell failed?

SIR RICHARD. It is only fair to him to say that before he made the attempt to organize the Ontario wing of the Cabinet he had received assurance of support from several Ontario members who had supported Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, but who were in former times of Conservative leanings. Campbell himself up to that time could not have been considered a follower of Sir John Macdonald, having been elected to the Senate in opposition to Sir John's nominee. However, when the crisis came these parties failed him and there was then no alternative left but to send for Sir John.

REPORTER. Was all this known at the time?

SIR RICHARD. You will find the main facts stated by Sir Etienne Taché in a communication made by him to the Senate. Of course the circumstance that Sir John had been set aside in favour of Mr. Campbell was not mentioned. Sir John managed, with some difficulty, to fill his ranks, but he had to have recourse to a coalition with Mr. Foley and Mr. McGee, in the case of the former more with a sort of forlorn hope that he could carry his constituency than with any very definite outlook.

REPORTER. Mr. Foley, I think you said, had been a member of Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald's Government in 1863?

SIR RICHARD. Yes. He was at one period a man of great personal popularity in Western Ontario and had been elected at the same time for two constituencies, a rather rare distinction in those days. Many years after, in discussing the situation with some of the political leaders of the Reform party in the riding he had formerly represented, they assured me that if Sir John had stood aloof and Mr. Foley had joined a Cabinet headed by Sir Etienne Taché and Mr. Campbell, he would certainly

have been re-elected, but as they truly said, after spending many years in fiercely denouncing Sir John, Mr. Foley could not expect his former friends to stand by him when he became a subordinate colleague of that gentleman.

REPORTER. Looking back, do you think a Taché-Campbell Ministry could have been sustained?

SIR RICHARD. For a time it might. Mr. Campbell was a man of much greater ability than he ever got credit for, and both sides at the moment were in a position in which a temporary armistice would have been acceptable. Of one thing I am positively certain, that it was the one and only chance the Conservative party in Ontario had of escaping a ruinous defeat. Outside of the House itself there was a strong sentiment in the country that these perpetual political see-saws must be put an end to and another dissolution and another general election would have been looked on with great disfavour, especially in view of the war then still raging in the United States.

REPORTER. Mr. Foley was defeated, of course?

SIR RICHARD. Of course; and we all knew that with his defeat the doom of the Taché-Macdonald Government was sealed and we were in for a dissolution and chaos come again. In fact, for the Conservative party in Ontario the situation was a hopeless *impasse*. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had a policy of retrenchment and economical administration which he had carried out fairly enough. Mr. Brown and the Liberal party at large demanded full representation for Ontario. Sir John Macdonald had practically no policy except that of maintaining the Conservative party, *i.e.*, himself, in power, and that only as a sort of annex to the majority in Quebec.

REPORTER. Were your opponents any better off?

SIR RICHARD. Perhaps not as far as the small Liberal contingent in Quebec were concerned, but very much better in Ontario. What was pretty sure to occur was that we would have had an all but absolutely solid Ontario against an equally solid Quebec, and no one on either side with the slightest pretension to statesmanship or common sense liked the prospect.

INTERVIEW NUMBER SEVEN.

*SIR JOHN FEARS ALLIANCE BETWEEN BROWN
AND CARTIER.*

REPORTER. Was not the Taché Government defeated very shortly after?

SIR RICHARD. Yes, and then came Confederation.

REPORTER. I think you have stated that Sir John Macdonald was not in favour of that project at the start?

SIR RICHARD. It is on record, if anyone chooses to look. He had his reasons, and substantial ones, too. He had a dislike to the federal form of government for one thing, regarding it as too complicated and too risky an experiment, and he also believed that if once the French majority formed an alliance with the Ontario Liberals, the Conservative party in Ontario would be annihilated. It is only fair to say that his forecast was very nearly literally fulfilled. The alliance he dreaded was on the very point of taking place when Mr. Brown's impetuosity averted it. On the other hand, his supporters were right in considering the existing state of things as intolerable. Probably both parties were right in a measure, but, looking back, I must admit that it was a leap in the dark, and we certainly had no popular mandate behind us.

REPORTER. The people acquiesced?

SIR RICHARD. That is probably the best word for it. At any rate, two or three years elapsed during which they could very easily have manifested their opposition if they had so desired, but there was no sign of dissent from any considerable section in Ontario or Quebec. It must always be borne in mind that in 1864 Canada had no North-West, nor any immediate prospect of obtaining any, and that, with a very few exceptions, no one in Canada had any idea of the possibilities of that region.

REPORTER. You say Ontario and Quebec acquiesced, but what about the Maritime Provinces?

SIR RICHARD. There were difficulties in those quarters. New Brunswick at first rejected the proposal, although she subsequently accepted it under considerable pressure from the Imperial authorities. In Nova Scotia the feeling was stubbornly averse all through. These provinces were, in fact, cajoled or coerced into Confederation by the British Government, who realized the danger of the situation. The process left its marks for many a day, and its results are present with us still.

REPORTER. You say these provinces were dissatisfied from the start?

SIR RICHARD. They entered Confederation, at least Nova Scotia did, with a distinct sense of grievance, and for a long time made it evident that they took small interest in the general well-being of the Dominion. At the general election of 1867 I think every man who had supported Confederation lost his seat, with the exception of Sir Charles Tupper, and, able and influential man as he undoubtedly was, several years elapsed and an immense amount of intrigue had to be gone through with before he was able to take a seat in the Cabinet. The all but public purchase of Joseph Howe did not improve matters, and in more ways than one left Nova Scotia in much the sort of temper towards old Canada as Ireland was towards Great Britain after the union in 1800.

REPORTER. That reminds me that I have heard that you were educated, or at least finished your education, in Ireland. Did what you saw there influence you much?

SIR RICHARD. It certainly did. I spent over four years there, from 1851 to 1856, and I was very much impressed with the state of things. Ireland was then a country in despair, and while I did not share, I quite understood, the deep and bitter hatred to England and things English which had taken possession of the great bulk of the Irish people of that generation.

REPORTER. To return to our own affairs. What followed in 1865 as far as Quebec and Ontario were concerned?

SIR RICHARD. So far as regarded Parliament it was a

sort of halcyon period for most of us. After prolonged storms we had got into an absolutely calm harbour, and we enjoyed the quiet amazingly. You see, for two whole sessions in 1863 and 1864 every man had been kept on the stretch. Four times out of five we used to see the sun rise before the House did, and it was a most difficult matter to get leave of absence, even for matters of real urgency. Then, too, the fact that we had taken in hand a question of the first magnitude which must greatly affect the entire future of Canada had both an elevating and a tranquillizing effect on most of the members. A few scattered members in Ontario excepted, the only body of men in Parliament who could be said to be opposed to Confederation were the little knot of French Liberals in Quebec headed by Dorion, Huntingdon and Holton, and they were far too few numerically to give much trouble.

REPORTER. Why did they object particularly?

SIR RICHARD. They considered that they were being thrown to the wolves, and that their chances in a Quebec locally independent were very faint indeed. In the case of Mr. Holton, who was personally very well acquainted with both Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Brown, he felt assured from his knowledge of the characters of the two men, and indeed openly predicted on the floor of the House, that Sir John would use Mr. Brown and sacrifice him. It is quite probable, too, though they were much too cautious to say so, that in their heart of hearts they had looked forward to a dissolution of the union and annexation to the United States as the best remedy for the evils of which they complained in Quebec. But beyond all question, the most significant circumstance which occurred in 1865 was the temporary eclipse of Sir John Macdonald and the rapid establishment of an apparently perfect good understanding between Mr. Cartier and Mr. Brown.

REPORTER. Do I understand that Mr. Cartier was ready to withdraw from his long connection with Sir John and ally himself with Mr. Brown?

SIR RICHARD. It was by no means the fault of Mr.

Cartier that, owing to the frequent and long-continued absences of Sir John from the House, Mr. Brown in 1865 had become virtually the leader of that body, a duty he discharged with remarkable ability, and it was not much of a surprise to most of us when Mr. Cartier took occasion to apprise the Ontario Conservative wing that they must not expect him to break off his alliance with Mr. Brown when the time came, as we then expected it very soon would, to form a new Government. Later I had it from Lord Monck himself that Mr. Cartier had formally notified him to the same effect, and that if Confederation had been consummated in 1865 or shortly after he expected that the new ministry would have been a Brown-Cartier one. It was, therefore, pretty much like a thunderbolt out of the blue when we got the news at the end of 1865 that Mr. Brown had resigned and resigned alone, while the other Liberal Ministers from Ontario remained.

REPORTER. What reason did Mr. Brown give?

SIR RICHARD. Ostensibly because he was not placed on the delegation which was being sent to Washington to negotiate a renewal of the reciprocity treaty then about to expire. Technically Mr. Brown had no special right to be employed on this mission but, on the other hand, and Mr. Brown was well aware of the fact, he was the only statesman of any note in Canada who was likely to prove *persona grata* to the United States authorities and Senate, a matter of first-rate importance at that crisis. All through the Civil War then just closed Mr. Brown and *The Globe* had steadily supported the cause of the North, and the American press and public then and afterwards were keenly alive to the fact. I do not say that Mr. Brown could have saved the situation, but I do assert that he was the only man in Canada at that moment who had even a reasonable chance of doing so. Unhappily, Mr. Brown, who was a highly impulsive man and apt to resent a slight of the sort, in an unlucky moment lost his temper, and tendered his resignation. Sir John Macdonald, who had become thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of a coalition between Cartier and Brown, seized his opportunity

and induced the Premier, Sir N. Belleau, to accept it, much against the wishes of several of his colleagues and supporters.

REPORTER. How was it that Mr. Brown's resignation had so little immediate effect?

SIR RICHARD. There were several reasons. Things had gone too far. Then Mr. Brown, though with many excellent qualities, was always a rash and impulsive man, and had been perhaps somewhat dictatorial in dealing with his immediate supporters. I am bound to say that during his tenure of office he showed great consideration in his relations with the Conservative members for Ontario and had made great way with them, and what was still more surprising, with the French element from Quebec. But, as regards his own party, I doubt if he showed equal tact, and he had committed a first-class error of judgment when he allowed himself to be placed in a position of dangerous isolation in the Cabinet by consenting to put Mr. Mowat on the Bench.

REPORTER. How did this affect him?

SIR RICHARD. Very injuriously. Mr. Mowat was in all respects the very man Mr. Brown most needed as an adviser. He was a thoroughly staunch, trained and well-read lawyer, and constitutionally a cautious and prudent man. Moreover, he was a native of Kingston, and had been for some years a student in Sir John Macdonald's office and knew the latter well. Altogether he would have been simply invaluable to Mr. Brown, and there were more than one of the older politicians who expressed their wonder at Mr. Brown's ever consenting to part with him, the more so as it was quite notorious that his remaining Liberal colleague, Mr. William Macdougall, was no friend of Mr. Brown's, nor was there any other man then available to replace Mr. Mowat on whom Mr. Brown could implicitly rely. As for the rank and file of the party, they felt very strongly that after forcing them into a coalition with their life-long opponents on the ground that no sacrifices were too great to bring about a Confederation of British North America, Mr. Brown should never have

resigned on what was, after all said and done, a personal issue, without consulting them, at any rate until Confederation had become an accomplished fact, and this feeling was intensified when it became known that Mr. Brown had acted without even communicating with his colleagues, Messrs. Howland and Macdougall.

REPORTER. Was it true, as alleged at the time, that Sir John had goaded and baited Mr. Brown in various ways till he tendered his resignation?

SIR RICHARD. It is possible that he had made Mr. Brown's position very uncomfortable. Sir John was a subtle and crafty intriguer, and Mr. Brown was in many ways an easy mark for him. I do know that he had exulted greatly at getting rid of Mr. Mowat and had diligently fomented Mr. Macdougall's long-cherished hostility to Mr. Brown, and I also know that although he had foreseen and predicted the alliance between the French and the Liberals, he was both incensed and alarmed at finding his prognostications so quickly verified by the very rapid *rapprochement* which had taken place between Brown and Cartier in the session of 1865, and I am also aware on the very best authority that whatever he may have said in public, he did his utmost to prevent Mr. Brown's withdrawing his resignation.

INTERVIEW NUMBER EIGHT.

THE MEN WHO BROUGHT ABOUT CONFEDERATION.

REPORTER. What was the position in 1866?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Howland and Mr. Macdougall threw in their lot with Sir John and carried almost all the Ontario Liberal members along with them, with the result that Mr. Brown, who was not unnaturally ostracized by the small opposition led by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald and Dorion, found himself all but absolutely alone in a House in which some very few months before he had been virtual dictator. Time and again he had to rise in support of some motion he wished to put on record with but two followers behind him.

REPORTER. Who were they?

SIR RICHARD. Good men and true. They were Mr. Alexander Mackenzie and Mr. McKellar, but they stood alone. It was an almost tragic spectacle, and to do the House justice most men felt it to be so.

REPORTER. You saw this yourself?

SIR RICHARD. Repeatedly, and knowing as I did how utterly impossible it would have been to have carried Confederation without Mr. Brown's aid, and knowing also what Sir John's real feelings were as regarded that measure, I could not help thinking that if there ever was a case in which one man sowed and another reaped it was in this same scheme of Confederation.

REPORTER. How did Sir John behave?

SIR RICHARD. Sir John behaved very well, as far as I know. I was in England at the time of Mr. Brown's resignation and did not meet Sir John till some weeks afterwards. Contrary to his usual custom I found him very reticent about the matter, although I could see that there was a great weight off his mind. At any rate, he did not exult over Mr. Brown, at least in public. As for

Cartier and Galt, they both expressed their regret at Mr. Brown's retirement quite openly, and I have no doubt sincerely. In fact, among the better class, and indeed I think generally, there was a feeling that while Mr. Brown had committed political suicide, he had in some ways been hardly dealt with. *Mutatis mutandis*, the attitude on both sides, and perhaps especially among his former opponents, was a good deal like that men might show to a dethroned monarch who had played a great part in his day. I observed, however, that Sir John did not neglect to widen the breach between Mr. Brown and Mr. Macdougall, and also Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald, in both of which efforts he was pretty successful. Undoubtedly the gain to Sir John personally was immense. Men who had been in almost open revolt against him in 1865 now admitted that he was supreme in his own way, and he regained at one bound all and more than all the prestige he had ever possessed. Even in 1873 people recalled how he had extricated himself from his difficulties in 1865, and were ready to believe that sooner or later he would emerge triumphant.

REPORTER. On the whole, you think Mr. Brown might claim the credit of the authorship of Confederation?

SIR RICHARD. I would not quite say that. The project could have made no way without his help, but neither could it have succeeded without the active and loyal co-operation of Mr. Cartier, and the man who really enlisted Cartier in the cause was A. T. Galt. In sporting phrase, if Mr. Brown was first, Galt and Cartier came in as very good seconds. All three took heavy risks and heavy responsibilities, and in one way or the other all three suffered more or less for their action. There is no need to say more of the result as far as Mr. Brown was concerned, but it is now almost forgotten that Mr. Galt was forced to resign in 1866 because he was unable to obtain quite as ample concessions for the Protestant minority in Quebec, whom he represented, as they thought he ought to have secured; and as for Sir George Cartier, his hold on his fellow-countrymen was a good deal shaken and his position in their eyes was considerably lessened

by the place Quebec had to assume under the British North America Act. I do not deny that there were others who did good work in this business, but none who could compare in any way with these three.

REPORTER. Touching Sir John A. Macdonald, I have heard that you were at one time very intimate with him. Have you any objection to give your opinion of him?

SIR RICHARD (after a pause). Perhaps I may as well. He is now an historical character, and my relations with him during the latter part of his career are so well known that I have no doubt the requisite discount will be made if I do him any injustice. Sir John's character was a very complicated one, much good and much evil intermixed, and though I do not regret the position I took and am in no way disposed to retract anything I have said about him, I may admit, now that I am myself of the same age as he was when he died, that if I had known as much of the inner side of Canadian political life as I do now, I would probably have judged him more leniently. He might very well have taken for his motto, "*Video meliora deteriora sequor*," and I have felt since that there was some truth in the reply I once heard him make to a stout old farmer who was taking him to task for some of his proceedings, "Send me better men to deal with and I will be a better man."

REPORTER. Did you see much of him as a young man?

SIR RICHARD. We were both residents of Kingston, and I had been brought into somewhat close contact with him in several ways even before I entered Parliament, and I was, besides, on pretty intimate terms with not a few persons who were familiarly acquainted with him. Also, to do Sir John justice, he was always, when I first knew him, very ready to talk freely with the younger men of his party and, which is more unusual, was willing to give and take in his discussions with us to an extent one would not have expected to find in a man of his position. Then he had an immense acquaintance with men of all sorts and conditions from one end of Canada to the other, and an

immense fund of anecdotes about them which he delighted to retail on all occasions.

REPORTER. Sir John had friends on both sides?

SIR RICHARD. He had when I first knew him and up to 1867. After that date I rather doubt, and he certainly had not many after 1873. But of his personal influence on most of those with whom he came in contact there can be no question. I recall one curious incident of which I was an eye-witness in the autumn session of 1863 in Quebec, at a time when party feeling was pretty bitter. I was passing through a set of alcoves on my way to the supper-room when I saw Sir John with his head on the shoulder of a certain stalwart Grit member from Western Ontario. The pair made a rather remarkable tableau, and as I passed I heard his companion say to Sir John, "Ah, John A., John A., how I love you! How I wish I could trust you!" Sir John was always very fond of a good story, and there were two or three of his supporters who made a regular practice of keeping him supplied with the newest things in that line, and it was very amusing, as soon as he was furnished with anything of that sort he thought specially worth repeating, to see him make a sort of pilgrimage round the House and retail the same to divers choice spirits, very often winding up with Mr. David Mills, with whom he maintained a curious sort of intimacy in spite of the great divergence of their political views.

REPORTER. You spoke of Sir John just now as an intriguer.

SIR RICHARD. He certainly was. It may have been that having a large amount of caution in his disposition, and having seen so many and such extraordinary changes in his long political career, he rather acted on the assumption that the foe of to-day might be the friend of to-morrow, and *vice versa*. Moreover it was little short of a regular matter of policy with him to make mischief if he could among his leading opponents.

REPORTER. For example?

SIR RICHARD. He was always trying through himself

and his agents of all kinds, both in the press and elsewhere, to stir up jealousies between Mr. Macdougall and Mr. Brown and between the latter and Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald. Later he played the same game as between Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake, and generally wherever he could to set one of his opponents against the other.

REPORTER. To what do you attribute his success as a leader?

SIR RICHARD. Largely to his personality. He was "John A.," and there was no other like him. But he was an excellent parliamentarian and indefatigable in the work of keeping his party together. He might and did neglect his departmental work, but he never neglected his rôle as leader of his party. He had an immense correspondence, which he preserved with jealous care, and could generally lay his hand on any document he wanted, even after a long lapse of years. I should say that in Ontario there was scarcely a single riding in which Sir John could not count a score or more of men occupying more or less influential positions, every one of whom either owed their appointment to him, or had been under obligations to him of one sort or the other, or of whom he knew something they would not care to have made public. In this way he could generally always obtain a pretty good idea of the political situation in any quarter, and very often mould public opinion pretty much as he desired. This, perhaps, was an incident due to his very long political career, but he understood thoroughly how to make the most of it. *Per contra*, he was thoroughly unscrupulous in making any statements to gain a point, and very jealous, sometimes absurdly so, of any man whom he thought might prove a possible competitor for the leadership. I doubt if he ever forgave Sir Alexander Campbell, for instance, for having allowed himself to be nominated in his place in 1864. He contrived to punish Sir Alexander Campbell at the time by inflicting on him a very costly election, which might easily have been avoided, and for many years, though he quite recognized his ability as an administrator

and was glad to have him in his cabinet, there was no surer passport to Sir John's good graces than to abuse Sir Alexander Campbell on any ground whatever, though he knew well that after the latter had entered his cabinet he had been quite loyal to him under all conditions. I think he had a grudge against the very name. I have heard him speak more than once of the massacre of Glencoe as bitterly as if it had occurred within a generation, instead of two centuries ago, and quote the old Highland proverb that the Campbells were always fair and false with great unction. He certainly did not care to have men with wills of their own in his cabinet if he could help it.

There are some other matters affecting our personal relations I may have to discuss at another opportunity. For the present I will only add that Sir John was always anxious, as far as political exigencies would permit, to maintain the dignity of the Bench, and also that if he exacted great sacrifices in a pecuniary way from many of his followers, he made great sacrifices himself. He had at one time a very lucrative practice and business connections which brought him in a very large income for those days, most of which he had to give up for politics.

REPORTER. I thought Sir John A. Macdonald was always a poor man.

SIR RICHARD. Not originally, nor till after he plunged deeply into politics. He was pretty deeply in debt for a good many years, but I think his indebtedness was due to political exigencies and not to speculations or personal extravagance. I have heard him speak with much bitterness, and I do not doubt with much truth, of the scandalous way in which he was often pillaged by his political supporters and of the niggardly contributions he received from wealthy members of the party. But this is a very common experience with public men.

INTERVIEW NUMBER NINE.

CONFEDERATION.

REPORTER. Looking back, what do you think of the Act of Confederation itself?

SIR RICHARD. Much allowance must be made for the circumstances under which it was framed. It was, so to speak, a war measure. That is, it was designed to avert a great danger, and it was only possible to carry it by means of a coalition which might have gone to pieces at very short notice. There were at least two things which we would have remedied if we could, but which could not be helped. One was the number of small provinces. Every man who gave the matter a serious thought would have much preferred to have seen the three Maritime Provinces united into one. So, also, we would have greatly preferred to have kept the finances of the provinces and of the Dominion quite apart, as is done in the United States; or, at the very least, if this was found impracticable, to have put every possible barrier in the way of any interference with the original terms of union as regarded subsidies.

I have said and I repeat that there can be no worse mistake than to allow one legislature to spend money at its own discretion and then call on another to provide the funds. It is simply putting a premium on dishonesty and extravagance, and is doubly mischievous when, as in Canada, the several provinces contribute very unequally in proportion to their population to the Dominion revenues. As a matter of course the poorer provinces are constantly intriguing to obtain larger grants, and too often succeed in obtaining them. In this respect both political parties have been grievously to blame, though, as I have mentioned above, the original offender was Nova Scotia.

REPORTER. Under what circumstances did this occur?

SIR RICHARD. After the original negotiations were

completed, and the debt of each province apportioned, Sir Charles Tupper saw fit to cause the local legislature, which he was then leading, to incur heavy expenditures, chiefly, I think, on portions of what is now the Inter-colonial road. When he was defeated and a bargain was struck with Joseph Howe, this was made a pretext for amending the terms of union with Nova Scotia, and the first serious breach was made in the financial basis originally agreed to. Even if the thing itself was justifiable, the manner of doing it gave rise to much just criticism. Sir A. T. Galt, in especial, regarded the proceeding with great disfavour, and predicted, what indeed was plain enough, that we were preparing the way for a perpetual series of demands on the part of the minor provinces in particular. Sir John A. Macdonald, on the other hand, took up the perfectly indefensible position that the British North America Act only bound us not to give the provinces *less* than the terms therein named, but that we might add to the subsidies as much as we pleased. The fact was that while in Ontario we were well accustomed to raise large sums by direct taxation for municipal purposes and could very well have dispensed with any aid from the Dominion, the other provinces had, as a rule, done very little in that way, at any rate at that time, and it was thought, perhaps correctly, that to make the introduction of Confederation the cause of additional and direct taxation would be fatal to the whole project.

REPORTER. Did you observe any other defects?

SIR RICHARD. Well, there are too many subjects in which there is a joint jurisdiction, and I have always considered that it was a great mistake to allow both the Dominion and the local Parliaments power to tax all kinds of property, real and personal, alike. The power of taxation should, I think, be divided. Let the Dominion have exclusive power to tax all kinds of personal property and the local legislatures exclusive right to tax all realty. Apart from this there was another and much more inexcusable defect in framing the British North America Act, because it was one of which the authors of that piece of

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legislation were fully warned, and that was the refusal to insert provisions similar to those contained in the Constitution of the United States, whereby no state or province could exact laws in violation of contracts. It was alleged at the time that any danger of unjust legislation could be checked by the veto power vested in the Federal cabinet. This, as might have been expected, has proved a most illusory barrier, and we have had the shameful spectacle of the Minister of Justice of the day declaring in his place that a certain act of one of the provinces was in the highest degree iniquitous and unjust, but that in pursuance of the policy of the Liberal party he could not advise interference in a matter within the jurisdiction of the province, no matter how outrageous their action might be. This was a complete and cowardly abdication of a plain right and plain duty, and it is very much to be regretted that such a doctrine should have been proclaimed by a Government calling itself Liberal. As for the allegation that the Federal cabinet or Parliament should only interfere in cases such as would justify the Imperial authorities in exercising the power of veto reserved to them, it is enough to point out that there is absolutely no analogy between the position of the British and Canadian authorities. Canada has no representation at all in the British Parliament, while, on the contrary, every province in Canada has a full representation in our House of Commons to which Ministers must account.

REPORTER. Cannot the people of each province call their Ministers to account?

SIR RICHARD. Nominally and theoretically, yes. Practically, no. Acts of injustice of the sort referred to commonly affect only one or two individuals. There is no way to obtain redress, if the Federal Government refuses to act, except after the lapse of several years at a general election. By that time the grievance will have grown stale, and there will be a hundred other issues imported into the contest. Any man who knows how very easily the most objectionable acts are often rushed through a single chamber at the close of any session, will realize the need of some

revisory body. At present, if this interpretation stands, there is no redress and no appeal.

REPORTER. Did any other defect strike you?

SIR RICHARD. There is one, but I fear it is inherent in all federal forms of government on a large scale. They are all apt to become extremely costly. Canada is no exception. Where you grant all but unlimited powers of taxation to three separate bodies, as we do under our existing municipal system, those powers are almost certain to be abused. Take, for instance, the case of small towns of say two thousand or three thousand people in such a province as Ontario. The municipal statistics show that the direct taxation for municipal purposes in such towns often equals and sometimes exceeds \$10 per head, or \$50 a family. Supplement this with the amount levied for federal purposes and, though in a much smaller degree, by the local governments, and you will find that there is a further taxation of from \$15 to \$20 per head, or from \$75 to \$100 per family. This means from \$125 to \$150 per family. I waive for the present the question of how much more each man may have to pay under a protective tariff, which very often compels the consumer to pay a fourth or a third more for any given article than he could purchase the same for in an open market. But it is obvious, and bears very directly on the question of the increased cost of living, that a very large amount of the incomes of the majority of the people of Canada in the larger and richer provinces are absorbed by the tax collector, whether he is described as a municipal officer or a custom house collector or a protected manufacturer.

REPORTER. Why do you emphasize this point?

SIR RICHARD. Because it is a serious menace to the future prosperity of the Dominion. While we are prospering, as at present, we may bear it; but heavy taxation, as a rule, goes hand in hand with a wasteful expenditure, and extravagance breeds corruption. Moreover, though it is not the only factor, it will be found that in the long run heavy taxation is largely responsible for the creation of that submerged tenth which is the disgrace of most

modern so-called civilizations, and which very often owes its origin to undue taxation in one form or the other. The federal system tends to aggravate this danger unless very carefully watched. We are, I fear, a very wasteful people, and so are the people of Great Britain, of Australia, of the United States, and of pretty much every English-speaking community. The case is pretty bad in many parts of Canada to-day.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TEN.

BRITISH ATTITUDE TO CANADA, 1865-66.

REPORTER. What was the attitude of the British Government toward Confederation?

SIR RICHARD. They were very glad to help it on in every way in their power, and indeed without their active though quiet co-operation we could not have brought it about. But in 1865, and before that date, I have excellent reason for believing that the leaders on both sides, Gladstone and Disraeli included, would have been still more pleased if we had asked for our independence at once, as indeed the *Times* suggested we should do, in so many words. From the reports of our own delegates who met in London to settle the details of the Confederation Act, and, I may add, from facts which came to my own personal knowledge in 1866 during a visit to England of some duration, I am quite certain that not only the chief political leaders would have desired such a consummation, but I found that the feeling among the financial men in the city with whom I came in contact was decidedly in the same direction. This feeling was greatly strengthened by the fact that the military men, who had been sent out to Canada in unusually large numbers at the time of the *Trent* embroglio, were one and all privately of opinion that Canada was utterly indefensible against an American invasion.

REPORTER. Was this view openly expressed?

SIR RICHARD. I fancy the rules of the Service forbade its being done publicly. But during the years from 1861 to 1870 I saw a great many British officers of all ranks, many of whom have since risen to the highest military positions. Most of these men, though comparatively young, were veterans in the best and truest sense of the word, having served through several very arduous cam-

paigns in the Crimea and in the Indian Mutiny, and they thoroughly understood what they were talking about. In fact, the pendulum had swung round. I think at first, in 1861, they had been disposed to under-rate the military power of the United States and to look on their armies as little better than armed mobs. But after that period many of them contrived to pay a visit or two to the seat of war, and long before the struggle was over they had come to understand the tremendous energy and resources of the Northern States and to entertain a most wholesome respect for the fighting qualities of both parties in the Civil War. Some had been eye-witnesses of several of the severest conflicts which took place, and these I found were of all most impressed with the skill shown in handling and providing for the huge masses of men who were latterly put in the field, and with the intelligence and great adaptability of the average United States soldier and the excellence of their commissariat arrangements.

REPORTER. What was their conclusion on the whole?

SIR RICHARD. To say the truth, it was unpalatable to us. All whom I met, when speaking privately, expressed their opinion that, while we might hold Quebec and Halifax, and possibly Nova Scotia, the rest of Canada must capitulate, and the sooner the better. All they thought that the British Government could do would be to destroy American commerce, and, if need be, bombard their seaport towns, and this, if no European complications ensued, would bring the United States to terms and compel them to restore Canada.

REPORTER. And then?

SIR RICHARD. That was beyond their province, but in discussing this aspect of the question with other parties in England they did not hesitate to say that in such a case we must either cast in our lot with the United States or become a separate state, such as Belgium, under the joint protectorate of England and the United States. Indeed, the very plans which the Imperial engineers submitted for the defence of Canada, when they came to be analyzed, involved such huge expenditures and such immense num-

bers of men to hold and occupy the proposed lines and entrenched camps, as to show that the military experts had made up their minds that nothing effectual could be done.

REPORTER. I think I have heard that you took at one time a considerable interest in military affairs.

SIR RICHARD. I spoke and wrote a good deal on the subject, while there was any thought of our attempting to put ourselves in a state of defence against the United States, and I even elaborated a scheme under which, with the aid of the British garrisons maintained in various parts of Canada, I thought a very effective militia might be organized. The pamphlet is in existence, and I believe if the idea had been carried out we would have secured an exceedingly good militia at no greater cost than the amount we actually expended to very little purpose.

REPORTER. Did the British Government alter its views after Confederation?

SIR RICHARD. By no means. They virtually hauled down their flag in North America almost as soon as Confederation was accomplished. Very shortly after not a British soldier was left in Ontario or Quebec. Every garrison was withdrawn, and with, I think, the solitary exception of Halifax, which was retained as an important naval base, we were left entirely to our own resources.

REPORTER. What effect had this?

SIR RICHARD. It was the best thing that could be done. Great Britain could not afford to maintain a force in Canada which would have given us any effective protection, and it would have been simply tempting Providence to have left a few regiments scattered up and down a frontier of two thousand miles, soon to become four thousand. All the same, it was looked upon in the United States as a tacit acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine, and coupled with the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico and the defeat and death of Maximilian, was held to mean that the European powers had definitely decided to let North America alone, a belief which was much strengthened by the previous sale of Alaska to the United States.

REPORTER. Do you think the English public men of whom you spoke fairly represented English sentiment at that time?

SIR RICHARD. If I could judge from the language of the city men, and others whom I met, they certainly did. These latter were very outspoken, and made no secret of their belief that Canada was a very dangerous possession, and also that they could not afford to go to war with the United States on any consideration. Many of them likewise expressed their opinion that the action of the British Government during the Civil War was extremely ill-judged, and that they should either have recognized the South or supported the North in all reasonable ways.

REPORTER. And what of the temper of the United States?

SIR RICHARD. I was a good deal in the United States during 1866, and I found their temper exceedingly bitter. They well understood that the sympathy of the governing classes in England had been with the South, and they resented extremely the destruction of their commerce and mercantile marine, consequent on the depredations of the *Alabama* and her consort.

REPORTER. Was the injury very great?

SIR RICHARD. So great that they have not recovered from it in forty-five years. For a very long time thereafter Great Britain all but monopolized the carrying trade of this continent. Prior to the Civil War, and especially from 1850 to 1860, the United States had a really magnificent merchant navy. Their superb clipper ships were the admiration of the world. I very well remember about the middle of that period spending some time in Liverpool, and nearly every second vessel which entered the Mersey flew the American flag. The last time I landed in that city there was not one to be seen, and I believe the records of the Suez Canal tell the same tale of the almost complete disappearance of the American merchantmen. No doubt other causes have contributed to this result, but the depredations of the *Alabama* and her consort did much to bring it about. This was a standing grievance, and they

hardly concealed their intention of punishing Canada for the action of the Mother Country by refusing to renew the Reciprocity Treaty.

REPORTER. This, then, was the cause of their refusal to renew?

SIR RICHARD. It was the determining, though not the avowed, cause. But for the ill-feeling thus engendered it is likely the treaty would have been renewed, though probably with considerable modifications. Then we had the hostility of the Irish element to reckon with.

REPORTER. You allude to the Fenian raids of 1866?

SIR RICHARD. They were a more serious menace than we were willing to admit then or now. There is no doubt that a great many Irishmen were induced to enlist in the Northern army on a very express understanding that after they had disposed of the South they would be let loose on Canada. There is no doubt, also, that in 1866 they had a large number of sympathizers in the North, including many men of very considerable political prominence, who were quite ready to aid and abet them in more ways than one. It is an old story now, but it is none the less the fact, that for more than a year after the close of the Civil War the people of Canada were kept in a state of great tension from fear of a Fenian attack, and that for several months we had to keep nearly thirty thousand men under arms; and, further, that the American state and municipal authorities were exceedingly supine, to say the least, in checking the proceedings of the raiders, at any rate till they found that if the thing went on much longer it might lead to precipitating a war with Great Britain.

REPORTER. Was it so serious as that?

SIR RICHARD. I will give you an instance of the risk we ran. After the action at Ridgeway, when the Fenian force decided to retire by Fort Erie, a large number of them were ordered by the commander of the United States war vessel *Michigan* to remain in tow of his ship in mid-channel. They were then in United States waters, but within short cannon range of the Canadian shore, and I was assured by an officer of high standing that a battery

of Canadian volunteer artillery had actually trained their guns on these boats, and that it was only by the timely interference of himself and some other officers that they were prevented from sinking the boats containing these marauders. Had they done so the *Michigan* would certainly have opened fire upon them, and in the then temper of the two countries the danger of war ensuing would have been very great, especially as we held a large number of prisoners who were afterwards tried for their lives and convicted, and many of whom would in all likelihood have been executed as pirates, had a collision taken place.

REPORTER. You say the state and municipal authorities in the United States in many cases sympathized with the Fenians? In what way?

SIR RICHARD. In many places along our border bodies of Fenians drilled under arms in open day. Considerable subscriptions were taken up for their benefit, and the names of the subscribers, often including men of considerable political prominence, were published ostentatiously. No effective steps were taken to put a stop to these hostile demonstrations on the part of the United States Government till after the retreat of O'Neil's forces subsequent to the skirmish at Ridgeway, and until some hundreds of the prisoners who fell into our hands were in danger of their lives. These men were defended at the expense of the American Government, who had by that time become aware of the dangerous consequences which might have resulted had any considerable number been executed, and also perhaps of the fact that there was not the smallest disposition on the part of the Canadian people, or of any considerable fraction of them, to join the invaders.

REPORTER. Did the people of the United States really believe that Canada was anxious to join the union?

SIR RICHARD. Unquestionably a great many of them did. They always have found it very hard to believe that we honestly preferred our own institutions to theirs, and I have no doubt that the bulk of the men who crossed the border on that occasion fully expected to be welcomed by our people as deliverers from British tyranny.

INTERVIEW NUMBER ELEVEN.

PARLIAMENT AFTER CONFEDERATION.

REPORTER. You were speaking of the effect of the Fenian raids. Had they any other consequences? Do you suppose the United States wished for war?

SIR RICHARD. As to your first question, I think that these raids, coupled with the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, did go a very long way to extinguish any feeling in favour of annexation which did at one time exist, and very much increased the feeling in favour of Confederation. The two combined had also a great deal to do with the subsequent adoption of the policy of protection. Had we secured a fairly good Reciprocity Treaty I doubt very much if the so-called "National Policy" would ever have been heard of. As far as our farmers were concerned the disposition to retaliate on the United States for depriving us of their markets had far more to do with their willingness to submit to a protective system of taxation than anything else.

As to your second question, I am by no means sure of what the ultimate intentions of the United States Government may have been. Till after the settlement of the *Alabama* claims the relations between the two countries were more or less strained. At the moment, however, they certainly did not want it. Their finances were in great disorder, and the exhaustion caused by the war was making itself felt. I think, too, they did not feel sure of the South. But that a war to punish Great Britain and to annex Canada to their dominions would have been popular at that juncture with a large number, perhaps with a large majority of the people of the North (and it may have been with the South also), I entertain no doubt, and that I know was the opinion of many Canadians whose business led them to travel through the Northern States in 1866.

REPORTER. So it was not all plain sailing just then?

SIR RICHARD. These things are apt to be lost sight of. Men, as a rule, know a great deal more of the history of their own and other countries a hundred years ago than they do of the actual state of things thirty or forty years back. As I have said, it is hard for us in 1911 or 1912 to realize what an imposing figure Napoleon the Third and, I may say, France under him, appeared in 1862 and 1863, and so of a great many other things which had to be considered then, though they are quite forgotten now.

REPORTER. You must have found a great change in the first Parliament after Confederation?

SIR RICHARD. It was very like a transformation scene. But by far the most noteworthy feature was the extraordinary alteration in the position of Sir John A. Macdonald. In the Parliament of 1863 he had appeared as a defeated and, to say the truth, as a rather discredited politician, with but a small following from his own province, and with by no means absolute control over the whole of that, and also as more or less dependent on the solid phalanx from Quebec which stood behind Sir George Cartier. In 1867 he had blossomed out into the first Premier of the Dominion, with absolutely no opponent or opposition worth the name. His chief antagonist, Mr. Brown, was not only beaten, but had definitely retired from politics and, in fact, never stood again for a seat in the House of Commons. The other leaders of the Liberal party in Ontario were either serving under him or had betaken themselves, as in the case of Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, to the local Legislature, on conditions, to say the least, more indifferent than hostile.

To all seeming many years must elapse before any new men could arise who could succeed in organizing any formidable opposition, and, which secretly pleased Sir John more than anything else, Sir George Cartier had perforce to play the part of a subordinate instead of, as heretofore, controlling his policy.

REPORTER. I think you hinted that Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier were not always in accord?

SIR RICHARD. I did. Apart from the incident of 1865 and Sir George's contemplated alliance with Mr. Brown, which Sir John was by no means the man to forgive, though he was too prudent to come to an open rupture with the French element which Cartier still controlled, Sir George resented the fact that Sir John had continued to monopolize the lion's share of the "kudos" arising from the completion of the Confederation project. Moreover, he was well aware that Sir John had risked nothing and gained everything, while he himself had undoubtedly taken a great risk and had, as he thought, been decidedly ignored at the close.

REPORTER. You refer to the fact that Sir John had been singled out for special honour by the British authorities?

SIR RICHARD. That, among other things. As usual, the English Government displayed a most woeful ignorance of the real facts of the case, when they passed over Cartier and Galt in favour of Sir John. The offer of a couple of Companionships of the Bath to these gentlemen was nothing short of an insult, and was most properly and indignantly refused by both. It is true that Lord Monck's remonstrances brought them to their senses, and that they did shortly after create Cartier a Baronet and gave Galt a K.C.M.G., but the incident is of some moment as showing the all but Egyptian darkness which prevailed in those days at the Colonial Office as to all things Canadian.

REPORTER. You found them at that time badly instructed as to the position in Canada?

SIR RICHARD. I recall one amusing incident which occurred some time after, and which may serve to show the extent and accuracy of the information possessed by the magnates of the Colonial Office as to Canadian politics. Some couple of years later Mr. Dorion and Mr. Edward Blake had occasion to call at the Colonial Office and to interview the permanent Under-Secretary thereof who was specially charged with attending to Canadian affairs. He did know that they were prominent members of the Canadian Parliament, and received them in a very gushing

manner, and after dilating on the great pleasure he had in making the acquaintance of gentlemen of whom he had heard so much, wound up by congratulating them warmly on the successful manner in which Sir John Macdonald had managed matters during the last session.

REPORTER. Did they enlighten him as to their mutual relations?

SIR RICHARD. I cannot say, though if Mr. Blake failed to do so it would have been very unlike him, indeed. But this was by no means an isolated instance. In fact, I found on my own visits to London, which were pretty frequent from 1866 to 1876, both in a private and official capacity, that, while the bulk of my English acquaintances were very well informed as to affairs in Australasia, some twelve thousand miles away, they were, with the exception of a very limited number who had some special business relations with us, densely ignorant of conditions in Canada, which lay comparatively at their doors. In Ireland, and still more in Scotland, I found things exactly the opposite. In Scotland, especially, they had a wonderfully accurate knowledge of Ontario in particular.

REPORTER. How did you account for this?

SIR RICHARD. Largely in this way. The recent gold discoveries had not only attracted a great deal of attention to Australia, but had resulted in a very considerable number of wealthy Australian families settling in London, where they exercised no unimportant influence financially and socially at that time. But apart from that, Australia and New Zealand were to a great degree English colonies, settled mostly by Englishmen, with a large sprinkling of members of well-known English families among them. At any rate, the fact was so.

REPORTER. You think Sir George Cartier was not quite satisfied with his position after Confederation?

SIR RICHARD. It was not in human nature that he should be. He found himself relegated to an inferior position as the result of his exertions in bringing it about, and I think he suffered in the estimation of his followers, who considered, not without reason, that he had been in

a way jockeyed out of the position to which he was entitled. He may also even then have been suffering from the disease which ultimately carried him off. In any case, it was a rather curious commentary on the whole situation that no one of the three men who were mainly instrumental in bringing about Confederation seem to have profited thereby. Mr. Brown was driven out of active political life altogether. Sir A. T. Galt retired from office almost at once, and quitted Parliament within a very few years. Sir George Cartier lost grade and credit in Quebec. Sir John Macdonald, who had opposed the project at the onset, and who only consented to accept it under compulsion, was the only man who got any substantial advantage out of it.

REPORTER. You say Sir John was compelled to accept the project?

SIR RICHARD. Certainly, and it was not until he was bluntly told by his French allies that they were utterly tired of his failure to secure any adequate support from Ontario, and that if he refused to join they would make what terms they could with Mr. Brown, that he consented.

REPORTER. I have always understood that Sir John Macdonald took an active part in framing the Confederation Act?

SIR RICHARD. Certainly, it was very largely his work. He was of necessity a very prominent figure at the several conferences here and in England, but I know that for a long time he looked upon the scheme as little better than a leap in the dark, and had but small confidence in its ultimate success. For similar reasons he was by no means enthusiastic as to the results of the acquisition of the North-West Territories. He fully appreciated, however, the political advantages he had secured by dividing his opponents in Ontario, and the unwonted sense of strength from possessing a strong majority in that province. In fact, I have repeatedly heard him say that he never knew what it was to govern the country until after 1867, and he both felt and showed it in more ways than one.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWELVE.

A COALITION GOVERNMENT.

REPORTER. Did Sir John turn his advantages in 1867 to good account?

SIR RICHARD. I should say that the period from 1867 to 1870 was by far the most creditable portion of his whole career. The tide was in his favour, and he made the most of it, but I think he was desirous of standing well. For one thing he reformed his personal habits to a great extent, and he seemed to be sincerely anxious to get the rather complicated machine of Confederation into good working order. Moreover, there was a potable business improvement in Canada about that time and a buoyant revenue. Then he had created a very strong coalition Government as far as Ontario was concerned, and had done the same with the assistance of Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald in the Local Legislature.

REPORTER. How did this coalition work?

SIR RICHARD. Very well, as long as it lasted. In Sir John's first cabinet, in 1867, there were from Ontario three Reformers, Mr. Howland, Mr. W. Macdougall and Mr. Fergusson Blair, and but two Conservatives, himself and Sir Alexander Campbell. I do not mean to say that Sir John's Liberal colleagues controlled many seats or carried over a very large percentage of the Liberal party. But they did influence a certain number of votes in a great many ridings, and this in a province like Ontario, when the popular vote for many years has been nearly equally divided, was quite enough to turn the scale in favour of the Conservative candidate. How important a factor it was can easily be understood by analyzing the returns at the next general election.

REPORTER. You say as long as it lasted. I would have supposed Sir John would have taken care to maintain it.

SIR RICHARD. I think Sir John over-estimated his personal strength in Ontario. At any rate he very soon got rid of his original Liberal associates and replaced them with men who had very little but the mere name of Liberal to recommend them to that party. For so shrewd a politician, I thought at the time, and I think still, that it was an extraordinary blunder.

REPORTER. You refer to his getting rid of Mr. Macdougall?

SIR RICHARD. I do. It was in a way the counterpart of Mr. Brown's mistake in parting with Mr. Mowat, and I have never quite understood why Sir John did it. Possibly he may have suspected Mr. Macdougall of an intrigue with Sir George Cartier. In any case, in parting with him after he had so recently disposed of Mr. Howland he practically cut himself adrift from that important section of the Liberal party of Ontario who were willing to support him while they saw three of their recognized leaders in his cabinet, but who were by no means disposed to become mere appendages to their opponents. As for Mr. Macdougall personally, he was in later days a good deal discredited by his fiasco in the North-West, and he was at no time a popular personage individually. But he was an able writer and debater and a good parliamentarian, and he was the only man in Sir John's ranks, after Mr. Howland had accepted the Governorship of Ontario, who possessed any considerable influence, either with the rank and file or the press of the Liberal party, and he was, besides, about the last man who was likely, under any circumstances, to coalesce with Mr. Brown. It ought to be added that it was very largely owing to Mr. Macdougall that Canada obtained possession of the North-West Territories in 1868-9. Sir John had previously lost the support and services of Sir A. T. Galt, who had resigned and taken up an independent attitude, and he had thereby greatly weakened his cabinet, though he may have made himself more indispensable than ever.

REPORTER. You considered Sir A. T. Galt's retirement a loss to him?

SIR RICHARD. It was a grave loss in every way. Sir A. T. Galt was a man of great ability and very generally liked. He may have been somewhat erratic and occasionally too outspoken, though he had plenty of diplomatic tact, as he showed more than once, but he was a man of much experience and large views and in many respects a more far-seeing statesman than Sir John himself. Knowing him well, I am very sure that had he remained a member of Sir John's cabinet not a few of the graver errors committed by the latter would have been avoided. But the truth was that Sir John at the bottom of his heart had small liking for colleagues with a will of their own, and still less for any whom he thought might by any chance become his rivals.

REPORTER. It was about this time that Sir John asked Sir Francis Hincks to join him?

SIR RICHARD. And that I formally withdrew from his support in consequence. You are quite right.

REPORTER. What were your reasons?

SIR RICHARD. First of all I thought Sir John was breaking faith with the Liberal party in not selecting some one of their number, then in the House, to join him. You must recollect that we had gone to the country in 1867 most distinctly as a party of union to which Liberals and Conservatives alike were to adhere, and in which both parties were to be recognized. Now, Sir Francis Hincks had not been in Canada for fifteen or sixteen years and had not, in 1870, the smallest claim to be considered a Liberal leader. In the next place he had left Canada under a cloud. His conduct while holding high office had been severely criticized by our chief courts of law, and their judgment was on record. I, for one, was not disposed to support a Government which took him back under those conditions, quite apart from the general question of policy, on which I held strong views, and I so notified Sir John formally by letter and later on the floor of Parliament.

REPORTER. Why did Sir John select Sir Francis Hincks?

SIR RICHARD. Sir John had always a high idea of Sir Francis Hincks' financial ability, and after he lost Sir Alexander Galt and Sir John Rose, who succeeded him, he was decidedly at a loss to find a successor. I think, however, that Sir John had got in this instance quite out of touch with the popular sentiment, both in and out of Parliament. He forgot that Sir Francis Hincks had been absent from Canada for a whole generation (politically speaking). The new men did not know him, nor he them. The Canada Sir Francis Hincks came back to in 1869 was a very different Canada from the Canada he left in 1854 or 1855. Then, too, he was a man of seventy years of age, and could not be expected to do any rough campaigning work, apart from the fact that he was much discredited with the Liberal party when he left. Bearing in mind that Sir John's only other colleague from Ontario of much weight was Sir Alexander Campbell, who was heavily handicapped by his lameness and was also a member of the Senate, the result of Sir Francis Hincks' appointment was to leave him at a serious disadvantage in that Province; in fact, it resulted in Sir John's having to fight the general election of 1872 practically single-handed, and may have had a great deal to do with the signal defeat he experienced on that occasion in Ontario. Perhaps the best evidence of the way in which Sir Francis Hincks' re-appearance (or resurrection, as it was profanely described by some) was regarded by the more independent section of Sir John's supporters, is to be found in the fact that when I censured Sir John's conduct in the House my chief supporter was Mr., now Sir Mackenzie, Bowell.

REPORTER. How did Sir Francis Hincks turn out in the end?

SIR RICHARD. He brought Sir John no strength at all in the country or with the Liberal party at large, but he was beyond question a very capable Minister of Finance, and I, for one, for many reasons subsequently regretted his retirement. But it was pretty clear from the outset that fifteen years' service as Governor of divers Crown colonies had made parliamentary life more or less distaste-

ful to him, and I think he felt acutely the indifference with which he was received in many quarters where he had in former days posed as a popular hero.

REPORTER. What was your own position?

SIR RICHARD. For several years I occupied a seat on the cross benches along with Sir A. T. Galt, who was dissatisfied with Sir John, but who was unwilling to break altogether with his old party associates.

REPORTER. Were there any other matters of moment?

SIR RICHARD. There was Sir John's mission to Washington along with the British delegation, and the settlement of the Alabama claims, and, what concerned us more nearly, the very obstinate refusal of the United States to recognize the right of Canada to compensation for the injuries done to us by the Fenian raids.

REPORTER. On what ground did the United States refuse?

SIR RICHARD. On no reasonable ground that I could discover. Our claim to compensation was, to my mind, and I was backed by high authorities, even stronger under international law than theirs in the case of the *Alabama*. Then we had set the example ourselves by indemnifying the United States for the mischief done in the St. Albans raid, though there was not a shadow of evidence that any Canadian authority, high or low, had had any knowledge of it or connived at it in any way, whereas in the case of the Fenian raids, preparations to attack Canada were carried on in the most barefaced way all along our frontier, with the full knowledge of the local and state officials, as I have already stated. For several months bodies of Fenians drilled and paraded openly in many cities of the United States on our border, and many persons in high position publicly subscribed to aid their organization. Altogether, the rather insolent refusal of the United States to consider our claims at all, while Great Britain was willing to submit their demands to arbitration, produced a most unpleasant feeling in the minds of the people of Canada. It was regarded, and justly, as clear evidence that wherever our interests alone were concerned we need

expect no substantial assistance from Great Britain in any controversy with the United States.

REPORTER. You referred to the St. Albans raid before. Have you anything more to say about it?

SIR RICHARD. I have already stated that had I had my way and the law permitted it, I would have handed over every man concerned in it to the United States authorities as common criminals to be tried for robbery and murder. Our law at the time was defective, though I think it has since been amended, and the ruffians got off practically scot free. Still, we did what we could to punish the parties and to make amends for the pecuniary loss. It would have been to the credit of the United States to have done the same in the case of the Fenians, and, but for the fear of alienating the Irish vote, they probably would.

REPORTER. I suppose that was a factor?

SIR RICHARD. It was at that time a very powerful factor in American politics and was intensely hostile to everything English to an extent it is not easy for us at this distance of time to realize. Relatively, and recollecting that it was located chiefly in the North, it was much more influential in 1870 than it is now. It held the balance of power in not a few states, and it was a quite understood thing that the only way to secure it was to declaim vehemently against Great Britain. It is only fair to add that the indirect damage to the commerce of the United States in consequence of the depredations of the *Alabama* and her consorts was immense and that the sum received for damages was a very insignificant fraction of the loss actually sustained. Also, that the action of the British Government in respect to the fitting out of armed cruisers for the services of the Confederate Government left much to be desired. But no such ground of complaint existed against Canada, and we felt, and very justly in my opinion, that we were treated very unfairly by both parties. The matter was terminated in a rather ignominious fashion by the British Government agreeing to guarantee a loan of ours by way of com-

pensation for their not having pressed our claim, but I can recall no other instance in which a first-class sovereign state ever reimbursed its own subjects for injuries inflicted on them by citizens of a foreign country, while at the same time it was paying over a large sum to the people of that very country for similar losses sustained by them. In any case the idea that the perpetrators of such outrages as were committed on Canadian soil should go unpunished was exceedingly distasteful to all Canadians.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTEEN.

*EFFECT OF IRISH ELEMENT ON POLITICS IN THE
UNITED STATES.*

REPORTER. When we separated you were speaking of the effect of the Irish element on the politics of the United States and I think you mentioned that you had resided in Ireland yourself.

SIR RICHARD. I finished my education in Trinity College, Dublin, and during the four years I lived in Ireland, from 1851 to 1855-6, I had rather unusual opportunities of learning to understand the temper of the great mass of the Irish people toward England.

REPORTER. How did the situation strike you?

SIR RICHARD. Well, I was at an impressionable age. I had been living as a boy in the very garden of Canada, in the centre of the Niagara District, and I arrived in Ireland at the moment of its deepest depression. The country was literally plague-stricken. It seemed to me that everyone who could was trying to leave it. The contrast between the plenty and abundance I had left and the desperate poverty which confronted me at every step in Ireland was simply appalling to one so unaccustomed to it as I was. In Dublin there was just one endless procession of beggars. In the country, even on my own relatives' estates, and they were better off there than in many other places, I found men, women and children crowded together in small mud cabins, often with only one room, rarely tasting meat or milk, and living on Indian meal and potatoes. Wages for a man ranged from eightpence to one shilling per day and employment was often hard to get even at those rates. Everyone had lost heart, and no wonder.

REPORTER. This was after the famine years?

SIR RICHARD. Yes, but the effects remained. It is very hard to realize how very grave the situation had

become. One had to see it and live among the people to understand. No statistics could do justice to it, though the bare statement of the facts tell their own tale. In 1846 the population of Ireland was over eight millions and a half. In 1851, five years later, it had sunk to six millions and a half. All the natural increase had been lost, and over two millions of people besides were gone, dead or emigrated. I doubt if there was any parallel to it in any other country in Europe during the entire nineteenth century. The country was decadent, and the best of the population had left it. That, perhaps, was the most discouraging feature of all. The people had lost hope. I very well remember among the honour men of my own class in Trinity that there was hardly a single man (except a very few who had comfortable places ready provided for them) who did not intend to try his fortune in India, where the Civil Service had just been thrown open to them, or at the English bar or pulpit, where, indeed, many of them afterwards distinguished themselves, or in some colony or the United States, in fact anywhere except in Ireland. This was perhaps the greatest loss of all. They despaired of their country, and indeed I do not recall meeting one single person who took a hopeful view of the future. It is perhaps not altogether irrelevant that once in looking over an old diary I came on an entry, "Saw the sun to-day, being the first time in three months." This was in Dublin in the months of November, December and January. Truth to tell, apart from the weather the outlook was gloomy in the extreme. Aside from the immense loss of population, nearly every man in the upper and professional classes had had his income largely reduced (with the exception of Government employees), and as for the landed gentry, the Encumbered Estates Court was in full swing, guillotining the proprietors very nearly as completely as was done in France during the Reign of Terror, in a more summary fashion. The condition of things was impossible. They were mostly heavily indebted to begin with, and there were many well authenticated cases, especially in the South

and West, where the poor rates amounted to twenty shillings and sometimes a guinea in the pound on the nominal income. Of course this meant absolute ruin to the landowners. Altogether it was an object-lesson to impress the very dullest with the astounding difference between the old world and the new some sixty years ago, and, while I did not entirely concur, I have never wondered at the depth and intensity of the hatred which many Irishmen of that generation cherished against the Government and the people to whose action, rightly or wrongly, they attributed the condition of their country.

REPORTER. You paint a gloomy picture.

SIR RICHARD. Not one whit worse than it was when I saw it in 1851 and after. From my fellow-students in ultra-Protestant Trinity College to the illicit distillers in the mountains, from the rector to the parish priest, from peers of the realm to the poorest cottars on their estates—and I met them all and in many cases was warmly welcomed as a stranger from North America who could speak of his own knowledge of the promised land—I could not find one single man who was satisfied with the way things were managed in Ireland. I have spoken more fully of these things because the feeling thus engendered became in after days the cause to a very considerable extent of the difficulty Canada has had in dealing with the public men of the United States. Left to themselves, they would often have been much more reasonable. Playing for the Irish vote, they were well aware they could not speak too offensively of England or English colonies if they wished to please that section of their constituents.

REPORTER. But has not that feeling passed away?

SIR RICHARD. To a great extent I hope and believe it has. The grandsons of the men who left Ireland from 1848 to 1870 are pretty thoroughly Americanised or Canadianised, as the case may be, but the first generation were almost as embittered as their fathers. Much has been done for Ireland, and I think at long last a better future is now before it, but the process of reducing a nation from eight and a half millions to four and a half

millions in a period of fifty years, which is exactly what took place in Ireland from 1848 to 1900, is a terribly painful one at best, especially in the case of a people so attached to the soil as the Irish were.

REPORTER. Do you believe that the compulsory union with England and the loss of their native Parliament had much to do with bringing about the state of things you describe?

SIR RICHARD. I speak under correction here, and perhaps with some prejudice, for one of my own not remote ancestors was a member of the last Irish Parliament and a very determined opponent of the union. But I could not help noticing this fact. When I was in Ireland, barely fifty years had elapsed since they had lost their Parliament, and I met not a few who remembered it well. I did not appreciate the reason then, but I was struck often by the manifest superiority of many of the elder men I met to the succeeding generations. They were bigger men in every way. I felt at the time, though I could not have explained why, that their successors were distinctly provincial as compared with them. This, doubtless, arose in great part from the fact that an immense proportion of the ablest men in Ireland had sought their fortunes elsewhere. I noted also that comparatively few of the Englishmen I came across had ever set foot in Ireland. I have heard that Mr. Gladstone himself had never visited Ireland till he was past seventy, and I am very sure that the great majority of the Englishmen of his day had spent twenty times more of their leisure on the continent than in Ireland. I cannot say whether, if the Irish Parliament had continued to exist, if would have found a remedy for the condition of Ireland, though I do believe they would have been compelled to devote very much more attention to it, and much earlier, than the English Parliament did. But I have no sort of doubt that whatever may be said for the union of Great Britain and Ireland, that the abolition of the Irish Parliament did in various ways immensely increase the number of absentees, and did breed smaller

men, or at any rate induced the ablest men to leave their country at an early age, besides greatly impoverishing the country directly and indirectly. Politically and economically these form very grave objections to such a measure, especially when dealing with people mainly of a Celtic race, who must have their own native leaders.

REPORTER. Can you suggest any remedy?

SIR RICHARD. It is a subject to which I have given some thought, partly for old times' sake and partly because I always felt that one great barrier to a friendly alliance with the United States would be removed if Ireland could be converted into a contented and prosperous country, as I would fain hope it may be in spite of all that has come and gone. As far as it is possible for an outsider to judge, and I speak with reserve, I think that the best course would be to create one, or perhaps two, local legislatures for Ireland very much after the pattern of our own in Ontario and Quebec, reserving to the Imperial Parliament as full or even fuller powers than our Dominion House now possesses.

REPORTER. What about Great Britain itself?

SIR RICHARD. I am not qualified to speak, though I think the House of Commons is much over-worked, and from the Imperial standpoint it would be an advantage to hand over a great amount of the work they are now compelled to undertake to several local legislatures. But there is always a certain amount of risk in putting new wine into old bottles, and though I am tolerably clear as to Ireland, I am aware that most Englishmen seem to be instinctively averse to extending the experiment to their own island.

REPORTER. Is there not more intercourse nowadays between England and Ireland?

SIR RICHARD. I rather doubt if there is, allowing of course for modern facilities of transportation. The Channel is, and always will be, a formidable barrier. One talented fellow at Trinity whom I knew well used always to maintain that there would be no salvation for Ireland till a tunnel was constructed between Scotland

and Ireland, where, by the way, the distance is only some fifteen or sixteen miles. Well, stranger things have happened, and it may be that modern science is equal to the task, or possibly the advances in aviation may provide a solution of the difficulty. A nation which could afford to spend two hundred and fifty millions sterling on a Boer War need not shrink from facing a pretty heavy outlay to get rid of the Irish difficulty, if money would do it, and it is by no means a matter of indifference to us in Canada that it should be got rid of.

REPORTER. Do you not think the importance of the Irish vote in the United States was somewhat over-rated?

SIR RICHARD. By no means. In the first place, though the total number of persons born in Ireland who emigrated to the United States may not have been so very large (it was put down at 1,871,000 in the census of 1890), it must be remembered that the Irish are a very prolific race, far more so than the average American, at least in later years, and that the number of persons of Irish descent, or one of whose parents was Irish, is vastly greater than the above figures might seem to indicate. The exact number is hard to obtain, but I am inclined to think that the assertion that there are from seven to eight millions of persons, either of Irish blood or born in Ireland, now residing in the United States, is not an exaggeration. I have heard indeed that Mr. Gladstone on one occasion, referring to this very matter, observed that he did not mind Mr. Parnell so much when he only represented four millions, but when it came to his being spokesman for fourteen millions he had to be considered. Moreover, in the period from 1860 to 1870 the temper of the American people generally was embittered toward England by reason of her attitude during the Civil War. Incidentally, the old memories of the Revolution had been stirred up, and even in journals of high character it was very common at that time to see allusions to the way England had prosecuted the war of 1776-1784 by letting loose red savages on peaceable settlers and by importing hordes of Hessian mercenaries to subdue a free people

when her own citizens refused to enlist for any such purpose.

REPORTER. One would hardly have supposed that, at this distance of time, these old stories could have had much effect on the people of the United States.

SIR RICHARD. You must remember that 1850 was scarcely further removed from the close of the Revolutionary War than we are to-day from the time of the Crimean struggle. Nations have long memories, and it is not unimportant to remember that up to that period every American school-child was regularly trained and instructed to consider these things as unparalleled outrages, and that for a very long time the national holiday of the Fourth of July in each year was made the occasion of the most violent diatribes against the aristocracy and Government of Great Britain. As a curious illustration of the extent to which this feeling prevailed, I may mention that only till very recently no alien could be naturalized without taking an oath that he would defend the Government and people of the United States "against the machinations of Queen Victoria." Needless to say, all this has been completely changed, but these things had their effect, and no small effect either, in moulding the attitude of the people of the United States toward Great Britain, and no one acquainted with the facts can deny their influence, though it is quite true that the vast majority of Englishmen, of whatever rank, were in happy ignorance of the way in which Americans had been taught to regard them.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FOURTEEN.

*MISTAKE OF WITHDRAWING BRITISH TROOPS FROM
NORTH-WEST.*

REPORTER. In speaking of Sir John's first Ministry, I observed you limited his best period to the years from 1867 to 1870. Had you a reason?

SIR RICHARD. In 1869-70 the Red River revolt took place and Sir John's troubles began.

REPORTER. Was he responsible for this in any way?

SIR RICHARD. Not in the first instance, unless indeed he was cognizant of the intention of the British Government to withdraw their troops from Fort Garry. This was one of those inconceivably stupid blunders which no one could have expected. How any responsible persons, knowing that Canada was shortly to take possession of this huge territory, and knowing that if the troops were once removed they could not be brought back for many months, and that immediately to the south lay a country with which we had not been on the best of terms and which had harboured a formidable organization always on the alert to make mischief where British interests were concerned, could have directed the withdrawal of the Red River garrison till they could have been replaced by some troops from Canada, is a mystery to this day. If it was done without due intimation to the Canadian Government, it was little short of an outrage. If that Government did know of it and permitted it to be done without most vigorous protest, it would stamp them as a set of imbeciles.

REPORTER. Had this force been long in Red River?

SIR RICHARD. For several years. They were part of the Royal Canadian Rifles, a body of veteran soldiers maintained expressly for service in British North America. The thing was in accordance with the general policy of withdrawing British troops from the Dominion

to which I have alluded. But under the circumstances, and with the knowledge that Canada had at the moment no regular troops of her own, the removing them from Fort Garry before the Canadian Lieutenant-Governor had so much as set foot in the territory was an act of supreme folly and sure to be misinterpreted by the ignorant half-breed population into a declaration that the British Government cared nothing for what might happen.

REPORTER. You think that the presence of this force would have prevented a rising?

