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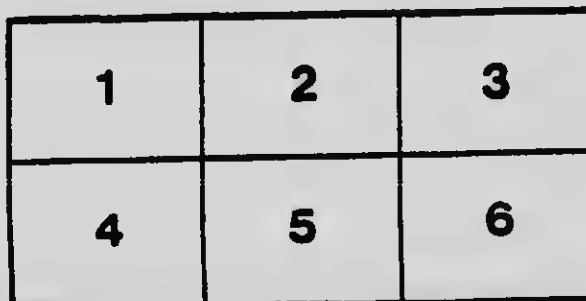
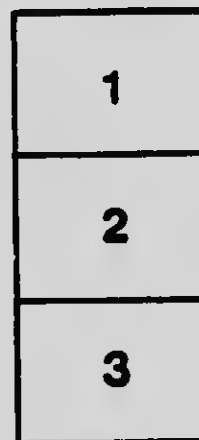
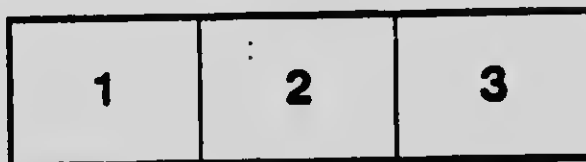
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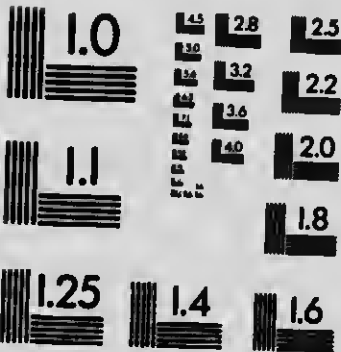
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# **SPEECH**

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# **SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT**

**G. C. M. G., P. C.**

**(MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE)**

**IN**

**ASSOCIATION HALL, TORONTO**

**AUGUST 29, 1911**

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**Verbatim Report of Speech delivered by The Rt.  
Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright, G. C. M. G., P. C.,  
Minister of Trade and Commerce, Association  
Hall, Toronto, on August 29, 1911.**

After complimenting the Liberals of Toronto on their gallant stand, Sir Richard proceeded:

**MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:** The matter we are about to discuss to-night is not only important in itself, but still more in its consequences. One thing I may say to you, never in all my experience was a reciprocity agreement laid before the people of Canada so modest in its terms, never one which showed such careful regard for individual interests, never one which was likely to benefit so many or so swiftly, never one likely to disturb trade so slightly, and most assuredly never one so fair to all parties concerned.

Now, sir, remembering the history of the many attempts which have been made since Lord Elgin's time to secure a measure of reciprocity between Canada and the United States, one would have supposed that a measure of this description would have passed unan-  
imously, or at the utmost after extremely brief debate. What was the fact? That no measure which has been proposed for many a year was ever met with such clamor, with such abuse, with such misrepresentation, and never before were the artifices of parliamentary obstruction resorted to more unscrupulously, than in the course of the past few months.

**TWO IMPORTANT ADMISSIONS**

And here, incidentally, I may call your attention to two very important admissions made by our opponents—one, that Canada has prospered extremely during the fifteen years of Liberal rule, in fact, to such a degree, that they fear that any change in our general policy needs be for the worse; and secondly, that for the first time our worthy manufacturers are asking for no increase in the tariff, but simply that the present tariff be left alone.

Under such conditions, you may rest assured that there must be some hidden motive behind the frantic opposition which is being offered to us for introducing so reasonable and moderate a measure. I remember that that famous Scotch divine, Dr. Caird, when preaching before Queen Victoria, laid great stress upon the fact that an immense number of men's actions were prompted by hidden motives of which they themselves were scarcely aware. Probably this is the case in the present instance, and I think I could supply you with an illustration of the way in which the minds of the Opposition are affected towards reciprocity.

**A STRIKING ALLEGORY**

Many years ago I chanced to be driving one evening along the shore of the Bay of Fundy when I suddenly became aware of a great grunting and scampering not far away. Looking around I saw a great herd of swine galloping over a mud flat at a pace that suggested



that they were possessed like certain prototypes of theirs who are recorded to have charged down a steep place into the sea. Perceiving no apparent cause for their desperate hurry, I asked my driver what was the reason. Whereupon he replied that these pigs were very sagacious animals. They had been rooting and grubbing in the muck along the shore all day, and now they scented the incoming tide and that was the reason of all this squealing and galloping.

#### THEN I UNDERSTOOD

Which things are an allegory. And if any man here or elsewhere objects to my metaphor, let me remind him that it is precisely the metaphor which that famous statesman and philanthropist, Sir John Macdonald, made use of on a certain memorable occasion in this very city when addressing divers other eminent philanthropists, he likened himself to a boy up a tree shaking down acorns for the benefit of the animals below, and intimated that there was reciprocity in all things, and that the time had come when the boy should be considered. So said, so done. Very little time was lost in signing that reciprocity pact, as I discovered to my cost in the general election which followed shortly after.

And now, gentlemen, I propose first of all to analyze the reasons and so-called arguments brought forward against our proposal by our opponents, then to review the character of its advocates and enemies both here and in the United States; after that, with your permission, I will indulge in a brief history of the various attempts which have been made by both parties to secure reciprocity; and lastly, I will lay before you the reasons which have induced the present Government to advise the acceptance of this agreement.

