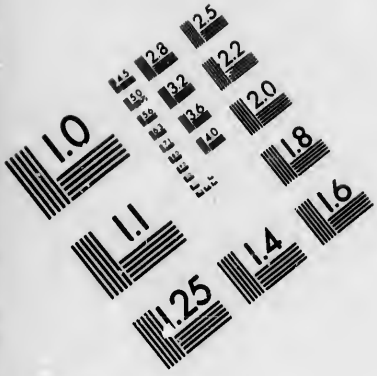

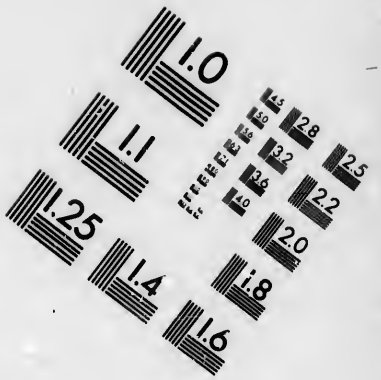

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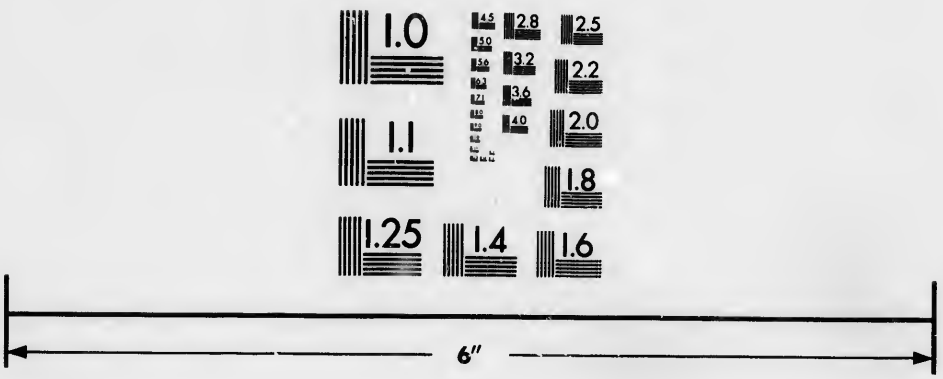

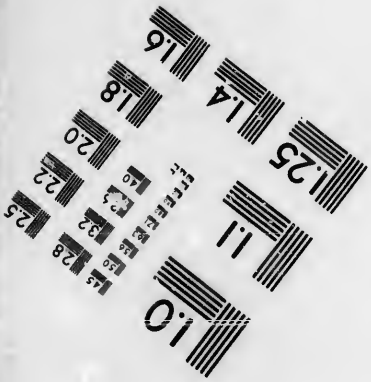

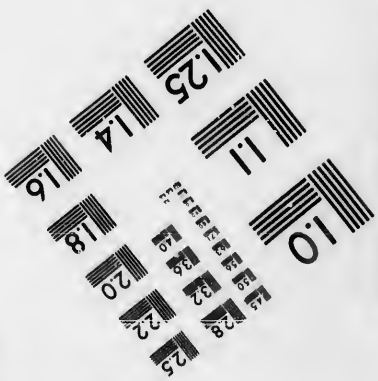

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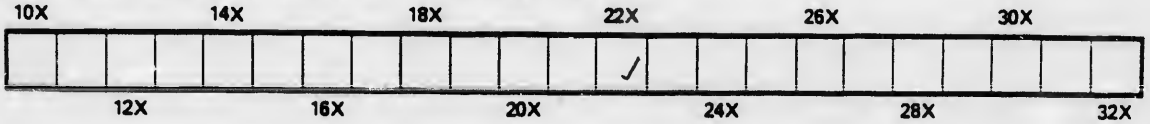

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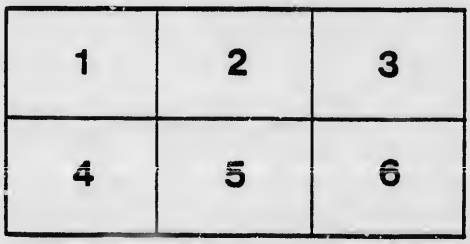

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PREPARED FOR PRESS BY

C. H. MACKINTOSH

Editor of the Ottawa Citizen.

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1876.

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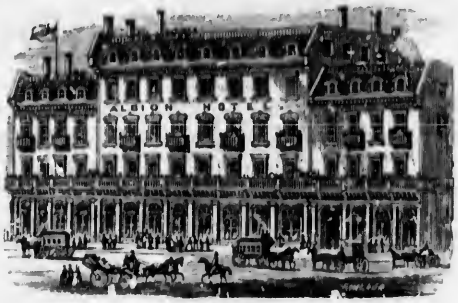

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AT

MONTREAL.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE WHITE BANQUET,

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1875.

The following speech by the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald was delivered at a banquet given by the Conservatives of Montreal to Mr. Thomas White, Jr., on Wednesday evening, the 24th of November last. The hall was beautifully decorated with flags, the platform being draped with national emblems. In front of it was a dais occupied by the guests and leading gentlemen present. Mr. John Mc[illegible]an presided. On his right hand were seated Mr. Thomas White, the guest of the evening, the Hon. C. Tupper, Andrew Robertson, Hon. J. L. Beaudry, A. Desjardins, M.P., Hugh McLennon, Richard White, A. M. Delisle, Walter Shanley, M. H. Gault, H. L. Routh, and Col. A. A. Stevenson. On the left of the chairman were the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, R. Masson, Hon. Thos. Ryan, John Hope, Hon. Peter Mitchell, Rev. Mr. Black, John Crawford, A. Lacoste, A. Ouimet, M.P., David Law, John Kerry and David Sinclair. The Vice-Chairs were occupied by Messrs. Ogilvie, Mousseau, McGauvran and Bulmer. About three hundred guests were present.

The CHAIRMAN having proposed "HER MAJESTY'S LOYAL OPPOSITION,"

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOHN MACDONALD rising to reply, was received with enthusiastic cheering, renewed again and again. The welcome was unprecedented in heartiness. When the applause had ceased, Sir John said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I, one of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition (cheers), have come from Toronto to join in this magnificent demonstration in favor of my friend—my political and personal friend—Mr. White. (Cheers.) I feel that it was due to him, due to the sacrifices he has made, due to the stand he has taken, due to the position he has attained, to testify my respect as one of the old members of the Conservative Party. (Cheers.) But while it was due to him, it is also a great gratification to myself. I long in public life have watched the course of Mr. White. I first knew him when, at Peterborough, with all the earnestness and enthusiasm of youth, he conducted one of the most able country newspapers that existed in Canada. I have seen his course ever since. It has been a truly Conservative course, not merely, gentlemen, in the party sense of the word, but in the higher patriotic sense, Conservative in thought, Conservative in feeling, Conservative in advocating the connection with the mother country—that grand old country from which we all hail. (Cheers.) I have watched his progress in life, and I find him now with not less earnestness, with not less enthusiasm, but with matured mind and with the experience that he has gained by long, intelligent, and vigilant observation of public affairs, now standing one of the first journalists in Canada (enthusiastic cheers), worthy of this demonstration, and worthy of the exertions which have been made for him by the true electors of Western Montreal. It is

true that, he has told us, he is a defeated candidate, and no one more regrets that defeat than I do; not only on my own account, but on account of the party of which, for the present at all events, I may be considered the leader (cheers). Mr. White has this consolation, that the loss is to his party, the great Conservative party, that the loss is to the City of Montreal (we know it)—that the loss is to myself who looked forward hopefully to having him acting with me, fighting with me, battling, as I said a few evenings ago, with the beasts at Ephesus. (Cheers.) But, in truth, it has been no defeat; it is a great triumph, for he had the real honest vote of West Montreal, and he has in this demonstration the testimony of the wealth, intelligence, enterprise and commerce of Montreal. (Cheers.) I might, gentlemen, at this late hour, content myself with making these remarks (No! no!! go on!) and with thanking you for the honor conferred upon Her Majesty's Opposition; only that being a lawyer I am fond of precedents, and I find that at a similar banquet, perhaps not quite so numerously attended, which took place in Montreal in honor of a most estimable gentleman, Mr. Frederick Mackenzie, his namesake, the Premier of the Dominion, took occasion to enter into some of the political questions of the day, and following that precedent, I shall, with your permission, do the same. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I feel bound to follow the example set me by the Premier of Canada—by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie—for we must be careful to speak of him as the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie in the future. (Laughter). We all got a lesson lately, which I know you will take to heart, in politeness and deportment. We were told that no more must he be styled Sandy Mackenzie (renewed laughter): that no more must such an one be spoken of as Archie McKellar, or another as Geordie Brown; that you must speak of them as the Honorable Archibald McKellar and the Honorable George Brown. I didn't know, gentlemen, before I read that speech, what a deeply injured man I was myself; I didn't know that the people of Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, had been insulting me for thirty years by calling me "John A." (Laughter and cheers.) And then I could not but reflect when that speech will be re-echoed, as such a speech deserves to be re-echoed, across the Atlantic, how Mr. D'Israeli and Mr. Lowe will feel, when their attention is called to the fact that they, great statesmen as they are, one of them Premier, have allowed themselves to be called plain Dizzy and Bob Lowe. (Laughter.) So, gentlemen, remember that he is the Honorable Alexander Mackenzie. It is said that in Spain the great old grandees, founders of the ancient families of Castile and Leon, the Duke of Ossuna, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, or the Duke of Medina Celi, and such great nobles, addressed each other as Ossuna, Sidonia or Celi, and so on, but when they spoke to a new man they styled him the noble and illustrious Hidalgo, the Marquis of Nuevo Hombre. (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, I know that every one of you are F. F. C.'s (of the first families of Canada), and so remember that while you are quite at liberty to address one another as Tom, Dick or Harry, you must always speak to and of Mr. Mackenzie as "the Honorable Alexander Mackenzie, Premier of the Dominion of Canada, member for Lambton, &c." (Renewed laughter.) Having thus called your attention to the proprieties, and to the necessity of mending your manners in this respect, I would say it is very strange that this gentleman, who gave us a lesson in deportment, seemed to forget in his speech that he was now Premier. It seemed as if he had been so long in opposition that he fancied he was in opposition still. He had told us in the House some years ago that the duty of an Opposition was to attack the Ministry of the day, and to object to their measures, and that if they did not do so, there was no use in an Opposition; and yet, forgetting that he was a Minister, forgetting that he had to give an account of his stewardship, forgetting that it was his duty to defend his measures, to defend his position, and to vindicate his right to the position he now holds, his speech was entirely directed against the late Administration, against my late colleagues, and my unfortunate self. (Laughter.) You can judge from reading that speech if it is such a speech as ought to come from a Prime Minister. Mr. Mackenzie, in effect, said it didn't rest with us to judge of the competence of the Government, because we had shown our own incapacity to govern. Well, gentlemen, if so, we were out, and were now in the "cold shades" of the Opposition; we had suffered the consequences of our errors, and he ought to have known that a Minister cannot hold his position by the demerits or incapacity of the Opposition. You can judge, gentlemen, from the speech which was delivered in this city the other night, the nature of the answers that we of the Opposition receive in Parliament when we arraign the conduct of the Government. Just in accordance with the tone of that speech are we answered in Parliament when we perform our duty to our constituents and our country—when

we perform our functions as an Opposition in arraigning their conduct, pointing out their shortcomings, and warning them of the unwisdom of their course. Mr. Mackenzie, instead of answering the attacks of the Opposition, instead of justifying the course of the Ministry, instead of vindicating the wisdom of their measures and the justice of their administration, turns about, as he did the other night, and personally attacks the members of the Opposition, tries to change the issue, tries to hark back on a defunct Administration, tries to avoid the discussion of his measures, and to avoid the necessity of defending his course, by making gross attacks upon members of the Opposition, endeavoring to lead the House away from the consideration of his own course, his own demerits, to past issues that are now of no consequuence to the country—of no consequence to any one. (Cheers.) We are out of office now; we are suffering the consesequences of any errors we may have committed. It is no answer to say that we were reckless, criminal or incapable; that we had shown ourselves unworthy of the confidence of the people. Supposing that it were as he says, is that any answer to a charge against him or his Administration? If we say, you have ruined our tea trade, you have destroyed our manufactures, you have shaken our credit, you have deprived our workmen of work, you have forced our factories to run on half or quarter time, is it any answer to say that Ministers before them were unworthy of the position they held? We are in Opposition, and there the Conservative Party must remain until recalled by the voice of the people, speaking through their representatives. I can only say, gentlemen, that judging from the facts which have been mentioned by your honoured guest, Mr. White, this evening, judging from the evidence we get every day, the time is not far distant when the people of Canada, rising in their might, will say to Mr. ——, let me say the Honorable Mr. Mackenzie (laughter), Sir, in your two short years of Government, you have committed more sins of omission and commission than were charged against John A. during the last twenty years. (Cheers.) I put it to you gentlemen, if you have read the eloquent speeches of my friend Dr. Tupper; I put it to you, if you read my impromptu speech on the occasion of the election of my friend Mr. J. B. Robinson, to say if there is one word in those speeches which was beyond the line of our right, if we did not confine ourselves to the discussion of the public affairs of this country, if we did not limit ourselves to legitimate remarks on the conduct of the Administration. Our views may be wrong, but I say this, if you read those speeches, you will not find one word without its warrant. We attacked no private character; we made no fling at private conduct; we never struck below the belt. (Enthusiastic cheers.) But before the people of this country, through the press of the country, we arraigned the conduct of the Administration for their management of affairs, for their legislation, and for no other fault. And, gentlemen, what said Mr. Mackenzie in response to these speeches? He alleged in his speech the other day that he was answering the remarks made by my honorable friend and myself. Was the tone worthy of the Premier of Canada, of a man standing up to defend his conduct, and prove that he was fit for the position that he holds, to show that he had been a faithful steward, to show the wisdom and justice of his administration, and the purity of his party? (Cries of oh! oh! big push, &c.) Mr. Mackenzie made the error that he always does, of mistaking coarseness for strength. (Cheers.) The Hon. Alex. Mackenzie is a countryman of my own; he is a hard-headed Scotchman. He makes clear, well reasoned, logical speeches, but the gods have not made him poetical. He wants imagination, and though his speeches are sound and sensible, and able, they are, I must say, upon the whole as dry as a limeburner's shoe. (Laughter and cheers.) The other day he assumed a new character; he broke out in a new place (loud laughter), and for the first time in his life he favored his audience with a poetical quotation. Now, it rather surprised me when he, the Puritan Premier, had the whole range of British poetry to quote from, that he had preferred to quote that rakehelly old cavalier, Sam Butler. (Laughter.) Poetry is called "a garden of sweets," a "garland of roses," either raising the imagination by the sublimity of the ideas, or charming the fancy by the beauty of the sentiments of the poet. Now, let us call to our memory the quotation made by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, which, mind you, he especially applies to the Opposition. It is this:—

> "The Prince of Cambay's daily food
> Is asp and basilisk and toad,
> Which gives to him so strong a breath,
> He nightly stinks a queen to death."

(Laughter.) You may judge, gentlemen, from this poetical outburst of the Premier of Canada, of the kind of answers we get in the House. We tell him, "your Pacific policy is wrong." He answers, "you are an asp." (Loud laughter.) We tell him "that the Tariff is a mistake. "You are a basilisk." (Renewed laughter.) We say to him, "how about the steel rails?" "You are a toad." (Laughter.) I have seen him again and again in the House of Commons, give answers not more consequent and quite as polite as the answers I have been supposing at this moment. But I suppose the honorable gentleman considers that this was a specimen of what we call in Scotland "wut." (Loud laughter.) I might say, gentlemen, as I am in the poetical vein as well as himself, that looking at his Free Trade speeches in Scotland and his Protection speeches in Montreal, he might remember four lines of the poet from whom he quoted :—

> "What makes all doctrines plain and clear,
> 'Tis just two thousand pounds a year.
> And prove that false was true before,
> The answer plain, two thousand more."

(Laughter and cheers.) In Mr. Mackenzie's speech, as you must have seen, he attempted to change the issue by talking of our incapacity. He specially contrasted himself and me, and said, what right had I to speak of any one being incapable when I made such a mess of the Washington Treaty. Although that was negotiated by an Imperial Commission, although there were five Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty, of whom I was only the fifth, he said that Treaty showed the utter incapacity of myself, and therefore it did not lie in my mouth to charge any one with incompetence. One of the first instances he gives is that in the Treaty the navigation of the St. Lawrence was made free to Americans for all time, while Lake Michigan was opened to Canadians for ten years only. Now, Mr. Mackenzie must have known, because he has had the papers before him, that instructions were given to the head of that Commission that the freedom of the navigation of the St. Lawrence was to be yielded. The Commissioners had no discretion in the matter; it was an instruction from the Imperial Government, from the Liberal Government, from the Gladstone Government, that we should surrender the navigation of the St. Lawrence. It is true I might have taken my hat and walked back to Canada. But that would not have done Canada any good, because the instructions were positive, and the navigation of the St. Lawrence would have been handed over whether I was there or not. Well, Mr. Mackenzie knew that, and in candour he ought to have told his audience so. Had I been able to do any good by doing so, I might perhaps have walked away; but as this surrender was a foregone conclusion, and as there were other questions coming up, involving Canadian interests more deeply than the navigation of the St. Lawrence, I remained to perform my duty, and I have the thanks of my colleagues in Canada, and of the Parliament of Canada, for doing so. And there was another reason—because the Americans, by getting the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, did not, in fact, get anything. The Treaty provides that the navigation of the St. Lawrence is free for commercial purposes only, and not for war; the United States boundary extends along the south bank of the St. Lawrence to St. Regis; the Americans own one bank down to that point, and therefore have the right in common with Canada to the navigation of the river so far. From the point where both banks of the St. Lawrence belong to Canada, to Montreal, the Americans have really no power to use it, because there is not a single inch in that distance where vessels can ascend the river. They may run the rapids, but they can never return. So we were not really giving the Americans anything. But the latter claimed it as a matter of sentiment, and as theirs by international law, though they knew that without the use of our canals it was worthless (cheers.) It may be said it gives the Americans the right to use the Lower St. Lawrence for commercial purposes. But we give the same right to every nation under the sun; we court, we invite the trade of all nations; and what would the people of Montreal say if the right was ever exercised to exclude this commerce from their port, and prevent the navigation from being free to the world? The Treaty was passed in 1871; it was ratified in 1872, and I ask you now whether the Americans, from 1872 to 1875, in their trade or in their interests, have gained any advantage that you can see? The right the Americans have of navigating from St. Regis to Montreal is no more a disadvantage to us than the rights of a crow or pigeon to fly over the water. We have the whole control of the St. Lawrence yet, for at any moment we choose

we can shut our canals; at any moment we can prevent the Americans from using the St. Lawrence above Montreal. So long as we are on terms we will allow them to use our canals, but we will never surrender the right of closing these canals when we please. (Cheers.) This is one of the instances mentioned to show my incapacity. Then, again, it was said that in the Treaty I actually got a provision inserted that the Yukon and Stickeen rivers in Alaska should be free to British and Canadian shipping, and it was said that liberty was given years and years ago in a treaty between England and Russia. Well, gentlemen, I have told you that Mr. Mackenzie is not a poet. I may also tell you that he is not an international lawyer. I may tell you further that in inserting that clause in the Treaty, the advice of the highest authorities on international law was followed. These gentlemen were of opinion, and the British Government were of opinion, that as Alaska had been handed over from Russia to the United States, we ought to obtain a re-assurance of the free navigation of those rivers to British and Canadian commerce. (Cheers.) Then Mr. Mackenzie said further, looking at the clause in the treaty allowing Canadian vessels to go through the American canal at the St. Clair flats that the Americans had put their works in our waters. That is just the question. The American Government say the improvements are not on our side; we say they are within our line. The treaty says that wherever these improvements may be,—improvements made at the expense of the people of the United States, they shall be free to Canadian vessels, whether on the American or Canadian side. (Cheers.) He goes on to attack the capacity of the late Administration as a whole, on account of the Intercolonial Railway, but if there is one thing the late Administration ought to be proud of, it is the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, which is the best railway of its class and the cheapest of its class in America, (hear, hear). And, Sir, as to the location of that railway, the hon. gentleman states in his speech that he knew that I was opposed to it, that Mr. Tilley was opposed to it, that Mr. Howland was opposed to it, and that Mr. McDougall was opposed to it, and that for the sake of office, and contrary to our opinions, and our consciences, we put the line in its present place, instead of running it down the valley of St. John. (Hear, hear). This statement has been made before, but it has been denied and has been disproved in Parliament, and Mr. Mackenzie, when he was making that statement, knew that it had been disproved, and yet he repeated the old calumny in reiterating the statement, (I do not wish to use stronger language), and he was using this language and making this statement, although he had heard, of course, the statements of all my colleagues and of myself in Parliament. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, consider for one moment. In 1858 there was an arrangement made at the request of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with the British Government, by which the British Government agreed to give a guarantee for half the cost of construction of that road, on condition that the Imperial Government should have the selection of the route. (Hear, hear.) When Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government came in, in 1862—it agreed to endorse that arrangement, and carry out that promise. (Hear, hear.) More than all gentlemen, at a later date, in 1864, in the debates in the Parliament at Quebec on the Quebec resolutions which were to form the basis of the Confederation and establish the Dominion, Mr. Mackenzie made an elaborate speech, in the course of which he stated that he was in favour of the Robinson line (the Coast line) as the line worthy of adoption (applause); and I have no hesitation in stating, gentlemen, that that line and that route is correctly located for the purpose of connecting Halifax with the St. Lawrence. Running a line through New Brunswick down the Valley of St. John, with a cross-road to Halifax, would have been no carrying out of that arrangement, and the people of Nova Scotia and a great portion of the people of New Brunswick would have had a right to complain of a breach of faith if the line were not located where it is now. (Hear, hear). But, sir, there are other reasons, and conclusive reasons, why that road should be located where it now is. England had withdrawn her troops, but we had the pledge of England, and her pledges—the pledges of the British Government—have never been violated — (Loud applause) we had the pledge of England that in case we were attacked by foreign foes, no matter from what quarter, and no matter from what cause, the whole military and naval power of the Empire would be exerted in our defence, providing that we gave England the means of defending us by constructing a road, a military road on which she could send her troops with the military stores into Canada, in winter and in summer, to fight our battles. (Cheers). A road down the Valley of the St. John—would have been in no sense a military road; and instead of being a source of strength, it would have