SIR RICHARD. I am absolutely certain that it would. Both half-breeds and Indians had an almost superstitious respect for the regular British soldiers and would never have attacked them or anybody whom they supported. Many years later, meeting Archbishop Taché, he assured me most positively that no outbreak would have occurred if the English garrison had remained. He also pointed out, and I think very fairly, that the half-breeds had entirely refused to listen to the overtures made them on the part of the Fenian organizations on the ground that these were avowed enemies of the British Government.

REPORTER. Could Mr. Macdougall have averted the trouble?

SIR RICHARD. He had very little chance. He had to approach Winnipeg through the territory of the United States and had no force of any kind at his disposal. Moreover, though a man of undoubted ability in many ways, he was both by training and temperament very ill-fitted to deal with such a situation. The half-breeds had their legitimate grievances, and it was eminently a case for negotiation and conciliation and not for standing on the strict legal rights of the case. Mr. Macdougall was essentially a parliamentarian and a debater and not of a very conciliatory disposition. Unluckily, too, he was not a *persona grata* to that very influential body, the Roman Catholic Church, who were perhaps the only persons who could have mediated successfully with the half-breeds at that moment. It was unfortunate, too,

that Mr. Macdougall, though he was one of the few prominent men of that day who really appreciated the vast possibilities of the North-West, and though he had done very good service in securing the transfer of that territory from the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada, had also a very high sense of his own importance and authority as Lieutenant-Governor. When he found himself literally barred out of his new dominion by men whom he rather despised as semi-savages, he seems to have lost his head and to have openly or tacitly sanctioned some of the hotter of his partisans in the settlement to have recourse to force. This was the signal for an explosion.

REPORTER. Had the half-breeds any organization?

SIR RICHARD. I think they had been in the habit of organizing in considerable numbers in a sort of half-military fashion, for the purpose of their annual buffalo hunts. There were a good many among them who had skirmished more or less with the Indian tribes on the border, and it was not a very long time since there had been a series of rather bloody conflicts between the employees of the rival fur companies. It was a time, too, when Indian wars were very much in evidence all along the United States frontier territory. Altogether they were a dangerous sort of people for any unauthorized person to meddle with.

REPORTER. What happened then?

SIR RICHARD. The rising of Mr. Macdougall's partisans was suppressed with great promptitude. Several prisoners were taken and tried by a sort of summary courtmartial and sentenced to death. Most unhappily, one of these, a man named Scott, was a member of the Orange Order, and in putting him and him alone to death Riel, who was the chief leader of the malcontents, drew down on himself the unrelenting hostility of that formidable body. In fact he might with much more safety to himself have cut the throats of all his other captives than have hurt a hair of Scott's head, as the final result proved most abundantly. It was alleged, though on doubtful evidence, that Scott was put to death under circumstances

of great brutality, but be that as it may, his murder, for it was nothing else, set all Ontario in a flame. This was fanned to white heat by the extremely injudicious action of a part of the press and people of Quebec who saw fit to exalt Mr. Riel to the dignity of a national hero, defending his race and religion, and who were even ill-advised enough to justify the execution of Scott as a perfectly legitimate, if not praiseworthy, act. Meantime Fenian emissaries were at work promising all sorts of aid and comfort to Riel and persuading him that the United States Government would, in case of need, interfere in his behalf. Had Riel listened to their overtures and had the Fenian leaders been men of any capacity, there is little doubt that he might have made a very formidable resistance. But he or his followers seem to have shown very little disposition to unite with that body.

REPORTER. Why did not the Canadian Government act at once?

SIR RICHARD. They could not; and nothing showed the extreme rashness of whomsoever was responsible for the withdrawal of the British detachment than the situation in which they found themselves. The Red River country was absolutely inaccessible at that time for many months except *via* the United States, and the knowledge of this fact should have prevented Mr. Macdougall and his friends from attempting any action till there was a chance of their receiving some support if things went against them. As it was, fully eight months had to elapse before Sir Garnet Wolseley was able to lead the Red River Expedition into Winnipeg, when Riel and his associates decamped without firing a shot or having attempted in any way to obstruct his progress.

REPORTER. Did they absolutely run away?

SIR RICHARD. I do not mean that they were cowards. They were brave enough in an ordinary way. But it was only a further proof of the statement that they never would and never had intended to fight against the British Government, and the moment that they found that a British force under a British officer was coming against

them they disbanded at once. Besides this, sundry of their original demands had been conceded and there was nothing very material at issue except the question of the punishment to be inflicted on the murderers of Scott.

REPORTER. And as to Mr. Riel himself?

SIR RICHARD. He had no alternative. His men would not fight the British troops, nor do I believe he himself had ever intended to do so. He simply retired into the wilderness, keeping all the time, however, as we very soon discovered, in close touch with his former partisans. One thing is very certain, that both the British and Canadian Governments had acted with extreme indiscretion in withdrawing the regular force before the Canadian authorities were duly installed. Both had to pay heavily in hard cash for their folly, and in the case of Canada the direct result of the business was the wreck of two ministries and to breed later on a second revolt which very seriously imperilled a third. Had the British Government taken the very ordinary precaution of consulting their own officers on the spot, I had the authority of more than one of these gentlemen for saying that they would have strongly advised keeping the detachment there at least till the opening of navigation in the next year. The Canadian Government, who knew the awkward temper of a large portion of the people of the United States and who had had very recently to put a large number of our militia under arms to repel threatened Fenian raids, were at least equally to blame. Altogether this most stupid neglect of the most ordinary precautions which any practical business man would have taken is a pretty instance of the old adage, "*Quam parva sapientia mundus gubernatur.*"

REPORTER. What became of Mr. Macdougall?

SIR RICHARD. He was suspended and retired in high dudgeon. He was temporarily got rid of by his being appointed Superintendent-General of Immigration in Northern Europe. His later years were passed in an enforced retirement in which he played the part of a political Ishmael. To say the truth, while it must be

admitted that he acted rather indiscreetly, I always thought that in the matters of the Red River troubles he was much more sinned against than sinning. Altogether it was a most unfortunate affair and could not be said to have reflected credit on, or been profitable to, anybody, if we except Sir Garnet Wolseley, who made his first very decided step upwards as the result of his conduct of the expedition, and of the Orange Order, which likewise reaped no small political advantage in several ways.

REPORTER. How did the Orange Order come to be affected?

SIR RICHARD. Ah, thereby hangs a tale. But it is too long a story to be entered upon just now.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTEEN.

THE FIRST RIEL REBELLION.

REPORTER. Looking back, you attach much importance to the troubles which occurred in Manitoba?

SIR RICHARD. Directly and indirectly they came to exercise a profound influence on Canadian politics from that time down to the present day. The murder of Scott was the spark to the powder magazine. All Ontario was in a flame on the one side and the effect in Quebec was no less serious in an opposite direction. In the eyes of one large section of our people, Riel was first a hero and afterwards a martyr. In the eyes of another, and still larger, he was, to use their vernacular, "a — Popish rebel and murderer," and the whole business a deep-laid plot to turn Manitoba into a second Quebec and to root out the English element there. How general this feeling was in Ontario may be judged from the fact that even so cautious a jurist as Mr. Blake, who was the then Premier of Ontario, felt obliged to take the doubtful and unprecedented step of offering a reward of \$5,000 for the capture of Riel out of the funds of the Province of Ontario, while *per contra* no less a person than Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself was found declaring, after the lapse of more than a dozen years, in reference to another rising of the same sort, that if he had lived on the banks of the Saskatchewan he would have taken up his musket in defence of the rights of his compatriots. In this particular instance the popular instinct was not altogether wrong in believing that there was a strong desire on the part of the people and clergy of Quebec to make Manitoba a French Province. To most men to-day, judging by the light of subsequent events, such a project no doubt seems sheer and simple madness, but it did not so appear in 1870. It must be remembered that for fully two hundred years and more French missionaries and trappers had tra-

versed the North-West in every direction from the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains and perhaps further, and that they were much better acquainted with the resources and possibilities of that territory than anyone else except perhaps the Hudson Bay officials, who had always kept their light religiously under a bushel. Also, that there was even then a redundant French population in Quebec seeking an outlet which they subsequently found in the New England States. Altogether it would have been in no way surprising if a great immigration movement should have taken place from Quebec to Manitoba. The wonder rather is that it did not.

REPORTER. Then you think that Mr. Macdougall was right in alleging that a plot had been formed on the part of some of his colleagues to exclude him and that the French clergy were privy to it?

SIR RICHARD. I think that was going too far. I do not believe there was any organized plot, or if there was that Sir George Cartier was a party to it. There had been outbreaks before, and this especial one in the first instance was provoked by the not unnatural suspicion on the part of the half-breeds that they would be deprived of the lands they occupied, and treated altogether much as they had seen their Indian relatives and friends treated in the adjoining states of the Union, and with a very little trouble they might at the outset have been pacified and reassured. But I do believe that the resident French clergy, who had naturally great influence with them, were aware that there was trouble brewing and did not bestir themselves much to allay it. And I more than suspect that neither they nor the majority of the French members of the cabinet were much pleased at the selection of Mr. Macdougall as the first Governor of Manitoba. The fact was that the situation in Quebec just then was peculiar. The French element in Parliament were acutely conscious that they were by no means as influential under Confederation as they had been in the old Parliament of the two Canadas. They considered that if two or three more provinces were added in the North-West they were in much danger of

being swamped, unless they could manage to introduce a strong French element into the population, and this they believed with some reason could much more easily be done in Manitoba than anywhere else. Similarly in Quebec itself the Catholic clergy had become alarmed at the rapidly increasing exodus of their people to the United States, and were anxious to direct the current of emigration from that quarter to Manitoba. This, in itself, was natural and even praiseworthy, and a thing they were amply justified in promoting by all legitimate means, and it was no more to be wondered at that they should have wished to carve out a second Quebec in that region than that the people of the adjoining province should desire to erect two or three more Ontarios in the same quarter. But it was to the last degree unfortunate that, under such circumstances, Mr. Macdougall should have been refused admission to the territory, and still more that blood should have been spilled, not in actual fight, which might have been passed over, but deliberately in cold blood and in utter defiance of all constituted law and order. Incidentally it was the sure way to defeat their own objects. Whatever the French-Canadian population might have been induced to do if there had been no disturbance (and it is quite possible that if quiet had been maintained there might have been a very considerable immigration from Quebec), it is certain that they were not disposed to take any unnecessary risks or to incur the toil and fatigue of a long journey with their families, with the chance of a fight at the end of it.

REPORTER. And where did the Orange Order come in?

SIR RICHARD. In this way. They had been for a long time a formidable factor in Ontario politics, though up to that time they had been a good deal divided among themselves and could hardly be said to belong to either political party. But they had always cherished an instinctive suspicion of the designs of the Catholic element in Quebec, and they were disposed to look with much disfavour on anything which promised to produce a similar condition in the new provinces. Mr. Disraeli once remarked that

there were only two genuine forces in Europe, to wit, the secret societies and the Catholic Church, and the same remark, *mutatis mutandis*, might very well be applied in Canada to the Orange Order and the Catholic clergy. In any case, the result of the outbreak in Manitoba was to solidify the Orange body as it had never been solidified before, and from that time out for fully twenty years, from 1870 to 1891, the fate of the several governments of the Dominion depended to a most unusual degree, as far as Ontario was concerned, on the action of the Orange Order.

REPORTER. How did they come to exercise such influence?

SIR RICHARD. Partly from their numerical strength, partly from their excellent organization. It is not very easy to obtain perfectly accurate statistics in such matters, but I have been assured by parties of high standing in their ranks that, including the Sons of England, the Order can count nearly, if not quite, two thousand lodges of one kind or another, pretty evenly distributed over some seventy or eighty ridings, in Ontario alone, each with an active membership of some fifty on the average, not to speak of a number who have passed and retired from active membership. This would mean some hundred thousand voters out of half a million, and, what is more, would imply the existence of some twenty or thirty standing committees in each riding, meeting regularly and in secret, and acting together. Well directed, such an organization constitutes a most formidable political engine and one which can hardly fail to hold the balance of power in any evenly divided constituency. So far as my own observation goes, I do not think the estimate of their number is at all exaggerated.

REPORTER. Perhaps you could state how they affected the several elections you speak of.

SIR RICHARD. Certainly. To begin with, both friend and foe were pretty well agreed that it was to them the Liberal party owed their success in 1872, when they carried Ontario by a large majority, in spite of the fact that times were very prosperous and that several prominent

Liberal leaders, including Mr. Blake, who was absent in Europe during almost the entire contest, were unable to take part in it. This was the more noteworthy as there was comparatively little to allege against Sir John's administration of affairs from 1867 to 1872. But the Orangemen did not consider that he had displayed sufficient energy in bringing Riel to justice, and were either neutral or actively hostile. Had they known of his correspondence with Mr. Donald Smith and Archbishop Taché in reference to Riel he would not have had a corporal's guard at his back from Ontario, but those facts did not come out till a later period. In the election of 1874 they were still of the same temper, though on that occasion Sir John A. Macdonald had many other things to answer for and would have been defeated in any case, though probably not so decisively.

Later in 1878 the conditions were reversed. In this election the Orange body took action against Mr. Mackenzie partly on the ground that he had commuted the sentences inflicted on some of Riel's associates, and partly that he had not been able to secure the punishment of the parties in Montreal who maltreated Mr. Hackett so severely that he died from the effects. Hackett, you may remember, had been attending an Orange procession in Montreal on the 12th July, and had got separated from his friends, and was so badly beaten that he died. I may add that they were, not without reason, much exasperated by the impudent attempt of Riel to take his seat in the House of Commons in 1874 and by the opposition of the French members to the vote for his expulsion on that occasion.

REPORTER. Was it not most injudicious for the Orangemen to parade in Montreal?

SIR RICHARD. It was a great deal worse than injudicious. It was deliberately designed to make bad blood between the French and Orange elements, and assuredly had that effect in no ordinary degree. The best proof of this is that after 1878, when it might have damaged the Conservatives, there were no more Orange demonstrations

in Montreal, at any rate for a long time. As to the other elections, the Orangemen as a body were decidedly hostile to the Liberal party in 1882, and maintained that attitude in 1887 on the ground that Mr. Blake had attacked them in a speech on the question of incorporating their Order, and also because he had condemned the execution of Riel on the occasion of the second rebellion in 1886. I do not say that the conduct of the Orange body was the sole deciding cause in these elections. There were other issues, undoubtedly. But I do say that in all those cases the hostility or the support of the Orange Order made all the difference, and that in all probability the Liberal party would have carried Ontario against Sir John Macdonald in each and every one of these elections if the Orangemen had remained passive.

REPORTER. You put it strongly. What of 1878?

SIR RICHARD. The actual returns of the votes polled show that even in 1878 the two parties polled very nearly the same number of votes, and that the Liberals in especial lost a great many seats by very small majorities. Of course I speak of Ontario alone.

REPORTER. What were the general results of the Red River Rebellion?

SIR RICHARD. Almost unmixed evil. It revived and intensified the old jealousy between Quebec and Ontario, which was in a fair way to die out. In one way or the other it delayed the proper development of Manitoba for some twenty years. It was the means of introducing a most mischievous speculative element into the North-West and, between grants to volunteers and to half-breeds, of giving up immense areas of the best land in the country to men who merely held for a rise. Finally, it tempted Sir John Macdonald, against his own better feelings and judgment, into measures which resulted in great injury to himself and to Canada, from the evil effects of which we are still suffering. Altogether, that unfortunate business has been the cause of more heartburnings and more positive mistakes in our policy than all the rest of our blunders put together, which is saying a great deal. Looking at it

from a mere material point of view, the volley that killed Scott cost Canada more than a hundred million of dollars. Looking at it from a political point of view, it went near to break up our young Confederation, besides, in its ultimate results, demoralizing our politics to a deplorable extent.

INTERVIEW NUMBER SIXTEEN.

INCORPORATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

REPORTER. After the close of the Red River expedition was there any immediate change in the situation?

SIR RICHARD. Not much outwardly, but it was plain that Sir John was much disturbed. It had become clear to him that he was in danger of losing his hold in Ontario, and it would have been gall and wormwood to him to have found himself once more dependent on the vote of Quebec, even supposing that it could have been retained in its full strength, of which he had doubts. In an evil hour for himself and for Canada he bethought himself of incorporating British Columbia.

REPORTER. I thought you approved of that measure?

SIR RICHARD. The thing itself was good and desirable if it had been done at the proper time and in the proper way. But done as it was in frantic haste and utter ignorance of the country and of the extent of the obligations we were about to assume, and for no better reason than to draw a red herring across the trail and provide a catching cry for the next election, it was a colossal blunder, if not a colossal crime. Sir John's conduct in this matter was very much that of a despot who should elect to plunge his country into war to prevent discontent with his rule taking form and shape.

REPORTER. What were your chief objections?

SIR RICHARD. They were not mine alone. They were shared by every independent-minded man in the House, and even by some of Sir John's own colleagues. We knew that we had undertaken a tremendous task in attempting to open up and colonize the North-West. We knew that we had to bridge more than a thousand miles of rocky wilderness, as yet unsurveyed, before we could reach the Red River, and we had at that time very little reliable information as to what might be beyond. We knew that we might

have great trouble with the Indian tribes, and you will remember that this was seven or eight years before the United States had a sort of Isandula of their own, when Custer and his force were annihilated by hostile Indians within a short distance of our newly-acquired territory. It was, in fact, making that worst of all mistakes in business or in politics, taking the second step before one had taken the first, and I am rather of the opinion that had not Sir John been very much weakened by the effects of a severe illness which overtook him about that time, he would never have consented to the union on the terms finally agreed upon.

REPORTER. What were these?

SIR RICHARD. The first, and in a material point of view by far the worst and most improvident, was the obligation to build and operate a railroad across the continent over a tract of country three thousand miles in length, not a mile of which had been surveyed and of the greater part of which we knew absolutely nothing. Scarcely less objectionable, politically speaking, was the proviso which assigned British Columbia six members in the House of Commons and declared that that number should never be reduced. This was in direct defiance of the spirit, if not the actual letter, of our constitution, and was done for a very dishonest purpose.

REPORTER. For what purpose?

SIR RICHARD. Sir John was quite aware that he was likely to lose heavily in Ontario at the next general election, and he made no secret of the fact that he expected to offset his losses there by the votes he would gain in British Columbia. Then he calculated that it would be a good election cry to say that he had extended our Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and furthermore that he would direct attention from the events which had occurred in the Red River valley. But his action in assigning to British Columbia a representation of six members in a white population of 10,586 and a total, Indians included, of 36,247, was the most outrageous violation of the principle of representation by population it is possible

to conceive. As the unit of population in 1871 was 18,400, it meant that 10,500 whites in British Columbia had as much voice in the government of the country as 110,000 in Ontario, and that one vote there was more than equal to six votes in Ontario or any of the older provinces. It was not only bad in itself, but it was doubly objectionable as being a fraud on his own province, whose chief object in entering Confederation was to secure a fair and equal representation. It was done on the very eve of a general election without giving the people of Canada or of Ontario an opportunity of pronouncing on this and other important questions involved in the introduction of British Columbia, no one of which had been before them at the time the sitting Parliament was elected.

REPORTER. Surely this did not pass unopposed?

SIR RICHARD. It was opposed, and most vigorously, too. The final vote against a proposal to defer action till the matter had been considered by the electors was only carried by a majority of ten in a House where Sir John had usually a majority on such questions of from sixty to seventy, and this majority was exclusively made up of his own colleagues. The case of Manitoba was not much better. In that province a population of twenty-five thousand were allotted four members, about three times as many as they were entitled to, and for much the same reason.

REPORTER. Waiving this point, what did you think should have been done?

SIR RICHARD. The only rational course was to apply ourselves with all speed to create a strong central province in Manitoba, and when this was done to extend ourselves from this base east and west. To this end we had to construct a line from Lake Superior to Winnipeg at once and also to connect that point with the United States lines to the south. When that was done it would have been ample time to take up the question of a union with British Columbia and the extension of the railroad to the Coast. One thing is certain, that never was a great project undertaken with less knowledge or consideration than the

union with British Columbia and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. With the solitary exception of Sir Hector Langevin, who had spent a few weeks there, not a single minister had ever set foot in British Columbia. I doubt when the Act was passed if there was a man on the Treasury Bench who so much as knew whether there was one range of mountains or three to be crossed before we could reach the Coast. As to the character of the road or its probable cost, we had not a scintilla of information. In proof of the extreme folly of the action of the Government on this occasion, I may add that a very few years later, being in London on public business, I met several of the leading British officials who had been administering the affairs of British Columbia at the time, and these gentlemen one and all assured me that they were astonished, as indeed they well might have been, at the terms Canada had offered. As to the construction of the road itself, Sir Stafford Northcote, who was the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to whom I had applied to know whether, in view of the importance of obtaining an alternative route to India through British territory, he would not recommend the Imperial Government to guarantee the loans we might require to raise for that purpose, told me frankly, in so many words, that if our predecessors had asked for such a guarantee at the time they were proposing to take British Columbia into Confederation, it would have been granted. But he added that, as matters stood, having regard to the financial situation, it was impossible now to re-open the question, and that as we had acted without reference to the Imperial authorities, we must abide by the bargain we had made. Sir Stafford did not deny that we had taken a very heavy load on our shoulders, or that the route might be of great service to the Empire in certain contingencies, but, though I pressed him hard, I could not induce him to alter his decision.

REPORTER. This was but cold encouragement.

SIR RICHARD. Sir Stafford, as I well know, had his own difficulties to contend with and, in fact, Lord Salisbury, to whom, in his capacity of Secretary for India,

I had made a similar application, and who, I am bound to say, did appear to appreciate the possible advantages very clearly, also intimated that he did not think that it was at all likely Sir Stafford could have carried the Cabinet with him at that particular juncture. Curiously enough, you will find in one of Trollope's novels, "Phineas Finn," I think, that the last effort of his hero before retiring from office was to propose and carry a bill to grant aid to just such a transcontinental road, and his remarks thereon shed a good deal of light on the way in which such a proposal would have been probably regarded by the average Englishman at that period. It is needless to say that if the British Government could have been induced to assist, even if it had only been to the extent of guaranteeing our loans, it would have greatly lessened our difficulties, as well as reduced the cost, and would have enabled us to have made a very much better bargain with any company which might have undertaken the construction. It is also needless to say that the very first thing any ordinarily prudent men would have done under the circumstances would have been to ascertain what the British Government were willing to do. So far as I know not even the faintest effort was ever made, at any rate till after the whole bargain was concluded. The fact was, and it ought to be much better known than it is, that the business as far as Sir John was concerned was simply a dishonest attempt to strengthen his political position without the smallest regard to the consequences involved. It is some little consolation to know that his action was strongly resented in Ontario, though by no means as much as it deserved, and that it did, in a measure, contribute to his defeat in that Province in 1872. (See Appendix.)

INTERVIEW NUMBER SEVENTEEN.

CANADA'S LOSS OF POPULATION BETWEEN
1866-1896.

REPORTER. Talking of the union with British Columbia and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, no doubt Sir John Macdonald and his Cabinet took risks, but was not all well that ends well?

SIR RICHARD. Unfortunately it did not by any means end well. But you have touched on one of the great difficulties which attend any attempt to make the public of to-day understand the real situation thirty or forty years ago. To-day Canada is prosperous. The C. P. R. itself is now a great success. Canada at large occupies a very influential, if not even a commanding, position in the Empire. But in 1896 Canada was not prosperous. The fortunes of the C. P. R. were far from being assured. There was no immigration of any consequence to the North-West, and Canada was very apt to be ignored, if not actually slighted, when any matters affecting her interests were in question. The plain if disagreeable truth is that from 1866 to 1896, a period of full thirty years, Canada as a whole, with one or two brief interludes, retrograded in every way, physically, morally and materially. No country in her position ever misused her opportunities or committed more serious blunders than Canada in the period I have referred to.

REPORTER. You amaze me. I thought Canada had done fairly well all along from Confederation downwards.

SIR RICHARD. Take three simple facts. As to the C. P. R., their stock, which is now near \$300 per share, was selling at \$50 in 1896. In other words, the whole common stock of the C. P. R. was worth at current market price thirty-two millions in 1896. It is now worth over five hundred millions. The total number of homestead entries in the North-West was in that year 1,300, as

against an average for the last few years of 30,000 to 40,000. Take the volume of trade and commerce for the Dominion. In 1874 this had touched \$217,000,000. In 1896, with an increased population of one million, it was barely \$239,000,000, being a considerable reduction per capita, and a total growth in twenty-two years of just one million a year; and in 1911-12 it was over \$650,000,000. But take an infinitely more important and conclusive test. The total population of the various provinces constituting the Dominion was about 3,600,000 in 1866. In 1896, if the truth was known, it was barely 4,800,000; that is to say, in thirty years Canada, with an almost boundless area of unoccupied land, had barely added forty thousand people a year to her population, immigrants included.

REPORTER. You attach special importance to this?

SIR RICHARD. In a country like Canada I do. Analyze this statement and compare our growth with that of the United States during the first thirty years of their existence, say from 1790 to 1820, and you will see what it means.

REPORTER. You have done this, I presume?

SIR RICHARD. I have, and the record is of interest to every man who wishes to form a correct idea of how Canada was faring during those 30 years. In 1790 the population of the United States was 3,929,000, very nearly the same as our own at Confederation. In 1820 it was 9,633,000, of whom a very small portion were immigrants; that is to say, starting nearly at the same number, the United States had gained nearly six millions in the time in which we had increased by 1,200,000, of whom a very large percentage were immigrants. Now in 1790 the United States had recently emerged from a war with Great Britain which had utterly ruined their commerce and left them all but bankrupt. In those days communication was very slow and very difficult. Till after 1820 there was no immigration from Europe of any consequence. They had another very costly war in 1812, and their settlers all along their frontier had to fight every inch of their way against powerful and warlike Indian tribes. To us, on

the other hand, everything was made easy. We had no Indian troubles of any importance. We had comparatively good transport, and we had a large immigration (though we could not keep the immigrants for the most part after we got them), yet we made no headway at all in that time; in fact, during a great part of it, if it had not been for the fraction of immigrants we were able to keep, our population would have been absolutely stationary, if not actually decreased. I greatly doubt the accuracy of the figures given in the census of 1891, but if they are assumed to be correct the total increase in the Province of Ontario in the ten years from 1891 to 1901 was barely 68,000 all told, immigrants included. It was given at 2,114,000 in 1891 and at 2,182,000 in 1901. This means that the annual increase was not quite 7,000 a year, or rather less than one-third of one per cent. per annum. Elsewhere it was worse.

REPORTER. At what figure do you estimate the total loss of population in those thirty years?

SIR RICHARD. That is easily calculated. In a country like Canada the population ought to increase by its natural growth at the rate of 25 per cent. in ten years without any aid from immigration. This is at the rate of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per annum, and is a good deal less than the actual increase which took place in the United States in the years above named, from 1790 to 1820, or the increase in Canada itself in earlier days. At this rate the population of Canada from natural growth alone should have reached 7,000,000 in 1896 instead of 4,800,000. Our total loss in the way of natural increase would, therefore, have amounted to 2,200,000. But besides this, a considerable number of immigrants did actually remain in Canada. Taking these into account we ought to have had a population of not less than 8,000,000 in 1896, and our loss would have been over 3,000,000. Even so, if we had attained 8,000,000 our rate of growth would have been much below that of the United States from 1790 to 1820.

REPORTER. These are terrible figures.

SIR RICHARD. They are, and we lost even more in

quality than we did in quantity. If this huge exodus was due to causes we could not have controlled, it was a very grave misfortune. If it was due to negligence or misconduct on the part of those at the head of affairs, no words are strong enough to condemn their conduct.

REPORTER. You say we lost in quality by immigration?

SIR RICHARD. That was perhaps the worst feature of all. The people we lost—and remember that the drain was continuous during most of those thirty years—were the very choicest part of our population. They were very largely men in the very prime of life, and contained an immense percentage of the most intelligent and adventurous of our people. There is every reason to believe that between 1866 and 1896 one-third at least, and very likely more than one-third, of the whole male adult population of Canada between the ages of twenty and forty found their way to the United States. This sort of drain does much more than merely keep the number of the people down. It saps the vitality of the whole nation. You cannot part with so large a proportion of the boldest and the best of your people without sensibly lowering the standard of the whole. So it was in Ireland for centuries, as Mr. Lecky and others have pointed out. So it was with us, and so it must be everywhere.

REPORTER. Was it not inevitable in the relative position of Canada and of the United States that something of this kind should have taken place?

SIR RICHARD. There was a risk, and for that very reason every effort of Canadian statesmen should have been put forth to induce these men to remain with us. But I must postpone that question for the moment.

REPORTER. What occurred at the general election of 1872?

SIR RICHARD. Sir John's forecast was pretty well verified. He lost considerably in Quebec and he was badly beaten in Ontario, but he managed to maintain himself for a time by the aid of the votes he had dishonestly acquired in Manitoba and British Columbia. Both of these were

political swindles of the very worst kind. According to our census returns Manitoba in 1871 had 25,000 inhabitants and British Columbia 36,000, of whom more than two-thirds were Indians. Yet one of these provinces was given four members and the other six. No more impudent violation of the fundamental principle of Confederation could well be conceived, and but for this Sir John would either have found himself in an absolute minority or too weak to carry on the government.

REPORTER. I thought Sir John had a fair majority in 1872?

SIR RICHARD. There were a certain number of members in that House on whose votes neither side could reckon with any certainty, but when I was delegated, with some others, to present a formal remonstrance to Lord Dufferin against proroguing Parliament in August, 1873, some 93 members attached their names to the document out of a total of some 197. None of these could have been ranked as regular supporters of the Government, though several of them would have objected to be classed as members of the Opposition. Apart from Manitoba and British Columbia, Sir John was not in a position to control the House. One thing is certain: Had the elections throughout the Dominion been brought on at that time in one day, as was done afterwards, and had these two provinces been allotted their fair share of the representation, not all Sir Hugh Allan's money would have saved Sir John A. Macdonald in 1872. The power he then possessed of bringing on the several elections at different dates to suit himself enabled him to secure several seats he could not have gained otherwise. But he fought his opponents with loaded dice.

REPORTER. Could not the injustice he committed in giving such an undue representation to Manitoba and British Columbia have been used against him in the contest?

SIR RICHARD. Some use was made of it, but to nothing like the extent it ought. For myself, I may observe that in 1872 I was still on the cross benches and did not take

any part in the election outside of my own riding. Mr. Blake was absent in England till the very end of the contest. But I remember being surprised at the time to see how comparatively easily Sir John was let down for an act which I thought then, and think still, was as gross an outrage as was ever perpetrated. The fact was, however, that his conduct in the matter of Riel and one or two other affairs of less moment attracted most attention in Ontario, and it is rare for the public in a general election to concern itself with more than one or two issues. More was said, and perhaps naturally, about the folly of engaging to build a road to the Pacific, over three thousand miles of unsurveyed country, than about the violation of constitutional principle in giving one man in British Columbia as much voice in controlling legislation as ten men in any of the older provinces. As for the Conservatives proper they rather chuckled over this instance of Sir John's smartness in circumventing the Grits, though they would not openly defend the proceeding. I think, too, the actual facts were not generally known in the election of 1872. The census had only been taken the year before and, though the numbers in the several provinces had been declared, it certainly was not generally known that there were only ten thousand whites in British Columbia and that the balance were Indians. Moreover, it is probable that not one man in a hundred, perhaps not one man in a thousand, outside old and experienced politicians, will ever understand how greatly the introduction of even eight or ten illegitimate votes into an assembly of two hundred may affect the entire result. In this case, as I have shown above, Sir John Macdonald's genuine supporters, outside of Manitoba and British Columbia, were under one hundred. His declared opponents mustered some eighty votes, and there were at least a dozen independents on whom he could not pretend to rely in an emergency. His political life, therefore, may be said to have depended on the votes he had fraudulently manufactured in Manitoba and British Columbia.

INTERVIEW NUMBER EIGHTEEN.

HUNTINGDON'S IMPEACHMENT OF THE PREMIER.

REPORTER. When did Mr. Huntingdon make his attack as to the sale of the C. P. R. contract to Sir Hugh Allan?

SIR RICHARD. Early in the session of 1873, and to say the truth it was at first received with a good deal of incredulity. It was not, so to speak, that men put it past Sir John, but few believed that Mr. Huntingdon would be able to produce legal evidence of the transaction, and unless the testimony was overwhelming we knew well enough that Sir John's followers would sustain him.

REPORTER. Did the public generally take much interest in the matter?

SIR RICHARD. They did not at first. They were puzzled and perplexed, but so many baseless charges had been preferred at various times against public men, or at any rate, so many charges which had not been proved, that many men not specially favourable to Sir John withheld judgment. Meantime Sir John went great lengths. I myself heard him in his place in Parliament take God to witness that he was innocent of the things Mr. Huntingdon laid to his charge, and I was much staggered by it. It was not easy to believe that a man of his experience and legal training would have dared to make such an assertion if he knew that there was clear proof existing against him.

REPORTER. You heard this yourself?

SIR RICHARD. I am sorry to say I did. Sir John must have been in a very desperate mood to venture such a statement. There were certainly some odd things about the whole affair. It has never been very clearly explained how and why Sir John allowed these very compromising letters of Sir Hugh Allan and others to fall into his enemies' hands when he could apparently have got possession of them by paying a comparatively small sum of money. He

may have thought the offer was a trap. I do not know, and the reason remains more or less of a mystery, the more so as Sir John showed in other ways that he was in a temper to stop at nothing if he could escape a hostile verdict.

REPORTER. How did the charge affect Sir John?

SIR RICHARD. At first he attempted to ignore it, and got the House to vote down Mr. Huntingdon's motion for a committee on the ground that it was a vote of want of confidence. But the independent members who had supported him thus far required that he should cause a committee to be appointed by the House to investigate the matter, which was done. Thereupon he seemed to have made up his mind to buy acquittal at any cost. He had, as he well knew, contracted a number of very onerous engagements which would tax the resources of the country to the uttermost, but all through the session of 1873 he did little else than heap expense upon expense. He added several millions to our annual expenditure without providing one cent of additional revenue. He brought Prince Edward Island into the Confederation on very extravagant terms in hopes of thereby securing, as he had done in the case of British Columbia, some half-dozen additional votes. He doubled the indemnities of the members. He increased the allowances of the several provinces and assumed their debts, thereby making an addition to our fixed charges equal to an addition of fifty millions to our national debt. He made all sorts of grants for very useless public works in many constituencies, and in short played the rôle of the unfaithful steward to the letter.

REPORTER. Had this much effect?

SIR RICHARD. It tided him over the session and enabled him to get his estimates passed, and but for subsequent revelations in July, might have helped him to maintain himself. But although this was his primary motive, he had another object in view.

REPORTER. What was that?

SIR RICHARD. I more than suspected it at the time, and I learned afterwards from one of his own colleagues that I was right. Undoubtedly his first object was to buy

his acquittal, but he was a far-seeing individual in some respects, and he made up his mind that, if he was defeated, he would leave a precious legacy to his successors. He calculated, and with reason, that if he went out having added heavily to the annual expenditure, and in a way which could not be reduced, and leaving besides a vast mass of liabilities which had to be met, a new ministry would be very hard put to it to make both ends meet, and would probably have to inflict heavy taxes and to make unpopular economies to meet the deficiency.

REPORTER. You think Sir John had this object in mind?

SIR RICHARD. Well, I had heard him discuss such a policy more than once in old times. But apart from this, the facts all point that way. But a few months before Sir John had made a very sensible speech in answer to certain demands of some of his supporters, in which he took strong ground on the expediency of finishing the works we had in hand, and notably our canal system and the Inter-colonial Railway, and of generally carefully limiting expenditure before we plunged into new works. Also prior to Mr. Huntingdon's attack we had heard nothing of the various new outlays he subsequently introduced. Altogether I do not think I do him any wrong in saying that but for that attack he would never have made most of the additions he did to the public expenditure in 1873, and further that he did thoroughly understand how serious our obligations were. As a matter of fact, the additions he made to our fixed charges within the two or three months subsequent to Mr. Huntingdon's motion would, if capitalized, have been fully equal to doubling our then national debt. Unfortunately he had lost, by the retirement of Sir Francis Hincks, the only man in his Cabinet who was capable of mastering the financial position, and I am bound to say that had Sir Francis Hincks been then Minister of Finance I do not believe he would ever have consented to these increased expenditures without at the same time making due provision to meet them.

REPORTER. How did things actually turn out?

SIR RICHARD. They shaped themselves very much as Sir John Macdonald had expected. We had to impose heavier taxes and also to curtail our expenditures in several directions. By a fine irony of fate, we found ourselves held responsible for the vast increase in our annual outlay which was the direct result of measures which we had vehemently opposed, but which had been carried in spite of us. The burden he left was heavy enough. We cut down his estimates for 1874 as much as possible, but whereas in his last completed year, 1872-3, he had expended \$19,174,000, he left us estimates for 1873-4 of over \$24,000,000, which would probably have exceeded \$25,000,000 if the usual supplementary estimates had been added, and we found ourselves compelled to expend \$23,316,000. You will understand this better and what it implies when I tell you that our total expenditure in 1867-8 was \$13,486,000 and that this had increased in 1872 to \$17,589,000, being an increase in five years of a little over \$4,000,000. The increase in *one* year, from 1873 to 1874, was also over \$4,000,000, being as much in one year as in five preceding years. In other words, Sir John in about two months had added 25 per cent. to our annual expenditure without making any provision therefor and with full knowledge that we would speedily have to face a huge annual charge for the most costly public work that Canada had ever undertaken.

REPORTER. Looking back, what do you think of it?

SIR RICHARD. It was the last desperate resource of a desperate man, but it was in a great measure successful, though chiefly from causes over which Sir John had no control and which he could not foresee.

REPORTER. To what causes do you refer?

SIR RICHARD. To the extraordinarily severe depression which set in all over the United States very shortly before Sir John Macdonald's downfall, and which lasted with no intermission from 1873 to 1878. This affected Canada heavily. In those days we depended very much on our trade with the United States in a great many ways, far more than at present, and any depression in that

country very soon reacted upon us. Badly as we were handicapped by Sir John's financial extravagances, we could have surmounted them without very serious difficulty but for the protracted depression in the United States, followed as it was by three successive bad harvests in Canada itself.

REPORTER. I have heard that a good deal of capital was made against your Government on the score of deficits.

SIR RICHARD. Every one of which was clearly and directly traceable to the wanton waste of 1873 and to the necessity of providing for obligations which we had protested against assuming. Take one instance alone. It was an act of consummate folly, from a financial point of view, to assume the large amount of debt due by the several provinces in face of the fact that we had to provide large sums for the completing of our canals and the Inter-colonial Railway and had also incurred immense obligations on account of the Canadian Pacific Railway. All said and done, the total amount of the deficits under the Mackenzie administration put together were scarcely more than the amount added to our annual expenditure in one single year by Sir John Macdonald.

REPORTER. Could not this have been explained?

SIR RICHARD. It was fully explained, but we might as well have held our peace. A small section of the more intelligent of the electors did understand, but the ignorance of the average business man, as well as of the great mass of the voters, on financial subjects, is and was phenomenal. The stock cry was raised that whereas they had good times under Sir John, they had bad times under Mr. Mackenzie, and beyond or behind that fact they would not look. In after years a good many of the very knaves who did know better and who had been prominent in raising this cry against us, were caught in their own trap, but that did not help us in 1878. Similarly, though the facts were exactly as I have stated them, Sir John and his partisans were not ashamed to allege that Mr. Mackenzie had spent each year more money than he had done and had

largely increased the national debt, and I have no doubt they found a great many ready to believe them. No doubt it required some patience and some knowledge to analyze the financial position, and this was exactly what neither the average journalist nor his readers ever gave to the question. Perhaps I ought not to blame them too much for I found, to my own great surprise, that not a few even of our own colleagues were hopelessly at sea when they set about explaining the situation. Our opponents were wiser in their day and generation. They never argued the case but appealed boldly to the statements as detailed in the public accounts and demanded how the Reformers, who had condemned Sir John A. Macdonald for extravagance in spending nineteen millions a year, could justify an expenditure of twenty-three or twenty-four millions. What added to the difficulty was the fact that a great part of the additions made in 1873 were additions to the fixed charges which it was out of our power to reduce in any way.

INTERVIEW NUMBER NINETEEN.

LORD DUFFERIN'S OPINION.

REPORTER. Did Sir John seem visibly affected by the position in which he found himself?

SIR RICHARD. He was not a man to wear his heart upon his sleeve, and for a time he maintained a brave front. I do not think he gave up hope till after that famous day in August, 1873, when Parliament met only to be immediately prorogued, and when ninety-three members of the House presented their memorial to Lord Dufferin praying for instant investigation. On that day I chanced to come face to face with Sir John, and there was no mistaking the look in his countenance. It was that of a hunted animal driven absolutely to bay. From that time to his resignation in the November following he must have known he was doomed; in fact, his acts showed it.

REPORTER. In what particulars?

SIR RICHARD. Not to mention a number of other but very significant indications, when he met the House in November he had already provided for two of his colleagues, for one by a seat on the Bench, and for another by a commission as Lieutenant-Governor. They remained with him in the Cabinet until the close, a rather indecent proceeding, if, indeed, it was not distinctly illegal. Unless he had considered the situation a desperate one, he would never have had recourse to such an expedient.

REPORTER. Who were these gentlemen?

SIR RICHARD. One was Sir Leonard Tilley, who was made Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. The other was Mr. Macdonald, who was made a Judge of the High Court in Nova Scotia. Curiously enough during the ten or twelve days that Sir John's impeachment lasted (for it was practically that in reality, though not in form) one of the most attentive and interested spectators who sat

through the whole proceedings was Lord Rosebery,* who was at that time a guest of Lord Dufferin's.

REPORTER. May I ask how Lord Dufferin behaved?

SIR RICHARD. Lord Dufferin acted with strict impartiality all through. I do not think any fault could fairly be found with him. Lord Rosebery, as might have been expected, was also very discreet. But, as was perhaps natural, it was very evident that the sympathies of everybody else at Government House were decidedly with Sir John.

REPORTER. Can you say now what was the effect on the public mind of all these proceedings?

SIR RICHARD. After the lapse of forty years I can perhaps speak without much prejudice. I think Lord Dufferin was right when he said in a famous state paper, in which he gave a full account of his proceedings, that the public mind had been profoundly shocked by the exposures which had taken place, and that he hoped and believed that the result would be to bring about a great searching of heart and purification of public life. This was certainly the first impulse, and the immediate effect was good. But I fear that the ultimate results were widely different, and I have since seen much cause to regret that Sir John was defeated on what might be called very largely a personal issue. That he richly deserved his fate is most certain. He was caught red-handed in the commission of as grave an offence against public morality as could well be imagined, but it was unfortunate in every way that he should have gone down in that fashion. For one thing, as a mere matter of policy, it would have been very much better for the Liberal party that Sir John should have remained in office for two or three years longer and been obliged to face the consequences of some of his proceedings and to have been beaten in fair fight on that score, as he certainly would have been.

REPORTER. Apart from this, what other reasons have

*Lord Rosebery and Mr. Huntingdon became great friends. Mr. Huntingdon often visited him in England.

you for regretting his expulsion from office on those grounds?

SIR RICHARD. You open up a question which involves many issues. The honour of its public men is, or ought to be, a matter of the utmost moment to any nation. In Sir John's case, the scandal and exposure of a man in his position and of one who had become a sort of fetish in the eyes of a large number of his countrymen, has had a doubly demoralising effect. Had the Conservative party, when he confessed his guilt, repudiated him and deposed him from the leadership, then the result which Lord Dufferin hoped for might have been attained. But when they re-elected him as their leader, they made public proclamation to the people of Canada and to all the world that so far as one great party in Canada was concerned it was prepared to condone the grossest malversation, backed by the grossest falsehoods, on the part of their chosen chiefs, and that in their eyes truth and honesty were no longer requisite qualities for Canadian public men. The effect of their action was twofold. Many men became utterly disgusted with politics and political life altogether, and held from that time, as an article of belief, that there was no such thing as honesty in politics. Others took the line that it was all part of the game, and condoned or defended Sir John's crime as a sort of political necessity.

REPORTER. Had the Conservatives any choice when they re-elected him?

SIR RICHARD. They certainly had no man of equal ability to put in Sir John's place. But they owed it to themselves, and much more to their country, to dis sever the connection for the time being, if only to mark their disapproval of his proceedings. Later on they might have re-instated him when lapse of time might be supposed to have in some degree purged his delinquencies. As it was, they and their supporters became as it were accessories after the fact to the grossest political crime known to Canadian history. Up to that time the Conservative party might have pleaded that they were ignor-

ant of what had been done by their leaders. Since his re-election as leader, they became just as guilty as he was and equally responsible for the steady degradation of the standard of public morality which set in then and which I fear is not likely to be arrested for many a year to come.

REPORTER. You put the case strongly.

SIR RICHARD. Not one whit more strongly than the facts warrant. I am neither Puritan nor Pharisee, but there are certain offences which, if proven, should banish the offender from public life for ever, and Sir John's was one of them. Consider what selling the charter of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Sir Hugh Allan for funds to carry on an election really meant. Here was a gigantic work likely to tax the then resources of Canada to the very uttermost and on the speedy and proper construction of which the whole future of Canada might very well come to depend, and the man who of all others was bound by his oath of office and by every possible consideration of honour and good faith to see that this great work was well and properly carried out, deliberately put it out of his own power, for a consideration, to secure that the most ordinary safeguards should be taken to protect the interests of the public, whose guardian and trustee he was. For one thing, there is not and never can be the shadow of a doubt, that the minister who allows a contractor to finance him through a general election becomes that contractor's paid servant, if not for the rest of his days, at any rate till the completion of that particular work, and further that he is in no position to protest against such work being scamped or to insist on the performance of any portion of such contract which the contractor may see fit to disregard. As a matter of fact, our one chance in 1872 was to utilize the North-West in such fashion as to prevent the tremendous exodus which subsequently took place. A wise land and railway policy might have done this. Sir John's conduct made this impossible, and on his head more than on that of any other must rest the loss of two millions of people

who might well have been kept in Canada. I do not say that he intended this, but in fact it was the direct result of his ill-advised bargain with British Columbia and of his shameful trafficking with Sir Hugh Allan.

REPORTER. Did all Sir John's political associates adhere to him.

SIR RICHARD. Practically all with the exception, I think, of Mr. Peter Mitchell, who had had a good many differences of opinion with him and some of his colleagues. His Ontario supporters certainly did, though a good many of them remained at home after the election of 1874. It is true they had been pretty well weeded out in 1872, and it is more than likely that a considerable number of them had received such assistance in that election that they could hardly have withdrawn from him in any event. But unquestionably there was a strong element of personal loyalty to Sir John with most of them, however misplaced.

REPORTER. This must have been a great asset for Sir John.

SIR RICHARD. The feeling of loyalty to a leader is in itself so good a thing and so necessary in public life that I dislike to criticise the action of men who allow themselves to be carried away by it too severely, and Sir John, like the Stuarts, had the faculty in a remarkable degree of attracting his adherents to himself in that way. Also, it is in a rather especial sense a tradition with the Conservative party to stand by their leaders through thick and thin, and Sir John had had the good sense to put himself unreservedly in their hands. Whether, as was alleged at the time, he had really sincerely desired to retire for a season and had advised his followers to select another leader, I rather doubt, but I believe it was true that he very wisely did not attempt to force himself upon them. I have some reason to think that the caucus who re-elected him were partly influenced by the fact that Mr. Mackenzie had been made Premier.

REPORTER. How did this come to influence their decision?

SIR RICHARD. In this way. Mr. Mackenzie at that time was but little known outside of Ontario, and a good many persons on both sides thought that he would prove quite unable to cope with Sir John A. Macdonald as leader of the House, in which, as subsequent events showed, they were very much mistaken. Also, they were aware that Mr. Mackenzie could not depend on a majority in the House as it then stood, and they expected that, as it had been so very recently elected, he would nevertheless hesitate about dissolving it and going to the country till he had held at least one more session. In such case they had great faith in Sir John's power of laying traps for his opponents, and, I presume, in the chapter of accidents generally. Under ordinary conditions it was not unlikely that their expectations would have been realised. At any rate I know that many of them were very disagreeably surprised when the dissolution took place.

REPORTER. Pardon me, Sir Richard, but what exactly did Mr. Huntingdon charge Sir John Macdonald with?

SIR RICHARD. In two words he accused Sir John of having sold the charter for constructing the Canadian Pacific Railroad for a large sum of money to be used for election purposes, and he demanded a committee to investigate the charges. As I mentioned above, Sir John refused in the first instance, but shortly after proposed a committee himself. This consisted of five members and was chosen by the House directly.

REPORTER. Was not this a rather unusual proceeding?

SIR RICHARD. Yes. I can only recollect its being done in this single instance. Each member has one vote and casts it for whomsoever he pleases. Practically the result is much the same as if the parties forming the committee were chosen in the usual way by the leaders of the House on one side and the leaders of the opposition on the other. But as in this case it was the leader of the House himself who was impeached, it was probably felt that it would be more decorous to have the committee named by the House.

REPORTER. Who formed the committee?

SIR RICHARD. They were all men of mark, more or less: Mr. I. H. Cameron, Mr. Blake, Mr. Dorion, Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Blanchet. They held a few sittings, but had made no particular progress when the House was adjourned, and their functions ceased for the moment. Shortly after, Mr. Huntingdon published a series of telegrams and letters which left no doubt in the minds of anyone but that Sir John had actually been guilty of the offence with which he was charged. Among these was a very curious letter from Sir Hugh Allan to a friend giving a pretty complete summary of the whole transaction.

REPORTER. To what letter do you allude?

SIR RICHARD. To a letter from Sir Hugh Allan to one of his American associates, under date of 1st July, 1872. This letter is a gem in its way, but in other respects it sheds a very lurid light on the way in which public business was being carried on under the Macdonald-Cartier régime. Sir Hugh had been behind the scenes for a long time. He was a Government contractor as regards his line of steamships for a great many years and knew thoroughly what he was talking about. He quite understood Sir George Cartier's position in the Cabinet and Sir John Macdonald's necessities. In any case, the effect of the publication of those documents by Mr. Huntingdon was electrical. Parliament re-assembled in August. The opposition mustered in full force, as did most of the independents. The bulk of the supporters of the Government, at Sir John's special instance, did not attend, but some ninety-three members signed an address to Lord Dufferin requesting him not to prorogue Parliament but to allow the investigation to proceed. This was presented to His Excellency by a deputation of five members, headed by myself, but Lord Dufferin, after consideration, decided to refer the case to a Royal Commission of three judges and to prorogue till October.

REPORTER. Did the Opposition approve of this?

SIR RICHARD. They did not. They took the ground

that the Commission would be virtually appointed by Sir John Macdonald himself, and further that as the matter was at that moment in the hands of Parliament, which had appointed a special committee to inquire into it, His Excellency had no right to interfere. The Commission, however, sat and summoned several parties, among others Sir Hugh Allan and Sir John Macdonald, to appear before them. These gentlemen gave their own version, but were not cross-examined. This was in one respect of the less consequence as they both admitted under oath the substantial accuracy of Mr. Huntingdon's statements. There was a great deal to be said for the line taken by the Opposition in refusing to recognize the Commission in any way. Constitutionally, I have very little doubt they were right, but it was a matter of regret in many ways that Messrs. Blake and Dorion thought it their duty to take no part in the proceedings. A cross-examination would have revealed many things which ought to have been brought out and which in the future would have materially affected the minds of a great many people, even among Sir John's supporters. From a purely political point of view I have very little doubt that had Mr. Blake taken Sir John in hand and dealt with him as he well knew how, Mr. Blake would have been acclaimed leader of the Opposition by a sort of unanimous plebiscitum. I am also pretty sure that Sir John would have been compelled to send in his resignation forthwith instead of waiting till Parliament met.

REPORTER. What followed?

SIR RICHARD. Parliament met in October, and though it was self-evident that Sir John must retire it was not at all certain whether in the event of his obtaining any sort of favourable verdict, no matter by how small a majority, Lord Dufferin might not have allowed him to select his successor instead of sending for some member of the Opposition. This, Sir John was naturally most anxious to bring about, and there were just enough uncertain votes, especially in the case of the new members from Prince Edward Island, to have made this possible.

Their delegation numbered six members, all elected since July, and quite unpledged to either side. In fact for some weeks they held the balance of power, and the situation was really very dramatic.

REPORTER. Had they no preferences?

SIR RICHARD. Of course they were, as elsewhere, nominally divided into two camps, Liberal and Conservative; but they knew next to nothing of Canada or Canadian politics and they were, I think, at first disposed to give Sir John, who had brought them into Confederation on what they must have known were exceedingly favourable terms, the benefit of any doubt. Also, he was the man in possession, which always counts.

REPORTER. When did they decide?

SIR RICHARD. Finally, after some hesitation and after the debate had gone on for many days Mr. Laird, who led the majority from the Island, declared his intention of voting with the Opposition. This, which was followed by a similar pronouncement from Mr. Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona), put an end to all doubt as to how the vote would go, and Sir John, without more ado, tendered his resignation.

REPORTER. Whom would he have chosen as his successor?

SIR RICHARD. Without doubt Sir Charles Tupper. He was by far the most prominent member of his cabinet and had not been in any way directly connected with the Pacific scandal as far as the evidence went.

REPORTER. Could Dr. Tupper have formed a Government?

SIR RICHARD. I am inclined to think he could. The existing House was rather strongly Conservative, Ontario excepted, and Dr. Tupper would have made a hard fight for it. Moreover, it had sat only for one year and the great majority of the members would have been averse to forcing a dissolution, which would have necessarily followed, in case they defeated Dr. Tupper. You must remember that the leaders of the Opposition were untried men and that they certainly could not claim a majority of

the House as their supporters. I have, as I intimated before, but little doubt that if Sir A. T. Galt had been in the House, or even in the country, at that moment, he might easily have been sent for.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY.

LORD DUFFERIN SENDS FOR MR. MACKENZIE.

REPORTER. When Sir John resigned and Mr. Mackenzie took office you were a member of his Cabinet from the first?

SIR RICHARD. Yes, I took office as Minister of Finance, somewhat against my own wish. I would at that time have much preferred to take another portfolio, and I thought my friend Mr. Luther Holton, who had already been Minister of Finance under Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, and who was many years my senior, should have taken that place.

REPORTER. Would not Mr. Holton act?

SIR RICHARD. To our great regret and to Mr. Mackenzie's great loss, Mr. Holton declined to accept office at all. He assigned no reason at the time, and it was not till several years after that it became known that he had been suffering from the malady which finally carried him off and that it was impossible for him to have taken office.

REPORTER. Was it not rather a surprise that Lord Dufferin should have sent for Mr. Mackenzie?

SIR RICHARD. In a certain sense it was. It could hardly be said that Mr. Mackenzie was the recognized leader of the Opposition, though he was the leader of the Ontario section, which was by far the largest. This, however, was a matter which lay within the discretion of the Governor-General.

REPORTER. I thought the Governor had always to send for the leader of the Opposition?

SIR RICHARD. That is the usual custom, but His Excellency has the right to summon anyone he pleases, in or out of Parliament. Of course no one is likely to accept unless he sees, or thinks he sees, his way to secure a Parliamentary majority. This right, however, and also

the right to grant or refuse a dissolution before the end of the Parliamentary term, are the clear prerogatives of the Crown, and are in practice, though not in theory, about the only ones which remain to it. At a crisis such as this was they became ones of very great importance. In the present instance the position was rather peculiar. Practically, in 1873, the leadership of the Opposition might have been said to have been in a commission, of whom Mr. Mackenzie was one, the others consisting of Mr. Blake, Mr. Holton and Mr. Dorion. Mr. Mackenzie, it should be remembered, had never held office, either in the Parliament of the two Canadas or since Confederation, and was much junior to Mr. Holton and Mr. Dorion, both of whom he had formerly supported when they were in the Cabinet of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald. He had also served for a short time under Mr. Blake while the latter was Premier of Ontario. Mr. Mackenzie, afterwards, in discussing the situation, assured me more than once that he would have been quite prepared to have served under any one of the above named gentlemen, and from what I know of him I am quite certain that he would have done so loyally and well, if they had been called in.

REPORTER. How came it that Mr. Blake, who had been Premier of Ontario, had not been chosen leader?

SIR RICHARD. As I have mentioned, I was on the cross benches up to 1873 and had never attended a Liberal caucus till the one at which I was chosen spokesman of the delegation which waited on Lord Dufferin to remonstrate against the prorogation, and this was rather a mass meeting of all parties who were dissatisfied with the action of the Government than a caucus of the regular Opposition. I am therefore speaking from hearsay, but I believe I am correct in saying that when the Liberal party met at Ottawa early in 1873 it was proposed to elect Mr. Blake as leader, but that he declined to accept.

REPORTER. Do you know why?

SIR RICHARD. Principally, I think, because he had taken no part in the election of 1872, and the whole burden of the fight had fallen on Mr. Mackenzie. He had

been exposed to some criticism on this account, and Mr. Blake was always excessively sensitive to criticism. There had been, too, some friction between Mr. Blake and the majority of the Ontario Liberals in the Dominion House in the early part of his career, when Mr. Blake on several occasions undertook to make motions without in any way consulting his colleagues in the House, with the result that a good many of them abstained from voting. This had been smoothed over for the time, but it had left a certain amount of soreness. I was informed that Mr. Mackenzie, after having been sent for, offered to waive his claim in Mr. Blake's favour and that the latter again declined, but of this I cannot speak with certainty. In any case, Mr. Mackenzie undertook to form a ministry and speedily succeeded, though he failed in securing the services of several very important members of the party on whom he had relied.

REPORTER. Who were they?

SIR RICHARD. First of all, Mr. Blake himself. He at first refused to enter the Cabinet at all, and when at last he did so he did it after a great deal of pressure from his party friends and would take no portfolio. He resigned in a few months after the election of 1874 and certainly gave Mr. Mackenzie very little assistance. Mr. Blake assigned no reason for his resignation. This was a dubious proceeding for which he was deservedly scored by Sir John A. Macdonald, who maintained with much force that, while it was always at any man's option to enter a cabinet or not, having once entered he had no right to resign without stating why he did so. Next, Mr. Holton would not join him, I believe for the reason I have mentioned, though he gave Mr. Mackenzie all through a very loyal and unswerving support. The last on the list was Mr. Alfred Jones, of Halifax. His refusal was a very serious blow to Mr. Mackenzie, as it left him without any leader of note in Nova Scotia. In fact it is not too much to say that the loss or refusal to serve on the part of these three gentlemen left Mr. Mackenzie without the assistance of the three strongest individual

Liberal leaders in the three principal provinces and handicapped him terribly from the outset.

REPORTER. Was Mr. Mackenzie a popular leader?

SIR RICHARD. In some respects he was, and I think everyone, even his opponents, respected him as a man of sterling honesty, and as time went on he developed in many ways in a very remarkable degree, and those who came to know him best liked him best. But I cannot say that he ever became popular in the sense in which Sir John was popular. He had, as I can testify, an immense hold on the Scotch element in Ontario and probably elsewhere, and if he had had to do with a reasonably homogeneous population, I am of opinion that he would have maintained himself in spite of all his superficial deficiencies, but he had a very difficult part to play in a country like Canada and he threw away his chances almost from the outset.

REPORTER. In what way did he destroy his chances?

SIR RICHARD. He attempted to combine the office of Premier with the charge of a huge Department, comprising the two great offices now known as the Department of Railways and Canals and of Public Works. This was a fatal error. No man could do justice to such a department and also attend to the very important and very laborious work of keeping the party together and all the multifarious business of the Premiership. This became apparent from a very early day, and all his friends, Mr. Brown, Mr. Holton, Mr. Dorion and I, myself, and I think almost his whole Cabinet, united in pressing him to give up his Department and attend solely to the Premiership. He admitted the truth of our remonstrances and promised repeatedly that he would give it up, but always when the time came he put it off. It was a serious fault. In fact it was *the* fault of his administration.

REPORTER. But for that do you think Mr. Mackenzie might have retained office?

SIR RICHARD. Reviewing the whole matter since, I believe he could. Mr. Mackenzie had become an admirable debater and a very effective public speaker and he

had a great hold on Ontario. Had he devoted one-tenth part of the time and energy to the task of organizing and keeping his party together which he bestowed on the work of his Department, the result would have been very different. As it was, he exhausted himself in details which would have been very much better left to his subordinates. Time and again, scores of times, in fact, I can remember having gone over to his office in the afternoon and finding him completely done up with his long day's work, and time and again I have had to say to him, "You are not fit to discuss important matters now. Take a rest and I will come and see you at some Christian hour—to-morrow morning." It was very much to Mr. Mackenzie's credit that he would always take a frank remonstrance of this sort in good part, and I may say that, although we had now and then some differences of opinion, I do not think one angry word ever passed between us.

REPORTER. Was not yours rather an exceptional case?

SIR RICHARD. Possibly it was, but as I saw more of Mr. Mackenzie I came to recognize more and more his genuine worth and his earnest desire to do his duty to his country to the best of his ability, without regard to his own political advantage. I may add that this was the impression that he made in other quarters not originally very favourably inclined to him. Just at first there is not much doubt that Lord Dufferin himself was disposed to question Mr. Mackenzie's fitness for his office. But long before his term of the Premiership had expired, both Lord and Lady Dufferin had become his warm personal friends and continued to keep up a steady and interesting correspondence with him to the day of his death. Still, it must be admitted that nothing could compensate to his party for his neglect of his duty as a leader, and that I am sorry to say was very apparent. One great difficulty was that he had chosen a Department in which he was continually subject to requests for all manner of favours which he could not grant. He was perpetually obliged to

say "No," and he was not very diplomatic in his manner of saying it. Latterly, too, his health gave way under the treble strain and he became nervous and irritable to a degree which made many Liberal members refuse to go and see him on any subject.

REPORTER. Rather a contrast to Sir John, I take it?

SIR RICHARD. It was, and not altogether to Sir John's discredit. Sir John paid little enough attention to the proper work of the several departments over which he at various times presided, and in many instances the public interests suffered grievously thereby. But he never neglected his work as leader and he took most excellent care to keep on the best of terms with his supporters. He and Mackenzie stood almost at the very opposite poles in every way. Politically speaking, Sir John attended to the one thing needful and let the rest take care of itself. He thoroughly understood that the vast mass of the people paid no sort of attention to the details of public affairs except perhaps at election time, and that under ordinary conditions no party could hope to win in such a country as Canada unless they possessed a complete and vigorous organization and kept it steadily at work.

REPORTER. Would not such an organization be very expensive?

SIR RICHARD. Undoubtedly it would cost money and that was the excuse made by Sir John A. Macdonald to others and very likely to himself for many of his proceedings. Here is the problem. Under our system of representation you have to deal with nearly a million of electors scattered over a very wide area. Now, it is or ought to be manifest to the very meanest intelligence that to marshal 400,000 or 500,000 votes on either side and to bring them to the polls on a given day must involve an immense amount of labour and no small expenditure on the part of somebody. Theoretically, the people should come of their own accord; practically, they have to be driven or spurred up, and unless very considerable pains have been taken in the interval between any two general

elections, or unless some burning question has sprung up, which is not often the case, it requires a very heavy outlay, even if the expenditure is confined to purely legitimate purposes, to organize such an immense force at short notice.

REPORTER. I do not think this is generally understood.

SIR RICHARD. It is not at all understood, the more the pity. All organizations need funds. All that live obtain funds. Look at the very smallest religious bodies. See how they tax their members to keep up their organizations. Yet the very men who recognize this fact and contribute readily to their several churches year in and year out are very often utterly penurious in supplying their political leader with the merest pittance for necessary campaign funds, and this niggardliness lies at the bottom of a great deal of the immorality which disgraces political life in Canada. One thing is very certain, and these worthy men should lay it to heart, that as far as the effect on the general public is concerned one such exposure as occurred in the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway scandal will do more harm to the morality of the great mass of the people than all the churches, clergymen and religious associations of all sorts can correct in several generations. So it has been and so it will be until the good people of Canada recognize these simple facts. Mind, I am not speaking of funds to be used for corrupt purposes, but only for absolutely legitimate expenses, and I say advisedly that if many Canadian public men are corrupt and are driven to levy contributions on contractors and corporations and other parties seeking favours at their hands, it is in great measure the fault of their political adherents who have no scruple in allowing their leaders to exhaust their health, strength and fortunes (if they happen to have any) in behalf of the cause they profess to have at heart and then leaving them to starve or vegetate in some petty office. But I suppose this kind of ingratitude will always be the besetting sin of all democracies in all places and in all ages, from the

Athenians who ostracised Aristides to the Canadians who
deposed Mackenzie in favour of a man proved guilty out
of his own mouth of the grossest malversation in office
and of the grossest falsehood besides.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-ONE.

*MR. MACKENZIE'S CABINET—MR. MACKENZIE
AVERSE TO SPOILS SYSTEM.*

REPORTER. Had Mr. Mackenzie much difficulty in forming his Cabinet?