#### PURELY PUERILE—PURELY SELFISH

As to the reasons of our opponents, they may be divided into two classes—one, the purely puerile, and the other the purely selfish. And first of all let us consider the charge of disloyalty so freely preferred against us. Sir, in olden times the famous Dr. Johnson defined patriotism as being the last refuge of a scoundrel. If Dr. Johnson were alive and resident in Canada to-day, I make no doubt he would have struck out the word patriotism and substituted loyalty. Now I would not have you suppose that either Dr. Johnson or myself had the slightest desire to deprecate the virtues of loyalty or patriotism either. All that he meant and all that I mean is simply this, that just because these are noble and elevating virtues, men who trade in these sentiments for their own personal or political advantage are least deserving of our respect.

And here let me say that I hold it to be the proudest boast of the people of Ontario that alone of all British colonies they can allege with truth that they were founded and kept by a body of men who did not come here seeking to promote their own personal advantage, but men who had risked their lives and sacrificed their fortunes rather than forswear their allegiance to the British Empire. No man can revere the memory of these men more than myself, and no man more than myself has a better right to do so.

### THE DISLOYALTY CRY

So far as I can ascertain, this cry in the first instance appears to have been got up by certain hysterical old women of the male sex, chiefly resident in Toronto, apparently of the class who never retire to rest without first satisfying themselves that no Irish American Fenian, armed to the teeth, is lurking under their mattress with designs to cut their throats. Allow me to reassure these timorous souls (and to assure them) all that we purpose to do, all that if this agreement is carried into effect Canada will be doing is to do on a small scale what the British people and the British Government have been doing on a very much larger scale for 60 years or more. If this be treason, then assuredly Great Britain and the British people is the chosen home of treason.

### A RE-INDORSED MANDATE

But these men are afflicted with constitutional scruples—they tell us that we have no mandate to act in this manner. Sir, this is a novel doctrine from Conservative lips that we must not act in any new and important matter without referring to the people at large. As for our mandate, we received it first by an overwhelming majority in 1896; that mandate was confirmed in 1900, again endorsed in 1904, re-endorsed in 1908, and unless I wholly misread the signs of the times, it will be still more strongly endorsed in 1911.

That mandate, sir, was of a two-fold character—it was to keep certain rogues out of power, and to govern Canada to the best of our ability. Later on I hope to show you that we have in a reasonable measure fulfilled our obligations in that regard.

But let us ask these gentlemen what mandate we possessed for assisting Great Britain in the Boer War, or what mandate Sir John Macdonald and his friends had for carrying out the act of Confederation itself. All important as it was, it was done without formal reference to the people of Canada. Sir, I judge these men by their own previous practices. Let us take the case of the admission of British Columbia in 1871. If ever a case occurred in which it would have been proper to submit a treaty of the sort for the consideration of the people, it was surely this. Nevertheless, though it was the last session of a moribund Parliament, in the face of all remonstrance, Sir John Macdonald forced it through the House, although his conduct on that occasion was so much disapproved of by many of his staunchest supporters, that whereas he had a normal majority of 70, the appeal to the people was refused by a bare majority composed of the members of his own cabinet, then sitting in the House.

### NO CHANGE OF POLICY

And now, sir, they bring forward a still more amazing charge. They allege that the Liberal Government have changed their policy with respect to reciprocity. Sir, have these men no memory, or do they suppose that everyone else has lost theirs? What was the Liberal policy in 1888 when I myself brought forward a proposal for the fullest possible reciprocity between Canada and the United States, and on what issue did we fight the whole campaign of 1891?

What was the express declaration on the subject made by the Liberal convention in 1894; what were our declarations in 1896; what was our action in 1899 when we induced the British Government to appoint Sir Wilfrid Laurier and myself and sundry others to form a High Commission to negotiate with the American Government as to this identical question among others? Sir, it is perfectly true that when we found the then American Government indisposed to consider our proposals that Sir Wilfrid declared that no future overtures would be made by Canada, but I defy these men to point to one single utterance of his or mine or any member of his cabinet in which we declare that we would refuse to consider such overtures if made by the Government of the United States. Had we done so, had we disavowed reciprocity, had we neglected the opportunity in our grasp, we would then, indeed, have been liable to the charge of change of policy.

#### PASSING OF THE GOLD BRICK

But these are not the only reasons of our opponents. It is quite true that there are certain parties who earnestly desire that we should leave well enough alone, as they phrase it. And why? Because they fear lest the people of Canada should lose certain blessed privileges they now enjoy, because they fear that certain sacred rights of theirs may possibly be interfered with. They have not much to say against the proposal *per se*, that they know well enough is fair in itself, and very little likely to interfere with any existing interests.

But what they dread is a completely different thing; they think, perhaps not without reason, that if the gold brick which they have long offered to the agricultural population of Canada and the United States in the guise of pretended protection of the articles they produce be withdrawn, that farmers and consumers alike may wake up to a much clearer understanding of what the present tariff really means, and they say to themselves, "Suppose this thing should spread. Suppose the people should be seized with an unhallowed desire to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. Suppose the people of Canada should lose their blessed privilege of purchasing Canadian-made goods for 25, or 30, or 35, or 40, or 50 per cent. more than these same goods can fetch in open market. Suppose certain of the salt of the earth should lose the right to run branch customs houses for their own benefit. What then?"

#### LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE DEFINED

These gentlemen want precedents. Sir, I will give them one: About 2,000 years ago there resided in Ephesus a certain advanced Liberal-Conservative protectionist of the name of Demetrius. A gentleman asks me to define what an advanced Liberal-Conservative may be. Sir, all that I can say is that in my experience of the animal, an advanced Liberal-Conservative is the exact opposite of what a genuine Conservative should be. And here, sir, let me say that I have always entertained a profound respect for genuine Conservatives of every class and creed, and that I hold that no nation is likely to attain real greatness unless it is strongly conservative in many important

ways. But as for the Canadian description of advanced Liberal-Conservative, I may say that he is a person who possesses no fixed convictions, and would not know what to do with them if he had them. What he possesses are certain instincts, one to feather his own nest by any means fair or foul, preferably the latter, and another to hibe the Grits.

#### HOWLED ALL THE SAME

Fortunately, Mr. Chairman, we possess a remarkably accurate record of the proceedings of this Demetrius. He seems to have called his brother craftsmen together and addressed them as follows:

Friends, I observe that a certain pestilent Hehrew by the name of Paul has arrived in Ephesus and is preaching to the people that there are no gods made with hands. I do not know and I do not care whether this doctrine of Paul's be true or false, but I do know that if he induces the majority of the people to believe it our craft is in danger. Let us call a mass meeting without delay, and let us accuse this Paul of being a disloyal man and a blasphemer." So said, so done.

A mass meeting was called accordingly, and it is on record that though the most of them knew not for what purpose it was called, they howled all the same until the police magistrate of Ephesus, who seems to have been a person of superior intelligence to some officers of that description of whom we have heard, admonished the meeting that if they did not stop their noise, they would bring the Roman garrison down upon them.

#### A FORCIBLE PARALLEL

Mark the sequel! Within a year and a day after this same mass meeting, a most flourishing Christian church was established at Ephesus which became in process of time chief of the seven churches of Asia, and within a very few years thereafter, the Roman governor of the province, writing to the reigning Emperor, informed him that about one-third of the inhabitants of Ephesus were professing Christians, and another third would be the same if they dared; but that both of them were very loyal, law-abiding citizens and paid their taxes with great regularity.

Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt, myself, that if this reciprocity agreement passes, within the space of a couple of years or thereabouts, we will have the Duke of Connaught writing to his royal nephew to inform him that the people of Canada have benefited enormously by the reciprocity agreement, that they are one and all contented and prosperous, and that His Majesty had no more loyal subjects from one end of his Dominions to the other.

#### DIVERSION OF TRADE

Sir, these patriots fear that if reciprocity comes to pass that trade will be turned from Canadian into United States channels. Suppose that if we did not pass it, but that the United States, for their own benefit, allowed our products to be admitted free, (which these gentlemen contend is sure to happen if we take no action). Sir, what will they do about it? Will they put on export duties? They

are fools enough to do it, but they had better have a care. Should they commit such a monstrous proceeding, there are 2,000,000 sturdy Westerners, likely soon to be 4,000,000, and likely in no long time thereafter to be 6,000,000, who will have to be heard from on this question. Do you suppose that they will succeed in stopping them, and a great majority of the people in the Maritime Provinces, and in Quebec, and the majority of the farmers in Ontario?

But they have a further argument, "Everything is well with us, why not let well enough alone?" I deny this premise. I say everything is not well with us. It is true there is great prosperity in many portions of the country, but it is not by any means equally diffused. Ontario is very prosperous, the Northwest is very prosperous, a portion of Quebec is very prosperous, but what of the balance? What of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island? None of these provinces have shared, or only to a very limited extent, in the prosperity of the rest. Nor is there any reasonable hope that they will ever share, except it be through the medium of this identical reciprocity arrangement.

#### THE CROWNING ABSURDITY

But for a crowning absurdity, commend me to their fear lest reciprocity should have a disastrous effect upon the British preference! Sir, let me recall how these men fourteen years ago welcomed the little stranger when we first introduced the proposal to grant a preference to British manufactures. Let me remind them what their predecessors said of British connection three and thirty years ago, when I, myself, and Mr. Mackenzie pointed out that it was a very strange way of strengthening that connection to double or treble or quadruple our taxation upon British goods. What was their answer then, sir? "If the national policy he had for British connection, then so much the worse for British connection!"

Sir, their regard for British preference is truly wonderful. They are prepared, if need be, to enact a prohibitive tariff 100 per cent. above proof against the world in general and then admit British goods at a tax of 50 per cent. *ad valorem*, so as to secure what they are pleased to call "adequate" protection. Well, it is a curious coincidence—our Western farmers want to see British goods introduced at a reduction of 50 per cent., too. The only difference is in the starting point and in the results!

#### RECIPROCITY ADVOCATES AND OPPONENTS

Now, sir, let us consider who advocate this reciprocity pact and who oppose it, whether here or in the United States. First and foremost stands Mr. Taft, the president of the United States, elected by the whole people, as well qualified to speak in their name as any single man can be, backed by a huge majority in the popular house fresh from a popular election. By whom is Mr. Taft opposed? By certain recalcitrant members of the Senate of the United States. Now, sir, I am perfectly aware that the United States Senate contains many capable and honorable men, but I also say that the United

States Senate is not in any respect qualified to speak for the people of the United States, nor can it be said in any respect to represent them.