been a weakness. (Applause). A railway running along the boundary, between the State of Maine and New Brunswick would have been a source of weakness, because with the enormous military force the United States have got, in case of war, that Government could at once seize and take possession of the road, making it the means of sending American troops to conquer Canada, instead of its being the means of sending British troops to protect it. (Hear, hear). And more than that, gentlemen,—while the negotiations were going on, and after the negotiations were finished, after Confederation, while we were considering the line and location of the railway, we asked the British Government, in order that there might be no mistake, if it would sanction a frontier line; and the reply of the English Government was that they would sanction no such line—that they would consider that the bargain had not been carried out—that they would grant no guarantee, and that they could not carry out their promise to defend this country effectively with the whole force of the Empire, if that road was exposed, as such a road would be. (Hear, hear, and applause). Now, we have got a railway remote from the frontier—and as long as the naval superiority power of England exists, and as long as the military power of England continues as it is now, that road will always be a military road, and one upon which we can depend for our defence in winter and in summer against all comers. (Cheers). One word more with respect to the Intercolonial Railway. It is true that the Government did attempt to see whether they could not find a central line—not a line running along the Valley of St. John, coterminus with the United States frontier—but through the centre of New Brunswick, and far removed from the frontier, and equally defensible in a military point of view, as the coast line. Mr. Sandford Fleming was sent there for the purpose of seeing whether such a line could be found out, but the report of the Engineer was that the country was impracticable; that the country was so rocky and mountainous that it would cost an immense sum of money to build it, and as Mr. Sandford Fleming reported that not one single pound of freight would ever go over the road if once built in this part, there was nothing left for us but the present route, which after all the *Globe* of the day before yesterday states has already shortened the route for travel between the Western States and England, and by which the mails of this continent and the travel of this continent will hereafter pass down to Halifax. (Hear, hear). Before I leave the question of the Washington Treaty, I will say, gentlemen, there was one matter at which I was especially aggrieved; and that was the omission of a clause providing that the United States should repay to Canada the money expended in resisting the Fenian invasion. (Cheers and applause). Her Majesty's Government, (hear, hear) anxious to settle all matters with the United States, and having ascertained that the claim would not be entertained, refused to press our claims. This was a loss to us, but no humiliation to Canada; if there was a humiliation anywhere, it was to England, but England can afford to bear such a charge. (Applause) It was no humiliation to us, and what did the late Government do when Her Majesty's Government for Imperial considerations, refused to bring up the question which promised to be fatal to a final settlement? We claimed at her hands some compensation, and said—"If for Imperial reasons, for your own purposes, you do not press our just claims; we ask you to compensate us, and, gentleman, she fully compensated us in a manner most agreeable to our feelings. It would have been little consolation to us to have received a sum of money for the sums that these outrages and these invasions cost us; and it would have been little satisfaction to us if we, the people of Canada, felt that this money was to be taken out of the pockets of the British people, our fellow subjects; this would have been no consolation. Canada would have been inclined to submit to the loss rather than throw such a burden upon the over-burdened British taxpayers. (Hear, hear, and applause). But we made an arrangement which fully repaid us without taking one farthing out of the pockets of the British people. We asked England—not to give us money, but to lend us her credit, and Mr. Cartwright is now in England exalting his horn on this arrangement. (Laughter and groans for the Finance Minister). Mr. Cartwright is at present exalting his horn on the strength of the guarantee of the sum of money which England agreed to guarantee for us; and which she has guaranteed for us. (Applause). And this is another instance of our incapacity. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Gentlemen, my friend, Mr. White, has in flattering terms spoken of the course taken by the several Governments of which I have been a member since 1854. It is not in the spirit of boasting, but it is, I think, in my right, as my record was very lately attacked, to point out and recall to you events which occurred from the year 1854 to the 1st of July, 1867, when, with the exception of forty-eight hours in one instance,

when the Brown-Dorion Administration came into office (cheers), and with the exception of twenty months during which Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Administration lasted, I was a member of the various Governments which swayed the destinies of the old Province of Canada (Hear, hear, and applause); and I hesitate not to say that between these two dates no country in the world has ever developed so vastly, so quickly, or so thoroughly (loud applause and voice "that is so,"); whether you look at her material, her moral, or her intellectual development, in every possible respect the improvement and development of Canada has grown with scarcely a let or hindrance in the long period during which we enjoyed the confidence of the people of Canada. (Applause). We claim for ourselves that we governed this country wisely and well; and we point to the Statute Book for our legislation, and we point to the state of the country in 1854, and to the state of the country in 1873 to prove the truth of my assertion as to the wisdom of our administration. During the whole of that time we were assailed, hindered, and harrassed by a most unpatriotic Opposition. (Hear, hear). I am a strong party man; I will go as far in favour of my party, and in upholding my party, and in securing the success of my party as any other man—as far as a British statesman can or ought to do (hear, hear, and applause); but I will not do it, and I have never done it, if there was a question of the interests of my country. (Cheers). Our maxim has always been—by a party, with a party, but *for* the country. (Hear, hear, and applause). But Mr. Brown's and Mr. Mackenzie's maxim has been—By a party, with a party, and for a party (hisses and groans); and Mr. Mackenzie very naively in his speech the other day, admits it. I had said in the gaiety of my heart—inspired by the victory of my friend Mr. Robinson—(Hear, hear)—I had said that when the Grits came in about thirteen years ago, the weevil came in with them, and that two years ago they brought in the Colorado bug. (Laughter). Mr. Mackenzie replied in his speech: "Well, I have got to say this: if I have to choose between John A's Government and the Colorado bug, I would choose the Colorado bug. (Laughter). That is just the spirit of the man and of his party. (Loud applause, and voices, "that's correct"). He would rather have plague, pestilence and famine; he would rather have Colorado bugs (laughter), locusts and caterpillars, (laughter), war and ruin (hear, hear), distress and panic, anything, everything, no matter what it might cost the country, no matter how the interests of the country would be prejudiced by it, he would rather have this country afflicted with them all, one after another, than see John A. go in and Mr. Mackenzie go out. (Hear, hear). I say, gentlemen, from 1854 until we resigned, we had to meet an Opposition of that kind. Mr. White has referred to the burning questions of those days; he has alluded to the clergy reserves which affected the people of Upper Canada, and he has alluded to the Seignorial Tenure, which affected Lower Canada. As far as Upper Canada was concerned, William Lyon Mackenzie declared in his place in the House and in his book that it was the question of the clergy reserves which mainly caused the rebellion of 1837; and we all know how Lower Canada was shaken to the very centre by the oppressions, if I may use the expression, of the old feudal system, of the old Seignorial tenure. These questions were used as means of agitation by the Rouges in Lower Canada and by the Grits in Upper Canada; they did not want to have them settled, for this would have deprived them of their tools in trade; and when we took hold of these questions—first of the clergy reserves and settled that question—we had the opposition of Mr. Brown and the whole of the Grit party, (hear, hear) and why? because we compensated vested interests. Although the clergy had the right, by a solemn act of the Imperial Parliament, to one-seventh of the Province for Church purposes, and although they had acquired certain vested rights under that act, we compelled them to surrender all on the basis of their life interest rights by commuting for the life of the incumbent of the parish; although the British Government declared that they would never allow the secularization of the clergy reserves unless compensation was given to those clergymen—the Opposition knowing that, resisted with all their might that settlement, and we had to carry the measure at the point of the bayonet. (Hear, hear). And so it was in Lower Canada. We were opposed by the whole force of the Opposition of that day in the settlement of the seignorial question, but we carried it notwithstanding the stern opposition on the one hand of the Seigneurs, who naturally did not want to be deprived of their feudal rights, and on the other hand, of the whole force of the Rouges in Lower Canada, and, gentlemen, the Grits of Upper Canada, who refused to give one single sixpence out of the public treasury to compensate the Seigneurs for the loss of their property; so we had to carry that question also by the point of the bayonet (hear, hear), despite the opposition in Upper Canada

and the opposition in Lower Canada. (Applause). And if the *habitant* of Lower Canada now feels that he is a yeoman, and a freeman, no longer weighed down by servitudes coming from an older and more barbarous age, and if, in Upper Canada, we find that there is no question between the churches—that there are no religious dissensions there, all standing on an equal footing, and the clergy of the Church of England who were the great sufferers submitting calmly and cheerfully to their great loss for the sake of the peace of the country, it is due to our administration, (Hear, hear, and applause). When these questions were settled for a short time the country was in a state of apparent quietude, which did not satisfy Mr. Brown and the gentlemen opposed to us; and as Mr. White said a little while ago they looked around for a source of attack—for a "burning question,"—and where did they find it? Gentlemen, Lower Canada had been, against the will of Lower Canadians, and against the will of a considerable minority in Upper Canada, joined in a forced union in 1841; the old feelings of hostility still existed, and the ashes of the old fires of 1837, '38, and '39, were still hot. It required the patriotic exertions of every public man—of every man anxious for the good of this country, to calm that excitement, to soothe the irritation of one race against the other, and to allay the natural suspicion of the people of Lower Canada, that their language, their institutions, and their religion,were likely to be assailed. It was the duty of every statesman to do this, and to have forgotten party in the doing of it. (Hear, hear, and applause). Was that done, gentlemen? Why, the most nefarious—I can use no less strong term—the most nefarious attempt was made to set the two races in hostility in order to injure the Government. You may remember, gentlemen, how I was called in Mr. Brown's paper (the *Globe*) from one end of Ontario to the other, a slave to Lower Canada; I was a slave to French domination, and I was the tool of the priesthood, because knowing, as I did, that we must get Catholics and Protestants, Frenchmen and Englishmen to work together for the country's good (cheers), I maintained an even course—and to show that we were right in the course we took, I may say that while I was charged in Upper Canada with being a subservient tool of Lower Canadian interests, my revered friend and colleague, Sir George Cartier (great cheering), was told by the Rouges in Lower Canada that he was my tool and my slave; that he was neglecting all French Canadian interests, and that he was little more than a French-speaking Englishman. You may remember how Protestant fanaticism was roused in Upper Canada against Roman Catholics, and how Lower Canadians were insulted; how their race, their language, and their religion were derided, and how the attacks went so low that even those houses employed in works of benevolence and of education, in charity and devotion, by the Roman Catholic Sisterhoods, were assailed by the *Globe* in language I would not pollute my lips by repeating here. (Cries of bravo, and cheers). We had to meet that line of opposition, gentlemen, steadily and constantly from 1854 until 1867; and our triumph is all the greater, and the credit we ask at your hands, and the credit we ask at the hands of the people of Canada for our successful administration of our affairs is enhanced by the unholy, the unpatriotic and the wicked opposition that we persistently received (cheers). To show that this party have no right even to the credit of being honest or conscientious in their fanaticism, that same paper, and that same Mr. George Brown, who insulted Catholics, their religion and their institutions (hear, hear), is now the humble servant of the Archbishop of Toronto (hear, hear), publishing his pastorals, and through the slaves of his lamp and ring, Messrs. Mackenzie and Mowat, bartering offices with the Catholic League in Upper Canada, right and left in return for political support (hear, hear), so much so that in Toronto we are told that unless you are an Irish Roman Catholic you need not apply for office (laughter); but the great Irish Catholic body in Upper Canada will not long submit to that kind of thing. They are a noble body (hear, hear)—and I have reason to speak well of them. They will not allow themselves or their votes to be put up to bargain and sale. (Hear, hear, and applause.) In my constituency, gentlemen, during my two last contests, when the two Governments—the Government of the Dominion and the Government of Ontario—were pulling every strong string, and making every effort, and using every means, fair and foul, for the purpose of defeating me (hear, hear), the Irish Catholics stood by me almost to a man (cheers and applause); and if I am here now speaking to you as a member of the Canadian Parliament, if I have the right to fight the battles of my party, and if I have the right to speak your sentiments, as I hope to be able to do (hear, hear, and loud applause) in Parliament, I owe it to the Roman Catholics of Kingston (loud applause). In

1864, the consequence of this unpatriotic course of the Opposition was that no Government could last for any time. In 1862 we were defeated because the Government of that day had brought down an ample, sufficient and carefully considered Militia Bill—and, remember, that was in 1862, when this country was in great danger; when war was raging in the United States; when England and the United States had been on the verge of war again and again (hear, hear); and when it was an absolute matter of necessity that Canada should put on her armor and prepare to defend her own shores and her freedom (applause)—for that necessary measure we were defeated on that occasion. Mr. Sandfield McDonald's Government was formed, but it was so weak that in twenty months it was defeated, and resigned; another Conservative Government was formed by Sir Etienne Tache, but it lasted only a few months, and that Government was also defeated; and so in 1864 it was found that such was the hostility between Upper and Lower Canada engendered by the Grits, that all Government was rendered impossible. Mr. Brown claimed representation by population; Upper Canada had a larger population, and therefore should have a larger representation; but, gentlemen, the course taken by Mr. Brown rendered the grant of representation by population by Parliament impossible. No French Canadian who had any respect for his country—no French Canadian with a desire to protect the institutions under which he was bred and born, under which he lived, and which he respected and revered, could yield on that question—although in the abstract it was admitted that the principle of representation by population was sound. But what said the French Canadians,—and if I had been a French Canadian I would have taken that line myself (cries of bravo and applause)—what said they—"representation by population, if we were going to have fair play, might be all right enough, but we are warned beforehand—we are told by Mr. Brown and the Grits, that they are going to sweep our language, our laws and our institutions away entirely, and that they are going to force British institutions upon us; they have assailed our religion, they have assailed our priesthood, and they have assailed our religious institutions, and everything that is dear to the heart of a French Canadian; therefore as to the demand for representation by population, we will never yield to it; we would rather sever the Union, no matter what the consequence might be; representation by population cannot be granted; we cannot hand over ourselves and our children to the tender mercies of these gentlemen." (Cries of bravo and cheers.) The Government was at a dead-lock, and Mr. Brown at last became sensible of the consequences of his unwise and factious course; and the only patriotic thing that man ever did in his life—impelled by a sense of fear for the consequences he had himself rendered imminent by his course—was to coalesce with me for the purpose of forming a larger Union, and carrying out the Confederation of all the British American Provinces. (Hear, hear.) To be sure, gentlemen, he deserves the credit of joining with me; he and his party gave me that assistance in Parliament that enabled us to carry Confederation, and if we now are a Dominion, we must not forget that it was owing in great measure to Mr. Brown's momentary feeling of patriotism, of which, however, he soon repented. It was not before it was time that Confederation was carried, for, as I have already said, the Government was at a dead-lock, and we were in danger of anarchy and civil war, or severance. Now we have a Dominion; now we have all the Provinces united; now we feel proud of being a great power—but not a power separated from England; we desire no such separation—(loud cheers)—but a great auxiliary power, strengthening the hands of the Mother Country—rejoicing in that alliance, proud of our Mother Country, and feeling that we are becoming a great people, as the people of the Dominion of Canada, but that we are a still greater people in being a portion of the British Empire. (Great cheering and applause.) Gentlemen, as I said before, Mr. Brown soon repented of his temporary aberration into patriotism (applause), and quitted the Government because we thought he was not a safe man to go to Washington, and I think his late escapade there showed we correctly gauged his capacity. (Cheers.) He left us, and although he professed to be still friendly to the Union, and still anxious to strengthen our hands in carrying out Confederation, almost from the moment he left us he and his party attempted to thwart us in every possible way, and coalesced with those who were opposed to the Union. They joined themselves to the Anti-Unionists in the Lower Provinces, and did everthing in their power to thwart our attempts to carry out the scheme of Confederation. (Hear, hear.) Just look back and remember how they treated Mr. Howe (hear, hear.) If any one had claims upon the Liberal Party of Canada, Mr. Howe had that claim. (Hear, hear.) As

leader of the great Liberal Party of Nova Scotia, as an early advocate of Responsible Government, and as a foremost member of the Liberal Party for years and years (hear, hear)—and not only as the foremost man of that party, but as a great man in himself (hear, hear)—he had claims for their respect. But remember, gentlemen, how they ridiculed that man, when he came and lent his aid to Confederation in Parliament. With what ridicule, with what contumely he was attacked; how he was sneered at and derided. Why, gentlemen, he was charged with selling his principles by coalescing with me and joining the Administration. Now I take this opportunity of stating, in justice to the memory of that great man, that of all the patriotic acts Joseph Howe ever performed, he never performed a more patriotic act than in joining the Government of the Dominion (applause and cheers). What had he done? He had fought the battle against Confederation; he had fought it ably and well; he had fought it in the Legislature of his own Province, and he had gone home to England and fought it in the Parliament and with the Government of England, and when he came back, finding his exertions were unsuccessful, there was only one thing for him to do—either to accept the position or tell the Nova Scotians that they must take the next step and resist the Union by force. Mr. Howe was not prepared for that course. He had gone to the utmost extent of legitimate opposition to the measure, but when he found that any further step was certain to cause bloodshed and ruin to his native Province, he accepted the inevitable, and came to aid us; but he came only after he had got from us a promise that certain claims which Nova Scotia insisted on through him should be granted. He said:—"Grant us these; we think we have a right to them; grant us these, and I will consider my position." I said:—"Mr. Howe, we will grant you these for the sake of peace; we will carry them through Parliament. But we will meet opposition to such a concession, and we cannot hope to carry it out unless we have the assurance that it will be accepted by Nova Scotia, which assurance can only be given by your coming into the Government." He was unwilling to do so; he fought against it and resisted it, but when I told him that it was a *a sine qua non*,—that we could not guarantee better terms to Nova Scotia and make a settlement, unless on conditions of his becoming a member of the Government; then only he accepted the position. Mr. Howe sacrificed himself, knowing full well the obloquy he was submitting himself to, but for the sake of his country he joined the Government, and all he foresaw came to pass. He was derided; his motives were attacked; it was said that he came into the Government for the sake of office, and they hounded that man, when he went to his constituency, gentlemen, almost to his grave. (Applause.) And so with New Brunswick. It was part of the Washington Treaty that we should purchase the export duties reserved to that Province by the Union Act. When we did pay for these duties for the sake of enabling us to carry out the Washington Treaty, Mr. Blake the other day, or rather last year, in his speech at Aurora, said that we had purchased New Brunswick by giving thrice the value of the rights and privileges surrendered. We had to meet that charge as to New Brunswick, as we had to meet the "better terms" to Nova Scotia. So in Manitoba. The Government was accused of having paid too much for the North West Territories, but never was there a better bargain made by any country than when we got all the great North West, extending from the western boundaries of Ontario to British Columbia—when we got all that country for £300,000. I believe that the Hudson's Bay Company has sold in the vicinity of Winnipeg their land for nearly that amount (hear, hear, and applause), or nearly the amount we paid for the whole. Gentlemen, when we endeavored to get possession, and when we sent Mr. McDougall in advance for the purpose of examining the country and studying its institutions, and preparing the people for the change, you may remember how fiercely he was attacked, how the Government's policy was attacked, and how before Mr. McDougall even arrived there, the suspicions of the half-breeds and natives and inhabitants were aroused, so that he had no fair play, and before he reached there he was condemned, the policy of the Canadian Government was condemned, in a great measure by reason of the unpatriotic conduct of the Opposition and the suspicions instilled into the minds of the people where the lamentable disturbances took place which we all lament; and England and Canada had to join in sending an armed force to the Red River in order to remove the fear of a civil war and to suppress an armed insurrection (Hear, hear). Then, gentlemen, with respect to British Columbia—I have now come to British Columbia. Canada as a Dominion would be incomplete without having a Pacific, as well as an Atlantic coast. (Applause.) Why, sir, the situation in British Columbia had become almost insupportable; far remo[illegible]m England;

unable to communicate with Canada in consequence of the wilds and wastes that lay between us and her, and the high ranges of mountains that separate us; severed from Britain by distance, and in close proximity to the United States, dealing with the United States every day in commercial matters, and the United States apparently planning to get possession of her. Why did the United States buy at an enormous price the comparatively worthless country of Alaska from Russia? Obviously for the purpose of enclosing British Columbia between the two—with the United States to the north of her in Alaska, and the United States to the south of her in Oregon—severed from Canada, severed from England, with all her trade and all her relations with the United States, expecting that the mere despair of the people of British Columbia would eventually force them to seek for political connection with the United States for the purpose of enjoying the commercial advantages that would follow. (Hear, hear). And, gentlemen, the loss of British Columbia and her annexation to the United States, giving her the control of the whole of the Pacific, would have been the ruin of the Dominion in the future—in its prospects and in its greatness. Why, with the United States extending along our whole Southern frontier, and across British Columbia from the North Pole to Oregon, the consequences would have been such that the prospect of Canada being a Dominion in reality would have been lost forever. (Hear, hear). Now, gentlemen, in 1871, we made arrangements with British Columbia, and you know what they were; you know how they were fought step by step by an unpatriotic Opposition. Although it is provided in the Act of Confederation, which made this a Dominion, that British Columbia, Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island should be invited to come in, and that a place should be kept for them, they opposed the union of British Columbia in every possible way. You know the stern opposition—the factious opposition—that was offered to the construction of the Pacific Railway, and without such railway we could have no real connection with British Columbia. It would have been merely a union on paper, and no connection in fact; and she would still be alien, alien in interests, and alien in prospects and hopes unless we have the Pacific Railway. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I shall not discuss to-night with you the question of the Pacific Railway. (Cries of Go on! go on!). No, gentlemen, I shall not do so, and for a reason that you will agree with me is a sufficient one, because my friend Dr. Tupper takes it (applause), and I am leaving it to him. He will do it as he has already done before other audiences; he will explain to you the policy of the late Government—how that policy was thwarted—the factious manner in which it was thwarted, the way it was defeated, and the way we were driven from office; and explain to you also with his wonted power and eloquence, the abortion which this Government has been attempting to father upon the people of Canada instead of our scheme. If our plan had been carried out, with the company that was formed and the charter given by the "charter sellers," as we are called (laughter) the charter that was given to 13 representative men from every Province in the Dominion, that company would have been successful; money would have been obtained on its bonds, the road would ere this have been in progress, from Winnipeg to the frontier would have been built by this time; the railway would have been pushing its way through the valley of the Saskatchewan, extending from Lake Superior westward, and from Lake Superior eastward, and that would have been done, gentlemen, done by a company of capitalists with a subsidy of thirty millions of money and fifty million acres of land from the Government. (Voice Very true! and applause). Now, gentlemen, you know well—you may remember the names of the men that undertook that great work; my friend, Dr. Tupper, if you wish to be reminded of them, will repeat the names of the thirteen gentlemen who got the charter—men whose position, whose rank, whose wealth, whose experience, and whose acquaintance with railway affairs were a guarantee that they knew what they were about when they accepted the charter and undertook the work. (Hear, hear). They were willing to accept the responsibility and undertake the work, and it would have gone on, gentlemen, if it had not been for the unpatriotic course taken by the Opposition, and the reviling and the raising of false issues, and the telling of false stories with relation to the policy of the late Government. (Hear, hear). Now, gentlemen, the arrangement that we made was that this Company was to get thirty millions of money, to be given them as the road progressed, and to give them fifty millions of acres of land in alternate blocks, and that the Dominion of Canada were to keep fifty millions of acres also in alternate blocks. It was calculated, that looking at the price of land along the United States Northwest, at least this land should be worth $2.50 an acre; and we agreed for a certain time, to give the Company a fair chance, to dispose of

