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## SPEECH

DELIVERIE BY

## The Hon. Sir Wm. Mulock <br> AT TORONTO <br> ON

Tuesciay, the 4th November, 1902


SIR WILLIAM MULOCK!
$\because$
Postmaster General and Minister of Labour:
,
*

## SPEECH



# 'The Hon. Sir William Mulock AT TORONTO <br> ON <br> Tuesdis, the ftil Novemher, 1902 

## The Opposition'r Criticisms.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlenen, I have to thank the Muloch Club for the honcr of being invited to address this necting, and alsos for their magnificent reception tendered me a year ago on my return from Anstralia, and to assure yon how mueli I appreciate their action. It is now only six years since the people in their wisdon changed their (iovernment at ottha, the ugh. judging from the lamentations of one opponents, it mast seem to them more nearly sixty, (Langhter.)

During these six years, begiming with the red letter day to Comada when Sir Wilfrid Lanrier took command - (eleers)-mint to-day, our opponents have denomed nts as a Cabinet of incapables and worse, alluding to us as "The Tarte-Lanrier ontfit,"-they will have to give it intother natime instead of that now-(langhter) -"The Othewa Aggregation," and in other language that, juciging from election verdicts, does not appear to have commended itself to those reasonable and fair-minded electors who, in their criticisun of pulblic men, prefer argument to abmse. (Hear, liear).

For six years times lave gone badly with onr opponents. They might have wisely ised their six years in Opposition as a period of repentance for those mistakes whieh led to their downfall. anc in qualifying themselves for the responsibility of office. Instead of having done so, what is their record?

## A Bourbon Record.

Like the Bonrbons, they appear to lave learned nothing, to lieve forgotten nothing. In office they appealed to racial and religions passions, and were condemued for it. In Opposition for six years they have practised the like tactics, as if it were a political offenee for a First Minister to $1 \times$ of French extraction and a Catholic. In office, by their nuwise fiscal
poley, they paralyad the trade of the comintry drove handreds of thonsames of our own people away from their own land, sleprectated the valte of farm amd other groperty. rednced the demand for hatar and the wabes of the workingman and creater ofeeling of desponfeney thronghont the eomintry. In Opposition they have opposed the remedies which we have appherl with sume meanare of success to the bufortmate evil with whel they lame affieter the conntry, and even to day in their hindues they still threaten, if given an opportanity, to undo our work and relegate Canakla the the position into which they had succeded in phanging her when we wer anmoned by the people to her rescue. (Aplanse.) Mr. Chairman jut ing from yonr applanse it is elear that yot marse my statement tha the day when Sir Wilfrid Lamrier took command was Canadats lorightere rel-letter dis. (Checrs.) No wonder our opponents are ont of tonch with the clectors, who prefer pence and properiey to diseort and depression. No womber that things have gone 'adly with them for the last six years, are now going from bad to worse, and that it look an if after our next gencral engagement with them three years hence the 'pory Opposition at ottawa will be as extinct as the dodo-(langhter)-and for the same excellent and sufficient reason, that in these modern and progreswive times, which furnish so many examples of the doctrine of survival of the fittent. no 1. .effil purpose seems likely to be served by their further existence. (I, anghter.)

## A Progressive Goverrment.

As for the record of the Government, it is made 11 p of records of the varions departments. With your permision, I will for a few moments deal with the two departments mider my eltarge-the Pontofice Department and Che Department of labor. (Applanse.)

As to the Postcfice Department, yom will naree with me, I think, that it is the dity of the state to lee libe al and progressize in extending postal services amonert the people. This is the view that as Pontmaster (iencral 1 have ever endeavered to live ap to, with what sueces yom may judge from the fishere which I mow purpoe to give vom, showing the state of the survices for the fiseal year ended Jnue 3oth, isgh, heing the lant yemr of the late Ahministration, and abo for the liseal year choming Jume soth, i.per
 and for the satie of at tre comprian betwe 11 the antuinintation of the department lathe late (iovernment and the perent ofle, all portal matters conneeted with the lukon and Athan are left ont of enndederation in the figure and ohservations which! : ani alout to suburit to yous.