Why, sir, the very essence of the constitution of the United States Senate is to give the tiniest State, with scarcely 100,000 population, a voice in the decisions of the Senate equal to that of the great State of New York, with a population of well-nigh 10,000,000, and so all through the list. If the United States Senate can be said to represent anything, I am afraid it represents what, for want of a better term, we must describe as the plutocracy which has so suddenly sprung into being in the United States within the past few years, which has accumulated in the hands of a few individuals the hugest fortunes the world has ever seen, at least since the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, thousands of years ago.

Sir, I am by education and temperament as far removed from socialism as a man well can be, but I recognize for all that that such great fortunes are a menace to the United States, nay, more than that, the accumulation of such tremendous fortunes in the hands of individuals is a menace to civilization at large. Sir, these men have come to exercise far greater power over the lives and fortunes of great masses of their fellow-countrymen than ever were exercised by the English aristocracy in its proudest days, when it controlled two-thirds of the votes of the House of Commons. They elect the judiciary. They purchase whole legislatures. They fix the rate of taxation. They are the true despots of the age.

For my part, I believe that it is as true to-day as it was in the days of Tacitus and St. Jerome, that these great fortunes are a great peril to the State. "Lati fundia perdidere rem publicam," or as I think Lord Bacon put it, "Great wealth and the Commonwealth did never yet agree."

Sir, these men in a great measure are the spawn of a monstrous tariff, most properly described by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain as a "tariff of abominations," which formed the worst legacy left behind by the Civil War, which nullified to a great extent the sacrifices made by the people in that tremendous struggle, and caused the United States to exchange black slavery for white. If you think my words are strong, let me recall to your recollection certain passages from certain speeches by my friend Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Dealing with this very question he said:

"I denounce to you the policy of protection as bondage. Yes, bondage, and I refer to bondage in the same manner in which the American slavery was bondage; not in the same degree, perhaps, but in the same manner.

"I do not tell you that we must have no taxation, but I do say that the Government has no right to take a cent from you or me except for the necessities of the revenue, and if the Government takes from you any portion of your earnings, whether the portion be large or small, to give to anybody else, that Government is as much a robber as the highwayman who puts a pistol to your forehead and says 'Your money or your life!'"

### "CANADA FOR CANADIANS!"

That, sir, is the position of the United States, and how stand we here? Why, Mr. Chairman, very much the same—you have the Government and the people of Canada on the one side, and certain special interests on the other. True patriots these gentlemen, so they say at least, and I suppose they ought to know! Their slogan is "Canada for the Canadians!" So say I, hut with a difference. My ideal is a free Canada where every man should be free to use his talents and opportunities to the best advantage. Their ideal is apparently a Canada where every man is free to buy goods from them at a price affording "adequate" protection, and apparently they would have their dupes believe that a country collectively can grow rich by increasing its taxation, that a tax is no tax if it goes into their pockets, that we enjoy freedom in the largest sense when a man may be compelled to pay 30 to 40 per cent. more for an article than it is worth in open market, for the benefit of certain privileged classes.

Sir, it appears to me that these men are blind fools. If they knew their own interests, they would accept our proposal of reciprocity with gladness. And mark me, sir, if by any chance they are successful in defeating it, if they should block the present movement, all the result would be that sooner or later, and possibly sooner than later, the tide would rise higher and higher until it swept away all their prerogatives, and themselves along with it. These men, as it appears to me, are acting most foolishly and stupidly in needlessly making this matter a fight between the masses and the classes.

### HISTORY OF MOVEMENT

And now, sir, as to the history of this same reciprocity movement. It is now 57 years since the first reciprocity treaty was concluded. Since Lord Elgin, having seen the Parliament house burned before his eyes by fervent loyalists, and having been duly rotten-egged through the streets of Montreal by these same devoted adherents to British connection, did dexterously succeed in effecting a treaty of reciprocity which cut forever and aye the tap-root of the whole annexation movement. This treaty lasted for twelve years, until 1866, when Sir John Macdonald and Sir Alexander Galt were most anxious to obtain a renewal on almost any terms. They failed for certain reasons which it is not now necessary for me to enumerate. They failed again in 1870 and 1871. And after that in 1875, my friends, Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. George Brown, tried their hand also unsuccessfully, and the matter then rested until 1887, when Sir Charles Tupper, who had just returned from what might have been called his honorable banishment in England, again took the business in hand.

And here let me say, sir, that I believe that when Sir Charles Tupper returned from England he had the sagacity to perceive that nothing but a treaty of reciprocity with the United States could possibly undo the mischievous effects produced by Conservative misrule in the decade which had just elapsed.

## TUPPER'S REMARKABLE SPEECH

Sir Charles, as I have said, returned to Canada after a somewhat prolonged absence to find the trade and commerce of the country at an absolute standstill, to find that the attempted colonization of the Northwest had resulted in a most dismal failure, and lastly, and as a representative of the Maritime Provinces, he could not possibly be blind to the fact that an unexampled exodus was taking place on the part of the people of Canada into the United States.