the lands, that the price of the land lying along the railway should not be under that sum. If we, gentlemen, got for the fifty millions of acres we kept, $2 50 an acre—or if we got one hundred cents per acre—this would have been fifty millions of dollars, and would have covered the thirty millions we were to advance as a subsidy and all the interest upon it (cheers and applause), so that we would have the railway built by these gentlemen by a cash advance of thirty millions of dollars, with the certainty of those thirty millions of dollars being recouped, and returned to the people of Canada by the sale of fifty millions of acres of land reserved. How that great scheme was wrecked, my friend will tell you; and I must say to you that it was a bitter disappointment to me, as it must be a bitter disappointment to every man who is anxious for the development of the country, and to see its growth as a Dominion— that this scheme did not succeed. Until that road is built to British Columbia and the Pacific, this Dominion is a mere geographical expression, and not one great Dominion; until bound by the iron link, as we have bound Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by the Intercolonial Railway, we are not a Dominion in fact. I had hoped gentlemen—it was naturally a pride of mine—I had hoped, old as I am, that I would still have been spared to see the first train cross from Ontario to British Columbia (hear, hear)—I had hoped that I might have been permitted to have seen the union take place, and then indeed, gentlemen, as a Canadian, who had something to do in the origination of that union and in the joining of these great provinces, I could have cheerfully sung my *nunc demittis*. (Cheers.) I will not discuss, for the reason I have given you, the abortive plan of the present Government, which has been substituted for our great, our wise and patriotic scheme, but I will say this — that I do not believe the scheme announced by Mr. McKenzie, a year ago, will be carried out, and I believe that next session will see the withdrawal or modification of the proposition. We know perfectly well that Mr. Blake, who has come into that Government, not more than a year ago, denounced the scheme, saying that it was an impracticable scheme, an extravagant scheme, and far beyond the means of this country; saying that British Columbia was merely a sea of mountains, and intimating that British Columbia, if she did not choose to accept what was offered, and would insist upon the fulfilment of the original scheme, might go out of the Union. I believe, gentlemen, we will see at the next session a further abandonment on the part of the present Government of the plan imperfect as it was, and as it is—and God knows what they are going to substitute instead of it (hear, hear). Well, gentlemen, we went out—we resigned, in consequence of the cry that was got up against us,—a false cry. False issues were raised against us by the insidious resolution of that great and good man, Lucius Seth Huntington (laughter and groans); by his insidiously-drawn resolution it was insinuated, and almost in terms expressed—that the Government had entered into a nefarious conspiracy with Sir Hugh Allan, with Jay Cook and Company, and with the Northern Pacific Railway, represented by Yankee speculators, to hand over the railway to United States influences and transfer the control of our land and to give the subsidy of thirty millions to the Americans; and that after having drawn and expended these subsidies, they would proceed for their own purposes, to the building of their own Northern railway. This statement was widely disseminated, was sown broadcast over the land, and it went like a wave over the Government. What though we explained and proved the falsehood of it? The popular mind was surprised and captured by the cry, and we resigned, gentlemen, in consequence of the flow of that wave. The country now knows how false these charges were, and that the real reason we were attacked was because we would not give Americans any interest in the undertaking—(hear, hear and applause)—because we would not give a sixpence into their hands, and because we insisted that the contractors, the shareholders and everybody who had any connection with the railway should be British subjects (hear, hear and applause), in order to keep the control of the road in Canadian hands. In consequence of our rejection of every attempt of the Americans to get possession of our road, and the control of its affairs, they conspired with some gentlemen in Montreal, and by means gentlemen, which you know well, resignation became requisite. We resigned, and now, the sober second thought of the country sees, that while we were fighting the Canadian battle, while we were attempting to construct that great railway through Canada, with Canadian and British capital, and with Canadian and British influences and means, the completion of the present scheme, so far as ascertained, is calculated to divert Canadian trade into American channels, and to open up to American [illegible]sts our great railway means of communication. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, as we resigned, Mr. Mackenzie was sent for to form a Government; on the 6th of this month they have been in two years, and I would ask you, gentlemen, if their record for these two years has not been growing pretty fast. If you look back at all the charges brought against the Governments with which I have been connected since 1854—for twenty long years,—had there been such charges of incapacity, and mal-administration against me as have been formulated and established during these two years against the Administration of Mr. Mackenzie (hear, hear), what would have been said? Why gentlemen, the Government in the first place commenced with a political fraud on the face of it. It was known that although Mr. Mackenzie was at the head of the Government, he was a mere instrument in the hands of Mr. George Brown, (hear, hear, and voice—Big Push); and that the influence of that gentleman, although still great, was on the wane; and it was therefore thought that to appeal to the people with Mr. Mackenzie only at the head of the Government might not be so successful as could be wished. So Mr. Blake went into the Government without a portfolio, in order to lend the weight of his name to the Ministry, and they went to the polls as the Mackenzie-Blake Government, but the moment the elections were carried with the assistance of Mr. Blake, and the aid of his friends, then, he resigned office, and as I stated in the House, instead of the country having what they bargained for—the great Blake-Mackenzie Government—the brand-new article, they had the old brown stuff after all, (applause and laughter). Well, gentlemen, there was the same want of candor, with the new Ministers, when they took office. They had pledged themselves not to dissolve, in order to carry a vote against us, evidently, and that is proved by the fact that every one of the new Ministers went to his re-election for the old Parliament. To put us off our guard, they made believe that there would be no general election, and having thus deceived the people of Canada, they suddenly rushed on the elections—made what was called in England, "the night march." They took us by surprise; the experiment was tried in England, but it failed. Mr. Mackenzie tried it in Canada, and he succeeded for a time, but he sees now at an early date, that he is receiving as his reward the contempt of the people of Canada—for his want of candor, and for the clandestine mode in which he proceeded on that occasion. (Hear, hear and applause). If you will look at his address delivered to his constitutents, gentlemen, you will see that he says, that he was forced to dissolve in consequence of the corruption used in the election of 1872, (cries of Oh! Oh!)—that in consequence of the corrupt use of money by the Government of the day—of 1872—he was obliged in order to raise the standard of political purity in Canada (great laughter), to do this; and, gentlemen, the revelations before the Judges have shown you, where the "purity" was [hear, hear]; the revelations made before the tribunals of the country have shown that the challenge I gave in Parliament—that I would prove that they spent $2 to our $1 in the elections, (cheers) was true; and, gentlemen, these revelations are so extraordinary, that had I said $10 instead of $2 to $1, it would have been nearer the mark. (Cheers). Gentlemen, we have only touched the edge; we have merely clipped the shell, and we have not got into the centre of the egg. (Great laughter); and judging from the few trials that we had, and the exposures made on these few trials, it was clear that more money was spent in two of them than was subscribed by Sir Hugh Allan for all the elections in Ontario (applause); and, gentlemen, if we had proceeded in the same course that they did—if we had bribed their men—if we had stolen their papers (hear, hear and a voice: "Office letters!")—if we had filched their letters (cries of yes! yes! and applause)—if we had bribed their confidental servants, to come and tell all they knew (applause), and if we had stolen their cyphered telegrams (applause)—we would have an array of evidence, gentlemen, (hear, hear), to show that Mr. Mackenzie was not far wrong in stating that the Parliament in 1872 was a corrupt one, and it would also show that the corruption was on his own side. (Cheers and voices "give a Big push," "will you be one?") But gentlemen, one letter did come out. The Hon. Mr. Brown wrote a letter, he who had denounced the late Government for their conduct, who had denounced the late Government for their expenditure in elections, and who had denounced the late Government for having corrupted more or less the political morals of the people; and he writes: "We have been doing splendidly in the elections (laughter); but we have exhausted ourselves (laughter), and we must make a big push (cheers and laughter); and we must carry East and West Toronto (laughter), and 'will you be one?'" (laughter); and then Mr. Brown did the most incautious thing he ever did do, published a letter in the *Globe* confessing the sin, and admitting the letter as genuine and really and truly, his. (laughter).

It is said of him by his friends that he was guilty of too much candor; but Providence delivered him into our hands—he was for once candid, and published the admission, or the readers of the *Globe* would never have believed that he could have written such a letter (applause) and thus was made patent to the whole country, his hypocrisy—the gross hypocrisy of the Hon. George Brown, who was maligning and attacking us—assailing us personally, politically and socially, in our characters as men, and as gentlemen, for having raised and expended money at the elections, when he himself had been raising money, stating that they had exhausted themselves and their funds, and asking for a "BIG PUSH" to gain two elections, (cheers and applause), on the following Saturday and Monday, (Cheers). Now, gentlemen, that could not have been for the purpose of legitimate exponses, those must have already been incurred; that is to say, for printing, advertising, for employment of canvassers, for getting canvassing books, for paying for committee rooms, &c., &c.,—that was all past and the elections were coming on within two or three days, for Toronto, on the next Saturday and Monday, and he asks for a "Big Push,"—in other words, to have the money there to bribe electors (cheers); and he also asked the Hon. John Simpson, "*Will you be one?*"—(Great laughter).—Will you be one? And at this very time, gentlemen, he was writing up, as if he were pure as "the icicle that hangs from Diana's temple," (laughter); he was writing up the purity of the Party. Yes! they were going to elevate the standard of political morality, and crush and put down for ever these corruptionists who had so long and so fatally governed this country (laughter). Mr. Simpson says that he never answered that letter, and that he never sent the money (laughter); he says that in a telegram to an Ottawa journal, for Mr. Brown has never published the denial in the *Globe*. The fact of the matter is—Mr. Simpson's statement may be literally true; he may not have spent his own money, but he controls a Bank, and may have spent the Bank's money (cheers); and gentlemen you see that the Bank has got its reward (applause); and Mr. Simpson, with the candid cynicism characteristic of the highwayman, actually wrote to shareholders and others, having an interest in, or being customers of the Bank, and stated in effect that "the new men are great friends of mine; they are political friends of mine; if you help them, in the first place, I will get the control of the patronage of this part of the country, and then it will be a good thing for our bank" (applause); and the consequence is that he has done a first rate stroke of business for the banks (applause. Gentlemen, when acts of this kind are committed. they always bring their own retribution, and much of the weakness of this Government arises from the consequences of this arrangement between the Government and the Banks. Gentlemen, in order to be sustained by certain banks, the Government evidently promised to make deposits in certain banks; and it did make these deposits, and the banks had to sow the money they received broadcast over the country; and although the country was suffering from over-importation and over-speculation, the consequence of a long series of successful years, the Banks increased the inflation by spreading this money broadcast, and then after this money had been loaned out in the country, the inevitable reaction took place, and Mr. Cartwright, with the financial sagacity which characterizes him (prolonged cheers and applause)—of all times in the world, when there was distress and want of confidence, and an approach to a panic, sends notices to the Banks telling them to pay up (laughter); the consequence was that they shut down suddenly on their customers, the undue inflation was succeeded by undue restriction; the customers of the Banks were injured and crippled in their resources by these notices of Mr. Cartwright. You see then Gentlemen, that the consequences of that inflation and the subsequent restriction, were that a large increase of distress, of misery, and of commercial ruin, has been caused, and are both equally chargeable to the Government (Applause and cries of that's true), Gentlemen, they are a happy family in this Government (laughter);--a very happy family. Mr. Mackenzie says that he intends to remain in office a long time (laughter) --he has given his word for that, and yet it is strange to say, gentlemen, his colleagues do not seem to think he is going to last very long [laughter]. Within only two years, or within eighteen months I think, they have lost four of their Ministers [laughter]. Well, these gentlemen did not seek retirement for its own sake, not they; they drew $7,000 each of them, and that is something in hard times, until lately provided for [laughter]. First they had the leader of the Rouge Party, the Hon. Mr. Dorion, a gentleman of whom I wish to speak with all respect—a tower of strength to his Party: but he could not have had confidence in the continuation of the Administration, and he accordingly took the Chief Justiceship [hear, hear], which office he at present so worthily fills. Mr. William Ross, the Minis-

ter of Militia—the Minister of war—[laughter]; he did not exactly change his sword into a ploughshare, but he took up a quill at the Collector's office, in Halifax. [Applause]. Then there is Mr. Fournier, the Minister of Justice—Minister of Justice for a while, and Postmaster-General for another little while, who, after his long toil, his anxious labors, in the many matters of State, in which the country and public are interested, resolved to take office, worn out and wearied by his continuous labors—[laughter]—retiring to the soft cushions of the Bench of the Supreme Court. [Applause.] Then there is the other Postmaster-General [laughter], my namesake, Mr. Donald A. Macdonald—the gentleman who put the screws to the postoffice employes to make them vote for the Government. Mr. Donald A. Macdonald is now holding an anxious office—the anxious office of Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. [Laughter]. It is said gentlemen, for rumours will get abroad too, that even that great and good man, Lucius Seth Huntington [great laughter], will be soon provided for; and that he is going to deprive the Dominion of Canada of his wondrous ability, of his active zeal, of his industry, [laughter], of his legal knowledge [laughter], and of his commercial probity [applause]; he too, it is said, is going to deprive the country, and Parliament and Government of his services, and what his future is to be, the future alone can tell. It is also rumored that Mr. Laird, the Minister of the Interior, having gone up the Saseatchewan, and seen what a fine country the North West is, and having sat in council with the Black Feet and Grees, wishes to go and be the Lieutenant-Governor there, leaving Prince Edward Island to its fate. [Laughter and applause]. Then, sir, Mr. Blake, who resigned, as soon as by the assistance of his name Mr. Mackenzie had carried the elections, from that time for the first session gave a very feeble support to Mr. Mackenzie and his Government, and last session he showed a scarcely concealed hostility. He attacked some of Mr. Mackenzie's measures, sneered at his want of parliamentary knowledge, and upset him for a mistake in parliamentary practice, just to show what he could do; and he further opposed his railway scheme out in Vancouver Island. I do not believe he voted against it, but he became one of those vanishing views [laughter], dissolving views. Oh, yes—he did vote against the Nanaimo & Esquimault Railway, the dissolving views have reference to another measure. [Laughter]. The member for Cumberland, Dr. Tupper, had shown that the Government had been guilty of direct breach of their own Pacific Railway Act. That Act provided that a telegraph line should be built along the line of the railway after it was located. Well, they had not located the line, and they o not, because they had not surveyed the line—but Mr. David Glass had to be paid for his services, and the Government actually contracted for the construction of the telegraph before the location of the railway was determined upon. That was exposed by my honorable friend, and when a motion was made upon it, it was then that Mr. Blake and his party followed him. Mr. Moss and Mr. Mills, the philosopher of Bothwell, became dissolving views, and popped out at the back doors [laughter]. I said Mr. Blake's opposition was scarcely concealed; it was, in fact, not concealed during the second session; I tell you that he opposed the Government measures, and gave the cold shoulder to Mr. Mackenzie as leader; he sneered at him, "he showed his teeth." But as I heard Judge Sicotte once remark to my friend Mr. Holton, who was making a speech in the House, and "making big eyes"—"Mr. Holton, you may make as big eyes and look as ugly as you like, but you won't frighten me" [laughter]. Mr. Blake was making big eyes and looking as ugly as possible at the First Minister of the Crown. He started the *Liberal* newspaper in the hopeless attempt of writing down George Brown and the *Globe*. Then arose Mr. Brown, in his might, and putting out his mighty paw on both Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake—for he knew what his power was—he said: "Gentlemen, no more nonsense; you two cannot quarrel; Mr. Blake, you must squelch that *Liberal* of yours; Mr. Blake, you must go into the Government of Mr. Mackenzie; the Premiership is not for you; that is meat for your master; you must fall into the ranks; Mr. Blake cease making big eyes, and squelch the *Liberal*." "To hear was to obey," and down went the *Liberal*. He fell back among the ruck of the Ministers and took a back seat with the A. J. Smiths and Burpees, and all that kind of people. (Laughter and applause). As Mr. Mackenzie has been of late in a poetical mood he might, in thinking on the fallen state of Mr. Blake, like Timotheus or Dryden

"Have sung Darius great and good,
"By too severe a fate;
"Fallen from his high estate,
"And weltering in the mud."

[Applause and cheers.

Well, gentlemen, that was the first session---look at that for a first session. They say it requires a new member of Parliament a session to learn where to hang up his hat, and it should certainly require one session for a Minister to learn how to manage the House. However, Mr. Mackenzie did something---he brought down the Pacific scheme, and you know all about the tariff brought down by Mr. Cartwright. Mr. Mackenzie said the other day that every tariff is objected to by some one; that whenever an interest is affected that interest will object; but this was a tariff which holds the unique position of receiving opposition from every one. (Laughter and applause). Gentlemen, there are 252 persons before me here, and there are four millions of people in the Dominion, and if you will find any one among these 252 or any one of the four millions of the inhabitants of Canada, any man, woman, or child, that could say a word in favour of that tariff, then I will sit down, (Laughter). Virgil tells us of Aeolus who went to the Cave of the Winds, and letting all the winds north, south, east and west escape, they rushed out and sank the devoted ships of Aeneas. *Una eurusque notusque ruunt creberque procellis auster.* Just in the same way, from the north, south, east and west, deputations flowed into Ottawa and overwhelmed Mr. Cartwright. (Hear, hear). They came from all quarters, by all trains, and in all sorts of conveyances (laughter); and they protested not against one article, but against every item, against every change, and every imposition in the tariff, (applause); and Mr. Cartwright, after a feeble attempt to vindicate his policy, said: "Well, I think we will put it off till a fitter opportunity." (Laughter). The duty was fixed by him at 16⅔ *ad valorem* duty; "that is not enough," they said; "then I will make it 17½" (laughter); but, gentlemen, he could not even do this in a gracious way, because, while the 17½ per cent. might be considered in some degree a protection for our infant manufacturers, he greatly diminished its value by taxing various raw materials before on the free list. (Hear, hear, and applause). We had provided in our tariff years ago that those raw materials or products partaking of the nature of raw materials that could be worked up in manufactories, should be free of duty, but, while Mr. Cartwright raised the duty for a time to 17½ per cent, he destroyed much of the value of the increase to our manufacturers, by putting duties upon the raw material. As I have had occasion to say in the House and elsewhere. Mr. Cartwright said that this was only a temporary provision; but Mr. Mackenzie denied it here the other day. Now, Mr. Cartwright did not say that the duty would be taken off, but that the duties would be readjusted; perhaps he meant in the direction of an increase of duties, perhaps in the direction of reducing them, but that this thin tariff was merely a provisional arrangement. Well now, gentlemen, that announcement certainly did not increase the confidence of the manufacturers in Canada (loud cries of no, no! and hear, hear), for if there is one thing calculated to paralyze trade in Canada, and one thing more than another calculated so shake our credit—already damaged by the unwise financial course of the present administration—and shake it to the basis, it would be the idea that Mr. Cartwright was to be entrusted with the permanent control of that department. (Applause and cheers.) Evil as have been the consequences of the course of the Government, it would be trifling in comparison with the deep and lasting injury that would be inflicted on the country by any changes in our customs duties that would be made under the capricious advice of such an ignorant and conceited man. (Cheers.) How Mr. Mackenzie will act with regard to the tariff, God only knows. In order to get the freedom of Dundee [laughter] he was a free trader—an out-and-out free trader, a Richard Cobdenite [hear, hear]; and he pledged himself that any Government in which he held office would, if necessary, carry out the principles of Free Trade as announced by himself [groans]; he came back to Canada; he went up to Sarnia and made a speech there, showing that he had changed a little. But then the atmosphere had changed, gentlemen [applause]; he had already got the freedom of Sarnia, and the whole support of Sarnia, for he was the member for Sarnia, gentlemen, and he was speaking to soothe the manufacturing interests of Canada. [Laughter.] Therefore he told them that he was in favor of incidental protection. He came down to Montreal for the purpose of defeating my friend, Mr. White, and I think that he appeared in a new character—in the character of an out-and-out protectionist. [Hear, hear and laughter.] Well, gentlemen, his course puts me very much in mind of the western man in the United States. He was a leading member of the Democratic party, and was seeking the suffrages of some constituency in the far west; so, addressing them somewhat in Mr. Mackenzie's style, he said to them: "Gentlemen, I have laid before you the platform of the Democratic Party—these, gentlemen, are the principles of the