## Growth of Postal Service.

Comparing, then, the alhminstration of the departhemt in wof and 1902, there has been the following extension in the service:- d in incerse of $8+t$ in the munber of pestofices - (checrs)-an inerease of $4.461,109$ miles it the mikenge that the mails have leen carried -(cheers)- or a per centage increase of $147^{3 / 2}$ per cent. ; an increase of 260 in the number of post-

## Previous Matadminte tration.

Gentemen, these is rowes sperk for themstors, an! are rebpectinlly
 six years, lave deserbed his as an "aggregation of incapables." but perlaps yon may desire to know at wht cont to the conntry have the e remils been achieved. Permit me, then, to intorm yon. As yon are avare,
 the expenditure, and each year the deficieney has to be made up be a vote of Parlianent ont of the moneys collecten from the people. During the hast tew years of the late Administration the ammal shortige increased mutit it had reached over three.gnarters of a million dollars a year, the deficioncy for the last year of their admin tration, the fatal year of isgh, anmonting
 their mangement of the posiofice Department wa* that after expending in its maintenance every single dollar of revemue, there remained dehts
 poting the amomit ont of the general taxes of the people. During this time it may he remembered also that the collected from the perple five cents per itai: onnce on litters to the old comitry, and three cents on letters within Canada and to the Linited States, rates redneer be the present Govermbent (i) two cents. Tine and again the late Administration had beell ureel to rednce onr :lomestic letter rate to two celles, bit they insariably refnsed most emphetically, prophesying disestrons restuts shonk such a mistake be made.

Fnlso Prophote,
They were ever atrong in proplecy. Vonwilf remember how often they





















" Jowe cotimate of the effeet of at rednetions to two conts in the rate of







- for arditional expendithres to improve the service, however necersiary they
" mightat aprear?"
IVell. I ant the gatily l'ostanaster-(ieneral who has beon bohl enongh, (Applatise.)

Mr. Fonter's Last Apology.
Later onf, limuely in 1 Sigh, the Hon, (ieorge I: Fonter, then Mininter of
 Parliament, and the hat onte le is ever likely to delifer-(lamslater)stated as follows:-
" In the pestoflice we have an increased estimate of 52 \&o, - so, which is a

- Iarge inereace The rlemands for the opening mpot new lines, and for greater
- fredteney and greater thoronglames in the delivery and despatel of mails,
"are continally pressing upon the l'ostoffice fopartmont, and o large ex-
"penditire has necessarily to be made if we are to keep at all even with the
"reguirments of the times, which we are bound to do. There is now a de-


## w they

 nith tiol (:Nure He:Int of his ted it tomly cfore Ther 1 give niwhor al for il his









## The Latere Crblulem.











 handred thensand dollars. Wonld hase remilted at a stortage of alontt eighteen hundred thousand dolloms is Jear.



 of the departiment. Which wond hase to be phaid los the farmera, the workinglath and the pent people of the conutry. Ditribs the liat three
 adsanced by ont oमjoments.

## Sir Willam's Ropiy.

 1 have wated patiently thene three verrs to make my reply, ant I mow propose to make it, and perhapes when I do so you will think ne warranted in also imdulging in at little prophessing: at least I will risk it, and may that never again after to night will our opponemts criticize our actions in the rednetion of postage to the people or even allude to it. (Cheers.) d/y ansater to their years of attuch is that, notwithstanding our having cheapened the rates of jostage to the people, that instead of having to alply to Parliantent, as was necessiry in 1806 for a vote of $5-\mathrm{K}_{1}, 000$ ont of the taxes of the people, wherewith to pay the deficiency of the department of that year. we have for the fiscal year just closed, :ont a deficit of : olollar. Int for the first lime in the history' of the country' a suiplus-not a large one, int still
a surplins of over $\$ 5,000$. (Great eheering.) In view of this restilt perhaps yon will think me jnstified, then, in prophes ing that to-night ends the attael:s of our opponents npon us for having chenpented the rates of postage to every citizen in Canada. (I,ond cheers.)