SIR RICHARD. He had a good deal. Apart from the very serious loss he experienced in not being able to secure the services of Messrs. Blake, Holton and Jones, for which he was not at all prepared, he had much trouble in obtaining ministers with even a tincture of administrative experience. One of the results of the manner in which Confederation had been brought about was that Sir John A. Macdonald had succeeded in weeding the ranks of his opponents of nearly every prominent politician of any training. This was a rather serious matter. In fact, with the exception of Mr. Dorion and Mr. Smith, one of whom had been for a short time in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Cabinet, and the other Premier of his own Province, the remainder, including Mr. Mackenzie himself, could hardly be said to have had any such training at all. So far as ordinary Parliamentary experience went, he was well enough provided. In the matter of debating talent, a Cabinet of which Mackenzie, Blake, Huntingdon, Dorion and myself were members had very little to fear from any opposition with which we were likely to be confronted in the House, and we had a strong cohort of capable supporters besides. But it was different in our offices.

REPORTER. In what especial respect?

SIR RICHARD. We very soon found that we lived in a glass hive. Hardly a question could be discussed in Council, and certainly no resolution arrived at, which was not known at once to our opponents. Nay, it was quite a common case for us to find that measures which had not even been submitted to Council were known to

our enemies long before they were considered by the majority of the Cabinet. The fact was that not only almost all the higher offices in the Civil Service, but practically all the subordinate places, were filled with more or less zealous partisans of our opponents. I do not mean to say that all, or even a majority of these men deliberately betrayed our confidence, but they certainly took no interest in making our Government a success, and though there were only a few who actually played the spy there were plenty of them who perhaps unconsciously contrived so to administer their departments that every foe of ours was favoured and every friend turned down whenever there was a chance of doing so without detection.

REPORTER. Was it possible to do this without the knowledge of the Minister at the head of the Department?

SIR RICHARD. Very possible; and it was usually so adroitly done that the aggrieved party could hardly make out a case. A favorite method, and one in which certain officials displayed a really wonderful ingenuity, was to enforce the rigour of the law against a Reformer and to interpret it liberally where a Conservative was concerned. Skilfully done, this was very hard to deal with. For instance, if a precedent was shown in which a concession now sought by a friend of ours had been granted to an opponent in former years, the officer in charge was always safe to allege that this had been done by the then Minister and that he had been over-ruled in the matter. They were wont to declare that they were quite ready to do the same if the Minister would order them, but, as in not a few cases, the Minister in question had denounced similar proceedings when he was in opposition, and as he more than suspected that if he did interfere his action and his own former criticism would be promptly brought up in Parliament, he was apt to hesitate. Older hands would have dealt summarily with these worthies, and one or two of us did take the line and made our intention known to the effect that if any secrets leaked out by fault of our

officers and the culprit could not be discovered, we would make a clean sweep of every man who could possibly have known anything of the matter, a step which in these particular instances insured a due measure of reticence. But very young ministers coming into office as we did were often at a very great disadvantage, the more so as these gentlemen always displayed the utmost deference, outwardly at least, to their official heads.

REPORTER. Why did you not take a leaf out of the United States book and replace these people by men you could trust?

SIR RICHARD. I almost wish we had. It was a choice of evils. But Mr. Mackenzie was very averse to introduce the spoils system into Canada. He was also influenced by the consideration that a very considerable number of Conservatives had certainly supported him in the election of 1874 and that anything like a wholesale displacement of Conservative officials would have been resented by them. Had Mr. Mackenzie been returned by a straight Liberal vote he might have acted somewhat differently, though he was always a man who was very averse to trample on his political foes, as he showed on more than one occasion. Be that as it may, the Mackenzie administration from the very outset had these two serious difficulties to struggle with. Every step they took, every detail of their administration, was at once reported to their opponents and in the actual working of their departments very frequently more favour was shown to their political opponents than to their own friends. Needless to say that these weak points were made the most of by so crafty an opponent as Sir John Macdonald, and equally needless to say that we gained nothing and lost much, in a political sense at any rate, by our clemency. It was also a not unimportant factor that Sir John all through Mr. Mackenzie's administration controlled a very decidedly partisan majority in the Senate, which he used latterly on several occasions to defeat our measures and embarrass us in many ways. I lay some stress on these comparatively minor obstacles in Mr. Mac-

kenzie's way because I am aware that justice has never been done him in respect to the difficulties with which he had to struggle, and collectively they amounted to a good deal.

REPORTER. Had Mr. Mackenzie any other special difficulties?

SIR RICHARD. The financial situation was one which required immediate and serious attention. Not content with having added, as I have already pointed out, some four millions a year to our ordinary annual expenditure, without providing one cent of additional revenue, Sir John had committed this country to several heavy and costly expenditures on capital account. This meant that we would have to borrow large sums of money for several years in succession and that we had to add in the course of our term of office about two and a half millions to our fixed charges for interest and Sinking Fund. Mr. Mackenzie was called upon at one and the same time to complete the Intercolonial road, to enlarge the canals and to proceed with a certain portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway as well as with a very expensive survey, besides providing for heavy charges for the Mounted Police and the extinguishment of the Indian title in the North-West. In fact, our opponents reckoned very confidently that, do as we pleased, we must lay on heavy taxes and face a deficit in our very first year, and that we would have to borrow money at a great disadvantage.

REPORTER. How did the matter turn out?

SIR RICHARD. We did lay on considerable additional taxes and we had to borrow large sums. But for the years 1874 and 1875 we succeeded in securing a moderate surplus and we effected all the loans we required on decidedly better terms than had ever been accorded to Canada before, and, deficits to the contrary notwithstanding, when we left office the credit of Canada stood higher, measured by the price of our bonds in the London market, than it was at any time during or before our administration.

REPORTER. You had deficits at the end of your term?

SIR RICHARD. That is quite true. We had three successive deficits in 1876, 1877 and 1878, synchronising with three successive bad harvests in those years and with the culmination of the tremendous depression which over-spread the United States from 1873 to 1878. This latter fact was perhaps the most important. In those days the United States was Canada's best customer for much of our produce and was much more closely connected with us, relatively speaking, than it is at present. But it is well to point out that these three deficits very little exceeded the sums paid over in each year out of our annual income to the Sinking Fund. I might add that the amount we recovered from the United States under the Halifax Fishery Award was rather more than all these deficits put together and that it was as certain as anything which had not actually occurred well could be, that the moment business revived in the United States there would be a corresponding improvement in Canada. Taking into account the facts above stated, *i.e.*, that we had to provide for some six and a half millions a year for obligations incurred by our predecessors, most of them against our strong protests, and further that no sort of provision had been attempted to be made to meet them by those gentlemen, the wonder is not that we had deficits but that we escaped so well. Compare, if you like, these deficits with those incurred by Sir John A. Macdonald from 1858 to 1862. The heaviest in our case was under nine per cent. of the revenue received, while Sir John's ranged all the way from twenty to sixty per cent.

REPORTER. Were not these facts generally known?

SIR RICHARD. They were known, of course, to the very select few who pay any considerable attention to public affairs, and they were pretty well understood by many of our supporters in Ontario, who, particularly in the agricultural districts, have always, to their credit be it said, taken great pains to keep themselves well informed on such matters. But to the great mass of the voters in the other provinces all questions of finance were things with which they had no concern. They were

pretty well aware that Ontario would have to pay the bill, and, except in the case of a few special taxes, they knew that no fresh impositions were at all likely to affect them to any appreciable extent.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-TWO.

MR. MACKENZIE LED A DIVIDED PARTY.

REPORTER. Do you feel at liberty to say who, under the circumstances, would have been the best leader of the Liberal party?

SIR RICHARD. Speaking frankly, much as I came to like Mr. Mackenzie, and while I think he never had fair play from the outset, I must admit that the chances of the Liberal party establishing themselves firmly in power would have been very much greater if Mr. Blake had been made Premier. The truth was that so long as Mr. Blake remained in Parliament Mr. Mackenzie led a divided party. Had the choice fallen on Mr. Blake, Mr. Mackenzie would have served under him with perfect loyalty. Mr. Blake, on the other hand, was constitutionally incapable of serving loyally under anybody. Also, it is but fair to say that there is no doubt that a majority of the Liberal party would have preferred to see him Premier. When it became known that Mr. Blake did not intend to enter Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet, a regular "round robin," signed by over a hundred members, was presented to him urging him to reconsider his decision, and I have no doubt whatever that Mr. Mackenzie would in the first instance have readily made way for him. I thought at the time, and I found afterwards that I was probably correct, that had Sir A. T. Galt been in Canada at the time that he would have been asked to lead a joint party. You will observe that in the House, as it then stood, the regular Liberal party was in a minority, and the result of an appeal to the people was quite uncertain, while it was pretty clear that a large section of the Conservative party were not inclined at the time to have anything more to do with Sir John. These men would have cheerfully supported a Government presided over by Sir A. T. Galt, and, failing

him, a great many of them would have accepted Mr. Blake.

REPORTER. Then a dissolution was not quite a foregone conclusion in the autumn of 1873?

SIR RICHARD. It was not; and in fact at first the feeling for many reasons was rather against it, both in the Cabinet and outside of it. Many of our best supporters did not at all relish the idea of a second election within fifteen months, and no one felt very sure what the result would be. Sir John himself precipitated the issue.

REPORTER. How did he do that?

SIR RICHARD. Under the existing conditions, seeing that he had resigned without waiting for an adverse vote, it was an unusual thing to oppose any of the new Ministers seeking re-election. It was obviously very especially inexpedient for Sir John to do so in the face of his own confessions before the Royal Commission. Nevertheless, he saw fit to depart from the usual custom and determined to oppose my return for the County of Lennox on the very absurd pretense that I was, as he phrased it, his "sworn soldier," and particularly bound to uphold him under any conditions. He could hardly have made a greater mistake or a greater mis-statement. In the first place, every man in Lennox knew that I had always come forward as an independent candidate. In the next, I had four years before publicly severed all connection with Sir John by letter and verbally on the floor of the House, and I had, after that, barely a year before, been elected by a very large majority. So far from being under any personal obligation to Sir John A. Macdonald, it was distinctly the other way.

REPORTER. I have heard that Sir John met you on the hustings and that there was a very sharp passage-at-arms.

SIR RICHARD. Sir John had chosen, just after the Mackenzie Government was sworn in, to make a speech in which he used language of a very offensive kind and made several utterly unfounded statements respecting myself. This was brought to my attention while canvassing my constituency and I at once challenged Sir John to meet

me on the hustings and repeat his charges, adding that I would gladly pay his expenses to Napanee if he would come there. Sir John accepted the challenge and the cheque and we met accordingly.

REPORTER. What occurred?

SIR RICHARD. I read his accusation before some thousands of my voters and gave him two minutes by my watch to retract them on pain of being branded there and then as a slanderer and calumniator. Sir John sat mute and I proceeded to redeem my promise with some emphasis.

REPORTER. There was a rumour that you had challenged him to meet you elsewhere?

SIR RICHARD. Well, not exactly. What did occur was this. Sir John, at the election of 1872, about a year before, had so far forgotten himself as to strike his opponent, Mr. Carruthers, on the hustings at Kingston. The incident, as might have been expected, had made no little noise at the time, and when I had finished my remarks I did observe that as I had given him very much more cause for assaulting me than he had for attacking his rival candidate at Kingston, he was welcome to do the same to me then and there, or if he wished to obtain any further satisfaction at my hands I was perfectly at his service if he liked to cross over to the Yankee frontier a few miles distant. It was no doubt a thing to be regretted that such an incident should have occurred, but Sir John had brought it upon himself. It was the last time we ever met in public outside of Parliament, and as a matter of course from that time forth all ordinary intercourse was at an end.

REPORTER. That was a pity between two men in your respective positions.

SIR RICHARD. I must admit that. It imparted an element of personal bitterness into the political conflict which it would in the public interest have been well to avoid, but it was not possible to allow Sir John's language to pass without notice.

REPORTER. Did his interference do you any harm?

SIR RICHARD. Rather the reverse. I was returned by an overwhelming majority, and my success, coupled with another victory we obtained at the same time in Toronto, settled the question of an immediate appeal to the country. This resulted in giving Mr. Mackenzie a very large majority and completely extinguished the opposition for the time being, the more so as Sir John himself had extreme difficulty in retaining his seat in Kingston and was shortly after unseated under peculiar circumstances.

REPORTER. What were the circumstances?

SIR RICHARD. He was not merely unseated, but the evidence against him was so strong that the presiding judge intimated that he had grave doubts whether he ought not to have disqualified him and that he only abstained from doing so because the Act being a very recent one, and of a penal character as to disqualification, it was possible that candidates were not fully aware of the consequences of their acts, and he would therefore take a lenient view. After severely censuring Mr. Campbell, who had acted as Sir John's special agent, the Chief Justice observed:

"I confess I have been very much embarrassed in coming to a conclusion in this matter satisfactory to myself. If it was not that I felt compelled to look after this branch of the case in the nature of a penal proceeding requiring that the petitioner should prove his allegations affirmatively by satisfactory evidence, and that he might have given further evidence to have repelled some of the suggestions in respondent's favour, if such suggestions were not reasonable ones, I should have felt bound to decide against the respondent, but looking at the whole case, I do not think I ought to do so." And then later:—

"I think the petitioner was well warranted in continuing the inquiry as to the personal complicity of the respondent with the illegal acts done by his agents, and that he is entitled to full costs, and that the respondent is not entitled to any costs for obtaining his amended particulars."

I know that not a few lawyers of the highest standing were of opinion that if the case had been carried to appeal, Sir John must have been disqualified, and I am very sure that had the position been reversed and had I or Mr. Mackenzie or any of our colleagues been in the same predicament, no mercy would have been shown us.

REPORTER. Why was it not pressed?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Mackenzie was averse to it. In my own judgment it was a piece of misplaced generosity and that was the view of several of our ablest friends. But at that period Sir John appeared to be hopelessly discredited and Mr. Mackenzie may have thought that proceeding to extremities would appear to savour of persecution. I did suggest to him to let proceedings go on and in the interim to apply to the British Government to appoint Sir John to some governorship, as they had done in the case of Sir Francis Hincks. Had they been willing to do this and Sir John been offered the alternative between accepting or the practical certainty of being disqualified from sitting in Parliament, there is not much doubt he would have consented.

REPORTER. Would the Imperial authorities have agreed?

SIR RICHARD. I cannot say. The case was not appealed and the moment it dropped I felt certain that it would have been of no use to approach Sir John. He was re-elected by an exceedingly small majority and might easily have been unseated again. It was an honourable weakness on Mr. Mackenzie's part not to have had the case pressed home, but it was a weakness and he had more than one occasion to regret it in after years. But anyone who will take the trouble to read the judgment of the Chief Justice and the reports of the evidence will see for themselves that if ever a clear case for disqualification was made out it was in the case of Sir John Macdonald.

REPORTER. After Parliament met were there any very notable incidents in the first session?

SIR RICHARD. Not many. The defeat of the late

Government had been so decisive that the leaders very wisely offered very little opposition to our proceedings. I only recall two specially notable occurrences, both connected with the late troubles in the North-West. One was the extraordinary revelation made before a committee of the House that all through 1872, and I think afterwards, while Sir John A. Macdonald was proclaiming aloud on every hustings of Ontario that he was doing his utmost to lay hands on Riel and to inflict on him the just punishment of his crimes, and while he was censuring Mr. Blake for his ill-considered offer of \$5,000 for Riel's apprehension, which Sir John averred had interfered materially with his plans for Riel's arrest, he, the aforesaid Sir John, was remitting quite considerable sums of money to Mr. Riel through the agency of Mr. Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona) and Archbishop Taché, to induce Riel to keep quiet and live peaceably in the United States. Men are always willing to make allowances for election statements, and as one cynical member of the committee observed, strict adherence to veracity was never regarded as Sir John's strong point, but it was really a little too much for the Premier of this Dominion to proclaim aloud all over Ontario that he was most earnestly desirous of apprehending a fugitive from justice and at the same time to be privately supplying the criminal with the means of keeping out of the way. I am bound to say that this was one of the very few occasions on which Sir John had the grace to appear thoroughly ashamed of his proceedings, and it was perhaps in consequence that both in the House and in the Committee much less was said about his conduct in this matter than might have been expected. In fact I believe the Committee simply reported the evidence, without comment.

REPORTER. Was not this an unusual course to take?

SIR RICHARD. It was another piece of misplaced generosity. The very least that should have been done was to have put on record a severe censure of Sir John's conduct and to have had it voted on in the House. It is very doubtful if Sir John or his friends would have dared

to divide upon it, and it would have forced the Orange Order to do something of the sort also. As it was, the matter dropped out of sight and was practically forgotten.

REPORTER. Did Sir John's friends attempt any explanation?

SIR RICHARD. None whatever. In their case silence was golden. But I think that even among his opponents there was a feeling of regret that such a thing should have occurred. They thought, and rightly too, that it was unfortunate for the credit of Canada that a man who had occupied so high a position should have been proved to have descended so low. Still, bearing in mind the attacks made upon the Mackenzie Government for their action in commuting the sentence of death passed on Lepine into five years' imprisonment, it was hardly politic not to have brought Sir John's conduct in furnishing money to Riel into more prominence, as Mr. Mackenzie later discovered to his cost.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-THREE.

*RIEL SMUGGLED INTO HOUSE OF COMMONS TO
SIGN ROLL.*

REPORTER. You spoke of another remarkable incident in 1874.

SIR RICHARD. It was one which threw a curious side light on the tactics of the Opposition, and which ought to have put us more on our guard as to what we might expect from them. Riel had been elected as one of the representatives from Manitoba, but nobody dreamt that he would ever put himself within the clutches of the law by taking his seat. It appears that Riel had been kept in hiding in a convent in Hull, in the Province of Quebec, and a couple of French Conservative members had the audacity one morning to smuggle him across to Ottawa and actually make him sign the roll of Members of the House of Commons. Forthwith certain of their Ontario confreres moved, and of course carried, a vote of expulsion against Riel, almost all the Quebec members voting against it, but the great majority of the House sustaining it. The vote itself was a most remarkable one, and will well repay close analysis by any student of Canadian history, illustrating as it did how profoundly the public mind had been disturbed in Quebec and Ontario. Not only were the number of members who voted extraordinarily large, amounting with the Speaker and Riel himself to 194 out of a little over 200, but examination shows that every single French member, and probably every Catholic member, voted against the expulsion of Riel, and every English and Protestant member, with the exception of a few from Quebec whose constituencies were largely French, voted for it, a few maritime members alone excepted. I can recall no other occasion on which party lines were so completely obliterated and racial and religious feelings so very strongly in evidence. All our

Quebec colleagues, Dorion, Geoffrion and Huntingdon, were compelled to vote against Riel's expulsion, along with Holton and Laurier. One solitary member from Ontario, the late Matthew Cameron, afterwards Chief Justice, voted with them.

REPORTER. What was the chief object of the Opposition?

SIR RICHARD. It was plain enough that the whole business was a put-up job for the sole purpose of embarrassing the Government, and it was a very significant circumstance that although there was no lengthy debate our galleries were crowded with a mass of Orangemen from the adjacent riding. Looking at the promptitude with which the whole proceedings were carried out, it was equally clear that at any rate the leaders of these worthy persons must have had notice of what was going to occur, in which case they might have laid hands on Mr. Riel without any difficulty had they wished to do so. For myself, I have always drawn a wide distinction between the rank and file of the Orange body and their leaders, but in this and in other cases I cannot resist the conviction that the leaders were prepared to go any lengths to serve their party ends, even if it resulted in bloodshed.

REPORTER. Can you recall anything else in 1874?

SIR RICHARD. In what may be called the domestic history of Mr. Mackenzie's administration, the most important event was the retirement of Mr. Dorion. I was in England when it took place, but I regarded it always as a very unfortunate occurrence for Mr. Mackenzie. Sir Aimé Dorion is, I suppose, now only a name to most men, but those who remember him will, I think, bear me out in saying that he was in almost every respect the very man to have given Mr. Mackenzie a chance to strengthen or obtain a firm foot-hold in Quebec, and that no one else could. He was singularly courteous and even tempered, and after many years hard fighting he had secured a highly respectable following in Quebec. Not a few competent judges were of the opinion at the time that had he

remained in office he would speedily have attained a position with his countrymen quite as good as Sir George Cartier had possessed, and for various reasons he was one of the very few of our French allies to whom Mr. Mackenzie was willing to defer; moreover, as long as he remained in the Cabinet the French element, which is always very sensitive on that point, considered that it was well represented, whereas the moment he left us the cry was raised that Quebec was ignored and that the Quebec Ministers were of no account in the councils of the Dominion. Unluckily, Sir Aimé Dorion had begun to be afflicted with deafness to an extent which annoyed him a good deal in the House, and his general health was not always such as his friends could desire. It may, therefore, have been impossible to retain him very long; but all the same, it was nothing short of disastrous for Mr. Mackenzie that, after having failed to secure the services of Mr. Holton, he had then to lose Sir Aimé Dorion, the more especially as the gentleman whom Sir Aimé Dorion had recommended as his successor was very shortly afterwards struck down by a mysterious illness which compelled him also to resign and left Mr. Mackenzie very much at sea as far as the Province of Quebec was concerned. I may add that I had excellent ground for believing that Sir Aimé Dorion would have been at pains to establish a fairly good understanding with the moderate section of the Catholic clergy, a matter of the utmost importance, and while I am on the subject, I must observe that a great deal of the hostility evinced by the clergy in Quebec towards the Liberal party had been brought about by the aggressive, not to say offensive, manner in which many of the more prominent Liberals in that province were in the habit of speaking of religious matters in general. A great many of them at that time were avowed infidels of the Voltaire type, and were very much inclined to parade their opinions on all occasions. One thing I know, and that is that if any of our supporters in Ontario had discussed such questions in the fashion these gentlemen did, he or they would have had the clergy of all denominations,

Protestant and Catholic, arrayed against them in solid phalanx. This is a factor too much lost sight of in judging the political position in Quebec at that period, but it was one to which Sir Aimé Dorion was not blind and which he much desired to amend. Needless to say, quite a different attitude has prevailed of late years.

REPORTER. You seem to have had more than your share of ill-luck in Quebec.

SIR RICHARD. As usual it assailed us when we could least afford it, but it may explain in part one act of Mr. Mackenzie's for which he was much blamed at the time, and that was the admission of Mr. Cauchon into his Government.

REPORTER. I have heard that that injured him.

SIR RICHARD. It did, both in Ontario and Quebec. It was done against his own better judgment, and I think was largely due to his being overworked and run down. Two or three years of incessant labours in his Department, coupled with his other duties, had prostrated him for the time being. There was also certainly some reason for his action in Mr. Cauchon's case. Many years had elapsed since the offences with which he was charged had been committed, and they were long before Confederation. Now there had been a sort of tacit agreement, if not indeed a formal one, that on entering Confederation we had proclaimed an amnesty for everything which had occurred before in local matters, and Mr. Cauchon had since that event been placed by Sir John A. Macdonald, himself, in the dignified position of Speaker of the Senate. Since 1872 Mr. Cauchon had been a steady and useful supporter of the Liberal party in the Province of Quebec, over the press of which he exercised a good deal of control, besides being on good terms with the clergy. As to his alleged misdoings in old times, I can only speak from hearsay. One or two specific charges which had been brought against him he had no difficulty in disproving. Possibly in the case of any man except Mr. Mackenzie, the thing would have passed off without much comment, but we had occasion, both then and at other times, to realize the truth

which underlay the remark of a certain old Scotch lady to Mr. Mackenzie when he was defending himself by quoting the example of Sir John A. Macdonald: "Dear Mr. Mackenzie, we do not expect much from Sir John, but you are a Christian man, Mr. Mackenzie."

REPORTER. I do not quite follow.

SIR RICHARD. It is plain enough. Liberal leaders and the Liberal party at large have got to understand that in their case, as in the case of all men who profess to live up to a high standard of public morality, many things are forbidden which might pass without much censure if done by men who openly avow their conviction that politics are a game in which, as in love and war, it is permissible to do anything to win. Anyhow, Mr. Mackenzie's reputation got a shock, and what in a practical way hit him hard, he was unable to secure the services of Mr., now Sir, Wilfrid Laurier, who refused to enter his Cabinet till Mr. Cauchon was disposed of, which he was early in 1877 by making him Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

REPORTER. As a matter of fact you think Mr. Cauchon's appointment did hurt Mr. Mackenzie?

SIR RICHARD. In our tours through the country I had ample proof that it had hurt him in more ways than one. You see, Mr. Cauchon had been very savagely attacked by the Liberal press in Ontario in former times, and it was easy to resurrect these old articles. For myself, speaking of Mr. Cauchon as I found him, I had no cause to complain of his conduct as a colleague, and on several occasions he did good service to the Government. He was a man of very considerable ability and understood French Canada well, and it is only fair to him to say that when he found that his presence in the Cabinet was a source of embarrassment to Mr. Mackenzie he offered voluntarily to retire; and, what is more, that when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was defeated in Arthabaska he aided materially in securing him a seat in Quebec. I may add that his appointment had been urged on Mr. Mackenzie by several very prominent Liberal friends in Quebec who knew the influ-

ence Mr. Cauchon wielded in several quarters. Still, there is no denying the fact that his appointment was taken by many parties in Ontario as a reflection on Mr. Mackenzie's character for unswerving integrity, while in Quebec the delay in appointing Mr. Laurier till a short time before the general election took place, lost Mr. Mackenzie the chance of rallying in his French supporters. Given time enough Mr. Laurier might have done a good deal for him in that direction. As it was he was hardly in the saddle before the election was upon us. To my mind the whole business was only another illustration of what I have stated before. Had Mr. Mackenzie but devoted four hours a day to studying how he could best keep his party together, and to the grave questions of state policy with which he had to deal, he would have done infinitely more both for himself and for the country than by slaving, as he very often did, for fourteen hours at his desk at details which any second-class clerk in his Department could have done as well.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-FOUR.

POSITION ASSUMED BY MR. BLAKE.

REPORTER. You were dealing with the position in 1874. Was there any material change in 1875?

SIR RICHARD. We had pretty well settled into our places and had for the time overcome our financial difficulties, and I had effected two considerable loans on terms which enabled us to make provision for all our pressing wants. The only serious trouble which confronted us at that time was the position assumed by Mr. Blake.

REPORTER. In what way did this embarrass you?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Blake had, as you know, taken office under Mr. Mackenzie in 1873, but he had refused to accept a portfolio, and he had resigned shortly after the general election in 1874. On leaving Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet he seemed to consider himself as pretty much absolved from all ordinary party obligations, and rather inclined to pose as a sort of superior person, looking down indifferently on both sides. After a while it appeared pretty much as if he aimed at creating a third party of independent Liberals (so-called) who might hold the balance of power between the others. He even went the length of causing an organ of the kind to be started in Toronto in almost avowed opposition to Mr. George Brown and *The Globe*, and in divers other ways disported himself as an exceedingly candid friend; Sir John meanwhile fanning the fire according to his custom in all manner of ingenious ways, and even having the unparalleled effrontery of assuring Mr. Mackenzie that the latter might depend on his (Sir John's) support against Blake.

REPORTER. Impossible! Are you certain?

SIR RICHARD. On one occasion I heard him myself actually tell Mr. Mackenzie that in so many words. Of course, Mr. Mackenzie was far too shrewd not to under-

stand Sir John's motive, and I was perfectly cognizant of his old-time tactics in that respect.

REPORTER. Was not Mr. Blake's course a very unusual one for a man in his position to take?

SIR RICHARD. So most of us thought at the time, and with good reason. The line he and his friends adopted toward Mr. Mackenzie could only have resulted in an absolute division in the party, and showed very little appreciation of the serious difficulties with which Mr. Mackenzie had to contend. But Mr. Blake was a man of very peculiar nature. His general ability was unquestionable, but he had certain faults of character and temperament which made him extremely difficult to get on with. He was intensely ambitious, and also at one and the same time exceedingly sarcastic himself and absurdly sensitive to criticism of any sort from any quarter. He used to suffer positive torture from newspaper attacks which a man of more robust constitution would have treated with utter contempt. Then he was reserved to the extent of being at times downright repellant to his very nearest supporters. There is no doubt he would have liked to have been made Premier in 1873, and no doubt either that if he had spoken out he would have been offered the position. But he was so afraid of being criticized as one who had shirked the fight at the general election of 1872 and then demanded the lion's share of the spoils, that he would not allow himself to be nominated, and repented ever after. I think he considered that, having been Premier of Ontario and having had Mr. Mackenzie serving under him, Lord Dufferin ought to have sent for him at once and not for Mr. Mackenzie, and he was much too proud to put himself under any obligations to the latter by accepting the premiership at his hands. I regret to have to say it, but Mr. Blake was not loyal either to the Liberal party or to Mackenzie, though I daresay he had argued himself into the belief that he was acting in their true interests. The truth is that he was a man who turned his back on his true vocation when he entered the political arena. He was a really magnificent lawyer. I doubt whether in the last

half century there has been a better, more especially on the equity side, in the whole British Empire, and he was probably capable of being an equally good *nisi prior* lawyer. I should say he would have made an ideal Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, a post which was pressed on him by Mr. Mackenzie, but which he declined, or a representative at The Hague, but he was not cut out for a party leader, though his great ability for a time cast such a glamour over his defects that his friends and supporters thought he would make one. In one respect his very success at the bar stood in his way. Almost from the very outset of his career he had been treated with very great deference, both by his legal associates and the very judges on the bench, and in consequence had become rather impatient of the contradiction and rough and ready style of arguments he had to meet in the House and on the hustings. At the bar it was a case of "Eclipse first and the rest nowhere," as far as Mr. Blake was concerned. The coarse invective and the continued imputation of unworthy motives so frequent in the political press and in debate were naturally very repugnant to him. In some ways he might have posed as a political Hamlet.

REPORTER. Had Mr. Blake a special following of his own?

SIR RICHARD. He had a considerable following in the House, though I am by no means sure that he could have relied on an equal support in the country, among the Liberals at least. The Irish element as a rule would have stood by him, and there were a certain number of so-called Conservatives who professed a great admiration for him, and I believe some Conservative members even went the length of assuring him that they could support him if he were Premier. I have always suspected, however, that these worthies drew their inspiration from their chief, who I know was openly exultant at the prospect of a feud between Mr. Blake and Mr. Mackenzie.

REPORTER. It must have been awkward for Mr. Mackenzie.

SIR RICHARD. It worried him exceedingly, and of

course weakened his authority with the party. At last the situation became so intolerable that a number of the leading Liberals from the various provinces felt compelled to interfere and to notify Mr. Blake that he must either re-enter Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet or leave the House, or formally sever his connection with the Liberal party. These men, who comprised, by the way, not a few of Mr. Blake's personal friends, knew their own minds, and, after some hesitation, Mr. Blake elected to accept the position of Minister of Justice. But it was a very unpleasant episode and did a great deal to encourage our opponents.

REPORTER. How did you get on with him as a colleague?

SIR RICHARD. As might have been expected, Mr. Blake administered his Department, which, by the way, at that time controlled the North-West Mounted Police, most admirably, and on all legal matters which came before us he gave us the best of advice. He made, too, a most favourable impression on the Imperial officials with whom he came in contact on his visits to England. But I do not think that he gave Mr. Mackenzie much assistance except during the debates in the House of Commons, and he took very little trouble about the organization of the party.

REPORTER. Were the facts you have mentioned generally known?

SIR RICHARD. They were well known inside the House. How far they were known outside I cannot say. But Mr. Blake was a strange compound. If he had only given himself full fling, he would have been unequalled as a ready debater, but for some unexplained reason, after he became a Minister and when he was leader of the Opposition, he took to preparing his speeches with most voluminous notes, and, which is always fatal in the House of Commons, to elaborate every argument at very great length. The result was that instead of originating a spirited debate he would weary the House and leave nothing for his supporters to say. He had both a ready and a very subtle intellect, and I should say there was no man in the Chambers who stood less in need of such assistance

as he could obtain from his notes, but the habit grew till it became almost a positive disease.

REPORTER. Did this sort of thing often occur?

SIR RICHARD. Not at first. Mr. Blake could speak if he liked off-hand with very great effect, but he possessed that sort of super-subtle mind which cannot be content with dealing with two sides of a question, but must needs consider it from every conceivable standpoint and carry his researches, as I once actually heard him do, to five places of decimals. I recollect a rather amusing discussion I once had with him in which he took me to task because, as he alleged, I would always deal with the subject as if there were but two sides to it, to which I retorted that if I did, it was infinitely better in its effect on any popular audience than to debate it as if it had two and twenty sides. Theoretically he may have been more or less in the right; practically the facts were the other way. In the particular instance I have referred to one single hour's denunciation of Sir John's land policy and administration of the Department of the Interior, winding up with a fierce attack on his notorious bargain with the Orangemen, when to secure their help he broke his pledged word to his supporters in Quebec and ordered the execution of Riel, would have had a most prodigious effect on the House and on the country; nay, in the very peculiar state of things prevalent at that moment, might easily have brought about a crisis and an immediate dissolution.

REPORTER. What was the opinion of the House?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Blake himself was bitterly chagrined to find that a speech on which he had bestowed so much pains had fallen so flat, and I think his disappointment had a great effect on his future actions. As for the Government and their friends, they made no secret of their relief at the issue. As to his own supporters, there was an abiding sense that a great opportunity had been thrown away or, as one man put it, that Blake had practised too much in Chancery and too little before a jury to know how to handle a popular audience. I think this last criticism had most in it. Had Mr. Blake been handling an intri-

cate case before a highly trained legal tribunal, with whom every link in a vast mass of evidence had to be tested and verified, the speech would have been a masterpiece. As a political harangue designed to produce an immediate effect on a more or less uncritical audience, it was a dismal failure. Any fairly capable speaker of one-quarter of his ability, with such an array of facts as he had to go upon, would have made an infinitely greater impression.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-FIVE.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD NO PROTECTIONIST TILL
AFTER 1873.

REPORTER. About what time did Sir John Macdonald come forward as an avowed advocate of protection?

SIR RICHARD. About the middle of our third session, in 1876, though I think he did not fully commit himself till 1877, and even then used ambiguous language in certain places. By that time the distress in the United States had become very acute indeed and had reflected itself upon us in many ways. It was also very clear that we would have a considerable deficit, though that was due by no means so much to any diminution in the quantities of dutiable goods consumed as to the enormous reduction which took place about that time in the price of leading staples. This circumstance, under an *ad valorem* tariff such as ours, necessarily involved a large reduction in the revenue.

REPORTER. Have you any data as to the extent of the fall in prices?

SIR RICHARD. Speaking generally, it ranged from 25 to 40 per cent., and perhaps even higher. I have a few details from the customs returns of the years 1874, 1875, 1876 and 1877 bearing on this point, and the general fact was notorious. It is one of the inevitable incidents of a tariff based chiefly on *ad valorem* duties.

REPORTER. You have always advocated *ad valorem* tariff?

SIR RICHARD. There are advantages and disadvantages under any system, but except in the case of articles of food and drink, I do decidedly prefer the *ad valorem* to the specific duty. As a rule the specific duty can be so framed as to disguise the real amount of taxation paid by the people. As a rule, also, the specific duty is unjust, falling much more heavily on the class of goods

consumed by the poor than on those in use by the rich. Then it often happens that a specific duty which at the outset represented a moderate rate of taxation may become outrageously heavy if by reason of new discoveries or improvements the cost of production and price of the article so taxed is reduced.

REPORTER. Will you please explain.

SIR RICHARD. I will illustrate the case. Suppose a particular article to-day costs a dollar and a specific duty of twenty-five cents is placed thereon. Then suppose that owing to some new discovery the cost of production is so reduced that the article in question could be sold for forty or fifty cents. In that case the specific duty would be increased from the equivalent of an *ad valorem* duty of 25 per cent. to one of 50 or 60 per cent. So in the case of goods of cheap quality. A specific duty of five cents on goods worth ten cents a yard equals 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. On goods of a higher quality, say twenty-five cents per yard, it would equal 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

REPORTER. You say Sir John did not at first commit himself unreservedly to protection?

SIR RICHARD. One rather serious difficulty in realizing the true inwardness of any political situation lies in the fact that most of those who try to describe it only know the actors as they became fixed and set in some particular shade of opinion. As a matter of fact, all things, and generally all men, change more or less and perhaps all the time. There is an old Latin adage, "*Nemo repente fit turpissimus*," which may very well be translated as, "No man ever became a full-fledged protectionist all at once." In Sir John's case I doubt if he ever became one at all—intellectually, that is. Of course he utilized the movement and profited by it very largely, but I know that at first he much distrusted the wisdom of taking it up. The truth was that Sir John, in common with most men of any intellectual ability who came of age between 1830 and 1870, was pretty thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of J. S. Mills and others of that school of economists. These men had seen the desperate condition to which Eng-

land, not to speak of Ireland, had been reduced from 1830 to 1848 and which, by the way, is admirably depicted by Disraeli in some of his earlier novels. They had also seen the marvellous development which took place in England from 1850 to 1870, and they were being confronted at that very moment with the spectacle of an absolutely unparalleled depression (far more severe than anything we experienced in Canada) which lasted for six years, from 1873 to 1879, in the highly protected United States, and they took very small stock in protection as a panacea for any ills Canada might have to suffer from.

REPORTER. Then you think that Sir John was not really much inclined to protection?

SIR RICHARD. I can speak on that subject with perfect certainty up to 1873. After that I can only speak from hearsay. But prior to 1873 I had had many conversations with him on that subject, and I found him not only theoretically but practically even more averse to anything like protection than I was myself. No one could have seen more clearly or described more forcibly the evils inherent in a protective policy than Sir John, and he regarded it as peculiarly unsuitable to a country like Canada. I remember very well on several occasions hearing him wind up the discussion (and the words often recurred to my mind in after years) by declaring that he would have to be in his very last ditch before he would have anything to do with protection.

REPORTER. Sir John seems to have been pretty thoroughly reconstructed at the last.

SIR RICHARD. It took time. No doubt he fully realized the great value of securing the support of an organized body, employing large numbers of men and controlling large sums of ready money, besides having a great portion of the press at their command, but I think that neither he nor we quite realized two other important factors in the situation, one of these being the extent to which Canadian thought and Canadian business were being regulated by the example of the United States (even against our will) by mere force of gravitation, as it were, and the

influence of the greatly larger body over the smaller, and the other the intense desire on the part of a large section of our people to get even with the United States and to retaliate on them for the fashion in which they had treated us. This was the feeling I always found the hardest to combat, even with men who had intelligence enough to see and to admit that we were very often injuring ourselves more than we were injuring them by our retaliatory policy. This arose chiefly from the fact that a great many of our own people were at that time, and for a good while after, till they had time to change their methods of farming, in the way of being annoyed and often very seriously injured by the arbitrary and capricious changes in the United States tariff, often amounting, as they did, to complete prohibition of trade in certain articles.

REPORTER. Our people have found other markets.

SIR RICHARD. They have, but very often it took a long time to find them. As to protection, it was very literally a pure toss-up with our opponents in 1876 what policy they would adopt, and I have the very best possible reason for saying that whatever course we adopted the Opposition would have condemned it. They were quite aware, and I break no Cabinet secret in saying so, that there was a sharp division of opinion as to the action we ought to pursue, and they were quite aware that I, in my capacity of Minister of Finance, was pressing strongly for the imposition of sufficient additional taxation to prevent any further deficit. In this case the secret of the decision arrived at was well kept, and I do not think Sir Charles Tupper was aware what it was till I made my budget speech. As I proceeded it was pretty clear both to myself and several of my colleagues that he was somewhat surprised, and when I closed a little after five o'clock he suggested that we should call it six o'clock, which meant that he would have three hours or more to consider his reply. Then he assailed me for refusing to recognize the needs of the manufacturing community, but when Mr. Mackenzie spoke to him he did not deny that the speech he had made was not the one he had intended to deliver—probably not

the one he would have preferred to deliver—at that moment.

REPORTER. Would the additional taxation you proposed have been of a protective character?

SIR RICHARD. Not in the least. It would have been in the very strictest sense an addition for the purposes of revenue. I had made up my mind on the question of protection, and was in no way inclined to give it any countenance. We intended to stand or fall on a revenue tariff.

REPORTER. Then it would seem that up to 1876 it was very doubtful what policy the Conservatives would adopt on the question of protection.

SIR RICHARD. It was more than doubtful. There were many Conservatives, of whom Mr. Thomas White, the editor of the *Montreal Gazette* and afterwards Minister of the Interior, was a specimen, who had up to that date publicly declared that a tariff of 17½ per cent. was enough for any manufacturer, and that those who could not live under it had better not live. Even in 1878 we had Sir John himself constantly alleging that his object was not to increase taxation but only to “readjust” the tariff. What that might mean he was very careful not to explain.

REPORTER. Why were your colleagues so averse in 1876 to let you impose more taxes?

SIR RICHARD. There was a good deal to be said for their side of the case. The opposition to my proposals came more especially from the Maritime Provinces. Prior to Confederation these provinces had had a very moderate tariff, scarcely averaging more than 10 per cent. These gentlemen argued, and with some force, that the present stringency was but temporary; that it was mainly due to depression in the United States, which had now lasted for three years and might be expected to terminate very soon; also that they had already submitted to an increase of taxation in 1874 to the amount of some 20 per cent., and that to impose a further increase of 20 per cent. within two years whereby the rate of taxation would be made just double what it had been in the Maritime Provinces before they entered the union, would put a most formidable

weapon into the hands of Sir Charles Tupper, and might easily cost us the loss of the Maritime vote. I did not myself subscribe to this reasoning, deeming it wiser to provide at once for all contingencies, and in fact when I found I was likely to be in the minority, I tendered my resignation to Mr. Mackenzie. This he would not accept, and he pressed me so strongly, and brought forward so many personal reasons, that I finally, though very reluctantly, agreed to remain on.

REPORTER. Perhaps you would state what these were?

SIR RICHARD. Well, he reminded me that he had incurred a good deal of hostility by selecting me in 1873 as Minister of Finance in view of the fact that I had never until then identified myself with the Liberal party, and went on to add that as things were, my withdrawal would so weaken him personally in the Cabinet that he could not continue to be Premier. Finally he put it to me that as it was not a question of principle, but of expediency, and as there was a very fair chance that by dint of economy and with a very trifling improvement in business we might get along without any additional taxation, he would take it as a personal favour to himself if I would stay.

REPORTER. So you consented?

SIR RICHARD. I could not, early in 1876, foresee that the depression in the United States, instead of subsiding, would grow worse up to 1878. Still less that we could have three successive bad harvests in 1876, 1877 and 1878. But for these untoward accidents things would probably have turned out as Mr. Mackenzie hoped, and on the whole the chances were in his favour. Nevertheless, I did wrong in not persisting in my own view, and had afterwards to pay a heavy penalty for my mistake, as had also the party and, I may add, the country at large. Had I but known it, I believe had I persisted I would have been sustained by a majority of our own friends, but it was one of the awkwardnesses of my position that until I became a Minister I had seen and known very little of the individual members of the Liberal party, and could hardly expect

them to take sides with me on what was after all a fairly disputable question of opinion.

REPORTER. Still the battle between protection and free trade began about 1876?

SIR RICHARD. It would be more correct to say the battle between taxation for the purpose of providing revenue for the public needs and taxation for the purpose of enriching a few special classes at the cost of the rest of the community. It is quite true that in any country where you have to raise the bulk of the revenue by customs, it is difficult to prevent some incidental protection. But it is also true that with a little care a custom tax can be so adjusted as to give very little unfair advantage to anyone. As to the position of the Conservative party on this question, it was stated very frankly by the late Mr. Dalton McCarthy, in one of his speeches. I give his exact words:

"No doubt in the world the Conservative party were put out of power, and by going in for the National Policy and taking the wind out of Mr. Mackenzie's sails we got into power. We became identified with the protective policy, and if Mr. Mackenzie had adopted a protective policy we would have been free traders. I am willing to make this confession, that if Mr. Mackenzie had been a protectionist, there would have been nothing left for us but to be free traders. But Mr. Mackenzie was either too honest or too earnest in his opinions to bend to the wave of public opinion, and the result was he was swept out of power and had only a corporal's guard to support him when the House met."

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-SIX.

EVIL EFFECTS OF HIGH TARIFF.

REPORTER. What are your conclusions on the whole as to the system of protection applied to Canada?

SIR RICHARD. This is a question which I have had to study more or less for some fifty years, first as an independent member of Parliament, then for some twenty years as a Cabinet Minister specially charged with the management of Departments conversant with details of trade, and for nearly an equal length of time as financial leader of the Opposition. I may add that my own personal interests would have led me to favour it. Now, after that lapse of time, I am more than ever convinced that protection is not only bad *per se*, but that it is peculiarly ill-suited to a country like Canada. This country lacks everything which has appeared in certain aspects to minimize the patent evils of protection in a country like the United States. We have neither the large population nor the great range of climate and of varied productions which make of the United States, *so long as they preserve absolute free trade* between the forty or fifty kingdoms (for such they are in reality) which go to form the union, an all but complete world within itself, and which have made it possible for them to work out their scheme of protection with less injury than in most countries. There are two things to be borne in mind. One is that a fiscal system, whether it favours protection or free trade, is only one of several factors which go to make up the prosperity of a nation and may be overborne for good or evil by other conditions having but little direct connection therewith. The other is that over and above the purely economic effects of a tariff there are many other results which arise from it, and that it is incumbent on a statesman to take account of the moral as well as the material results of such

a system. My own hostility to the protective system goes far beyond the question of its economic wastefulness. As Sumner said of slavery that it was not only a villainy, but the sum of all villainies, so would I say of protection. It is, to begin with, the absolute foe of all freedom. No more impudent interference with the plainest rights of every man was ever proposed than to say to him: "You shall not expend your wages as you please to your own best advantage, but you shall expend them in purchasing such articles as you may require from this or that privileged person, not for what they are worth in open market, but at his price, under penalty of a heavy fine if you disobey."

This is bad enough, but it is only a part of the mischief. In order that those privileged persons may secure this power it is necessary for them to secure the good-will of our representatives in Parliament, which in practice means that the spoils must be shared directly or indirectly with the party in power. In other words, under a protective system honest or economical government is impossible. You have by law created and set apart a class of influential men, well organized, having control of large sums of ready money and having great influence in many ways with the press, and you have formed them into a permanent lobby, whose direct interest it is to debauch the Government of the day and the Parliament as well. It is likewise their policy, as has been most abundantly illustrated in the United States, to instigate foolish and unnecessary expenditures, lest if the people see there is a large surplus they should demand a reduction of the taxation. Lastly it is an object, instead of simplifying, so to cook and mystify the tariff as to make their dupes, especially if they belong to the agricultural classes, believe that they are getting some share of the plunder. Furthermore, it is specially to be noted, and in the eyes of shrewd observers it is one of the very worst effects of a protective tariff, that if you can in any way delude a nation into the belief that it can increase its collective wealth by increasing its taxation you utterly destroy the chief barrier which

stands between prudence and utter extravagance in the management of its affairs. Formerly statesmen complained (without much cause, in my opinion) of the ignorant impatience of taxation. To-day if they were wise they would take up their parable against the ignorant patience with taxation, for which the general public may thank much of the trouble and strife arising between employees and employed from the unduly increased cost of living of which we hear so much. To my mind, both in Canada and in the United States there are to-day three great and increasing dangers to the well-being of the commonwealth which every statesman ought to try to check by all means in his power.

REPORTER. To which dangers do you particularly allude?

SIR RICHARD. They are these. First the undue congestion of the population in towns and cities, which has increased in a ratio out of all proportion to the growth of the agricultural part of the community, and which generally means a most inordinate number of middlemen and non-producers preying in one form or another on the rest of the people. Secondly, the enormous accumulation of huge fortunes in a few hands, who have thus become possessed of powers with which scarcely any human beings are fit to be trusted, and which are very apt to be used in such a way as to demoralize the people both socially and politically to an extent we are just beginning to realize. Thirdly, the growth of a most bitter feeling between the representatives of capital and labour, which bids fair to divide men whose interests ought to be identical into two hostile camps and to bring about a state of things often very little better than civil war.

REPORTER. Do you attribute these things to protection?

SIR RICHARD. Not as a sole cause. The tendencies were there. But I do most decidedly allege that the protective system has fostered and aggravated those tendencies in a very high degree, and that but for it much more time would have been given to guard against those evils.

As it is they have come upon us in a flood. Forty years ago the number of men in the United States who possessed an assured fortune of ten million dollars might have been counted on the fingers of a man's hands. To-day they would run into the hundreds, and the amounts in individual cases far surpass the wildest dreams of even the novelists of the last generation, while the scale of expenditure set by the possessors of such fortunes has had, and will continue to have, a most pernicious effect on the whole fabric of society, high and low. For the extreme rapidity with which those extraordinary accumulations have taken place, protection is very much to blame.

REPORTER. Have you any other objections?

SIR RICHARD. These are the chief, and quite enough, but there are others. Among its other mischiefs protection tends directly to sap the energy and initiative capacity of all manufacturers who rely on it, especially in a small country. It is infinitely easier to intrigue for the right (or rather the power) to run a branch custom house for your individual advantage, than to use your brains to meet competition in an open market. In the next place, protection inevitably involves the use of corrupt methods. Some of these are very gross. I will give you one instance. When the tariff of 1879 was in course of preparation the Government of the day employed certain experts to draw up their schedules of taxes on various articles. These men were the paid and highly confidential servants of the Government. After the tariff had been passed I saw with my own eyes a letter from an influential manufacturer to one of these same experts, notifying him that certain considerable sums of money, much in excess of the salary he received from the Government, had been placed to his credit by divers manufacturers whom he had obliged in framing the tariff. No more corrupt act could well be imagined. Here were these wealthy scoundrels deliberately bribing the sworn and salaried servants of the people to help them to commit a series of acts of legalized robbery.

REPORTER. Did you make this public?

SIR RICHARD. Unfortunately in this and several other

cases the incriminating documents were not delivered to me. One difficulty which has often confronted me and other public men is that we constantly receive statements which we are satisfied are true, but which we cannot make use of because to do so would mean absolute ruin to our informants, and sometimes because they are made under pledge of secrecy. In such cases we can generally do nothing but wait till we can procure legal evidence from some other source. Like police officials, we must sometimes act from "information received," but cannot divulge the names of our informants. But if you wish to see how utterly and shamelessly the whole current of fiscal legislation can be perverted under a protective tariff, you need only peruse the debates of the United States Senate at the last revision of their tariff in 1909. No gang of bandits dividing the spoil could ever have ignored the rights of the original owners of the goods more completely than the majority of the Senate ignored the claims of the people at large in dealing with what Mr. Joseph Chamberlain most correctly described "that tariff of abominations."

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN.

*ORANGEISM AND THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY.—THE
HACKETT AFFAIR.—LIBERALISM AND THE
TEMPERANCE QUESTION.*

REPORTER. Apart from tariff discussion, what did you do in 1877?

SIR RICHARD. Both sides engaged in a pretty vigorous campaign, and there were an unusually large number of large meetings and a great many speeches outside Parliament. But the chief incidents which I recall were the Orange demonstration in Montreal which resulted in the death of Hackett, the introduction of the Scott Act, and the Halifax Award. As regards the first of these it is difficult, even after the lapse of a third of a century, not to speak of it in terms of detestation. If ever a set of unscrupulous party politicians conspired together to provoke a collision between two elements of our population for their own selfish ends, it was these Conservative and Orange leaders, who organized an Orange parade in the city of Montreal on the 12th July, 1877. And if ever the blood of any man rested on the heads of any such conspirators, the blood of Hackett did on theirs. For their conduct on that occasion there was absolutely no excuse. They designed to make mischief, and while they may not have expected to do more than provoke a street riot, they were utterly reckless whether one life or a hundred lives were sacrificed, if only they could thereby embarrass the Government of the day. Their villainy was only too successful. One of their unlucky dupes got involved in some quarrel with unknown assailants and paid the penalty with his life, and the Orange Order as a whole was placed in an attitude of sharp hostility to the Mackenzie Administration, who were most assuredly absolutely innocent of any complicity in the matter and who did their best, though without success, to bring the parties who had attacked Hackett to justice.

REPORTER. I suppose the Orangemen were within their strict legal rights in parading in Montreal?

SIR RICHARD. I very much doubt it. It is highly questionable whether any organized body of men have the right to interrupt traffic on any thoroughfare in any city; and though, as a matter of courtesy to a number of their fellow-citizens, the municipal authorities may, and generally do, allow considerable latitude in this respect to various organizations, it is quite another thing to say that a body of strangers from distant places should be permitted to parade themselves in a fashion likely to give offence to the majority of the inhabitants of any particular locality. This is exactly what the Orange leaders caused to be done, and done for a thoroughly dishonest purpose, with full knowledge that they risked a bloody riot, in truth with the deliberate intention of provoking it. How entirely false was their assertion that they simply wished to assert their rights as citizens was proved by the fact that the moment that the Mackenzie Administration went out of power their demonstrations ceased.

REPORTER. Was it not repeated in 1878?

SIR RICHARD. It was, and on that occasion passed off quietly, because the civic authorities, dreading a riot, lined the streets of Montreal with troops to prevent a serious disturbance.

REPORTER. Were the Conservative leaders parties to this?

SIR RICHARD. Not above board, but they profited by it and there can be no reasonable doubt, looking to the close relations between them and the recognized leaders of the Orange Order, that they could have prevented the demonstration if they had chosen to do so. It was emphatically a blow below the belt, and morally, if not legally, as grave a crime against the state as it was possible for any men to commit.

REPORTER. You think it injured you politically?

SIR RICHARD. It injured us very greatly. We met it everywhere, and our friends in the Order, of whom we had still some, warned us that we must expect the most deter-

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mined opposition from the great majority of the Order, which up to that time had been rather neutral than otherwise. It was in several ways a very important factor in bringing about Mr. Mackenzie's defeat, and with some other matters which occurred at a later date, it went far towards converting that very powerful organization into a standing menace to the Liberal party, at any rate in Ontario and the Western Provinces.

REPORTER. I can hardly understand why they blamed the Liberal party.

SIR RICHARD. The Orangemen, as they showed afterwards, had never forgiven the murder of Scott by a set of French Roman Catholics and the death of Hackett at the hands of persons of the same faith and origin, and what they were pleased to call the complete failure of justice to inflict any adequate punishment in either case excited them greatly. Then they blamed Mr. Mackenzie for the clemency shown to some of the Red River insurgents, and they wholly ignored the fact that long before he ever took office an amnesty had been promised by our predecessors to the parties implicated, and that transactions and negotiations had taken place as set forth in the evidence taken before the Select Committee in 1874, which practically put it out of the power of any succeeding Government to exact severe penalties from any of the insurgents. How deep-seated the feeling and how grave the division between the two great provinces of Ontario and Quebec you can best understand if you recall that famous division on the expulsion of Riel in 1874, when the two provinces were solidly lined up against each other. I can make much more allowance for the rank and file of the Orangemen than I can for their leaders in this matter, but all the same it was a most disastrous incident and a grave misfortune for Mr. Mackenzie.

REPORTER. You spoke also of the Scott Act.

SIR RICHARD. This was a very different affair. Hackett's murder was an unavoidable calamity as far as we were concerned. The passing of the Scott Act, as a Government measure, was a very serious political blunder

which we ought never to have committed and a very conspicuous instance of the folly of introducing a dubious piece of legislature to please a clamorous minority. Without offering any opinion as to the merits or demerits of the Act itself, it was obvious that it was the height of impolicy on the eve of a general election to offend a powerful and well-organized body like the licensed victuallers by bringing in as a Government measure an Act which they were certain to regard as a direct menace to their trade. It was one of the few instances in which Mr. Mackenzie allowed himself to be influenced by a few noisy deputations largely composed of his political opponents. I well believe that he sincerely desired to abate the traffic in strong liquors, but he was much too experienced a politician not to know that for a Government to array against itself such a body as the entire tavern and liquor interest in Ontario and elsewhere was a most dangerous proceeding and that the promises of support made to him by divers prominent Conservatives, who were also prominent temperance leaders, were as utterly worthless as such things well can be. The practical result was, as I and sundry other of his colleagues had foreseen and warned him, that Sir John Macdonald, in spite of the fact that all through the campaigns of 1877 and 1878 he had almost ostentatiously exhibited an utter indifference to all temperance sentiment by continually appearing before large audiences in a state of intoxication, did not lose a single Conservative temperance vote that we could discover, while Mr. Mackenzie, on the other hand, had the entire liquor interest almost solidly against him. It may be true that the majority of these were Conservative anyway, but apart from the fact that the Liberals had always hitherto received the support of a very considerable minority whom they lost, it is one thing and quite a different thing to have a number of men passively hostile and to have them and the whole body to which they belong converted into active and bitter opponents acting under a sense of personal and uncalled-for injury.

REPORTER. The liquor interest must form a strong body.

SIR RICHARD. I think at that time there were some five or six thousand hotel and tavern keepers in Ontario, and that each of them personally controlled quite a number of votes. No doubt most of them would have voted against us anyway. In Ontario, as in most other places, the rowdy element are usually Conservative, and Sir John's very weaknesses were of a sort to recommend him to their good graces. The Liberal party in Ontario derived its support from the respectable middle classes and from the solid agricultural population. Unhappily, in a contested election, one popular tavern keeper can often do more than a score of worthy citizens in the way of influencing votes, and so we found it.

REPORTER. Did Sir John oppose the Act?

SIR RICHARD. He did, manfully and openly, and did a great deal thereby to rally these people to his standard. Next to his insisting on retaining the office of Minister of Public Works, along with the Premiership, the passing of the Scott Act was by far the gravest political mistake Mr. Mackenzie ever made. Unfortunately, it was just one of those measures for which many who doubted its wisdom found themselves obliged to vote, once it was introduced as a Government measure. No doubt a good deal of pressure was brought on Mr. Mackenzie by many well-meaning clerical friends, but it was a nail in his coffin all the same.

REPORTER. You say many members voted for it who disliked it?

SIR RICHARD. That is one consequence of our present system of representation. The extreme temperance party could not probably have elected half-a-dozen members on that issue pure and simple. But they could very likely have turned the scale against a member who directly refused to vote for a Government measure of the sort in a great many constituencies, and in that way it comes to pass that a majority of the House may be practically coerced into voting for a measure of which they dis-

approved. If such a thing were practicable, I would have liked to have taken a ballot vote of the House on this and similar questions. The result would probably surprise a good many people.

REPORTER. Are not the evils of intemperance so great as to warrant almost anything to suppress them?

SIR RICHARD. I have myself seen so much misery arising from intemperance and so many promising careers ruined from the same cause, that I am loth to say anything in disparagement of genuine temperance workers. Moreover, I think all fair-minded men must admit that they have done much good work in regulating the traffic in liquor and in abolishing drinking customs. But I doubt very much the wisdom of attempting to enforce prohibition by law. Such enactments will never be successfully enforced unless there is quite an overwhelming majority of the residents of any given section in favour of them. Where such a state of opinion exists, legal penalties are hardly necessary. Like many good causes, too, temperance has been doubly abused, partly by the undue interference with men's individual liberty, in itself a grave evil, and next by the somewhat serious mistake of making a sort of shibboleth of adherence to the cause of temperance a substitute for other and quite as important qualifications in public life. Not a few of the greatest scoundrels I have known, and my experience has been extensive, have been very ardent temperance advocates, and their acceptance of extreme temperance dogmas has been held to justify preferring them for places of trust and responsibility to men infinitely their superiors in all other respects. Briefly, their action in many cases may be described as zeal without knowledge. They have got to learn the difficult lesson for many earnest philanthropists to realize that moral reforms to be lasting or valuable must come from within and not from legal enactments. I speak thus because the agitation for temperance legislation has been and very likely will continue to be a disquieting factor in Canadian politics—and but rarely to good purpose.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-EIGHT.

*HALIFAX AWARD—KING EDWARD'S INSIGHT
AS REGARDS UNITED STATES.*

REPORTER. You spoke of the Halifax Award. How was that arranged?

SIR RICHARD. In a highly satisfactory manner. It had been delayed for several years after having been agreed to under the Treaty of Washington, and divers attempts had been made to settle in a somewhat haphazard fashion between the British Embassy and the United States Government. We had, however, steadily refused to acquiesce and had at last gained our point, that the case should go to arbitration, with this further and very important proviso, that the whole conduct of the affair should be left absolutely in the hands of the Canadian Government.

REPORTER. Why did you insist on this?

SIR RICHARD. Because we knew from long and dearly-bought experience that the first object of every English official would be to propitiate the United States and that if it could only be done by sacrificing Canadian interests they would not hesitate to do it. Besides their tame surrender in the case of our claims for compensation for the Fenian raids had made us doubly determined to see what we could do if we had the field to ourselves. I need not say that the result fully justified our course.

REPORTER. Whom did you employ?

SIR RICHARD. Our arbitrator was Sir Alexander T. Galt, assisted by our Minister of Marine, Sir Albert Smith, and our counsel were Mr. (now Sir) Louis H. Davies, Mr. Doutre, of the Quebec Bar, and some others. The Belgian Ambassador was chosen umpire and the arbitrators sat at Halifax. All our people acquitted themselves well, but the chief merit certainly belonged to Sir Alexander T. Galt, who displayed great tact and skill

in dealing with the whole question and in bringing the Belgian Ambassador to our way of thinking. The United States had several able counsel, but their arbitrator, though a very worthy man, was quite outclassed by Sir Alexander T. Galt.

REPORTER. What was the issue?

SIR RICHARD. The issue was that whereas our English friends had been anxious that we should accept £200,000, or one million dollars, and cry quits, we were awarded five million dollars, a pretty good proof of the soundness of our contention in requiring that the management of the affair should be left to us, and I may add the one and only instance in the whole course of their numerous transactions of a somewhat similar kind with the United States in which the British Government had the best of it.

REPORTER. Had your Government any other direct dealing with the United States?

SIR RICHARD. We had one of no small importance, but of a much pleasanter character. Shortly after General Custer's defeat, Sitting Bull and a large body of Sioux crossed into Canada and a considerable force of United States cavalry was being kept in observation along our border. There was imminent risk of collision, and our small body of mounted police were far too few to guard such an extensive frontier. Had the Sioux been allowed to use our territory as a base from which to organize raids into the United States, it would have been hardly possible to prevent the United States troopers from following them across an imaginary line, and if our police interfered there is no saying what the consequences might have been. We saw the danger and at once despatched Mr. Mills, our Minister of the Interior, to Washington to interview the American authorities, which he did, and in a few hours came to an amicable understanding with them, as the result of which the most stringent orders were issued to their officers to respect our territory, while on our part we very shortly after succeeded, mainly, I believe, through the instrumentality

of Major Walsh, who was in command of the North-West Mounted Police in that quarter, in inducing Sitting Bull to come to terms and surrender himself and band to the United States.

REPORTER. You seem to have averted a very ugly complication.

SIR RICHARD. We did, but we had acted in defiance of all red tape and we got roundly taken to task for our conduct. We ought, it would seem, to have moved the Governor-General to move the Colonial Office to move the Foreign Office to move the British Ambassador to move the United States Government to take steps to prevent trouble, all of which proceedings might have been carried through with due regard to decorum in six, or possibly in three months, whereas we ignored all proper precedents and settled the whole matter in some forty-eight hours. How Sitting Bull would have comported himself in the interval, and whether if he and his followers and the United States troopers had come to blows, and whether if the fight had extended across our borders the Mounted Police would have been compelled to interfere, did not seem to have occurred to our good friends in Downing Street. I believe we were partly excused by reason of the fact that the British Ambassador was not at the time in Washington, being, I think, just then absent in England, and that there was only an inferior official in charge, and also, as I heard afterwards, that the British Ambassador, Sir E. Thornton, had privately assured the Imperial authorities that it was a most fortunate circumstance that Mr. Mills had acted as promptly as he did.

REPORTER. I suppose the English Government was not anxious to bring you into close touch with the people at Washington.

SIR RICHARD. The position of the English Government is delicate and difficult, and I am disposed to make large allowances for them. We, in Canada, are almost an independent state as regards our own affairs. At the same time, we are a recognized part of the British Empire

and in that capacity might say or do something which might embroil England and the United States in a very high degree. For myself, I have long felt and said in Parliament and elsewhere that it would be of great advantage to all concerned if Canada was allowed to have a special charge d'affaires attached to the British Embassy at Washington, subject, of course, to the authority of the British Ambassador, but appointed and paid by us and permitted to correspond freely with the Canadian Government. I am quite aware that there is no precedent for such a proceeding, and I am equally aware that there is no precedent to fit the case of such a relation as to-day exists between Canada, England and the United States.

REPORTER. What would be the duties of such an official?

SIR RICHARD. He could act as an expert adviser to the British Ambassador in all matters pertaining to Canada, and he could keep our Government advised of the drift of things in the United States. He could also become more or less familiar with the views of the leading men in the Senate and House of Representatives in a way in which it is not possible for any ambassador to become.

REPORTER. It would seem a simple and sensible precaution.

SIR RICHARD. For which reason I suppose it has never been adopted. At the same time, I am bound to say that it is a post not very easy to fill and that in the first instance there might be some trouble in keeping such a personage within proper bounds. But, weighing everything together, I am well assured that in the long run such an appointment would be of very great service to Canada and the whole Empire as well, and I know that that is also the opinion of several eminent friendly officials in the United States. People are apt to overlook the fact that any man bred, or even long resident, in Canada cannot fail to know, as of instinct and a mere matter of course, a thousand things about the relations between Canada and the United States which the ablest British diplomatist would have to spend years in learning

and even then at the end he would probably know less of the real inwardness of the situation than a man of one-tenth of his ability to the manor born.

REPORTER. Then you do not consider that Canada gains much by trusting to British protection?