Democratic Party; I am a Democrat, a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat; these are the principles fastened on my banner; by these I will stand or fall; but, gentlemen, *if they do not suit they can be changed.*" [Prolonged applause and uproarious laughter.] Well, gentlemen, the Tariff and the Pacific Railway is pretty much all they did in that session, and a poor show they made in both of them. [Cheers.] They passed, it is true, some inspection laws, but all they had to do was to take them out of the pigeon-holes of the late Ministry; this was all they then did, and last session they did still less. [Laughter.] They consolidated the election law, placing half a dozen statutes into one; it was little more than simple consolidation, with the exception of providing for the ballot. Well, gentlemen, I was opposed to the ballot, because I have always thought that a man ought to feel the responsibility of voting—of going up like a man and giving his vote. [Applause.] But as it had been granted in England, there was evidently no use in fighting it here. It was carried; but if the Administration had had only an idea of the effect the ballot was going to have, we would certainly have had no ballot. [Applause.] It was the ballot that saved me at my last election. [Hear, hear.] The two Governments were working against me and had their eye on every man, and were ready to come down with the hammer of Thor on every one, rich or poor, in their power in any way, as a contractor, laborer, or Government employee of any kind. I would have had no more the chance of being elected without the ballot than I would have for Centre Montreal to-morrow. [Cheers and cries of "We'll elect you! come out, Sir John!"] A greater than I, I fear, will be elected—I fear my star must wane before that of Devlin. But, gentlemen, they passed a Controverted Election Act. [Cries of oh! oh!] Yet, gentlemen, that Controverted Election Act was pretty much a copy of the Bill the late Government had passed the session before. They say that they have improved the old law, but I do not think they have. They made a serious blunder in it, and the consequence of the blunder is, that some Judges of Lower Canada have declared the law to be unconstitutional, and it has to be decided whether it is constitutional or not. It is not yet decided. I avoided all difficulty in my bill; but, gentlemen, they were determined to make some difference between the old law and the new, and they made this improvement, and a pretty improvement it is. [Laughter.] But, gentlemen, while they pretend to have made an improvement in the election law, my friends were tried, and their friends have been tried and unseated [hear, hear and applause] under my law, and not under their law. [Voice: Good for you!] They say, gentlemen, "But didn't the Opposition force you to pass your Election Act? You resisted it the previous session." Well, gentlemen, the fact was that the law had only just been passed in England. It had never been tried there, and the Judges in England signed a remonstrance against this new duty being thrown on them. It was most important to know how the law would work in England, or whether the Judges would be able to work it. I therefore allowed it to stand over for a session to see how the measure succeeded in England; and if it worked well there, I said that we would introduce it into Canada at the following session [applause]; and, as I said before, if there has been a purification of the House—if the rotten sticks have been broken—if men have been disqualified, and men shown to be elected by means of money corruptly used, it was under the law passed by the late Administration, and the late corrupt Parliament, that this purification has taken place, that these trials have been held, and that the wrong men have been unseated and the right men put in. [Loud applause.] Well, they passed an Insolvent law; and I think that Mr. Mackenzie takes credit for that. Why, Mr. Mackenzie had always been opposed to an Insolvent law, and the man that has the right, the real right, to claim credit for the Insolvent law is a resident of Montreal—the Hon. Mr. Abbott. [Hear, hear and applause.] When I was Minister of Jusitee and the head of the Government, he consulted with me on the occasion of the old Insolvent law expiring, and as I knew he had fully studied the subject, I asked him to introduce a bill; a committee was struck; he labored at the bill zealously; he got the assistance of the Government—we gave him all the assistance the Government could give him—but to him must be the honor, to him must be the praise of that measure; and the Insolvent law passed at the last session is, in substance, in all its material provisions and in its machinery—although with some improvements and some amendments—John Abbott's law. He alone should get credit for it; and Mr. Mackenzie, who was always opposed to a Bankruptcy or Insolvency Bill, has only the merit of allowing it to pass. There were some acts passed in connection with the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Any of you, gentlemen, who were in the

lobby at the time will remember that Mr. A. J. Smith, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, did not understand his own bills, and could not explain them, and had to get the assistance of his predecessor, the Hon. Peter Mitchell. [Applause.] That gentleman, having the interests of his country at heart, and particularly the interests of our shipping, of our commerce and of our trade, came forward and lent his skill, his experience, his earnest assistance and sympathy; and only by that assistance were those bills carried, and only by him and through him were these bills explained and defended. [Cheers.] Yes, gentlemen, last session they passed another bill which I think will be of service. They passed an Act for the further organization of the North-West territory, introducing some provisions relating to the sale and management of the public lands in that country. As to that portion of the bill which was framed by the Surveyor-General, Colonel Denis, all are acquainted with it; but there is one provision which provides for a separate Lieutenant-Governor for the great North-West. Now, we were more economical; we thought that until some white inhabitants went into the North-West, outside of Manitoba, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba could do both duties. Mr. Morris was ready and willing to perform these duties, and he did perform them well and ably [applause]; and he did so on his salary as Lieutenant-Governor, with a small additional allowance. Although Mr. Morris never complained of the work, still they provided in the Act passed in April last that it was necessary for the good of the country to have a separate Lieutenant-Governor. Yet they have allowed—although it was absolutely necessary that they should have a new Governor right off—the time to pass, and they have not yet appointed any one, because there is, forsooth, a quarrel as to who should get it. Mr. Laird wants to go there, and other people want to get it, and therefore the country is suffering for want of a Lieutenant-Governor. (Cheers.) Then, gentlemen, comes the Supreme Court Bill. I said the other day that the Supreme Court Bill was my Bill. Mr. Mackenzie says I never drew it, and he also says that he always draws his own bills. Now, I will venture to say, gentlemen, and I think that we will prove it by the Law Clerk at Ottawa, that Mr. Mackenzie never drew any Bill (except, perhaps, a bill of parcels) in his life. [Great laughter.] As regards the Supreme Court Bill, it could not be evolved, as a German philosopher evolved an elephant out of his own consciousness; such bills are not to be extracted from a man's imagination. The Government and I, as Minister of Justice, had to sit down and consider the laws of different countries, especially of England and the United States, and examine the constitution of their different Appellate Courts, with the view of endeavoring to construct a good working system for this country. In making these researches I had the valuable assistance of a late colleague, the Hon. Mr. Archibald, at present Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. He and I both worked at that bill, and we prepared it for submission at the first session of Parliament. Then, gentlemen, that bill was not passed in consequence of sundry difficulties that arose with respect to the representation of Lower Canada in the Court; but before the next session we had consulted many of the Judges; I had sent my bill to the Judges; I received suggestions from all sources, and and I was very glad to get these suggestions; and I employed a gentleman, now one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and asked him to devote his time for the purpose of considering the whole subject. After receiving all the suggestions that were sent me, I prepared a second bill and laid it before Parliament; and Mr. Fournier, when introducing the bill now law, said in his place that his bill was principally framed on my own, and that if it had not been for the assistance he thus got, he would scarcely have had the courage to have undertaken the task [applause and cheers]; and I assisted him, as the Hon. Mr. Mitchell assisted the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, in every way in my power to carry that bill. And what did I get, gentlemen, in return? On the third reading of the bill, just as it was about to be passed (hear, hear), without notice, without warning, an independent member—not Mr. Fournier—not the Minister of Justice, who is responsible for the administration of that great Court and its organization, but a member from Hamilton, evidently by concert, moved, seconded by Mr. Laflamme, that a clause be put into the bill at the last moment, doing away with the right of appeal to the Mother Country. (Deep groans.) I at once, in my place, strongly protested against that. I said that it was a trick, a surprise upon the House, and that, had I known that such a qualification was contemplated, I would certainly have opposed the whole measure from the beginning. (Applause.) Why, gentlemen, it was the entrance of the wedge (hear, hear); it was just the commencement of the severance

of the connection between the Mother Country and Canada. [Hear, hear.] It is the right of every British subject his inalienable right, to appeal to the foot of the Throne (hear, hear and cheers); it is the inalienable right of every British subject, if from any Provincial, Colonial or inferior Court he thinks he has not received justice, to go to the Queen, our common mother; it is the great mark of our allegiance; it is the great mark of our being a portion of this great Empire, that we all of us, whether living in Canada or at the Cape of Good Hope, or in Australia, have the right to appeal to the foot of the Throne. (Cheers,) We will see at the next session, gentlemen, whether Her Majesty's Government has not told the present Government that this clause must be repealed. (Applause.) Gentlemen, in their election bill the Government provided that the franchise for the Dominion Parliaments should be the franchise existing for the provincial Legislatures. (Hear, hear). I think this is most unwise, and I will tell you why gentlemen; because every Legislature does not legislate alike, and persons having a right to vote in one Province, might have no vote in a neighbouring one, a most unseemly anomaly, likely to breed discontent, and, besides, would it not be absurd, that I, a member elected, under one law for a constituency, should find that behind my back and without my knowledge, another Legislature, and not the one to which I was elected had swept away my constituency and given me another. But, gentlemen, still further you can see what might be done, and know what would be done if the political exigency arose. We might see in the Province of Ontario, for instance, the franchise altered by act of the local Legislature when the elections of the Dominion were coming on, and carried under the new franchise and after they were carried this law might be repealed and no election held for the Provincial Legislature at all under that franchise. For these reasons, gentlemen, I am of opinion, that every parliament should have the control and the definition of the elective franchise by the exercise of which its popular branch is constituted. However, we were out-voted—we were over-borne, and it was announced as a cardinal principle of that measure of theirs, that the Assembly in each Province should also elect the members for the Dominion Parliament. But afterwards, when we commenced to look over the Government Bill, we found a quiet clause respecting Prince Edward Island introduced—depriving many of the people of Prince Edward Island of the right of voting; men who had a right to vote for the Legislative Assembly of Prince Edward Island were to be deprived of their right under the Bill, and why? Gentlemen, they have an elective Upper as well as an elective Lower House, and for the Upper House there is a higher franchise than that for the Lower Chamber. Now, Mr. Laird, one of the members for Prince Edward Island, and one of the members of the Government, finding himself unpopular among his constituents, and that if he went back to the same body of men that elected him, he might perhaps fail, and be allowed to stay at home, coolly introduced a clause in the bill for his own benefit, depriving many of the very men who had sent him to Parliament of their votes, so that it should be the aristocratic body of electors that were thereafter to send a member to the House and which might perhaps elect him again. The consequence of that limitation was this: It fell upon the working classes, and struck especially at one race and at one religion. The working classes in Prince Edward Island, as in many other parts of this country, are largely composed of Roman Catholics, and it was a direct blow at the Roman Catholic vote in Prince Edward Island in order that Mr. Laird might secure a constituency for himself. Mr. Chairman, Thank Heaven, they used to say in England, we have a House of Lords; and thank Heaven we have a Senate in Canada. This clause in the Bill was corrected by the Senate, and Mr. Laird has got to go back and seek re-election from the very men he endeavoured to rob of their franchise; hence perhaps the desire he has not to go back, but rather to luxuriate in the wilds and on the prairies of the North-west. (Laughter). Gentlemen, I have talked about the legislation of the Government; now about their administration. Look at the Cabinet, two years in office and four changes! Why, gentlemen, when I was in the Government, and they used to attack me and say that business was being neglected it was a cardinal principle against which some of my colleagues would grumble occasionally, that on no occasion should Ottawa be left without a quorum of the Council, no matter what exigency might occur. There was never a day or night when there was not a quorum of the Council at the Governor's elbow to assist him in carrying on the affairs of the country (hear, hear and applause); but as for these ministers, why look at the newspapers! I hope that they have got passes; for if not, one-half their salaries must be expended in railway fares. (Laughter). They are like the wandering Jew, go anywhere and you will find them; if you go to Manitoba, you will find them; if you go to

New Brunswick, you will find Mr A. J. Smith; if you go here you find a minister, and if you go there you find a minister; but there is one place you may go gentlemen, and not find a minister, and that is Ottawa (Laughter). We have besides a Minister of Justice whose important duties require his constant presence at head-quarters, but whom we find practising his profession. [Hear, hear and applause]. Now, gentlemen, I do not wish to make his holding Briefs a ground of attack upon Mr. Blake, as being wrong in itself, but I say as a Minister of Justice he ought always to be at headquarters [applause]; and I know it took me all my time to perform the duties of my office—when holding that position—faithfully and well. [Applause]. It was charged by Mr. Blake himself in the legislature of Ontario, that Mr. M. C. Cameron, while a member of the Ontario Cabinet, practiced in the Courts. But Mr. Cameron held the office of Secretary of the Province, and his duties were merely nominal. [Hear, hear]. Here, however, we find Mr. Blake, the Minister of Justice, practising before the Judges he himself nominates, and whose salaries he may recommend to be raised, and whom he may promote from Puisne Judges to Chief Juistices, and from Vice Chancellors to Chancellors. [Hear, hear]. This is the experience we have of their administration of public affairs. [Applause]. Gentlemen, at first there was an under current, a growl, an underswell, and now, the roar of discontent is increasing in volume, and in intensity; it is complained that the business of the country is neglected, and that it is no use to go to Ottawa on public business, for one Minister is attending to his farm, another perhaps looking for a new wife, [laughter], another is making speeches here, and a third is making speeches there, and the business of the country is neglected—no business is done at all. [Hear, hear]. Then, gentlemen, as to appointments. I have heard that appointments to office in Montreal, have been singularly satisfactory [laughter]; that they never think of anything but fitness for office; that no political considerations ever induce them to take a wrong man; that the confidence of the public, that personal respectability, and the respect of the community are a *sine qua non* in their appointments (laughter). Well, gentlemen, I believe that the samples you have had in Montreal, of the mode in which they make appointments, are equally good samples of the appointments they are making all over the Dominion; and you may judge then of the manner in which this country is governed, and of the manner in which new appointments are made [applause]. Gentlemen, it used to be the cry of the Liberal Party in England—and it used to be the cry in Canada, of the Party that assumes that name, that there must be no pensions (hear, hear). But this Government have introduced the system of pensioning in the most obnoxious way. We have a Superannuation Law on our Statute Book, providing for old servants who had become no longer capable of performing the duties of their office, the means of moderate livelihood in their old age. But it is highly improper, and entirely contrary to the spirit of the Act, to superannuate able-bodied and capable men, merely to make vacancies for partizan office-seekers. The country is thus deprived of the services of efficient men, probably replaced by inferior persons, besides the loss of the retiring allowances, whatever they may be.

One word more about the Pacific Railroad. We asked for bread and they gave us a stone; we asked for a railway and they gave us little pieces of railway, connected by "magnificent water stretches." But while we cannot get the railway we have the rails thrown on our hands, which, costing an enormous sum of money, may possibly be required for some purpose years hence [hear, hear]. I believe that the principles which have governed the Liberal Conservative Party in the past will actuate them while in opposition and afterwards, when, in the course of time, the Party will be restored to power. [Cheers]. One of the differences between the policy of the Liberal Conservatives and the policy of the Grits, has reference to a question of revenue—concerning the promotion of the manufacturing interests of the country. Our policy in the future will be what it has been in the past. [Cheers]. We have always since 1859, when Mr., now Sir Alexander Galt, was Finance Minister, announced our policy to be incidentally a protective policy in the interest of our native industries, and acting upon that policy we have held that our Customs and Excise duties should be so adjusted as to provide incidental protection, and at the same time not to be so excessive as to amount to prohibition, but to be really and truly a revenue tariff.

Then, gentlemen, another difference which exists between the Conservative Party as a whole and the motley group of conflicting opinions which forms the "Great Ministerial Party" [laughter], is illustrated in another way. A cardinal point in our policy is connection with Great Britain. (Cheers.) I have no patience with those men who talk as if the time must

come when we must separate from England. I see no necessity for it [cheers]: I see no necessity for such a culmination and the discussion or the mention of it and the suggestion of it to the people can only be mischievous. Sir, is it not the duty of every well-wisher of his country, and of every patriotic statesman, to make the people of his country satisfied with their lot, if their lot be a happy one [applause]; and, Sir, I say that this country is one of the happiest on the face of the earth. [Hear, hear.] We govern ourselves, we tax ourselves as we please, we are allowed even to tax the goods, the products, and the trade of our fellow-subjects in the Mother Country; we have full and ample rights of legislation; we have protection for life, for property and for reputation; we have our liberty in the widest sense; we are free from the dread of being oppressed by a despot; and we are, I trust, equally free from all chance of degenerating into licentiousness or anarchy. [Applause.] This is a happy state of affairs, and yet, with not the slightest chance or prospect of that happy position being altered for the worse, we are called upon to speculate upon the time when we are to sever the connection so happily at present existing with the Empire; to set up as an independent nation, and to cut away all the links that bind us to the Mother Country and to our fellow subjects in Great Britain and in the other colonies. We are asked to run all the risks of Independence, all the hazards, all the cost, all the dangers and all the responsibilities of an Independent nation. Sir, we have got the pledge of the Mother Country, and, as I have said before, that pledge has never been broken, that the whole power of the Empire will, if need be, be exerted in our defence. [Applause.] Mr. Mackenzie has announced, in language so broad that it has brought upon him the censure of the English press [hear, hear], the information that hereafter Canada is to make her own treaties. Mr. Mackenzie could not have meant this in its wide sense, but I believe and am sure I am quite correct in believing, as was the case in the Washington Treaty, when a Canadian representative was consulted, and as in the case of the Reciprocity Treaty, when Mr. Brown was placed in communication as a *quasi* ambassador, with Sir Edward Thornton—that in the future, in any question which interests Canada in her relations with foreign States, England will allow Canada to be fully and fairly heard [hear, hear], and be glad to have the assistance of a person in the shape of a Commissioner, or Assessor, or co-delegate, in order that the interests, and more especially the legal claims, of Canada may be fully considered and fully cared for. (Applause.) Sir, as to annexation to the United States, I am opposed to that treasonable proposition altogether. [Cheers.] A British subject I was born, and a British subject I hope to die [hear, hear, and applause]—leaving that precious inheritance to my children, and hoping that my children's children will have still the pride and glory of calling themselves British subjects. [Hear, hear, and applause.] Consider this subject for a moment. Gentlemen, you may remember—and I hope that I can afford, at this distance of time, when instead of hostile races being set in hostile array against each other, there is peace and harmony in this country among all races and among all religions, all of us working together for the common good, to allude to the events of 1849 and the days of the Rebellion Losses Bill, without giving offence—you may remember that in the excitement of that time, in consequence of the temporary feeling of irritation that was burning in the minds of British inhabitants in Lower Canada, very many of them, especially the younger men, in their anxiety to show their irritation, and in the temporary insanity, I may say, of the moment, spoke of annexation to the United States. It was a short insanity, but still it existed for a time. Suppose that annexation had taken place then, in the year 1849, what would have been the consequences? Gentlemen, your sons would have been carried away to fight the battles of the civil war (hear, hear); your militia would have been marched to the South, instead of staying at home and enjoying peace and prosperity under British law and British protection. (Hear, hear and applause) Your country like much of the United States both North and South, would have been ravaged. Your young men would have been slain, and many households rendered desolate. Many a wife would have mourned her husband, and many a parent would have wept over the grave of slaughtered children (applause); and you would now have been suffering under the ruinous load of taxation, which clogs and impedes the prosperity even of that great country, the United States. And so too, gentlemen I ask you to consider what may happen hereafter, if annexation with the United States should at any time take place. Why, a great country like the United States—a country like that, must and will have for ages—until it becomes an old and settled country—momentous constitutional questions arising. This is

now the case. The constitution is on its trial, is in a state of transition, with many problems of vital importance unsolved. I would deplore it, and I pray to God that it may not happen, but we may see again similar strifes, similar conflicts may recur, and should we run any such danger as is natural in a union with the United States (cries of no, no), when we are safe under the ægis of Great Britain—safe and enjoying peace, liberty, happiness, comfort, family felicity and the means of improvement intellectual, moral, and physical by remaining as we are, British subjects. (Applause). As to Independence,—to talk of Independence is—to use Mr. Disraeli's happy phrase—"veiled treason," (hear, hear, and applause;) it is annexation in disguise, (hear, hear); and I am certain, that if we were severed from England, and were now standing alone with our four millions of people, the consequence would be that before five years we would be absorbed into the United States. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, we are in greater danger than before the civil war (hear, hear). Before the war the whole of the Southern States — the slave-holding States — would have opposed to the death an increase in the number of free States, giving an additional strength to the cause of anti-slavery. Then the Southern States would have opposed the annexation of Canada, but now, slavery being abolished, the Southern American has exactly the same feeling that pervades the mass of the people of the United States—that the inevitable destiny of that country is to govern one whole continent, and that they will absorb the whole continent. We hear gentlemen like Mr. Mackenzie, in their confidence, state that the great and good and wise men of the United States would not attempt such a thing; but, gentlemen, the great and the good and the wise—the educated classes—do not govern there; it is the masses who govern (applause)—the many govern—it is the many-headed monster, that governs that country (hear, hear); and not only is it the practice to instil it into every child from the time he hears his first fourth of July oration until he is twenty-one, but also to work into the minds of the people of the United States, the notion, that it is their destiny to be the biggest as well as the greatest nation on earth. We have an instance of what would happen to us, if Independent, by looking at Texas. (Hear, hear). Texas was a portion of Mexico, and a number of Americans from the United States settled there by invitation of the Mexican Government; they soon severed themselves from Mexico, and declared themselves a separate nation as the State of Texas, "The State of the Lone Star," and how soon were they absorbed! Gentlemen, the same mode of absorption would go on here under similar circumstances, and so confident am I of that fact, that if the question was between independence or annexation, I myself would rather have annexation out and out than the danger of war, the loss of credit, the distress and the want of confidence that, with independence, would continually harass the government and the people, owing to the dangers threatening the new State. With such an extended frontier how many causes of quarrel would arise? While now, backed by the power of England, we are free from all those dangers. Left alone with the United States, it may be, gentlemen, that the lion and the lamb would lie down together, but, as has been said, the lamb would be inside the lion. [Laughter.] Gentlemen, I look forward to a permanent union, and I look forward to it not as a mere Utopian speculation, but as the practical result of our connection with Great Britain. It is not an idea of to-day; and if you would so favor me, if you think it worth your while to look over the debates on Confederation in 1865 at Quebec, you will find that what I am now stating to you I stated then as being the hoped for future of Canada. It is this:—That England would be the central power [applause], and we auxiliary nations; that Canada, as one Confederation, would by degrees have less of dependence and more of alliance than at present; and that we would be all united under the same sovereign, all owing allegiance to the same Crown, and all inspired by the same British spirit; and that we would have a close alliance, offensive and defensive. You see now the progress of events in carrying out this scheme. You see South Africa about to form a great Confederation. The position of the Australian Colonies is such, strewn as they are around the edge of that vast continent, that they may not be able to form a Confederation so closely allied as our Provinces of Canada, but a Zollverein and arrangements by Treaty amongst themselves, by which their quota of land and sea forces, and their several subsidies for the purpose of doing their share in the defence of the Empire is quite probable. Now, gentlemen, twenty-five years is but as a day in the lifetime of a nation; let us go on as peaceably and happily as we are now going on, and twenty-five years, I fully expect, should see the solution of that question. Great Britain, by that