## Department of Labor.

Let ne now refer to another most important branch of the publie service, namely, the Department of Iabor, (Applanse.) Few recent events have better served to illistrate the connection between capital and labor on the one hand and mational well-being on the other that the rece.at disponte between the mine-owners and their workmen in the anthracite roal-fields of Pemsylvania, and whieh is at the present time the subject ot acjudication by a commission appointed by the President of the Cuited States. Great as has been the loss occasinned not only to the parties immediately concerned but to the public genterally of this country as well as in the United States, this great indistrial confliet may not have been withont its compensations if it has served to throw into bolder relief the national as well as social significanee of some of the phases of the labor problem. (Hear hear.) Of these plases two at least ean hardly have eseaped the notice of even the most indifferent observer.

## Lsssons From ths Coal Striks,

In the first place, it has shown the importance to the general pulblic, as well as to the parties more directly concerned, of the preservation of harmonious relations between emplosers and employees, and, in the second place, no less clearly the need of some effective means of maintaining these relations. (Hear, hear). Whent the United States Workers' Union on the ${ }^{15}$ th May last deelared a general strike of the workers in the coalfields of Pennsylvania few people other than those funancially interested in the operation of the mines gave much thought to the significance of the step, which had been takent. Such a thought as that eicry person, rich or poor alite, whether engaged in industrial, professional or other pursuits, or in no pursuits at all, shonkl be affected, not only in a social but also in a financial way, was one too remote for contemplation. Yet, as a matter of fact, it has not leen the possibility of sueh a situation but rather its actual realization which has brought this strike so prominently to the attention of all classes. (Hear, hear.) it first this realization was but faintly appreciated. Local dealers had still on hand supplies of coal with which the needs of their customers, for the time being at least, conld be supplied. Onr long and charming summer made ns indifferent to the remote possibility of winter being at hand and the strike still untsettled. To few of ns, indced, did it oceur that onr comfort or happiness in any way depended upon the relations of the owners of the Pennsylvania coalfields and their employees, It was only whent coal merchants were no longer able to meet the demands of their customers, when industries were threatened with enforeed cessation of work, and the progress of the antumn reminded all of the rapid approach of winter, that the public became aronsed in defence of itself and demanded the adoption of a practical plan for the restoration of industrial peace.

## Need of an Arbitration Board.

Then, five months after the strike had been declared, a board of arhitration was constituted by the President of the C'nited States, and aeeepted by both parties as a tribunal for encuiring into and settling the matters in difference. Why, it may be asked, could this step mot have been taken at the outset? (Hear, hear.) Why a reference to a board of arbitrators after the expiration of nearly half a year, and not before? (Hear, hear.) Why no pulblic voice or appeal to public opinion before rather than after the strike? (Hear, bear.) It is, perhaps, impossible to say whether the existence of a properly constituted board of arbitration, to which either party might have appealed before the strike, would have afforded means of fmally settling all questions in dispute; but one is warranted, I think, in believing that an investigation and award by a properly constituted board wonld have solved the difficilties and prevented the strike. If so, then the absence of the necessary machinery for the constitution of such an industrial court clothed with the necessary powers was responsible for the strike. (Hear, hear.)

## Canada Leads the Way.

We, in Canada, have advanced beyond this point. (Cheers) As yon are aware, the act constituting the Department of Labor, whicb was assented to in Jully, 1900 , was an act framed specially for the precention and settlement of trade dispntes. Since its establishment in the two years just elapsed the Department of Labor has been called npon on eighteen different occasions to lend its good offices to aid in the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes, and in no case where a settlement has been bronght about by the department has the tronble broken out again. (Applanse) Two cases very much in point come to my mind at this time, as illnstrating what has been done by the Department of Labor in this connection. In the spring of last year the departnent received intimation from the miners in some of the bituminous mines at Cape Breton that a strike wonk be declared unless some inmediate settlement of their differences could be had with their employers. The department was asked to lend its friondly offices under the act to bring abont a settlement and prevent a strike. The department at once commmicated with the manager of the company concerned, and, after a little correspondence, an arrangennent was effected whereby hoth parties agreed to meet a representative of the Government and discnss with bim the differences at issue, with a view to their adjustment. Conferences were held at the mines and at the offices of the company, at which both parties and the Government were represented. All the chaims were discnssed and adjudicated, and an agrecment satisfactory to both parties drawn up and signed. Not only did tbis agreement have reference to subjects of dispute immediately under consideration, but it made provision for the constitution of boards of conciliation and arbitration, whereby future disputes might be adjusted between the parties themselves, and the possibility of strikes or lockouts in future thereby averted. At the time of this settlement not a day's work bad been sacrif.ced, and since the settlement the harmonious relations established between the company and
its cmployes have remained mbroken. (Applatise.) The dispmete to which I have referred was in the mines of the Nova scotia Steel Company, which extemed for some distance muder the waters of the Athintic Oce:m.