SIR RICHARD. That is a very large question. The difficulty in our way is, or rather was (for I am speaking of a state of things which existed thirty years ago rather than of to-day) that the vast majority of Englishmen of cabinet rank had formed their ideas of North America from the knowledge they had acquired of it at a period ten or twenty years before and were quite unable to realise the enormous changes which very often occur in that space of time in a country developing so rapidly as the United States. Still less could they project their minds into the future and fully grasp the all-important fact that the United States every twenty years was adding to itself a population equal to that of a first-class European nation. I can recall a curious conversation I had myself in 1874 with the late Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, bearing on that very point, and my remark to him at the close. I think the Alabama arbitration was still a sore spot with him, for he was rather harping on the difficulty of dealing with the United States as he would like to do, and at last I said to him, "Lord Carnarvon, if I were Colonial Secretary, I would have posted up over your door, so that every time you lifted your head you might see the words, 'By the year 1900 there will be eighty millions of English-speaking people in North America.'" There were at that date about forty millions, and I could see that he thought I was rather exaggerating the probable growth. A good many years after, when it was clear that my estimate would be fully verified, Lord Carnarvon, who was paying me a short visit, told me frankly that he had never forgotten our conversation and that he only wished that the fact of the stupendous rapidity of the growth of the United States had been more clearly understood by English statesmen in the early seventies than it was. It

is a little singular, but I believe the only Englishman of very high rank who had really grasped the situation in 1874 was no less a person than His late Majesty King Edward VII. Certain it is that then and always he made a point of showing marked attention to American and colonial visitors of any note who came in his way, as I had myself on more than one occasion ample proof. *Per contra*, I found that several Englishmen of much more than average ability, to whom I had opportunity of explaining my views as to the desirability and importance of cultivating the most friendly relations with the United States, while admitting the great political value of such an alliance if it could be brought about, were at the same time anything but cordial towards the United States as a whole.

REPORTER. There has been a great change since that time.

SIR RICHARD. I believe there has. I have not been able for various causes to visit England for a good many years, but if I can judge from the very great alteration in the tone of the English Press and of the numerous Englishmen I have met here since, the pendulum has swung quite the other way and the English Government at any rate are rather disposed to be too complaisant, not to say subservient, to the United States than otherwise, which is not the best way to deal with them.

INTERVIEW NUMBER TWENTY-NINE.

RESIGNATION OF MR. EDWARD BLAKE.

REPORTER. How did you fare in 1878? Did you expect defeat at the polls?

SIR RICHARD. Governments rarely realise the full extent of the risks they run, but we knew we had a very hard fight before us. For one thing, we were aware that a great many Conservatives had not voted at all in the election of 1874, and we were pretty sure that they would vote against us now. For another, there was a good deal of lukewarmness in our own ranks, and Mr. Blake had done us a serious injury by resigning as he did in the early part of 1878.

REPORTER. Did Mr. Blake assign any reason?

SIR RICHARD. He resigned ostensibly on account of ill-health, but as he had only been acting as President of the Privy Council for some months, and as he was apparently quite able to attend to his law business and to his parliamentary duties during the session, everyone felt that this was a mere pretext and the Opposition lost no opportunity of proclaiming that he was utterly dissatisfied with Mr. Mackenzie's administration. Certainly under the circumstances, and bearing in mind his past attitude to Mr. Mackenzie, he ought at the very least to have waited till the general election was over before quitting the Cabinet, and in doing so he exposed himself to the criticism that he had no desire to see Mr. Mackenzie sustained.

REPORTER. Had his defection much effect?

SIR RICHARD. In the uncertain temper of the public mind it had a good deal. Mr. Blake stood high with many men of both parties. It was not unnatural that they should say and think that there must have been some-

thing seriously amiss to cause him to retire at such a moment. To speak plainly, it was an act of flagrant disloyalty to the Liberal party and, taken in conjunction with his subsequent proceedings, it quite warranted our opponents in alleging that Mr. Blake did not care whether the Liberal party won or lost, unless he was at the head of it.

REPORTER. Do you recall any special matter which occurred during the session of 1878?

SIR RICHARD. None, except a measure introduced by Mr. Mackenzie for the purpose of promoting colonization in the North-West by constructing certain railways, which got its second reading in the Commons but which he did not press to a conclusion, partly because he was very anxious to close the session and partly because he was aware that even if it passed the Commons it would be defeated in the Senate, where the Opposition still held a majority, which they were by no means scrupulous about using on very small provocation.

REPORTER. What were its main provisions?

SIR RICHARD. They were in my opinion on the whole eminently wise and well calculated to have promoted the speedy settlement of Manitoba. The Bill provided for the construction of a number of branch lines of moderate length radiating from Winnipeg westward and southward and proposed to set apart a large quantity of land for the purpose of defraying the cost of their construction. This land, however, was not to be given to the parties constructing the roads, but to be held by the Government and sold only to actual settlers at moderate prices. It was a very plain, sensible, straightforward measure. There were plenty of men of fair capital ready to undertake the work and any number of settlers, from Ontario in especial, ready and anxious to take up the lands on such terms. As all subsequent experience has shown, it would have solved the whole problem of settlement in the North-West in the most satisfactory fashion. It would, in the first place, have concentrated the population within reasonable distance of each other, instead of allowing

them to be scattered over an immense area to their great disadvantage in every way. It would have given us very speedily a strong central province in Manitoba, from which, as a base, settlement could have been extended in due course. It would above all have kept our people in our own territory instead of allowing them to be swallowed up by the hundreds of thousands by the United States. It would have, to a very great extent, averted the lock-up of vast quantities of land in the hands of speculators and railway companies which did so much injury to the North-West in future years. Manitoba, under such a policy, would have, within a few years, secured a population of at least half a million, composed, too, of the very best of our own people. No one who witnessed the eagerness displayed by the farmers of Western Ontario in particular to take up lands in the North-West in 1879, 1880 and 1881, and their bitter disappointment when they found that the policy of the Government was such as to make it impossible for them to secure reasonable railway facilities, can doubt that if Mr. Mackenzie's statesman-like project had been carried out in all human probability, instead of marking time from 1878 to 1896, as we actually did, and losing a huge percentage of our people, we would have had one or more thriving and prosperous provinces in half that time.

REPORTER. Why was no such scheme adopted?

SIR RICHARD. Mainly by reason of the insane bargain made with British Columbia, by which we had bound ourselves to push a railroad across from ocean to ocean within ten years from 1871. It was alleged, though in my judgment very falsely, that Mr. Mackenzie's project would have interfered with the construction of the main line and that it was imperatively necessary to prevent any possible diversion of traffic to the United States. Such objectors utterly forgot that the only justification for saddling the older provinces of Canada with the cost of such a road lay in the necessity of providing an outlet for our surplus population which would otherwise be certain to drift (as it actually did) to the United States, and that

if the Canadian Pacific Railway failed to accomplish this object, much more if it was allowed to become a positive obstacle in the way of settling our own people in our own country, it did not deserve to exist at all. Also, there was another reason which was kept well in the background, but which weighed greatly with Sir John A. Macdonald and his friends. They were afraid if any such scheme was fairly started by Mr. Mackenzie it would bring him much political strength, and this they were resolved he should not have. We were quite aware in the then temper of the Senate that we could not get such a Bill through in the teeth of the opposition of Sir John's party in the last days of the fifth and last session of Parliament, and we therefore, though reluctantly, postponed it.

REPORTER. If you had carried the election of 1878 I suppose you would have had no trouble with the Senate.

SIR RICHARD. None whatever. In the course of nature we would have speedily gained seats enough to give us a majority in that body, nor would they in any case have been at all likely to oppose us if we could show a fresh mandate from the public. I may add that in after years I never met anyone who was well acquainted with the real position of things in the North-West and in Ontario who, when the measure was explained to him, did not admit that it was the one and only way in which the rapid development of that region could have been assured at that time. It is only doing bare justice to Mr. Mackenzie to point out that all through his tenure of office he was doing his utmost to secure speedy connection between Manitoba and the Great Lakes, and that with such a series of roads as he proposed to construct, that section of the road would have been at once profitably employed from the very moment of its completion.

REPORTER. Do you think Mr. Mackenzie foresaw all this?

SIR RICHARD. In great part he did. What I do claim for him is that he acted as a sensible and intelligent man would have done who desired to promote the settlement of

the North-West. He recognized fully the importance of constructing a railroad across the continent, though, like myself, he regarded the contract to build it within a certain limited space of time as a most unwise and improvident one. But he also recognized the paramount importance of providing, if we could, homes for our own people who were in danger of leaving us altogether, and he was well aware of the mischief of allowing them to be scattered far and wide over immense spaces instead of keeping them reasonably close together. It is possible, though by no means certain, that if his policy had been adopted the construction of the Eastern section of the C. P. R. might have been delayed for some time. But it is quite certain that on the other hand a vast proportion of the great mass of emigration which flowed steadily from Ontario to the United States during all those years would have been diverted to our own North-West with incalculable advantage to the whole Dominion. How grave the depopulation had become, you may judge from the fact that in Ontario the total increase of the population had sunk in the decade from 1891 to 1901 to one-third of one per cent. per annum, and that, too, although a considerable number of immigrants were found to have settled there within the latter part of those years. This is almost less than the increase in France, the most stationary in this respect of all European countries, and bears out to the full the fact to which I have often called attention, that an immense proportion of the emigrants we lost were men and women in the very prime of life and the very choice of our people.

REPORTER. Well, but have we not recuperated since?

SIR RICHARD. I very much doubt it. We have certainly brought in a large number of foreign immigrants, but I am much too Canadian myself to admit that these people at all equal the men we lost. Possibly their children may, and I am disposed to think that in the case of settlers coming from the United States we are gaining men of a class very similar to those who left us years ago. But my point is that we might easily have gained

all those and kept our own besides and that it was very largely due to gross misgovernment and mismanagement that we failed to do so.

REPORTER. I hardly think those facts are generally known.

SIR RICHARD. It has been the interest of many influential persons to keep the public in the dark. Of course I know that this is not the popular way of looking at the question and that there are plenty on both sides of politics who hate to have these unpleasant facts brought prominently to light. Also, that there are plenty who are profoundly ignorant of what occurred within the last thirty or forty years and who have not the slightest desire to be enlightened. But I also believe that there are a reasonable number who wish to know the truth as to these matters and it is to them I speak. Take whatever standard you please and compare the growth of Canada as a whole with that of the United States, or the growth of Manitoba with that of the adjoining States of North and South Dakota or Minnesota, without any assistance whatever from the central authority, and the conclusion is irresistibly forced on one's mind that there must have been some very special adverse circumstances existing on one side of the border to cause so very poor a showing as we made from 1881 to 1901. And this conclusion will be much emphasized by the fact that the census returns show that a very large percentage of the population of those States was of Canadian origin.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY.

MR. MACKENZIE'S TACTICAL BLUNDER.

REPORTER. Was there anything else of special interest in the session of 1878?

SIR RICHARD. There was one rather dramatic episode at the close to which I will presently allude, but the most important debate was that which arose from the action of Mr. Letellier in dismissing his Ministers in Quebec.

REPORTER. Was not that rather a strong measure?

SIR RICHARD. It was, and of course it involved an immediate appeal to the people and the retirement of Mr. Letellier if the new Legislature declined to support him. As, however, they did support him, though by a bare majority, we took the ground that they were the proper judges between him and his former advisers.

REPORTER. Was not the result of his appeal a surprise?

SIR RICHARD. Very much so, indeed. Quebec was the only province in which the Conservatives had held their own in the election of 1874, and they were believed to be very strongly entrenched in the local Legislature. We had very recently ourselves lost a seat considered to be strongly Liberal, and held by no less a person than Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was defeated on his accepting the position of Minister of Inland Revenue. This in itself was an unusual thing, especially in Quebec, and both friend and foe expected that Mr. Letellier would be decisively defeated. The news that the Liberals had carried Quebec by however small a majority came like a thunderbolt on the whole Conservative party. They made no attempt to conceal their dismay, and I never remember to have seen them so thoroughly discomfited, and no wonder, for it was plain to the meanest capacity that if this was all they could do in Quebec, with everything in their favour, their chances of carrying the other provinces

were dubious in the extreme, nor have I the very slightest doubt that if Mr. Mackenzie had taken advantage of the extraordinary opportunity thus presented and dissolved the Dominion House at the earliest possible moment thereafter, he would have been sustained by a very sufficient majority.

REPORTER. I think I have seen somewhere in a life of Mr. Mackenzie that you had urged this course.

SIR RICHARD. To me the situation was as clear as the sun at noonday, and not only to me but to the great majority of the men whom Mr. Mackenzie might naturally have consulted with on such a point. The majority of his own colleagues, and I believe the whole local Cabinet of Ontario, headed by Mr. Mowat, together with Mr. Luther Holton and divers others of note, all concurred in advising an immediate appeal. To my mind the arguments were irresistible. Our opponents were for the time being completely demoralized. We could not tell what sort of harvest we would have, but for the moment the outlook was favourable, and we knew well that if the actual result was otherwise we would suffer most severely. Then we had the certainty that the Orange body would hold another demonstration in Montreal on the 12th July and that any serious disturbance occurring thereat would damage us in no slight degree, while as for the one argument brought forward against it, *i.e.*, that we were not sufficiently prepared, we had the certainty that our opponents were no better off and would utilize the interval quite as efficiently as we could.

REPORTER. Why did Mr. Mackenzie delay?

SIR RICHARD. It was a terrible tactical blunder, and I can only account for it by the fact that he was utterly overworked and unfit for any sudden serious responsibility. The session had been a severe one, and the strain upon him as leader of the House and in administering his huge department had, I imagine, fairly broken him down. In any case, he procrastinated and procrastinated till the chance was gone in a fashion he never would have done had he been in his usual condition of mind and body.

REPORTER. And you really think Mr. Mackenzie might have won if he had gone to the country in June instead of September?

SIR RICHARD. There is nothing so uncertain as an election, but that was and is, on calm reflection, my opinion, and I happen to know that it was also the opinion of the man who, of all others, was best qualified to judge what the issue would have been.

REPORTER. To whom do you refer?

SIR RICHARD. My authority was no less a person than Sir John A. Macdonald. I heard him myself during the session of 1879 tell Sir Albert Smith (with whom he maintained a sort of semi-friendly relation) that he could not have won if we had gone to the country in June. He went on to say that there were at least fifty ridings which the Conservatives afterwards won in which they had at that moment no candidates in the field, and he emphasised his remark by adding that he knew that I and Mr. Scott had ordered the writs to be got ready and everything prepared for an election, but that Mr. Mackenzie would not ask the Governor's consent. This was perfectly true, and incidentally went to show how well-informed Sir John was as to everything which occurred in our departments. The fact was that prior to the Quebec local election it was pretty well understood on both sides that there would be no Dominion election before the fall at the earliest, and that it was quite possible we might have had an autumn session, which we could very well have held as the Parliament did not legally expire till, I think, May of 1879. There was another consideration of some weight in favour of those of us who urged an early election. The party in power, if they have, as we had, a large majority, will, as a rule, benefit by a short campaign, sprung before their adversaries are fully prepared. The sitting members in such case have the advantage if the opposing candidate has not been put in the field till after dissolution. They have generally some sort of organization, and are at any rate well known to the electors, a point of much moment. It is very hard for any ordinary candi-

date who has not previously contested a riding to make himself acquainted with the people in the few weeks then at his disposal. Give him, however, some months in which to prosecute his canvass and the case is different. Now in this instance a dissolution in June had not been thought of till the result of the Quebec election was known and we would have had the double advantage of a great gain in prestige, and of a surprise, apart from any other considerations.

REPORTER. Probably all this was present to Sir John's mind.

SIR RICHARD. Doubtless. He was an exceedingly shrewd practical politician of very great experience. You must understand, however, that I do not wish to blame Mr. Mackenzie too much for what was at most only an error in judgment. I mention the matter chiefly to emphasise the fatal consequences of a Premier undertaking to do too much. Just at a critical moment which might well have tested any man's nerve, but which called, above all things, for prompt decision, Mr. Mackenzie was in a state of nervous prostration which made it practically impossible for him to come to any definite conclusion on a doubtful point, and so he lost the best, if not the only real, chance he had of defeating his opponents.

REPORTER. You spoke of a certain episode at the end of the session. What was it?

SIR RICHARD. A very famous scene, which you will find pretty fully, though not quite completely, recorded in the last pages of the Hansard of 1878. Sir Charles Tupper, the evening before the prorogation, had made some rather disparaging remarks in reference to Mr. Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona. Mr. Smith was not in the House at the time, but next afternoon, just before the prorogation, he claimed the right as a matter of privilege to give his version of the incident Sir Charles Tupper had referred to. To this Sir Charles strenuously objected, but the sense of the House was entirely with Mr. Smith, who then proceeded to explain what had occurred. This he did with much particularity, but as soon as it became

clear what he was doing pandemonium broke loose. Both Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John A. Macdonald appeared to have lost all command of themselves, and for nearly half-an-hour the Chamber resounded with shrieks of "liar" and "coward" and divers other highly unparliamentary expressions directed at Mr. Smith by the two chiefs of the Opposition. Mr. Smith persisted coolly until Black Rod appeared, and all parties were obliged to leave the Chamber. Luckily, or unluckily, the presence of the Sergeant-at-Arms and a few stalwart keepers of the peace, of whom the late Mr. Joe Rymal was one, prevented an absolute physical collision between the parties, but never in the whole course of my parliamentary career did I see men in their position so completely beside themselves as Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John A. Macdonald on that occasion, and if they had carried out their manifest intention, and the hard blow had followed the hard word, I know enough of Lord Strathcona to know that no earthly consideration would have induced him to join in any enterprise which would have brought him into friendly contact with Sir John Macdonald, in which case it is quite possible the C. P. R. might have collapsed, or indeed might never have been undertaken.

REPORTER. You think that Lord Strathcona's aid was essential to the success of that enterprise?

SIR RICHARD. I certainly do. Wholly apart from any assistance he gave to the original enterprise, which was very considerable, it is perfectly well known that on at least one if not on two separate occasions, when the C.P.R. was in very desperate straits, Lord Strathcona risked his whole great fortune to relieve the company. I may add that, however much I may deprecate the policy of the Government in respect to their original bargain with British Columbia, and also as to the preposterous and most ill-considered arrangement they made with the C. P. R. Company thereafter, I have always recognized the ability and skill with which the promoters of that great enterprise carried out their part of the contract. My point never was that the road *per se* was undesirable.

On the contrary, it was clearly a necessity. What was not in the least necessary was that we should have made it a part of the terms of union with British Columbia that we should build the road within ten years, or that for the sake of hurrying it through afterwards we should have practically put back the development of the North-West for twenty years and have at the same time deprived ourselves of the chance of directing to our own territory the huge exodus of our own people which took place into the United States during that period. These were crimes or blunders, if you will, so gross and so far-reaching that Canada to-day, if the truth were known, has hardly even yet recovered from their effects.

REPORTER. I have heard that you made use of the incident you have mentioned during the debate on the formation of the C. P. R.

SIR RICHARD. The temptation was too great to be resisted. Sir John, in the course of the debate, had bestowed a glowing eulogy on the several promoters of the company, including Mr. Donald Smith. I rose, stated that I agreed with him in his estimate of Mr. Smith, and then read the scene I have referred to and enquired if it was possible that the object of all this vituperation could be the same identical Mr. Smith of whom Sir John had just been speaking. If looks could have killed, my life would not have been worth one minute's purchase, but there was no help for it. The leek had to be eaten.

REPORTER. To return to the question of dissolution, I think I have seen in Mr. Mackenzie's Life, or somewhere, that Mr. Brown rather opposed an early election.

SIR RICHARD. That is partly true. Mr. Brown was rather doubtful of the expediency of a dissolution in the first instance, but after fuller discussion with myself and others he came over to our view. It is due to Mr. Brown to say that he acted most loyally all through. He gave us the benefit of his opinion, but said, at the same time, that he quite recognized that the responsibility was ours and that whatever course we decided on he would support us to the utmost of his powers.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-ONE.

MACKENZIE AS A STATESMAN.

REPORTER. How do you account for the tremendous defeat of the Liberal party in 1878, especially in Ontario?

SIR RICHARD. It arose from many causes. Partly from downright misfortunes which it was out of the power of any Government to avert, as for example the exceedingly prolonged depression in the United States, who were then our best customers, and from the fact that we had three bad harvests in succession, the last one, that of 1878, being in the very act of being reaped as we went to the polls, a circumstance of very considerable importance to the Liberal party in Ontario, inasmuch as its main strength lay in the agricultural section, while it was weak in the towns and cities. This was very decidedly the most important factor of all. Next, I would place the determined hostility of the Orange Order, who blamed Mr. Mackenzie most unjustly for the murder of Hackett, a thing for which, as I have already stated, they should have held their own leaders directly responsible. But besides these causes Mr. Mackenzie had incurred the very bitter enmity of three powerful organizations, one unnecessarily and the other two in the strict discharge of his duty. As regards the tavern-keepers and the liquor interest generally, it was, as I have said, an error on his part to have interfered and one for which he paid dearly. As regards his refusal to allow the Canadian manufacturers to draw up a tariff under which they could conveniently plunder their fellow-countrymen and call it a National Policy, Mr. Mackenzie holding the opinion he entertained as to the nature and results of a protection policy, could do no otherwise than he did, and I do not believe that to the day of his death he ever regretted his action in that respect. There remained, however, a third and very influential body, with whom he

was more or less at variance. These were the contractors on the various public works throughout the Dominion. Under former administrations they had been accustomed to have things pretty much their own way on the tacit and sometimes express understanding that they would aid and assist the party in power whenever called on. These men had very speedily discovered that no such arrangement was possible with Mr. Mackenzie and that they must live up to their contracts in good faith, as I believe a good many of them did. The bulk, however, resented being held fast to their engagements and longed exceedingly for a renewal of a *régime* under which comfortable repayment in the shape of liberal extras could always be reckoned on in return for a subscription to party funds at the right moment. Needless to say that Mr. Mackenzie would have none of this, and equally needless to say that he went into action with a remarkably empty war chest, in point of fact, with nothing but a few casual subscriptions, not too freely given, from a few of the wealthier members of his party. It may have been the case that Mr. Mackenzie did sometimes deal more hardly with contractors in his capacity of Minister of Public Works than he would have done had he been acting as a private individual, and it certainly was very undesirable that he, while Premier, should have been brought not infrequently into collision with those parties, and it was a very good reason why he should not have become Minister of Public Works at all. How far he could have saved the situation fighting against such odds, if he had applied himself steadily from the outset to the task of organizing and consolidating his party, is a fair question for debate. Looking back, I think, as I have said, that as matters stood in 1878, he had but one real chance of victory, and that was if he had followed up our success in Quebec by an immediate dissolution. But I am also of opinion that if he had confined himself to his legitimate work as Premier he might have won or at least kept together so strong a body of supporters that it would have enabled us to keep our opponents very effectually in check, especi-

ally in Ontario. There was much force in the remark made to me by a shrewd and impartial observer after the election that it had taken an extraordinary combination to turn him out.

REPORTER. Then you do not consider the opposition of the manufacturing interests the main cause of your defeat?

SIR RICHARD. It was a contributing factor and a powerful one. It furnished a taking cry, and the manufacturers had much influence with the press. But taken by itself it could have been dealt with without any very great difficulty. It was the combination of adverse influences, backed by a vein of singular ill-luck, and aggravated, I must admit, by certain mistakes of our own, which not only defeated us but turned defeat into total rout. As I hinted above, in addition to all his other troubles, Mr. Mackenzie went into the election of 1878 with a smaller supply of the sinews of war than any leader of a Government ever had at his command. In any event, from the very nature of the case, an opposition can get on with a very much smaller supply of ready cash than a Government. In this instance, and quite apart from the much greater wealth as a rule of the individual candidates on the Conservative side, I have positive knowledge, since acquired, from the disclosures of Mr. McGreevy and others, that Sir John had at least four or five times the amount of money at his disposal that Mr. Mackenzie had.

REPORTER. How did this come about? Was not Sir John himself in rather straitened circumstances at this time?

SIR RICHARD. Probably he was, though his profession of poverty has to be taken *cum grano salis*. But always among the Conservative party there will be found a much larger number of men of wealth than among the Liberals, and to do them justice they have always been very much more ready to subscribe at the request of their leaders for the time being than the Liberals usually are. Apart from this, however, the then hostile elements I referred

to were each and all able to control large amounts of money and each and all thought they had a great deal to gain by Sir John Macdonald's success. Sir John understood this thoroughly and was very profuse in his promises as to what he would do, and I am bound to say he did afterwards redeem his promises to a quite unusual degree. I think also that Mr. Mackenzie was seriously misled by the fact that the Liberal party had scored a great victory in 1872 and 1874 with a very trifling expenditure of money. Those persons, and there were not a few at that time, who upbraided Mr. Mackenzie with his defeat in Ontario in 1878, ought to have remembered that precisely the same thing had happened to Sir John A. Macdonald in 1872. Mackenzie, fighting almost single-handed, defeated Sir John in Ontario by nearly as large a majority as Sir John secured against him in 1878, in spite of the fact that Sir John was then in the zenith of his power and that neither his bargain with Sir Hugh Allan nor his dealings with Louis Riel had then come to light. Yet in spite of Sir Hugh's gold and the fact that Sir John had, as far as was then known, a good record behind him, by far the best he ever had either before or since Confederation, he was soundly beaten in Ontario. The secret in that case lay in the apathy or hostility of the Orange Order. Sir John, in 1872, saw a majority of forty or more turned into a minority of thirty. Mr. Mackenzie's case was hardly as bad. As for 1874, he forgot that on that occasion a great wave of indignation against Sir John Macdonald's practices was sweeping over the country, and also that his defeat was so obviously a foregone conclusion that few even of his warmest supporters were inclined to open their purse strings in his behalf.

REPORTER. You think he was well supplied in 1878?

SIR RICHARD. Of the fact that some parties were spending money very freely on the Conservative side, we had very ample proof. In many quarters we found men actively engaged in canvassing and speaking on their behalf whom we knew must have been paid. We saw not a few newspapers bought outright and others heavily sub-

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sidised, and in nearly every riding there was a perfect flood of literature, some of it expensively got up, far in excess of what we were able to supply. All this meant money and no little of it.

REPORTER. Was there much direct bribery?

SIR RICHARD. I do not think there was, in Ontario at any rate. But pretty nearly every bar-room and every Orange Lodge was a standing committee room for our opponents. No doubt Mr. Mackenzie made the mistake of over-estimating both the honesty and the intelligence of the mass of his fellow-countrymen. He thought, for instance, in view of the complete failure of the protective system in the United States to ensure prosperity and the fact that the distress among all classes in that country from 1873 to 1878 was vastly greater than anything which had occurred in Canada, that few at any rate among the Liberal party would be deluded into advocating protection as a cure for commercial troubles. He believed likewise that, in view of the accumulated evidence against Sir John and of his own public confession of guilt, the majority of the electors would never consent to replace him in power, and as a matter of fact under ordinary circumstances Mr. Mackenzie's calculations would probably have proved correct. But he overlooked the fact that when, as was actually the case, the country had since Confederation enjoyed a large measure of prosperity under Sir John and had suffered more or less under his administration, a great number of people were, however illogically, disposed to credit Sir John A. Macdonald with the one and to debit Mr. Mackenzie with the other.

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REPORTER. Perhaps after the great lapse of time since Mr. Mackenzie resigned you would not object to state generally what your opinion was of the Cabinet as a whole.

SIR RICHARD. It is a delicate matter, but I will try to be impartial. Still, as I am now almost the sole survivor of Mr. Mackenzie's original Cabinet, at least of those who sat with him from 1873 to 1878, I can speak more

freely than is ordinarily the case in dealing with such a body. As to actual ability, either in debate or in administration, Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet was quite as good as any Sir John ever got together, but I must admit that as a political machine it had a good many defects, though they were mostly of a kind which time would have cured. One was the lack of political experience of which I have already spoken. Another lay in the fact that a large number of the Cabinet had never acted together and could hardly have been said to have belonged to the regular Opposition at all. A third difficulty lay in the fact that there were several men in the House who ought to have been members of the Cabinet themselves and who exercised an amount of influence in their several provinces which put the Ministers representing those divisions in the Cabinet at times in a very awkward predicament. A fourth obstacle in their way, which arose from the circumstance that they were often too much absorbed in the minor details of their departments, was caused by the fact that there were very few of the higher grade of officials in whom they could confide. This worked a twofold injury. The Ministers' time was apt to be taken up with comparative trivialities, and the Departments were sometimes administered in such a way as to be of more assistance to their political opponents than to their friends. But taking them all in all, I say now, with the full knowledge that such a statement may be hotly contradicted, that they were by far the most honest Government that Canada has ever possessed, and that the individuals composing it were to a very unusual degree disposed to regard the welfare of the Dominion as a whole, even when it clashed with their own local or personal interests. I will say further that I do not believe that a single member of that Cabinet profited to the extent of one penny piece by his position, and that the great majority of them left office considerably poorer than they were when they accepted it.

REPORTER. That is high praise, Sir Richard.

SIR RICHARD. It is deserved. I have had such oppor-

tunities as fall to the lot of scarcely one man in a hundred thousand, I might truly say scarce one man in a million, of knowing the truth in these matters, and I know whereof I affirm. As for Mr. Mackenzie himself, I hold that he was as superior to Sir John morally as he was inferior to him in the lower walks of politics. I say lower walks, because I am fully prepared to show that as a statesman Mr. Mackenzie, heavily handicapped as he was, stood quite as high as Sir John A. Macdonald, and would have done infinitely better service to the Dominion, and to the Empire at large, than Sir John ever did, had the opportunity been given him. As it was, he carried Canada through a period of great general depression with very little real loss, and anyone who will compare the state of things which subsisted in Canada under Mr. Mackenzie's administration with its condition under Sir John A. Macdonald from 1858 to 1862, or even from 1864 to 1868, will admit the absolute accuracy of my statement that Canada suffered very much less from 1874 to 1878 than it did in either of those two periods under the administration of Sir John—the only difference being that in Sir John's case the troubles were largely of his own making, while in Mr. Mackenzie's he was very unfairly held responsible for a host of liabilities incurred by his predecessor and in opposition to his most strenuous protests. I have commented already on the gross injustice of holding Mr. Mackenzie responsible for the consequences of Sir John's improvidence and dishonesty in 1873, when he added many millions to our annual expenditure without making any provision to meet it. Few things ever occurred which show more clearly the utter worthlessness of so-called public opinion in Canada and the gross indifference of the average business and commercial man to the conduct of public affairs than the fact that this piece of political scoundrelism was passed over almost *sub silentio* at the time, even by the Reform press, and afterwards was hardly ever alluded to except by one or two of our speakers, although it added enormously to Mr. Mackenzie's difficulties and was in itself about as indefensible a proceeding as it was well possible to imagine.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-TWO.

*EFFECT OF CONSERVATIVE PARTY'S RETURN
TO POWER IN 1878.*

REPORTER. Apart from the immediate political result, what was the effect of Sir John's restoration to power?

SIR RICHARD. So far as he, himself, was concerned the effect was prodigious, not only with the rank and file of his own party, but on that potential personage, the man in the street. To them the simple fact that, after such a tremendous fall as he had experienced in 1873, he should within five years have regained all, and more than all, his former power and have been returned to office by as huge a majority as that by which he had been defeated, was accepted not unnaturally as proof of his superlative cleverness as a politician. Men recalled how completely on a former occasion he had out-manceuvred Mr. G. Brown, and there was a pretty general consensus of opinion, even in the Reform ranks, that Sir John was invincible and would hold the fort till he died. He himself appeared to think that he had a sort of plenary dispensation henceforward from the people of Canada to do what he pleased, all the more that he had hardly a single colleague, with the solitary exception, perhaps, of Sir Charles Tupper, who could pretend to compete with him in any way, and had, besides, which he thoroughly appreciated, a huge Ontario majority behind him.

REPORTER. But the effects in other respects?

SIR RICHARD. The effects have been very far-reaching. We are still suffering and very likely will continue for many years to suffer from them. Of the result of the complete reversal of our former fiscal policy by the substitution of a protective for a revenue tariff, I will speak later. But of the moral effect of replacing Sir John in power, it is not possible to speak too strongly. It was neither more nor less than a public proclamation by the majority of

the people of Canada that they did not desire that their public men should be either honest or truthful, and they certainly have had their reward. It was not so much a lowering of the standard of public morality as the destruction of all standards, and it was so taken and accepted by the great bulk of the politicians on both sides. If there had been even a shadow of doubt as to Sir John's offences the case would not have been so bad, but in this instance there was no doubt whatsoever. Here we had the Premier of the Dominion, convicted out of his own mouth, before a committee of his peers, of having been guilty of the grossest falsehoods and of having committed the gravest possible malversation in dealing with the most important public interests entrusted to his care. To replace such a man in the highest office in their gift was nothing short of a political crime of the first magnitude on the part of the electorate, and meant the debasing of political life in Canada for many a year.

REPORTER. Have not other men behaved as badly and been brought back to power?

SIR RICHARD. There are very few cases in which the offence was so grave and the proof so conclusive in which this has happened, and there are no cases, so far as I know, in which the same thing has been done in which the people who did condone such acts have not had ample reason to repent their folly. But in any case the universal feeling among public men on both sides of politics was that the vast mass of the people cared nothing what a public man might do or say, if only he could succeed in retaining power, and they prepared in most cases to govern themselves accordingly. Outside Parliament, from the lowest convict in the penitentiary to the highest placed official, the example of Sir John was continually quoted as a sufficient justification for any iniquity they might find it convenient to commit and as proof that the people of Canada, or at any rate a majority of them, had no wish to be honestly governed. One great political party found itself compelled to defend falsehood and abuse of trust as legitimate weapons of party warfare. The other could only say that

in Canada there was no public opinion which any man could think of respecting, when men of such a type were permitted to fill the chief places of this Dominion, and too many would add that in Canada it was of no use for a public man to be honest. The average man in the street, if he gave the subject any thought at all, took refuge in the vulgar platitude that one side was as bad as the other and that all politicians were rascals. What such a statement meant, if it be true, and what sort of destiny awaits countries whose laws are made and whose future career is being shaped by individuals of this description, does not readily occur to such persons, but is a question of the greatest import notwithstanding.

REPORTER. Are you not too hard on Sir John?

SIR RICHARD. Thirty years and more have come and gone since I gave him my opinion of the ways and means by which he had achieved his victory, and my feeling towards him is much mellowed since then. I have never denied that he possessed many fine qualities. Had he been a much worse man than he was he would have done Canada much less harm. But those thirty odd years have shown me how tremendous a power for evil lies in the hands of the leaders of the people, and how terribly deep and permanent is the effect on the public mind of any such misconduct as Sir John was guilty of. If you desire to know how his action affected the mind of a not unfriendly critic, you have only to read Lord Dufferin's memorandum on the whole transaction in 1873 or, for the matter of that, Professor Goldwin Smith's articles at the time in the *Bystander*. For myself I will just say that I knew Sir John well, better perhaps than any man of my years in Canada, and I know, though it may not be generally believed, that up to 1873, at any rate, although he allowed himself a very wide latitude in most things, Sir John did preserve a conscience of a sort, and that there were certain limits which he would not pass. After 1878 this limitation had disappeared. He took the people of Canada at their own valuation, and had simply made up his mind to maintain his own position at any cost, right or wrong,

without the least regard as to what the consequences of his proceedings might ultimately be to the Dominion at large. How thorough and radical the demoralization had become after ten or twelve years of his rule, and how completely graft had become part and parcel of the administration of our public affairs, can best be learnt by those who choose to study the records of the proceedings in 1891 which terminated in the downfall of Sir Hector Langevin on the one side and of Count Honoré Mercier on the other.

REPORTER. Mr. Mercier was a Liberal, was he not?

SIR RICHARD. He was a Liberal who openly and avowedly took Sir John as his model, and who justified his proceedings by the argument that that was the way the people of Canada liked to be governed. One of the worst results of either great party entrusting itself to the leadership of a man of notoriously smirched reputation is the reflex action on the other party. Men, as a rule, do not and cannot rise above the level of their general environment; and under our form of party government, if one side becomes corrupt, more especially if after proof of its corruption it is successful for a time, it is pretty certain to corrupt a great many of the other side also, or at any rate to lower the whole tone of public life. If, as in the case of Sir John A. Macdonald, the leading delinquent be a man of great parts and much personal popularity, and is one who has held high office for a long time and become a sort of fetish to his own followers, the whole generation which has grown up while he occupied a prominent position, cannot help being injuriously affected, though it may be in different ways.

REPORTER. Would you explain the ways?

SIR RICHARD. His supporters, especially of the baser sort, will justify anything by his example. His opponents are often too ready to do the same or to allege that there is no use in taking any trouble about preserving purity in public affairs, when men like him find their offences not merely condoned, but are promoted and rewarded. Meantime the people pay the penalty.

REPORTER. What penalty did they incur in Sir John's case?

SIR RICHARD. A very heavy one. Passing over the moral results, the direct material injury arising from his return to power in 1878 was very great. 1878 was a crucial year. Up to that date Canada generally, and Ontario in particular, had not lost their population at all as heavily by emigration to the United States as they did in subsequent years; in fact, from 1873 to 1878 it had pretty completely stopped as far as Ontario was concerned. Still it was obvious to every observer, and indeed was made an excuse for our haste in undertaking to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway, that older Canada would come to a standstill if we could not secure a great West of our own as the United States had done. In attaining this great object, Sir John's policy was a most lamentable failure from 1878 to 1896. Every step he took, whether as regards the terms granted to the C. P. R. or as to his land policy or his protective tariff, was calculated not to promote but to retard and injure settlement, and in effect in the twenty-two years which elapsed from 1878 to 1900, by which last date the remedial measures introduced by his successors had begun to take effect, Canada lost—what between the emigration of our people and the departure of ordinary immigrants who had come to Canada to settle but who, after a longer or shorter sojourn, imitated our own countrymen and sought their fortunes in the United States—not less than two millions of people. Such an exodus from a country abundantly well able to support a population of fifty millions or more, and which at that time did not contain five millions, is to the best of my knowledge quite unexampled.

REPORTER. Do you regard the growth of population as the supreme test of good or bad government?

SIR RICHARD. In a country of the age and with the resources of Canada I do so regard it. If you find men glad to come to a country and glad to stay there, you need ask no further questions in a general way as to its prosperity, and *vice versa*. Judged by this rule the adminis-

tration of Sir John and his successors was an utter failure. Later I may have more to say as to the details of the measures which brought about this state of things, but it is interesting to trace the sequence of events. First of all, we have Sir John, partly from gross ignorance, and partly for selfish and dishonest political ends, making an outrageously bad bargain with British Columbia and not even attempting to secure the co-operation and assistance of the Imperial authorities when it might have been had for the asking. Then, under pretence of carrying out certain provisions of this bargain, we have him committing a gross breach of trust in selling the charter to construct this road for a large sum of money to be used for political purposes. Then, after an interval, during which he was banished from office for his misdeeds, we have him still in pursuance of his original mistake, entering into a contract with another company whereby he, to a very great degree, nullified the whole object for which Canada had bought out the Hudson's Bay Company and obtained control of the North-West. One false step led to another, and I knew Sir John well enough to be certain that if he had not tied his hands by his first treaty with British Columbia, he would never have agreed to the terms and conditions contained in his final contract with the C. P. R. Company. In all this, however, I hold Sir John much less blameworthy than the majority of the Canadian electorate who replaced him in power. He was in a desperate plight, fighting for his political existence. They, with full knowledge of what he was and what he had done, chose, in many cases for dishonest and selfish ends, to dismiss a thoroughly trustworthy servant whose chief political fault was that he had studied the interests of the whole Dominion in preference to those of his own party, and to put back Sir John in the place he had disgraced.

REPORTER. Then you think the people of Canada as a whole were unjust to Mr. Mackenzie?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Mackenzie had his faults. He made some serious mistakes, and he had his deficiencies, no doubt. I do not intend either to disguise or to deny

them. But I do certainly maintain that the majority of the people who deposed him were scandalously unjust to him. They held him responsible for misfortunes which no human being could have prevented, and they made no allowance for the difficulties and entanglements which his predecessors had bequeathed to him and had, in fact, diligently prepared for the express purpose of embarrassing him. I believe that they did when too late recognize the unswerving honesty with which he had sought to guard the public interests, but they broke his heart first. Apart from that they have always failed to understand that the policy which Mr. Mackenzie desired to inaugurate and which, had he been returned to power in 1878, he would certainly have carried into effect, was beyond all comparison a wiser and more statesmanlike policy than that which was adopted by his opponents, and that it was one which would have completely averted the hideous loss of population which ensued between 1878 and 1900, and would have placed Manitoba and the North-West in as good a position by 1890 as they occupy to-day, twenty years after.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-THREE.

A PROTECTIONIST SESSION.

REPORTER. I have always heard your defeat in 1878 attributed mainly to the efforts of the protectionists. Was that so?

SIR RICHARD. They did us a good deal of harm, certainly. They had much influence with the press, and they helped Sir John with his campaign fund, besides supplying him with that very useful article, a plausible war-cry. Also they were very noisy, and it suited Sir John to assign them a prominent part. He was much too wary a politician not to desire to keep his alliance with the Orange Order, as well as that with the liquor interests, as much in the background as he could. No man knew better than he that the bite of the Orangemen was even worse than their bark, as he showed on other occasions. But it was a grave mistake to allege, as was done at the time and since, that protection was the sole or even the controlling issue in Ontario, at least in 1878. After the victory was won it did become the most prominent feature in our parliamentary discussions. This was not wonderful. With the change of ministry there came a complete revolution in our fiscal policy. The whole theory of our system of taxation was changed from the bottom up. The idea of taxing the people only to such an extent as would suffice to bring in revenue enough for the needs of the Government was entirely abandoned. Instead, the Parliament in its wisdom decided that we were for the future to grow rich by the simple expedient of increasing our taxes and dividing the proceeds more or less unequally between the Dominion Treasury and a small number of manufacturers. This hopeful experiment, which has continued in great measure from that day to this, with only one important modification in the shape of the British Preference, has been

attended with certain results of a sort which might easily have been foreseen. In the first place, the natural and wholesome aversion to taxation having been removed, Governments were under no inducement to economize and, as in the United States, an influential section of the community were rather anxious to egg them on to spend more money, so that there might be no ground to reduce the taxes. In the next the cost of living and the rate of wages were both increased, and the former in much greater proportion than the latter. Hence arose many serious difficulties between employers and employed, the workmen finding out that in many cases the prices of the articles they consumed had gone up so much that, in spite of a considerable additional wage, they were worse off than before; while *per contra* not a few manufacturers discovered that the cost of production was so increased by the rise in wages and in the price of the raw material, that they received but small benefit from their increased protection and began forthwith to clamour for more. Another and marked inconvenience to the consuming public arose from the fact that with the imposition of heavier taxes on imported goods the quality of the articles imported very visibly deteriorated. As a rule the nominal prices were not raised much, but the higher the tariff became the larger was the percentage of shoddy in the wares and the more skilful the adulteration. As the old ironmaster put it, "if there is cinder in the iron there is cinder in the pay," and if there is a heavy tariff on imports there will be a heavy reduction in the quality of the goods imported. Also, to a large extent, it came to pass that many manufacturers, instead of trying to keep abreast of modern improvements and exerting themselves to introduce new methods or new inventions, preferred to rely on obtaining some alteration in the tariff to meet any deficiencies, and to haunt the lobbies of the House of Commons before any budget was introduced. This meant, of course, that in return for such favours they were expected to assist the Government candidates in their several districts with their money and their influence and, indeed, in not a few

instances they were regularly assessed, tariff for tariff, and the evil custom spread. Similarly contractors on public works came to understand that if they wished to have an easy time and to have claims for extras liberally dealt with, they must not hesitate to be generous subscribers to party funds, and, to do them justice, they very seldom did.

REPORTER. How did the farmers like this?

SIR RICHARD. They were regularly gold-bricked. They were liberally "protected," of course. In a country which was and is a great food producing and food exporting country and in which, of necessity, the price of most agricultural staples is fixed for the farmer by the price he can obtain in the open market of the world against all competitors, heavy duties were imposed on all foods which might be imported at any time or under any conditions. Another and a mischievous incident of the protective tariff was that under the guise of specific duties, and still more of mixed specific and *ad valorem* duties, very heavy taxes were being continually imposed far in excess of the alleged maximum, and these taxes fell most heavily on the classes of goods most used by the poorer sections of the community. Take it for all in all, if the object of the tariff of 1878 was to double the burthens of the people without increasing the revenue or letting them know the extent to which they were being plundered; to instal a comprehensive system of bribery and corruption capable, in the right hands, of being systematized and enlarged to any extent; if it was designed further to make honest and economical government an impossibility in the future, to rob the great majority of the people for the benefit of a very limited class, to make Canada a dear country to live in, and generally to substitute legalized graft for honest industry and attention to legitimate methods of increasing any given business; then the authors of that tariff have been eminently successful at all points.

REPORTER. You are severe on protection and protectionists.

SIR RICHARD. I speak of what I have seen and known.

I saw for many years, from 1863 to 1878, the working of a reasonable revenue tariff under both Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Mackenzie. I have seen, both in the United States and in Canada, the working of protective tariffs for a much longer period. I have studied both systems in theory and practice, politically and economically, and after half a century's experience I desire now to record my deliberate conviction that Canada is of all the countries I know the one in which a protective tariff has done and will do the most harm, though at the same time I do not consider that any tariff is the sole factor in the progress and development of a country. I admit that, notwithstanding the immense mischief it can inflict, there are countries which can grow and thrive in spite of a bad tariff, as likewise it is true that the best tariff cannot ensure prosperity. What I am prepared to maintain is that such a tariff must in its political results demoralize the legislature which adopts it, and that it offers a direct premium to extravagant expenditure.

REPORTER. I presume the session of 1879 was chiefly spent in considering the tariff?

SIR RICHARD. It was, and I recollect only one other circumstance of much note, apart from the case of Mr. Letellier. It was a curious illustration of the old proverb that it is a poor rule that will not work both ways. Sir John, who had with very good reason censured Mr. Mackenzie for taking charge of a heavy department in addition to his duties as Premier, did precisely the same thing himself and with equally bad results, though in a different way, by becoming Minister of the Interior. If ever there was a Department in which it was imperative that the Minister in charge should possess, or should at the very earliest moment set himself to acquire, an intimate personal knowledge of the territory to be administered, it was the Department of the Interior at that period. If I am not mistaken, Sir John up to that moment had never been west of Lake Superior in his life, and he never once visited that region during the five years or more in which he continued to be Minister of the Interior. These were crucial

years in which the whole land policy of the Government was shaped, and the natural results followed. Sir John reversed Mr. Mackenzie's practice. He attended, I dare say, assiduously to his duties as Premier, and he utterly neglected his Department. Mr. Mackenzie's course did assuredly result in grave injury to his party, and Sir John's in at least equally grave injury, not merely to the North-West, but to the Dominion at large.

REPORTER. In what special direction did Sir John's negligence affect the position?

SIR RICHARD. In every possible direction. Had he known anything of the real state of things, or had he paid a visit of any duration to the North-West, he could never have committed himself to the series of mistakes which made his administration of the Department a positive curse to the North-West. He was much too able a man not to have seen, had he only spent a short time on the ground, what an enormous amount of mischief had been already caused by locking up vast tracts of the very choicest portions of Manitoba in the hands of speculators who had no intention of improving a single acre. He would have perceived, also, the absolute necessity of endeavouring to congregate the settlers as much as possible together and the folly of allowing them to be scattered over immense areas too far apart to be of any assistance to each other. But, just as in the case of British Columbia, he had rushed into an agreement to construct a road across the continent in the most profound ignorance of the sort of country through which it had to pass, or of the cost which such a project might involve, so with equal want of knowledge and with even more profound indifference to the consequences, he set himself to frame regulations for the parcelling out of a country as large as a dozen European kingdoms. A good while afterwards I very well remember that one evening in the House I was commenting on the result of some of these regulations. In the course of my remarks I had made certain statements which Sir John vehemently contradicted and demanded to know on what authority I made them. In

my reply I remember that I told him that my authority was one on which I, for my part, would have hesitated to place much reliance unless I had been aware that it was corroborated from other sources, seeing that the statements were taken from a report signed by one John A. Macdonald in his capacity as Minister of the Interior, whereupon Sir John remarked that he really had not had time to read it, an answer which was accepted as a very good joke and sufficient justification by his obsequious supporters.

REPORTER. Was this taken as a matter of no moment?

SIR RICHARD. Sir John was a sort of chartered libertine in more ways than one. At the same time, I have no doubt that it was physically impossible for him to attend to his Department. The trouble in his case was that he never so much as set foot in the prairie until he was past three-score and ten, an age at which very few men can adapt themselves to such totally new conditions as he found existing in the North-West. But I doubt very much if he ever took kindly to that territory. It was from the very first associated in his mind with very disagreeable recollections. From the time of Riel's first rebellion down to the day of his execution it had brought Sir John much ill-luck, not to say downright misfortune, and I strongly suspect that he had privately a sort of superstitious idea that no good would ever come out of it, at least for him. I had noticed on more than one occasion that he spoke of the future of the North-West in a curious, perfunctory, half-hesitating kind of fashion, vastly different from the tone adopted by Sir Charles Tupper, who did really comprehend the vast possibilities the future had in store for it, though he was apt to anticipate them by a good many years.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-FOUR.

*SIR JOHN'S DISPUTE WITH LORD LORNE OVER
MR. LETELLIER'S DISMISSAL.*

REPORTER. You spoke of the dismissal of Mr. Letellier. Was this a very serious matter?

SIR RICHARD. A good deal more so than it appeared on the surface. The incoming Government wished to dismiss that gentleman from the post of Lieutenant-Governor very summarily, and speedily became involved in a hot dispute with Lord Lorne over the matter. I have always believed that Sir John A. Macdonald was reluctant to take action in this matter and that he was pushed on by his colleagues from Quebec, who were very vindictive against Mr. Letellier, and I know that some of his strongest supporters elsewhere were very doubtful of the wisdom of the whole proceeding.

REPORTER. What were the circumstances?

SIR RICHARD. They were shortly these. Mr. Letellier early in 1878 had dismissed his Ministers and appointed Mr., afterwards Sir, Henri Joly as Premier. A dissolution followed, and Mr. Joly was sustained by a small majority. The Conservative party in the House of Commons moved a vote of censure on Mr. Letellier, which was debated and defeated on the ground that it was an affair for the Province of Quebec and that they had sustained Mr. Letellier. Our constitution provides that a Lieutenant-Governor shall hold office for five years and can only be dismissed for cause, which must be communicated to Parliament. Lord Lorne, on being applied to to dismiss Mr. Letellier, declined to do so on the ground that the action on account of which his dismissal was sought had been twice passed upon, *i.e.*, by the Federal Parliament and Government then existing and by the electors of his own province. Sir John was both surprised and disgusted at finding Lord

Lorne so resolute, and after a long delay took the very unusual step of appealing to the British Government to instruct Lord Lorne to consent to dismiss Mr. Letellier.

REPORTER. Was not this very irregular?

SIR RICHARD. It was, I think, quite unconstitutional. Sir John had the remedy in his own hands. He could have tendered his resignation and allowed Lord Lorne, if he could, to find new advisers. As matters stood it was very unlikely that Lord Lorne could have done so, in which case he must have accepted Sir John's advice. However, for various reasons Sir John declined to take this course, and instead despatched a sort of embassy to England consisting, I think, of Sir Hector Langevin and Mr. J. Abbott, who after a great deal of trouble succeeded in inducing the British Government to advise Lord Lorne to accede to Sir John's wishes.

REPORTER. Why was Sir John afraid to resign? Was he not sure of a majority in case of a dissolution?

SIR RICHARD. It would naturally have been extremely unpopular with his supporters, but apart from that I think he was less sure of his ground than he appeared to be. To dismiss Mr. Letellier while he was still sustained by the local Legislature might, in the case of a general election, have brought up the question of provincial rights, always a delicate one in Quebec. Outside of Quebec many men would have objected to punishing Mr. Letellier after having been, so to speak, twice acquitted by competent tribunals. Both these were questions which, handled by a great lawyer like Mr. Blake, would have given him much trouble. Then he knew that he had carried many seats in Ontario by very small majorities and that he might not improbably come out considerably a loser and could hardly in any case be a gainer. Also he was aware that in the event of a dissolution and general election he might personally be placed in an extremely disagreeable position.

REPORTER. How could Sir John have been affected personally?

SIR RICHARD. This is a very delicate matter, but it was one which beyond any question had no small influence

upon him. An incident had occurred which led to very strained relations between him and the occupants of Government House. The Imperial Government had paid Canada a great compliment in sending out a Governor closely connected by marriage with the Royal Family. Certain of Sir John's partisans in the press and out of it had the supreme impudence to allege that this rather unusual procedure was done by way of special compliment to Sir John, and the myth, absurd as it was, had gained very considerable credence. Most unhappily, in addition to the difficulty as to Mr. Letellier, Sir John had contrived to place himself in a very awkward position as regards the Princess herself. The Princess Louise was both a clever and a high-spirited woman, exceedingly well informed and accomplished and always most courteous and gracious to everyone, high or low, with whom she came in contact who treated her with proper respect. But she was also unmistakably a great lady, and one of the very last persons with whom any man in his senses would presume to take a liberty, and Sir John had given her very just cause of offence by his conduct on the occasion of a State function, so much so, in fact, that she was obliged to request his retirement from her presence. This he most bitterly resented, but he knew very well that although the matter had been hushed up, as much as possible, it was known to so many persons that in the case of a general election it would have been heralded all over the country, and whether he won or lost the result would have been most unpleasant, as in the case of his success after such a matter had been made the subject of universal comment Lord Lorne would assuredly have resigned, and he would have had to face the odium of having, by his misconduct, driven the Princess out of the country. This, to a man who had always traded largely on his profession of loyalty, would have been a severe blow, and might even have had a serious influence on the election itself, though I have little doubt he would have been sustained. Still, elections are proverbially uncertain, and an incident of this sort would have been a very ugly one to face.

REPORTER. Had the British authorities any special reason for interfering?

SIR RICHARD. It is very likely that in any other case they would have refused to interfere. But they were nervously anxious not to precipitate a collision between Lord Lorne and his Government, in view of the fact that Sir John A. Macdonald had been so very recently returned to power by a very large majority, and they were aware that the Queen herself would have been much aggrieved by such a mishap as Lord Lorne's retirement. Looking at the whole case as dispassionately as it is possible at this distance of time, I incline to think that Sir John would have been justified in demanding Mr. Letellier's dismissal if the Quebec Legislature had thrown out the administration of Sir Henry Joly, but this it did not do till some months after Mr. Letellier had been got rid of. As it was, it appeared to me at the time that so long as Mr. Letellier's advisers were in control of the local Legislature it was an impudent quibble to talk of "his usefulness being gone," which was the sole reason assigned to Parliament for his dismissal. This was to make a farce of the provision in the constitution. Sir John was evidently afraid to lay down the rule that a Lieutenant-Governor must not in any case dismiss his ministers. Altogether, it was a regrettable incident.

REPORTER. Do you think, in the event of a dissolution, the Liberals by any chance could have won?

SIR RICHARD. Personally I did not. But one or two very shrewd observers who were in a position to form an accurate and dispassionate opinion, which was of more value since I know that these same parties had warned Mr. Mackenzie that if he postponed going to the country in June of 1878 he would in all probability be defeated, were convinced that a reaction had already set in in Ontario. Their view was that if the Liberal party was reformed and led by Mr. Blake (which was then a foregone conclusion, as soon as a seat could be found for him, he being at the time out of Parliament), that the Liberals, fighting on the new issue on the right of the provinces to

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manage their own affairs, would have regained most of the seats they had lost in Ontario, and that whatever might happen elsewhere, Sir John would have been greatly weakened. I am bound to say that subsequent events went far to confirm their judgment. The Liberals, for one thing, carried Ontario for the local Legislature early in 1879 by a large majority and, despite the gerrymander and a number of other adverse influences, they did regain many seats in 1882. It must always be borne in mind that the number of seats held by either party in the House often, indeed usually, especially in Ontario, very inadequately represents the real strength of the several parties at the polls. There are many cases in which, with a bare majority of one per cent. of the total popular vote cast, the winning party has had quite a large majority in the House. Consequently the loss of a comparatively small number of votes may mean the loss of a quite disproportionate number of seats. Many years after, on the occasion of the selection of Sir John Abbott as Premier, I heard a man of great eminence in the Conservative ranks declare that no one had ever rendered a greater service to the party than Sir John Abbott when he induced the Imperial Government to advise Lord Lorne to consent to dismiss Mr. Letellier. On one of the party enquiring why this was the case the answer was made that otherwise Sir John A. Macdonald would have had to resign, and that a dissolution must have followed, of which no man could foresee the result, and which, in any case, must have been exceedingly unpleasant for Sir John Macdonald.

REPORTER. Were cordial relations ever re-established?

SIR RICHARD. Breaches of this sort are not easily healed. Moreover, Sir John and his partisans were guilty of the gross indiscretion, to call it by no harsher name, of attempting to boycott the Governor-General. This was nominally on account of His Excellency's refusal to dismiss Mr. Letellier, but everyone understood that it was in revenge for the discipline administered to Sir John. For a time it was a common joke in Ottawa that the new Ministers could not find their way to Government House. Of

course, though by desperate exertions these matters were kept out of the press, mainly out of deference to Her Highness, it was quite impossible to prevent this affair being discussed in the clubs and lobbies of the House and indeed in society generally in Ottawa, and I am glad to be able to say that, in spite of the cavils of place hunters and parasites of all sorts, there was a general consensus of opinion, not only among Liberals, but among the better class of Conservatives, that the Princess had done perfectly right and deserved the utmost credit for her courageous action. Unfortunately within a few months she met with a very severe accident, from the effects of which she suffered much during the entire remainder of her residence in Canada, and which compelled her to be absent from Ottawa during the greater part of several winters, and made it impossible for her to travel about the Dominion as much as she wished to do, and prevented the people of Canada from becoming acquainted with her to anything like the extent they desired.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-FIVE.

*SIR JOHN'S LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF CONDITIONS
IN NORTH-WEST.*

REPORTER. Apart from the tariff, did Sir John introduce any changes?

SIR RICHARD. Practically but one of any great importance. In forming his Cabinet he selected the Grand Master of the Orange Order as a member. This was in fact, though not in name, a recognition of the Order, and meant a tacit alliance between the Orange element and the Ultramontane French Catholic party on the understanding that each was to be dominant in their respective provinces. This was pretty faithfully carried out during Sir John's lifetime and even after his decease.

REPORTER. How did the Orangemen as a body like this?

SIR RICHARD. Of course such an arrangement could not be formally announced. I believe there was at first a good deal of grumbling, but after Mr. Blake's celebrated speech on the incorporation of the Orange Order they seem to have accepted the position as the lesser of two evils and to have arrayed themselves definitely on the side of the Conservative party, at any rate in Ontario. This was a very important new departure. It was clear that Sir John meant to lose no chance, and indeed, with the alliance of the Orangemen, backed by the manufacturers, so long as he was able to keep up his oldtime friendly relations with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, a point he never neglected, Sir John had some reason to reckon himself impregnable in Ontario, which in his case pretty well meant in the Dominion at large. In truth, if he could have risen to the situation and applied himself with some degree of honesty and seriousness to develop the North-West, as it could and ought to have been developed, he

might at one and the same time have done a great service to the country and strengthened himself beyond any possibility of successful attacks during his lifetime.

REPORTER. As a matter of fact, Sir John did hold his position until his death.

SIR RICHARD. That is true, but he had a hard fight for it more than once, and my point is that he could have held it with very much less trouble to himself if he had pursued a different course in the North-West. He had a most magnificent opportunity, and he not merely threw it away, but he so abused his position as virtually to strangle any considerable settlement for many years.

REPORTER. To what do you attribute his conduct?

SIR RICHARD. Mainly to the fact that he was at the outset and remained all through, at least all through his term of office as Minister of the Interior, quite unacquainted with the real needs and possibilities of that vast territory. To begin with, Sir John was well advanced in years in 1879. As I observed before, up to that time he had never set foot in Manitoba, and I believe had never been as far west as Chicago, or ever seen a prairie state. Consequently he had no personal knowledge of these prairie regions. They were in a way a sealed book to him, and he could not realize the extraordinary rapidity with which they could be developed under favourable conditions. In their earlier stage it is often literally true that they can grow as fast in ten years as a wooded country can in fifty years, a fact Easterners find it very hard to understand. Had Sir John on becoming Minister of the Interior spent a few months or even a few weeks in the territories he had to govern, a man of his ability could hardly have failed to perceive how utterly unsuited the land policy he was led to adopt was to such a country. As it was he only saw that it afforded almost unbounded facilities for plunder, and he seems to have looked on it as a sort of God-send to enable him to satisfy his rapacious followers. Anyway, the course he took was calculated in the highest degree to retard the development of that country.

REPORTER. In what respects was this policy objectionable?

SIR RICHARD. Why, first of all, it was self-evidently an object of the first importance to keep the population together as much as possible and to require everyone who bought land from the Government to settle upon it and cultivate it. In the next place, in a prairie country the people must have railroads. Elsewhere they might be only a convenience; on the prairie they were a vital necessity. Above all things, the greatest care should have been taken to prevent the land falling into the hands of mere speculators. It was only necessary to look across the border to perceive the urgent need of taking every precaution to avert these mischiefs. Sir John's whole policy seemed designed of set purpose to create and aggravate them. Instead of concentrating the population he absolutely compelled it to scatter. Instead of guarding against locking up the land, he gave speculators every possible inducement to acquire vast tracts and hold them for a rise. Instead of aiding and encouraging in the construction of railways to assist the settlers, he put for years every possible obstacle in the way of building them. With Mr. Mackenzie's admirable scheme before him he deliberately ran counter to it in every particular. He created scores, if not hundreds, of so-called land colonization companies, not one of which paid its way or succeeded in promoting a single settlement of any importance. Above all, he devised, apparently at the express instigation of the devil, the famous chequer-board system, under which every alternate section over an immense extent of territory was sold without any condition of settlement, and the homesteaders who had taken up land in any given township were practically placed at a distance of from one to two miles from their nearest neighbours.

REPORTER. How did this affect the settlement?

SIR RICHARD. Take the case of an average township of six miles square, containing say twenty thousand acres. Under this system you would have perhaps some twenty settlers scattered over the entire township. How could

these poor people hope to maintain a decent school for their children or keep up a good road or secure any of those conveniences they had been accustomed to? The thing was impossible, and when, besides this, they found themselves several days' journey from the nearest railway station, it was no wonder that they refused to stay in our country when by crossing the border they could locate themselves in equally good territory, where they could obtain fair means of transport and the other facilities they required without trouble.

REPORTER. Was not all this very apparent?

SIR RICHARD. It was very apparent to men on the ground. The trouble was that Sir John had never been on the ground and also, I think, that he returned to office with a sort of fixed idea that if he could only hold his own for a few years nothing else mattered, if after him the deluge. He certainly acted in many ways as if he had made up his mind that if he went everything would go, and I cannot say that he was much astray in his calculations. Unhappily a man in his position has very little time to think out any well-considered scheme. Probably every scheme which such a man carries out has been matured before he takes office. Afterwards the odds are terribly against his being able to mature anything—at least that has been my experience. Of all men living, the Premier of a country like Canada needs long intervals of leisure. Of all men living, as things go, he is apt to get the least. When old Oxenstiern declared, "*Quam parva sapientia mundus gubernatur,*" I do not think he referred so much to the incapacity of men in high places as to the very small amount of patient reflection they are able to bestow on the conduct of affairs. I have no doubt, for instance, that Sir John often thought long and hard how best he could strengthen his hold on power and keep his party well in hand, but I very strongly suspect that he never bestowed half-a-dozen hours of serious study on the problem of how best to promote the settlement of the North-West, or how to stop the exodus, which was steadily increasing, of our people to the United States.

REPORTER. You visited the North-West frequently yourself?

SIR RICHARD. From 1879 to 1886 I think I did not let a single year pass without paying a visit of considerable duration to the territories. On my very first visit I had the great advantage of travelling over the greater part of Southern and Central Manitoba with the late Mr. Thomas Greenway, afterwards Premier of that province, and at that time very actively engaged in personally conducting large caravans of settlers from Western Ontario to Manitoba. Our trip was over the unbroken prairie by wagon and tent. By a curious coincidence, the second or third day out we met a similar exploring expedition headed by Mr. Norquay, the then Premier, with whom and Mr. Greenway I had much interesting conversation round our camp fire.

REPORTER. Mr. Norquay was the first Premier of Manitoba, I believe.