time, will have forty millions; Canada, ten millions; Australia, her millions; and these latter with South Africa, capable of unlimited extension; and New Zealand, nearly as large as England, will be separate auxiliary countries, all ranged around the Central Power, England. I do not look for Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, because the Imperial Parliament, with such representation, would claim the right of taxation, but I look for the alliance of these auxiliary Powers with the Central Government under Treaty arrangements similar to the existing arrangement between England and Canada. The arrangement at this moment is that we are pledged to expend a certain sum of money on our militia in response and return for the pledge obtained from England that the whole military power of the Empire shall be used for our defence; make an extension of that arrangement by providing that the Central Power shall contribute so much, that each of the auxiliary nations shall give their quota; and then when any nation goes to war with England she will go to war with half a dozen nations. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It will give an assurance of peace to the world, and it will give an assurance of peace to us when it is known that if one extremity of the vast British Empire is attacked, British subjects and soldiery from every extremity of it will rush to the rescue. (Hear, hear.) Then, gentlemen, so powerful will be England that she will be safe from all attack (applause), and instead of being a source of anxiety and a source of weakness to the British Empire, we will find ourselves standing by our grand old mother, become a defence, a fortification, an outwork, instead of being a weakness and a source of expense. (Cheers; hear, hear and prolonged applause.) Remember, too, that Canada has already the fourth commercial navy in the world, and a large population of hardy seamen, and that all the Sister Colonies I have named must, from their position, become Maritime Powers. So that the Sovereignty of the Seas seems assured for all time to this United Empire. To this I look forward. It is a grand scheme, and it is a scheme quite capable of being carried into practical operation, and when carried out, gentlemen, it will not be too much to expect that the great nation, our congeners on the other side of the line, seeing that all the different peoples who speak the English language, but themselves are formed into one great nation, as it were, for the purpose of operating as a moral police, and of keeping the peace of the world—it will not be too much to hope and expect that our congeners, speaking the same language, and being of the same race, will assist in the great work of keeping the peace of the world, and if necessary, gentlemen, of enforcing it. [Applause]. Gentlemen, in the great war, when Napoleon, by the power of his arms, had forced the nations of Europe to close their ports against England and English shipping, even then, gentlemen, although England's colonies were few and feeble, she fought that battle, and carried it to a victorious conclusion, and drove the tyrant from his throne, with aid of the domestic commerce she had with her own colonies. And when all these become great nations, having one head, and being one people, and having one interest, England if all Europe were in arms against her, with her trade, her commerce, and her wealth, with the waves rolling about her feet, would be still secure, living in her children, and her children blessed in her. [Loud and continued applause]. One word more. While independence is generally annexation in disguise, some speculative philosophers, who look into the distant future, seem to believe that it will be our fate and our advantage to walk alone as a separate nationality. Mr. Goldwin Smith is one of those. I would fain hope that the future that I desire for the empire and its auxiliary kingdoms, might strike his imagination and be accepted as a substitute for independence. If this policy could only enlist his magic pen in its behalf, it would be an infinite benefit to the good cause. [Cheers]. It is a great privilege to me to address a Montreal audience, and a great pleasure to be present at this magnificient demonstration to my friend Mr White. [Loud applause]. Gentlemen, if it is any satisfaction to Mr. Mackenzie and his Ministry to know it, they shall know it—that it was a deep and bitter disappointment to me, and to those who act with me, and to the Conservative Party throughout the Dominion—that Mr. White was defeated. [Hear, hear and applause]. They feared him—they feared his abilities, and they feared his earnestness. [Loud and prolonged cheering]. But, gentlemen, the day will come [hear, hear], and I am satisfied it will come ere long, when some constituency will feel itself honored [Voice—Montreal West], to be represented in Parliament, by so able, so competent, so high-minded, so honorable, and so experienced a politician as Mr. Thomas White.

The Right Hon. Gentleman, when he resumed his seat, was given a prolonged and extremely enthusiastic ovation.

THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE

PROMINENT WEEKLY CONSERVATIVE JOURNALS

IN ONTARIO.

Name.	Where published.	County.
BRUCE HERALD	Walkerton	*Bruce.*
PLAINDEALER	Prescott	*Grenville.*
COURIER	Newmarket	*York.*
STANDARD	Dundas	*Wentworth.*
TIMES	St. Thomas	*Elgin.*
PLANET, Weekly and Tri-weekly	Chatham	*Kent.*
CANADIAN	Sarnia	*Lambton.*
DESPATCH	Strathroy	*Middlesex.*
COURIER	Morrisburg	*Dundas.*
TIMES	Woodstock	*Oxford.*
NEWS	Milton	*Halton.*
GAZETTE	Dunville	*Monck.*
BRITISH CANADIAN	Simcoe	*Norfolk.*
HERALD	Stratford	*Perth.*
ADVOCATE	Mitchell	"
STANDARD	Pembroke	*Renfrew.*
STAR	Arnprior	"
REPORTER	Galt	*Waterloo.*
GRAND RIVER SACHAM	Caledonia	*Haldimand.*
STANDARD	Napanee	*Lennox.*
TIMES	Windsor	*Essex.*
REVIEW	Kincardine	*Bruce.*
STAR	Goderich	*Huron.*
TIMES	Port Hope	*Durham.*
TRIBUNE	Ingersoll	*Oxford.*
PACKET	Orillia	*N. Simcoe.*
VICTORIA WARDER	Lindsay	*Victoria.*
SUN	Orangeville	*Halton.*
GAZETTE	Picton	*Prince Edward.*
TELEGRAPH	Welland	*Welland.*
TIMES	Owen Sound	*Grey.*
COMET	"	"
ENTERPRISE	Collingwood	*Simcoe.*
NORTHERN ADVANCE	Barrie	"
CHRONICLE	Whitby	*Ontario.*
WEST DURHAM NEWS	Bowmanville	*Durham.*
VINDICATOR	Oshawa	*Ontario.*
TIMES	Windsor	*Essex.*
SENTINEL	Coburg	*Northumberland.*
REVIEW	Peterboro'	*Peterboro'.*
MONITOR	Brockville	*Leeds.*
ADVERTISER	*Petrolia*	*Lampton*
ARGUS	Otterville	*Oxford.*

DOMINION CONSERVATIVE DAILIES.

MAIL	Toronto.	HERALD	Guelph.
LEADER	"	GAZETTE	Montreal.
FREE PRESS	London.	HERALD	Halifax.
HERALD	"	REPORTER	"
SPECTATOR	Hamilton.	LA MINERVE	Montreal
CITIZEN	Ottawa.	LE NOUVEAU MONDE	"
NEWS	Kingston.	LE CANADIEN	Quebec.
INTELLIGENCER	Belleville.	LE COURRIER DE CANADA	"
COURIER	Brantford.		

SPEECH OF HON. C. TUPPER, C.B.

AT

HALIFAX.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1875.

On the occasion of the Hon. C. Tupper's address there were present on the platform, the Mayor of Halifax, Hon. Mr. Fraser, of Pictou; Hon. Dr. Parker, Alderman Forsyth, Alderman W. Murray, ex-Mayor Dunbar, ex-Mayor Sinclair, Hon. James McDonald, Mr. S. H. Holmes, M.P.P., Mr. W. H. Allison, M.P.P., Mr. H. Black, M.P.P. Dr. Almon, Dr. Sommers, Ald. Sceton, Mr. S. A. White, Mr. Donald Keith, Mr. F. G. Parker, Mr. John Pugh, Mr. W. H. Neal, Mr. C. H. M. Black, Mr. W. S. Symonds, Mr. W. C. Moir, Mr. T. E. Kenny, Mr. W. B. Alley, of the Truro "Sun;" Mr. Robert Sedgwick, Mr. G. R. Anderson, Mr. F. Allison, Mr. D. B. Woodworth, M.P.P., Mr. Wm. Compton, Dr. Thos. Walsh, Mr. Bartholomew Walsh, Mr. J. T. Bulmer, Mr. J. C. Mackintosh, Mr. S. Canning, Mr. Poole, Mr. Samuel Shatford, (Margaret's Bay), Dr. T. R. Almon, Mr. Cathcart Thomson, Mr. James S. McDonald, Mr. George Johnson, Mr. R. B. Brown (Windsor), Mr. W. D. O'Brion, Mr. H. H. Bligh, Mr. H. A. Gray, Mr. F. O'Connor, Mr. P. Lynch, Mr. B. Daly, Mr. Stephen Tobin, Mr. P. Thompson, Mr. J. T. Wylde, Mr. C. Edgar, Mr. D. Wolf, of the "Windsor Mail," Mr. George A. Chipman, and many others.

The Mayor, in introducing the Hon. speaker, said:—When a few evenings ago I occupied a similar position, I expressed the hope that we might soon have others following the Premier's example, and coming here to address the citizens of Halifax upon the great public questions of the day, I little anticipated being so soon called upon to preside at such a meeting as this to-night. It was a happy circumstance in connection with the meeting that it could not be construed to bear upon any imminent political movement. Those present, therefore, might be better enabled to enjoy a calm and deliberate examination of those great questions. It is not my purpose, neither would it become my position to identify myself in any way with the particular political views of any party; nevertheless, in common with all those who were so fortunate as to be present, I cannot but be delighted at this opportunity of hearing the public questions of the day discussed by so eminent a public man. Accordingly, without any further remarks, I will introduce the Hon. C. Tupper to an audience who I feel sure know him well before.

HON. C. TUPPER was received with a perfect storm of applause, which was long in subsiding. He said:—

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, Citizens of Halifax:—Those only who know of the happy years I had the pleasure of spending in the city of Halifax, can properly estimate the gratification it gives me again to meet the citizens of the metropolis of my native Province, and the pleasure I feel at the magnificent ovation you have given me to-night. I do not assume that all whom I now have the pleasure of addressing are either personal or political friends, but I feel that you are all Nova Scotians. (Cheers). That you are deeply interested in the affairs of your country, and that you came here prepared to give them that calm and dispassionate consideration which all intelligent citizens should give to questions affecting the interests of the people.

My observations this evening will be somewhat modified in consequence of certain suggestions contained in the "Morning Chronicle" of to-day. I have come here with an infinity of pleasure, at the request of a large number of the citizens of Halifax, to deliver an address upon the questions affecting us all; I am only too happy to have my mind directed from any source, friendly or otherwise, to those matters which most engage the attention of this section of the country. I do not suppose it will be possible, with the great number of questions that press upon our attention, to cover all the ground that has been mapped out for me by the Halifax organ of the Government; but I will do so, so far as time permits and more important matters will allow.

In the first place I am asked the question whether Confederation has brought prosperity to Halifax? That question carries me back to eight years ago, when upon this platform I ventured to raise my voice in favor of a Confederation of these Provinces. On that occasion I was confronted by gentlemen who took a different view, and who, with great earnestness and ability, pressed their opinions upon the citizens. I have not the pleasure to-night of meeting any gentlemen, so far as I am aware, who wish to reply to my remarks, but the suggestion having been thrown out that some one might wish to do so, without indicating who the person was, that some one might wish to discuss the affairs of the country with me, I may say that I am one of those who, strong in a good cause, feel prepared to meet in the discussion of public questions, any gentleman who takes an opposite view. While on this occasion I cannot forego the pleasure of delivering an address to you, yet as on a former day I invited the Premier to meet me before any audience in Nova Scotia and gave him choice of time and place, and only yesterday, as I may say, went to Toronto, the very seat of the influence of the Minister of Justice, to state that I was prepared to discuss these important questions with him, so I may state now that I will be prepared at any time that can be conveniently arranged to leave my home in Ottawa, and come down here to meet any member of Parliament. I say this because I am vain enough to believe that the more public affairs are discussed, the more will the party to which I belong increase the confidence which they enjoy in the minds of the people of this country. I am asked whether Confederation has proved a benefit to this country. (Several voices say, "no, no!") A half a dozen gentlemen, however earnest, will hardly be taken as representing the citizens of Halifax. I have said that eight years ago that question was discussed on this platform. Let me ask you, Mr. Mayor, and this vast and intelligent body of citizens, whether I am right or wrong when I say that after seven years of trial this hostility to Confederation was hushed, and that no man could be found to reiterate the wild and groundless statements with which Confederation was then opposed. I am proud to know and believe that it is only since the gentlemen at present in power, controlled the destinies of the country that any voice of discontent with Confederation was raised; all complaint having ceased under our administration.

If to-day I am not able to point to a continuation of progress and prosperity, I believe I shall be able to show that the fault lies largely with those men who said the ship of state could not be navigated successfully, and who are now at the helm. But who will say that the status of every Canadian, whether down here by the Atlantic or dwelling away yonder by the Pacific, has not been raised? We had expended all our resources in the vain endeavor to connect ourselves by rail with the rest of the world. Where were we then? In a position in which we had no connection by rail with the railway system of the United States, and no communication with the other British Provinces, lying in the interior of the country. All that is already changed. No intelligent man, looking at the history of the past, and then viewing our present position, can feel for a moment that, as a Canadian, he does not occupy a far higher status than he ever could have done as a New Brunswicker, a Prince Edward Islander, or a Nova Scotian. Not only in Great Britain and in the United States, but in all the other countries of the world, we now occupy a position which never could have been obtained by any other means than union. You may say that this is a mere matter of sentiment. But let me point you to the records and you will find that not another country in the world can exhibit such a steady and constant advance in prosperity as Canada has enjoyed during the first seven years of her history under the Act of Union. In order to make this apparent to you I have only to say that from 1868 to 1873 the trade of Canada rose no less than $86,000,000. Our revenue under a fifteen per cent. tariff increased in five years more than $7,000,000 per annum, and, notwithstanding, that in the same period we had reduced taxation no less than $2,000,000 a year. While carrying on the public services of

the country in the most generous and liberal manner in every section of the Union, we were enabled by the enormous impetus which had been given to business to reduce the taxation of the people by that large amount. The duties were struck off the important staples of te , and coffee, making them free. That amounted to $1,200,000 and $800,000 were taken off other articles. Yet with this low tariff and decreased tax ion we had in seven years over $14,000,000 of surpl revenue which we applied to the reduction of the public debt and the construction of works chargeable to capital. That was the condition of this country when the late Government were called upon to give up power. Look also at the banking capital, if you wish to learn the increasing wealth of the country. The paid-up banking capital of Ontario and Quebec alone rose from $30,000,000 to $60,000,000, and the deposits from less than $30,000,000 to more than $70,000,000, while the deposits in their savings banks have trebled in seven years. You may ask, What have Ontario and Quebec to do with Halifax? I will come to Halifax and direct inquisitive gentlemen to evidences which are indisputable. The banking capital in this very city, in that period, rose from $1,700,000 to $3,000,000. I am not able to tell you the amount of the deposits in that period, for the simple reason that the banks think it fit to conceal facts which in every other city are patent to the world From one bank, however, I have been able to obtain information which shows that, notwithstanding the introduction of the Bank of Montreal and the establishment of numerous country banks, which must have absorbed a considerable amount of money, the amount of deposits have actually doubled. Another instance, more conclusive still, is the amount of money deposited in the savings banks. From 1867 to 1873 the deposits in Halifax increased from $662,000 to upwards of a million. This shows you that the increased prosperity was not confined to the richer portions of the people, but that the mass of the population had their circumstances correspondingly improved. The evidence is uncontrovertable to show that never was the prosperity of this whole country so rapidly increased as under this Union, and that Halifax shared that prosperity in common with the other portions of the Dominion. (Cheers.)

I am invited, Sir, to explain the Canadian Pacific Railway scandal. There is not a question in the whole range of politics that I am prouder to have an opportunity of discussing in the presence of this vast body of my fellow-countrymen. The Premier who preceded me here, said that the late Goverment had left an elephant upon his hands. Before I am done with this question you will see that it was he himself who imported that elephant into this country. When we found such magnificent results accruing from the Union which we had accomplished; when we had acquired the prairie lands of the North-West, and the small but important Province on the Pacific coast—we felt that, with such means as Providence had placed at our disposal, we were bound to take up a question which was vitally important to the continued prosperity of this country—the construction of a Canadian Pacific Railway. Although we had been carrying on the public works in a vigorous manner, we found ourselves in a position to obtain the means required to warrant us in grappling successfully with such a work, not only without bringing additional taxation upon the people but securing a continuance of the steadily rising tide of prosperity which had set in with the consummation of the Union, and which was still rising higher and higher, when we were struck down to make way for our successors. What is this elephant we have imposed upon the Government, who succeeded in ousting us from power by means so discreditable that when they have been transferred to the page of history they will not be read without a blush? We had undertaken to construct a railway to British Columbia. This had been made one of the terms of the union of that Province with the Dominion. But before that Union was accomplished, we had placed on the Journals of the House a statement that our efforts to procure the construction of the railway were to be circumscribed within certain limits. In the first place, the work was not to be done by the Government, but committed to a private company, which corporation was to be aided by a grant of $30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. Having placed that limitation upon the Journals, we felt we were entitled to say to British Columbia: "You see how far we are prepared to go. If you like the terms, join us; we limit our engagements to what we have laid down." A good many statements have been made by our opponents which, I think you will agree with me, are exceedingly inaccurate. First, they say it would never have been possible to accomplish the work on these terms. Men would be insane who would talk of constructing a railway to British Columbia for $30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. I may say that $30,000,000 sounds like a large

sum, but it would only have cost us one and a half million per annum. As I said before, in the period during which we governed the country, we had a *surplus revenue* of $14,500,000, which we applied to the reduction of our debt and capital expenditure. Well, gentlemen, you will be rather surprised to hear that the very critics who said any one would be insane who attempted to construct a road to British Columbia on the terms I have mentioned, now turn round and assert: "You sold our birthright to get money to carry your elections with." What had we to sell, if Mr. Mackenzie was right? Did we sell the right to perform an immense work for this country for half the money it would cost? That is what it amounts to. These same men who derided our scheme abroad have actually endeavoured to make the country believe that we sold this charter, *which would ruin any man who obtained it*, for money to carry elections with! (Cheers.) Mr. Mackenzie says we gave the charter to Sir Hugh Allan. Mr. Blake, using stronger language, says we *sold* it. I deny, in the face of the world, that we ever "gave" the charter to Sir Hugh Allan; and the best evidence that we never sold it to him, is *that he never had it.* Sir Hugh Allan, as you all know, is one of the greatest capitalists in Canada. He recently swore, on the witness-stand, that he was worth over $6,000,000. It may be asked why did Sir Hugh Allan give $45,000 towards elections in Ontario, if he did not obtain the charter? Sir Hugh Allan owned a noble line of steamships running across the Atlantic, and he knew that the construction of this railway by anybody would certainly put hundreds of thousands of dollars per annum into his pockets. He therefore aided liberally the party whose policy was to secure the construction of that railway. I will undertake to say that behind me on this platform there are men who, in proportion to their means, contributed more to that election than Sir Hugh Allan. That is the sole foundation for the calumny that the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald ever sold a railway charter to anybody. (Cheers.) Jay Cook & Co, who had undertaken the Northern Pacific Railway, sent their emissaries to us at once, because they knew that the hand of Nature had given Canada an easier, a better, and a more available track for a great highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, across British America, than could be found in any other portion of this continent. And they knew that the work that they were engaged in never could compete with the Canadian Pacific Railway. Gentlemen, we were accused of obtaining money from foreigners for the purpose of carrying our elections! I say it is untrue, because when an American company, a foreign and rival body, came to us, and endeavoured to obtain an interest and a controlling influence in this great work, we shut the door in their faces and said: "No, this is a great national highway and no foreign influence or power shall be permitted to control it." (Cheers.) The Parliament of your country had given Sir Hugh Allan and his associates an act of incorporation, which only required a proclamation to enable it to become law. The Hon. John Hamilton, one of the merchant-princes of Canada, a man of wealth, living in Montreal, was one of his associates. The Hon. David Christie was another—a gentleman who, when Mr. Mackenzie was called to form a government, was invited into the Administration as President of the Council to govern the country. He now sits, by virtue of the appointment of the Government of this day, in the high and exalted position of President of the Senate. He was one of Sir Hugh's associates. Andrew Allan, a brother of Sir Hugh, and a man of acknowledged wealth, was another. Donald McInnes, a capitalist of Hamilton, and Hon. D. A. Smith, a representative man and then Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, and a capitalist in Montreal, were also associated with Sir Hugh; Hon. John Ross, a wealthy citizen of Quebec, and last, but not least, I name Sir Edward Kenny. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, Sir Hugh Allan came to us and said: "I have got an act of incorporation from the Parliament of Canada, incorporating myself and a number of the ablest capitalists of this Dominion—both in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces—and I wish you to let me build this Canadian Pacific Railway for you, on the terms of thirty millions of money and fifty million acres of land, provided by Parliament." We said: "Sir Hugh Allan, we are told that behind you are Jay Cooke & Co. It is reported that you are associated with a number of the leading capitalists connected with the Northern Pacific Railway, and we may as well tell you at the outset that no company, no man or corporation, connected with that foreign influence, can have this charter at our hands." He went away and dissolved all connection with those parties, returned them the money they had placed in his hands, severed all connection with his American associates, and came back and said: "I have complied with your terms and I want this