## Effectlve Work Already Done.

 a strike had lee declared at the . Devanlra Mines, at Somath Wellimeton, on
 atas wellide adhin a fat holus alter appeal had been make for intervention ninder the "Comeiliation Act." A rearesentativeof alie departanent lapperning to be in Britiols Colnmbia at the time, the delay which, on acennt of dintance, would hase otherwise heen ineritable was aroded. But for this settement a sompathetic strike involving setern of the other mines on the intand wonld probably have taken place inthe contre of a few diss. (Hena, hear.) These eases are enpecially noteworthy at this time, as they both have to do with the relations between the owners of coal mines and their employes. Being in the centre of the two most important conl-mining arcas of the Doninion, they afford many interesting opportunities of comparison with the strike of the anthracite mine workers in the United States.

## Other Casss Ssttled.

They are, however, by no means the most important of the settlements which have been effected imder the Conciliation Act. It was only in the spring of the present year that business was entirely suspended in the hatrbor of Halifax in consequence of the strike of orer zooo'longshoremen and other dock laborers in that city. Business in many quarters of the city was completely paralyzed in consequence of the strike, and not only in Hellifax itself hut in other parts of the Dominion had its baneful effects. begm to make themelves felt. Throngh the machinery provider be the departinent and its intervention a settlemeat of this-the largest strike in Canteda during the present year-was, as you know, sheedily bronglit about. (Cheers.) It would be a pleasure and instructive also to state other instances of successinh intersention under the act, but these are sufficient for my purpose to-ninght. I want you to see that the present Government did not reguire an example such as that with which the Aunerican nation has just been conifonted to disclose to it the importance of taking into aceonnt. in the consideration of any general policy of national well-being, the all- important question of the relations. betiecin laborand capital, and the importance, in the interests of industrial peace, of providing machinery wherely these relations might be mantaned in a friendly and harmonions way. (Hear, hear and applause.)

## Compulsory Arbitration.

It was with the belief that the Government had acted wisely in placing on the statnte looks of the Dominion an act which would aid in the prevention and settlenent of industrial disputes that 1 , at the last session of Parliament, was impelled to introduce a measure hasing the same ends in
view, but which, in ease of necessity demanding it, woukd permit of the taking of a step further in advance tham what was permissible under the present act. (Hear hear.) At the time that the Coneiliation Ac: was passed there was some criticism of the measure on the gromnd that any action nuder it must be purely voluntary. It was argued that in certain cases this was not likely to prove effective enongh, and that there shonk be some elentent of compulsion. It was this element of compulsion which constituted the new feature of the bill for the settlement of railway lahor disputes which I introdnced into the House last session. It appeared to the Government that the interest of the public in the unintervpted operation of public railacers is of a nature which does not warrant the railways to fail in their duty as common carriers to the public beenuse of any dispnte with their employes.s and that if the immediate parties to such dispnte are mable to settle their difference the public have a right to intervence and provide the proper machinery for the settlement of such differences withont the railways in the utantime ceasing operations and failing in their duty to the public. (Cheers.)

## Criticiem Answered.

In this conntry con:pulsory arbitration in any form was a new departure. On introducing the measure I stated that there was no intention of pressing it to a conclnsion at that sesiom, but that the Covernment's desire was rather to ontline the phan to be given to the public for its consideration in the hope that before next senion we wonk be favored with such criticism and shlgestions as wonld enable us. to formate a measnre carrying with it the indonsement of public opinion. Some criticisms have been received, the bnlk of them being apparently against the measure in its entirety, and unaccoupanied with suggestions favoring any system of arbitration. In view of the often declared willingness of parties to labor disputes to have their differences adjusted by arbitration, it is, I think, no donbt from oversight that they have not as yet favored the Govermuent with snggestions looking to a measure having for its object the establishment of a sy:tem of arbitration, and I reier to the matter now in the hope that the smbject may receive that public attention whieh its importance demands. (Hear, liear.)