SIR RICHARD. He was at any rate the real Premier, and in some respects a very typical specimen. He was an immensely powerful man, a half-breed himself, but well educated and quite alive to the possible future of Manitoba, though I think personally he would have much preferred to see the Indians and the buffaloes left at peace for a few years longer. I was agreeably surprised at finding him a very well informed man, and the contrast between him and my friend Greenway, who was a Devon man and an equally typical Englishman, was of more than ordinary interest. On two points Mr. Norquay was very pronounced. He was, and rightly, very averse to allowing any land to be sold except to actual settlers, and he was also very imperative in assuring me that no trouble would ever have occurred in Red River if only the small detachment of British troops stationed there had not been withdrawn. Indians and half-breeds, he said, had alike an almost superstitious respect for the regular British soldiers and had quite misunderstood the reason of their departure. In fact, they mostly supposed that the English Government took them away because they

had sold the country to Canada, a proceeding they much disliked. This, of course, was due to a perversion of the fact that Canada had bought out the Hudson's Bay Company, but it was by no means an unnatural idea to enter into the minds of the Indians, and did much mischief. It occurred to me at the time, and afterwards, that it was a pity Sir John Macdonald had not taken Mr. Norquay, or someone like him, into his Cabinet, but I fancy that if he ever entertained the idea he found it difficult to pass over Dr. Schultz, and I know that he was fully determined to have nothing to do with that gentleman in any such capacity.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-SIX.

*GOVERNMENT POLICY AGAINST ANY INTER-
FERENCE WITH C. P. R.*

REPORTER. When was the contract with the present C. P. R. Company completed?

SIR RICHARD. It was formally ratified early in 1881. Prior to entering into it, the Government, through Sir Charles Tupper, who was at that time Minister of Railways, had begun some work west of Winnipeg. The results of the experiment seem to have satisfied them that there was not a shadow of a chance of completing it for a long period under Government supervision. This was probably true enough, and is the only explanation for the exceedingly onerous contract into which they allowed themselves to be drawn. Nevertheless, nothing could excuse their action. They agreed in the first place to put at the disposal of the company some thirty millions of acres, all to be of good quality, without requiring any settlement to be performed or any maximum price to be fixed at which settlers might buy. They further consented that these lands should be free from all taxes for a very considerable period, and they allowed the railway to charge any rates of freight they liked, and by other provisions gave them a practical monopoly of constructing lines where they pleased. Many of their own supporters, who knew something of the situation, were exceedingly dissatisfied with the bargain, but were silenced by the argument that it was only by consenting to such terms that they could carry out their agreement with British Columbia.

REPORTER. The C. P. R. made good their contract, however.

SIR RICHARD. They showed wonderful energy and ability in financing and completing the work within a matter of five or six years from the time they took it in

hand, and they may no doubt have thought, in view of the difficulties they had to contend with, that they were fully justified in exacting the terms they did. But whatever may be said in behalf of the promoters of the great railway, and however great its present success as a commercial enterprise, and I am in no way inclined to under-rate it, the fact still remains that no worse bargain was ever made by any Government than that which Sir John A. Macdonald concluded with the corporation of the C. P. R. The direct cost to the people of Canada was immense. Apart from the huge land grant, they had to contribute in hard cash over sixty millions of dollars, in part spent on a section of the road, in part paid over to the C. P. R., besides a charge for extinguishing the Indian title, equal, if capitalized, to thirty millions more. But the indirect cost was very much more serious. It cannot be too often repeated that the sole and only justification for loading down the people of old Canada with the enormous burthen they had to assume for the government and acquisition of the North-West and for the construction of the C. P. R. lay in the hope of providing an outlet for our surplus population in our own territory, and that in this most essential point they were for twenty years entirely disappointed. Not only did the C. P. R. prove quite worthless as a colonizing agency, but the extraordinary privileges granted to it rendered it a positive and most serious impediment in the way of all settlement. Let the facts speak.

REPORTER. You refer to the slow growth of the North-West.

SIR RICHARD. It was worse than slow growth. It was a paralysis. Take what test you please. Take the relative growth of Canada and the United States in a period of twenty years. Take the growth of the Maritime Provinces. Take the growth of Ontario. Take the growth of the North-West Provinces. Take the United States census. Take our own census. All tell the same story—great natural advantages, most profuse expenditure, practically no results; on the other

hand, very slow growth, if not absolute stagnation, and a frightful loss of the best and most vital elements of the nation.

REPORTER. Perhaps you would enumerate in detail.

SIR RICHARD. Well, we will begin with the United States. There is the twenty years from 1790 to 1810. Starting with a population of 3,929,000 in 1790, they grew without any immigration to 7,239,000 in 1810, an increase of 3,310,000, or very nearly double. We, in Canada, from 1881 to 1901, starting with a population of 4,324,000 in 1881, with much aid from immigration, barely reached 5,371,000 in 1901, an increase of 1,047,000 on a larger population than that of the United States in 1790, as against 3,310,000 on their part in the same interval of time. Take the growth of Ontario. In the ten years from 1871 to 1881, Ontario, starting with a population of 1,620,000, had increased to 1,926,000 in 1881, being a gain of 306,000 people, or very nearly twenty per cent. But from 1881 to 1891 Ontario only increased from 1,926,000 in 1881 to 2,114,000 in 1891, a gain of 188,000, or rather less than ten per cent., while from 1891 to 1901 its growth was just 68,000 people, having increased from 2,114,000 in 1891 to 2,182,000 in 1901, a fraction over three per cent. in ten years. The case of the Maritime Provinces was even worse. Their population in 1871 was 767,000, and in 1881 some 870,000, being an increase in ten years of 103,000. From 870,000 in 1881 they had grown to 893,000 in 1901, an increase of 23,000 in twenty years, in all about two and a half per cent., about equal to one year's natural increase of births over deaths. In Manitoba and the North-West, starting from a population of 87,000 in 1881, we had gained by 1891 some 130,000, the population having risen to 218,000, while in the same period, from 1881 to 1891, North and South Dakota, starting with a population of 134,000, had risen in 1890 to 510,000, an increase of 376,000. Add to these facts this other, that the United States census of 1890 showed a Canadian-born population of something like one million then resident in that country.

REPORTER. That is a pretty damaging statement.

SIR RICHARD. It was the fruit of dishonest and ignorant administration. The bargain with British Columbia was distinctly a dishonest one. The bargain with the C.P.R., while in part the sequence of the other, was the result of ignorance and stupidity. No men who knew the state of affairs in the North-West could ever have put their hands to such a document. All the Government had to do was simply to let things alone and the people of Ontario would gladly have done the rest for them and made their administration as great a success as that of the late Liberal Government has been in the cardinal matter of settling and developing the North-West. After my defeat in Lennox I was for many years the representative of constituencies in Western Ontario. I was an eye-witness of the extraordinary exodus which took place from all parts of that rich and fertile region, and I can bear testimony of my own knowledge to two things, first, that better equipped or more desirable emigrants never moved from one country to another than the men who left Canada for the United States during those years; and, secondly, that had they been only permitted they would one and all have most gladly cast in their lot with us in Manitoba and the North-West. But when I heard the Minister of Railways in the Railway Committee Room of the House of Commons deliberately declare that it was the settled policy of the Government not to allow any road to be built which might possibly divert traffic from the C. P. R., and follow up that declaration by refusing to the representatives of these migrants the right to construct a road at their own costs and charges without burthening the exchequer one cent, I felt that it was idle to hope that these men would ever consent to remain in Canada.

REPORTER. It would seem as if the Government of that day had stood very much in their own light in impeding settlement.

SIR RICHARD. On my return from my first trip to Manitoba, I told both Mr. Blake and Mr. Mackenzie that

so great were the natural resources of that region that if the Government would only let it alone they might rest assured that there could be such a development there that it would quite overshadow all fiscal questions and probably carry Government over any difficulties they might otherwise encounter, and this I am quite certain would have been the case, even apart from their adopting Mr. Mackenzie's plan to which I have alluded. Instead, these gentlemen, by their deliberate disregard of the commonest and most obvious precautions to guard the settler against railway extortion, and by the outrageously foolish land policy I have described, had brought things to such a pass that, as our official records show abundantly, they had all but completely put a stop to immigration into Manitoba and the territories and could only induce a pitiful 1,200 or 1,300 stragglers to take up homesteads over that vast region in 1896, against some 36,000 eager applicants who secured locations in 1910. Incidentally, it was a curious, not to say a suggestive, fact that, while the greater population in the four older English-speaking provinces fluctuated largely, Quebec, without any considerable immigration to help it, kept on increasing steadily all through the thirty years from 1871 to 1901, and that in the latter twenty years Quebec increased from 1,359,000 in 1881 to 1,688,000 in 1901, being an increase of 289,000 on a population of 1,359,000 as against an increase in Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island of 279,000 on a population of 2,796,000, all told, in 1881.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-SEVEN.

*RASCALLY GERRYMANDER OF THE CONSERVATIVE
GOVERNMENT.—ITS RESULTS ON ELECTIONS.*

REPORTER. After the tariff and the C. P. R. contract were disposed of, what especial questions came up?

SIR RICHARD. Then came the census of 1881 and the subsequent re-adjustment of the representation of the several provinces. Quebec, of course, retained its original number, but as it turned out, Ontario was entitled to four additional members and this was made the pretext for a most impudent fraud whereby something like one-sixth of the population of Ontario were to all intents and purposes deprived of any voice in Parliament.

REPORTER. You refer to the gerrymander of 1882.

SIR RICHARD. I do, and to one of the gravest defects in a representative system under which an unscrupulous Government can so manipulate the several constituencies as to secure to themselves a large majority of the so-called representatives while they have barely divided the popular vote—nay, may even carry things so far that, while in a considerable minority of the actual vote cast, they may retain a majority of the seats in the House of Commons.

REPORTER. How can this be brought about?

SIR RICHARD. Easily enough if only the boundaries of the existing constituencies are disregarded. Every Canadian politician knows that, in the case of ordinary rural ridings more particularly, it is perfectly certain that certain townships in any given constituency will give a large majority for one party or the other. They know also that once a township has become decidedly Liberal or decidedly Conservative it will, as a rule, continue to vote in that way for many successive elections unless some burning question should arise to over-ride

ordinary party associations. It follows, therefore, that in many cases by the simple expedient of grouping four or five townships of any given stripe together you may create a constituency in which one especial political party will have a perfectly overwhelming majority. On the other hand, by this process you may so weaken the same party in two or three adjacent ridings that they will be sure to be defeated in those constituencies. All that is necessary is to disregard the ordinary boundaries of the several ridings or counties, as the case may be. For instance, take a county which is divided into three ridings, in each of which one particular party has a majority of say 250, a very respectable majority, and quite sufficient in ordinary cases to ensure the election of any candidate. Now, if by collecting together several townships of one political complexion you can create a constituency in which that party has a majority of 1,200, it is a matter of demonstration that their opponents would be left with a majority of 200 or 300 in the two remaining ridings, and you would arrive at this result that whereas over the whole county one party had a majority of 700 or 800 they would come out with but one seat and the other side with two out of the three.

REPORTER. A mighty ingenious but a mighty dishonest way of defrauding their opponents.

SIR RICHARD. I will put an extreme case by way of illustration. Let us suppose that Ontario is divided into eighty-six districts of equal population and that each alternate township is strongly Conservative or strongly Liberal. Let us suppose further that the popular vote is equally divided on the whole between the two parties. It would be quite possible, under those conditions, by simply ignoring the county boundaries and grouping the strongly Liberal townships together (hiving the Grits, in short) to so arrange matters that the Grits should have an average majority of about 1,000 in twenty-six constituencies and the Conservatives an average of 450 in sixty constituencies. The elections themselves might, under such circumstances, be conducted with the most

perfect propriety, yet the result would be (assuming that a total vote of 500,000 was cast) that 250,000 Liberals would have twenty-six seats and 250,000 Conservatives have sixty seats.

REPORTER. That would be gerrymandering reduced to a fine art.

SIR RICHARD. You can take another illustration. Let us suppose that one party had a handsome majority of the popular vote but that the constituencies were so arranged that in thirty-six ridings that party had an average majority of 1,000 votes and that in fifty the other party had an average majority of 400. The result in this case would be that the latter would be in a heavy minority of the total vote but would hold fifty seats.

REPORTER. But this is to make Representative Government a farce.

SIR RICHARD. Undoubtedly it is as far as it goes. Nevertheless, this is exactly what Sir John A. Macdonald and his party did do by their gerrymander in 1882. Under pretence of adding four seats to the representation of Ontario they changed the boundaries of fifty-four constituencies so that while the Liberal party in Ontario almost exactly divided the popular vote in 1882 and 1887, and had a decisive majority in 1891, they were placed in a large minority in 1882 and 1887 and even in 1891 were kept still in a minority, though, of course, not so large a one. That there may be no possibility of dispute, I give the figures for 1891 from the published statement of Mr. George Johnson, the Dominion Statistician and a strong Conservative. Mr. Johnson stated the total Liberal vote in Ontario in 1891 to have been 178,871 and the total Conservative vote 171,595, giving a majority of the whole vote of 7,276 in favour of the Liberal party. The result in number of seats was that the Liberals, with a popular majority of 7,276, got forty-four seats and the Conservatives, who were in a minority of 7,276, obtained forty-eight. How grave a thing this was can be best understood from the fact that the total Conservative majority in Ontario in 1878 was 7,000, when they carried fifty-nine

seats to the Liberals' twenty-nine out of the eighty-eight seats Ontario then possessed.

REPORTER. Is there no remedy for such a state of things?

SIR RICHARD. The only adequate remedy I have been able to discover is the adoption in one form or the other of a system of proportionate representation whereby each party would obtain just that number of seats to which its proportion of the popular vote entitled it. Like many other reforms, this remedy has suffered from a misnomer. It is absurd to talk of it as implying representation of minorities. It simply means due and fair representation of the vote cast. As to the objection commonly made, it is almost enough to say that for very many years a perfect system of proportionate representation has obtained in the House of Commons Committees. Here the minority and majority are always fairly represented in proportion to their respective members. If the minority have one-third of the seats in the House, they have one-third of each committee. If they have two-fifths of the seats, they have two-fifths of the members of each committee, and so on.

REPORTER. That seems fair. How would you apply it to the several constituencies?

SIR RICHARD. In the simplest way. Form them into groups of two or three or five and give each man one vote. Then if you take the simplest form and attach two ridings together, electing two members, any party who can control one-third of the total vote can elect one of the members. The other side can only elect two if it controls more than two thirds of the votes, a thing which is practically unknown. The result when such a system has been put in force has been that each party obtains almost exactly the number of seats it is entitled to by its share of the popular vote and that gerrymandering becomes impossible, as no amount of cutting and carving would enable any party to secure a two-thirds vote. But the indirect advantages are enormous, as I have intimated elsewhere.

REPORTER. How was the gerrymander received by the Liberals?

SIR RICHARD. It very greatly embittered them. To do our public men justice, they rarely bear malice against an opponent who can defeat them in fair fight, but this was looked upon as a dishonest and dishonourable fraud, which it assuredly was. Tampering with the fundamental principles of our constitution, as in the case of Manitoba and British Columbia, was bad enough, but there they had at least the excuse that those provinces would very soon possess a population large enough to justify the undue representation originally assigned to them. The gerrymander act, on the other hand, was a mean and cowardly trick, which placed those who devised and those who voted for it outside the pale of honourable opponents altogether. Such things degrade public life, and it did contribute in no small degree to the profound demoralization which marked the last stages of Sir John A. Macdonald's career.

REPORTER. What other causes brought that about?

SIR RICHARD. When to a fiscal system, rightly described as a system of legalized robbery, you add a fraudulent representation under which a large proportion of the inhabitants of a great province are virtually disfranchised, and commit the conduct of public affairs to a leader who has shown that he had no sort of regard for truth, honour, or honesty when he could gain by fair means or foul an advantage over his opponents, you may rest assured that the standard of public morality in that country will fall to a very low point if indeed it can be said to exist at all, and also that if this state of things be continued for any length of time the taint will have struck so deep that generations will have to pass before it will be eradicated from the minds of the people.

REPORTER. How long did this gerrymander last?

SIR RICHARD. For nearly a quarter of a century. It began in 1882 and was not done away with till the election of 1904, owing to the refusal of the Senate to alter the constituencies till after the census had been taken.

As the Conservatives had a decided majority in the Senate at that time, we had no alternative but to submit. This meant that for five successive elections, in 1882, 1887, 1891, 1896 and 1900, the Liberal party in Ontario were deprived of their fair share in the representation.

REPORTER. What did this involve?

SIR RICHARD. If to the positive loss the Liberals incurred by the gerrymander you add the illicit gain the Conservatives obtained from the grossly unfair representation accorded to British Columbia and the North-West Territories, it is quite evident that Sir John could not possibly have maintained himself in power either in 1887 or in 1891 had the representation been honestly distributed in accordance with the clear meaning of the Constitution. But apart from this, every politician of any experience knows quite well that there are always a certain number of malcontents in any large party, especially under a Federal system, who must perforce remain quiet if the Government possesses a large majority, but who are capable of becoming very dangerous if that majority is considerably reduced. It was, I have no doubt, the consideration of this fact which influenced Sir John A. Macdonald to have recourse to these disgraceful expedients for swelling his majority. Time and again, between the elections of 1882 and 1891, there were occasions, sometimes more than once or twice in a single session, in which he would have been in the gravest peril if his normal majority had been reduced by twenty or twenty-five votes, as it would have been if he had not had recourse to these disgraceful expedients to increase it far beyond its legitimate strength. Time and again there were discontented groups formed who would undoubtedly have voted against him had their votes been sufficient to have defeated him, but who could not risk being exposed to his vengeance so long as he was strong enough to carry his point in spite of them. I need not say that the Opposition proper would, under such circumstances, have been able to hold him in check very effectively.

REPORTER. This is very curious. Perhaps you would give details.

SIR RICHARD. Take for instance the election of 1887. Sir John had a nominal majority of some thirty votes, more or less. Of these thirty votes he owed at least fourteen or fifteen to the gerrymander, and some five or six to the excessive representation given to British Columbia, Manitoba and the territories. There was great dissatisfaction with him in Quebec and quite a number of his nominal supporters were ready to have followed Mr. Blake had he remained in the field. Had Sir John come out of that election with a majority of ten or twelve, he could not have kept office for six weeks. It was his gerrymander alone which saved him then and on half-a-dozen occasions afterwards between 1887 and 1891.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-EIGHT.

*POLITICAL CROOKEDNESS IN ELECTIONS.—FAILURE
OF THE SO-CALLED REPRESENTATION SYSTEM.*

REPORTER. How did matters turn out in 1882?

SIR RICHARD. When the smoke cleared away we very soon found out how gravely the gerrymander had crippled us directly and indirectly. Prior to that measure we had very good reason to believe that we would have divided the seats in Ontario. As a matter of fact, the electoral returns showed clearly that we did divide the popular vote to within a small figure, more than accounted for by the circumstances that the Liberal majorities in the hived constituencies were so decisive that a large number of our supporters in these ridings did not vote at all, while our opponents, acting, as we found afterwards, under special instructions, did their best to bring out whatever strength they had.

REPORTER. That was good strategy.

SIR RICHARD. It was. Sir John rarely gave away a chance in such things, and I know that he was desirous as far as he could to disguise the extent to which he had carried out his principle of "Hiving the Grits." But apart from the very heavy direct loss, Sir John gained in many other ways. In the first place, our friends in other provinces who had counted on a great rally in Ontario were very much disheartened at seeing Sir John returned to power with a majority of from sixteen to eighteen in his own province. It was almost a hopeless task to explain to them then or afterwards that we had been fighting an enemy who used false weights and loaded dice and that what we had told them was literally true and that we had absolutely divided the popular vote. In truth we had done more for we had secured a considerable majority of all the voters then resident in Ontario, the scales being turned against us in many constituencies by

the importation at heavy cost of men who had left Canada and settled in the United States, in the adjoining states, but whose names had been purposely kept on the voters' lists for this very object.

REPORTER. Surely this could have been stopped.

SIR RICHARD. It has been put an end to, but it was very difficult to deal with as the law then stood, and they used simply to swarm over on election day.

REPORTER. Have you any idea of the number?

SIR RICHARD. Statistics in a thing of this kind cannot well be obtained, but from detailed reports furnished by our agents and committee men at the time, and from statements made afterwards by railway officials, and in a few instances from actual count, I should say that the foreign vote, as it was generally called, which was thus brought in, averaged from one hundred to two hundred in most closely contested ridings, and sometimes much more. You see there were an immense number of Canadians at that time settled in all the border towns, such as Buffalo, Rochester, Cleveland, Chicago and so forth, and these men were as a rule only too glad to accept a free trip and a handsome *douceur* to revisit their old homes.

REPORTER. Was not this both costly and illegal?

SIR RICHARD. Undoubtedly, but the Government were able as a rule to obtain free passes for most, if not all, from the railway corporations, and as for illegality, the men were back in the United States long before proceedings could be taken to set aside the election and the expense of tracking out a number of such cases would have been enormous.

REPORTER. So that practically you had no redress?

SIR RICHARD. Practically none. In one special case, where it might have been worth while for example's sake to have made an exposure of the system, we had caused careful note to be taken both of the number thus brought in and of the sums paid. This we were able to do through friends living in the cities from which most of the non-resident voters came. In that particular instance we

ascertained that over 400 such voters had been brought in at a cost of many thousands of dollars, but the death of the party elected prevented further proceedings. This was no doubt an extreme case, but the same sort of thing was going on to a greater or less extent all over Ontario, and also, though I think to a much smaller extent, in Quebec. As to the Maritime Provinces, I cannot speak. There was no concealment about it. In fact one of Sir John's own colleagues openly boasted to me that they could, if need be, bring in 20,000 outside voters to counteract what he was pleased to call "my devilish machinations," and I believe in certain contingencies that they both could and would have done so, if indeed they did not actually do it.

REPORTER. This must have been a tremendous handicap.

SIR RICHARD. Certainly, especially as those voters were distributed pretty evenly over many constituencies. How heavy it was can best be judged from this single fact, that in the case of the most severe defeat the Liberal party ever sustained in Ontario in fifty years, the total majority of the popular vote recorded against them was, as I said before, barely 7,000. I have every reason to believe, in fact I know, that in each of the several elections of 1882, 1887 and 1891 a larger number of outside voters were brought in and used against us.

REPORTER. All this, however, was apart from the gerrymander. How else did that help Sir John?

SIR RICHARD. Well, as I have said, he secured a large majority from Ontario to which he was in no way entitled, and this, apart from the moral effect elsewhere, strengthened his own individual position immensely. In former days he had pretty nearly always been in a minority from Ontario, and even when he was the nominal Premier he had been made to feel (and bitterly resented it too) that he was dependent on his Quebec supporters. Sir John in a minority from Ontario, or barely able to divide his own province, would have occupied a vastly different position from Sir John with a large and trusty

Ontario majority behind him, and no man was more keenly alive to that phase of the situation than himself. I strongly suspect that he had definitely made up his mind that he would never submit to any such domination again, and one of his first acts after the election of 1882 went far to show that he was determined to guard against any such risk in every way.

REPORTER. To what do you allude?

SIR RICHARD. To his taking Mr. Chapleau into his Cabinet. This was done almost avowedly for the purpose of checkmating Sir Hector Langevin, whom he suspected of desiring to supplant him, or which Sir John considered to be nearly as bad, of designing to unite the Quebec members into a solid mass and of dictating terms to him. This move did in effect divide his French supporters into two very distinct factions and left him master of the situation, especially after he got rid of Sir Charles Tupper, whom he also distrusted.

REPORTER. Surely these men did not aspire to displace Sir John?

SIR RICHARD. I do not think Sir Hector Langevin had any such idea in his mind. He did certainly aspire to succeed Sir John in the event of the latter's death or retirement, but I am quite sure he did not design to conspire against him. As to Sir Charles Tupper, the case was different. It was an open secret that there had been serious difficulties between him and Sir John. It was alleged that Sir Charles had had a distinct promise from Sir John that the latter would soon retire in his favour. This Sir John did not do, it was said on the pretext that he could not persuade his friends to support Sir Charles Tupper, and it was generally believed that this was the reason why Sir Charles accepted the post of High Commissioner. One thing is certain, that the introduction of Mr. Chapleau and the elimination of Sir Charles Tupper, whether voluntary or not, left Sir John absolute dictator in his Cabinet, and that he availed himself of his position to the full.

REPORTER. Did he show his sense of this plainly?

SIR RICHARD. I am not perhaps quite a fair judge. To some extent I played the part of Mordecai to his Haman, and he was apt to grow rather restive at my lack of deference. But one fact is very certain, and that is that after 1882 Sir John had no longer a genuine majority in Ontario and that nothing but the gerrymander and a profuse expenditure for the purpose of bringing in a large number of the voters who had left Ontario in former years enabled him to secure a majority of the seats in the House of Commons.

REPORTER. Were not the majority of the men who left Ontario Liberals?

SIR RICHARD. That is quite true, but men who emigrate are apt after a few years to become very indifferent to the politics of the country from which they came. Also there were a very considerable number of Conservatives among them. As a mere matter of fact, the actual polls stood as follows:—

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| 1882 | Lib. 131,367 | Con. 133,797 | Con. maj. 2,430 |
| 1887 | Lib. 170,408 | Con. 173,564 | Con. maj. 3,156 |
| 1891 | Lib. 177,354 | Con. 173,407 | Lib. maj. 3,947 |

and in all cases the Conservatives had a parliamentary majority ranging from fourteen to eighteen when they had a small popular vote in their favour, down to four where the Liberals had a considerable popular majority.

REPORTER. And your conclusion from all this?

SIR RICHARD. Is that a so-called representative system, under which such a result was possible, does not deserve to be called a representative system at all.

REPORTER. Is not lack of deference rather a mild way of putting it?

SIR RICHARD—(with a grim laugh)—Well, I am afraid you are right. I certainly did not mince matters in describing his doings, past and present. Perhaps remembering that apart from his Premiership he was quite old enough to have been my father, and that he was actually what is called in England the “father of the House,” I might have had, as Shakespeare puts it,

“Respect for his high place and let the devil be sometimes honoured on his burning throne.” But he had brought it on himself by going out of his way to attack me when he had no special reason for doing so.

REPORTER. I have been told he dropped that latterly.

SIR RICHARD. He did, but not till after I had taken him to task pretty sharply on one or two occasions for some of his after-dinner speeches out of Parliament. Towards the end we had subsided into a sort of armed neutrality, and perhaps if he had lived a little longer we might have arrived at some sort of *modus vivendi*. Friends we could never have been again. He had many good points, and I had learnt a good deal from him in earlier days. With better surroundings he might have been a better man, and I would make more allowances for him to-day than I did twenty or thirty years ago.

INTERVIEW NUMBER THIRTY-NINE.

*EXODUS OF CITIZENS TO THE UNITED STATES.—SIR
JOHN'S DISTRUST OF THE NORTH-WEST.*

REPORTER. Was there anything else of note in 1882 or 1883?

SIR RICHARD. Not much that was visible on the surface. It was becoming more and more evident that the attempt to settle the North-West on the lines laid down by the Government, both as to their land and their railway policy, was a dismal failure, and it was still more evident that a tremendous drain of the best elements of our population had set in towards the United States. The latter factor in the situation had become very alarming indeed, and it so continued with very little cessation up to 1896 or 1897. The class of people who left Canada, moreover, were the very ones of all others we could least spare. They consisted for the most part of the most vigorous and enterprising of our young men and women. I think I have already mentioned that it was computed, after careful examination, that by 1896 at least every third able-bodied man in Canada between the ages of twenty and forty had emigrated to the United States.

REPORTER. Was this universal?

SIR RICHARD. Pretty much so, at least as regards the English-speaking provinces. I am not so sure as to Quebec. Judging from the census returns, the Maritime Provinces suffered most. There the population came to a complete standstill, and in some cases they not only lost the whole of their natural increase but the population actually diminished. Next to them came Ontario, though in her case the loss of the native-born population was partly concealed by the arrival of a considerable number of immigrants. But the general result was miserable. With a total population of less than five millions occupy-

ing a country well able to support a population of fifty millions, and perhaps one hundred millions, the total rate of increase, after deducting the foreign immigration, was scarcely over half of one per cent. per annum over a period of twenty years from 1881 to 1901, and half of that small increase occurred in the five years from 1896 to 1901, during which the number of immigrants who actually settled in Canada was more than double those who remained in the whole previous decade, while the exodus was very greatly reduced. After 1901 the tide turned and to some purpose.

REPORTER. Had this emigration any particular effect on the political parties?

SIR RICHARD. It had a very marked effect, especially in Ontario. The men who left were of all others the class from whom the Liberal party in the ordinary course of things were likely to obtain recruits. I should say from my own personal observation and from inquiry that we lost two to one, if not three to one, Liberals for every Conservative who emigrated. In those days I was in the habit of traversing Ontario from end to end several times in the course of each year, and no one thing impressed me more painfully than the fact that wherever I had marked a young fellow of more than ordinary promise I was almost sure to find, when I asked after him on a future occasion, that he had gone to the United States. It had also another effect of considerable economic importance. As a rule our Ontario farmers find it very difficult to get sufficient trained help outside their own families, and when their sons left them in the way and to the extent I have described it became almost impossible for them to cultivate their land properly. I have no doubt that the exodus in this way contributed very largely to the great drop in the price of farm lands throughout Ontario which occurred between 1880 and 1895.

REPORTER. Was this depreciation very serious?

SIR RICHARD. It was indeed, particularly in the case of high-priced farms, and the real depreciation was far in excess of the nominal. In fact there were several years

during which in many parts of Ontario you could not sell farms at all. It was far from infrequent in certain localities to see farms disposed of for sums which would hardly represent the cost of the buildings and fences upon them, and nothing prevented an immense number of farm mortgages from being foreclosed except the knowledge on the part of the mortgagee that if they got rid of the existing occupants they would be unable to sell or rent the land and that if left unoccupied it would very speedily deteriorate to an untold extent. Of course there were other causes which contributed to this. One was the loss of the American market, which, although in some respects it may ultimately have been a blessing in disguise by compelling our farmers in some instances to adopt a very much better style of farming, did all the same for a time inflict much hardship. Increased cost of taxation and increased cost of necessary articles arising out of the imposition of a protective tariff had a good deal to do with it, and there was another cause not quite sufficiently appreciated which added to their difficulties, and that was the extraordinary extent to which a large number of farmers had plunged into land speculations in Manitoba and the North-West.

REPORTER. You rather surprise me. I thought that had been chiefly confined to city people and professional speculators.

SIR RICHARD. By no means. Apart from individual speculators a great number of land companies had been formed, almost all of which came to grief. Many farmers invested in those, though many more purchased lands outright on the instalment plan and for several years found the payments on those lands a very heavy drain on their resources. In truth for a time speculations in the North-West were almost as bad as in the days of the South Sea Bubble. Vast numbers of so-called town lots of the most minute dimensions were sold at public auction, and at good prices too, in the towns and cities of the older parts of the Dominion. At one time there seemed to be no limit to the public credulity in this regard. It was a craze, but

it was widespread and of considerable duration. I mention it chiefly to show how great was the interest taken at one time in the North-West and how easy it would have been by a wise policy to have directed a great stream of immigration in that quarter.

REPORTER. You spoke of colonization companies. Did they figure largely in this way?

SIR RICHARD. They did. I remember one notable instance which goes to show how far-reaching these things often are and how curiously they come to affect the political situation. In the general election of 1882, Sir John A. Macdonald was induced to contest my old constituency of Lennox. He carried the election but did it at a very heavy cost. The case was a flagrant one, and I caused the leading friends of the Reform candidate to be called together and proposed to them to file a petition, the expenses to be guaranteed by the defeated candidate, Mr. Allison, and by myself. To our no small surprise, while they all admitted that the corruption had been most gross, we found that there was a great reluctance to take any action. After the meeting adjourned, we sent for a very shrewd friend of ours who knew the parties, and asked what it all meant. "Oh," he said, "that is very easily explained. Almost every one of these people are interested in one colonization company or another, and Sir John's friends have been pointing out to them that it was to their interest, now that he is the Minister of the Interior, to put him under an obligation to them and have him as Member for Lennox."

REPORTER. And what happened?

SIR RICHARD. We prosecuted Sir John forthwith without any further reference to the committee and brought out such a scandalous state of things that his counsel, the late Mr. Dalton McCarthy, was only too glad to confess judgment and to vacate the seat if the personal charges involving disqualification were withdrawn. But my point is this: Here in one small constituency were over twenty of the leading Reformers interested in these land schemes and more or less dependent, or so they

thought, on the good-will of the Minister of the Interior. Doubtless as many of Sir John's supporters were in the same situation. There were a large number of these companies floated, most of them with a large number of subscribers. I cannot doubt many votes at the election of 1882 were apt to be influenced by such agencies.

REPORTER. Do you think Sir John was aware of the mischief done by promoting these companies?

SIR RICHARD. It is hard to say. Sir John up to that time had never set foot in the North-West, and knew very little about it. I should say he looked on it as a sort of dumping-ground where he could deposit a lot of political rubbish he could not conveniently dispose of in the older provinces, and also as a means of rewarding needy and greedy partisans to whom he could distribute concessions of various sorts pretty much after the fashion that Henry the Eighth divided the Abbey lands among his courtiers, or as William the Conqueror did the territory of the slaughtered Saxons. In addition to being ignorant of the condition in the North-West, he was surrounded by men who had very often a direct interest in misleading him, and there was possibly another reason.

REPORTER. To what do you allude?

SIR RICHARD. Well, Sir John was a Highlander born, and, like most Celts, had a strong strain of superstition in him, though he kept it mostly in the background. I am aware, however, that he thought that the North-West brought him ill-luck from the very first, and indeed there was some foundation for his belief. It is certain that the first serious check he met with after Confederation arose from the Red River rebellion and the murder of Scott. These events lost him Ontario, which gave a very decided majority against him in 1872. But they really did more. I know that Sir John excused himself to many of his own supporters for the extraordinary terms he had granted to British Columbia by pleading the necessity of strengthening himself in that province to make up for the loss he knew he would sustain in Ontario by reason of the agitation over Scott's death. Similarly he defended himself as

to his dealings with Sir Hugh Allan and the whole Pacific Scandal by pleading that he was driven to the wall in Ontario by the defection of the Orangemen on the same account, and it was, to say the least, a curious coincidence that Riel's second rebellion and his execution thereafter brought about a most dangerous complication in Sir John's political affairs and all but displaced him from power in 1887. Knowing him as I did I do not think such a feeling by itself would have prevailed with him, but I also believe that in conjunction with other causes it had a considerable influence upon him. A prejudice of some sort he undoubtedly had, and it showed itself in sundry ways during his administration, though he was far too cautious to give it utterance in public. But whatever his motives, the results were to the last degree disastrous to the settlement of the North-West. A great opportunity was thrown away, and a great many years had to elapse before the current of immigration, once diverted to the United States, could be brought back to its proper channel. It is possible Sir John had begun to realize what sort of position affairs in the North-West had got into. At any rate he gave up the portfolio of Minister of the Interior and appointed Sir David Macpherson in his room. This was another mistake. The office should have gone to a much younger man and to one who was personally familiar with the North-West and who was a member of the Lower House. The result, as far as Sir David Macpherson was concerned, was to make him a scapegoat for his predecessor's manifold shortcomings.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY.

MR. BLAKE'S ATTACK ON THE ORANGE ORDER.

REPORTER. You had been discussing the exodus and the depreciation of farm property in Ontario. Did this continue?

SIR RICHARD. For many years. There was no great improvement till after 1896. By that time our farmers had altered their methods of cultivation and had found new markets on the other side of the Atlantic. But the process was long and painful, and many of them succumbed under it. As to the exodus, it is in the nature of things that when a large number of the people of any country have emigrated, a great many will follow where they are sure of finding their friends and relatives already settled and usually doing well, for it was a noteworthy feature of the Canadian emigration to the United States, especially from the English provinces, and speaks a great deal for the character of those composing it, that a very large number of the emigrants speedily obtained positions of more or less importance and wealth, often far in excess of anything they could have expected to secure in Canada. In a way, indeed, at one time Canada seemed likely to occupy a position towards the United States closely resembling that which Scotland occupied towards England.

REPORTER. Were there any notable political events just then?

SIR RICHARD. Not much in 1883. Sir John's majority, no matter how obtained, was overwhelming for the time, and there is rarely much doing just after a general election, unless the parties happen to be equally balanced. In 1884 by much the most important political event was Mr. Blake's attack on the Orange body.

REPORTER. What produced this attack?

SIR RICHARD. A Bill had been brought in to incorporate the Orange Order, and Mr. Blake saw fit to make this the occasion for delivering a very long, elaborate and carefully prepared speech in opposition to the Bill. This was to all intents and purposes a declaration of war against the Orange Order. What he expected to gain by this unusual proceeding I do not know. He acted in this and in some other instances entirely on his own initiative without consultation with any of his friends. Possibly he may have thought he would receive a large measure of support from Quebec. Possibly he hoped to win over the solid Irish Catholic vote throughout the Dominion. In either case he was lamentably mistaken. Sir John A. Macdonald knew very well what he was about when he took the Orange Grand Master into his Cabinet, and he succeeded in doing what very few other men could have done, in establishing a permanent *modus vivendi* between the Catholic hierarchy in Quebec, represented for the nonce in his Cabinet by Sir Hector Langevin, and the Ontario Orangemen controlled by Mr. Bowell. All that Mr. Blake effected, therefore, was to array the entire body of Orangemen, in Ontario at any rate, in solid phalanx against himself and the Liberal party. Up to that time the Orangemen had fluctuated a good deal between the two parties, and the Liberals could at the worst usually rely upon the support of a small but not unimportant minority amongst them. This was presently submerged, and from that day to this it is safe to say that the Orange Order has been the backbone and mainstay of the Conservative party in Ontario and in many of the other provinces of this Dominion.

REPORTER. You consider the Orange Order a great power?

SIR RICHARD. In Ontario I regard it as a very great power indeed, especially among the rural population. Without it the Conservative party in Ontario would be simply nowhere. It is not only highly organized, but it is very formidable from mere numbers. I think I mentioned that I had the authority of one of its very high officials

for saying that, including the Sons of England, there are over two thousand lodges or associations in Ontario alone, and that the total number of Orangemen, active and passive, in that province are very considerably over one hundred thousand.

REPORTER. What is the total vote in Ontario?

SIR RICHARD. The actual vote cast at the election of 1908 was about 460,000. It is safe to say that probably a fourth of these were Orangemen. But their number is only a part of their real power. These two thousand lodges are scattered over nearly every county in Ontario, averaging from twenty to thirty lodges in some eighty constituencies. They meet regularly at stated intervals, and constitute to all intents and purposes standing Conservative committees in all those ridings. Any candidate who can secure their support will enter on the contest with a solid well-organized body of over a thousand voters behind him. I need not say what an initial advantage that must be.

REPORTER. This is a formidable institution.

SIR RICHARD. Most formidable. To do the Canadian Orangemen justice, if they are prejudiced, they are also as a rule incorruptible. I would not go the length of saying that as between two candidates of their own way of thinking they would always be inaccessible to inducements, but they certainly could not be bought to vote for their opponents. Also the Order does to a considerable extent supply a much felt want in our rural districts, where the younger men particularly often long for some sort of social gathering where they can meet and exchange ideas. This want the Orange lodges do supply in some measure, and there is besides a sense of importance in belonging to a powerful and numerous organization which can make itself felt in many different ways, and especially in our municipal elections. They have long memories and long arms, as they have shown on many occasions in Canadian history, and certainly are a factor which will have to be reckoned with in this Dominion for several generations to come, more especially as they have learnt of late

to work quietly, and are by no means as much disposed as formerly to antagonize their Catholic neighbours, preferring when occasion serves to make use of them if they can for their own political purposes.

REPORTER. Have they really grown more tolerant?

SIR RICHARD. I doubt it, but they have become more astute, and would probably be quite willing to let what they are pleased to call "the benighted Papists" rule the roost in Quebec if they are given full swing in Ontario. As to their toleration I am afraid at bottom they are very much of the same mind as a certain Belfast Orangeman who, on being interrogated on his death-bed by his religious adviser as to the ground on which he based his hope of future salvation, admitted that he had done a good many things he ought not to have done, but placed his dependence for his ultimate welfare on the fact that "he had always hated the Pope."

REPORTER. Were there any immediate effects of Mr. Blake's speech?

SIR RICHARD. I cannot say. These things do not show themselves at the moment. But the ultimate effect was to consolidate the Order against the Liberal party as it had never been consolidated before. It certainly did contribute very powerfully to prevent the Orange body from opposing Sir John in the election of 1887, which they would otherwise have been much disposed to do. Of this there was no doubt. Had Mr. Blake kept silent in 1884 nothing that Sir John could have done could have prevented considerable defection in the Orange ranks in 1887, and of that fact I had unpleasant evidence on sundry occasions during that campaign.

REPORTER. Was it not a curious break on Mr. Blake's part?

SIR RICHARD. Whatever it was it was done deliberately. The speech contained many quotations and had evidently been carefully thought out, and covers some thirty long columns in Hansard. In fact, though it was a debate in which many spoke, Mr. Blake's speech takes up as much space as all the others put together. The truth was that

Mr. Blake's conduct, as regards the Orange Order, had been extremely erratic. Many years before, when Premier of Ontario, he had issued a proclamation offering five thousand dollars reward for the capture of Mr. Riel, and both he and the Liberal party had received much assistance from the Orange body during the elections of 1872 and 1874. It is true that most of them went back on the Liberals after the murder of Hackett in 1877, but some, and those influential members of the body, had since made overtures to Mr. Blake himself, and alleged that they had received encouragement from him. They were, therefore, the more annoyed and enraged at this unexpected onslaught. It was suspected at the time that Mr. Blake had some ulterior object in view and wished to pose as a friend of the Irish party. This is as may be. From the standpoint of an Ontario Liberal leader it was a tremendous tactical blunder, and such an opponent as Sir John knew well how to make the most of it. Sir John was sure of the support of a large section of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, whom he always assiduously cultivated. He knew that so long as they supported him no solid Irish Catholic vote would ever be cast against him. It was a little noticeable that though he voted for the Bill he took no part in the debate.

REPORTER. How did the House divide?

SIR RICHARD. Curiously enough the vote was almost exactly the same, numerically speaking, as the vote on the expulsion of Riel ten years before. On that occasion nearly every member for Quebec voted against the motion for expulsion, the vote being 68 in favour of Riel and over 100 for his expulsion. In this instance Quebec voted again in solid mass against the incorporation of the Orange body and 68 members, including Sir John himself, and pretty nearly every Conservative member from Ontario, voted for the incorporation, the vote being 68 for and 105 against. By a curious coincidence the debate took place on St. Patrick's Day, the 17th March, and the Orange papers made much of the fact that Mr. Blake's speech was

delivered when he was fresh from addressing an Irish Catholic meeting.

REPORTER. Was not this rather peanut politics?

SIR RICHARD. Very much so, but there are times when this sort of peanut politics tells. It was a matter of common report at the time that the Conservative members from Ontario were at pains to circulate large numbers of Mr. Blake's speech among their Orange constituents, and that in particular many Orange lodges had received a quantity for distribution among their members. In fact, I was told afterwards by the late Mr. Clarke Wallace that something of the kind had been done. Coming as it did on the eve of Riel's second rebellion, it certainly went a long way when coupled with Mr. Blake's subsequent attitude on the question of Riel's execution, to create a very bitter prejudice in their minds against him.

REPORTER. You think this feeling was permanent?

SIR RICHARD. These things act and re-act in all sorts of ways, and Mr. Blake's subsequent alliance with the extreme Irish party in the British Parliament was continually quoted as proof of his hostility to the Orange Order and disloyalty to the interests of the Empire, and the Liberal party was constantly twitted with the statement that their former leader was nothing but a Fenian in disguise. The Conservative party, with very small reason, had always proclaimed themselves as the only loyal party, a boast which fitted ill enough with their adoption of the American protective system and their fraudulent gerrymander, likewise a servile copy of some of the worst political trickeries ever practised in the United States. Consequently they were always eager to grasp at any pretext for imputing disaffection to their opponents. Looking back I am inclined to think that this speech had a great deal to do with Mr. Blake's subsequent action in resigning the leadership of the Liberal party in 1887 and with his subsequent alliance with the extreme Irish party in the British Parliament. I think he realized that he need look for no decisive success in Ontario, and also that many of his own supporters had lost confidence in his

judgment. Of course, no one in 1884 could have foreseen the rebellion of 1885-6, or the complications which subsequently arose, but he must have felt that he had thrown away a great opportunity by his action in the matter. Had he only remained quiet he would probably have divided Ontario in 1887, in which case Sir John would certainly have gone down.

REPORTER. Did not Mr. Blake gain something in Quebec?

SIR RICHARD. Probably he did, but nothing like enough support to counterbalance what he lost in Ontario. A large part of the French element would have gone against Sir John in any event, and if Mr. Blake had been able to increase his following in Ontario to any appreciable extent there would have been a stampede in more quarters than one. It was a curious business. As a rule Mr. Blake's fault was his great reluctance to commit himself decisively to any given line of policy. In this case he went out of his way needlessly to antagonize by far the most powerful political organization existing in his own province.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-ONE.

A LONG SESSION.—FRANCHISE BILL INTRODUCED.

REPORTER. If I remember, you had a very prolonged session in 1885. What caused this?

SIR RICHARD. It lasted fully six months, from January till August. It was caused mainly by a very nefarious attempt to still further handicap the Liberal party. The gerrymander was bad enough, but had the Franchise Bill, so-called, been passed in the shape in which it was originally introduced, our position would have been hopeless. Theoretically perhaps there was something to be said for it. Practically it proposed to place the formation of the voters' lists in each riding under the control of a paid partisan of the Government, who would have been selected, as we well knew, for the express purpose of stuffing these lists against us. This was to be done every year, and not one man in ten in the Liberal ranks could have afforded the expense of having these lists properly attended to. Even had this been done we were quite aware of what we must expect from such a tribunal. Had the Bill passed in that shape I doubt if we could have saved twenty seats out of ninety-two in Ontario.

REPORTER. How did you stop it?

SIR RICHARD. By sheer bull-dog pluck and tenacity. It was a case of political life or death, and we took advantage of every possible form of parliamentary obstruction. For full six months we fought the bill and the estimates, inch by inch. For weeks and perhaps for months we saw the sun rise on our debates. We organized ourselves into brigades, relieving each other at regular intervals and, in fact, left nothing undone that an Opposition of our numerical strength could do.

REPORTER. I wonder Sir John did not adopt the closure.

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SIR RICHARD. It was an ugly measure for him to force through in that way and, moreover, under our system I doubt if any closure could have got his estimates through for him. Also, in fairness to Sir John, I think he shrank from such an innovation. He was an old parliamentarian, and always greatly preferred to observe the regular parliamentary form of procedure. Possibly, as the discussion went on, he may have been influenced by the arguments against certain portions of the Bill. Latterly the outbreak of the second Riel rebellion had its effect. It was quite on the cards that we might compel him to dissolve Parliament, and he had no wish to go to the country with the treble odium of having attempted to disfranchise half Ontario, of having caused a rebellion by his maladministration, and of having arbitrarily gagged his opponents. At any rate, he compromised on the essential points and the bill as amended, though expensive and, as it proved, unworkable, was so framed that we had no great danger to fear from it.

REPORTER. Looking back, what do you think of the business?

SIR RICHARD. That it was a desperate expedient, but one which was most fully justified under the circumstances. There is no doubt that a reckless minority under our system can block the wheels of Government almost completely, and no Opposition is warranted in doing this unless in self-defence against an act of gross tyranny and injustice. It is a hard saying, and like all good doctrine has a savour of life and death, but it remains an unalterable fact that there are certain laws which upright men would be justified in resisting sword in hand even to the point of civil war, and there are cases in which revolution is the only remedy.

REPORTER. Perhaps you will illustrate your meaning.

SIR RICHARD. Well, for example, let us suppose that Sir John had proposed to extend the duration of the existing Parliament for a term of ten or twelve years, and had found a majority servile enough to pass it. Such an act would have warranted a rebellion. What he did propose

was very little better. He designed by a circuitous method to deprive his political opponents of a sufficient percentage of their legal votes to keep himself in office as long as he pleased. Such a measure did in my judgment justify the action of the Opposition. You will bear in mind that it was always in Sir John's power to dissolve Parliament and to appeal to the people to sustain him in passing this Act. This he would very likely have done if he had thought our case was a weak one. It would have been a just and proper punishment for a factious Opposition. Still, I do not deny that we took an extreme step, and one which I would not wish to have recourse to for any less cause.

REPORTER. Why did you not adopt this expedient in the case of the gerrymander of 1882?

SIR RICHARD. For one thing, we did not know our own strength. The experiment of 1885 was a new one. It had never before been tried for any prolonged period in Canada. Then there were other reasons. We were taken a good deal by surprise in 1882, and did not by any means realize the extent of the injury the measure would inflict. Then, too, we were numerically much weaker and had hardly quite recovered from the stunning effect of our defeat in 1878. But probably the main reason was that Mr. Blake would not have thrown himself very heartily into the movement.

REPORTER. Did he not approve of your action in 1885?

SIR RICHARD. He did, after a fashion; but he did not initiate it, and I doubt if he liked it. It was, after all, a soldier's battle and not one in which his peculiar qualities had much scope. In fact, he had only to look on. The fight was organized and maintained without much reference to him. Had it been left to him he would have made two or three eloquent and exhaustive speeches in the way of criticism and have let it pass.

REPORTER. And let the party be wiped out?

SIR RICHARD. Precisely. That is what would have happened. This was a case in which the instinct of the rank and file was wiser than their leader. They knew they were doomed if the bill became law, and they were

resolved to die fighting. For certain the rough-and-tumble manner of conducting the debate did not appeal to Mr. Blake, and in view of his very peculiar temperament, I was not much surprised.

REPORTER. You think in reality he disliked it?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Blake was a very proud and a very sensitive man, and painfully thin-skinned. He was, besides, privately very intolerant of any difference of opinion. It always seemed to me that he resented our independent procedure at this crisis, and that it had a great effect upon his subsequent actions. As I have said, Mr. Blake was essentially a lawyer and not a popular leader, and it may have been that he himself grew more conscious of the fact as time went on.

REPORTER. As a matter of curiosity, who did the fighting and who organized the campaign?

SIR RICHARD. As Sir Walter Scott has it, "All fought fearlessly and well," but the principal organizers were Mr., afterwards Sir, James Edgar, Mr. Mills, Mr. M. C. Cameron and Sir Louis Davies. There were several divisions; I had one, Sir Louis Davies another, and I think Mr. Edgar the third. But everybody did his duty. There was no flinching, though the work was terribly wearisome and I much fear shortened the days of several of the leading participants in the fray. We had to talk all the time. Our opponents sat still. All they had to do was to keep a sufficient number in their seats to prevent a count out. No doubt to outsiders it seemed a hideous and unprofitable waste of time, though to any who looked below the surface it ought to have been manifest that it was a gallant and desperate struggle against a most outrageous piece of tyranny.

REPORTER. Did the general public appreciate your efforts?

SIR RICHARD. I cannot say that they did. Our own political friends, when the matter was explained to them, did do so, having the results of the gerrymander before their eyes, but the average man in the street merely regarded it as one of Sir John's little games, and rather

wondered that we had been able to defeat it. As to public opinion in Ontario, it had pretty nearly ceased to exist. The spectacle of Sir John A. Macdonald, after all the exposures which had occurred in 1873 and 1874, once again high in office and restored to power more firmly than ever, had seared the public conscience with a red hot iron. Unless in the case of some racial or religious cry, or some direct appeal to their individual interests, the general public seemed to have lost all care or concern for public affairs. They had, in short, given up expecting anything like honour or honesty in politics or from public men.

REPORTER. That is a hard saying, Sir Richard.

SIR RICHARD. Unhappily it was, and is, too true. The degradation in public sentiment as between 1873 and 1885 was immense, and it will take many years to recover it, if it is ever recovered.

REPORTER. I am very sorry to hear you say so.

SIR RICHARD. And I am still more sorry to have to say it. But the fact remains. The honour of public men is the honour of the nation, and any dishonourable act on their part if it goes unpunished has a lasting degrading effect on the whole community. I do not speak of vague charges, such as are much too often made without any sufficient evidence to support them. These may be brushed aside without notice. Life is too short for public men to stop to contradict mere newspaper slanders. I speak of cases where the culprits have been proved guilty, either by their own confessions out of their own mouths, or by clear evidence before some competent tribunal, of deliberate falsehood or of gross dishonesty or malversation in office, and where, after full proof, their offences are condoned and the parties reinstated in high positions, and I say deliberately that the community which does such things degrades itself in a fashion which it will take generations to repair. I strongly advise you, or any others who have not seen it, to read Lord Dufferin's memorandum on this subject.

REPORTER. Is there not high authority for saying that there is "joy over a sinner that repenteth"?

SIR RICHARD. Aye, if he does "truly repent and brings forth fruit meet for repentance," but there is none at all for a sinner who does not repent but who returns to his old ways, having taken unto him seven devils worse than himself. Lord Tennyson was eminently right when he said, "I hold that man the worst of public foes, who lets the wife whom he knows false abide and rule his house." And the nation that allows a public man, proved false and dishonest, to continue to rule its House does very considerably worse.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-TWO.

THE SECOND NORTH-WEST REBELLION.

REPORTER. You spoke of the second North-West Rebellion. What brought it about, in your opinion?

SIR RICHARD. It arose mainly from sheer ignorance on the part of the Government, or the effect of some of their proceedings on the minds of the half-breeds in out-of-the-way settlements. I do not think there was any intention to do them any wrong on the part of anyone, and certainly not on the part of the authorities at Ottawa. But Sir John, in attempting to administer that great department and at the same time discharge his duties as Premier, had committed the very same fault he condemned in Mr. Mackenzie. It was not possible for any one man to do justice to both. Mr. Mackenzie neglected his work as Premier and suffered severely for it. Sir John neglected his duty as Minister of the Interior, and the North-West, and indeed the whole Dominion, suffered very severely from his negligence, which among other things brought about this second rebellion.

REPORTER. But Sir John had ceased to be the Minister of the Interior.

SIR RICHARD. He had given up that post a little more than a year before the outbreak, but he had left matters in a hideous muddle, and he committed the further and very serious mistake of putting a very unsuitable successor in his place in the person of Sir David L. Macpherson. It was obvious to everyone who gave the matter any serious consideration that the Minister of the Interior ought to have been a man in the prime of life, with a future before him, and either already thoroughly familiar with the North-West, or else a man who was prepared to devote his whole time and energy to the task of becoming acquainted with it. Sir David Macpherson knew next to

nothing of the country. He was a man of small political experience, far advanced in life and rich besides, and though a good man of business in his own line, was by no means of a very conciliatory disposition or inclined to give himself very much trouble about the affairs of a number of poor and ignorant people whom he had never seen. The practical result was that this very important department was virtually without a head from 1878 to 1885, when Sir David Macpherson resigned. Meantime things had been going steadily from bad to worse, as in such a case they were bound to do. The first Minister to take any genuine effective interest in his work was the late Mr. Thomas White, and had he been in office a few years earlier I am very certain no rebellion would have occurred. As it was Riel found everything prepared, and he was only the spark which fired the mine already laid.

REPORTER. Was the danger very great?

SIR RICHARD. Not perhaps from Riel and his half-breeds, but there was very great danger of a great Indian uprising, in which case an untold amount of bloodshed and misery might have ensued. Had the struggle been prolonged a little longer or had General Middleton met with any serious reverse, we might have had a very ugly situation to deal with.

REPORTER. How did the Government behave in this emergency?

SIR RICHARD. To do them justice, they acted with energy and resolution. They seemed for once to have appreciated the danger of letting the disturbance spread, and they equipped and despatched a very considerable force with all possible speed. The cost, of course, was heavy and there may have been a good deal of waste and expenditure, but such things are almost inevitable, under the circumstances, and the fault, if fault there was, was on the right side.

REPORTER. The revolt was pretty quickly suppressed.

SIR RICHARD. Not an hour too soon. I knew several of the officers in high command intimately, and the next year I visited that part of the North-West myself and met

a good many others of those who had been actively engaged in the affair, and it was their unanimous opinion that, in one or two cases at least, our forces could hardly have escaped grave disaster if the Indian leaders, and especially Chief Poundmaker, had wished to press their advantage. They were also of opinion that if Riel had not been crushed at Batoche, and if the Indians had broken loose and operated on our lines of communication, it would have taken twice, and perhaps thrice, as many men as we had in the field to have protected our convoys, and the rebellion might have been protracted for an absolutely indefinite time.

REPORTER. What restrained the Indians?

SIR RICHARD. We owed something to the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company and its officers, but most to the good faith which the British and Canadian Governments have displayed as a rule in their dealings with the Indian tribes for many years. The older and more intelligent Indians recognized this, and knew well how differently their kinsmen and allies had been treated on the other side of the border, and we reaped the benefit of our wise policy. At the same time, it would have been asking almost too much to expect them to be always successful in restraining the younger warriors from joining their friends and relatives, the half-breeds, and had any considerable number of them done so, the example of the Boers has shown us only too well that a comparatively small number of active horsemen, knowing the country as they did, could find work for many times their number of regular troops. Briefly, we had a very narrow escape, and we owed more than some of us are willing to admit to the men who brought the matter to a close.

REPORTER. You refer, perhaps, to General Middleton?

SIR RICHARD. To him, among others. I thought then, and I think still, that General Middleton was rather scurvily dealt with. But I had in mind one very discreditable incident. General Middleton and Sir Adolphe Caron were both deservedly decorated for their services, but several officers whom the General in command had specially

recommended to receive the usual distinctions customarily bestowed on such occasions, were prevented by the Government from receiving any for no better reason than because General Middleton had not included the names of the two French officers in command of two regiments from the Province of Quebec in his recommendation. As these officers and their regiments had been in the rear, and had never fired a shot, there was not the slightest ground for any just complaint on that score. It was a most unusual proceeding, and a very disgraceful concession to an unworthy prejudice, and reflected much discredit on the Government. I myself brought the matter up on several occasions in Parliament, but I was unable to obtain either any redress or any sort of satisfactory explanation. It was, in fact, one of the few instances, and I am happy to say they were comparatively few, in which a feeling of race prejudice was allowed to prevent common justice being done to men who had unquestionably deserved well of their country at a critical period. I do not think that Sir Adolphe Caron, who had done his duty as Minister of Militia fearlessly in the teeth of not a little hostile criticism on the part of many of his own compatriots, was to blame in this matter. The fault lay with his colleagues, especially with the English members of the Cabinet, who showed great cowardice on this occasion.

REPORTER. Were there any other incidents of note?

SIR RICHARD. None, except that the rebellion had, as I have said, a considerable effect in bringing our parliamentary deadlock to a close. Sir John saw the impolicy of prolonging the session in view of the approaching trial of Riel, and he made such concessions as warranted us in letting the Bill pass.

REPORTER. Perhaps you would enumerate them.

SIR RICHARD. Apart from a number of minor changes which were collectively of considerable importance, we provided that the revising officers should be the County Court Judges, or the Sheriffs or Registrars, instead of mere casual nominees of the Government. This was of great value, especially to us in Ontario. We also secured

the elimination of the Indian vote and made numerous other amendments. In short, we practically gained our point and closed the session in very much better fighting trim than we had ever been in before, and with the knowledge, which afterwards stood us in good stead, that we possessed a weapon which in the last resort would enable us to put up a good fight against almost any odds, though one which ought to be reserved for a great emergency.

REPORTER. You referred to Riel's execution. How did it affect the political situation?

SIR RICHARD. Very much more than most of us at first expected. The English part of the community took it for granted that after he was tried and sentenced there was an end of the matter, but the French element regarded it very differently. As I remarked before, they had chosen to make a popular hero out of this semi-savage, and they utterly disregarded the crimes he had committed and the terrible risks involved in an Indian outbreak. Accordingly, the moment he was sentenced, and indeed long before it, a very formidable agitation was set on foot in Quebec to secure his pardon. This became so serious, from a political point of view, that Sir John Macdonald, against his own better judgment, gave way in the first instance, and promised his French supporters that Riel's life should be spared in any event. Sir John, however, soon found that he had reckoned without his host in making any such promise. No sooner did the news of his intention become public, as such a thing was bound to do, than the Orange Order in Ontario took action in a fashion Sir John did not dare to disregard. He was notified forthwith that if he interfered with the judgment of the Courts to save Riel, the whole forces of the Order would be cast against him at the coming election. No one knew better than Sir John what this meant to himself and his party in Ontario, and he very promptly decided to keep that province at all hazards, promise or no promise. Of course he knew, and everybody knew, that this demand was made far more to revenge the death of Scott than on account of

Riel's last rebellion, but it was none the more easy to deal with on that account. Riel was executed, and a grave defection among his French supporters was the consequence. This was much more widespread than was generally known, for many of them, without openly declaring themselves, simply waited for an opportunity when their votes would have defeated him, to cast them against him. Of this Sir John was perfectly aware, and so serious did he consider the situation that he actually made overtures to the Opposition to form a coalition and defeat the Frenchmen. He got but small encouragement but, as the election returns in 1887 and 1891 showed very conclusively, he had completely lost his former hold on the Province of Quebec, and he never regained it, nor for that matter did his party, from that day to this.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-THREE.

MR. BLAKE'S STAND ON THE RIEL SITUATION.

REPORTER. The Opposition themselves were much divided on this question.

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Blake went one way and the bulk of the Ontario Opposition went the other, while the French members went with their own people.

REPORTER. What was Mr. Blake's view?

SIR RICHARD. If I am to give my honest opinion, I believe he had no view. He was as much at sea as Sir John, and was less able to make up his mind. There were several courses open to him. He might very fairly have taken his stand on the judgment of the Courts, and declined to interfere. This would probably have been his wisest policy. Or he might have anticipated the debate on Riel's execution by a vigorous arraignment of Sir John's whole land policy and by alleging, as he might very well have done, that the insurrection was entirely due to Sir John's scandalous neglect of the duties of his Department, and that he and his Government, and not Riel, were the real criminals, and that it was a monstrous thing to punish the latter and let them go free. Such an attack, pressed home, would have kept his own people together and probably have enlisted the votes of a considerable number of the malcontents, especially if he had wound up by denouncing Sir John as false to his promises to his Quebec allies and as a trafficker in Riel's life to serve his own political ends. The facts were too well known for Sir John to have denied them, and if he had there were plenty of men in the House able and willing to bear testimony against him. That done, Mr. Blake might safely have taken any course he liked, whether he elected to sustain the decision of the Courts, or whether he took the line that the Government had forfeited all right to

punish Riel for misdeeds which their own maladministration had provoked.

REPORTER. What did Mr. Blake do?

SIR RICHARD. He delivered a speech of immense length which, it was said, and I believe correctly, it had cost him three months of hard labour to prepare, and which took him seven hours to deliver. From one standpoint this speech was a marvel of industry and ingenuity and a perfect store-house of minute information on a great many subjects for which no one in the House cared one straw, and it wound up in a maze of legal subtleties and disquisitions on points of medical jurisprudence, from all of which he deduced the conclusion that there was need of more evidence to clinch the question whether Riel was perfectly responsible or not. It was, in short, a speech which no man in the House except Mr. Blake could have made and which on such an occasion no man but Mr. Blake would ever have made. The effect produced on his audience may be best judged from one simple fact. I was sitting directly opposite to Sir John all through the harangue, and I had noticed at the outset that he was plainly nervous. As Mr. Blake proceeded I observed that Sir John grew more and more at ease, and at last I saw him turn round to one of his colleagues seemingly much amused. Mr. Blake had then been speaking about two hours, and the Chamber was very crowded and the atmosphere very close. Glancing round I saw that our friends were all, as in duty bound, in solid phalanx in their places, but also, alas, that the majority of them were fast asleep. Knowing that if this circumstance came to Mr. Blake's notice he was quite capable of flinging down his manuscript and leaving the House, I succeeded in passing a note to one of our whips begging him to wake up the delinquents with all speed, but you may imagine how seven hours of such a disquisition was likely to affect the ordinary hearer. As it was, after Mr. Girouard had replied in an effort of eight hours' duration, principally composed of traversing Mr. Blake's speech paragraph by paragraph, the whole life had gone out of the debate, and no power

on earth could revive it. Had Mr. Blake on this occasion done himself justice and given us what everyone expected he would do, an impassioned invective of moderate duration, instead of this inordinately prolix dissertation, it was more than possible it might have turned the scale. As it was it proved a *coup manqué* in every sense of the word. Neither Sir John nor his colleagues thought it worth while to reply. Mr. Blake himself was bitterly disappointed at the small impression he had made, and the knowledge that he had failed in what he had evidently intended to be a supreme effort had not a little to do with his subsequent retirement from public life.

REPORTER. How do you account for Mr. Blake's action?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Blake was by training and temper a great equity lawyer. Such a speech might have been in place in a very intricate suit addressed to a bench of highly trained legal experts. It was hopelessly out of character when made to a popular assembly of a strongly partisan temper on both sides. What made it all the more disappointing to his friends was the knowledge that when Mr. Blake did let himself go, and if he would only have tossed his interminable notes to the wind, he was really a magnificent debater, and that he had many times shown himself to be such. But he had acquired the fatal habit, which grew upon him of late years, of preparing very elaborate speeches with most voluminous notes. No man really needed them less, but I am told he pursued the same course in England, to the dismay of his admirers there. Incidentally his action in condemning the execution of Riel put the finishing touch to the alienation of the Orangemen. They were hostile enough before, but after this last proceeding they became nearly to a man violently and bitterly opposed to Mr. Blake and his friends, with possibly a few exceptions in favour of those who had voted to justify the sentence.

REPORTER. What is the best course for a speaker to adopt in addressing the House of Commons?