charter for myself and my Canadian associates, whose names you have heard." We said, "No, we accept your statement, but we are determined that this shall be a great national work. If your company will incorporate and associate itself with the Inter-Oceanic Company, and form a broad and comprehensive company, embracing all sections of the country, we will allow you to build the road." He tried to effect that combination, but could not accomplish it, and Sir Hugh Allan and his company were driven away, and told that they could not have that charter. Now, what will you think of the men who, with that state of facts, which I hold myself bound to sustain on the floor of Parliament, will dare to say that the late government sold or gave the charter to Sir Hugh Allan? With that law on the statute book which, without the proclamation was a piece of waste paper, *we refused the Order in Council that would have enabled him to build the road.* We divided the stock between the various Provinces, so that every man who was disposed to acquire it could have influence and control in the company. We selected thirteen gentlemen; Governor Archibald was one of them, representing Nova Scotia; Mr. Burpee, representing New Brunswick; Sandford Fleming, who is one of the most distinguished engineers of the day was another; Walter Shanly, an eminent engineer who built the Hoosac Tunnel, was another. We wished to give the capitalists of England the confidence that the men who were best qualified to judge of the matter believed that this was a feasible and practicable scheme. Sir Hugh Allan, Hon. J. O. Beaubien, Hon. J. B. Beaudry, R. N. Hall, Hon. J. S. Helmiken, Donald McInnes, F. W. Cumberland, Andrew McDermott and John Walker, Esqrs., completed the number. We selected these thirteen gentlemen, the most distinguished capitalists, engineers, and representative men we could obtain throughout the country. Sir Hugh Allan was one of the thirteen. That is all. We gave him just so much and no more than I offered in the meeting of the leading capitalists in this city, to give to any man among them who would come forward and do what he and every one of the thirteen were compelled to do, deposit their proportion of a million dollars as a guarantee that they would carry on the work. Before I pass away from that matter there is one word that I omitted to say. That is, that of thirteen gentlemen, of whom Governor Archibald was one, selected for that great work as directors, the first act the majority of that Board did was to vote down Sir Hugh Allan. They put him in the chair, for what reason? Because they knew that there was no man from this side of the Atlantic whose name would go so far in the money market of the world and on 'Change in London for the purpose of securing money. But on the first motion he made to influence the Board he was outvoted, as I know, and as the Governor in your Government House will tell you—for he was present and assisted in voting him down. I mention this to prove that the Board was free from any control on the part of any particular individual. In the interests of the country, and for the same reason that induced the Board of Directors to elect Sir Hugh Allan as their chairman, the Government always held the opinion that he should occupy that position. That is, the head and front of our offending. The Government went to the very verge, probably beyond what they ought to have gone, in their care and caution to shut out foreign influence—for we made it a principle of the charter that not a man could transfer a pound stock without the sanction of the Governor-General and Cabinet, whoever they might be. So, having guarded the interests of the country by every means that man could devise, you can understand the indignation that I feel when men can be found who even at this hour, with these facts patent to the whole country, dare to sully their own characters and reputations by keeping up this cry, "You sold the Pacific railway." Why is it kept up? Because on that false cry they grasped the Government. Having no policy and no principles—as I shall show before I sit down—their only hope of retaining the confidence of the people is to keep up a hue and cry against the gentlemen whose seven years of Administration will stand to the end of time as an evidence that they patriotically, ably, and vigorously did their duty by their country. Now, gentlemen, you may say perhaps—"Well, you forced that plan on the House of Commons and in Parliament, and perhaps the other plan is the better one." What will you think when I say that the scheme was a unanimous one? What will you say when I tell you that, not content with the resolution we put upon the journals that it should be built, not by the Dominion Government, but by a private company, aided with a grant of lands and money—not content with this bold, clear, and unequivocal statement, the Opposition leaders, viz., Dorion, backed by Mackenzie and the rest of them, moved a resolution, and voted for it, declaring that it should not only be built in our way, but that it should never be built in any other! And

yet the men who thus pledged themselves solemnly as man can pledge himself to man, (because a public man by his record in the Commons of his country gives the most solemn pledge that one man can give to his fellow man) that the Canadian Pacific Railway should not be built by the Government, the very moment they attained power, *their anxiety to prevent the Government from building the Pacific railway vanished*, and the next day Mr. Mackenzie was up before his constituents asking them to return him as Minister of Public Works, with a declaration upon his lips that the Government had decided to build it as a Government work. The party who during the elections of 1872, had endeavoured to induce the country to believe that the Government had done a rash act in imposing upon the country a burthen for this work of one and a half million dollars per annum; so soon as they obtained power declared that they had determined to go back upon their recorded votes in the House of Commons, and to build that road as a Government work! And what do you suppose was the reason given to the unsophisticated electors at Sarnia for the decision to build it as a Government work? Why, the Premier said it was in order that the profits of this work (that was certain to ruin and destroy anybody that would touch it!) should be enjoyed and possessed by the people instead of contractors! Well, I am inclined to think that before they construct it even as a Government work, they will have to let a few contractors take a hand in, unless they intend to take the pick, the spade and the wheel-barrow themselves. But that was the ludicrous reason given to the electors of Sarnia for making the Pacific railway a Government work. Parliament met, and the new Government brought in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act, taking power to construct every foot of the Canadian Pacific railway from end to end as a Government work without the intervention of any company whatever. Mr. Blake, notwithstanding his qualified antagonism to the Canadian Pacific railway, helped to force that bill through the House and Committee, where it passed with scarcely the semblance of a debate, in a single night. I maintained from the first that if Canada could obtain the construction of a great national highway through the country, it would be highly advantageous for every portion of the Dominion; but when this monstrous proposition that the Government should construct, own and operate the road was advanced at Sarnia, I denounced it in the county in which I was seeking election at the time. I also, in the House of Commons, used the strongest and most emphatic language of condemnation in relation to the bill, founded upon that policy, and although it is bad enough for you to have to listen to me, and still worse to hear me read one of my old speeches, I will give you an extract to show the view that I took of the matter at the time. These were my words:—"The measure now before the House, however, would crush the energy, enterprise, and industries of the country, and would place it in such a position that instead of being able to attract people to the country, we should drive them away. There was one respect in which this country had a great advantage over the United States, that was the cheapness with which people could live here. This bill, however, would deprive us of this advantage over our neighbours. The measure, if adopted, would not only be fatal to the project, but it would overwhelm us with debt. With our credit gone and our resources paralyzed, we would not be able to draw capital into the country. With this changed condition of affairs every Canadian would look back with deep regret to the time when, unfortunately for the history of the country, a party, drunk with sudden accession to power, should have forgotten what they owed to the country, and engaged in an enterprise fraught with the most serious consequences." Mr. Mackenzie told you the other night—and it was a rash and extreme statement that I am sure he would not repeat after once seeing it in print—that the whole resources of the British Empire could not build the Canadian Pacific railway in ten years. Gentlemen, I need not tell you that the resources of the empire would build it in one year with the greatest ease. There is not a contractor in the country; there is not an intelligent man in the Dominion who knows anything of such matters, and the powers and resources of the British Empire, who does not know that it could be done in one year. The Government accuse us of having left an elephant on their hands, because we had proposed to obtain the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway by a grant of wild lands, comparatively valueless, and a contribution of $1,500,000 per annum. They not only denounced us for providing for its construction as a great work, but said that we were insane to talk about constructing it in ten years. I may tell you, however, that I never expected it would be built in ten years; but I knew that the people of British Columbia would be satisfied with our honest and straightforward efforts to obtain capital and forward

the work to the best of our ability, if it should take twenty years instead of ten. It was a bargain between the great Dominion of Canada and a very small colony on the Pacific coast, and I knew that the people there would be only too well satisfied if they saw that vigorous and energetic efforts were put forth to carry that public work to completion. That policy failed. Why? Because a party, hungry for power, being long out of office and determined to obtain it, had gone to the elections of 1872 and had been foiled by the magnificent record that we were able to place before the country of our successful administration of public affairs. They had come back beaten and disheartened, and we had obtained the majority that we were entitled to at the hands of our countrymen whom we had served so faithfully. Foiled in that, what did they do? The Toronto *Globe* and "Reform" party raised a hue-and-cry of "Corruption" against the Government of the day; and they followed Sir Hugh Allan, Mr. Archibald, and Major Walker—the committee appointed to obtain the necessary capital for this great work—to London, and united with the great rival influence of the Grand Trunk Company. The whole of that enormous influence combined to strike a fatal blow at Canadian credit and prevent the realization of that great work on terms that would have been so advantageous to Canada. Yes, our policy was defeated; but, gentlemen, when it failed, and when we were driven from power by means which I say the very men who used them will blush to see recorded upon the page of history—when that was accomplished, those gentlemen gave a Ministerial pledge to build the road as a Government work. We had redeemed our pledge; we had voted the $30,000,000 and the 50,000,000 acres of land we had promised; a company had taken the contract and used their utmost endeavours to raise the capital required. Every obligation Canada had undertaken with reference to that road was performed; only she was still bound in good faith to make every effort to carry out the scheme of building the road by a company. But she was not bound to mortgage all her revenues to raise the $100,000,000 necessary to build the road. Every man in British Columbia knows that the provision for building the road in ten years meant that the Government would use their best efforts to push the work on. This Government, therefore, took charge of this question with a *tabula rasa;* the statement with regard to a legacy, an intolerable burden, having been laid on the present Government and the people of Canada, is as baseless as it is possible for any man to conceive. But, what next? Those gentlemen who say that the whole resources of the British Empire could not build the railway in ten years have solemnly bound the faith of Canada to the British Government, as well as to the people of British Columbia, *to build, coute que coute, those two thousand miles of railway through the Rocky Mountains to the shores of Lake Superior by the first of December*, 1890. [Dr. Tupper here read the terms of the agreement, from a speech of Mr. Mackenzie's, as follows: "Lastly, that on or before the 31st of December, 1890, the railway shall be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point at the western end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters. So that the terms recommended by Lord Carnarvon, and which we have accepted, are simply these—that instead of $1,500,000 we propose to expend $2,000,000 a year within the Province of British Columbia, and we propose to finish the railway connection through that Province and downward to the point indicated by the year 1890."] This is the written compact made with Lord Carnarvon without any qualification whatever. The Premier says that the terms of this contract with Lord Carnarvon were simply to this purport: that the Government were to spend two millions a year instead of one and a half in British Columbia. But those two thousand miles *are to be built in fifteen years*, a work which the Premier declared *the whole resources of Great Britain could not build in ten years.* (Applause.) I think you will agree that this is bad enough, but it is not the worst. Parliament had determined to put the eastern terminus of the road at Nipissing. We said that if we brought the traffic of the Great West down to that point, all the lines of railway tending in that direction would be able to raise the money necessary to connect them with the Canadian Pacific Railway at that point. Mr. Blake said, the other night, at Toronto, that down here I had denounced the Government for subsidising railways in Ontario, and that in Toronto I had denounced them for not doing so. I did not. I said that, having promised certain subsidies, they were as much bound to carry out the one pledge as the other. They are now spending a million and a half in subsidising the Canada Central Railway from Douglass to Lake Burnt. There is a certain Senator Foster who gave great

support to the enemy in breaking down the old Government, and he is the Canada Central; and he is now subsidised by the Government to the extent of a million and a half, or $12,000 a mile. Senator Foster and his American friends have the contract to build the railway from Lake Burnt to the Georgian Bay, eighty-five miles more. If you were in Montreal, and going West, you would not use a foot of this line; you would take the route by Port Hope, and reach the Georgian Bay by a line of twenty-five miles shorter. Again, the Government are spending the money of the country to build a road 100 miles long from Pembina to the junction with the Canada Pacific Railway. We say, there is "a magnificent water-stretch," why not use that? But supposing that railway desirable, and I frankly concede its importance, a company had obtained a charter, and only required the assent of the Government to build that road without the Government spending a dollar? They reply that they are following our policy in that matter. Our policy was to pay thirty millions, and not to pay out a dollar extra for that branch road. The road is now graded, all but some thirty miles, at the expense of Canada. Again, there is the Nanaimo and Esquimalt branch of sixty-five miles more. We were told that that road made all satisfactory with British Columbia, and were inclined not to look too narrowly at it. But that road runs right along in sight of a fine shore with splendid harbours. Next, we have a divergence to Thunder Bay of seventy miles—increasing the distance for everyone who ever travels over the Canadian Pacific Railway to that extent. Adding to these the thirty-five miles run down beyond Nipissing, we have 360 miles of extra road, which, at $45,000 a mile,—and it cannot be built for $50,000—*will add no less than sixteen and a quarter millions to the burden of the country.* Add a million and a half for the Canada Central Railway, and you will see how much these gentlemen are afraid of the elephant. (Loud applause and laughter.) They have pledged the country to do all this, and to build the road in fifteen years from the Pacific to the shores of Lake Superior, without any qualification whatever, so that we must be disgraced in the eyes of the world if it is not done,—and then they have the assurance to charge us with having placed an intolerable burden on the shoulders of the people of this country. (Cheering.)

The Halifax *Chronicle* wants to know the cause of the depression which prevails in every department of trade. I do not say, for I do not believe that it is caused altogether by the Government, but I will give you some reasons which induce me to believe that Ministers are largely responsible—that the Ship of State is among the breakers, because she has passed into the hands of men who said that Confederation never would succeed. (Applause.) We said it would be a success, and down to the hour we left the Government the country was enjoying a flood-tide of the most extraordinary prosperity. (Applause.) What is it that in two short years has so changed the face of affairs? If the *Morning Chronicle* wants to know, why did it not ask Mr. Mackenzie that question? (Applause and laughter.) He saved them that trouble; he told them it was because a depression, caused by an inflated currency in the United States, led to a crisis in trade, in consequence of which this country was flooded with American goods. (More laughter.) Why do these gentlemen not accept his statement? It so happens that we were in power when this depression in the United States was at its height, and that the United States are now more prosperous than when we went out of power. Let us examine this question a little. In view of the depression that has fallen like a pall over the country, it behoves every man, whether he takes a direct part in administering public affairs or only exercises the solemn trust of choosing representatives, to look these things in the face and see if there is any possible change by which matters can be altered and improved. I say again that you cannot attribute all of the existing depression to affairs in the United States, though I am glad to see Mr. Mackenzie take that view, because it will incline him to sustain the sentiments I enunciated long ago, that is the necessity of a National Policy for Canada. (Great applause). The depressed condition of trade in the United States has forced goods upon Canada to the great detriment of our own manufacturers. The fiscal policy of Canada has been such as to permit the Americans to enjoy unfair advantages in reference to the commerce of this country over our own people, and we have reason to believe that much of the depression which now exists is a direct result of the policy pursued by the party now in power. I do not hold the Government entirely responsible for the depression from which the country is suffering, but I have said in the presence of their own leading men, and I now repeat it here, that if all the ability they possess had been exhausted upon arriving at the method by which they might most effectually bring about the present financial depression, I know of no means that they have

left untried to secure that object. I do not know whether their acts have been intentional or not, but having made such a statement I am bound to give you the grounds upon which it is based. I have told you what the condition of Canada was when the present Government came into power. Confidence in the commercial condition of Canada was universal. The public works were progressing, and there was a firm belief in the future of the country. We felt assured that if our railway policy succeeded we could bring in a hundred millions of foreign capital which, distributed over the country, would have the effect of continuing the prosperity which then existed, and the development of our great North West would be then secured. All this was struck down at once by the unfair and unpatriotic combination to which I have alluded. The Finance Minister, immediately on the accession of the new Government, put the mis-statement in the mouth of the Governor General that there was a serious deficit existing which must be met by additional taxation. That statement has been shown to have had no foundation in fact. Even the Toronto "Globe" admitted the other day that the additional three millions then called for was required more to meet the expenditures of 1874-5 than to cover an over expenditure in 1873-74. Mr. Blake, too, in South Bruce, asked what British Columbia had to complain of, and told his hearers that one-sixth had been added to the taxation of the whole country for the purpose of giving that Province the road it demanded. One-sixth would be just $3,000,000. Why did they not come before Parliament honestly and say that they required the money for that purpose? But when instead of doing this they said it was to cover a deficit, they struck a blow at the financial position of the country and at the confidence of the people in the sound condition of public affairs. That was the second cause of the financial stringency, from which the country is now suffering. The first was the attack made upon the credit of Canada, which resulted in the defeat of the scheme for the construction of a Canadian Pacific railway. This act was followed up by a budget speech, such as, I think, never came from the mouth of a Finance Minister in any country before. Mr Cartwright first stated to the House that we were absolutely bound to build this Pacific Railway, and then, after recess some one having in the meantime directed his attention to the limitation in the journals, came in and said that he had discovered that our liability was limited to a pledge of $30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. Then, having said that the construction of the Pacific Railway would impose upon the Dominion a debt relatively equal to, if not greater than that of Great Britain, the Government before the close of the session, placed on the statute book an act providing not only for the building of a railway to the Pacific, but 360 miles additional. Subsequently Mr. Cartwright went to England to negotiate a loan, and you have heard a good deal about the way in which he did that. Mr. Mackenzie thought he had settled the question when he informed you that his *friend*, Sir Francis Hincks, had told him it was a capital loan. Some years ago, when Sir Francis Hincks was managing the affairs of this country with an ability surpassing that of any other man who had preceded him for twenty years previously, he was called a resuscitated mummy by the present Premier; he was a Rip Van Winkle, who had been asleep for half a century. But he no sooner whispers a compliment regarding a member of the Government's financial achievements than he immediately becomes the greatest living authority. (Applause.) While a Government comes back from England with $15,000,000, and lends it out among the banks on what terms they please, with or without interest, I feel inclined to refuse to accept the statement of any gentleman connected with one of the institutions so favored on a question between the Government and Opposition. Mr. Blake also said he would be willing to leave this question to Sir Francis Hincks. Though I object, as a general rule, to the testimony of bank presidents, especially when they can borrow half a million dollars without paying any interest upon it, I make an exception in favor of Sir Francis Hincks, and I pledge myself that for the criticism I made on Mr. Cartwright's loan, I can produce the authority of Sir Francis Hincks to sustain me. (Cheers.) I said to them:—What are you singing Io Pæans about this loan for? Belgium went into the English market and got a three per cent. loan negotiated on better terms than you did a four per cent. one, and even the little Province of New Zealand placed a loan upon the same market at the same time upon more advantageous terms than were obtained for Canada. But how was it that when this loan was negotiated the five per cents were bringing 107? Why, it was the union of British North America that did it. I went to England to negotiate a loan before Confederation, but could not sell the debentures of Nova Scotia without a discount of four per cent. on debentures bearing six per cent. interest, but I

obtained the money by depositing them with Messrs. Barings, because I knew that the moment Confederation had been achieved they would advance rapidly in value, as the credit of British North America would stand infinitely higher than that of Ontario and Quebec, old Canada, or any of the Maritime Provinces. The difference in the rate at which loans could be negotiated before and after the Union is the best evidence of what was achieved for Canada by the confederation of the Provinces. But, gentlemen, I tell you that Mr. Cartwright did not put his loan on the market even on those terms until Sir John Rose had come out in public in contradiction of the melancholy story that Mr. Cartwright had told in Parliament about our resources and financial position, and until the speeches of the Opposition went home, and the London "Standard" declared that the deficit was a pretended deficit, and that the financial position of this country was sound. So that if he made a good loan, he made it in spite of himself, and because there were men patriotic enough to stand to the front when the character and credit of the country were assailed, and to save our character and credit in the markets of England. I criticized the transaction on several grounds, and you will be the judges whether they were sound or not. I said the "Globe's" statement is a little astray. Instead of Mr. Cartwright's loan being better by $800,000 than a sale of five per cents at 107, a letter signed "Another Accountant," proved it was not so good by two and a half million dollars. I have the opinion of Sir Francis Hincks in black and white, to prove the accuracy of that statement, but I never said that so good a loan as that could have been negotiated. I criticized his loan on another ground, and I will put it to you. I said, "Your predecessors have obtained the valuable commodity of an Imperial guarantee, you went to London to borrow money and kept that guarantee in your pocket, and negotiated the loan without using it. Is there a merchant that would conduct his business in that way, selling his notes at a discount of ten or twelve per cent., as Mr. Cartwright disposed of our debentures, when he could have sold them at par by using the name of a friend which he had for nothing?" That is the ground on which I criticized it, and I said he had pursued a course which no Minister having the interests of Canada in his keeping should have pursued. I criticized it in another respect—that Mr. Cartwright had fixed the rate of interest at four per cent. and the discount at ten per cent., instead of taking the course that Sir John Rose and Mr. Tilley before him, and every Finance Minister of Canada, had taken, of fixing the rate of interest and the term that the debentures were to run and then putting them up to competition. That was the way it was done before, and by that means Canada got the highest price that could be obtained for her securities. But when he fixed the rate of interest and the discount, and then said—for I have the terms of the loan under his own hand—that he would give the debentures, not in proportion to the amounts tendered for, but to whom he liked, and that people who did not hear from him would know that none had been allotted to them, he established a precedent by which any Finance Minister can put half a million of money in his own pocket and defy any man in the world to discover it. I said that was not the principle upon which our public accounts are carried on, under which public money may be traced from the beginning to the end. Mr. Cartwright has, however, given us the best evidence of the soundness of my criticisms. He went to London the other day and adopted the course that I pointed out as the proper one and abandoned totally the course he had taken the year before. He fixed the interest and said to the capitalists of the world, there are our debentures, what will you give us for them? He has used the Imperial guarantee, and the result is that our four per cent. debentures sold at a premium instead of at a discount of twelve per cent., as in the last loan he made. But, while upon that subject, I have a graver charge to make than any blunder in negotiating the loan of a year ago. I say he did not want the money, and I say that the Finance Minister who goes to England to put debentures upon the market when he does not need the money, does an unjustifiable act, prematurely and unnecessarily increasing the public debt. I will give you my authority. A year afterwards you had only to look into the *Canada Gazette* and to see the bank returns and the statements made by himself in order to find that on the fifteenth day of June last—a year after his loan had been negotiated—fifteen millions of that seventeen and a half millions he had borrowed was lent about among the banks all over the Dominion. Now, I say, there is the evidence that he did not require the money. Although I am in the presence of eminent bankers and others who have a large amount of banking interest, I do not intend to be deterred from telling my countrymen that I do not believe that a more unsound and improper policy could not be pursued by any government in Canada. Cannot every