## Public Sanction Required.

In view of the anthracite coal strike I hardly think one wonk be chargeable with rashess in expressing the opinion that there shonld be in Canada a tribunal having poser to investigate indnstrial disputes, at least in cases of such far reaching importance as railway disputes and disputes connected with indnstries of a monopolistic claracter, which maly control the actual necessaries of life. (Hear, hear and applansei. Whether such a measure shonk go so far as to make the award legally binding on the parties is another matter. It seems essential to the suceess of any such measure that it shonld have the moral support of public spinion-(hear, hear) -and therefore perhaps it wonkl be better to rest its compulsory character npon that force rather than legal coercion. (Hear, hear.) These, however,
are views in regard to a perplexing and complex question, which I present with much hesitation to you, and pass from the subject to the hope that they may before the next session of Parliament be the object of public attention aud criticisim, that we may be enabled if possible to make some progress towards the prevention of industrial war by rendering that violent procedure mancessary ir order to secure a fair measure of justice between all classes of employers and employees throughout the country. (Cheers.)

## Benefle of Preeent Tariff.

Perhaps now you would bear with me while I make a few remarks upon trade and other matters. No doubt it would be interesting were I in a position to amounce the views of the Finance Minister-(ltear, hear)-or exthl my own, npou the ever-present question of tariff changes; but as no Minister, not excepting the Finance Minister, is, mader our systent of government, at liberty to make any snch amonncenents except on the proper occasion, namely, in conr ?ction with the budget speech in P'arliannent, I slall not trespass npon forbidden ground, but confine my remarks to existing conditions. (Laughter and applanse.) The present tariff has been in foree for five years. From its introduction in 1897 until the preseut moment our political opponents haic condemned if, althongh whenever reminded of the prosperity which it las bronght to Canada they, with strange reasoning. declare it identical with their old National l'olicy, and fall down and wornhip it, aud then rise up and abnse it. (Laughter and applanse.) ror eighteen loug years their National Poliey had control of the trade of this country. The louger it was in force the worse becane our condition(hear. hear)-and never in her history did Canada endnre so serions a depresion as in the last ten years of the N. P. (Hear, hear.) During that period the tariff was a political issue evoking the strongest passions, which serionsly affected trade itself. Finally the high protection party was defented, and in obedience to the mandate of the people we overthrew the N. P. in 1897, suls.stituting therefor a moderate tariff with a preference, miltimately of one-third off the dinties, in favor of the mother comutry. (Cheers.) That tariff our opponents assail.

## The Attacke on the Preference.

In framing that tariff it appeared to the Govermment that a preference to Great Britain would not only be to the advantage of Canada. bint of the mother conntry as well. (Hear, hear.) Here was our comntry, of vast, illimitable yet mudeveloped resonres, practically without a neighbor in Amerie:l willing to trade with her on fair terms, whilst across the ocean was onr mother country, that had ever been Canada's true friend, and whose market wasopen to us. True, we were selling to her comparatively little, for Canada's resonrces were little known in the old land. Still it appeared to 1ns that our trade with lier was capable of great development if we proceeded the right way about it. (Hear, hear.) Aye, more, there was the opportunity of setting an example which, if followed, might yet secure n ns ou preferential terms the markets not only of Great Britain herself, but
also of her world-wide possessions. (Applanse.) Surely, sir, when every foreign nation was and is hedging itself ronnd with a tariff wall in order to shut out the proluce of all other cotutries, our manifest dhty was and is to lay fonndations for developing our trade in the only profitable market likely to be accessible to us-the great British acorld-empire of four hundred millions to which we are so prond to belong. (Cheers.) Int this spirit, Mr. Chairman, we inaugurated a policy of that mature in 1897, when we phaced our British preference on the statute book of Canada. (IIear, hear.) Our opponents say we should have diekered for value in return. (Oh! oh!) It is true we did not dicker for valne in retnrn. When did Creat Britain ever dicker with ins about getting value in return, when on many occasions she was prepared to ponr ont her money and her men in defence of the sacred soil of Canada? (IIear, hear.) No, Mr. Chairman, we adopted another and higher course, treating Great Britain not as an alien country, but as our mother conntry-(cheers)-and with that liberality which she has ever shown us, eonscious that ingratitude is not one of her faults, and with some hope that, as changing conditions admitted of it, our example might by deyre es be followed by Great Britain herself. and by other portions of the empire, until at last each portion might enjoy thronghont the whole enpire trade adrantages not shared in loy foreign nations. (Lon!! cheers.)