SIR RICHARD. The House is a peculiar body and has a

standard of its own often quite different from that of the outside public. Any man who desires to gain its ear will do well never to speak on subjects which he has not thought over and, as far as he can, thought out. The House is exceedingly quick to discover whether a speaker is really familiar with any given subject or not. If it be one of the few occasions which call for a full dress speech he will probably be wise to have a few headlines prepared to guard against overlooking some essential part of his argument, but beyond that I would not advise him to go. But the alpha and omega of effective speaking in the House is to know what you are talking about. I might perhaps add not to talk too long nor too often.

REPORTER. Incidentally, what do you think of Hansard?

SIR RICHARD. I regard it as an invention of the devil designed expressly for the undue prolongation of the session. For many years I sat in the House, from 1863 to 1875, without any Hansard, and I found two excellent results accrued from its absence. First of all, the newspapers used to give excellent and often racy summaries of the debates, emphasizing the good points on their respective sides. These were read where lengthy, verbose reports would be thrown aside, and the public were kept much better informed of the real trend of affairs than they are at present. Secondly, it had a most excellent effect in the way of eliminating wordy bores by a process of natural selection. Even the toughest and most thick-skinned of the class grew tired of addressing an empty house and of finding that the newspapers ignored them altogether, or simply said that Mr. So-and-So spoke at considerable length. On the other hand, as a rule, any really good speech generally received full recognition, while the present system of stuffing Hansard with interminable essays was, of course, impossible.

REPORTER. I thought members were not allowed to read speeches.

SIR RICHARD. That is the rule, but it is very difficult to enforce it. It is not easy for the Speaker to distinguish

between men who are reading from a manuscript and those who are using copious notes, and so long as Hansard exists so long will these tedious performances be repeated, and so long will the session be protracted to twice its natural length.

REPORTER. You regard this lengthening of the session as an evil?

SIR RICHARD. It has become a very great one. It hurts in many ways. The outside public become very tired and cease to take any interest in the proceedings of Parliament whenever the session is prolonged. Then under our system a session of six months' duration or even less inflicts a tremendous tax on the better class of our representatives. These are chiefly drawn from the ranks of professional or business men and farmers. None of these can remain absent from their occupations for that length of time without incurring serious loss, more especially in the case of those who come from the most distant provinces. This is tending fast to throw our legislature into the hands of mere professional politicians, men who intend to make a living out of politics and are by no means scrupulous how they do it. Apart from this the effect on the Government is bad. During the long sessions Ministers are perforce obliged to neglect the duties of their Departments or to be very irregular in their attendance in the House, or both. Then the work in the Committees and in the House itself is often very severe, with the result that the Ministers in many cases are completely done up at the end of the session and quite unfit to do any serious work for some considerable time. They are then confronted with the necessity of getting through arrears and of preparing their work for the ensuing session, not to speak of the desirability in most cases of visiting their respective provinces and keeping their political organizations together. The amount of time left at their disposal after all these things are gone through with is almost insignificant. This in a country like Canada, of vast extent and in process of rapid development, where really great and important questions are constantly arising for

consideration, is a serious evil. Of all men, Cabinet Ministers should have considerable periods of leisure to think over their work, and of all men, as things go, they are apt to have the least. I might add, and it is by no means the least objection to a long session, that by far the worst legislation, public and private, and by far the worst jobs are apt to be put through at the end of such a period, when both sides are too tired to examine or contest them. It would be a most excellent law if it was provided that no bill and no estimate could be introduced after the House had been three months in session, unless in case of urgency, and then only by unanimous consent or by a two-thirds or three-fourths vote. This is an improvement I have often advocated, more especially in the case of the estimates, but to no purpose.

REPORTER. I thought in the matter of private bills, at any rate, you had some such rule?

SIR RICHARD. We have such rules, but they are utterly disregarded in practice. Nothing short of positive legal enactment can meet the case.

REPORTER. You think this could be done?

SIR RICHARD. I know it could; in fact, it was done practically all through the Mackenzie administration from 1873 to 1878. Our sessions did not exceed three months on the average. It is true we always had our work ready, and we had another advantage. Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper, while formidable opponents, had their followers well in hand, and could carry out any bargain they made. It has not been so of late. I have reason to believe that the great mass of the members would hail these improvements with pleasure, once the temporary inconvenience was over, which always arises from any change of system. Of one thing I am well convinced, that the custom which has crept in of late of bringing down huge supplementary estimates towards the close of each session is about the most thoroughly demoralizing that can well be imagined, and ought to be put down with a high hand.

REPORTER. What was your own opinion as to Riel's execution?

SIR RICHARD. I thought that in view of the extreme danger of provoking an Indian outbreak and the terrible consequences which might have resulted, Riel's life could not be spared. But I held that the Minister of the Interior and Sir John A. Macdonald were far more guilty than he was.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-FOUR.

*THE ELECTION OF 1887.—SIR WILFRID LAURIER
ELECTED LEADER OF LIBERAL PARTY.*

REPORTER. I suppose the election of 1887 was hotly contested?

SIR RICHARD. It was a very bitter fight. Sir John Macdonald did all that any man could do. He made his peace with Sir Charles Tupper and induced him to resign his High Commissionership and to rejoin his Cabinet. He travelled all over Ontario, and indeed most parts of the Dominion, incessantly. He brought in a vast number of votes from the United States, and he utilized the services of the Orange Order to the utmost. He had, besides, given the North-West, as before in the case of British Columbia, a number of votes in the House out of all proportion to their population. Nevertheless, in spite of all this and his outrageous gerrymander of Ontario, which once more stood him in good stead and greatly neutralized the effect of the popular vote, he emerged with a majority of barely thirty-five as against seventy in 1882, and of those, as he very well knew, a considerable number in Quebec could not be depended upon. In fact, nothing but the extraordinary conduct of Mr. Blake saved him from a very arduous and difficult situation.

REPORTER. You refer to Mr. Blake's resignation of the leadership of the Liberal party the day after the election? What was his reason?*

SIR RICHARD. That was best known to himself. He gave no warning and he consulted nobody. He addressed a circular letter, not only to his own regular supporters, but to a number of Quebec members whom he had reason to think were favourable to him.

REPORTER. Was not this an unheard-of proceeding?

SIR RICHARD. It was much worse. It was not merely a most discourteous act to all those who had acted with

him, but it was calculated to paralyze their actions in every possible way. It was Mr. Blake's plain duty, if he had made up his mind to resign, to have called his leading supporters together and to have informed them of his intention and given them sufficient time to reorganize. It was the more especially so in this instance because, as his own action showed, he knew that there were quite a number of Quebec members not usually on our side who were very much dissatisfied with Sir John. Had Mr. Blake simply kept quiet there was a strong probability that some at least of these men would have declared themselves openly, and the effect upon the remainder of Sir John's followers would have been prodigious. We would probably have met Sir John one hundred strong and the latter would have had to attempt to carry on the Government with a pitiful majority of a dozen or fifteen. To do this in the face of a strong and aggressive Opposition would have been all but impossible. Sir John would have broken down or resigned, and the chances of a new election which would have been certain to follow were all in our favour.

SIR RICHARD. It ought to have been. It was clear enough to all who were behind the scenes. But in truth Mr. Blake, with all his ability, and it was very great in some directions, often behaved like a spoiled child. He lacked two essential qualities for the leader of a party, particularly of a party in opposition. He had neither the bull-dog courage to fight an up-hill battle to the end nor had he that sense of loyalty to his party which has redeemed many smaller and in some respects worse men than he was. He had not been a loyal colleague to Mr. Mackenzie and he was not a loyal leader to his supporters. Common courtesy, if nothing else, should have restrained him from issuing such a circular till he had first apprised them. As it was, the effect was doubly disastrous. He was shamed into withdrawing his letter, but not till after it had got into Sir John's hands and had been made public. Of course such an act as a captain hauling down his flag with his own hand in the very middle of an action pro-

foundly discouraged his own party and gave heart to his opponents. It is only fair to say that some of his friends alleged that he had so over-exerted himself in the campaign that he had brought on an attack of the nerves during which he was really not responsible for what he said or did. But for Mr. Blake's subsequent conduct at a later period, to which I will have to allude hereafter, I would be glad to believe that this was the case. As it is, I am rather inclined to think that he was unreasonably disappointed at not having carried the country, and especially Ontario, and also that he recognized too late the gravity of the blunder he had committed in antagonizing the Orange Order in the matter of their incorporation, and latterly in the manner in which he had handled the question of the execution of Riel.

REPORTER. What was the effect on the Liberal party?

SIR RICHARD. At first, as I have said, they were profoundly discouraged, as they well might be, but they very soon pulled themselves together and presented so good a front to the enemy that it became very apparent if Mr. Blake had only stuck to his colours he would have reduced our opponents to very desperate straits. Of course, under the circumstances, the Quebec malcontents lost no time in making their peace with Sir John, who for his part was only too glad to get them back on any terms, and who a little later promoted several of them to important positions. Years after, when it could do no harm to admit the fact, several of the Quebec ringleaders assured me that if Mr. Blake had not thrown up the sponge when he did, at least a dozen of the Conservative members from Quebec would have been prepared to oppose Sir John on the ground that he had broken faith with them in allowing Riel to be executed. It only needs a glance at the Parliamentary rolls to see that such a defection would have been instantly fatal to Sir John, and the whole subsequent current of events in the Province of Quebec afforded a very strong confirmation of the truth of their statement.

REPORTER. It was about this time that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was elected leader of the Liberal party. It was

said at the time that you, yourself, were a candidate. Was this the case?

SIR RICHARD. I declined to allow my name to be put in nomination. The matter was carefully considered. *Prima facie*, as the Ontario delegation was much the strongest, and as I was the senior by far, the post would have gone to me. But I was well aware that however staunch our friends in Ontario might be, and it is impossible to speak too highly of the way in which they fought the battle out under every disadvantage, there was no chance of making any great gain against the gerrymander and the Orange Order, not to speak of the heavy foreign vote certain to be brought in, and of the steady loss to the Liberal party from the prodigious exodus then going on.

REPORTER. Did not the exodus hurt both parties alike?

SIR RICHARD. That was a point which I set myself steadily to investigate for several years and as to which I had very special opportunities for ascertaining the facts, and I came to the conclusion, which I think every competent observer would confirm, that the Liberals lost two, if not three, supporters, as a rule, for one that the Conservatives did. That was, as I have already pointed out, in the very nature of the case. Other things being equal, the Conservative element would be more likely to stay at home and would be averse to going to the United States. In Quebec, on the other hand, it was clear that the current had set in strongly against Sir John, and we considered that by selecting a French leader we would have a very good chance of making large gains in that province. But it was also pretty certain that we could not count on any great accession under any English leader, except possibly under Mr. Blake, who had put himself out of the question. It is due to Sir Wilfrid Laurier to say that he did not seek the position, which indeed at that moment was not an enviable one, and that he was sincerely reluctant to accept it. The choice, as events proved, was an excellent one, though it took some time to reconcile our Ontario farmers to being led by a Frenchman and a Catholic.

REPORTER. Was there any prejudice against him?

SIR RICHARD. There was a good deal at first, but Sir Wilfrid Laurier was singularly well fitted to overcome any mere prejudice on personal grounds. He is, as everybody knows, a man of remarkably good presence and address and an admirable speaker in both languages. He was both patient and painstaking and possessed the not inconsiderable advantage for a leader of a party of having no family and being, therefore, better able than most to devote his whole energy to his political work, and he was besides very affable to all with whom he came in contact, quite as much as Sir John ever was, whom, by the way, he very greatly resembled in many respects, both mentally and physically, though quite free from his weaknesses. As a party leader in Opposition, having to deal with two widely different races, he was exceptionally successful, and after a few tours in Ontario he in great measure dissipated the initial feeling to which I have alluded. He was always well received by friend and foe, though I cannot say that we found his speeches made any great impression in our stubborn rural constituencies.

REPORTER. If he was so popular, how was that?

SIR RICHARD. It is hard to say. Our Ontario Liberals, at any rate in the country districts, are a very critical sort of audience. They certainly liked Sir Wilfrid, but they did not appreciate his style of oratory very much, and were apt to reserve their judgment till they knew more of him. In his own province the case was very different. He very soon made good his position as their natural born leader and attained an influence with them which no other public man in Quebec since Confederation could pretend to equal. This has been the distinguishing feature of his political career all through—overwhelming strength in Quebec, but barely able to keep our ordinary old position in Ontario; in fact, the Liberal party has almost lost ground in Ontario as fast as it has gained it in Quebec, and that, too, though we have succeeded at last in freeing ourselves from the gerrymander which for so long a time deprived the Liberals of Ontario of a large percentage of their legitimate seats in the House of Commons.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-FIVE.

UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY.

REPORTER. It was about this period the Liberal party took up the question of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States.

SIR RICHARD. The first formal motion upon the subject was made by me in 1888. The outlook at that period was favorable for such a movement on both sides of the line. A majority of our people had become impoverished from various causes, largely in Ontario and elsewhere, from the loss of the American market. The settlement of the North-West, after costing old Canada a prodigious amount, had proved an utter failure so far. The exodus of our people was at its height and threatened almost to depopulate many sections of some of the provinces. The values of farm lands had shrunk immensely and the price of most agricultural products were very low. To some extent a similar set of conditions prevailed on the other side of the border, and many eminent American statesmen, notably, to my own knowledge, the late J. G. Blaine, with whom I had a long and very interesting discussion on this subject, had come to the conclusion that it would be wise to greatly modify their protective system, and that this could best be done by a series of reciprocity treaties, especially with Canada.

REPORTER. Do you think this was really possible?

SIR RICHARD. Looking back and bearing in mind the assurances I received from many leading men in the United States, I have very little doubt that if there had been a Liberal Government in power in Canada in 1887 and, indeed, at any time up to 1892, such a treaty could have been brought about. After that time the opportunity had passed. This was the period during which Mr. Cleveland and the Democratic party were on the whole in the

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ascendant, and there was besides a powerful section of the Republicans in the tier of Northern States along our border who were keenly alive to the advantages they would derive from free trade with Canada. The combination was a strong one, and incidentally I may remark that Sir Charles Tupper, who was then the Minister of Finance, neither spoke nor voted on my motion, though the debate ran over a period of several weeks, *de die in diem*, and covers five hundred full pages of Hansard, and every man of any prominence in the House except himself gave us the benefit of his views thereon. I may be in error, but I had and have a strong conviction that that gentleman on this occasion was far in advance of his colleagues and did appreciate the enormous advantage which would have resulted to Canada from some such arrangement with the United States, and was wisely reluctant to put himself on record as in any way opposed to it.

REPORTER. What do you suppose would have been the results?

SIR RICHARD. That is straying into the realms of the "might-have-been," yet there were certain economic results which would assuredly have followed. First and foremost the entire agricultural population of Canada would have benefited directly and immensely, especially in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. You remember, perhaps, the famous passage of Mr. Wills I have often quoted?

REPORTER. I cannot recall it. What did he say?

SIR RICHARD (taking down a volume). It reads thus: "North of Lakes Erie and Ontario and of the River St. Lawrence, and east of Lake Huron, south of the 45th parallel of latitude, and included mainly in 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 capability. It is the natural habitat on this continent of the combing-wool sheep. It is the land where grows the finest barley, which the brewing interest of the United

States must have if it ever expects to rival Great Britain in its annual export of eleven millions sterling of malt products. It raises and grazes the finest of cattle, with qualities specially desirable to make good the deterioration of stock in other sections and its climatic conditions, created by an almost encirclement of the Great Lakes, especially fit 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."

The possession of such a territory, lying, as one may say, just to windward of the whole range of seaboard cities from Baltimore to Boston and of the fringe of great towns along the Great Lakes from Chicago eastward, containing, with their adjacent dependencies, a population of now well-nigh thirty millions of the richest and most extravagant customers and consumers on the face of the earth, could not fail to benefit us immensely if such a market was thrown open to us. Apart from the advantage of our geographical position it is a well-established fact that most of the fruits and vegetables grown in the northern half of the north temperate zone are decidedly superior to those produced in the southern portion, while the present facilities for storage and rapid transportation are such that nearly everything grown in the older provinces of Canada east of Lake Superior can easily reach those markets in the best possible condition. This is more especially the case with Ontario, but it is true, though in a somewhat lesser degree, of every portion of the Dominion from Vancouver to Halifax. Taking a broad view of the situation it is an insult to nature and to common sense for any man in Canada to allege that free access to a market of one hundred millions of people, perhaps the richest in the world, lying along our frontier for three or four thousand miles, only separated from us by an imaginary border line and a pair of reciprocally barbarous tariffs, could be anything but an enormous boon to the vast mass of the people of Canada.

REPORTER. How as to the manufacturers?

SIR RICHARD. There are manufacturers and manu-

facturers. Some would suffer. But in a general way those who are carrying on a business really suitable to our conditions in a proper manner and by proper methods would as a rule benefit by admission to a larger market. Those who are making their living by selling inferior goods to their fellow-countrymen at prices of 30 or 35 per cent. more than those for which the same or better articles could be purchased in open market, would probably go to the wall. But if there is one grain of truth in the statements continually and repeatedly made to the several Tariff Commissions on which I have sat, that the chief reason why our manufacturers could not produce articles as cheaply as their competitors in the United States was because they could not specialize in so small a market as that of Canada, they ought to be very glad to be admitted to the United States markets on equal terms. In any case I cannot tolerate the idea that a mere fraction of the population (for the number of those persons who are really benefited by our protective system is vastly smaller than the manufacturers are in the habit of alleging) have the right to demand that the great bulk of their countrymen should be deprived of the immense advantages they would obtain from reciprocity for the sake of enabling a few manufacturers to tax the whole community for their private profit. Of course this is taking the extreme view that we would have had at once absolute reciprocity in all things. As matters now stand it is not likely that anything like this could be brought about, but of one thing I am very certain, and that is that if under the existing absurd restrictions on both sides the total trade between Canada and the United States has grown to something between four and five hundred millions, if the trade between the two countries were made as free as it is between two states of the Union, the total volume would very soon overstep a billion a year, to the great mutual benefit of both countries.

REPORTER. Would there not have been a serious difficulty about raising sufficient revenue if you had made imports from the United States free?

SIR RICHARD. Undoubtedly there would have been a serious disturbance for a time, and the difficulty had been a good deal increased by the very reckless manner in which we have allowed our annual expenditure, and especially our fixed charges, to increase of late years. But the difficulty has been much exaggerated. Most parties, in discussing this aspect of the question, either by accident or design, almost always lose sight of two cardinal facts. One is that if the income of the people of Canada is much increased, as I have no doubt it would be by even a moderate measure of reciprocity, they will have a great deal more to spend on luxuries and on dutiable and exciseable goods. It was no part of our proposition to prohibit the importation of British and other goods, and if we had added largely to our income, a large part of such addition would have been sure to go to purchase just such goods and thereby recoup our revenue to a large extent. If, besides this, we were compelled to economize in our annual expenditure it would not only be a blessing in disguise but an unmixed good in every way. The other fact is that men continually speak of the loss of revenue caused by admitting goods from the United States or elsewhere free, as if it was a loss to the people, whereas it is a direct gain to them. If, therefore, we had to impose new taxes in a different direction to make good any deficiency caused by admitting goods free from the United States, the public would be no whit the poorer. It would be simply taking money out of one pocket instead of the other. Incidentally we lay claim to a very large surplus. If that claim be well founded it could not be applied to a better purpose than in facilitating a free exchange between ourselves and the United States.

REPORTER. Do you think this will come about?

SIR RICHARD. Human folly is hard to gauge, and the spectacle of two peoples like Canada and the United States allowing themselves to be persuaded by a set of selfish manufacturers that you can increase the collective wealth of a nation by increasing its taxation is not reassuring. But I am inclined to think that the growth

of our North-West, and the evident revulsion of feeling going on in the United States against their own protective system, will result in bringing about a fair measure of reciprocity much sooner than we now expect. As to what the economic results to us would be I can only say that, though I was not in Canada at the time when the former treaty of reciprocity was negotiated, I have the authority of men in the highest positions in the then financial and political world, from Sir Alexander Galt and Mr. Holton, to Sir Francis Hincks and many others, including, for that matter, Sir John A. Macdonald himself, that the benefits to Canada, and especially to Ontario, were simply incalculable. The famous annexation manifesto of 1848-9 is as good a proof as anyone could desire of the need and the advantage of such a measure, and I cannot conceive any rational man, not having some special reason of his own for opposing it, who could deliberately argue that access to the markets of the United States could fail to be of very great advantage to the great majority of our people, and above all to the inhabitants of the North-West, who would profit indirectly in a thousand ways, and especially in the impetus it would give to the practice of mixed farming, on the extensive introduction of which the maintenance of the fertility of great part of that region will certainly come to depend. As to the old objection that we could not have raised enough revenue if we admitted American goods free, I may point out that even most of our opponents admitted that our people would profit to the extent of many millions—not less than twenty or thirty at once and ultimately much more. Now, as the utmost loss of revenue in our importations from the United States, even if we had gone to the extremest limit on both sides, which was unlikely, could not at that time have exceeded seven million dollars, and as it was absolutely certain from our past experience, both in Canada and elsewhere, that if the income of the people was largely increased, as it most assuredly would have been by free access to the American market, the revenue from excise would also be largely

increased, and as there was likewise a very strong probability, from the tastes and habits of our people, that our dutiable imports from Great Britain and other countries would increase instead of being diminished, though, as I have said before, the increase might have occurred on somewhat different lines, it would have been no very difficult task to provide for any balance of revenue which might be needed. In fact, what was necessary to be raised could easily have been procured by a re-adjustment of certain special taxes, and probably without adding one cent to the amount then actually paid by the consumers of the articles taxed. No doubt full reciprocity was in a sense an heroic remedy for a very desperate state of things, but it was most amply justified by the then condition of Canada, and the supposed difficulty of providing a sufficient revenue was little better than a bugbear.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-SIX.

*AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLISH-SPEAKING
NATIONS.*

REPORTER. In discussing reciprocity you said nothing of its probable political effect and on the result as to our connection with Great Britain.

SIR RICHARD. That is a large question, and is best discussed by itself. My own leading idea is that Canada, from her geographical position, must, so long as she continues to be a portion of the British Empire, be either a hostage for the good behaviour of Great Britain to the United States or else a link of union between the two countries. I have always hoped that Canada might ultimately prove to be the latter, and one main reason I had for advocating reciprocity in 1887 and afterwards was that I considered that if we were able to create a great and mutually profitable trade and a great community of interests between ourselves and the United States, we would thereby very greatly diminish all chance of friction between England and the great Republic, even if we did not go further and pave the way for a federation or alliance of all English-speaking nations.

REPORTER. That is a scheme you have long advocated?

SIR RICHARD. I have kept it steadily in view for over forty years. In Parliament and out of it, in the press, in dealing with English Cabinet Ministers and with public men in the United States, I have steadily pointed out the great advantages to both and, for the matter of that, to humanity at large, if something of the kind could be brought about and the hideous blunder which lost England for over a century the friendship of her former North American colonists be at last repaired. As far back as 1871 I formally advocated these views in a letter pub-

lished in the London press, which attracted some attention at the time and which substantially embodies my present opinions on the subject.

REPORTER. You are, I believe, of U. E. Loyalist descent yourself?

SIR RICHARD. Yes, my great-grandfather was driven into exile and had his house sacked and his property confiscated by the revolutionists in 1776, and my grandfather, at the age of eighteen, fought through several desperate campaigns with Joseph Brant and Butler along the American frontier, campaigns, I may add, in which no quarter was given on either side. To do these men justice, the very name they gave themselves of United Empire Loyalists showed that they had shared the aspirations of the elder Pitt and comprehended the magnitude of the prize for which he fought when he strained every nerve to conquer Canada.

REPORTER. What about the effect on English trade?

SIR RICHARD. Provided the tariff on English goods were preserved at a moderate figure, while it may be true that some few lines would be affected, I believe on the whole they would lose nothing; in fact, I think it more than probable that their trade would increase largely. The tastes of many of our people incline them to purchase English goods, and if we grew much richer we would almost certainly indulge in much larger purchases. Also, Englishmen are large holders of our securities and have large investments in Canada which are likely to become larger, and it is for their interest, as well as ours, that Canada should become more prosperous. Neither should it be forgotten that the very men who affected to be concerned at the effect of reciprocity on our connection with Great Britain were the self-same crew of self-seekers who, when it was pointed out that their so-called "National Policy" might endanger British connection, were the first to cry out, "So much the worse for British connection!" We ought to hear no more of such trash from such quarters.

REPORTER. I think you said at the time of Confedera-

tion many British politicians would have gladly severed that connection.

SIR RICHARD. That was true then, but there has come a great change over the spirit of their dreams since that period. To-day it is only fair to say that I fully believe that if it was explained to them that reciprocity with the United States would greatly benefit Canada, they would put no obstacle in our way. But apart from that, they would probably one and all admit that anything which would bring the British Empire and the United States into closer relations would be worth a very considerable sacrifice, if a sacrifice had to be made.

REPORTER. Did not the British Government at one time rather oppose anything which brought Canadian public men into direct contact with those of the United States?

SIR RICHARD. That is largely a thing of the past. It did exist, but it has pretty nearly if not altogether vanished away. Of course traditions of this kind die hard, especially in the English Foreign Office, but of late the swing of the pendulum has been quite the other way, as was shown notably in the case of the Joint High Commissioner, on which there were four Canadians to one Englishman. The chief home authorities are quite willing we should make the best bargain we can with the United States. I might add that I think American statesmen of late years, more especially since they have departed from their former traditions of not holding any territory outside of the continent of North America, and have begun to exercise a quasi-protectorate over South America, have definitely abandoned all idea of bringing Canada forcibly into the union, either by conquest or commercial pressure, the more so since the recent rapid development of Canada has shown them that we are perfectly able to stand alone, a lesson they were long in learning.

REPORTER. How did your programme of unrestricted reciprocity take in the country?

SIR RICHARD. Wonderfully well. The people were ripe for a change, and took a very great interest in the

discussion. They remembered the great outburst of prosperity which had followed on the negotiation of the first treaty of reciprocity by Lord Elgin, and had we been able to offer a similar treaty with any positive assurance from the United States authorities that it would be carried into effect, we would have swept the country from end to end. But of course we could not expect any such assurances to be given to us until we were in power and able to come forward with definite proposals on our side.

REPORTER. I think you intimated that you had seen many American public men about that time. How were they disposed?

SIR RICHARD. For a very considerable period, say from 1887 to 1893, they were all well affected. I had interviews with many of them, among others with Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Blaine, Mr. Dingley, and others, and I found them all, not excepting Mr. Dingley, more than courteous. They were at that time anxious to discuss the question, and they had, I think, in the majority of cases made up their minds that it was desirable to modify their protective system, and that a series of reciprocity treaties would afford the easiest way out of it. That was more especially the view of Mr. Blaine, whom I had rather expected to find pretty much of an Anglo-phobist. If he had been he had outgrown it and instead displayed a very keen appreciation of the mutual advantages to both countries of a large measure of reciprocity. Had he lived I have good reason to believe he would have championed our cause with all his might. I addressed at various times Chambers of Commerce in New York and in Boston and found most receptive audiences, in the latter place especially. No doubt after 1894 the political situation changed entirely, but all through the period I have named, from 1887 to 1894, any really serious effort on the part of the Canadian Government to obtain reciprocity would in all likelihood have been successful.

REPORTER. Did not the then existing Government make some proposals?

SIR RICHARD. They did, in a very half-hearted way. They sent several delegations to Washington, but the published reports of their conference show that they had not the slightest real desire to make any such treaty. Imagine a Canadian Minister of Finance asking Mr. Blaine to tell him how he would raise a revenue if he agreed to any large scheme of reciprocity! I do them no injustice in saying that, with the exception of Sir Charles Tupper, they were one and all far too much in the hands of the protected manufacturers to dare to negotiate any such treaty.

REPORTER. You think Sir Charles Tupper desired it?

SIR RICHARD. I have every reason to believe he did. His silence during the debate on reciprocity was significant. Then he had resided in England for some years, and when he returned to Canada in 1887 he had very soon satisfied himself that there was something very much amiss about the whole situation. As a native of the Maritime Provinces he could not be blind to the fact that they had come to an absolute standstill in the matter of the growth of population and otherwise. He saw, also, that the settlement of the North-West was making no progress, and he was much too experienced a politician not to know that after the continued insistence of himself and others that the Government of the day must be held responsible for any depression, from whatever cause it might arise, it would be extremely difficult at the next election to persuade the average elector that the Government were not to blame for the hard times. Besides, he was quite large-minded enough to comprehend the very great impetus that would be given to everything in Canada (a few manufacturers possibly excepted) by a renewal of the reciprocal relations between us and the United States, and he also understood the great advantage of having something new to present to the people. In all this he judged quite correctly, and the soundness of his view was very amply demonstrated in the election of 1891.

REPORTER. Did Sir Charles remain in long?

SIR RICHARD. No, he returned to London and resumed

his position as High Commissioner. It was pretty generally understood that he did this for two reasons. First, because he was not allowed a free hand in dealing with the United States, and in the second place because he had returned to Canada on the express agreement that Sir John would shortly retire and that he should succeed him.

REPORTER. Are you certain of this?

SIR RICHARD. Well, I did not hold the candle, but I knew both Sir John and Sir Charles well, and all the surrounding circumstances pointed that way down to the extraordinary step of allowing Sir Charles to bring his son into the Cabinet over the heads of at least half-a-dozen much older and more experienced aspirants, a step, by the way, which injured both father and son.

REPORTER. In what way did it harm them?

SIR RICHARD. It created a great deal of jealousy, and had much to do with the refusal to select Sir Charles Tupper as leader after Sir John A. Macdonald's death. It was a very risky experiment, too, to take a young man of Sir Hibbert Tupper's age, and one of no particular prominence in his profession, and place him in the Cabinet. It accentuated a serious defect in our system of government. What we need very much is to have a few posts like the English Parliamentary Under-Secretaries, to which young politicians could be appointed without giving them Cabinet rank. Sir Hibbert Tupper would have made an excellent Under-Secretary and have ripened in good time into a good Cabinet Minister. As it was, he lost his head and his chance of becoming leader of his party. Had Sir Charles been wise enough to let his son remain on the back benches for a few years longer, he might then have promoted him without offence, and in such case, as things turned out, the odds were heavy that Sir Hibbert Tupper would have become the recognized leader of the Conservative party, a post he probably would have filled well.

REPORTER. Still, there must have been a good deal of disturbance?

SIR RICHARD. Undoubtedly, but nothing like as much

as was alleged. Looking at the question broadly, we had analyzed the situation carefully, and we were well convinced that free trade with the United States would add from thirty to forty millions a year to the national income.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-SEVEN.

*UGLY IMPRESSION IN ENGLAND AS TO THE HONOUR
OF OUR PUBLIC MEN.*

REPORTER. How did things proceed after Mr. Blake's retirement?

SIR RICHARD. With the exception of the discussion of reciprocity for one or two years there was something like absolute stagnation on both sides. In our case there was a feeling that a great opportunity had been thrown away. Then, as almost always occurs when there is a change of leadership, the new man has to spend quite a considerable time in making himself known to his outside following. This was more particularly necessary in Mr. Laurier's case, as being a Frenchman and a Catholic, and he applied himself to his work very diligently. On the Government side there was an uneasy feeling that they were steadily losing ground, especially in their old stronghold of Quebec, while we were aware that we were being weakened by the steady drain of many of the best supporters to the United States. Economically things were at a complete standstill. There was hardly any increase worth mentioning in our revenue or our commerce in the years from 1887 to 1891 and a positive decrease thereafter; and a feeling of apathy, almost amounting to despair, seemed to have taken possession of many of our people, especially in Ontario and the North-West. The only thing that really aroused any interest in their minds was the possibility of obtaining reciprocity, and on this question wherever I went (and there were very few portions of Ontario I did not visit between 1887 and 1891) I never failed to secure numerous and most attentive audiences. Sir John, I was told, declared it was worse than the famous slogan "Three acres and a cow;" but on that occasion, at any rate, he greatly under-rated the intel-

ligence of the people. Whatever may be the case now (though I have in no way altered my opinion as to the value of a good treaty of reciprocity) there is not a shadow of a doubt that in the decade from 1886 to 1896 it would have been an enormous boon to the great mass of our people and most particularly to our farmers. Sir John must have felt this himself, for in all my experience of him I never knew him take so much pains to perfect his organization at all points (war chest included) as he did in these years, and the absolute amount of work he did and the distances he travelled were something really wonderful for a man of his years and infirmities. In fact, he, single-handed, saved the situation for his party, and he did it at the risk, if not actually at the cost, of his own life. There was scarcely a riding in Ontario in which he had not scores, perhaps hundreds, of personal acquaintances, and the appeal to those persons to give him one last term was so visibly and terribly in earnest that we could not be surprised to find that it produced a great effect.

REPORTER. What we call the personal equation came into play?

SIR RICHARD. I have already mentioned the immense number of men in positions of more or less influence all over Ontario whom Sir John had either appointed to office or obliged in some way during his very long career. They were in every sense a tower of strength to him, and no man knew better how to avail himself of their aid than Sir John. But it was a thing which could not be transferred, as his successor was not long in discovering.

REPORTER. Was there anything else specially notable?

SIR RICHARD. Perhaps the most significant was the meteoric rise of Count Honoré Mercier to something very like a dictatorship in the Province of Quebec and the apparent reconciliation through him of the Liberal party and the Church. Of Mr. Mercier and his proceedings I would speak with some reserve. He belonged to a different province and I had but a slight acquaintance with him, but I very well remember one remark of his which shed some considerable light on his methods. This was

to the effect, speaking of Sir John Macdonald, "that he had taken that great man as his model." I thought at the time, and subsequent events confirmed the impression, that if this remark expressed Mr. Mercier's real sentiments, Liberal principles would soon be at a heavy discount in the Province of Quebec, whatever title politicians in that region might see fit to assume, though it is but fair to add that his final defeat and downfall went far to show that the hearts of the people of Quebec were sound and true when once the facts were brought home to them.

REPORTER. It was Mr. Mercier who passed the Jesuit Estates Bill, was it not?

SIR RICHARD. It was, and the attempt to get it disallowed gave us a good deal of trouble. No doubt Sir John A. Macdonald was right in pointing out that whatever the merit of the Act might be it was very clearly an affair for the Legislature of Quebec to decide upon. At the same time, as far as anyone could judge from the statements made in the House of Commons, even by its advocates, there was very little doubt that it was an outrageous act of bribery to gain the support of the clergy. The proposal to disallow it was voted down by an overwhelming majority. Still, it left a bad impression.

REPORTER. At the same time, Mr. Mercier helped the Liberal party in Quebec?

SIR RICHARD. He did for the time, but it is very certain that in the long run he did the party a great deal of harm, not only in Quebec but in the Dominion. Up to that date the Liberal record, whether in the Dominion or in the local legislatures, had been fairly clean. Mr. Mercier's proceedings completely stopped us from making that assertion again, and went far to justify the favorite allegation of our opponents that for all their professions of purity the Liberals were just as corrupt as their neighbours when they got into power. It did us especial harm in Ontario, where Mr. Mercier had been made much of and paraded as evidence of our coming triumph in Quebec, and where we had been assailing the Government on every occasion on account of their corrupt practices. The dis-

covery that one of our own most prominent leaders in Quebec had been doing the very same things as those we had been condemning came as a shock to many of our best supporters and went far to confirm the growing and dangerous opinion that no one could succeed in politics in Canada except by corrupt means.

REPORTER. Mr. Mercier was disgraced and dismissed, I think?

SIR RICHARD. He was very severely punished, certainly, and that was perhaps the redeeming feature in the whole business, since it showed that once the offence was clearly proved the people of Quebec were by no means inclined to condone it. Fortunately his tenure of power was but brief, but, as will be seen later on, the exposure did the Liberal party in Ontario much injury at a very critical period.

REPORTER. It was about 1889 that Mr. Tarte's revolt occurred?

SIR RICHARD. Yes, in 1889 and 1890. Of course we knew that there had been plenty of crookedness in Sir Hector Langevin's Department, but the legal evidence was wanting and, indeed, no one except a man in Mr. Tarte's position could well have secured proofs. But after he rose in his place and formulated his charges, Sir John had no alternative but to allow the investigation to be held, no matter what the result might be.

REPORTER. I suppose that practically killed Sir Hector Langevin?

SIR RICHARD. It did that and a great deal more. It brought out such a revelation of corrupt practices as Parliamentary history has seldom known, and probably was the main reason why Sir John hurried on the elections of 1891. If he had dared he would, I think, have postponed the election until after census had been taken and a new distribution made of the seats. This would have been the proper course, as it was obvious that if there was any material change in the representation of the several provinces there would have been at once a demand for a new election which he might have found it difficult to with-

stand. But the risk of still further exposures, if he allowed another session to be held, was so great that he decided to take the plunge, and I daresay, from his own standpoint, that he was right. Assuredly if we had been in possession during that campaign of the evidence which came to light later, after the trial and conviction of Mr. McGreevy, it would have gone very hard with Sir John, especially in Ontario, where the tide was running strongly against him as it was. Possibly the knowledge that his own days were numbered may have had its weight with him. Certainly if the election had been deferred till 1892, and the Conservatives had had to face us under any other leader than Sir John, it would have meant irretrievable disaster.

REPORTER. What were Mr. Tarte's reasons for his action?

SIR RICHARD. That I cannot say. What is certain is that he showed great courage and determination and that he rendered a very considerable service to the whole community. His motives may have been mixed, as men's motives often are, but he took great risks, both of bringing down on himself the enmity of a powerful Government and of the whole Conservative party and also in preferring his charges before a decidedly hostile tribunal, a majority of whom would certainly have discredited him if they could. It was really to all intents an impeachment of a prominent Minister of the Crown, who was known to be an aspirant to succeed Sir John A. Macdonald, and who, but for this, would very possibly have done so. Very great pressure was brought to bear on Mr. Tarte to induce him to recede, but having taken his position he stood to it most steadfastly and emerged victorious.

REPORTER. Had these exposures much effect?

SIR RICHARD. Not so much in Canada, though they told there, too. But the effect in England, and indeed abroad generally, was extremely bad. Through the entire English press, from *The Times** down to *Punch*, Canada

* *The Times* remarked that "the state of things at Ottawa made Tammany smell sweet."

was paraded as a sort of breeding ground for grafters. A most ugly impression was created as to the code of honour and even common honesty among our public men. This lasted long, and indeed I have reason to know that it still exists, and that in high quarters, down to the present day.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-EIGHT.

*MR. BLAKE'S EXTRAORDINARY CONDUCT.—VOTE
IMPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES.*

REPORTER. You thought the election of 1891 was precipitated?

SIR RICHARD. Perhaps that is not exactly correct. I fancy that Sir John weighed the situation carefully and decided that he could not wait. Mr. Tarte's attack and the well-grounded fear of other and still more damaging disclosures had their effect, but there was another reason which probably influenced him even more. According to our custom the decennial census had to be taken within a few weeks. We had dwelt of late very strongly on the exodus which had taken place under his administration, but we had no absolute legal proof of its extent. Sir John was probably not aware of the tremendous length to which it had gone, but he had learned enough to be afraid of the result, and he knew very well what a weapon it would be against him in an election contest if we could show from official documents how grievously his organs had over-estimated the population and what a miserable exhibit the real facts would make. There was another reason also.

REPORTER. What was that?

SIR RICHARD. There had been a local election in Ontario a few months before. Mr. Mowat had been sustained by a large majority, but the contest had been a sharp one, and Sir John was well aware that our supporters had been heavily drawn upon for the necessary expenses of the election, and he calculated, not without reason, that we would have great difficulty in inducing them to subscribe again within so short a period. In this he was quite correct. It was a great obstacle in our way. We were obliged to fight our battle with exceedingly small assistance from any quarter.

REPORTER. Had you any other special difficulties?

SIR RICHARD. We had our old-time troubles and in an exaggerated form. There was the gerrymander, still a most potent source of injury to us. There was, thanks to the continued exodus, an immense number of outside voters, many thousands more than in 1887, and Sir John, as I found out afterwards, had made extraordinary provision for a campaign fund in Ontario, largely with an eye to securing as many as possible of this vote. How dangerous this was likely to prove you can judge from the fact that in four cities of the United States, almost all on our very border, there were fully eighty thousand Canadians, according to the United States Census of 1890. These were in Rochester, Buffalo, Chicago and Boston, besides a very large number in the smaller towns between and along the lake front. Last, and by no means least, we had, at the very last moment, to contend with treachery in our own ranks.

REPORTER. You refer, I suppose, to Mr. Blake's action?

SIR RICHARD. I do, and if I seem to speak too warmly in respect to this, I would refer you to a series of articles known to have been written by Dr. Goldwin Smith, which appeared in the *Toronto Mail* after the election, and which will show in what light his conduct appeared to an impartial observer outside of actual politics. Briefly the facts are these. The election at the last was rather hurried, and the writs were issued at a moment when both Sir Wilfrid Laurier and myself were absent from Ontario. The instant it was known that they were about to issue, Mr. Blake prepared to publish a letter condemning our policy and had it actually in type in a paper in his old riding. This was discovered by a staunch friend of ours, who had influence enough with the publisher to defer the production of the letter till he had time to communicate with certain of our supporters in Toronto, who brought such pressure to bear upon Mr. Blake that he finally, though with a very bad grace, suspended its publication till after the election. My own opinion of his conduct was

such that I never spoke to him nor held any communication with him from that day, and I prefer to state the facts without further comment. The results are another matter.

REPORTER. What were they, if I may ask?

SIR RICHARD. Decidedly injurious, though less so than might have been expected. Mr. Blake had given out many portions of his letter to various parties, and its general contents were pretty well known and were extensively used against us by Conservative speakers and canvassers all through the campaign. His defection had, of course, a good deal of influence, and in several closely balanced constituencies, where the election was decided against us by a very few votes, it is quite probable it turned the scale. With the great majority of our supporters, who remembered his conduct in 1887, and very notably with the Scotch element, it had no weight whatever. With a fraction of the Irish voters it may have had some effect. But it did undoubtedly encourage our opponents, and unluckily in several cases the election was so close that every vote counted. When the complete returns were in we found that the Conservatives had carried six constituencies against us by majorities ranging from one to thirty. In all they had a majority of 110 votes in those six, being an average of eighteen votes per seat. Several of these were ridings in which Mr. Blake might have been supposed to have had some personal influence, and altogether I do not think I overstate the matter when I say that he probably saved Sir John A. Macdonald from being in a clear minority (gerrymander to the contrary, notwithstanding) in Ontario as well as in Quebec. It is scarcely necessary to say that even apart from the numerical loss, the effect of Sir John's being in a minority in the two chief provinces of the Dominion would have had an immense influence.

REPORTER. Do I understand you to say that Mr. Blake gave neither you nor Sir Wilfrid Laurier any notice of his intention?

SIR RICHARD. He did in a very peculiar fashion.

Knowing that we were both away he did send some intimation of his intention so timed that neither of us could by any possibility receive it till after his letter had been published. But it is both idle and painful to discuss his conduct further. The facts are on record, and I only mention them now in order to show under what odds we fought in 1891.

REPORTER. What was the exact result of the election?

SIR RICHARD. In despite of all odds—of the gerrymander—of the huge outside vote brought in—of the profuse use of money, and of all the other matters to which I have alluded—we carried a clear majority of the entire popular vote of Ontario by several thousands. I give the figures as compiled by Mr. George Johnston in a published statement signed by himself, he being the Dominion Statistician, and a warm partisan of the Government of the day. It is true that, thanks to the gerrymander, we only secured forty-four seats against forty-eight, while, with a decidedly smaller popular majority in their favour, our opponents in 1887 had obtained fifty-four votes against thirty-eight; but no man, with these figures before him, and with the further knowledge that many thousand votes were cast on the Conservative side by men who had left Canada forever, can fail to see that but for the use of loaded dice and false weights Sir John would have been ignominiously defeated in his own Province of Ontario.

REPORTER. You spoke of the immense number of outside voters brought in from the United States. Have you any details?

SIR RICHARD. The total number is more or less a matter of conjecture, but I should estimate the total number in Ontario alone at not less than one hundred in any riding which was seriously contested, and much oftener two hundred or three hundred, or even more. In two constituencies which for special reasons we had intended to protest, we found by actual count that over four hundred in the one case and two hundred in the other had been brought in from the United States. There were regular Canadian colonies in many cities in the United States,

such as Buffalo, Rochester, Chicago, and many other places along our border, and my friends there in several instances had formed themselves into a sort of vigilance committee and kept us advised of the way the matter was being worked. It was carried on on a large scale and very openly. The parties felt perfectly safe, knowing that it was practically impossible to punish them for what was done in a foreign country, and former impunity had made them even more reckless than usual.

REPORTER. Did you proceed with the investigation?

SIR RICHARD. No. Parliament met very shortly after the elections, and of course no proceedings could go on during the session. Before the close the party whom it was most important to reach died, and the matter was allowed to drop. Had we had sufficient funds at our disposal we might have pushed it even then on the grounds of public policy, but our resources, as you may guess, were exceedingly limited.

REPORTER. Was not this importation of outside voters a very expensive method?

SIR RICHARD. I do not know that it was, all things considered. As a rule by far the greater part of the monies intended to be applied for corrupt purposes never reach the voters meant to be influenced thereby. It is pocketed by the intermediaries, who may, and often do, work hard, but spend very little. I recollect one eminent politician declaring in my presence that the chief difficulty in conducting an election was to secure a sufficient number of "honest rascals" to disburse the funds, meaning thereby that the men employed in such services were certain to appropriate the bulk of it. Such, I believe, is the universal experience, and has been verified again and again in the election cases before the courts. This was much less apt to occur in dealing with the outside voters. Parties knew what they were doing, and comparatively little was absorbed by agents. Also it was found that parties brought over in this way almost always voted as they had promised to do. In fact, as one talented gentleman largely engaged in the business was wont to say, the

foreign article was "dear but prime," and thoroughly to be depended upon once the bargain was made. This evil, however, has now been completely done away with, in Ontario at any rate. No man can vote unless he has been a resident for a considerable time in the constituency. Had this provision been in force in 1887 or 1891, or even in 1882, not even the gerrymander would have saved Sir John from defeat in his own province. On each of the last two occasions, at any rate, he would have been in a heavy minority on the actual resident vote. The great railway corporations could, if they chose, supply some curious information as to the extent to which this practice had been carried in the years I have named, but in truth among politicians the facts were too well known to be disputed.

REPORTER. I suppose at a certain time after an election the causes of defeat or victory are fully discussed?

SIR RICHARD. So long as there is any danger of cases coming before the courts both parties are pretty reticent, but once that is over men will talk very freely, and even boastingly, of the manner in which they have got the better of their opponents, no matter how. I have often been surprised, myself, at the way in which men very high up in the councils of the other party would speak in my presence of the amount of money spent in various constituencies and of the causes which led to success or defeat in particular localities.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FORTY-NINE.

*SIR JOHN'S MANY GOOD POINTS.—UNSCRUPULOUS
WHEN HE COULD GAIN A POLITICAL
ADVANTAGE.*

REPORTER. Sir John's death followed shortly after the election?

SIR RICHARD. Yes. He died, I might almost say, of his wounds, a few weeks after the House met. His death, naturally enough, created a profound impression. For good or for evil he had been for nearly half a century a very prominent, and of late by far the most prominent, figure in Canadian politics. Moreover, it was pretty generally felt that his party's chance of retaining power for any length of time died with him. As for myself, my relations with him for many years had been so strained that I have some hesitation in expressing my opinion of his career. He had many good points and not a few of the qualities which go to make a public man a popular idol, as indeed he had become and in a sense continues to be to this day, but he did incalculable mischief to Canada, and that in a fashion which it will take more than one generation to repair, if it ever is repaired, which is more than doubtful.

REPORTER. In what particular ways do you consider that he did that?

SIR RICHARD. In many ways, but perhaps his worst fault was that he grievously degraded the whole tone of public life and of political morality in Canada. He was absolutely unscrupulous when he thought he could gain a political advantage, and cared nothing what the ultimate consequences might be to the country at large, though he was quite sagacious enough to foresee them in most cases. Before Confederation he had perpetrated several pieces of very sharp practice, of which the notorious "Double-Shuffle" may serve as an example. After that, and apart from his corrupt bargain with Sir Hugh

Allan for the sale of the Canadian Pacific charter, he was directly responsible for the gross maladministration of the North-West, which long retarded the development of that region and greatly increased the extent of the exodus of our people, and he was also guilty of contracting a very improvident and dishonest bargain with British Columbia, in which he deliberately sacrificed the interests of the rest of the Dominion for the sake of a paltry political advantage to himself. As for his adoption of the National Policy, I had excellent reason to know that he originally regarded the protective system as particularly unsuited to Canada, and he took it up solely as a political expedient, without in the least believing in it. Still, looking back after the lapse of twenty years, while I do not feel called upon to retract one single word I have written or spoken concerning him, I am bound to admit that he may have had more excuses than I at one time supposed, and also that in several important matters he did, as a rule, try to do his duty.

REPORTER. For example?

SIR RICHARD. Well, when he could, and when political exigencies were not too strong for him, he tried to maintain a good standard in the judiciary. Then, too, with the same limitations he was averse to wasteful and unnecessary expenditure, and did his best to keep his colleagues within bounds, which was often no easy matter. He was, on the whole, a kindly man and quite capable of taking a large view of any matter fairly presented to him. I remember on one occasion his coming into the House during a wrangle between myself and some of his colleagues who were proposing to place a heavy tax on books printed for the use of the blind. On his entrance I at once appealed to him to put a stop to this piece of stupid barbarity and to let these poor creatures have their books in free. Sir John did not hesitate one moment but at once ordered the item to be put on the free list, and in this and in divers matters connected with the administration of justice, I found him both merciful and just, and also, which was very necessary in a man in his position, with-

out any mawkish sentimentality about punishing evildoers when he thought the occasion required it.

REPORTER. I believe he was popular with both sides of the House?

SIR RICHARD. In his earlier days very much so. Not to the same extent after Confederation, and certainly not after his return to power in 1878, but that may have been partly due to his advancing years and to his failing health. When I first joined the House he was "hail fellow well met" with plenty of his political opponents, who, privately, often greatly preferred him in his individual capacity to their own leaders. He had a very lively sense of humour, and some of his character sketches of his own colleagues were almost inimitable, especially as he usually interspersed them with witty and rather naughty anecdotes of various sorts. I remember once asking him what sort of a cabinet he would like to have if he could choose exactly whom he pleased. "Oh," he said, "if I had my way, they should all be highly respectable parties whom I could send to the penitentiary if I liked." Many years after I took occasion to congratulate him on having nearly attained his ideal in the composition of his cabinet, bar the respectability. He recollected the conversation perfectly, but only observed that after-dinner discussion should not be quoted in Parliament, a maxim to which I subscribed so far that I did not state what his ideal was.

REPORTER. I have heard that he was very careless about keeping his promises to his friends.

SIR RICHARD. That charge was quite true as regards the early part of his career, and he even used to make a joke of it. Curiously enough after 1878 he quite altered his tactics in that respect, and seemed to make a special point of rewarding and providing for the men who had stood by him in the time of his adversity. This was good policy, no doubt, but it arose largely, I think, from good feeling, too, and the knowledge which showed itself curiously now and then that this was his last term of office, though he was also mentally resolved that, by fair means or foul, it should last his life out, too, a feeling which had

more to do with many of his proceedings than most people were aware of. As I have already said, he attended indefatigably to his work as leader of his party and spared no pains to keep himself well informed of the state of their organization, especially in Ontario.

REPORTER. He was a very pleasant companion, I have heard.

SIR RICHARD. Certainly. He was well read, and he had had an immense experience of men and things, and he had also a curious philosophic streak in him, which showed out occasionally at a certain stage in the evening. Many of his remarks were not only shrewd but far-seeing. I recall two which made no small impression on me at the time and which I have had good reason to remember since. One was in reference to Confederation. I had been rather exulting in the prospect of getting rid of the financial mill-stone which Quebec threatened to become round the neck of Ontario when Sir John interrupted me with the remark, "Do you think you will be much better off with three mill-stones round your neck instead of one?" On another occasion, when discussing our form of government and its peculiar difficulties, he observed, "Given a Government with a big surplus, and a big majority and a weak Opposition, and you would debauch a committee of archangels."

REPORTER. Did he show much vindictiveness to his opponents?

SIR RICHARD. On the whole not much. He was too good a Highlander to forgive readily, but he kept his private feelings pretty well under control. He did repeal one or two acts, thereby cancelling a number of small appointments, and shortly after he re-enacted them with a new set of officials of his own choosing, but I do not think he interfered otherwise with our friends to any great extent. In fact, he rather utilized certain parties of our selection as a sort of useful check on his own colleagues and supporters, and I think where he was personally concerned that, provided an employée did good work, he cared very little what his politics had been or

by whom he had been appointed. It is true he had but little temptation to make any sweeping changes, inasmuch as by far the greater number of the higher officials had been originally appointed by himself. He was decidedly courteous to Mr. Mackenzie after the latter's defeat, and though that was in part a matter of policy, I think it was also due to the respect he felt for his courage and integrity, which he was quite capable of appreciating. He had one considerable merit in that he rarely canted about the purity of his motives or made much pretence of being better than he was. In his last campaign he certainly took his life in his hands, and what is more, he knew quite well the risk he was running. I have no doubt that his exertions on that occasion were at least the proximate cause of his death, and that it might fairly be said of him that whatever were his faults he died full knightly in his harness.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY.

*SIR JOHN ABBOTT AS PREMIER.—MERCIER'S
DOWNFALL.*

REPORTER. Were there many aspirants to succeed Sir John?

SIR RICHARD. There were several, but the situation was perplexing. The Conservatives had lost heavily in Quebec and in Ontario and, in fact, were in a minority in those two chief provinces taken together, even in spite of the gerrymander. They had gained in the Maritime Provinces and in the North-West, but they knew these could not be implicitly relied on and that many of their members might desert them on a close division. On the other hand, they were very well supplied with funds, and Sir John before his death had caused almost every Liberal seat in Ontario to be protested, in most instances without a shadow of a case, but expecting in that way, and as the event showed pretty correctly, that as the Liberal party had no money to follow suit, and were only likely to contest a few of the worst cases on his side, that he would be able to get rid of most of the protests against his own supporters and might then attack and defeat the Liberals in detail in the case of the remaining seats.

REPORTER. But as to the successor to Sir John?

SIR RICHARD. One aspirant in the person of Sir Hector Langevin had been disposed of by Mr. Tarte. Had Sir Charles Tupper been on the ground it is very probable he would have been sent for, but he was in London and could not decently return unless he was assured of a unanimous nomination, which for several reasons was doubtful. Next to him stood Mr. Bowell and Sir John Thompson, who might be regarded as representing, respectively, the Catholic and the Orange element. In the very critical position in which the Conservative party then stood it was felt that it was dangerous to select either of

those gentlemen, and that time must be gained to consolidate and reorganize the party. Finally it was agreed to nominate Sir John Abbott as the most likely man to conciliate Quebec and not offend the Orange body. This was done, and proved to be a very judicious choice. Sir John Abbott was an old and skilled parliamentarian and a very able lawyer besides. Being in the Senate he was not likely to clash with anyone, and though an Englishman he was very well acquainted with the inner politics of Quebec. He had been and still was a very especial friend of the magnates of the C. P. R., whose counsel he had been for many years and to whom he had rendered great services. Indeed it was pretty well understood that he had completely out-generalled Sir John Macdonald in the matter of their contract with the Government, and that he had introduced clauses and obtained concessions conferring on that corporation very much more extensive powers than Sir John Macdonald had ever intended to grant them. Of his astuteness we had very soon ample experience in the way he dealt with the charges against Mr. Mercier. His colleagues were very anxious to have had the matter brought up in the House of Commons, where they were being hard pressed, and much in need of some countervailing element. Sir John Abbott overruled them. He let the Bill which was to serve as a pretext for the attack on Mr. Mercier pass the House of Commons and then brought the whole question up in the Senate. This was a most dexterous move. Mercier had many friends in the Commons. Any attack on him would have been bitterly resented and every step fiercely contested. The debate would certainly have been protracted till his return, and might have been referred to the Legislature of Quebec, in which case the issue would have been very doubtful. In the Senate there was no Opposition. Government was practically supreme, and could do exactly what it pleased in the way of conducting the investigation without let or hindrance. I do not say that Mr. Mercier was unjustly condemned, but before such a tribunal he had absolutely no chance. Guilty or innocent, the verdict

was a foregone conclusion. No court-martial could have been more summary or more indifferent to the ordinary rules of law or evidence than a senatorial committee in such a case. The whole affair was critically well timed in the interest of the Conservative party. Sir Hector Langevin had been flung overboard and very loud profession made of the intention of the Government to put an end to all grafting. They had even accepted a resolution of mine condemning the presentation of testimonials to public men while in office, and now, in the very nick of time, came these discreditable revelations gravely implicating Mr. Mercier and his Cabinet. Unfortunately for himself, Mr. Mercier had chosen this time for a prolonged tour in Europe. By the time he returned the investigation was over and he was a doomed man. The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec dismissed him, and in the election which immediately followed the action of the Governor was sustained by an overwhelming majority of the people of Quebec.

REPORTER. Had Mercier's downfall much effect in Ontario?

SIR RICHARD. It had an extraordinary effect. For one thing it was supposed, though as it turned out incorrectly, to mean the permanent loss of Quebec and the complete defeat of the object for which the Ontario Liberals had agreed to accept a French leader. This in itself was a heavy blow and all the more so because for two successive elections the Liberal party had been gaining ground in Quebec. But the moral effect was even worse. The attacks on the Dominion Government had been largely on the score of their corrupt practices in this very province, and now we were confronted with evidence that the Liberal leaders in Quebec were as bad or worse than their opponents. This was felt all the more because Sir John Thompson, who was now leading the House of Commons, and virtually designated as successor to Sir John Abbott whenever the latter should retire, bore a good reputation, and the Conservatives pointed, very naturally, to his repudiation of Sir Hector Langevin and to the punishment meted out to the latter's subordinate officials and

the prosecution of Mr. McGreevy, as evidence that Sir John Thompson at least was determined to put down graft if he could. Altogether the attack on Mercier was critically well-timed and had a great deal to do with the issue of the several bye-elections which were brought on in those years.

REPORTER. These went heavily against you, I understand?

SIR RICHARD. It was the very irony of fate. There never was a general election before 1891 in which the Liberal party were so utterly impoverished, and never, I believe, one in which the Conservatives spent so much or had so much money to spend. Money flowed like water on their side all through the campaign, even in ridings in which they were absolutely safe and in which it was admitted we only put up candidates to prevent their going by acclamation. We had undoubted evidence that many thousands were expended, while the traffic in outside votes was prosecuted on all sides on an unheard-of scale. After the election Sir John himself admitted to a friend of mine that he had had at his disposal one hundred dollars for every one of ours, and even stated the amount, a very large one, which he had available for Ontario.

REPORTER. How was it that he was so nearly defeated?

SIR RICHARD. The popular current was against him, and, moreover, money, however powerful an agent, is from various causes vastly less effective in a general election than in bye-contests. The reason is obvious. When all the elections in the Dominion or in a Province are timed to come off on the same day, the expenditure of whatever money is used (always excepting that employed to secure the foreign vote) must be left to the local talent. These worthies for the most part will work, and work hard, but in an enormous number of cases the cash entrusted to them will never find its way to the actual voter. Also they are known and watched, and as they must remain on the spot after the election they are far more likely to be detected and punished than parties from a distance. In bye-elections it is quite different. These can be held on

different days at the pleasure of the Government, and it is comparatively easy to move a troop of experienced agents from place to place as may be required. These men can be trusted to expend the funds placed in their hands for the best of all reasons, that if they fail to produce the required results their occupation, which is lucrative enough, will speedily be gone. Also, if need be, these gentlemen can take a holiday and be conveniently absent when an election trial comes on. Of course, all this requires a large command of money, but when that is forthcoming on one side in profusion and not at all on the other the odds are heavily in favour of the richer party. This was what happened in 1891-2.

REPORTER. You mean that it was deliberately planned to unseat a number of the Liberals and then buy them out?

SIR RICHARD. I speak with knowledge. I saw it done, and I was helpless to prevent it. In the then state of the law it was exceedingly difficult to conduct an election without some violation of it, and some of the judges went to great length in unseating members for very trivial causes. What actually occurred was this. Sir John, who was always well informed in such matters, knew that the Liberal funds, never large, were utterly exhausted. He ordered protests to be filed, with or without cause, against nearly every Liberal seat in Ontario. I think there were in all forty protests out of forty-four. He knew perfectly well that, rigorous as the law might be, he had not the least chance of success in the great majority of them. But he also knew that no man likes to have an election petition hanging over his head, and he calculated, shrewdly enough, that we would be unable to raise sufficient money to contest more than a limited number of his seats and that he would have it in his power by withdrawing those petitions in which he had no evidence, to protect the majority of his followers. So said, so done. As a matter of fact, the Liberals were only able to raise money enough to protest thirteen or fourteen seats, and so by abandoning twenty-eight protests, or thereabouts, he was able to get most of the petitions against his own

supporters withdrawn. So it came about that we were left with some twelve or fourteen contests on our hands against three or four on the other side. You must remember that each petition involved a deposit of \$1,000, and some other expenses besides, often very heavy expenses if the case was pushed.

REPORTER. Did not your people see their danger?

SIR RICHARD. They were warned, and with emphasis, but they were over-confident in part and in part could not raise the money. In truth, nothing but filing something like an equal number of protests and picking out a certain number of cases to be pressed to the bitter end could have saved them. They knew that in most cases they had run their elections fairly, and were not afraid of the results. But they quite overlooked the fact that with such an organized attack impending, as was plain from the number of petitions filed, much more than ordinary precautions were necessary.

REPORTER. How did it turn out?

SIR RICHARD. Precisely as might have been expected. I think some twelve petitions were tried against the Liberals and three against the Conservatives. All, or almost all, were unseated, often on trivial or technical grounds, and I think in no case was there any evidence of frequent irregularities, or anything like such a list of delinquents presented, as in the case of Sir John A. Macdonald in the Lennox petition. But the purpose was served. Bye-elections were ordered at such dates as suited the Government. I myself attended most of them. In every place I found the same tactics being pursued. A band of trusty agents proceeded from place to place, never speaking, showing up in public as little as they could help, but doing their work silently and well. No cost was spared, a very large amount was expended, as I came afterwards to know from the statements of some of the parties concerned, but the majority of the seats were carried against us.

REPORTER. Could you not have petitioned again?

SIR RICHARD. We had no money. Some of us had all

but bankrupted ourselves in the course of this and previous elections. Others who might have helped stood aloof. An election petition is always an expensive thing, and in most of these cases the agents employed would have been very hard to catch. They knew their business, and would have been across the border before we could have laid hands upon them, had we attempted to proceed.

REPORTER. Is there no remedy for such a state of things?

SIR RICHARD. This was an extraordinary occasion, and is not likely to recur again, at least not often. But so long as we persist in adhering to our present very imperfect system of representation the danger will be there. I must add, however, that we could probably have kept some, if not the majority, of these seats in spite of everything, if it had not been for the state of mind induced among our people by the exposure of Mr. Mercier. It was flung in our teeth everywhere, and it certainly had a very depressing effect on our supporters. Several of these seats were lost to us (as the returns show) by quite insignificant majorities, and in others we polled our full strength and were swamped, not by any change among the resident population, but simply by the importation of foreign voters. Still, there was no doubt that our friends were for the time quite out of heart. There was little of the zeal and energy they had shown in the general elections previously. Sailors have a curious superstition as to the effect of a shot fired by a dead man, which they allege is always fatal. This shot, which was certainly prepared by Sir John A. Macdonald before his death, was almost as damaging to us.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY-ONE.

PROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION AND MINORITY REPRESENTATION.

REPORTER. I have been thinking over your statement of a few days ago. Could you not have appealed to public opinion against such proceedings?

SIR RICHARD. To what end? Public opinion in Ontario had proved itself a most broken reed to lean upon. Moreover, mere charges would have been idle. Nothing short of legal proof, and that of the strongest, would have availed. Besides, as I pointed out before, we were in great measure estopped by Mr. Mercier's escapades in Quebec. The retort was obvious. If we complained of the means used against us in Ontario we were met with the answer, "Mercier did the same things to help your friends in Quebec. What guarantee have we that the Liberal party, if it had the power, would not act as he did?"

REPORTER. Then must this sort of thing go on forever?