person understand that if banking is to be successfully and effectually carried on, the capital must cost the different bankers something like the same sum? If Mr. A. can get capital for nothing while Mr. B. gets it at the market price, you can readily understand that banking cannot be done on fair and equal terms. But there is a greater objection than that, in my judgment. The banks have an enormous amount of power and influence. I hold that it is contrary to the theory of responsible government that you should increase the power and influence of the banks by giving them an unlimited amount of public money for nothing. Besides just in proportion as a bank is necessitous it will bring political pressure to bear upon a government, and I am afraid that even the immaculate government we have at present is a little susceptible to political pressure. Thus, you will see, there is danger to the country in this policy. Just as a bank may be trembling in the balance, it will bring greater influence to bear upon the Government, and some day the country will sustain enormous loss through some of these banks going down. A more ruinous policy than that of the present Finance Minister was never known in this country. At the very time when it was said that we were overtrading he loaned $15,000,000 to the banks—encouraging and aiding them to inflate the business of the country still more; and then, without any necessity for it having arisen, he put the banks into a tremor by a circular so vaguely worded that they did not know but they would be called upon to pay over the Government deposits on a day's notice. I am free to say that if the public sentiment had not prevailed, and the circular been virtually countermanded, the Government could not have got their money, and a financial crisis would have occurred through their false policy. Their system is also corrupt, and calculated to corrupt the country, and I will give a proof of this assertion. Some of you have heard of the Hon. Geo. Brown's celebrated Big Push letter; you have heard that this man, who has such a holy horror of corruption, wrote to a bank president a very urgent letter, in which he said that by a united effort power might be seized: This bank president sent out a circular to the customers of his bank, saying that if the Government was sustained the bank would get large deposits of money. Is that corruption? Mr. Simpson sends a telegram to say that the story about his buying up people is a fiction. You have the Big Push letter in the first place, in which the leader and dictator of the Reform party asks him to come down handsomely. What more? You have in the last *Gazette* banking returns up to the 30th September last, which prove that if he did not come down handsomely the Reformers are certainly most thankful for the smallest favors. Those returns shew that this bank president, this senator who has degraded his position by this most infamous letter, has got now the use of $590,000 of your money without paying a copper of interest for it; in other words, that his bank is receiving at present $50,000 per annum of public money. Do you mean to tell me that with this letter from the Hon. George Brown to Senator Simpson, and this circular from Senator Simpson to the customers of his bank on record, any honest or intelligent man in this country will not feel that this money was paid for political services? The whole policy is corrupt; it will not bear the light of day, and will have to be changed. But more, Mr. Workman told the people of Montreal, the other day, that they ought to support Mr. Cartwright, because he was selling debentures to prevent calling upon the banks for his deposits. Last year Mr. Cartwright gave as his excuse for borrowing a larger sum than was needed, that it did not look well to go borrowing every year. Now he goes again for the purpose of being able to give half a million dollars of your money to the bank of which Mr. Simpson is president. Capital is very sensitive; such conduct as this is destroying the confidence of the commercial men of the country, and a great deal of distress is flowing from the channel I have indicated. Then there is the proposed Reciprocity Treaty. Does not every commercial man know that every manufacturing interest was paralyzed a year ago by Hon. George Brown going to Washington to negotiate that wonderful treaty? As I said before, capital is very sensitive. Every man who is about to invest his capital in any new enterprise looks ahead to see if there is a prospect of that particular branch of trade being permanent,—and it is easy to see what a disastrous effect the possibility of Mr. Brown succeeding in his negotiations must have had on the investment of capital in the manufactures of the country. I need not detain you longer in holding an inquest over this dead treaty, but I will say this, that if ever a government was marked by incapacity, if ever a public man placed himself in a position which ought forever to destroy all confidence in him, it was when the Hon. George Brown placed his name to that document without getting Mr. Fish's signature on behalf of the United States,—and Canada was forced to go down on her knees to the United States,

only to be spurned by the foot of the American. The Washington Treaty—which buried the feeling of irritation which had grown up between this country and the States, consequent upon the war, and disposed of all the unpleasant questions between us—had paved the way for a judicious and fair reciprocity treaty. Canada had shown a desire to have the freest commercial intercourse with the United States, but it was unwise to assume the position that she was in extremity for want of a treaty. If they had taken advantage of the kindly feeling kindled in the States by the Washington Treaty, and allowed the commercial men of that country to press for it in their own interest, the Americans would, long ere this, have been offering us the very thing which, when we begged for it in such a humiliating manner, they refused us. I trust, however, that this much will be accomplished: that George Brown will never be asked to negotiate another treaty for us. There is another matter that has a good deal to do with this depressed condition of our country. I have already alluded to the three millions of additional taxation. How were they imposed? Mr. Mackenzie, who the other day in Dundee was an extravagant free-trader, avowing the desire, as far as in him lay, to make that principle the law of the whole commercial world, when he came down here endeavoured to cajole the manufacturers by informing them that he had increased the duties levied on imported articles two and a half per cent. Mr. Blake, in his West Toronto speech, said I had one theory of free trade for these Provinces and another for Toronto. Mr. Blake is wrong. I have never held but one theory. After I ended my criticism of Mr. Cartwright's budget speech in Parliament, I was told by the Premier that I had accused one person of being a free-trader and another of being a protectionist, but I had not stated what I was myself. I have no objection to do so. No man has more strongly and consistently urged the adoption for Canada of a national policy than myself. (Hear, hear.) When I hear the statements of other gentlemen advocating such a policy, I can go back to the time when I urged similar views in Parliament almost single-handed. I was in favour of the freest commercial intercourse with the United States; but if they were not willing to grant us that, my opinion was that we should apply their own principles to themselves. But even Sir A. Galt said: "We are only four millions against forty. Do not do anything that might irritate them." My reply was that the people of the United States were far too acute not to respect the adoption towards themselves, by others, of their own principles. I believe that in the adoption of that national policy of treating them as they treat us, lies the restoration of that prosperity that seems to be fast passing away. I regard it as a wrong to Canada, as a whole, that our coal and other products should be shut out from the United States by a prohibitory tariff, and that we should receive theirs without any contribution to our revenue whatever. In the year that we imposed a moderate duty upon American coal and other natural products, was there any irritation upon the part of that country? The almost immediate consequence was a reduction of the duty imposed upon our coal by the United States of fifty cents per ton. Not only was that the case, but coal was never cheaper in Montreal or Quebec than during the year that the interests of your coal owners were stimulated to increased production by the slight duty thus afforded. So, in reference to every industry, I would adopt a national Canadian policy that would foster and encourage our manufacturing industries throughout the length and breadth of the country, upon which I believe the prosperity of Canada largely depends. I would foster not only manufacturing, but mining and agricultural industries in this country as well. I may tell you that not only did the Government of the United States under the change of tariff that I have referred to, reduce the duty on coal, but on potatoes and lumber, and several other articles. I would foster, I say, the agricultural interests of Canada, as also the manufacturing industries, by showing our neighbours that we had such great respect for their wonderful sagacity as to pay them the great compliment of imitating their policy ourselves. I believe that in that policy is the direction in which we will have to seek the prosperity of the great mass of the people, and the revival of the industries that, under the present commercial depression, are languishing throughout the country. But there was another difficulty, and that was the mode in which the Government levied these three million dollars. They go to Montreal and Toronto, and say, what splendid protectionists we are; we have given you a protection of two and a half per cent. Mr. Blake so far forgot himself at his ministerial election as to say that I paid the Finance Minister the compliment of saying that he had imposed a tariff in the most suitable and proper way. Why, who supposes that the tariff as it stands is Mr. Cartwright's? Is there anybody that does not

know that he did not bring down a 17½ per cent. tariff at all? He brought down a tariff in which he proposed to raise three million dollars of additional taxes, mostly by specific duties; only $500,000 was to fall upon unenumerated articles altogether. But he proposed curious things in relation to that tariff. He proposed to raise a considerable amount by taxing articles used in the construction and fitting out of ships, which, under the policy of Canada for fifteen years, had been free. And, gentlemen, I dare say some of you suppose no man can have any power to influence the Government unless he is sitting on the Government benches, but among all your representatives from Nova Scotia deeply interested in the protection of this Province from so foul a wrong as this, not a voice was raised until I who sat on the Opposition benches led them on to oppose and obstruct a Government which was thus striking a blow at Nova Scotia and New Brunswick industries. And when I tell you that the trade returns show that that very year Nova Scotia, with four hundred thousand people, built 84,000 tons of shipping, while Ontario, with nearly three million people, built only 7,000 tons, you can see what an unfair mode this was of raising a revenue. They endeavored to impose a tax equal to a dollar a ton on every vessel built in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and while Nova Scotia, under that law, would have paid about $84,000, the three million people of Ontario under the same law would have contributed only $7,000. That was the proposition they brought forward, and yet the representatives from Nova Scotia, who ought to have been the first to spring to the front with the united influence they could exert, and say that they could not sustain a Government that would thus trample under foot the interests of the Maritime Provinces looked on in silence. It was not only the interest of the Maritime Provinces but of all Canada that were at stake, for it was the policy, and the sound policy, of Canada to foster by every means in its power the construction and ownership of the magnificent mercantile marine which is the pride of every Canadian from shore to shore. The proud boast of Canada is to-day that she owns 1,200,000 tons of shipping, a mercantile navy which is one of the largest among the nations of the world. Yet the policy to which they owe that commercial fleet these men were ready to strike down under an unfair adjustment of the tariff which would unduly press upon one of the most laborious and critical industries of the country, liable to sudden contraction which would cause injury throughout the length and breadth of these Provinces. Yet the gentlemen who have thus dealt with the interests of the country, who by a reckless and unfair policy have shaken public confidence in a great industry like that, who only found their rights protected by the determined attitude of a small contingent on the Opposition side of the House, wonder that everything is not prosperous, and that everybody has not the same confidence in the commercial prosperity of the country that they had before. I say the tariff was a series of blunders from beginning to end. After we had given Mr. Cartwright a little intimation of what a loyal Opposition could do, he disappeared, and was missing for some time. He came back after two or three days reconsideration with the tariff to a certain extent as it is, and commended it to the House by telling us that he had abandoned his own plan and gone back as nearly as he could to the principle adopted by his predecessors. When Mr. Cartwright decided to increase the tax of 50 per cent. on sugar, on an article of prime necessity, [illegible]ded as only second to bread as a necessary article of diet, I did object. I said it was an outrage, and I asked what would be thought in England where they were sweeping away all duties on sugar, what would be said there if we added to the duties on sugar already paying fifty per cent. Open this book, the *Hansard* of the Dominion Commons, and you will see whether I obstructed the proposal to sustain the industry of sugar refining. What did I say in my place? I said, when the budget was brought in, now is the time to deal with sugar; you have got a handsome surplus; you have no business with a surplus; a good government always gets rid of a surplus by taking off taxes, as we did. Instead of increasing the tax on an article already paying 50 per cent., I said they should reduce the duty on lower grades of sugar, which would at the same time cheapen that article to the poor, and enable us to refine our own sugar. What did Mr. Cartwright say? That he would consider it. After the House rose, he did endeavour, in a feeble half-hearted manner that could never accomplish anything, to reduce by an Order in Council the duties on the lower grades, but not to a sufficient extent to meet the bounty given in the United States. He did not even do that correctly, and the Montreal *Gazette* pointed out the error, and he withdrew his order and brought out another. But there is another matter. The late Government never brought down a budget without the party now in power telling us that we

were a most extravagant Government. I admit we were liberal, but we could afford to be so. I state that with such a surplus revenue as we possessed, and with a light taxation upon the country, we were able to provide liberally for all the public services, reduce the taxes of the people $2,000,000 per annum, and yet apply $14,000,000 in seven years to the reduction of the public debt. When the gentlemen then in opposition denounced our Government for extravagance, had the people not a right to expect an exhibition of economy from them when they came into power that would have given force to their criticisms of others? But we were startled to observe that although a large portion of our expenditure was upon objects which would not require any more money to be continued for such services, these gentlemen who said they were obliged to impose an additional taxation of $3,000,000 per annum to meet a deficit, brought in an estimate asking for $2,500,000 more to govern the country with than we had ever expended in our most extravagant years. When a people see a Government fail so conspicuously to carry out the professions they made for the purpose of obtaining power, the natural result is a feeling of uncertainty and a want of confidence that must greatly tend to injure the prosperity of the country. But I must touch another cause of depression before I leave that subject which has operated with particular harshness upon the people of Nova Scotia. I refer to the management of the Government Railways by Mr. Brydges. If the Government of Canada had desired to harrass and destroy the industries of Nova Scotia, if it had been their purpose to paralyze the trade of this portion of the country, and to embarrass, annoy and impoverish everybody, I defy them to have adopted a more thorough and effectual means of accomplishing that end than the manner in which they have managed the public railways. When the Government of this Province constructed those portions of road which are now absorbed in the Intercolonial, they pledged their good faith not to build the road with money which the people had been taxed to procure, and then tax them a second time by unreasonable exactions. If the roads were being run by a private company solely for their own advantage, we might not have so much reason to complain. But I say that the good faith of Nova Scotia was pledged, and it rests upon the Government of Canada, whoever they may be, after they have undertaken the responsibility of running these roads, to manage them in such a way as will conduce most to the prosperity of the country. I am prepared to demonstrate in the most thorough manner that the trade and revenue of Canada is increased by the construction of these works to a larger extent than will pay the interest on every dollar of their construction, and that the revenue that goes into the coffers of Canada to-day is larger by an amount that would pay six per cent. interest on every dollar of the cost of those works than we could hope to have it if the roads were not constructed. If that is the case then the people of Nova Scotia, who have been charged with the debts created by the construction of these roads, have a right to have the principle carried out upon which the roads were constructed. But looking at it as a pure question of commercial economy and policy, the present Government, while sending dismay and distress throughout Nova Scotia from end to end by the unjust exactions from the people using these roads, has actually received less money into the treasury of Canada from the operation of the roads than if they had not caused all this misery and loss to all classes of the people throughout Nova Scotia. We are told all sorts of vague stories about the wonderful skill of this great Napoleon of railways, as Mr. Brydges is called. There is a very curious little incident connected with this matter, and it is this: The Government of Canada publishes a statement of the monthly returns of the railways in Canada. They published that statement down to March, 1875, and it told a curious story. It told the story that instead of this Napoleon of railways being able to grind out of the people of the Maritime Provinces the amount of money that he had promised the Government he would give them if they would send him down here, he had got only $57,943 from freight returns for the month of March, 1875, against $67,946 for March, 1874. Strange to say, from that day to this we have not been able to drag out of them by all the pressure and power of the press or to compel them to do the duty they are bound to perform by publishing in the "Canada Gazette" every month what the returns are. Mr. Mackenzie tells the people at Sarnia that he is going to show a gain of $300,000 in the Intercolonial. I say the whole story of the great deficit was fictitious, and I demonstrated on the floor of Parliament that instead of three quarters or half a million it was $122,000, and matters were so arranged that had there been no change of Government there would be no deficit, but the railways could have been handsomely paying all

working expenses as things were going on. But I undertake to say that unless they change the form of the public accounts, if they bring them down this year as they did last year and do not charge to capital account anything in connection with them, I stand pledged to show that instead of showing $300,000 to the advantage of the railway it will show that it is $300,000 the other way, and I trust that you will remember that, and when this matter is discussed in Parliament, when they no longer will be able to hide those returns, you will see whether I will be able to make my words good or not. But, sir, suppose it were true they could get their three hundred thousand dollars. I say they would get the money wrongly. I say the gain would be insignificant compared with the just management of the affairs of this great country. It is enough to make a man weep to see the old roads covered with people driven off the lines that were built with their money, compelled to do with horses and oxen that which under the old Government they did successfully on the railroad of the country. I am asked why we did not bring the road into Halifax. I am afraid the "Morning Chronicle" has a short memory. On the floor of the House I moved that the papers relative to this subject be brought down. They were brought down, and in them will be found my vindication. It is proved by the papers that from the hour I entered the Government, which was only in the year 1870, no subject more earnestly engaged my attention. I got the Minister of Public Works to put a sum for that purpose into the estimate, and it received the assent of the House. Mr. M'Nab, the Government Engineer, examined the road, and I came down to Halifax and said to the merchants of this city, here is our plan: we are going to strike off at the three mile house and come out back of the Horticultural Gardens. They said it would not do; that our plan was a mistake. I went back to the Government and said, we have made a mistake; we must stop. The Government sent down Mr. Fleming with instructions to look at the whole subject, not only from an engineering point of view, but with a view to the commercial interests of the community. He did so, and he said the best plan was to cut right through the Dockyard and bring the line down to West's wharf, where they could have both land and water communication. We tried to carry out that plan. We went to the Admiral and used all the personal influence we could bring to bear upon him, but in vain. We then went to higher authorities, and applied to the First Lord of the Admiralty, but did not meet with much success there. We then went to the Imperial Government, making our application through Governor Archibald, who was then in England. I need not tell you we failed. I then said to the Government, we must not pause here; let us do the next best thing, ask Parliament to give us money enough to buy the whole row of houses along Water Street, and bring the line down through that street to West's wharf, and make a new street. The Government assented, and put the sum into the estimates. They were prosecuting that matter as vigorously as any man could prosecute his own affairs, and even Mr. Jones was compelled to admit that our vindication was complete. I have shown you that wherever I am, and I am sorry that some of my dear friends of the Government press here seem broken-hearted that I do not reside in Halifax, I am in everything that interests or affects this important city, the emporium of the whole Province, as energetic on your behalf as if I held my seat in Parliament by virtue of your suffrages. I am asked my opinion respecting contractors' claims on the Intercolonial Railway. A number of claims which were presented to the late Government were deferred until such progress had been made in the work that they could all be taken up together, and some common principle adopted in reference to them. At the last session of the House of Commons a Bill was passed for meeting just such cases as these; such cases as the official arbitrators could dispose of being excepted from its operation. Whether claims, then, were well founded or not, the present Government, and every Government were bound, when application was made under the new law, to give them a prompt answer and enable them to try their rights in a court of law. What are they afraid of? They struck out of the Bill before they allowed it to pass the right common to all Englishmen of having a jury of his fellows to try his case. They have framed the law so that the judge appointed and paid by themselves is to decide between the citizen and his Sovereign. Yet they refuse to act under this law. Contractors who approached the Government six months ago by respectful petition asking permission to try their claims under the Bill of Rights have begged and prayed and beseeched them for an answer, and are still without it. Let the "Morning Chronicle" ask the Minister of Justice, with his salary of $7,000 a year, to leave the practice of his own private business in the courts of Ontario, and attend to the work that he is paid by the peoples' money to do and

give justice to Her Majesty's subjects throughout the Dominion. Mr. Mackenzie says the Minister of Justice has not been able to overtake these cases yet. He never will be able to overtake them unt'l he leaves his private business to attend to his public duties, and does the work that he accepts his salary of $7,000 for performing. Mr. Mackenzie says it is a small matter. I am told he intimated to the contractors who had an interview with him—"Oh, there are only a half a dozen of you!" Does he not know what is behind these men? Does he not understand the ramifications of credit, and that if money is owing to those men it is not only owing to them, but to people who are suffering in every section of the country in connection with this depressed state of trade, and that have a right to receive an answer on this question from the Government? They will receive an answer. It can be but one, and it will be an answer that will enable them to go to the foot of the throne, or at all events to our vice-regal throne—for we have that if everything else is taken away—and have the matter adjudicated upon by a judicial tribunal; and that I believe is all that they ask.

The feeling of the whole country is one of blank disappointment with the present Government. But I do not think there should be disappointment amongst those conversant with their past record. Take the whole history of the party now in power, and what do we find? They call themselves the Reform Party. Why, gentlemen, what have they reformed? Mr. Mackenzie told you that they had passed all their measures. He should have told you they had passed all our measures. Did he tell you of a single one that he did not get cut and dried from his predecessors? I think it would puzzle him to do so. I have always claimed that I was as Liberal as I was Conservative; that the broad name adopted by the party to which I belong, and which I believe is going to be a power in the country, from one end to the other, was one that the late Government was justly entitled to, and they have by their Speeches at the opening of each session tacitly admitted that we left them nothing to reform. When our late lamented statesman, the Hon. Joseph Howe, succeeded in inducing Parliament to do a simple piece of justice to this Province, how was he met? He was met by all the opposition it was possible for the Reform Party to produce. The "Globe" endeavored to show that we were not entitled to a dollar. They put up Mr. Wood, their ablest speaker in Ontario, to prove that you had too much already. But the Liberal-Conservative party was too much for them, and Mr. Blake hurried away to the Local Legislature of Ontario and got an address to the Crown passed asking that this piece of justice be taken away from us. And yet these are the men who would come down to Nova Scotia to woo you with their sweet voices. They may continue to say, we have been true to our principles of reform, but I say they could find nothing to reform. All the title they can find to the name of Reformers is to be found in the records of the Courts that have consigned nearly a score of them to political destruction. They talk about Sir Hugh Allan giving $45,000 towards the election fund in Ontario, and Mr. Mackenzie said on the floors of Parliament that our statement that they had used money at their elections was false. And yet in Simcoe the Reformer Cook spent $28,000. Major Walker and his friends spent from $20,000 to $30,000 on his election, and M. C. Cameron over $20,000. Go where you will, to Chambly, Argenteuil, Dorchester, wherever the courts have pursued their investigations, the record is the same, shewing the most gigantic corruption ever attempted in any country. (Applause). But the result of these trials of contested elections also showed that the Liberal Conservative Party rested on firmer claims to the support of the people, and did not buy its way into Parliament.