I have here a curious speech made about that time by Sir Charles Tupper, to which I will direct your attention:

"I would like to draw the attention of the House to what has been accomplished by this treaty. I have told you what position Canada stood in with regard to the United States of America before the initiation of these proceedings. I have told you that we stood face to face with an enactment which had been put on the Statute book by a unanimous vote of Congress, ratified by the President, providing for non-intercourse between the United States and Canada. I need not tell you that the Bill meant commercial war, that it meant not only the ordinary suspension of friendly feeling and intercourse between two countries, but that it involved more than that. If that Bill had been brought into operation by the proclamation of the United States, I have no hesitation in saying that we stood in the relation to that great country of commercial war, and the line is very narrow which separates a commercial war between two countries from an actual war. Yesterday we stood face to face with a non-intercourse bill sustained by the united action of the Senate and the House of Representatives, sustained by almost the whole press, Republican and Democratic, of the United States, sustained with few exceptions by a prejudiced, irritated and exasperated people of 60,000,000 lying on our borders."

## SIR CHARLES' CONVENIENT ILLNESS

Now, sir, there are one or two things to be noted with respect to this speech: First of all, that Sir Charles Tupper realized the dangerous position into which we had drifted with respect to the United States, and in the second place, to those who choose to read between the lines, it can only be interpreted as a very severe censure on his colleagues who had permitted such a state of things to exist. One thing is certain, that when a few months later, in 1888, I brought forward my motion for full and free reciprocity with the United States, Sir Charles Tupper, who was then Minister of Finance, placed himself on the sick list, and though the debate was protracted for many days, continuing *de die in diem* as it most well deserved, and though almost every man of note in Parliament took part in it, as you will perceive by a reference to Hansard of that date, Sir Charles did not appear in Parliament nor vote on the question, although a very few days later he delivered his budget speech in apparent excellent health and with all his old vigor and energy.

I am far from blaming Sir Charles for his action. I have no doubt that he was of the belief, as I was of the belief, that under the circumstances the sole and only chance for immediate recovery lay



in obtaining access on reasonable terms to the markets of the United States.

A BLATANT DEMAGOGUE

Later on, in 1891 and 1892, a delegation of the then Government proceeded to Washington. That delegation was composed of Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell and a certain Mr. George Eulas Foster, at that time Minister of Finance. Probably from the similarity of names, this George Eulas Foster was some connection, perhaps a remote ancestor, of the hlatant demagogue of that name who is now accusing everybody who attempts to encourage an exchange of natural products as disloyal.

Sir, I desire to read to you from the official record of the transactions which took place at that time, what passed between this Mr. Foster and Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State for the United States. Here is the record:

Mr. Foster opened the discussion hy stating that the suggestion made by Canada in Decemher, 1890, was for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, with such modifications and extensions as the changed conditions might make necessary.

. . . . .

After considerable discussion on this point, Mr. Blaine stated that a proposal for a treaty, hased on natural products alone, could not be discussed, as it would lack the essential elements of an arrangement for reciprocity, so far as the United States is concerned. If a proposition he made "for taking down the hars" it would be quite another question.

. . . . .

Mr. Foster said that in view of Mr. Blaine's positive declaration of yesterday that it would not be possihle to negotiate a reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada upon the hasis of natural products alone, he would not further press that question except to reiterate his opinion that a treaty framed upon such a hasis would not be disadvantageous to the United States, hut would be found to result quite as favorahly to their interests as to those of Canada.

Now, sir, this is a case in which one cannot appeal from Philip drunk to Philip soher, hut one in which we can appeal from the demagogue of to-day to the responsible statesman of 20 years ago, and I leave you to draw your own conclusions of the sincerity of the man who to-day denounces as disloyal the very proposal which he humbly proffered Mr. Blain 20 years ago.

Sir, in this connection you may observe two rather noteworthy facts, first of all that not one man who took part in these recipro ty negotiations from Lord Elgin down to Mr. Foster, ever dreamed that they were doing a disloyal act in proposing an exchange of natural products between Canada and the United Sates, and in the next place it is perfectly clear from their own statements and from Mr. Blaine's declaration that a reciprocity treaty could at that time have been ohtained on the terms suggested by us.

### CANADA'S TERRIBLE DEPRESSION

And here it may be as well to say a few words as to this matter of unrestricted reciprocity, more particularly as at this distance of time very few persons care to recollect what condition Canada was in at the time we proposed that measure. Sir, I have never denied that unrestricted reciprocity was an heroic measure, but justified by the terrible condition into which Canada had then fallen. Sir, it is a most impudent falsehood to allege, as I see some of these people do not hesitate to allege, that Canada prospered in the eighteen years between 1878 and 1896.

What was the result of these men's administration during this period? We had in Canada a country with enormous potential resources, a country with a population of scarcely 5,000,000 well able to maintain 50,000,000 at the least. What was the result of their administration during these years? It is the very blackest page in the whole history of Canada, and I doubt whether in the last 100 years any man can point to a country, possessing anything like the advantages of Canada, which was reduced to such a position as we were by 1896.

### TWENTY YEARS' RETROGRESSION

We had had twenty years of retrogression. Allowing the ordinary rate of natural increase, far less than that which actually occurred in the United States during a similar period, we must have lost in those twenty years something like 2,000,000 of people. I speak by the book when I say that starting as we did in 1881 with 4,300,000 souls, we ought, taking into account the large number of emigrants who were recorded to have landed in Canada with the intention of settling here, we ought at least to have equalled the progress made in a similar period by the United States from 1790 to 1810. They had no such advantages as we possessed; they had most imperfect means of transportation; they had no aid from European or other emigration, yet their pure natural increase was such that in those twenty years the population of the United States increased from 3,900,000 in 1790 to 7,250,000 in 1810. I say that we who had expended \$100,000,000 in promoting settlement in the Northwest, should have done at least as well by 1901 as the Americans did in a similar period of their history.