## A Preference for Canada.

How has Great Britain already treated 11 s since we granted her this preference? Till then our produce was little known or appreciated in her markets, anci much was sold muder the name "American." Now it no longer enters that market ander an alias, but muder its true name "Comadian." (Hear, hear.) That name is now popular, respected and beloved in England, and sells our prodnce and wins for it a prefercnce, thins increasing the demand for Canadian products. (Cheers.) In consegnence, since the establishment of the preference five years ago our farmers have sold more and more of their products in the Fritish markets, the total value haring increased from alout $\$+7,000,000$ itn $1: 9967$, to over $\$ \$ 0,000,000$ in 190:-2. . .or have our manufacturers leen less fivored, for in the same period their sales to Great Britain have increased over soo per cent. (Applanse.)

## Growth of Imperial Sentiment.

Sir, these results are not accidents, but the direct result of our British preference, which our opponts wish to repeal. With such magnificent resints as these within the short space of five vears, what maty we not reasonably expect as the years roll by? Nor does it seen an idle drean to hope that cur example may be followed by the rest of the empire. Aready the leaven appears to be working, for, as yon are aware, a resohtion was manimonsly adopted ly Anstralia, New Zealand, Cape Colony and Natal, at the laperial Conference held in London threc months ago, favoring an inter-Imperial tariff preference, and suggesting action in that direction by the mother country.

## Tory Opposition to Thls Bpirit.

At this stage, when the seed is still germinating, our opponents declare their hostility to our British preference, and without consiclering whether there is any good in the principle of British preference, either as we have framed it or in some modified form, without waiting to see whether our example may not be followed by other parts of the cmpire, withont allowing the principle of inter-imperial trade aclvantages to develop until it shall become a reality and a powerful bon:l of uion within the empire, without giving the mother country an opportunity of discnssing repeal, and without cen constulting her, but prejudging all possible argements that could be advaiced against their proposed course, onr opponcuts declare it as their fixen resolve, if possible, to compel its repeal. Fancy such a policy from the leaders of the party that once claimed a monopoly of the loyalty and British sentiment in Canada (Laughter and cheers.) Howsoon have t.ay forgotten the teaching of their great leader, Sir John Macdonald, and departed from his ways. (Hear, hear.) In taking such a course they practically expel from their ranks those Conservatives of the Jolun A. Macdonald school who loyally recognize Canada's dinty towards the mother conntry and the empire. Trade and the flag are inseparable, and the political party whieh, in the consideration of trade, turns its back upon the flag is unworthy of the confidence of the loyal citizens of our commtry. (Hear, hear.)

A voice-That is hard on the Tory party !
Sir Wm. Minlock-I must tell the truth. (Laughter and applause.)

## Liberals' Forward Pollog.

The Liberal party is seeking to build up Canada in political as well as commercial alliance with the rest of the empire, to that end establishing, as fast as circumstances admit, sieamship lines with Sonth Africa, Anstralasia and the mother conntry, promoting with them trade and interchange of sentiment loy improved mail and cable services, rejoicing at the completion of the Pacific cable-the thir, all-red line now connecting together three great seli-governing colonies -(chisrs)-encouraging harmonions relations between our various classes, creeds and races, and securing a just and equitable distribution amongst the people of the blessings and burdens of legislation. (Cheers.) The fruits of such aims and method mnst be a contented, prosperous and patriotic people, an essential foundation to national greatness. (Cheers.) The Liberal party is endeavoring, with some success, we hope, to lay such a foundation, and guided by such a policy and mininflnenced by the puny criticism or feeble resistance of an unpatriotic Opposition, will contime on its conrse truc to the belief that monder wise connsels it is Canada's destiny to so increase in wealth, in population, in strength, as to rival, perlaps surpass, in greatness many a first-class power of to-day; and to be the home of tens of millions of happy, prosperons people. Loud
and prolonged cheering.)