Again we are told that we resisted the payment of eighty thousand dollars to this province on account of the Post Office, and I am taun'd because I opposed that payment. I will tell you why I did not press it. When Mr. Howe was doing battle in [illegible]terests on the floors of Parliament he was met with this statement, if we vote these two [illegible]ons, you will come back for more. He pledged his honor as a man that he would not, and when I went into the Government he had taken his attitude. The very men from Ontario who had taken the ground that the money paid should be in full went back on their record and supported that $80,000 more. So also they opposed the readjustment of the debt, which has furnished Nova Scotia with the means of carrying on her public works. I am not obliged to ask you to take my testimony on this point. I can read you the speech of the Finance Minister, delivered before his last visit to England, in which you will find him complaining of the late Government for readjusting the debt, thus placing a million more at the disposal of Nova Scotia for the public works of the country. When I have evidence of this sort before me, I am justified in standing here and saying that they are not

managing, but mismanaging, the affairs of the country. What did your Representative, Mr. Power, say in alluding to the gentlemen composing the so-called Reform Party before they had come into office? "I have no hope. I have seen these men and know them to the core, and I am satisfied that whenever the interests of this Province are at stake we have nothing to expect at their hands." Mr. Power's testimony stands here upon record, and proves that whatever other merits he has, he at least has the merit of being a prophet and a true one. What did the Hon. A. J. Smith of New Brunswick say? On returning to his constituents he said:—"Gentlemen, five years ago you sent me to the Parliament of our country with all my prepossessions in favor of the Reform Party. Having carefully watched both sides, I have been giving my support to the Liberal-Conservative Party, and I tell you as an honest man, that if you choose me as your Representative again it must be on the understanding that I am still to support that party, because I consider their policy more advantageous to the Maritime Provinces." In West Toronto I stated in the presence of the Government candidate, who is not likely to have the satisfaction of representing them in Parliament, however, that I was prepared to show that they were a Government without principles, who had systematically trampled principles under their feet ever since they came into power. I read from Mr. Mackenzie's lips, as reported in the "Globe," of July 6th, 1872, the following statement:—"THE POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY is to make the Parliamentary Government supreme—*to place the Government directly under* the control of Parliament; to take from them ALL POWER TO USE ANY PORTION OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY WITHOUT A DIRECT VOTE FOR EACH SERVICE." I then showed that with that statement on record, Mr. Mackenzie took $2,665,000 of your money, without a dollar having been voted, and appropriated them to the purchase of steel rails for use on the Pacific railway. Well, we asked him, "did you want the rails?" We knew that he could not use between four and five hundred miles of steel rails for many years to do his best, the way he was going on. And we asked him if he wanted them. He had to confess that he did not, but he said, "We made a capital bargain." We asked Mr. Mackenzie if he had any reason, as a commercial man, to suppose that that purchase of 50,000 tons of steel rails, at a cost of $2,665,000, half-a-dozen years before he wanted them all, was likely to save any money. We said he would not only have to pay a quarter of a million dollars interest, taking the average time that must elapse before they could be used, but that every commercial man with a head on his shoulders knew that the same causes that had brought the price of rails down were still in operation, and likely to continue for some time,—and that he bought on a falling market, and had probably sunk a large sum of money. Oh, he had no doubt about that; there would never be such an opportunity again. I stand here to show that he sacrificed the interests of the country by not waiting until the rails were required; that the same company from which he bought have since offered them for $10 a ton cheaper than he bought them. The rails that cost, on an average, $54 laid down in Montreal, were afterwards offered for £8 stg. in England,—and that with $4 a ton freight, which is an ample allowance in the present condition of freights, makes $10 per ton loss, which is but a small proportion of what you will sink by this very energetic Minister of Public Works—in this instance, I think, a little too energetic. But I say that the amount of money lost by this transaction—three-quarters of a million dollars of the money of the people of Canada, which are scattered to the winds—is a small matter compared with the violation of the principles that Mr. Mackenzie had professed, and which lie at the very foundation of good government. (Cheers.) Show me such a transaction on the part of the late Government during the seven years they held power, and I will not again dare to face an intelligent people. I say that if any Prime Minister can put his hands in the public treasury and take nearly $3,000,000 without a vote for the purpose, Parliamentary Government is not worth a rush. (Cheers.) What is the control your representatives have over the Government? Is it not that they hold the purse-strings, and that the Government cannot get hold of your money without having it first voted in Parliament? What was Mr. Blake's answer when I put these statements, even more boldly than here, in Toronto, almost in his hearing? What did he say? That we had built the Intercolonial Railway twice as long as it should be. What did that mean? Why, that he had never forgiven the adoption of the North Shore route, a route adopted contrary to their wishes, but where it was desired by all Nova Scotians. I do not say it was located there in the interests of Nova Scotia. It was done at the instance of Her Majesty's Government, that they might possess at all seasons of the year a road through the country, removed from the frontier,

However, I will say that if it were only as a protection against the abrogation of the bonding system the road is worth all it cost. (Applause.) Now, it has been said by Mr. Blake that our Government paid for the steel rails, with which the Intercolonial Railway is laid, about fifty per cent. more than the present Government paid for the rails for the Pacific road. Suppose we had paid 100 per cent. more, would not every commercial man laugh at such a reply? But what will you think when I tell you that, on the Journals, it is proved that Mr. Blake, instead of speaking the truth (mind, I do not mean to insinuate he means to state what is untrue), but he should have been more careful than this when he made such a grossly unfounded statement as that, a small mistake, amounting to only $920,000 on that transaction. On the Journals we find, to a dollar, the price paid for 40,000 tons. Mr. Mackenzie paid $54 a ton; fifty per cent. on that would be $81. What do you suppose we paid? Fifty-eight dollars and sixteen cents for rails delivered at points along the shore of the Gulf. I mention it because, out of the whole bill of indictment I brought against the Government the other day at Toronto, this was the only point Mr. Blake endeavoured to touch. I told them, at the same time, that this Mr. Brydges—who is anxious to wring the last dollar out of the pockets of the people of Nova Scotia, in order to make capital for himself—made a bargain with the Spring Hill Mining Company, by which he not only made them a present of five miles of railroad which belonged to you, but pledged the Government to lay the whole with new rails. Although I have the most friendly disposition towards Spring Hill, in the county of Cumberland, I am bound to state that a deeper wrong was never inflicted upon the people of any Province. That five miles of road would not only have benefitted the Spring Hill Mining Company, but the several mining associations might have transported their coal over it to the main road, and it was also the connecting link between the latter road and the line to the Basin of Minas. As a question of public policy, such a transfer was calculated to injure the best interests of the country. If you could find one instance of such a violation of everything like parliamentary government on the part of the late Government, I would never present myself before an intelligent audience like this again. Mr. Blake had not a single word to utter in defence of this transaction. It was wholly indefensible. No wonder public confidence is shaken when public affairs are guided by men so utterly reckless. Another act that cannot be passed over without comment was that committed by Mr. Mackenzie when he took from the public monies $67,000 duties collected from the Great Western Railway Co., and handed it back to them. The transaction was precisely the same as if he were to refund to any merchant the duties paid by him during the last three years.

The next question asked me is, Why didn't I give the extra member to Halifax? That is a curious question to ask at this juncture. Mr. Jones, some time ago, indicted me before the people of Halifax for that very thing. I at that time stated, over my own signature, frankly and fairly as I always do, my reason. The answer was accepted. The people allowed Mr. Jones to remain at home and attend to his private business, and elected a supporter of the Administration of which I was a member. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I can say that at the present moment Halifax would be better represented in the Dominion Parliament if it had no member there at all. (Cheers.) I think you mistake me; I am perfectly serious about this, and I had not the slightest reference to your present members. What I mean to say is this: The member for Cumberland is a member for Halifax, and the men I see before me would give more weight to Halifax, even without a member, than most other counties could hope for with one. (Applause.) I say that no man who is the representative of any section of Nova Scotia can afford to be indifferent to anything connected with the welfare of Halifax, knowing, as he must, that the good of the country, as a whole, is largely dependent upon the progress and prosperity of the great metropolis. But I think there was another reason that might have suggested itself. What have I seen? I have seen the people of Halifax submitting to have a representative, after they had elected him, turn his back on the Parliament with scorn and contempt, and continue to prosecute his own mercantile affairs, while Halifax was left to take care of itself or to depend upon the care of some outside members. Therefore I thought that any people or any newspaper that approved of his leaving the affairs of the city to take care of themselves, have scarcely a right, in common decency, to put the question to me: Why did Halifax not get a third representative? I am asked why British Columbia got six members, and why Manitoba got four members? Is there a man in my presence to-day who does not know that no portion of this Dominion is more interested in having the Maritime Provinces of the Pacific

largely represented than the Province of Nova Scotia? There is no interest that touches us which does not touch them in the same way. In regard to shipping, fisheries, coal, or anything you like, they stand in the same position as ourselves. But I say that, apart from this, it was just not to provide a representation for a whole Province so small that they would feel that they had no representation. As to Manitoba, when you take into consideration the boundless prairies that are to become the home of millions of people, as I hope, you will feel, I am confident, that we were entitled to give them four representatives. It would be an insult to you to take up any more of your time in instructing the *Morning Chronicle* on that subject. The next subject referred to by the *Chronicle* is the Washington Treaty—the coal and lumber question; why the representative of Canada, in the negotiations leading to the Washington Treaty, did not close in at once when the Americans offered free coal and free lumber. I think you would agree with me that he would hardly like to show his face in Canada if the moment that they had made their first offer he had greedily accepted it. Who does not know that the Reciprocity Treaty was much more advantageous to the United States than it was to us, and that we had a just and fair and legitimate right to get as comprehensive a treaty in the Washington negotiations as we had under the old arrangement? The Canadian Commissioner asked for more, and he would have been a traitor if he had not asked for protection for the shipping and the agricultural interests of this great country, as well as for the coal and lumbering industries. But immediately after the offer of reciprocity in coal and lumber was made, it was withdrawn. Why? Because the Government found that the Pennsylvania coal interest would prevent such a treaty from passing. The *Chronicle* must, therefore, go to Pennsylvania and arraign the coal owners there. The question as to the majority award allowed in the settlement of the Alabama Claims and the unanimous award required in the case of the fisheries is one the then Marquis of Ripon would be better qualified to answer than I am. The next question asked is whether I made money corruptly out of the Pictou Railway, the Spring Hill Coal Mine, and the Fraser-Reynolds supplies. I might answer these questions by reminding them of the Lyman Beecher story, given them by the Premier, but I will not. I have never shrunk in the course of my political life from meeting boldly anything that could be brought against me by my most malicious enemy. A man who is not prepared to defend his character against all aspersions is not fit for a public man, and therefore, insulting and degrading as these questions are to those who without the slightest warrant ask them, I am prepared to meet them, as I have ever met the slightest insinuation on the floors of Parliament. I say that these are lying and calumnious insinuations and challenge any one to show that I have obtained corruptly, through any railway contractor or from any other source, a single dollar (cheers.) When the Finance Minister made an allusion in Parliament to my supposed connection with Fraser, Reynolds & Co., I said I would submit to the closest investigation, and if it could be shown that I had any connection with the affairs of that firm, that I would resign my seat in the House. The hon. gentleman instantly withdrew the insinuation and said he had not intended anything of the kind. So I stand here to-night, and humiliating as it is to be challenged with anything so utterly degrading, yet, as the challenge is thrown out by the organ of a great party I hurl it back, and defy them to show any act touching my personal honor. As for the Pictou Railway, don't they know that the Hon. John W. Ritchie, the present Judge in Equity; the Hon. Samuel Leonard Shannon, the Hon. William A. Henry, are equally responsible with myself for the Pictou Railway contract? Mr. Archibald in vindication of his position as leader of the opposition, submitted that transaction to the closest scrutiny, but he has declared over his own signature that he never dreamed nor insinuated an act of personal corruption against myself. But what is to be thought of the party who assail me, when the contract was drawn up in the handwriting of the very man whom they have put over the head of the Chief Justice, and appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada? They say it was through my influence that Fraser, Reynolds & Co. were enabled to furnish supplies to the Intercolonial Railway. The evidence on that question is before Parliament, procured after the fullest investigation. Mr. Carvell testified that he had authority to order everything that was required without interference from the Government or any member of it, and that he, in fact, had no instructions whatever from the Government or any member of it to make purchases from that firm. Mr. Taylor his predecessor was interviewed by Mr. Jones, and when it was found that his testimony would only go to confirm that of Mr. Carvell, he was allowed to depart without being asked a word. As regards the Spring Hill Mines it has been

proved beyond controversy that my connection with them took place after I had ceased to be a member of the Government of Nova Scotia, and was as free to speculate in Coal mines as any man in Canada. I am asked, lastly, to explain how it is that I came to this city a poor man and left it a rich one. A portion of the press of this city has been vile enough to state that there was a period in my life when some of my friends were obliged to contribute to my support. Degrading as it is to notice things of this sort, I defy them to show that there is a particle of truth in this statement. I have spent between 30 and 40 years of my life in the most self denying industry, and, I hope, not altogether without some business tact. Ought it to be said of a man after 30 years or more of hard toil that because he is not a poor man he must be dishonest? But, from the records of my own county, I can show that I was loaning money upon mortgage as much as 30 years ago, and before I entered public life I had accumulated a large amount of property. I am asked why I accepted the post of City Medical Officer? Because, sir, I hold it to be an office of honour and distinction to guard the lives and health of the people of this important city. But I will tell you how I filled that office. The very first report I made was to recommend the abolition of the office of which I was represented as being so covetous, and to urge the institution of a new method of dealing with poverty and disease in the city. When this change was accomplished I resigned. I will not insult this audience by going into any further discussion of my private affairs. These gentlemen want to know why I deprive Halifax of my presence. If it is a satisfaction to them to know it I am not ashamed to say that I do not live here because I am living now as I have lived all my life by daily toil and industry in the profession to which I have the honour to belong (cheers.) I feel that I have exhausted all this long string of questions, and disposed as I trust once and forever of the calumnies of the men who having no principles of their own that will commend them to public approval and support, feel that the only means they have of obtaining public consideration is to drag other men down to the same level they themselves occupy (applause.)

I have been asked how I can have the audacity to come here and speak on a platform in Halifax. I am proud to say that I cannot see to-day on the face of my country a mark of progress and prosperity that has not been placed there by the great party to which I have the honour to belong. The railway to Pictou, the Windsor and Annapolis line, and the great Intercolonial line that connects this Province with the rest of Canada, and with the railway system of the United States of America are all the work of the great Liberal-Conservative party. That party when I was on the threshold of public life was formed out of the old Conservative party combined with a large section of the Liberal party. Our motto was equal civil and religious privileges. The party was thus formed upon the great principle that underlies the progress and prosperity of every country. That principle we held, not as a means of retaining power, but as a cardinal virtue, to depart from which would be unfair and would be an injury to the country. We did not create a party one day upon religious and sectional antagonisms and the next day bow ourselves in the dust to win the support of those that we had denounced. We raised the standard eighteen years ago in this Province, of equal civil and religious rights for all, and we march under that banner still. Formed upon that glorious principle by the union of a large section of the Liberal party with the old conservative party, and at a later day by the accession of a still larger section of the Liberal, [illegible] Archibald, McCully, and a number of other gentlemen united with us on the great question of Union, the Liberal-Conservative party stands in a position to-day to claim from the people of Nova Scotia, whether in Halifax or out of it, the credit of having contributed to elevate and increase the progress and prosperity of every portion of the Province. That is our claim; and after the brilliant and magnificent ovation with which you have honoured me to-night, I feel that while such is the record of the Liberal-Conservative party the humblest member of that party may present himself confidently in your presence to discuss fearlessly as I have done, the great questions of the day. While doing this plainly, and I hope in a manner that admitted of no misconception, I trust I have done it without giving offence.

I believe there never was a time in the history of Canada, when from the Atlantic to the Pacific, thoughtful and intelligent men were asking themselves with more earnestness whether it was not a solemn duty incumbent upon them, regardless of all party ties, to unite and endeavour to raise Canada from the depression in which unhappily we have for the last two years been making considerable progress. But I have no hesitation, however, in telling you that there is a good time coming. Whether you look East or West, or North or South,

you may observe evidences that the moment the people obtain an opportunity the Liberal Conservative party will be restored to power. You may think, gentlemen, that this is an empty boast. Let me give you some of the grounds on which I make it. In Ontario, the great seat of the power and influence of the Government, where, if they have not the means of being sustained they cannot find it anywhere, in Ontario I am in a position to tell you that since the last general election, against the combined power of both Governments, the Government of Ontario and that of the Dominion, which were converged upon each individual election, we have swept from under their feet six of the finest constituencies scattered broadcast over the Province of Ontario, while at this moment they have not one of ours. (Cheers.) These triumphs make a difference in the Province of Ontario alone, of no less than twelve votes on a division. If we can do that in Ontario, what can we not do in Quebec, where they have comparatively little hold upon the public mind, and where the recent local elections show that these men have been weighed in the balance and found wanting? They came into power upon a false issue, and have been engaged in trampling down those principles which are the safeguard of the people, until a complete reaction has exhibited itself everywhere. I said in Ontario, and I repeat it here, that those who scan the division list next session will find that we stand at least thirty votes stronger than we stood two years ago, by the action of the independent intelligence of the people of this country. But it is no wonder that this is so. I defy any men, however powerful they may be, and though backed by the most overwhelming numbers to carry on a Government successfully without principles. What have we seen in this Province? Who does not know that only yesterday (eight short years ago) the great Anti-Union wave that swept over the country like a Saxby storm, swept the Liberal-Conservative party almost out of existence, and nearly the entire representation in the legislature of the Dominion and of the Province of Nova Scotia was left in the hands of our opponents. But what was the difficulty? They had the numbers, and probably the ability to govern the country but they had not principles. We asked them, what are your principles? You have power, what are you going to do for us? They said: "We are going to punish the rascals who carried Confederation." That was the motive and animating principle that was expected to keep the great party together. What was the result? Where are those men? Go to the Government House, and you will find one of the most distinguished of those delegates presiding as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and enjoying the confidence of an overwhelming majority of his fellow-countrymen, if not of the entire population. I am bold to say that if the position were put to open vote to-morrow, he would poll two-thirds of all classes of the people of this Province. Go into the Supreme Court and you will find Judge McCully and Judge Ritchie holding two of the highest judicial positions in the country, respected and acknowledged by all classes of the people to be the men to whom the highest and dearest interests of the people may be safely confided. Last of all, what more do we find? The most distinguished and striking evidence of the absurdity of the attempt to govern a country on the principles of a party of punishment is the fact that with those gentlemen themselves in power, and myself and William McDonald, from Cape Breton, alone representing the Liberal Conservative interests in Opposition, when they had to name a gentleman for a higher judicial position than any existing in Nova Scotia, away above the Chief Justice, this party of punishment hunted up Mr. Henry, the remaining unprovided for delegate, in order that they might declare in the face of the world that those whom but yesterday they declared to be unfit to hold any positions of responsibility are the men in favor of whom, when a most important public office is to be filled, they must pass over the heads of their own friends and take a man from the ranks of those very gentlemen who committed the great wrong against Nova Scotia, as they said, of carrying it into Confederation. And now, sir, I alone am left, and I am almost afraid that they will come after me and want me to fill some office for which I am hardly worthy. But, sir, no one can be better satisfied than I am with the position I occupy, standing here as an independent representative in the Parliament of my country, having been nine times successively elected during a continuous period of more than twenty years in the county in which I had the honour to be born. I envy none of these gentlemen. Though I could not fill their positions, it would take something still better to induce me to leave the post I now occupy on the floor of Parliament, struggling to promote what I believe to be the best interests of my country. I believe what we see in Ontario and Quebec will exhibit itself in this Province, and that when the people of Nova Scotia have an opportunity of again electing a body of representatives they will do

themselves the credit of choosing men who will be so qualified for public office, that when the Government of the day have to find a successor to a gentleman like Mr. Wm. Ross they will not have to pass over the whole representation of Nova Scotia and seek outside for some person to protect the public interests. I feel that I have trespassed very long upon your time (No! no!), and that I owe you an apology. It has been so long since I have had the honour and the pleasure I have enjoyed to-night, that, coming face to face with the citizens of Halifax, I have experienced a feeling of regret that the time would arrive when I should have to say, at all events for the present, "Good-night." I may say, in conclusion, that as it is just possible that some gentleman may wish to have a fuller discussion, nothing would give me greater pleasure. I believe that the more our principles are discussed the better they will be understood and the deeper the hold they will take on the affections and judgment of the people. Nothing, therefore, will give me greater pleasure than to discuss at any time those principles here with any member of the Parliament of Canada. Thanking you for your patient hearing and kind consideration, I will now bid you "Good-night." (Enthusiastic cheering.)

At the conclusion of the speech, after the applause had subsided, Hon. James McDonald rose to propose a vote of thanks to Hon. C. Tupper. He did so in a very few hearty and kindly remarks. H. W. Allison, Esq., M.P.P. for Hants, seconded the motion in an exceedingly happy speech, which, being delivered too far from the front of the platform, was indistinctly heard, though it deserved a good hearing.

Hon. C. Tupper then moved the thanks of the audience to the Mayor, who was, as he said, a strong and consistent supporter of the principles of the Liberal-Conservative party, and was the son of an able and eloquent clergyman, who had also done noble work for the cause of Confederation. There was then a loud call of "Woodworth," "Woodworth;" and Mr. Woodworth came forward, and seconded the vote in a very few pointed remarks, which were received with applause.

After this, three cheers were given for the Mayor at the suggestion of Hon. C. Tupper; three for Hon. C. Tupper, and three for the Queen.

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