### SCORN OF BRITISH PRESS

I could wish that that were the worst! But not only did we lose materially, but demoralization of the worst sort had set in among our public men. Canada is much in the limelight to-day; she was equally in the limelight but not to her advantage in 1891. I can recollect when you could not pick up an English newspaper from the *Times* to *Punch*, from the great dailies in London to the great provincial papers in Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh without finding the most contemptuous allusions to Canada and the people of Canada as the chosen home of graft, when to use the oft repeated phrase, "The state of things in Ottawa made Tammany smell sweet."

And after that see the state of things in 1896! There was reserved for these gentlemen even lower depths in 1896, when we had the spectacle of seven Ministers of State deliberately deserting their flag in the face of the enemy, when the Prime Minister of Canada was justified in having described himself as having lived "in a nest of traitors."

If these men ask for further proofs of the desperate position in which Canada was at that time, they shall have them. Every man remembers the condition of Ontario in 1896, when from one end of Ontario to the other the value of our farm lands had been reduced by half, when in many cases those farm lands had become absolutely unsaleable, when thousands of our farmers were groaning under, not only ordinary mortgages, but chattel mortgages covering everything they possessed.

#### PROGRESS UNDER LIBERAL RULE

Sir, let me compare the progress of Canada in the fifteen years which have elapsed from 1896 to 1911 with the progress of Canada under Conservative rule from 1881 to 1896. Here you have two periods of exactly equal length. In the first period from 1881 to 1896 the trade and commerce of Canada increased by exactly \$40,000,000; in the second period, from 1896 to 1911, the trade and commerce of Canada has increased by \$540,000,000. In other words, the advance of Canada in that important particular was just as great on the average in one year of Liberal rule as in fifteen of Conservative misgovernment.

Or take another test. In 1896 we were able to induce 1,300 men to take up homesteads in the Northwest; in 1911 we had no difficulty whatever in locating 36,000 homesteaders in the self-same area.

In the matter of population in the ten years from 1881 to 1891, the total growth of Canada was just 500,000 souls, of whom about one-half were emigrants from European countries. In the ten years from 1901 to 1911, I think I am justified in assuring you that the census will show an increase in population of 2,000,000 strong.

#### SUM IN ARITHMETICAL PROPORTION

And if any of our Conservative friends should have a turn for arithmetic, I would suggest to them the following sum in arithmetical proportion: As 40,000,000 are to 540,000,000, as 1,300 are to 36,000, as 500,000 are to 2,000,000, so, gentlemen, is the exact arithmetical proportion between fifteen years of Conservative brag to fifteen years of Liberal performance.

I may add for Mr. Foster's special information, that in the ten years from 1881 to 1891, his own Province of New Brunswick appears to have increased its population by 30 souls, while in the adjacent Province of Quebec investigations made in 1901 established beyond the possibility of doubt that the census enumerators employed by the Government of the day had discovered in 21 ridings something like 40,000 more inhabitants than the parish priests had been able to find in the January preceding, facts enough, if facts were wanted, to show that the census of 1891 did not under-estimate the population.

And, Mr. Chairman, if you would like to know what were the main causes of this extraordinary stagnation and depopulation, I may say they were these three leading causes—the ill-advised railway policy by which if ever the end was sacrificed to the means, followed by a still worse land policy which appears to have been designed for the express purpose of preventing settlement and fostering speculation, while on top of it all we had a fiscal policy of all others the most ill-suited for the development of the Northwest.

From all which I am justified in making the deduction that Canada was extremely ill-governed during these fifteen years, and I repeat that I doubt if you can find any country with equal advantages presenting so had a record for an equal length of time.

#### IMPOSTORS' LIE NAILED

Now I do not say that unrestricted reciprocity is needed now, but when I hear these impostors talk of the thirty years' prosperity which Canada has enjoyed from 1878 to the present time, I nail the lie to the counter. Thirteen years' prosperity we have had, and had our policy been adopted in 1888, we would have had twenty-three. We would have gained many a million, and we would have been spared the loss of many thousands of our best and most enterprising citizens.

But after all, the main question for you to decide is not who were to blame for the twenty years of stagnation that I have referred to, but why Canada should not have a free exchange of natural products with the United States. Sir, it appears to me that in this case the onus is entirely on our opponents to say why Canada should not have it; to say why our farmers should not have two customers instead of one; why they should not obtain, if they could, better prices for their wheat, rye, oats, huckwheat, barley, peas, beans, cattle, potatoes, fruit, apples, eggs and poultry, and everything else they have to sell. Let them say why our fishermen should not obtain more for their fish or our lumhermen more for their lumher. And if they cannot give a satisfactory answer, let them now and forever hold their peace.