SIR RICHARD. By no means. Do not misunderstand me. I do not intend to imply that the bulk of the electorates are corrupt. Far from it. In the worst cases I doubt if more than 10 per cent. of the electors are bribed. I have known instances in which absolutely unlimited amounts of money were flung into an election and entirely failed to win the seat. But the fact is our system of representation is gravely at fault. We English-speaking peoples have made a sort of fetish of our present system, and appear to think that if you will only cut up a country or a province into equal divisions and give every man, wise or ignorant, rich or poor, the right to vote, you have devised a machine which will give you automatically a perfect representation. This is a huge mistake. I will grant for the sake of argument that there have been times

and places when it may have done so, but it is certainly not the case to-day in this Canada of ours. Take the returns of any general election and you will scarcely find a single province in which the strength of the several parties, as shown by the votes polled on either side, is fairly represented in the House of Commons, or where the collective vote of all the provinces finds adequate representation. Of Ontario I have already spoken, but as the result there was the direct consequence of a deliberate fraud, I will take another instance. At the general election of 1904 there were polled in the Province of Nova Scotia a total of 88,000 votes. Of these 48,000 were cast for the Liberals and 40,000 for the Conservatives. How stood the representation in the House? The Liberals had eighteen seats and the Conservatives none at all. Or, if you want to know what could be done by a determined and unscrupulous gerrymander, consider this simple arithmetical fact. There are eighty-six constituencies in Ontario. Let us suppose the popular vote to be exactly equally divided between the two parties, which, as a matter of fact, it practically was in Ontario for nearly a quarter of a century. Now it would be easy, if any Government dared to disregard county and municipal boundaries entirely, to subdivide Ontario into eighty-six ridings, having each very nearly the same population, whereof twenty-six should have a Liberal majority averaging one thousand each and the remaining sixty a Conservative majority averaging four hundred, or thereabouts. Here you would have the Conservative half of the voters returning sixty members and the Liberal half twenty-six. And this, in fact, was very much what was actually done from 1882 to 1904, though for obvious reasons the Government did not dare go to quite the extreme length I have suggested.

REPORTER. You open up a wide vista for manipulation.

SIR RICHARD. Such a vista is regularly opened up every ten years, under our constitution, when the census is taken and the representation of the several provinces

is re-adjusted, though it might, for the matter of that, be done at any session of Parliament. That is one danger inherent in our present system and one of which the Liberal party in Ontario has had a very long and bitter experience. The other danger, equally inherent, lies in this fact. Admitting, as I honestly believe is the case, that the great majority of the voters in each riding vote in accordance with their political convictions, there will always be found a certain residuum who are regularly in the market and who hold the balance of power where the other voters are pretty evenly divided. It is in the effort to secure these persons that acts of corruption are usually committed, and in all such instances, where one side has money and the other has not, it is pretty certain which will carry the day. Now, to bring about a really wholesome state of things, you must remove the temptation to gerrymander, and also the temptation to purchase this corrupt vote. That is the problem for us to solve.

REPORTER. And you think it can be solved?

SIR RICHARD. I do. I think that both the dangers I have named can be completely removed, and I think, also, that we can at the same time secure a system of representation which shall really and truly represent the several parties fairly in Parliament and that by very simple means. In fact, the problem is solved every day of every session before our eyes in every single committee of either the Senate or the House of Commons. In all these the two parties are always represented in exact proportion to their numerical strength in either chamber.

REPORTER. You mean by minority representation?

SIR RICHARD. I mean nothing of the sort. No more stupid or more misleading phrase was ever used than this talk of "minority representation." I mean by proper proportionate representation. Let the majority always have its full proportion of representation. That is but just. If they have 60 per cent. of the voters, let them have 60 per cent. of the representation, but don't let them claim 90 per cent. of the representation on the strength of 60 per cent. of the vote.

REPORTER. How would you effect this?

SIR RICHARD. In a very simple way. You may lay it down as a fixed fact that, especially in a province like Ontario, it is exceedingly rare in any given constituency to find as many as two-thirds of the population of one way of thinking. Consequently if you unite any two constituencies together, giving them the right to elect two members and giving each man but one vote, no party can secure both seats unless they have a clear two-thirds of the vote. Practically each party would elect one, and on the whole, taking the entire province, the parties would be represented very closely in accordance with their actual numerical strength. Much the same results would follow from the grouping of three or five constituencies together, though for certain reasons I would prefer dealing with two constituencies at first, at any rate.

REPORTER. Are you not expecting great results from what seems a small improvement?

SIR RICHARD. It is very far from small. It would prove a very far-reaching measure, both directly and indirectly. I do not for the moment imagine that it would bring about a political millennium, and there are certain forms of corruption it might not reach. But it would completely remove one grave source of danger, that is, the regularly recurring temptation to gerrymander the constituencies after each census, and it would very greatly diminish the chance of corruption also, and though last, by no means least, it would appeal to the fundamental principles of justice and equity.

REPORTER. Would not such a system tend to produce deadlock and to stop the whole machinery of government?

SIR RICHARD. That depends on what you want Parliament to do. In my opinion Parliament cannot possibly govern to advantage. It can criticize what Government has done and can discuss a policy beforehand, and anything which would ensure proper discussion, and compel a Government to depend much more on the merits of its measures and less on its mere majority, would be in the highest degree advantageous to the commonwealth. I

would advise you to look up some very judicious remarks of Mr. Walter Bagehot on that head on the possible functions of Parliament in his "Physics of Politics," and on the need now-a-days of very much longer and fuller discussion of important measures. I speak from long experience when I say that no party, and still less no single man, can be safely entrusted with uncontrolled power. They are perfectly certain to abuse it and also to have recourse to all sorts of improper means to retain it. This is a simple, well-established political maxim, as true to-day as it was more than two thousand years ago in Aristotle's time, and our present system of representation lends itself very readily to such results. It was by very fraudulent and corrupt means that Sir John A. Macdonald and his successors kept themselves in power for eighteen years, from 1878 to 1896, and the temptation is always there. Now a proper system of proportionate representation would either make a long retention of office impossible or compel the party holding power to govern fairly and honestly. Under our system a reasonably strong opposition is practically a necessity to secure honest government, and a wise and patriotic statesman will recognize the fact.

REPORTER. You think party government a necessity?

SIR RICHARD. I see no way out of it. Almost from time immemorial, from the earliest periods of recorded history, from the days of the old Greeks, from Plato and Aristotle and the old Roman Republic, there have been, under one name or the other, two separate parties, one conservative and one progressive, and apparently these are founded on certain inherent and indestructible qualities in human nature. There is scarcely any important question which any socialist, much less any reformer, can raise to-day which was not raised and discussed in those old-world democracies. We are only grappling to-day with problems which tasked the brains of statesmen and philosophers of the old world under different names, but not, after all, very widely different conditions (certain mechanical devices and inventions set apart). I think for the present you may assume that you are pretty safe

to have the two great parties into which mankind has hitherto been divided still with us for a few generations to come. Till they vanish party government will be a necessity also, and a fair representation and full and free Parliamentary discussion the best, if not the only, safeguards which can be devised to keep it in order.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY-TWO.

*ADVANTAGES OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.
SCANDALOUS CENSUS REPORT.*

REPORTER. You spoke of the indirect advantages arising from a system of proportionate representation. What are they?

SIR RICHARD. They are very numerous and very great. At present it is hourly and daily becoming more difficult to induce men of the right stamp to present themselves as candidates, and hourly and daily more difficult to elect them in the first place and to keep them in Parliament afterwards. As matters now stand, the labour and expense of canvassing an ordinary constituency is great, and the injury to a man's business in the case of such protracted sessions as we now very often have is apt to be greater still. If you add to this the difficulty in many cases of retaining a constituency, unless the candidate is able to devote a large proportion of the recess to keeping up his organization, and the very small pecuniary rewards that politics, if honestly pursued, can offer to an able and upright man, the wonder is not that it is so hard to get suitable men, but that we get as many as we do. On the other hand, as the country grows in population and in wealth the opportunities which politics offer to unscrupulous adventurers are immensely increased, and self-evidently the need for the presence of at least a percentage of honest and intelligent men to keep these personages in check is enormously increased also. Here, again, proportionate representation will help us out greatly. Under it in almost all grouped constituencies each party would be sure to elect one candidate without any difficulty, and would be very much freer to elect the best men they could find in their ranks than they are at present when the first question to be put is not whether the candidate is the

fittest man for the position, but whether he is able to carry the riding. Under the system I describe the field of selection would be very greatly increased. There are very many men quite able to make excellent members, if once elected, who would gladly come forward if they could be assured of their election and also of a reasonable prospect of being able to retain their seats if they showed any considerable aptitude for political life. Furthermore, such men, while they would not be independent of the majority of their constituents, would no longer be at the mercy of any small, mischievous clique, such as is to be found in many constituencies, who are always aiming to force their views on their member, right or wrong. I do not say that these good results would be invariable, but I have more faith than many of my critics in the fact that there are always a good and often a large percentage of honest men in each constituency who do desire to see the best men returned to Parliament, and that there are enough of these under such a system to ensure the election of a reasonable number of capable and trustworthy men to the House of Commons.

REPORTER. Would they not be overpowered and out-voted?

SIR RICHARD. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. Ten righteous men, had they been found in it, would have saved Sodom, and a very moderate number of honest and independent-minded men in each party would and could compel the baser elements to take pause. You must bear in mind two or three things which would follow from the adoption of such a system. One is (and a very good thing it would be, though party heelers, and perhaps party leaders, will never admit it) that both sides would be very much more nearly balanced than they are apt to be just now, and that in such cases a small number of such men as I have described could exercise a very effective control. Another is that public affairs and public measures would be much more fully discussed than they are now, and that any proposals of the Government in especial would have to be much more carefully prepared

and thought out than they often are at present. Lastly, the party whip could not be used as freely as it is now. An able and independent man could afford to disregard it without too great peril of losing his seat.

REPORTER. Would not this destroy party discipline?

SIR RICHARD. Party discipline in its degree is a good thing. But it is often in danger of being abused, and I candidly admit that it is one of the things I would like to see better regulated. Also, no doubt, there might be a greater facility and perhaps a greater need for forming coalitions. This, also, I could face with equanimity. Mind, I do not pretend that any legislation can turn a corrupt people into an honest one. If, from any causes, a community has become thoroughly demoralized, the old saw holds good, "*Quid prosut leges, vanae sine moribus.*" But legislation can and often does succeed in removing certain dangers and certain temptations and in giving the better element a fair chance of asserting itself. Politics and politicians, both here and in the United States, have got for themselves a bad name, and in many instances have deserved it. But I have not spent fifty years in active political life, and forty years either in office or as one of the leaders of the Opposition, without recognizing the fact that there is much gold among the mud, and that while there is a great amount of self-seeking and not a little positive dishonesty, there is also much loyalty and capacity for sacrifice among our people, coupled with an honest desire in many cases to do what they can for the real welfare of their country. It is on this element we must rely in the last resort, and anything which will give it a fair chance of making its way to the front deserves our best consideration. Canada, in its present stage of development, is desperately in need of public men of independent mind and means, and is also from various causes very much in danger of seeing her affairs fall into the hands of political adventurers, or of men of a somewhat better type who have, nevertheless, axes to grind, and our present system of representation gives great opportunities to both of these classes of unde-

sirable citizens. But we had better return to our immediate subject.

REPORTER. Beyond the results of the bye-elections, was there anything which much affected the situation?

SIR RICHARD. The most notable incident was the census report. These returns revealed, even on the surface, a most extraordinary condition of affairs, and the result on a closer analysis was even more disheartening. The bald fact, as given in their reports, showed that the whole population of Canada, immigrants included, had barely increased by half a million of persons in the decade from 1881 to 1891, being at the rate for the whole Dominion of just one per cent. per annum. They showed, also that the Maritime Provinces were absolutely stationary and that, after deducting the immigrants, the natural increase of the population over the whole Dominion was about one-half of one per cent. per annum. That such a state of things should have occurred in a country like Canada, with its enormous area of unoccupied fertile land easily capable of sustaining a population of fifty millions, and which had expended over one hundred millions of dollars, within those ten years, ostensibly for the purpose of developing the country and of promoting settlement, was a circumstance which the very dullest supporter of the Government felt required explanation. Nor was the dissatisfaction abated when it turned out on the same evidence that while the official returns made to the Government alleged that 886,000 immigrants had come to Canada between 1881 and 1891, with the avowed intention of settling there, the census reports proved that out of these 886,000 not 20 per cent., perhaps hardly over 10 per cent., had remained in Canada. This would represent on the most favourable showing a loss of immigrants who had designed to settle of not less than 660,000 souls within these ten years. If to that be added the difference between the normal natural increase of the population in a country like Canada, putting it at the very moderate figure of 2 per cent. per annum, and the increase as shown by the census returns, you would have a further loss of not less

than 800,000 more, in all, say, a loss of 1,460,000 persons who might and ought to have been in Canada in 1891 over and above the recorded population.

REPORTER. These are enormous figures.

SIR RICHARD. Well, you can compare these with the United States records of the growth of that country. Take the increase of the United States from 1810 to 1820, a period when their population was nearly the same as ours, and when there was very little immigration. Their population in 1810 was 5,308,000. In 1820 it had risen to 7,239,000, being from natural increase alone very nearly 2,000,000 more than in 1810. Or, if you like to take later dates and will compare the growth of population in the several states which suffered most in the Civil War, you will find that their increase, almost exclusively from natural causes, for there was very little immigration into those states during that period, was much greater from 1860 to 1870 than that of Canada from 1881 to 1891.

REPORTER. Surely there must be some mistake as to those southern states at any rate?

SIR RICHARD. One would have thought so, but the figures from the census returns are plain enough. Of course all sorts of attempts were made to explain these facts away. One, and not by any means a very creditable one, was that artificial means were now largely used to limit the size of families in Canada. Another, which was very likely true in part, but which if true only accentuated the immense loss which Canada had sustained and was sustaining by the exodus of the *elite* of her population, was that so very large a percentage of this exodus was composed of young men and young women in the very prime of life that the ordinary birth-rate had been largely reduced thereby. Be that as it may, the fact remained that, despite a considerable immigration that remained in Canada, the total alleged growth of Canada between 1881 and 1891 was hardly more than one-fourth part of that which took place in the United States from 1810 to 1820 without any assistance from immigration of any importance. Also that if a due deduction was made for

the number of immigrants who remained in Canada the percentage of increase in the ten years hardly exceeded one-half of one per cent. per annum.

REPORTER. You used the words "alleged increase" more than once. Do you mean that the census returns were cooked?

SIR RICHARD. I have not the slightest doubt of it. Even at the time evidence was produced by Sir Frederick Borden and others proving beyond any question that in certain sections a large proportion of the persons set down as Canadians were not living in Canada at all but had left many years before for the United States.

REPORTER. What did the Government say to this?

SIR RICHARD. They utterly refused to allow us to prosecute the investigation any further on the silly and impudent protest that as the census officials were bound to secrecy we had no rights to obtain the names of the people alleged to be resident in Canada.

REPORTER. Impossible!

SIR RICHARD. Impossible, but true. Later I demanded that in Quebec, where we knew that the clergy kept an accurate account of the number of persons resident in their parishes, the Government should obtain the information and compare it with the number reported by the census officers. This they refused point blank, and with excellent reason, as we discovered later on. When we took the census in 1901 I caused this matter to be investigated with the result that we found that in twenty constituencies in Quebec the census enumerators in 1891 had reported some forty thousand more people than the clergy had been able to discover the January previous. Of all these I myself laid on the table full and detailed reports and challenged the Opposition to impugn them.

REPORTER. Did they try to do so?

SIR RICHARD. They were far too wise to make the attempt. But it is clear to demonstration that if the same state of things prevailed in the remaining forty-five ridings in Quebec and in the Maritime Provinces, as brought out by Sir Frederick Borden, then the population of these

provinces was overestimated by from 150,000 to 100,000. It is not probable that any serious over-estimate occurred in the North-West, but if the same sort of thing took place in Ontario, and there were reasons for believing that it did, the total overestimate for the whole Dominion could not have been less than 300,000. This, of course, would mean that after deducting the immigrants the population of Canada in those ten years from 1881 to 1891 had become absolutely stationary, which I believe, from a careful analysis of the census of 1901, was actually the case.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY-THREE.

SOME AMAZING RESULTS IN THE CENSUS REPORTS.

REPORTER. I do not quite understand how the census returns came to be falsified. Did the enumerators insert fictitious names of persons who never existed?

SIR RICHARD. I do not think this was done. The way the fraud seems to have been committed was this. Our census is taken on the *de jure* system, that is, the enumerator puts down not only all the members of the family he finds in residence but also the absentees. Where, as in our case, there had been a large emigration to the United States there was great room for fraud. I think in most cases the parties reported were persons who had gone to the United States. The enumerators, if attacked, would plead that they expected these people would come back. This, of course, was a mere subterfuge, but it should be noted that all the census officials, from the highest to the lowest, were strong partisans. They were all aware that the Government had been fiercely attacked on the score of the immense exodus which had taken place, and it was natural that they would try to diminish the number of absentees as much as possible. The animus of the enumerators, however, was plainly shown in another and rather curious way.

REPORTER. How?

SIR RICHARD. It was their duty to furnish a list of the "industrial establishments" of the Dominion, with full details as to amounts of capital, number of hands employed, products, and so forth. It was quite an object to make it appear that the National Policy had called a great number of new industries into existence. Here their zeal outran their discretion. They reported that there were 75,000 industrial establishments in Canada. An analysis of this gave some amazing results. For instance, in the census of 1881 there were reported 11 carpet factories in the Dominion. In the census of 1891 the number

had increased to 557. In the County of Antigonish, in Nova Scotia, there were stated to be just 70, employing 69 people all told. The machinery in these 70 factories was valued at \$1,089, being an average of about \$15 apiece. The amount of wages paid was put down at \$4,539, say \$65 a year per head, or \$1.15 a week and 20 cents per day. In New Brunswick there were reported to be 51 such factories employing 51 hands, having in all \$70 worth of machinery and earning apparently 10 cents per day. In the County of Shelburne there were discovered 93 factories for the manufacture of knitted goods. These employed collectively 93 hands. They had invested \$623 in machinery, being at the rate of \$6.50 per factory, and they are stated to have possessed a total working capital of \$1,500. The total amount of wages paid is put down at \$1,933, or about \$18 apiece, say 6 cents per day. Huntingdon has some 40 basket factories employing 45 hands. The land on which they were erected was valued at \$690 and the buildings thereon at \$1,800. Wages were \$1,970, about \$47 a year or 15 cents per day, and so on and so on, *ad infinitum*, till the requisite number of 75,000 industrial establishments were made up. Under such auspices, it was not to be wondered at that an immense number of towns and villages, with populations ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 or 4,000 people, were found to rejoice in the possession of 50 or 60 or 70, or in some cases of 100 or even 140 factories, so-called. In the census for 1901 the rule was laid down that nothing should be described as a factory or an "industrial establishment" unless it gave employment to not less than five persons, no very rigorous requirement, and the number of these industrial establishments was found to be just 14,650.

REPORTER. Surely the Government did not justify the sort of manipulation you have described?

SIR RICHARD. I was much surprised myself that they allowed these statements to appear, but you will find them all detailed in the third volume of the Census of 1891. The effect on the public mind was considerable, and it was pretty clear that had the general election of 1891

been postponed till the result of the census as to population was known the Government would almost certainly have been defeated. As it was a great many seats were carried against us by very small majorities, more especially in Ontario, and such an argument as we would have had with the census returns in our hands could have been used with most telling effect.

REPORTER. You knew, however, that a great exodus had taken place?

SIR RICHARD. That is true. But there is always a world of difference between suspecting or even knowing that a certain state of things exists, and having absolute, unanswerable legal proof of the same. This is especially apt to be the case when an election is going on and your opponents in their speeches and in their press are sure to contradict every statement of which you have not positive evidence. Also, as was shown by their own immigration returns, the Government were probably misled to some extent by the statements of their own officials, and never expected to find such a small increase as the census actually showed in spite of all the padding their officers put in. The result was a shock and a surprise to many of the members of the Cabinet themselves, as some of them frankly admitted, and in the then temper of the public mind would assuredly have turned a great many votes against them.

REPORTER. Was Sir John Macdonald, do you think, at all aware of the facts?

SIR RICHARD. It is hard to say. I am inclined to think he was not. His age and infirmities had prevented his coming in contact with the people as much as he had formerly, and, judging from some remarks made to me by members of his Cabinet, though they were aware that there had been a great exodus of our own people, they were under the impression that these had been pretty well replaced by the immigration which had come in during the decade, and which the Department of Immigration placed at a very high figure. But Sir John Macdonald was a man who took no chances in election matters.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY-FOUR.

*LEADERSHIP OF SIR JOHN THOMPSON.—THE
M'GREEVY SCANDAL.*

REPORTER. It was about this time Sir John Thompson became Premier. How did he impress you?

SIR RICHARD. He was a good lawyer and a man of good personal character, and one who gave a much-needed flavour of respectability to the Cabinet. But I doubt very much if he would have proved a success as a party leader. His position in any case was a difficult one. He had been, I believe, a Protestant and had afterwards become a Roman Catholic, and there was not a shadow of a doubt that in the event of a general election this would have told very heavily against him in Ontario with the rank and file of the Orange body, who constituted then and now a very large proportion of the Conservative strength in that province. In Quebec his party had been much weakened by the downfall of Sir Hector Langevin and the withdrawal of Mr. Chapleau, and his chance as against a popular French leader like Laurier was very slight, as I think he felt himself. Altogether he gave me the impression of a man who rather wished himself out of the whole business, but who did not know very well how to escape from it. On the whole I should say he was much better fitted to sit on the Bench than to lead a political party, and that he would have been only too glad to have retired in Sir Charles Tupper's favour and to have accepted a judicial position again. All the same, his sudden death was a severe blow to the Conservative party.

REPORTER. In what respects?

SIR RICHARD. Mainly in this. Frequent changes in the leadership of any party, whether caused by death or otherwise, always involve a certain amount of disorganization. It takes time for a new man to pick up the

threads, and there is no doubt the Conservatives suffered heavily from the successive deaths of Sir John Macdonald, Sir John Abbott and Sir John Thompson following so very closely on each other. Apart from that, the extreme suddenness of Sir John Thompson's death prevented any well-considered reconstruction of the Government. With his aid, in all likelihood Sir Charles Tupper would have been made Premier in time to reorganize the Conservative ranks, and the subsequent scandals and divisions which greatly injured them would have been avoided.

REPORTER. What about Quebec?

SIR RICHARD. Ah, there Sir Wilfrid Laurier was practically left alone, particularly after Mr. Chapleau's retirement and Mr. Mercier's death, as the one prominent French-Canadian in public life. This, of itself, counted for a great deal, and was probably one of the chief causes of his success in his own province at the next election. Under ordinary circumstances, and with the clerical element against him, he could hardly have done much more than divide Quebec if there had been any French leader of real prominence on the other side. As it was he stood alone, and the racial instinct, nowhere so strong as in Quebec, made his countrymen rally round him as the one possible man who could aspire to secure the Premiership for a Frenchman and a Catholic.

REPORTER. You think this sentiment accounted for his success?

SIR RICHARD. To a very great extent it did. Doubtless Sir Wilfrid Laurier had many qualities which helped to make him a remarkably good popular leader, but this was true to a vastly greater degree in Quebec than elsewhere. He was always *persona grata* with his supporters, and was sure of a good reception everywhere, but in many of the provinces, and especially in Ontario, he had but little real influence, as was shown in the campaigns of 1900, 1904 and 1908, and would have been much more plainly manifested if the Opposition had been led by any man of even moderate capacity from Ontario.

REPORTER. It was under Sir John Thompson that the

exposure of Mr. McGreevy's dealings with Sir Adolphe Caron and others took place?

SIR RICHARD. It was, and to do Sir John Thompson justice he was exceedingly worried over them, though he attempted to make light of them. But the evidence was overwhelming. He could not deny a single statement, and he dared not prosecute *The Globe* for publishing the documents, which he would have much liked to do. Neither did he dare compel Sir Adolphe Caron to resign. To have done so would have caused a split among his Quebec supporters which might have wrecked his Government at once, to say nothing of the certainty of being followed by other and even uglier revelations. On the other hand, it was exasperating and humiliating to a degree to be taunted on all occasions with being an accomplice in these doings which he could not defend. Altogether, his perplexity was great, and I was not much surprised to find him resorting to expedients to stifle investigation which as an ex-judge and Minister of Justice must have been exceedingly repugnant to him.

REPORTER. To what do you allude?

SIR RICHARD. To the extraordinary device of appointing a commission of judges to try Sir Adolphe Caron, not upon the charges preferred by Mr. Edgar, but on a quite different set of charges drawn up by himself or his friends.

REPORTER. Impossible!

SIR RICHARD. It is on record, and a very pretty specimen of the lengths to which a partisan majority will go to stifle enquiry into matters which they think will injure their party.

REPORTER. Did not you introduce some legislation on the subject?

SIR RICHARD. Legislation? Oh, I brought in a burlesque bill to provide for similar cases.

REPORTER. When?

SIR RICHARD. (Takes down Hansard.) Here it is, in 1893. (See Appendix "J.")

It was a fair enough summary of the actual proceedings.

REPORTER. Had these exposures much effect?

SIR RICHARD. It is not very easy to say. As to Sir Adolphe Caron he was frankly defiant, said he would do it again if party necessities required it, and was lustily cheered by the Quebec supporters of the Government—not much by the remainder. As to the opinion outside, it was rather one of profound disgust with politics altogether. Inside the House, judging from the talk in the corridors, the club and the smoking-room, there was a pretty general conviction that if these things had come out a little earlier Sir Adolphe Caron would have had to accompany Sir Hector Langevin, but that as it was, and after the Mercier scandal, the party must stick to him. The fact was that all through 1892, 1893 and 1894 Mercier's delinquencies hung like a cloud over the whole Liberal party. You see, almost all these exposures had occurred in Quebec and, rightly or wrongly, the general public had come to the conclusion that one side was as bad as the other, and that the Liberals, especially in Quebec, were no more to be trusted than their opponents. Just about this time the Patrons of Industry were becoming an important political factor in Ontario, and I found at various times, in conversation with divers of their more prominent members, that they had got the idea pretty firmly rooted in their minds that both political parties were hopelessly corrupt. Mercier was a case in point, and they made the most of it, as also of the fact that Mr. Mackenzie, whom all parties, now that he was dead, admitted to have been an exceptionally honest Minister, had been overwhelmingly defeated, while Sir John Macdonald, whose misdemeanours were quite as notorious as the other's honesty, had held office for thirteen years in spite of all and after his guilt had been proved out of his own mouth. There is no use in denying that these things had sunk deep into the popular mind and had demoralized public opinion to an unprecedented extent.

REPORTER. Has it not regained tone since then?

SIR RICHARD. I would fain hope so, but I have grave doubts. My own experience has been that when once

a community or a constituency has been thoroughly debauched, it is almost as hard, nay perhaps even harder, for it to regain a sound moral tone than for a woman who has gone astray. In any case a very long time must usually elapse and an absolutely new generation spring up before a genuine reformation can take place. It was not for nothing that the Israelites had to spend forty years in the wilderness before the taint of slavery was worked out.

REPORTER. That is not quite a pleasant outlook.

SIR RICHARD. It has been my fate and perhaps my misfortune to have seen the inside of the machine too long to deceive myself. You have the example of the United States constantly before you. I think there is a real desire for reformation there now, but corrupt influences in their politics have delayed reform for quite as long a period as I have named. Being in Canada in an earlier stage of development, and having lately introduced a large amount of new blood, we may possibly get off with a shorter period of probation, but I cannot say that the symptoms as yet are very favourable.

REPORTER. To go back a little, how did Mr. McGreevy come to be so much mixed up in these transactions?

SIR RICHARD. Ah, thereby hangs a tale. Mr. McGreevy was one of those men who influence the course of public affairs ten times more than any ordinary Cabinet Minister, but who are often never heard of outside a very limited circle. Mr. McGreevy was in many ways a remarkable man. He was thoroughly conversant with every irregular transaction which occurred in several great spending departments over a wide area for a very long space of time and, above all, in the case of Sir Hector Langevin's, *i.e.*, the Department of Public Works. He was, in fact, treasurer-in-chief and a sort of father confessor to boot of all Conservative misdeeds, at any rate in the Province of Quebec, from 1878 to 1890 and earlier—and their name was legion. Millions of corruptly gotten money, to be expended for yet more corrupt purposes, passed through his hands, and yet for all that I believe

Mr. McGreevy was by far the most honest man of the lot—which was perhaps the reason he was made the scapegoat. He was also a most methodical man, and had kept a most accurate record in very minute detail of all his disbursements, with much most interesting correspondence as well. It was from him that we obtained those very remarkable details which I caused to be enrolled on the journals of the House of Commons in 1893, and they were only the merest fragments of the documentary evidence he possessed.

REPORTER. Why did Mr. McGreevy stop then?

SIR RICHARD. I cannot say. All sorts of pressure was brought to bear on him, and he may have become convinced that further disclosures would hurt some parties whom he did not wish to injure. One thing I do know, that when Mr. McGreevy was in durance nothing could exceed the solicitude for his welfare displayed by certain members of the ministry. There were few days during the time he spent in jail on which Mr. McGreevy, if so disposed, could not have held a Cabinet Council in the corridor, as far as the requisite number to form a quorum was concerned. Later on, after we came into office, we could, had we so pleased, have obtained possession of and made public the whole details.

REPORTER. Why did you not do so?

SIR RICHARD. There were a good many reasons for our forbearance. For one thing, many of the parties implicated were dead. A good many had been punished as it was. But what weighed most with us was the knowledge that the exposures which had already taken place had damaged the reputation of Canada to an enormous extent, and we dreaded the result of these further revelations. All the same, I was not satisfied at the time, and am even more doubtful now whether we ought not to have made them public and compelled the Canadian public to understand how and by what means our opponents had regained power in 1878 and kept it till 1896. Certainly there never was such an opportunity of seeing that section of Satan's invisible world revealed which dealt with the

doings of the Conservative machine in the Province of Quebec for twelve long years and more.

REPORTER. You spoke of Mr. McGreevy as being on the whole an honest man?

SIR RICHARD. I did. I believe he kept none of the money which he disbursed for his own use, and I know that he died in very straitened circumstances, if not in absolute want. But men of his type are rare.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY-FIVE.

*THE PATRONS OF INDUSTRY.—HIGH STANDING OF
ONTARIO FARMERS.*

REPORTER. What was the position in 1894?

SIR RICHARD. There were three notable things. One was the fact that I have alluded to, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was coming to the front very fast in Quebec, partly on his own account, and partly owing to the death or retirement of his most notable competitors. Next, the long-continued and very severe depression in the United States had affected Canada more or less, and we had, besides, commercial and financial troubles of our own resulting in a heavy loss of revenue and a great falling off in our general trade. This, in any case, would have hurt the Government of the day, but in the case of our opponents it was doubly so in view of their constant contention that it was the duty of a Government to ward off hard times, a statement of which we did not fail to remind them. Lastly, although this was in some degree a menace to both parties, a new and formidable political organization had sprung up in Ontario under the name of the Patrons of Industry.

REPORTER. Was this their first appearance in politics?

SIR RICHARD. Practically, yes. They first asserted themselves at the local election for Ontario in 1894. They polled over 50,000 votes and captured some seventeen or eighteen seats, mostly from the Liberals, and might, had they so chosen, have turned Sir Oliver Mowat out of office. In fact, it was notorious that, besides the seats held by the Patrons, several of his supporters had been elected by the Conservative vote of the towns and cities in their ridings, and that if another election had been forced on and the Patron candidates had continued in the field nothing could have saved him.

REPORTER. How did Sir Oliver Mowat manage to pull through?

SIR RICHARD. By a very curious fluke. For reasons best known to themselves, but by no means apparent to outsiders, Sir John Thompson and his Government was fit at this juncture to appoint Mr., afterwards Sir, William Meredith to a Chief Justiceship, thus leaving the local Conservative party in Ontario without a leader at the most critical period of their history. The result was that the Patrons, who were as a rule of Liberal leanings, finding the Conservatives entirely disorganized, made a sort of truce with Sir Oliver Mowat for the rest of the Parliamentary term—and incidentally that Sir Oliver took an early opportunity of exchanging his position as Premier of Ontario for a seat in the Federal Cabinet.

REPORTER. Was it never known why Sir William Meredith retired at that juncture?

SIR RICHARD. Many persons believed that the appointment was due to the influence of Archbishop Lynch, who was on very friendly terms with both Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir John Thompson, and who may have had very good reasons of his own for preferring to see the Liberal party retain their position in Ontario, though he was decidedly in favour of the Conservative Government in the Dominion. At any rate, from 1894 to 1898 we had the very unusual spectacle for Canada of three distinct parties in the local legislature of Ontario.

REPORTER. Had the Patrons any distinct policy?

SIR RICHARD. They published a platform good enough in its way, and they were, I think, as a body sincerely desirous of promoting good and honest government. Had they possessed any leaders of the requisite ability they might have become a great force in the country. Failing that they might have allied themselves with whichever party came nearest to accepting their ideas, and in that way have secured many substantial concessions. As it was they lost their opportunity, and merely succeeded in detaching a large section from the Liberal party, who have never been in hearty sympathy with it since. Prac-

tically the ultimate result was to throw Ontario into the hands of the Conservative, or rather of the Orange, organization, a consummation which they were very far from desiring. One reason, no doubt, lay in the fact that the local Liberal Government had been too long in power in Ontario. They took office in 1871, and in that very long period they had grown out of touch with their supporters and had rather ignored the principles they had originally proposed.

REPORTER. Possibly you do not approve of any Government remaining very long in power?

SIR RICHARD. You cannot lay down any absolute rule in such matters, but, as a general proposition under our system of representation, it is very doubtful indeed if it is in the public interest that any party should hold office for a long-continued period. For one thing, under such circumstances, their opponents, more especially if their old leaders have retired or died, are apt to lose all sense of responsibility and to make bids for popular favour in ways which men of experience in public affairs would shrink from adopting. On the other hand, as time goes on the party in power are very prone to place their dependence on what is known as the "machine," and to rely in one form or the other on the systematic bribery of their supporters or of the section they represent. This is a very especial danger in a Federal Parliament, when the different provinces may have different interests and are inhabited by people of different races, and in a degree of different religions, and when some sections are relatively, and in proportion to their population, much wealthier than others. Briefly, no man and no party can be safely entrusted with uncontrolled power. They are certain to abuse it.

REPORTER. Would not a proper public opinion keep them in check if steadily exerted?

SIR RICHARD. It never is steadily exerted, and I fear never will be. On some particular occasion and for some particular purpose it may and often does make itself felt—not unfrequently in a very foolish and mischievous

fashion. But as a controlling power and for the purpose of enforcing a good and honest Government it is almost absolutely worthless. No one thing has been made more clear to me during my political experience than the extreme ignorance of a vast number of otherwise intelligent and well-informed professional and business men of the political doings of the day on ordinary occasions. Now and then something may occur to startle them out of their apathy, but for the most part their opinions are a mere reflection of their party newspaper. Of the actual facts of what is going on in Parliament from day to day, they know nothing. There is, curiously enough, in Ontario at least, a very great deal more interest taken, and a very great deal more accurate idea of the aims and proceedings of the several political parties, among the better class of farmers than among the so-called more highly educated classes.

REPORTER. You speak from experience?

SIR RICHARD. From a very long and wide experience. I am myself a city man, more or less of the public school and university type, but I have always represented agricultural constituencies, and from the very first I was immensely struck with the attention and intelligence with which many of my auditors would listen to and discuss political questions. They were very critical, and by no means given to enthuse on any subject, but they would listen for hours to an analysis of the public expenditure or an explanation of the reasons for adopting a particular line of policy, and, what is more, would consider and remember what you told them. Many a time, and sometimes after the lapse of twenty years, I have been reminded of statements made by myself in time past and called on for explanations if they thought there was any discrepancy between my then and former position.

REPORTER. You describe a very superior class of voters. Were they fairly representative?

SIR RICHARD. Of course the percentage of such men would vary much in different ridings. But taking the farm populations of Ontario as a whole you would have

found in most constituencies a considerable number of just such men as I have described—earnest, thoughtful, intelligent and well-read men, at least as far as the political history of Canada was concerned. They had their limitations, no doubt, but as a whole they stood for honest government. If they had a fault it lay in their staunch devotion to their respective parties, which sometimes made them condone conduct which at the bottom of their hearts they really condemned. Once they had taken a side it was a matter of extreme difficulty to induce them to change it. In some respects they answered very nearly to the class of old English yeomen in the days when they owned the lands they cultivated. They were mostly independent and often very well off. They were largely of Scotch origin, and as you know Ontario is to a great extent a Scotch colony. At any rate they were a class of whom any country might be proud, and the men from whom most of our leading public and professional men have sprung. They would study our blue books, and even such a formidable document as the Auditor-General's Report, with a zeal which very few of our members of Parliament ever bestow upon them.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY-SIX.

*DEATH OF SIR JOHN THOMPSON.—INFLUENCE
OF MR. TARTE.*

REPORTER. Sir John Thompson's sudden death must have been a great blow to the Conservative party?

SIR RICHARD. It certainly was, though I doubt if he would have proved a very successful campaigner. The tide was setting strongly against his party in 1894-5 in more ways than one. But even if he had been defeated it would have been an orderly retreat and not a rout.

REPORTER. How came Sir Mackenzie Bowell to succeed him?

SIR RICHARD. The party were under more obligations to Sir Mackenzie Bowell than some of them were willing to admit. He was personally free from scandal, and he had done a great deal to reconcile the Orangemen to the appointment of Sir John Thompson as Premier. Also the older members were aware that the gerrymander of Ontario, to which they owed it that they were not defeated in 1887 and 1891, had been very skilfully carried out by him. He was the only member of the Cabinet from Ontario who was available for the position, and to have passed him over after having chosen a Catholic in the person of Sir John Thompson would have been very badly taken by their Orange supporters. Added to this was the important fact that the Government was decidedly weaker in Quebec, and that after their successes at the recent bye-elections they had a large majority from Ontario. Practically the choice lay between Sir Mackenzie Bowell and Sir Charles Tupper.

REPORTER. Would not the latter have been the better selection?

SIR RICHARD. It is easy to be wise after the event, but at the time there was a good deal to be said in favour of Sir Mackenzie Bowell as against Sir Charles. The num-

erous and repeated exposures which had taken place had alarmed the members considerably and Sir Charles Tupper's own reputation was none of the best. But probably the motive which influenced a good many of the leading members of the Cabinet was the knowledge that Sir Charles Tupper certainly would be their master, while they calculated that Sir Mackenzie Bowell would let them have a pretty free hand, and that after the coming election they could get rid of him when they pleased. More-over time pressed, and Sir Charles was in England. Under ordinary circumstances it is probable they might have been correct.

REPORTER. You say under ordinary conditions?

SIR RICHARD. Yes, but the stars in their courses fought against them. To do them justice they had many difficulties, apart from their own mistakes, to contend with. Not to speak of the prolonged depression in Canada and the United States and the tremendous exodus revealed by the census of 1891, fraudulent as it was, and the almost complete cessation of settlement in the North-West and the consequent apathy and discouragement which prevailed among all classes to an extent which it is almost impossible to realize at this distance of time, they had a great amount of sheer ill-luck. No party can fail to suffer when called on to provide four successive Premiers in four years, and then to be compelled to deal with such a question as the Manitoba School Law in the very last year of their parliamentary term was a very untoward circumstance, to say the least of it. Probably had Sir John Thompson lived he would have appealed to the country in 1895. His death, with the ministerial changes it involved, and the prolonged session of 1895, prevented this being done and placed the Government to a great extent at the mercy of the Opposition.

REPORTER. In what way do you mean?

SIR RICHARD. Simply in this way. When the parliamentary term must expire at a certain fixed date, only a few weeks or even a few months off, it is practically impossible, under our system, for any Government, even a

strong one, to force any measure through the House or even to obtain the ordinary supplies in the face of a resolute opposition. Neither in such a case can the Government delay the elections. When a Parliament expires by efflux of time the writs must issue immediately, and this is just what happened in 1896. It is to avoid such contingencies that almost all Ministers, if they can, will bring on the elections a year or so before the legal term has expired, as I think has been the invariable practice from 1866 down to the present time, with this one exception, which is not likely to be repeated. Then the long period the Conservative party had held office, from 1878 to 1896, did certainly tell against them. But their chief difficulty lay in the fact that after Sir John Macdonald's death they had no leader, with the possible though doubtful exception of Sir Charles Tupper, who appealed in any considerable degree to the popular mind, while in Quebec at least Sir Wilfrid Laurier had gathered round him a very strong personal following.

REPORTER. You spoke of their radical blunders?

SIR RICHARD. Well, besides the delay in holding the elections, and certain internal disputes of which I will speak later, they committed the fatal error of quarrelling with a large section of the Orange body. From a political standpoint this was inexcusable. Their one chance was in uniting a solid Ontario and North-West against Quebec, and in appealing to that very powerful body to support a Protestant leader against a Frenchman and a Catholic. The Maritime Provinces they were pretty certain to divide at the worst.

REPORTER. You think the Government could have held Ontario?

SIR RICHARD. Had they refused to coerce Manitoba and kept steadily in touch with the Orange element, I am pretty certain they would. The Liberal party had sustained a severe shock in the loss of the Patrons in 1894, and though their revolt was directed against the local Government it had seriously damaged the entire Liberal party in that province. Furthermore, such action on their

part must have divided the Liberal party in the House of Commons. The Ontario Liberals could not possibly have voted against Government upon such an issue, and the Quebec contingent, and Laurier in especial, would have been placed in a very awkward predicament. If they sided with the Government they would have got very little credit with their own people, and if they opposed Government the chance of securing any considerable support for Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Ontario or the North-West would have been so manifestly dubious that much of his support in Quebec would probably have been withdrawn. As a matter of fact the Government did very nearly divide Ontario in 1896, and though this was largely due to the effect of the gerrymander there is but little doubt that had they been on the popular side and been sustained actively by the Orange organization they would have secured a very considerable majority in Ontario, and probably a moderate one in the Dominion at large. They had warning enough in the resignation of Mr. Clarke Wallace of the risk they were running.

REPORTER. How did this affect them?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Wallace, besides being Controller of Customs, was at the time the chief officer of the Orange Order and a man of very considerable ability in his own way. He had shown great capacity in strengthening and organizing the Order, especially in Ontario, and had probably the largest individual following in its ranks of any member of it. He was backed, moreover, by several of the more independent Conservative members like Mr. Dalton McCarthy and Col. O'Brien, and altogether was about the very last man the Government could afford to lose at such a crisis.

REPORTER. Did not Sir Wilfrid Laurier run great risks in Quebec by the line he adopted?

SIR RICHARD. Certainly he did, and if he had been opposed by any man of real capacity on the Conservative side he could hardly have succeeded in carrying his province with him as completely as he did. But, besides the fact that he stood out alone as the one prominent French-

man in public life in the Dominion at the moment, he had two or three excellent cards to play. He was able for one thing to point out that the question of provincial rights, always very precious in the eyes of the people of Quebec, was or might be seriously endangered if the Dominion Government interfered with Manitoba in this matter, and, what was quite as important with a great many of them, it was pretty obvious that Quebec had just then a better chance of securing a French Premier than it was ever likely to have again.

REPORTER. You think this told much?

SIR RICHARD. I had excellent reason for knowing that it carried a great deal of weight, though it was an argument which had to be used discreetly. But I very well remember that Mr. Tarte, who took a most active part in the campaign, and to whom, more perhaps than to anyone else, it was due that Sir Wilfrid stood firm on the question of non-interference, was most emphatically of the opinion that Sir Wilfrid's best chance lay in convincing his people that if they turned him down at this juncture Quebec need never hope to see a French Premier in the Dominion.

REPORTER. Did Mr. Tarte play a large part in the elections?

SIR RICHARD. From the first moment that he impeached Sir Hector Langevin, down to the close of the elections of 1896, it was impossible to over-rate the value of his services to Sir Wilfrid in Quebec. He was an excellent journalist and absolutely indefatigable as a political worker, and he knew the weak spots of our opponents most thoroughly. In fact, he did more single-handed to destroy and discredit the Conservative organization in Quebec than all the rest of their assailants put together. In a different way his defection was as serious a blow to that party in Quebec as Mr. Clarke Wallace's was in Ontario. Independently of this Sir Wilfrid Laurier worked extremely hard during the out-of-session campaigns of 1895 and 1896, and his gift of eloquence and his striking personality had a marvellous effect on the large

popular audiences he was able to address in his own province.

REPORTER. Did this sort of thing tell much in the long run?

SIR RICHARD. It will always tell if there are not antagonists of nearly equal strength to meet or follow the speaker, and this is more especially likely to be the case in a province like Quebec. If Mr. Tarte was correct, and I have no doubt he was substantially accurate, Sir Wilfrid must have addressed between two and three hundred meetings in Quebec in those two years, and in that way come into contact with nearly two hundred thousand voters. It is safe to say that among his own countrymen both friends and foes were decidedly impressed by him, and were proud of his position as the leader of one of the great parties in the state. In Ontario he was always well received, though I do not know that it affected very many votes, but in Quebec his personal attraction was a great factor, and did very materially influence the result of the campaign.

REPORTER. Quebec must have surprised you in 1896?

SIR RICHARD. It surprised both parties. After Mercier's downfall, and with the local legislature against us, and in view of the hostility of the leading members of the hierarchy on the subject of the Manitoba School Bill, we did not expect at the best to do much more than hold our own. We were reasonably certain of carrying Ontario in spite of the handicap of the gerrymander, but only gross carelessness and over-confidence on the part of the Conservative leaders in Quebec could have permitted us to secure such an immense majority as we did. Privately, the utmost our friends there expected was a majority of ten or fifteen at the outside. The actual count was fifty to fifteen, a majority of thirty-five, a very extraordinary difference.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY-SEVEN.

REVOLT AGAINST SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL.— LIBERALS ADOPT OBSTRUCTION TACTICS.

REPORTER. What was the real cause of the curious revolt against Sir Mackenzie Bowell at the opening of the session of 1896?

SIR RICHARD. Of course both sides told their own story. I think, however, that the real cause lay in the circumstances of the case. There was no doubt that Sir Mackenzie Bowell had only been accepted as Premier by many of his colleagues and supporters to meet a temporary emergency, and that they expected he would have very soon retired. On the other hand, it was by no means clear that Sir Mackenzie Bowell had given any pledge on the subject, and it was still less evident that in the very peculiar position which then existed, and after the withdrawal of Mr. Wallace, it would have been in the interest of the Conservative party as a whole that he should retire at the moment. However that may be, the conduct of the mutineers was utterly indefensible and impolitic.

REPORTER. In what particular respects?

SIR RICHARD. First of all, if they intended to resign it was their plain duty to have notified Sir Mackenzie Bowell of their intention a reasonable time before the meeting of Parliament. Next, it was a most unheard-of proceeding for seven Ministers to resign after the speech from the throne had been delivered and before it had even been considered. Then their action did not even pretend to be based on any difference of opinion on matters of policy, but was placed on purely personal grounds, none of which could possibly justify such action at such a moment in full face of the enemy and with the certainty that a general election must be held within a very few months. It was probably the most shameful piece of treachery which had ever occurred in Canadian parlia-

mentary history, and quite justified Sir Mackenzie Bowell's bitter remark "that it appeared he had been living in a nest of traitors." I may add that their conduct was certain to be most exceedingly distasteful to the rank and file of the Conservative party, whose watchword has always been loyalty to their leaders under all conditions.

REPORTER. Who were the seven Ministers who resigned?

SIR RICHARD. Mr. Foster, Mr. Haggart, Mr. Montague, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, Mr. Wood, Mr. Dickey, and Mr. Ives. Mr. Foster acted as spokesman, and read a sort of justification of their proceedings which you will find in the Hansard of the day.

REPORTER. What was the effect outside?

SIR RICHARD. I can only speak positively for Ontario. There it produced a very formidable disintegration among the former supporters of Government and, as was natural, greatly strengthened the hands of Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Wallace. The thing was too gross to be explained and too recent to be forgotten when the election was upon them. They were put on the defensive from first to last all through the campaign, and a great many of their supporters declined to vote at all. They would not help the Liberals, but neither would they support the Government. I cannot say that Sir Mackenzie Bowell was a very popular man, but he was a well-known figure in Ontario, mainly through his lifelong connection with the Orange Order, and in very many ridings there were a considerable number of voters who thought he had been very badly treated. The general result was that the Government candidates had to spend a great deal of their time in trying to reconcile the malcontents in their own ranks, often very unsuccessfully.

REPORTER. Did this revolt influence other provinces?

SIR RICHARD. I was told that in Quebec it had the effect of throwing nearly all the waverers and waiters on Providence into the Liberal camp. These men did not care much for Sir Mackenzie Bowell, but they were quick enough to understand the great injury such an out-

rageous proceeding must inflict on the Conservative party in Ontario, and they knew very well that if the Government lost Ontario they lost the election also. The same feeling prevailed, though probably to a smaller extent, in the Maritime Provinces. Altogether it was a moral and political blunder of the very first magnitude, and did more than any other single cause to ensure the defeat of the Government at the approaching election.

REPORTER. How was the matter patched up?

SIR RICHARD. In rather a shabby fashion. The deserters came back, and it was agreed that Sir Charles Tupper should become leader of the House of Commons and that Sir Mackenzie Bowell should retire at the end of the session, and that they would endeavour to put the Manitoba Bill through *coute qui coute*. It was rather a gospel of despair, but, short of throwing down the reins and allowing Sir Wilfrid Laurier to be sent for, it was perhaps the best thing they could do.

REPORTER. This led to a desperate parliamentary struggle.

SIR RICHARD. There was no alternative. It was a case in which, if ever, the Opposition had a right to insist that no action should be taken till the people had been heard from. The question was one of great moment. It had never been before the people, in that shape at any rate, and it had not been discussed at all at the general election of 1891. In the five years which had elapsed the constituencies had changed enormously, and to ask the House under such conditions to pass such a Bill when it had literally but a few weeks to live was in utter repugnance to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the whole constitution.

REPORTER. How did you defeat the Bill?

SIR RICHARD. By much the same tactics as those we had employed ten years before in the case of the Registration Bill. Of course the struggle was a good deal shorter, as the House ceased to exist about the end of April, but the fight was very bitter. Sir Charles Tupper was a hard fighter, and forced us to sit on one occasion

for ten consecutive days and nights without intermission, except for Sunday, but the case was hopeless from the beginning. He could neither get his Bill nor his estimates, and might better have dissolved at once.

REPORTER. Was it not an extreme step to obstruct all business as you did?

SIR RICHARD. It was, and though, as I have said, it was amply justified in this and in the former case, there is no doubt that a frequent recourse to such tactics would make parliamentary government, as we have it, impossible, and if used by a small minority would compel the introduction of the closure. Also the effect of such struggles on the health of the members was to be considered. Had this contest occurred during the hot months it would almost certainly have involved the disablement and very probably the deaths of not a few members. Even as it was, not a few were invalidated. I did not blame Sir Charles Tupper very much. His position was nearly desperate, and I am pretty certain had he been Premier in 1895 he would never have allowed things to drift into the situation in which he found things in 1896. But it must be borne in mind that it has always been the unwritten law of Parliament that no measure of importance should be brought forward in the very last legal session of the House of Commons except by consent, and also that in 1896 we had already had five full sessions, and that this was the sixth session of a House whose term was but five years, a thing as far as I know quite unexampled in our parliamentary history. Also you will observe that any minority which deliberately practises obstruction does so at its peril. The Government of the day in such cases would have always the right to dissolve, and an Opposition which wantonly obstructed the progress of public business to such an extent as to bring on a premature dissolution would be apt to suffer at the hands of the electors.

REPORTER. Could not some means be devised for regulating the proceedings?

SIR RICHARD. That is a very difficult question. The power of obstruction, though capable of being very greatly

abused, is nevertheless an almost necessary check on an unscrupulous Government with a large majority behind it. It might be limited with advantage in one or two ways, but it would be dangerous to take it away altogether. On the whole, I am more and more disposed to believe that the only effective remedy for this and many other evils lies in the introduction of a system of proportionate representation. Had we possessed a representation on the floor of the House at all in proportion to our actual strength in the country, no Government would have dared to introduce the sort of legislation which was continually brought forward. One of the worst results of a large majority which does not really represent any corresponding preponderance of the actual vote is that the party in power is continually tempted to have recourse to improper means to strengthen itself, either by fraudulent gerrymander, as was done in 1882, or by corrupt concessions and expenditures which are simply bribes in disguise. This is doubly and trebly the case where a Federal Government is concerned under which several provinces are brought together differing widely in wealth and having different interests to serve. It is hardly possible for any Government to hold the scales even between half a score of widely separated divisions, some of which return a huge majority in their favour and some of which are absolutely controlled by their opponents. Canada in that respect is rather peculiarly unfortunate. The difference in wealth is enormous, and the temptation to the poorer provinces to sell themselves to the party in office is always very great and is certain to be traded on by practical politicians on both sides. Here, again, I believe, the only effective barrier will be found to lie in proportionate representation. With that in force the temptation to have recourse to corrupt practices will be so lessened and the power of the better elements to check it will be so increased that we might have a fairly good chance of securing a clean and honest government.

INTERVIEW NUMBER FIFTY-EIGHT.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AND THE ELECTION OF 1896.

REPORTER. Did Sir Charles Tupper make a good fight in the election of 1896?

SIR CHARLES. Personally he did, but he was very heavily handicapped. To begin with, he was essentially what is known as a "machine" politician, and the whole machine was desperately out of order. In Ontario the great Orange body was either actively hostile or very lukewarm, and he had had no time to reconcile them. Moreover, he had been absent from Canada with one or two short intervals for some twelve years, ever since 1884, and in many cases a new generation had sprung up with which he had but little acquaintance. In Quebec he was in even worse case than in Ontario. He had lost the services of nearly every man of real prominence in the Conservative party, and his new colleagues were for the most part persons who, though respectable, were quite inexperienced in the work of organizing sixty or seventy constituencies in the teeth of a very vigorous opposition led by a popular favourite like Sir Wilfrid Laurier. A glance at his Cabinet will show that, with the exception of himself and his son, he could scarcely count on any man of considerable ability to assist him, unless it might be Mr. Foster, and he was at that time deservedly very much discredited as the result of his escapade against Sir Mackenzie Bowell. Had Sir Charles been allowed more time he might have reconstructed matters, especially in Ontario, where, to do him justice, he made very considerable progress in a few weeks, and where he had the gerrymander in his favour.

REPORTER. Did the gerrymander count for much?

SIR RICHARD. How considerable a factor it was you can judge from this circumstance. The popular majority of all votes in Ontario cast in 1896 against Sir Charles

Tupper was only a few hundreds less than that cast against Mr. Mackenzie in 1878. Nevertheless in 1896 Sir Charles carried forty-three seats in Ontario against forty-eight, while Mr. Mackenzie barely secured twenty-nine seats against fifty-nine in 1878. Had the constituencies not been violently disturbed in 1882 Sir Charles would have been in a minority of twenty-five at least in Ontario, instead of five.

REPORTER. That is a very remarkable exhibit. How did Sir Charles fare in Quebec?

SIR RICHARD. There his case was utterly hopeless, and, though he obtained a majority in the Maritime Provinces and, as I said, nearly divided Ontario, he was completely overwhelmed in Quebec.

REPORTER. How do you explain his total overthrow in Quebec?

SIR RICHARD. Over and above the difficulties I have already mentioned, Sir Charles committed an error in tactics and was besides over-confident. He counted, and with reason, on the strong support of the Catholic hierarchy, and I think he was misled by the fact that Mr. Mercier had been so thoroughly thrown over in the local elections. With the Church and the local Government on his side he calculated on at least dividing Quebec, especially as everyone knew that the success of the Liberals in that province in 1891 was largely due to the assistance they had received from Mr. Mercier. But he failed to take into account the intense racial feeling developed in favour of a French leader like Laurier, and he committed a grave mistake when he discarded Sir Adolphe Caron. Whatever might be said against Sir Adolphe Caron (and there were many things) he was a vigorous fighter, and about the sole remaining French leader of any note. In fact, I had the authority of several of the ablest of my French acquaintances who took part in the elections of 1896 for saying that in their judgment had Sir Adolphe Caron been in control in Quebec the Liberals would never have obtained the majority they did. As it was the Conservative leaders in that province were completely outclassed.

They had little individual strength and were hardly known in some cases outside their own immediate neighbourhoods, and they had no experience in handling the machine which, under Mr. McGreevy and his like, had always heretofore played so important a part in elections in Quebec.

REPORTER. Had the punishment inflicted on Mr. McGreevy much effect on the elections?

SIR RICHARD. It had a good deal. There was a general and perfectly correct opinion that Mr. McGreevy had been made a scapegoat, and that he was really far less culpable than many of the Ministers themselves. There was also a very strong repugnance on the part of many men similarly placed to run any risks for people who would be apt to leave them in the lurch if anything was discovered, and there was, besides, underlying it all a very strong conviction that a Government composed largely of men who but a few months before had deserted their official chief at such a moment as they did could not win in Ontario. The average Quebec politician certainly thought so, and that belief had much to do in inducing many of them to cast in their lot with Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Lastly, but by no means least, was the fact that the Government had been in power for a great many years, and that the times were very hard. The chickens had come home to roost, and it was a genuine Nemesis that Sir Charles Tupper, who had always been the loudest and noisiest in Mr. Mackenzie's time in proclaiming that it was the plain duty of the Government to avert hard times and to make the country prosper under any conditions, should owe his defeat in no small measure to the fact that Canada in 1896 was in an exceedingly depressed condition.

REPORTER. Was Canada really in a very depressed condition at that period?

SIR RICHARD. It is one of the misfortunes of public life, here and elsewhere, that the people appear to have positively no memories—at least, none which go back beyond a very few years at furthest. The contrast between the Canada of 1912 and the Canada of 1896 is

a case in point. To those who know the facts, the recovery which has taken place seems little short of miraculous. I doubt if, during the last half century, one other case can be found among civilized nations of a country possessing one-half or one-tenth part of the natural advantages of Canada which had so utterly sunk into the slough of despond as Canada had done in 1896. It was not an ordinary depression. All snap and virility seemed for the time to have gone out of the people. The Maritime Provinces were dead. Quebec, with perhaps the exception of the city of Montreal, was in a state of hibernation. Settlement in the North-West was at an absolute standstill, and as for Ontario, it was very rapidly approaching the dead-alive condition of the Maritime Provinces.

REPORTER. You paint a gloomy picture.

SIR RICHARD. I am very well aware that I will be accused of exaggeration by men who are profoundly ignorant of the facts, and still more by knaves, political and other, who have an interest in misrepresenting the situation. But the facts speak for themselves. Take the rich and fertile Province of Ontario. Farm lands had sunk to less than half their former value; indeed in many cases the land value may be said to have disappeared altogether. Either the farms could not be sold at all or they went for less than the cost of the buildings and fences thereon. As for the average merchant and professional man, very few indeed were making more than a bare living; and, worst sign of all, the younger and more intelligent portion of the people were quitting the country in such numbers that the census returns of that decade from 1891 to 1901 show that the natural increase of Ontario had fallen to almost nothing. I believe it was barely one-tenth of one per cent.

REPORTER. Are you quite sure of your facts?

SIR RICHARD. Well, here are the census returns. They show that the population of Ontario was 2,114,000 in 1891 and 2,182,000 in 1901, being a nominal increase of 68,000 in ten years. But they show, further, that of these 68,000 no less than 43,000 were immigrants who had

settled in Ontario between 1891 and 1901, leaving for total increase of the native population 25,000, as nearly as possible one-tenth of one per cent. per annum—rather less than a tenth of the increase of England and Wales during the same period, and very nearly the same relatively as in the case of the Maritime Provinces. Or, if you like, take these three facts:

1. In the whole fifteen years, from 1881 to 1896, the total volume of our trade and commerce had increased just \$41,700,000—from \$189,902,000 in 1881 to \$231,601,000 in 1896. From 1896 to 1911 it increased \$525,000,000—from \$231,601,000 in 1896 to \$759,147,000 in 1911.

2. Our population was estimated in 1896, and with very good reason, as not exceeding 4,850,000, being an increase of 526,000—from 4,324,000 in 1881 to 4,850,000 in 1896. In the corresponding period from 4,850,000 in 1896 it had increased to 7,204,000 in 1911, being an increase of 2,354,000.

3. In the case of the North-West the total number of homesteads taken up in 1896 was some 1,300. In 1910 there were over 36,000. But there are no end of other illustrations, if illustrations were wanted. As to populations (see Debates, House of Commons, in Hansard of 1902, March 18th). There was discontent before, but it had given way to a dull apathy from which it was next to impossible to rouse the people. I had seen something the same conditions in Ireland in those most miserable years from 1850 to 1855, after the famine, when the people were too dispirited even to agitate, much less rebel.

REPORTER. What were the causes which brought about this state of things, in your opinion?

SIR RICHARD. There were many contributory causes. For one thing Ontario, and the same was true of most of the other sections, had suffered very seriously from the loss of the American market. For another, the people of Ontario were most bitterly disappointed at the failure to settle and develop the North-West. But the main causes lay in the adoption of a most villainous fiscal system, followed by a most ill-considered railway policy and a series

of atrocious land regulations which looked as if they had been devised and administered for the express purpose of hindering settlement and fostering speculation. Coming on top of all these was the tremendous drain of the best blood and brains of the community, which commenced in full vigour somewhere about 1879 or 1880 and continued with but little abatement to 1898 or thereabouts. The people we lost were exactly those Canada could least afford to lose. They were mostly the younger men of promise and ability, and no one who had not been compelled, as I had been, to traverse Ontario continuously from end to end yearly during that period can form any idea either of the extent to which the exodus of that particular class had gone or of the enormous injury to the *morale* of the whole community resulting therefrom (*vide* Lecky as to Ireland). To use a rustic metaphor, in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces we lost nearly the entire crop of young men from 1880 to 1898, and we are far, even yet, from having recovered what we lost during that period.

REPORTER. What, as far as you can judge, were the general results of this exodus?

SIR RICHARD. Very prejudicial. You will find the effect of a somewhat similar exodus dealt with at some length by Mr. Lecky, in his History of Ireland. From the nature of the case the men who go are generally among the most enterprising and intelligent of the population, as, indeed, was amply shown by the very remarkable success which many of them have met with in the United States in almost every walk in life. Those who remain are mostly men possessed of more or less means accumulated by themselves or their parents, or else persons of a more sluggish turn of mind. Besides, the extent of the exodus surpassed all previous experience. I very well remember in discussing this very question with the late Principal Grant of Queen's College, his stating to me that for many years back, I think from 1880, he had found that, with the exception of the theological students, the vast majority of his most promising students invariably

betook themselves to the United States. The same thing I found was the case in the Royal Military College at Kingston for a very long time. With the exception of those who took commissions granted to them in the Imperial Army and a few whose future was provided for, nearly one and all of the better men made their way to the other side of the border. But here we must stop. The events connected with the Laurier Administration are still too recent to allow of my proceeding to analyze them publicly at present.

REPORTER. I hope you will not fail to do so sooner or later.

SIR RICHARD. Possibly, but some time must elapse yet. At any rate, "here endeth the first lesson."

REPORTER. One last word. After your very long experience, what remedies would you suggest for the defects and dangers to which you consider our Confederation is most exposed?

SIR RICHARD. I could suggest many things. But as matters stand there are three which appear to me to be of the most immediate importance. In the first place, I am well convinced that so long as we have a protective, or even a semi-protective, tariff we cannot hope for a clean or economical government. In the next, I do not believe we can secure the services of a sufficient number of honest and capable men to conduct our affairs under our present system of representation. Lastly, I believe that unless they can secure the good-will and abiding friendship of the people of the United States, both Canada and the British Empire at large will continue to be very much at the mercy of senseless panics and, in certain contingencies, of having dangerous combinations formed against them.

My remedies are briefly these. Do away with your protective tariff, and if you must have a customs tariff let it be strictly a revenue one, and keep your federal and local finances apart, as in the United States. Second, adopt a proportionate system of representation. Third, make friends in all honourable ways with the United

States. I may add that thus alone is it in the power of Canada to render any really important service to her sister colonies or to the Mother Country.

REPORTER. You still attach special importance to securing the friendship of the United States?

SIR RICHARD. I do, most certainly. They are one hundred millions to-day. In twelve years they will muster, in all human probability, one hundred and twenty-five, and in twenty-five years one hundred and fifty millions, and their strength is doubled by their geographical position. Buttressed by them the British Empire is practically invincible to all attack from without. In truth, the United States alone would be a match for Germany, France and England put together. But these are plain and simple facts which, apparently by reason of their very plainness and simplicity, certain of our people will never comprehend, to their and our irreparable loss if they do not learn better very speedily.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX "A."

1, Sir Elzear Taché's Ministerial explanation in the Senate, March 31st, 1864:

"Having received from His Excellency the necessary authority, I immediately went to the leader of the Conservative party of Upper Canada, Hon. John A. Macdonald, to assure myself of his assistance and to engage him to construct himself the Upper Canada section of the Cabinet. Mr. Macdonald, being of opinion with me that it was important to obtain by just and even generous offers the support of moderate men of the Upper Canada Liberal party, thought it his duty to decline a seat in the Cabinet, and immediately caused Mr. Campbell, of Kingston, to be sent for to confide to his hands the task which, under the circumstances, he thought he would be most likely to succeed in. Mr. Campbell having arrived, concurred entirely in the views entertained by Mr. John A. Macdonald and me as to the propriety of calling upon a sufficient number of the Liberal party of Upper Canada to establish, if possible, an equilibrium between the respective parties in that province, and having accepted the offer of leader of that section of the Government, immediately put himself in communication with some of the principal members of that section."

This statement is quite correct as far as it goes and as far, probably, as Sir E. Taché knew, though it omits the important facts that Sir John Macdonald's action in retiring in favour of Mr. Campbell was not voluntary, but compulsory.