#### EDUCATE DEGENERATE SUCCESSORS

Mr. Chairman, I can well imagine the just scorn with which Sir John Macdonald, Sir Alexander Galt, Sir Francis Hincks, or even Sir Charles Tupper, in his better days, would have regarded their degenerate successors had they asked them such a question. Sir, they would have said at once, send these babes to school; let them be taught that Canada is a part of North America; that it borders the United States for 3,000 miles; that the United States surrounds Canada or the most thickly inhabited part of Canada on three sides; that a line drawn from the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods to the north-east corner of the State of Maine, would pass just 300 miles north of Toronto. Let them be taught that with the exception of the Esquimaux we have no other neighbor than the United States nearer than 3,000 miles; that these United States contain 95,000,000 of people and a people among the most intelligent and progressive

in the world; that exactly under our lee, so far as Ontario is concerned, there lie along the great lakes from Chicago to Oswego and along the Atlantic sea-board from Boston to Baltimore, cluster upon cluster of great cities containing nearly 30,000,000 of people, probably among the wealthiest, most extravagant and richest consumers in existence. And after these things had been fully taught and committed to heart, they would have hidden the mistress of the school spank her charges and put them to bed, and afterwards to send them off to play at being Lieutenant-Governors, or counsellors of great corporations, or managers of banks, or heads of mercantile establishments, or salaried leaders of Oppositions, or any other occupation in which success might be obtained without the most elementary knowledge of the leading geographical or historical facts affecting their native country.

### CONSUMER IN CLOSER TOUCH

Add to this that occupying as Canada does the northern half of the North Temperate zone, she will always be able to produce many articles of the finest sort and of better quality than can be obtained in the country to the south of us. Sir, these men tell us that Canada cannot compete. I would like to ask them whether in their opinion it is not more advantageous for the people of Canada to send their produce to a market barely 300 miles away than to one at a distance of 3,000 miles; whether it would not be for the benefit of our people to bring the producer in closer touch with the consumer and eliminate the middleman, whose charges, more especially in the English and European markets, must invariably absorb a large proportion of their legitimate profits. I may observe that I have at various times during the last fifty years discussed this question with English and American statesmen of the highest rank, that while there was a good deal of difference of opinion on other points, I never found one among them, much less among Canadian statesmen of every shade of politics, who did not admit that an exchange of natural products would be a very great advantage to Canada.

These gentlemen, sir, desire that we should stand aloof, that we should go our own way and the United States theirs. This is a very novel doctrine on their part. I remember Sir John Macdonald's chief war cry was "Reciprocity of trade or reciprocity of tariffs!" I need not tell you that a standing offer of reciprocity in natural products was for many years after 1878 the leading feature of his policy, and is recorded in our Statutes.

They want, forsooth, to have nothing to do with the United States. Why, sir, what has their whole policy been but a bad copy of that of the United States? What was their main argument for revising the tariff of 1878? Why, sir, it was simply this, that because the United States did this or that we must do the same. And now they tell us to stand apart! Sir, I tell them we could not if we would; I tell them that in spite of two reciprocally barbarous tariffs, as it is our trade with the United States exceeds that with all the rest of the world put together, Great Britain not excepted.

### OUR ANNUAL TRADE

In this last fiscal year, the total volume of our trade amounted to \$759,000,000—of that, \$404,000,000 is made up by our trade with the United States. More than that, Canada, as they ought to know, in proportion to her population, is infinitely the best customer that the United States has ever possessed. I have here a statement which I propose to hand to the press, from which you can see for yourselves what position Canada occupies to the United States in this particular. This is not a case of Canada first and others second or third—but Canada first and the others nowhere!

Canada per head took from the United States \$29 for every man, woman and child in Canada. The nearest approach to this is Great Britain, which took \$12. The United States exports to Canada were very much greater than those to South America with Mexico thrown in, though these countries contain some 62,000,000 to our 7,000,000 or 7,500,000. They were nearly double our exports to France, and almost equal to our exports to Germany, and are now more than half our exports to Great Britain. Now is it not a perfectly fair inference on my part that if under the circumstances I have detailed, the trade of Canada had grown from \$100,000,000 in 1896 to \$350,000,000 in 1910, and to \$404,000,000 in the present year, that if we relax our trade restrictions it may easily touch \$700,000,000 or \$800,000,000 in five years, and likely enough \$1,000,000,000 or \$1,200,000,000 in the course of ten years?

If we continue to advance during that period in the same ratio that we have done in the past decade, Canada will not only become relatively the best customer, but absolutely the best customer which the United States possesses. That to my mind is the only way to ensure stability in our relations, for you may reasonably assume that the United States will not be foolish enough to destroy a trade with their best customer.

### GREATEST GIFT OF PROVIDENCE

Sir, when I hear these people whimper that we cannot compete with the people of the United States, I would like to call your attention to the testimony of that eminent political economist, Mr. David Wells. Here, sir, is what Mr. Wells had to say of the country which the farmers of Ontario inhabit:

"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 these 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 specially 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."

Need I ask, "Are Canadian brains so dull, are Canadian arms so weak, are Canadian hearts so timorous, that with such a country behind them they should fear competition with any quarter of the world whatsoever?"

Sir, I perceive that these men in their journals make a loud boast of our prosperity to-day, but it was not always so. Let me ask them to what do we mainly owe that prosperity? I think that any man will admit that our prosperity, particularly in Ontario, is chiefly due to the rapid settlement and development of the Northwest.

#### INFLUX OF AMERICANS

Now to what has that extraordinary rapidity been mainly due? I can tell these gentlemen that the main influencing cause has been the influx of United States settlers of a high class, and that any one of the men who come to us from the States with experience and capital, are worth more to us than half-a-dozen European emigrants, and indeed, are only equalled by our own people who were lost or driven into exile during the fifteen years of Conservative misrule from 1881 to 1896.

How great the number of these settlers has been and how great the wealth they have brought with them, you may learn by a statement furnished me by the Department of Agriculture. That Department states that in the last calendar year, 1910, over 120,000 settlers from the United States arrived in the Northwest, and that they brought with them an amount of capital equal to at least \$130,000,000.

Now I do not pledge myself to the strict accuracy of this latter statement; indeed, at first I was disposed to dispute it. But when the Department called my attention to the fact that a very large percentage of these people were men in the prime of life, and a very great number of them brought in very large sums of money in the shape of letters of credit and actual cash in hand, I am not in a position to contradict the estimate they made.

This statement, if correct, would go very far to explain the extraordinary rapidity with which our revenue has increased within the past three or four years, and also to account for the large balance of trade now apparently against us.

#### GREAT POLITICAL ADVANTAGES

So much for the material advantages which are likely to accrue—what of the political ones? Now, sir, who are these men who would advise us to spurn the overtures of the United States, who are they who would set us in hostility to the greatest of English-speaking nations? Sir, I tell you that these men are the true spiritual descendants of those miserable mannikins who undid the work of Pitt, who threw away the noblest empire the world has ever seen and who, in the twenty years from 1763 to 1783, brought England from the highest place she has ever reached, or is ever likely to reach, to the very verge of ruin.

Now these men would block the way to the re-union of two nations who never should have been separated. They attempt to stop our efforts to repair that stupendous folly. They complain that we, through Canada, are bringing the British Empire into more friendly relations with the United States, and that we are turning what in the eyes of British statesmen of the very highest rank fifty years ago was a menace and a danger, and the vulnerable part of the Empire, into a shield and buckler in case of need.

Sir, elsewhere I have shown what a federation of the two great English nations might mean, and I do not mean to dwell further on that subject now. But before I conclude, I desire to pay a well-deserved tribute to President Taft in this matter. His action, to my mind, has been wise and magnanimous. A smaller man might have stood on a point of etiquette. Mr. Taft saw what would be best for both countries and he did it. And surely it would be the height of ungracious folly on our part to refuse his overtures.

#### REASONS FOR RATIFICATION

And now, my friends, if you wish to benefit the people of Canada at large, vote for this reciprocity agreement! If you desire to extend the prosperity which you enjoy to all classes of the people, vote for this agreement! If you desire to restore the balance of trade which is now heavily against us, vote for this agreement! If you desire to do a real service for the Empire, a service more valuable than if you contributed twenty Dreadnoughts or 100,000 volunteers to strengthen her line of battle, you will do it more effectually by passing an agreement which will tend to promote good relations between the United States and Great Britain than by any other action you could take! If you wish to undo in part the great blunder committed by the majority of our people in 1878, when they were duped by a set of knavish politicians and greedy manufacturers into exchanging gold for brass, into giving up a wholesome revenue tariff for a bad copy of a worse Yankee original, and at the same time in dismissing the most faithful public servant Canada has ever had, then, sir, vote for this agreement!

#### ANOTHER LONG FORWARD STRIDE

Sir, there are many signs that the people of the United States are at last coming to their senses in this matter. I trust that the people of Canada will not lag behind them. British preference was one long stride on the upward road; this agreement will mark another, and let me add this one word further: Bear in mind that there is but one alternative for you, and that, so long as Canada remains a part of the British Empire, Canada's position geographically is such that she must be either a hostage or a link of union between Great Britain and the United States. I speak as great English statesmen on either side would speak were they here, as Grey or Asquith or Balfour would speak, when I tell you that as matters now stand in Europe the man of English birth and English lineage who endeavors to sow the seeds of discord or promote ill-feeling between England and the United States is of all living men the worst traitor to the British Empire and to the British race.



**IMPORTS PER CAPITA INTO UNDERMENTIONED COUNTRIES FROM THE UNITED STATES**

Countries	Population	Imports per Capita	Exports from the United States, Year ended June, 1910
Canada.....	7,500,000	\$29.00	\$215,990,021
France.....	39,000,000	3.60	117,627,466
Germany.....	63,000,000	4.77	249,555,926
Mexico.....	15,000,000	3.75	58,193,704
<b>South America:</b>			
Argentina.....	6,100,000	6.81	40,694,941
Bolivia.....	1,954,000	2.13	603,721
Brazil.....	21,000,000	.99	22,897,890
Chile.....	3,254,000	2.74	8,304,246
Colombia.....	4,320,000	.85	3,979,886
Ecuador.....	1,272,000	1.57	2,215,951
Guiana—British.....	305,000	7.57	1,884,331
Dutch.....	85,000	7.95	685,889
French.....	81,000	2.77	300,273
Paraguay.....	631,000	.09	61,142
Peru.....	4,560,000	1.28	4,548,053
Uruguay.....	1,043,000	3.01	4,272,145
Venezuela.....	2,647,000	1.08	2,797,210
<b>Total South America.....</b>	<b>47,252,000</b>	<b>2.04</b>	<b>93,245,678</b>
<b>Mexico and South America, Total.....</b>	<b>62,252,000</b>	<b>2.45</b>	<b>151,439,382</b>
<b>United Kingdom.....</b>	<b>45,000,000</b>	<b>12.79</b>	<b>\$505,552,871</b>

Canadian imports from U.S. fiscal year, 1911 \$294,415,502  
 Canadian exports to U.S. fiscal year, 1911.... 119,203,201