APPENDIX "B."

THE MIGHTY EMPIRE—THE RELATION OF BRITAIN
TO HER COLONIES.

(*Canadian News*, December, 1871.)

To the Editor of the Canadian News:

Sir,—I desire to avail myself of the present juncture to call your attention and that of your readers to a project in reference to the above question which has never, as yet, so far as I am aware, engaged the serious consideration of public men on either side of the Atlantic, but which, however visionary it may and probably will appear to you at first sight, I am inclined to think will be found to present the only possible solution of the enormous difficulties which beset this subject, more especially so far as the British North American Confederation, otherwise known as the Dominion of Canada, is concerned.

Without stopping to do more than glance at the various schemes which have been suggested for strengthening and consolidating the links which bind our widely scattered empire together, I may safely assume that no proposal will ever be deemed worthy of serious discussion—much less of being brought formally under the notice of our legislatures—which does not provide some method of joint representation and also assure the various parties to such confederation of fuller protection against all foreign assailants than they at present enjoy.

As to the first point, the difficulties, though by no means trifling, are chiefly of the technical order, and seem to me, as I have reason to think they do to most persons accustomed to the practical working of the federal system on a large scale, to be obstacles daily growing more easy to overcome; but the second and really vital question, how far such a federation would be likely to command the respect of other powers, and how far it could hope to maintain itself intact by its own inherent strength, is by no means so easily answered.

Admitting, as seems likely enough, that the example

and success of the British North American Confederation will speedily lead to the union of most of the other self-governing British colonies into two great groups, an Australasian and a South African, and admitting, also, that these three great confederations will desire, and in one way or other will contrive to create some sort of central council wherein they may confer with each other and with the Imperial authorities more freely than at present, it is more than doubtful whether such a body, even supposing it succeeded in effecting something like a *bona fide* union between the parties, would add one particle to the actual strength of the empire; while there is no question at all that if things remain as they are in other respects, the mere fact of its existence would hamper and embarrass English statesmen in no ordinary degree.

Speaking as a Canadian, I cannot but feel that we would derive no appreciable strength from such a confederation for many years to come, and though I would be heartily glad to aid in promoting its formation, I say frankly that it would be only in the hope of using it as a stepping-stone to another and very much wider development of the principle therein involved.

At present, I must say candidly the position of Canada as regards England is one of extreme embarrassment. We are as a people most thoroughly desirous of continuing part and parcel of the British Empire, and although most undoubtedly anxious to cultivate friendly relations with the United States as far as practicable, we neither wish to become incorporated with that power nor even to be made to feel that we are only maintaining a separate existence at their will and pleasure.

Moreover, we hold, rightly or wrongly, that the loss or even the amicable separation of British North America from the empire would entail consequences of the most serious character, and, in fact, would almost inevitably involve the transfer of the supremacy of the seas and of the carrying trade of the world from English to American hands, and that at no distant date.

Still we are aware that the connection with us, under existing circumstances, is in many ways a source of weakness and difficulty to Great Britain, and we have been taught very recently, by the withdrawal of the small

remains of the British garrisons, and what is still more significant, by the entire removal of the various stores and munitions of war heretofore maintained in these provinces, that the Imperial authorities have no hope, and indeed no intention, of attempting to hold this country by force of arms in the event of a war with the United States; while at the same time we cannot pretend to conceal from ourselves that it is all but impossible, in our peculiar geographical position, to defend ourselves successfully against such enormous odds single-handed.

It is not my intention to speak here of the merits or demerits of this policy in an Imperial point of view; suffice it to say that we do not expect to see it departed from, and that the great mass of our people, despite the formal official assurances of continued aid and support on the one side and of unabated zeal and confidence on the other, do and must of necessity construe the course of the Mother Country as meaning nothing less than this—that Great Britain knows that she can afford us no real protection in the event of such a contest, and that she neither wishes to imperil her own forces to no purpose, nor to expose us to the horrors of what I may well call almost a civil war.

It is a mere truism to say that such a position is fraught with danger to the best interests of our young commonwealth, or that it is a most difficult task to create a true national sentiment amongst our people as long as they know or even imagine that they exist as a nation by mere sufferance on the part of their gigantic neighbour, and know, also, that war between the latter and their nominal suzerain may arise at any moment from causes with which they have no concern. Indeed, so strongly is this consideration felt by some of our statesmen that they are openly advocating the necessity of proclaiming the complete independence of Canada at a very early day, not without exciting grave and well-grounded suspicions in the minds of many that in so doing they are simply endeavouring to carry out the manifest wishes of the Imperial Government; nor am I disposed to deny that, although I believe this idea to be decidedly premature and likely to lead to disastrous consequences both to us and to the empire, and though it cannot be said to have found

any acceptance as yet with the great body of our people, there is little doubt that a strong reaction will speedily set in in favour of independence, as the lesser of the two evils, if the present eminently unsatisfactory condition of things continues much longer.

If to all this we add the perilous situation in which Great Britain now finds herself in Europe, without a single power of note on whose friendship she can venture to rely, yet bound by the most stringent treaty obligations to maintain inviolate the rights and territories of sundry weaker states on whose possession various formidable neighbours are known to cast a longing and covetous eye, it is surely no idle foreboding to say that the political horizon, both as regards ourselves and you, is gravely overcast and is fraught with elements of no ordinary apprehension for our mutual future.

What course English statesmen may propose to themselves under these circumstances I cannot pretend to divine, but to us who are placed face to face with the dangers and difficulties of our present position—with no strip of silver sea between us and our foes but, on the contrary, with the whole breadth of the ocean dividing us from any possible succour in our need—it is becoming very apparent that some remedy entirely outside ordinary diplomatic expedients must be sought out, and that it can only lie in the direction of a closer union among all the branches of the Anglo-Saxon family and not merely of the British colonies alone; in other words, that Great Britain can only find a true and powerful ally, and the British empire can only hope to endure as something more than a mere form of words, if England and English statesmen can in any way contrive to repair the error of a hundred years ago and can induce the people of the United States, for the sake of the ties of kindred blood and tongue, and still more in the interests of human liberty and progress, to forgive old feuds and to unite with her and her colonies in a closer alliance—if possible to become one of a great English-speaking confederation, the junior members whereof would consist of ourselves, the Australian and South African confederations, and the senior of Great Britain and the United States.

Bold and unprecedented as such a proposition may

appear, there is much in the peculiar constitutions, as well as in the physical situation of the whole group, and especially of the United States, to make it not only possible but probable that they would listen to such a proposal if made in good faith and sincerity by the elder power, and I may be permitted to add that whatever may be the failings of the Americans, and however numerous the prejudices and grave the difficulties to be overcome on both sides, those who know them best know well that they are emphatically a generous people, and that if they were once really convinced that the people of England regretted all former misunderstandings and desired a closer connection with them on fair and honourable terms, they would not lightly reject any overture thus made.

I need hardly say that any such confederacy must necessarily allow the very widest latitude of action to its respective members; in fact, that in the first instance it could hardly aspire to be more than a sort of defensive association, in no way interfering with the form of government or the freedom of action as regards other powers of the several states composing it (somewhat in the fashion intended to be attained by the old Germanic League of the Holy Roman Empire, or perhaps analogous to the alliance between parent state and colony in old Greece), but withal securing certain special rights and privileges to the citizens and governments comprised in the confederation, and meeting in common council for certain specific objects—doing, in fact, on a somewhat larger scale what is now done every day in the United States and in Canada, where the vast extent of territory, as well as the natural temper of the people, oblige us to accord very wide discretionary powers even to the smallest of our provinces.

In truth I must be permitted to observe that the practical difficulties in the way of working out such a project are likely to prove vastly less than they may appear to the minds of most Englishmen, and that there is positively far less danger of a conflict of interests in the case of such a union than now exists as between the various states and provinces comprised in the present confederations.

I abstain designedly from dilating on the moral advantages which would flow from such a union, or more cor-

rectly such a reunion, between two powers who are at one and the same time the freest and the most powerful maritime nations in the world.

To set down in sober earnest all the results which might flow and all the benefits which might very easily be made to accrue from such a federation would expose me to the charge of being a mere fantastic dreamer, and, besides, these are matters which all who choose to give this project a patient consideration may well think out for themselves.

For the present I will content myself with simply recapitulating a few plain and obvious facts which ought to recommend it to the notice of every Englishman. I assume, then, that all parties are convinced—

First. That the relation of your colonies to the empire is uncertain and unsatisfactory, in the case of the Dominion of Canada more especially.

Secondly. That the position of England as regards continental Europe is one of dangerous isolation.

Thirdly. That nowhere can she find any great state whose aid would be so valuable to her or which, if once her firm ally, would be so likely to continue so as the United States.

Fourthly. That such an alliance as that above suggested would meet all the needs of the case.

Fifthly. That it would not only be of great mutual benefit to all concerned, to Americans no less, though perhaps in somewhat different ways than Englishmen, but that it might even in its ultimate results go far to pave the way for a great international council of all civilized communities, and at the very least would assure to all members of the Confederation a weight and vantage ground in dealing with all other powers which is entirely out of reach of either standing apart.

As far as Canada itself in particular is concerned, I will simply point out that it is scarcely possible we can maintain our position of nominal vassalage much longer. We must either strengthen the connecting link or break it, or rather it will break of its own mere weight if no action be taken to preserve it, in which case our probable future position is very far from assuring or satisfactory.

Our case, in short, stands thus:

For a position of absolute independence we are not yet fitted. Such a step would undoubtedly impose on us many serious additional burdens and open up many difficult and dangerous questions better avoided in a state of such extremely recent growth as ours; nor would we gain much by adopting the expedient suggested in some quarters of assuming a quasi-independent status, under the joint protectorate of England and the United States, while we would assuredly suffer seriously in the loss of our own self-respect and in the discouragement of true national feelings.

On the other hand, the alternative of incorporation with the United States is, as I have said above, repugnant to our feelings and eminently dangerous to the well-being of the whole empire. Setting aside the very considerable augmentation of gross power and population which the United States would derive from the addition of some four millions of hardy and industrious people, occupying a vast and in many portions a rich and fertile territory, there are several weighty reasons why no English statesmen should regard our absorption into the American union as a matter of indifference.

It must be remembered that young as the commerce of the Dominion is, it ranks already as the fourth maritime nation in the world and possesses a mercantile marine which gives employment to no less than one hundred thousand excellent seamen (Newfoundland included), while the peculiar configuration of its eastern seaboard, occupying over a thousand miles of the North Atlantic coast and projecting into the ocean to a degree which brings it on the average within five or six days' steam of the track which the vast bulk of British shipping must traverse to reach your ports, would enable the United States, if possessed of such a vantage ground, practically to annihilate English commerce, even granting that your fleets were entirely successful in maintaining your ancient superiority in actual pitched battles.

It is not too much to say that hardly any possible superiority in open sea would enable England to maintain an effective blockade of the region extending from Cape Race to Boston alone, pierced as it is with innumerable creeks and inlets of every description and beset for

half the year with fogs, icebergs, storms and currents, designed as if on purpose to aid and abet a daring marauder; nor can any one well fail to perceive how incalculable an amount of injury could be inflicted on British commerce by any maritime power in possession of such a country—much less by such a people as the Americans.

Withal, it must not be supposed that I underrate the obstacles which oppose themselves to such a project. Living as we do in daily and hourly contact with the people of the United States, we know and feel more keenly than any mere passing visitor how deep-rooted is the congenital prejudice against England in the minds of a vast number of the native-born Americans, and how many of their earliest associations contribute to foster and intensify the sentiment.

We know, too, to our cost how bitter and seemingly ineradicable is the animosity to all British institutions which pervades the whole Irish Catholic population, now so large and potent an element in the politics of the United States, and we know how deeply the conduct of the English Government and of sundry influential classes in England during the late civil war has rankled in the minds of the American people at large, nor are we blind to the natural repugnance which English statesmen will be apt to feel toward any proposal which would seem to place them in the position of suitors to a rival state, and their very reasonable dread of the indirect consequences of a close alliance between an ancient monarchy and these young and vigorous democracies.

Still, weighing all these obstacles and impediments fairly in our minds, and at the same time taking into account the dangers and difficulties of our present and probable future position, and the enormous and well-nigh incalculable benefits which might accrue to the whole mass of English-speaking communities (and through them we may not unfairly urge to the world at large) if a true, sincere, cordial alliance between their two chief members could yet be brought about, I venture to urge that if the risks are great, so also is the prize—that the time for small precautions and expedients has long since

passed away, and that even if we fail it is better to fail "*tamen magna ausis.*"

It is but a possibility, doubtless, but a possibility which it would be inexcusable to throw away.

The great mistake, or more correctly the twofold great mistake, of English policy in the last and present century, first in alienating and afterwards in neglecting to conciliate the noblest colonies which a nation ever flung away, may still be rectified. The perilous isolation in which England now stands before the world might be exchanged for an alliance which would make her practically impregnable to invasion and joint mistress of every sea on the face of the habitable globe. The painful, paralyzing sense of weakness and exposure to sudden treacherous onsets which hangs over you like a nightmare, and which may be so far realized as to inflict grave disaster upon you ere you could repel them, might be replaced by the security of conscious power. The perplexing questions arising between you and your numerous colonies, of how far you ought to risk involving them in your quarrels, and how far you ought to be called upon to assist them in theirs, might under such a union be arranged with very little difficulty. And last, but not least, you might succeed in creating a power so truly great that no people nor combination of peoples would dare to assail it wantonly; while yet it in turn, from the very nature of the case, and almost as the condition of its existence, would have the strongest interest and the strongest possible desire to remain at peace with its neighbours.

Looking at the subject calmly in all its bearings, making full allowance for the many practical difficulties which beset it, admitting frankly that no man can possibly foresee all the remote indirect consequences, both to you and your dependencies, to which such a union might lead, not ignoring the deep-rooted prejudices to be removed on both sides nor the instinctive opposition which every novel proposition, and especially any novel political proposition, is sure to excite, I still dare to ask, gravely and deliberately, is there after all any just cause or impediment why two such nations as Great Britain and the United States should not enter into a formal union for their mutual protection and benefit in no spirit

of greed or hostility to others, but simply to afford each other full freedom to work out their respective missions, the one in the East and the other in the West, untrammelled and unshackled.

Were I addressing an American audience I might feel it necessary to enlarge a little on the benefits which might be expected to accrue to them from entering into such a partnership, nor do I think that it would be very difficult to show that, great and growing power as they are, they could thus attain at one single bound a position and practical advantage of a very high order, such as even fifty years of their present unparalleled growth could hardly secure to them; while at the same time it would impart a strength and stability to their general political relations toward foreign powers, and (in some degree) even to their own internal ones as between their several states, which most thoughtful Americans will admit to be a great desideratum.

Viewing it dispassionately, from a standpoint neither exclusively English nor American, I think it may safely be alleged that if the immediate present advantages in a material point of view lean, as I think they do, somewhat to the side of England, the moral and most probably the solid benefits to be ultimately derived from such a federation incline quite as strongly in favour of the Americans, though, in any event, I am strongly convinced that this will prove one of those exceptional cases in which each party's profit is really the other's gain also, and that in truth the parent state and her huge offspring are the very complement and supplement of each other in most things necessary for their mutual greatness.

As for the obstacles in the way of a formal union, steam and electricity have bridged the physical difficulties which would once have proved fatal to such a project. Is it absolutely impossible for good sense and good statesmanship to overcome the moral ones?

Both as a Canadian and as a British subject I dare to think it is not; nay, I even think that it is possible it might prove unexpectedly easy of accomplishment; and though I do not at all deny that it is manifestly for our interest to bring about a closer fellowship between you and the people of the United States, I do most emphati-

cally deny that it is alone or even mainly in our interest that I advocate a union; on the contrary, I think we may say, without undue boastfulness, that it rests now and has long rested with ourselves only to enter the American union on terms as favourable to our national interests as we could well desire, and that if we have heretofore resisted all inducements in that direction it has been in a great measure because we could not commit ourselves to any alliance which might possibly some day involve us in hostile collision with yourselves.

Under these circumstances, then, I think I have some right as a Canadian politician to ask if such a project as I have sketched be absolutely and utterly impracticable; and if any Englishman can be found bold enough to say it is not, I venture to add that they can do no greater service to England than by inducing the English Cabinet or Parliament to make such overtures to the people of the United States.

It would, I feel assured, be doing a great wrong to the latter to doubt that such a proposition would meet a most courteous reception at their hands, and even if the practical difficulties in the way of its realization should unhappily prove insurmountable, the mere fact of its having been honestly made would do more than any other possible act on the part of England to banish every remaining feeling of annoyance and irritation, and to ensure such a cordial understanding as might, perhaps, gain for us in the spirit what we failed to secure in the letter.

Finally, the time is singularly propitious. You are now at peace, your colonial empire is still intact, all existing causes of trouble between you and the people of the United States have been finally adjusted or are in a fair way of being removed. A better and wholesomer feeling is manifesting itself toward England on the part of the American press and people than could well have been hoped for, remembering the events of the last ten years.

A very long time may elapse before such a concurrence of favourable circumstances presents itself again, and last, but not least, there are many contingencies which might deprive you of the power you now possess of offer-

ing any adequate inducement to the United States to connect their fortunes with yours.

I have the honour to remain,

Your obedient servant,

A MEMBER OF THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT.

APPENDIX "C."

List of additional charges made in 1873 and unprovided for. Those marked * are statutory.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Mr. Tilley's first estimate | \$20,941,183 |
| 1st. Supplementary | 368,340 |
| 2nd. " | 57,300 |
| 3rd. " | 100,000 |
| 4th. Admission Prince Edward Island.... | *418,000 |
| 5th. Assumption Provincial debt | *819,349 |
| 6th. North-West Mounted Police | 300,000 |
| 8th. Indian Treaties in negotiation | 200,000 |
| 9th. Interest on loan of September, 1873.. | 200,000 |
| 10th. Increase of salary and indemnities... | 300,555 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total, as per estimates and per statistics | \$23,704,727 |
| Add balance carried per Order in Council.. | 480,282 |
| | <hr/> |
| Deduct expenditure for 1871-2 | \$24,184,969 |
| | 19,174,647 |
| | <hr/> |
| Balance | \$5,919,322 |

APPENDIX "D."

Sir Hugh Allan's Letters (see Journals, 1873) and
Lord Dufferin's Despatch.

MONTREAL, 5th Feb., 1873.

DEAR MR. MCMULLEN:

I returned yesterday from Ottawa. Everything looks well up to the present time, but I may tell you in strict confidence that there are symptoms of coolness between

Sir John A. and Cartier, arising from the coquetting of the latter with Blake and Mackenzie to form an alliance and carry the elections next summer, with a view to leave Sir John out in the cold. This would not be quite so well for us; but I am going to Toronto on the 7th inst., to look after our interest. We are all right with the *Globe*. You have not yet sent me the articles of agreement signed by the parties. Send it immediately, as I need it in my negotiations. I will require you to come down here by and by to arrange the construction of the Company, and consult about other matters. In the printed bill is there not a mistake about the land and taxation? Look at it.

Yours truly,

(Signed) HUGH ALLAN.

To G. W. McMullen, Chicago.

P.S.—I wrote you, but have not received any answer.

(To an American gentleman. Name withheld.)

MONTREAL, 1st July, 1872.

My dear Sir,—The negotiations regarding the Canadian Pacific Railway are now approaching a termination, and I have no reason to doubt they will be favourable to us. I have been given to understand by Mr. McMullen that he has regularly kept you informed of the progress and position of affairs, hence I have not communicated with you as often as I otherwise would have done. No doubt he has informed you that thinking, as I had taken up the project, there must be something very good in it, a very formidable opposition was organized in Toronto, which for want of a better took as their cry, "No foreign influence; no Yankee dictation; no Northern Pacific to choke off our Canadian Pacific," and others equally sensible. So much effect, however, was produced both in and out of Parliament by these cries, that after consultation with Mr. McMullen, I was forced unwillingly to drop ostensibly from our organization every American name, and to put in reliable people on this side in place of them. It will have been apparent to you that at this point Mr. McMullen and I differed a little as to the means to be adopted to influence the Government itself. Two oppos-

ing companies, desiring to build the railroad, were formed, the one from Ontario having the greatest number of names while that from Quebec had the greatest political power. Mr. McMullen was desirous of securing the inferior members of the Government, and entered into engagements of which I did not approve, as I thought it was only a waste of powder and shot. On a calm view of the situation, I satisfied myself that the decision of the question must ultimately be in the hands of one man, and that man was Sir George E. Cartier, the leader and chief of the French party. This party has held the balance of power between the other factions; it has sustained and kept in office and existence the entire Government for the last five years; it consists of forty-five men who have followed Cartier and voted in a solid phalanx for all his measures. The Government majority in Parliament being generally less than forty-five, it follows that the defection of one-half or two-thirds would at any time put the Government out of office. It was therefore evident that some means must be adopted to bring the influence of this compact body of members to bear in our favour, and as soon as I made up my mind what was the best course to pursue, I did not lose a moment in following it up.

* * * * *

As you may suppose, the matter has not reached this point without great expense—a large portion of it only payable when the contract is obtained; but I think it will reach not much short of \$300,000.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) HUGH ALLAN.

Private and Confidential.

MONTREAL, 30th July, 1872.

DEAR SIR HUGH:

The friends of the Government will expect to be assisted with funds in the pending elections, and any amount which you or your Company shall advance for that purpose shall be recouped to you.

A memorandum of immediate requirements is below.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) GEO. E. CARTIER.

Now Wanted.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| Sir John A. Macdonald..... | \$25,000 |
| Hon. Mr. Langevin | 15,000 |
| Sir G. E. C. | 20,000 |
| Sir J. A. (add.)..... | 10,000 |
| Hon. Mr. Langevin | 100,000 |
| Sir G. E. C. | 30,000 |

MONTREAL, August 7th, 1872.

I have already paid away about \$250,000, and will have to pay at least \$50,000 before the end of the month. I don't know as even that will finish it, but hope so."

(Sgd.) HUGH ALLAN.

Lord Dufferin's Despatch.

"CANADA, Aug. 18, 1873.

"Considering how eager has been the controversy I cannot hope to escape criticism, but any irritation thus engendered will perhaps be softened by the reflection that coming to this country full of faith in its people and its destinies, I was naturally slow to believe that widespread public and personal corruption should exist among its most eminent public men. If it should turn out that I have been deceived in my estimate of Canadian purity, the error is one which Canada may afford to pardon. If, as I trust will be the case, the integrity of her chief statesmen is vindicated, I shall be well content if the fact of 'my not having despaired of the Republic' is forgotten in the general satisfaction such a result will produce.

"Be that as it may, there is one circumstance which we can regard with unmitigated satisfaction. The alleged revelations which have taken place have profoundly moved the whole population. Apart from the section of society 'within politics,' whose feeling may be stimulated by other considerations, every citizen in the country, no matter how indifferent to public affairs, has been dismayed and humiliated by the thought that such things as are alleged to have taken place by Mr. McMullen and Mr.

Huntington should be possible. This is a reassuring sign, and even should it be found, which God forbid, that the Government has been unworthy of the trust confided to it, the indignation and the searchings of heart that will ensue throughout the land will go far to cleanse the public life of Canada for many a year to come."

N.B.—It must always be borne in mind, in dealing with this matter, that a contribution of \$200,000 or \$300,000 for election purposes meant a vast deal more in the Canada of forty years ago than it would to-day. Looking at the difference in population, and still more in available wealth, it is no exaggeration to say that it would almost equal a contribution of two or three millions in hard cash now.

APPENDIX "E."

Sir John A. Macdonald *re* Riel.

OTTAWA, Dec. 27th, 1871.

Confidential.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:

I have been able to make the arrangement for the individual we have talked about. I now send you a sight draft on the Bank of Montreal for One Thousand dollars (\$1,000). I need not press upon Your Grace the importance of the money being paid to him periodically (say monthly or quarterly) and not in a lump, otherwise the money would be wasted and our embarrassment begin again. The payment should spread over a year.

Believe me, Your Grace's very obedient servant,

(Sgd.) JOHN A. MACDONALD.

To His Grace,

The Archbishop of St. Boniface,
Montreal.

Prior to this, on the 7th December, 1871, the Archbishop states that Sir John had said to him, "If you can succeed in keeping him (Riel) out of the way for a while, I will make his case mine, and I will carry the point."

As to this Sir John equivocated. (See evidence in Journal.)

N.B.—All these conversations and the payment of the money on account of Riel took place before Sir John charged Mr. Blake with having frightened Riel out of the country, and expressed his own most fervent desire to catch Riel. As to the further sum of six hundred pounds paid to the Archbishop for the benefit of Riel's family and advanced by Mr. D. A. Smith, Sir John admitted the liability of the Government but does not appear to have himself asked Mr. Smith to advance it. The entire evidence of Archbishop Taché is well worth reading. It brings out in the strongest light the colossal impudence of Sir John Macdonald, after intriguing with the Archbishop for two whole years prior to the election of 1871 to get Riel out of the country, then to charge Mr. Blake with frightening him away and thus defeating the ends of justice.

Secondly, it shows very clearly how completely the then Government were pledged to granting an amnesty to all parties concerned in the Red River troubles, and how outrageously unjust was the attack upon Mr. Mackenzie because in view of these circumstances and of Governor Archbold's distinct pledges he refused to allow the death sentence to be carried out in Lepine's case and instead commuted it to a few years' imprisonment. Notwithstanding, for many months every Orange Lodge in Ontario rang with denunciations of Mr. Mackenzie, because he would not have Lepine hanged, and not one word was said at the same time in censure of Sir John Macdonald's acts in helping Riel to get out of the country, although all the above facts had by that time become public property.

REPORTER. Did you condemn Sir John for treating with the Archbishop?

SIR RICHARD. No blame can attach to Sir George Cartier or Sir John Macdonald for their desire to get Riel out of the country, but it was outrageous, after doing their utmost to bring this about, that Sir John should have over and over again during the elections of 1872 declared that "he would to God he could catch Riel," and that but for Mr. Blake's action he would have done so.

APPENDIX "F."

Extracts from Judgment of Chief Justice Richards.

I must confess I have been very much embarrassed in coming to a conclusion in this matter satisfactory to myself. If it was not that I felt compelled to look upon this branch of the case in the nature of a penal proceeding requiring that the petitioner should prove his allegations affirmatively by satisfactory evidence, and that he might have given further evidence to have repelled some of the suggestions in respondent's favor, if such suggestions were not reasonable ones, I should feel bound to decide against the respondent; but looking at the whole case, I do not think I ought to do so.

If it is found from experience that the provisions contained in the present laws, now in force in the Dominion and in Ontario, do not effectually put an end to corrupt practices at elections, and that in order to do so it will be necessary to bring candidates within the highly penal provisions of declaring them, when they violate the law, incapable of being elected or holding office for several years, Election Judges will probably find themselves compelled to take the same broad view of the evidence to sustain these highly penal charges that experience compelled committees of the House of Commons to take as to the evidence necessary to set aside an election.

I think the petitioner was well warranted in continuing the inquiry as to the personal complicity of the respondent with the illegal acts done by his agents, and that he is entitled to full costs, and that the respondent is not entitled to any costs for obtaining his amended particulars.

APPENDIX "G."

Dalton McCarthy as to Policy.

No doubt in the world the Conservative party were put out of power, and by going in for the National Policy and taking the wind out of Mr. Mackenzie's sails, we got into power. We became identified with the protective

policy, and if Mr. Mackenzie had been a protectionist there would have been nothing left for us but to be free-traders. But Mr. Mackenzie was either too honest or too earnest in his opinion, and the result was he was swept out of power and had only a corporal's guard to support him when the House met.

APPENDIX "H."

Extract from Hansard, 1878. Close of Session.

MR. SMITH. I trust so—more profitably and more properly. I find that the hon. gentleman, the member for Cumberland, says here, speaking of certain names that were given in the *Globe* of those who did not support the right hon. gentleman at a critical moment in 1873—

MR. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of order.

MR. SMITH. It will be remembered that—

MR. SPEAKER. A question of order is raised.

MR. TUPPER. I rise to a question of order, and I put it to you, whether it is not an abuse of the right to read from a newspaper, for the hon. gentleman has had that speech here during that three months that we have been in session, and to speak at the moment when Black Rod is coming to the door and thus to shelter himself from the answer which he would otherwise get.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. And the punishment he would otherwise get.

MR. SMITH. I had no such opportunity.

MR. TUPPER. A more cowardly thing I have never seen ventured on in this House.

MR. SMITH. I am not surprised at this from the hon. gentleman.

MR. TUPPER. Anything more cowardly I never heard of. I am responsible for every word I have uttered on the platform. I have sat here for three months, and no reference has been made to this by the hon. gentleman or anybody else.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Neither the hon. gentleman—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Nor any other hon. gentleman—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Has ventured to challenge one word I have uttered during the recess of Parliament.

MR. SMITH. The charge of being a coward I throw back on the hon. gentleman.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. Let the poor man go on.

MR. SMITH. The hon. member for Cumberland said:

"He would give his hearers the names mentioned by the *Globe* as having left because of the scandal, and he asked them to mark them. It would be remembered that the Government had a majority of from twenty-five to thirty, and, in order to gain a majority, the Opposition had to take half of them away. How many of them did the *Globe* mention? Would his hearers believe it? Three. But who did they suppose were paraded before the people in that connection? He would read their names. For what purpose did Mr. Glass, Hon. D. A. Smith and Col. Ray, not to mention others—all men who had supported Sir John A. Macdonald in the first session of 1873—desert Sir John, but for his conduct in connection with the Pacific Scandal? Did any one who read the public prints want to know why the independent, high-souled, patriotic Mr. Glass left the party, and where he had been ever since? He, a lawyer, was certainly about the last man one would expect to find up to his eyes in railway and Pacific telegraph contracts with the Government. Yet there he was, and the law was trampled under foot to pay him, as they gave him the contract without first having the road located. Then they said Hon. D. A. Smith. Did the *Globe* suppose that the people of Canada had no memories, and that they did not know that Mr. Smith gave unqualified evidence that the Canada Pacific scandal had nothing to do with his changed attitude towards Sir John Macdonald? Mr. Smith was a representative of the Hudson's Bay Company, and he had been pressing a claim on his right hon. friend for public money; Sir John had been holding back, and Mr. Smith came to the conclusion that it would be just as well to jump the fence if there was to be a change of Government. But Mr. Smith was a canny

man; he held back and sat on the fence and watched the course, certainly not in the interests of his country, because he did not want to jump too soon and find he had jumped into a ditch. But, when he came to the conclusion that the Government was going out, he made the bolt, and he (Dr. Tupper) had no doubt that he had had a great deal of reason since for congratulating himself on having jumped as he did."

That is the insinuation—the broad assertion made on the part of the hon. member for Cumberland at his picnic, and reiterated here, and I give it the most positive denial, and say that never was anything received by me or desired by me from the present Government any more than from the former Government. What are the particulars of this affair of 1873, as regards myself? Does the hon. gentleman not know, and does not the right hon. gentleman know, too, that members of the late Government approached me before the eventful 4th of November, and that they wished to sound me and know how I was going to vote in this matter; and that some days in advance of that time, I was requested to meet the hon. member for Charlevoix in the Speaker's room, and did meet him there? And do they not know that an hon. gentleman from the other House, the Hon. Mr. Campbell, a gentleman for whom I have a very high respect, personally, also met me there, and that to both of these gentlemen, during a long interview, at which was present also another gentleman who was then, likewise, a member of this House—Mr. Nathan, a personal friend of mine—I declared that I could not vote for the amendment to the amendment that was even offered by Mr. McDonald of Pictou? Do they not know I said, "No, I cannot do so; I cannot possibly do so; I cannot conscientiously do so."

MR. TUPPER. Does the hon. gentleman deny—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. That he telegraphed down here—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. That he would be here and support the Government?

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. After he knew everything about the Canadian Pacific Railway affair. Does he deny that?

MR. SMITH. I do deny it. I never telegraphed I would be here and support the Government. Never, never. I know that the right hon. gentleman wrote me, asking me to come down, but the hon. gentleman cannot say—dare not say—I ever telegraphed I would support the Government, and no other hon. gentleman can say so.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. I will tell you what I can say—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. I telegraphed the hon. gentleman—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. He dare not listen to an explanation.

MR. SMITH. On the occasion referred to in the Speaker's Chamber I said that I could not support the Government, but I offered and proposed that there should be another amendment, and a very different one, that is, the Government should frankly confess their fault to the House, and then, if the country condoned it, and Parliament condoned it, it would be a very different thing. That is what I proposed to the hon. gentleman, and this was reduced to writing at the time.

MR. TUPPER. That—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Is not what you telegraphed.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. That is not what you telegraphed.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. Hear, hear.

MR. SMITH. The hon. gentleman is altogether in the wrong. I telegraphed simply in courtesy, in reply to a letter, that I would be in Ottawa by the 23rd October. I saw the right hon. gentleman himself in one of the rooms. He sent for me. Mr. Mitchell came and informed me that the hon. member for Kingston desired to see me; and let me say to Mr. Mitchell's credit, that he has got up in many an assembly where I have been and said I was perfectly justified in doing as I did, as Mr. Mitchell knew all the circumstances.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. I am sure he did not.

MR. TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman name—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. One single meeting where Mr. Mitchell ever made such a statement anywhere, and where the record of it is to be found, except out of the hon. gentleman's own mouth—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. I could do so.

MR. TUPPER. And that goes for a very little in this House or out of it.

MR. SMITH. I can bring forward a number of gentlemen of high respectability, whose word will be taken all over the country and all over the world.

MR. TUPPER AND HON. MEMBERS. Name, name. Where, where?

MR. SMITH. I could mention a dozen.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Name.

MR. SMITH. A dozen most respectable men in Montreal, and some in Ottawa, too.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Name.

MR. SMITH. A dozen of them.

MR. TUPPER. I never heard of these meetings and statements.

MR. SMITH. And, if necessary, I am prepared to do so at another time. On the occasion spoken of I did see the hon. gentleman in the room. I think it was No. 6 or 5, and the hon. gentleman then did try to persuade me to vote for him, but the hon. gentleman will not dare to state I said I could support him; and what did the hon. gentleman say to me then at length—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. He said, "If I am not supported now I will appeal to the country." The right hon. gentleman during the present session spoke of Selkirk—the constituency I have the honour to represent—as being a rotten borough, an Old Sarum, but in speaking of me as he did on the evening of that 4th November, he must have counted on the whole of Ontario being one great rotten borough, a veritable Old Sarum, as he said that if he appealed to it he would have Ontario to a man with him.

AN HON. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. There is not one single word of truth in that statement—not one single word of

truth. The hon. gentleman is now stating what is a falsehood.

MR. ROCHESTER. How much did the other side offer you?

MR. SMITH. The hon. gentleman says he did not say so; certainly the spirit within him said it; for the words came out of the hon. gentleman's mouth.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. If he did not say so, the spirits within him did. Those words were uttered by the hon. gentleman.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. They were not uttered by me.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. They were not uttered by me.

MR. SMITH. They were, as surely and certainly as the hon. gentleman and I are here.

HON. MEMBERS. Order, order.

MR. SMITH. The hon. member for Cumberland the same evening told me that the right hon. gentleman was not capable of knowing what he said; and will he deny—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. The hon. member for Cumberland said next morning—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of order, and I want to ask you whether it is competent for any hon. gentleman to stand up in this House and detail what he himself admits are private conversations? Is it competent for a man to detail private conversations, while falsifying them?

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. And his word passes for nothing here or elsewhere.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. I have never witnessed such—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Cowardly abuse of—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Of the privileges of this House, as for

an hon. gentleman to be guilty of making a speech when there is no possibility of a reply being made to it.

MR. SMITH. The hon. gentleman—

MR. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman is defending himself against a very grave charge made against him.

MR. SMITH. The relating of private conversations may be held to be very improper, but it is not unparliamentary.

MR. TUPPER. I do not complain of the relating of private conversations, I complain—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. I complain of the hon. gentleman falsifying private conversations, and detailing that as a conversation which he knows to be falsified.

MR. SMITH. I do not look upon them as private conversations, and I give the exact truth. I was sent for as a member of the House by the gentleman at that time the head of the Government, and he—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. Endeavoured to get me—

MR. TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman—

MR. ROCHESTER. They could not give you enough.

MR. SMITH. Will he deny that the next morning when I met the hon. gentleman here, who is on the other side—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Give.

MR. SMITH. At Mr. Tupper's office, when he was Minister of Customs. Will he deny that he said to me that so soon as it was possible to make the right hon. gentleman to understand right from wrong, or to that effect—

MR. TUPPER. The hon. gentleman has asked if I will make a statement.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. I tell him that if he will allow me five minutes—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. Only for an apology.

MR. TUPPER. I will show that the very first statement he commenced with to-day—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. The statement that he never sought a favour from the late Government—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Is as false a statement—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. As ever issued from the mouth of any man, and he has continued—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. With a tissue—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Sir, of as false statements as were ever uttered—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. By any man.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. That is what I will show him.

MR. SMITH. I never asked, prayed for, desired, or got a favour from the last Government.

MR. TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to tell a favour he asked for?

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. The hon. gentleman begged of me to implore—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. The leader of the Government to make him a member of the Privy Council of Canada.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. That is what he asked for, and he—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Was refused; and it was the want of that position and that refusal which, to a large extent, has placed him where he is to-day.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. The hon. gentleman knows that he states what is wholly untrue, and, driven to his wits' end, is now going back to a journey he and I made to the North-West in 1869, and I give the most positive denial to any assertion made by him, or any other person, that I asked for or desired any favour from the Government.

THE SERGEANT-AT-ARMS. Mr. Speaker, a Message from His Excellency the Governor-General.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. I now—

MR. SPEAKER. I have very much pleasure in inform-

ing the House that it now becomes my duty to receive the Messenger—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. He knows—

MR. TUPPER. Coward, coward; sit down.

MR. SPEAKER. I—

MR. SMITH. He knows—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Coward, coward, coward.

MR. SMITH. You are the coward.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. Nay, further, there were two gentlemen, members of this House—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. SMITH. The day after that 4th November—

MR. TUPPER. Coward, coward.

MR. SMITH. Who came to me with a proposition to throw over the right hon. gentleman and the present member for Charlevoix, if I would consent to give up the position I had deemed it my duty to take in the House the evening before, and would support the Government by voting against the amendment of the hon. member for Lambton.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. Order.

MR. TUPPER. Mean, treacherous coward.

MR. SMITH. Who is the coward the House will decide—it is yourself.

MR. TUPPER. Coward, treacherous—

MR. SMITH. I could not support them—

MR. SPEAKER. Admit the Messenger.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD. That fellow Smith is the biggest liar I ever met!

A Message from His Excellency the Governor-General, by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod:

The above but faintly represents what actually took place. The shouts and cries were so loud that but a part of what passed was heard and taken down by the reporters. The whole scene was very fitly described by the present Sergeant-at-Arms, in an address delivered by him to the Canadian Club at Ottawa in 1912 as a "pande-

monium." Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper were absolutely beside themselves for the time being, while Mr. Smith was perfectly collected and composed.

APPENDIX "I."

Johnson Statement, General Election, 1891.

| Provinces. | Government. | Opposition. | Gov. Maj. | Oppos. Maj. |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| Ontario | 171,595 | 178,871 | | 7,276 |
| Quebec | 97,652 | 94,663 | 3,589 | |
| Nova Scotia | 36,694 | 31,131 | 5,563 | |
| New Brunswick ... | 30,094 | 23,649 | 6,445 | |
| P. E. Island..... | 8,994 | 9,483 | | 539 |
| Manitoba | 10,450 | 9,059 | 1,391 | |
| N.-W. Territories.. | 6,752 | 3,579 | 3,573 | |
| British Columbia.. | 6,176 | 2,267 | 4,809 | |
| Total | 368,407 | 352,702 | 25,370 | 7,815 |

(Sgd.) GEO. JOHNSON,

Dominion Statistician.

APPENDIX "J."

Whereas it appears from the Journals of the House of Commons of Canada, that one James D. Edgar, member thereof for the East Riding of Ontario, did, on or about the 6th day of April, 1892, prefer certain charges against the Hon. Sir Adolphe P. Caron, Postmaster-General, also a member of the said House; and whereas the said House did, on the 4th day of May, 1892, order and direct that the said Sir Adolphe Caron and his colleagues should be permitted to substitute certain other charges, prepared by themselves, for the original charges, preferred by the said James D. Edgar; and whereas it further appears, from the said Journals, that the said James D. Edgar proposed to cause the aforesaid charges to be investigated before a committee of the said House, on which committee both the political parties whereof the said House is composed would be represented, and that the said House did, on the said day of May, 1892, further order that the said

substituted charges should not be investigated by a committee of the said House, but that they should be referred to certain judges to be thereafter selected by the said Sir Adolphe Caron and his colleagues; and whereas it is expedient that the rules and procedures of the other courts of justice in this Dominion should be assimilated to those established by the High Court of Parliament, and that an equal and uniform justice be administered to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in this Dominion; now, therefore,

Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as "An Act for the Uniform Administration of Justice."

2. From and after the passing of this Act whensoever any person (not hereinafter excepted) shall be accused of any offence in any court of justice, the said person so accused shall have the right to appoint the judges by and before whom he is to be tried, with or without a jury in the discretion of the accused.

3. That the said accused party shall be furnished with a copy of the charges intended to be preferred against him, a reasonable time in advance of the day of trial, and shall be at liberty to alter, amend, transpose and vary the same, as to him shall seem best.

4. That it shall henceforward be a good and sufficient defence, in answer to any charge of felony or other criminal offence, for the person so accused to allege that he did not commit some other crime or felony; *e.g.*, in the case of any person accused of committing murder, it shall henceforward be a good defence to plead that the said party did not commit adultery—or if accused of horse-stealing, to plead that he did not commit forgery—or if accused of burglary, to plead that he is not guilty of coining false money—and generally, it shall be held sufficient, in any case, for the party accused of any particular offence, to show that he did not commit some other and different offence.

5. That henceforward any person who brings a charge against any other person, but who fails to secure a conviction under sections 3 and 4 of this Act shall, *ipso facto*,

be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanour and shall be subject to fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the party so accused.

6. No member of any Liberal administration, local or other, shall be entitled to the benefit of this Act.

7. God save the Queen.

APPENDIX "L."

Extract from *The Speaker*, September 12, 1891, as it appeared in *The Globe*, September 23:

"The undisputed facts are bad enough. The defence constantly set up when large sums are traced from a contractor or office seeker to a legislator is that the money was not for the recipient's private benefit, but for legitimate political purposes. That this is reckoned any defence at all shows the extent to which the political conscience has been blunted in Canada. If the candidate's election expenses were not paid for him he would have to pay them himself; and to receive these expenses from men who expect to be repaid in Government contracts or offices immediately destroys the independence of the legislator. From this point of view the independence of the Federal Parliament was undermined long ago by Sir John Macdonald. He won the general elections of 1878, 1882, 1887 and 1891 with large sums voted by manufacturers out of the extra profits which he guaranteed them by a high import tariff. Whole constituencies have been bribed by the offer of a bridge here, and a dock there, and a new post-office or custom house yonder, to vote for the man who could get the Government to spend most public money in the locality, quite irrespective of the general interests of the country."

The Speaker says Mr. Abbott is "the man who in 1872 negotiated the great bribery scheme by which Sir John Macdonald was driven disgraced from office. Now he assumes the rôle of Theseus, prepares to explore the labyrinth by means of a royal commission, and heroically vows to slay the minotaur of corruption which has been feeding on the bone and blood of Canada."

Despatch from London to *The Globe*, August 9, 1891:

The Ottawa scandals are attracting increasing attention. . . . *The Pall Mall Gazette* in a leading article to-night, entitled, "Canadian Experiments in Corruption," says a more sordid spectacle of corruption was never presented to a free people. Whatever defence this or that politician or official makes, it is abundantly clear that the relations between the contractors, officials and members of the Government were shamelessly and unblushingly corrupt. *The Pall Mall* says that it would be very much surprised if the Ottawa record in corruption could be beaten anywhere in the States. Still, it is healthy sign, it says, that public opinion demands a complete exposure.

The Pall Mall Gazette says: "One of the most prominent arguments against the annexation of Canada to the United States has been the value of the Canadian experiment in government. It was thought by those opposed to annexation that it would be an advantage to have each country work out its own institutions and thereby teach others." *The Gazette* questions that there is any ground for satisfaction in the Canadian experiments. "As just exposed," the *Gazette* declares, "a more sordid spectacle of corruption has never been presented to a free people. Whatever defence individual officials and politicians may make in the United States, it is abundantly clear that the cancer of corruption has eaten deep into Canadian institutions. Political life in the United States is not particularly pure, but we would be exceedingly surprised if the Canadian record could be beaten."

Extract from *The Times*, September 16, 1891:

"The most alarming feature in all these stories of corruption is the close alliance between fraud and party organization. Contractors and companies have to secure the support of influential persons, whether officials or their intimates, by contributing liberally to party funds and getting needy politicians out of their chronic difficulties. Of course it follows that the arrangements made with persons who have so paid their way are not effected

on ways advantageous to the public. A permanent difficulty is created by the fact that the class of professional politicians in a country like Canada includes a greater number of men solely dependent on political success or party subsidies for the means of living."

Extract from *The Star* (Liberal), September 16, 1891:

"It was Sir John Macdonald's usual luck that the system of corruption which he had established was not exposed until after he was dead. For twenty-three years he and his party had maintained themselves in power without a break by a colossal system of bribery. He succeeded in throttling democracy and in debauching public opinion. So vast and intricate was his system of corruption, and he pulled the strings at Ottawa so adroitly, that no part collapsed until the arch wire-puller had disappeared. The McGreevy and Langevin scandals and the stories of bribes, boodle and blackmail, of which we have had daily accounts for the last six weeks, only touch the fringe of Macdonaldism. The system which has taken over twenty years to perfect is not to be eradicated by a few weeks' investigation. But the Dominion cannot rest until it has been purged of corruption, until it has emancipated itself from the rule of the bribers and boodlers which Sir John left in office. A clean sweep should be made of all the jobbers who have fattened on the result of twenty years of bribery."

The Star goes on to say: "When we consider the gigantic scale on which public money has been squandered, of the hold which political corruption has got on the people, we are surprised that the Dominion thus handicapped has made any progress at all." It then treats of the bribery by subsidies to railways—"whenever a district was wavering in its allegiance to Toryism, Sir John sent a railway into it"—and of that practised by other means, and turns from that gruesome chapter to the systematic corruption of the press. In conclusion it says:

"Indeed, so extensive are the ramifications of the system of bribery which has existed in Canada for the last twenty years that no one yet knows how far its tentacles

extend. Personally Sir John Macdonald was not enriched by his system. He only secured spoil for his party to keep himself in office, but we have seen that his colleagues received boodle and that members of Parliament levied blackmail for getting appointments for workmen. As we have laid emphasis on the fact that corruption has been the monopoly of the Canadian Tories, we may be reminded that Mr. Mercier, the Liberal leader in the Province of Quebec, has also been proved to be corrupt. . . . Canada cannot expect to be purified as long as the present party remains in office. Sir Hector Langevin, who was Sir John Macdonald's lieutenant and would have been his successor had not the scandals at Quebec inconveniently appeared, has been in office for twenty years, and almost all the time at the head of the Public Works Department, which is a national bribery bureau. Who knows how many jobs he has engineered in his time? Nor can anything be expected from Mr. Abbott, the Premier. He was in the Canadian Pacific swindle with Macdonald and Langevin. Canada can only hope to emancipate herself from political corruption by inaugurating a new system under new men. . . . Now is the chance for the Liberal party to step in and save Canada."

Extract from *The Globe*, October 5, 1891:

The Newcastle *Journal* (Tory) of the 18th says:

"But it is to the Minister of Public Works the scandal is really traceable, for 'passive connivance'—though too strong a phrase to meet the view of the majority of Parliament—is probably as near as so very vague a phrase can be to an accurate description of the 'it's all right, as long as I'm not in it,' sort of sentiment that is at the bottom of a good many scandals in this world. It is hard to believe that Sir Hector Langevin was not in some way and to a certain extent cognizant of the acts of McGreevy. Many men have notoriously owed their escape from detection in complicity with frauds simply by taking care to appear ignorant of facts which it suited their purpose to permit; and it is never very easy to decide when such ignorance is accidental or wilful and intended to serve

ulterior purposes. There is no question at all, however, as to the blame attaching to the Minister, even if he be acquitted of guilty knowledge. He ought to have known, and at once to have stopped and exposed McGreevy's tricks."

Extract from *The Globe*, October 17, 1891:

The *London Standard* (Tory) of September 25 has a long editorial reviewing the Canadian scandals. There is not much that is new, of course, in its treatment of so well-worn a topic. As might be expected, it dwells on the Quebec scandals, though, unlike the Tories of Canada, it does not pretend to say that two blacks make a white and that the Tory party is purged because Mr. Pacaud is unclean. It deplores the fact that "a matter which should be treated as a burning shame to the nation has been turned to the meanest party ends." "No honest Canadian," it adds, "can read the testimony given without feeling that corruption has saturated departmental and Parliamentary life." The *Standard* lumps Hector and Mr. Chapleau together. Though it may not be possible to show that either was "consciously connected with the gross practice of blackmailing which took place in their entourage, there has been no indication that they exercised ordinary care to make such misconduct impossible."

Extract from *The Globe*, October 23, 1891:

The London Despatch (Liberal) of the 4th, writing of the Speech from the Throne at the prorogation of the Dominion Parliament, says:

"It does not allude to the fact that, though Lord Salisbury hailed the result of the last Canadian elections as a proof that the royalists in Canada still held the hearts of the people true to the Queen, these elections were won by a system of bribery and by thefts of public money more shameless and odious than any which history reveals in the annals of reputable nations. In other words, the allegiance of Canada to the British Empire is only effected, and can only be effected, by the demoralization

of the Canadian people, and the cause of the Queen in Canada has, by the late Sir John Macdonald, been identified with the cause of corruption. The disastrous result is merely 'regretted' by the Governor-General, who dare not condemn the system that has created it, because he knows very well that he is part of the system himself. Lord Stanley tries to take credit for having punished some of the culprits. Yes, some have been punished—the small fry who were not in a position to steal much. But the conspicuous thieves who kept Macdonaldism going, where are they? Living on their stealings, some of them even blazing with decorations bestowed on them by the Queen—quite comfortably either in Canada or in the United States."

Extract from *The Globe*, July 30, 1891.

Like other English newspapers the London *Graphic* is shocked at the Ottawa revelations, saying in its issue of the 17th:

"Without any desire to prejudge the culpability of the Canadian members of Parliament charged with accepting bribes from contractors, one may be permitted to marvel at the nature of the misdoing set down to them. Such a paltry behind-the-back offence would have been disgraceful to the worst kind of vestry of the dark ages. Indeed, if one disregards the liberal scale on which the bribes in the present case are said to have been calculated—\$25,000 in a \$100,000 contract is the alleged bribe—the resemblance to the traditional corruption of the bygone vestry becomes very marked. The imputation is the blacker, however, because this is not a hole-and-corner matter, but concerns men filling posts of public trust and responsibility. The British member of Parliament has not always been, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion, but he is not usually accused of philandering with the national cash-box. Bribery is in public life what card-sharping is socially, a sin impossible of condonation. In Europe it has generally been supposed to be the exclusive characteristic of imperfectly civilized races, such as Russia and Turkey. In the New World, which, in spite of advancing civilization, reverts sometimes to the methods

of a less mature period, corruption is more an affair of business, and the American eagle flaps its wings over a great deal of it. But the example is one we did not expect an English colony to emulate."

Globe Editorial, September 29, 1891:

The St. James' Gazette (High Tory) of the 16th has a long article on the subject headed "Organized Corruption." It comes to the conclusion that "the whole administrative service—indeed we must not add the entire public life—of the Dominion seems to be an Augean stable which is still awaiting its Hercules"; and bids us "set to work to clean it thoroughly out before they (we) begin to theorize about the causes of corruption." The *London Morning Advertiser* (Tory) of the 19th says that, "taking the most favourable view which is possible of the disclosures, they are alarming enough"; but the means of purification "lies mainly in the hands of the people themselves." This is scarcely true seeing that Lord Stanley will not give the people a chance to pass judgment. *The Graphic* (non-political) of the 19th says "it is no longer possible to doubt that corruption in its worst form is rampant in a large portion of the Canadian civil service, and is even on something more than nodding terms with prominent politicians in the Dominion." "Every day new discoveries of the misappropriation of public moneys are cropping up, and the political washtub is black with the linen that has been cast into it."

The *Bolton News* (Liberal) of the 17th recommends an appeal to the Canadian electorate. The *News* perceives that we are reaping the harvest sown by Sir John Macdonald. "The Canadians," it says, "are now finding out what a heritage of political corruption and fraud has been left them owing to the peculiar policy associated with the name of Sir John Macdonald. There is no suggestion that during the whole of his public career the late Premier was not actuated by the most patriotic motives. What is now discovered is that his ardent desire to preserve a strongly Imperialistic régime led him into directions which gave scope to his subordinates to gratify their own personal ends."

Extract from *The Globe*, September 23, 1891:

The Saturday Review (High Tory) of the 12th says even stronger things than its Liberal contemporary. It recalls the fact that Sir Charles Dilke, a very cock-sure person in discussing Colonial topics, paid a tribute in his "Greater Britain" to the integrity of Canadian statesmen and to the entire freedom of public life in the Dominion from corruption or the suspicion of corruption; and tells a story about an English Radical who returned from a visit to the United States some years ago deeply impressed with the gigantic scale upon which everything was constructed in the big Republic, even to the political corruption, which he pronounced "magnanimous." "There is no other word for it—is is positively magnanimous." *The Saturday* thinks that in the matter of corruption Canada "may modestly challenge comparison" with her huge neighbour. "Her opportunities and means are not so great as those wielded by the lobbyists and log-rollers of Washington, or the bosses and wire-pullers of New York, but the most has been made of them." "For a parallel to the Canadian scandals," it says, Englishmen must go back "to the times of Aislabie and the Craggs, or to the day when George Grenville, on the whole rather a purist, could thrust a bill for £300 into the hands of a peer, who rejected it indeed, but without taking offence."

The London *Telegraph* (independent) of the 14th begins an editorial by saying that the reports of the scandals are read "with sorrow and shame by the whole English-speaking race." "Enough, unfortunately, is already known in England to make it clear that only the most resolute and drastic purification can redeem public life in Canada from the taint of a corruption the like of which we have not seen in our own country for hundreds of years."

The Birmingham *Gazette* (Liberal) of the 14th says the Dominion is "in a scurvy state." "Rascals out of office defraud the public in order to bribe rascals in office; and the rascals in office prostitute themselves, sacrifice their honour and forsake their trust in order to keep on good terms with the rascals out of office. This is a summary of the whole matter, which is a disgrace alike to the

individual and to the community, and is fraught with disaster to the state."

Extract from *The Weekly Dispatch*, August 9, 1891:

"The secret of Sir John Macdonald's electoral victories is out. On this side of the water surprise has often been expressed at the patience with which our Canadian cousins submitted to the Tory-Protectionist rule of that prince of political intriguers. There is now, alas, no difficulty in explaining that curious situation. Sir John's Government rested on a stupendous and all-pervading system of bribery and corruption. Even Tammany Hall smells sweet and clean in comparison with the stinkpot of Sir John's Government. Day by day the revelations that are going on at Ottawa disclose a huge system of corruption that would make old Walpole green with envy. The Public Works Department was tainted and rotten to the core. Every contract was given to political supporters; they bargained for enormous prices, and paid back a portion of their ill-gotten gains to Ministers and their friends. The confessions of Mr. Thomas McGreevy, M.P., a close friend of Sir Hector Langevin, Sir John's designated successor, read like a romance in the pages of rascality. Sometimes even the contracts were made to mythical persons, so that no portion of the swag might escape the greedy politician. Presents of steam yachts, carriages, horses, jewellery and diamonds were constantly made to officials. Altogether such an exposure has seldom been made in the annals of political corruption. Boss Tweed was not in it with Sir John Macdonald and his gang."

Editorial from *Toronto Globe*, September 10, 1891:

Some of the newspapers which treat of the scandals lay stress upon the financial aspect of the matter. "A financier," says the *Bristol Mercury* of the 27th ult., "may well hesitate to place his money in railways whose funds are used to furnish the sinews of war in a general election, or are, at any rate, alleged to have been so employed." The same paper tells us that the Canadian

Parliament has "imbibed the traditions and followed the practice of the American Congress rather than those of the Mother Country; worse still, it has improved upon its model." The *Birmingham Gazette* (Tory) of August 29 says: "Bribery of the people by the statesmen and bribery of the statesmen by certain sections of the people appear to have been the recognized means throughout the Dominion of winning votes and obtaining legislative benefits." "The exposures," it adds, "convict a number of men of high position of the grossest abuse of their public trust, and of a species of rascality which should be treated as a crime"; "the State is rotten and seemingly almost beyond hope of immediate amendment." The *Gazette* "does not for one moment see how the majority of those implicated can be exonerated." In its judgment when men who call themselves statesmen "descend to the unutterable meanness of using the influence which their election to Parliament gives them for the advantage of speculating merchants; when they make private fortunes out of their votes, and when they prevent honest business by assisting dishonest traders, they are best described as rogues and vagabonds, and as rogues and vagabonds they must be made to suffer for their offences."

Extract from *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 10, 1891:

"As for the contractors they are the bane of the Dominion. Our politicians have brains but little money, and it costs much money to carry elections. The rich men will pay the expenses of candidates only on the condition they are repaid out of public funds—with usurious interest—as soon as the candidates get possession of the treasury. The manufacturers are repaid by high duties; the contractors by fat contracts. Political morality has sunk as low in Canada as it has in the United States. Since the revolt of the mugwumps, indeed, American politics can challenge comparison with Canadian. The Liberal leaders have been justified in describing the present régime as, for years back, 'a carnival of corruption.' Yet the public conscience has been painfully hard to arouse; the partisan press has habitually whitewashed the worst

of the scoundrels till their political complexion is of the required tint; and Sir John Thompson's refusal to obstruct the present inquiry is an event uncommon as it is welcome."

Extract from *London Daily News*, August 20, 1891:

"Nobody so far as we are aware ever imputed to Sir John the actual receipt of a bribe. But it was the policy of himself and his colleagues to secure the support of the wealthy companies by concessions which it was not always clear that the public welfare demanded. Now that Mr. Mercier, who acts with the Liberal party in Dominion politics, is in the same boat with a Conservative Minister, we may hope that an unsparing investigation will be made into the whole subject."

APPENDIX "M."

(Chapter 2, Lecky's "History of Ireland.")

EMIGRATION.

"These examples might be easily increased, but they are quite sufficient to show how large a proportion of the energy and ability of Ireland was employed in foreign lands and how ruinous must have been the consequences at home. If, as there appears much reason to believe, there is such a thing as the hereditary transmission of moral and intellectual qualities, the removal from a nation of tens of thousands of the ablest and most energetic of its citizens must inevitably, by a mere physical law, result in the degeneration of the race. Nor is it necessary to fall back upon any speculations of disputed science. In every community there exists a small minority of men whose abilities, high purpose and energy of will mark them out as in some degree leaders of men. These take the first steps in any public enterprise, counteract by their example the vicious elements of the popu-

lation, set the current and form the standard of public opinion and infuse a healthy moral vigour into their nation. In Ireland, for three or four generations, such men were steadily weeded out. Can we wonder that the standard of public morals and of public spirit should have declined?"

N.B.—Emigration from Ontario and the Maritime Provinces was infinitely more rapid than in Ireland.

APPENDIX "N."

Sir Frederick Borden, *re* Census of 1891.

Dr. F. W. Borden, M.P. for King's County, Nova Scotia, now Minister of Militia, speaking in the House of Commons, as reported in the Hansard of June 12th, 1894, said:

"According to the census returns, the population of that county was 1,000 less in 1891 than in 1881. Now it happened that a gentleman in my county had some doubts whether the figures returned by the census as the population of that county in 1891 were correct. He was satisfied that gross mis-statements had been made in certain sections of the county, and he took the trouble to investigate the matter by going around and calling upon a number of families and ascertaining who had been enumerated, and whether the persons returned as being then residents of those localities were really so, or had emigrated. Now, I have here the result, or a portion of the result, of that gentleman's investigations. I have a list of some fifty names, as to which I was asked to ascertain whether they were on the list returned by the enumerators for King's County or not. About a year and a half ago I saw the census commissioner here with reference to those names, and asked to be allowed to see the lists. He said he could not show me the list unless I took an oath that I would not divulge anything I there saw. I said that would not meet my purpose. He said, 'If you will give me a list of the names, I will ascertain whether they are on the list or not.' I gave him the list of names

which I have here, and in reply I received from him a letter, dated 8th June, 1892, to this effect:

" Mr Borden,—We find all the names you gave me excepting Henry A. Palmer, in Medford, and Mrs. Peter Weaver, Blomidon. There are lots of Weavers, but not "Peter." She may be down under her own Christian name.

" "GEORGE JOHNSON."

" So that out of fifty names, or thereabouts, which I submitted, it turned out, according to the evidence of the commissioner himself, that forty-eight were on the list. Now I will submit a statement showing where these people are who were returned by the census enumerators in 1891 as residents of King's County at that time. I have here a number of affidavits, which the gentleman to whom I have already referred, Mr. Samuel I. Kerr, obtained with reference to these names. I shall not now trouble the House by reading them, but I think the question is of sufficient importance to justify me in devoting at least a few moments to its discussion, because if the same kind of thing has been carried on generally throughout the Dominion the census returns are utterly worthless. I do not say that it has been confined to the last census. It may have been carried on under former censuses, and, if so, it is absolutely necessary that the Government and the country should understand it, and that measures should be taken before another census is taken to prevent any such fraudulent returns being made in the future. In the first place, I find a family of six people, of the name of Morris, returned as residents of the Dominion of Canada, in the County of King's, who have been absent in the United States, one for six years, another for nine years, another for two years, another for four years, another four years, and another for two years. The next is a family of five, who have been absent, respectively, one and a half years, seventeen years, seven years, nine years and five years—absolutely residing in the United States, and never coming home except for a short visit of one or two weeks in a year, and some not coming back for years. The next is a family of six, living in the

United States. One, absent ten years, married and settled in Washborne, Maine. Another, absent ten years, married and settled in Lubeck. Another, absent four years, married and settled in Boston, Massachusetts. Another, absent three years, married, living in Acton, Massachusetts. Another, absent seven years, married, settled in Ashmount, Massachusetts. Another, absent four years, married and settled in Brockton, Massachusetts. Of these, four are women and two men. The next is a family of four, of which the first is a woman, absent twenty-two years, resident of the United States. The next, absent seventeen years, a resident of the United States. The next, absent eleven years, residing in the United States; and the last, seven years, and resident in the United States. The next is a family of five. The first one, absent twelve years, married to an American citizen, living in Hyde Park, Massachusetts. The next is a family of eight. The first one of this family became a resident of the United States in 1878; another became a resident in 1884; another in 1883; another in 1880; another in 1883; another in 1885; another in 1889. The next family is composed of four. The eldest is a daughter, a woman married, and who has a family, living in Stoneham, Massachusetts. The next has a family living in Carleton, N.B. Of course she would go into the census, but not in that section; and the other two are living in New Brunswick. The next one, a gentleman named Lombard, living in Dorchester, Massachusetts, a doctor, practising four years, and naturalized American citizen. I have had the pleasure of being at his house in Dorchester. He is an American citizen, and was in the States four years when the census was taken. The next is a family, two of which have been six years in Marino, California, and the third seven years in Boston, Mass. Another family of four, of which the first was absent thirteen years, a naturalized citizen, captain of an American vessel. The next, absent five years, a naturalized American citizen. The next, absent seven years, a herdsman, living in the Western States; and the last, absent four years, is a mate with his brother, the first one to whom I alluded, who is a sea captain, and a naturalized American citizen. Another family of three, living, respectively, in Massachusetts,

California and Boston; and the next a family of two, absent five years, one in California, and one in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts."

NOTE.—The late Government, though utterly unable to refute or even deny Dr. Borden's statements, not only refused to take any steps to correct these frauds, but absolutely declined to assist, or rather to permit, Dr Borden to make any further investigations, thereby making themselves, in the most marked manner, accomplices in these outrageous frauds after the fact, even if they did not originally instigate them. The exact extent cannot now be ascertained, but it is evident that if Dr. Borden's case be a fair sample of what was going on elsewhere, the population of the Dominion was over-estimated in 1891 by very many thousands. This, of course, will diminish by so much the apparent increases, whatever it may be, in 1901.

POPULATION OF TORONTO.

(As per Assessors.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| 1891 | 170,951 |
| 1896 | 178,186 |
| 1901 | 205,887 |
| Increase in first half decade. | 7,000 |
| Increase in second half decade. | 28,000 |

NUMBER OF VACANT HOUSES.

| | |
|------------|-------|
| 1894 | 4,633 |
| 1895 | 3,990 |
| 1896 | 4,014 |
| 1897 | 2,514 |
| 1898 | 2,672 |
| 1899 | 1,706 |
| 1900 | 761 |
| 1901 | 676 |

Those who know that Toronto has always increased when Ontario was prosperous will easily understand the very strong probability that Ontario gained next to nothing in the years from 1891 to 1896.