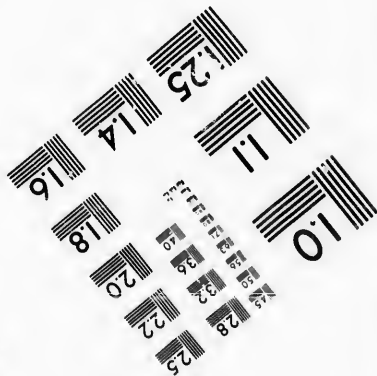
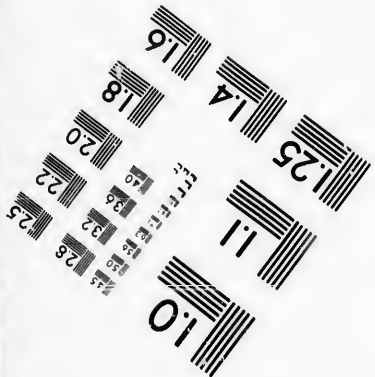
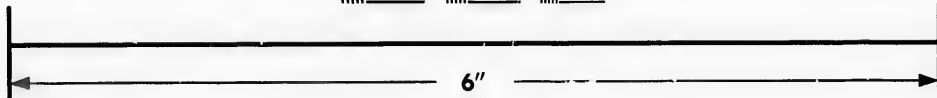
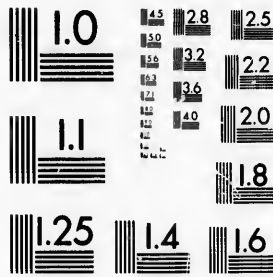


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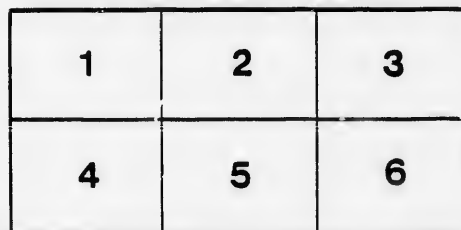
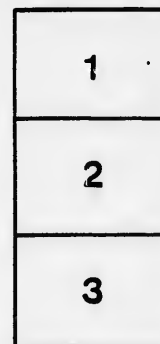
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*Presented by*  
*Jnos Hall Esq. Secy. of the Reform Association of the County of Halton*  
1701 St. Paul

With Compliments of the Halton Reform Association, 1878.

J 082  
Box 1

THE

# CAMPAIGN IN HALTON.

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MR. MACDOUGALL'S RECORD.

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SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. G. R. PATTULLO,

*Secretary of the Reform Association of the Province of Ontario,*

AT GEORGETOWN,

FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 30th, 1878.

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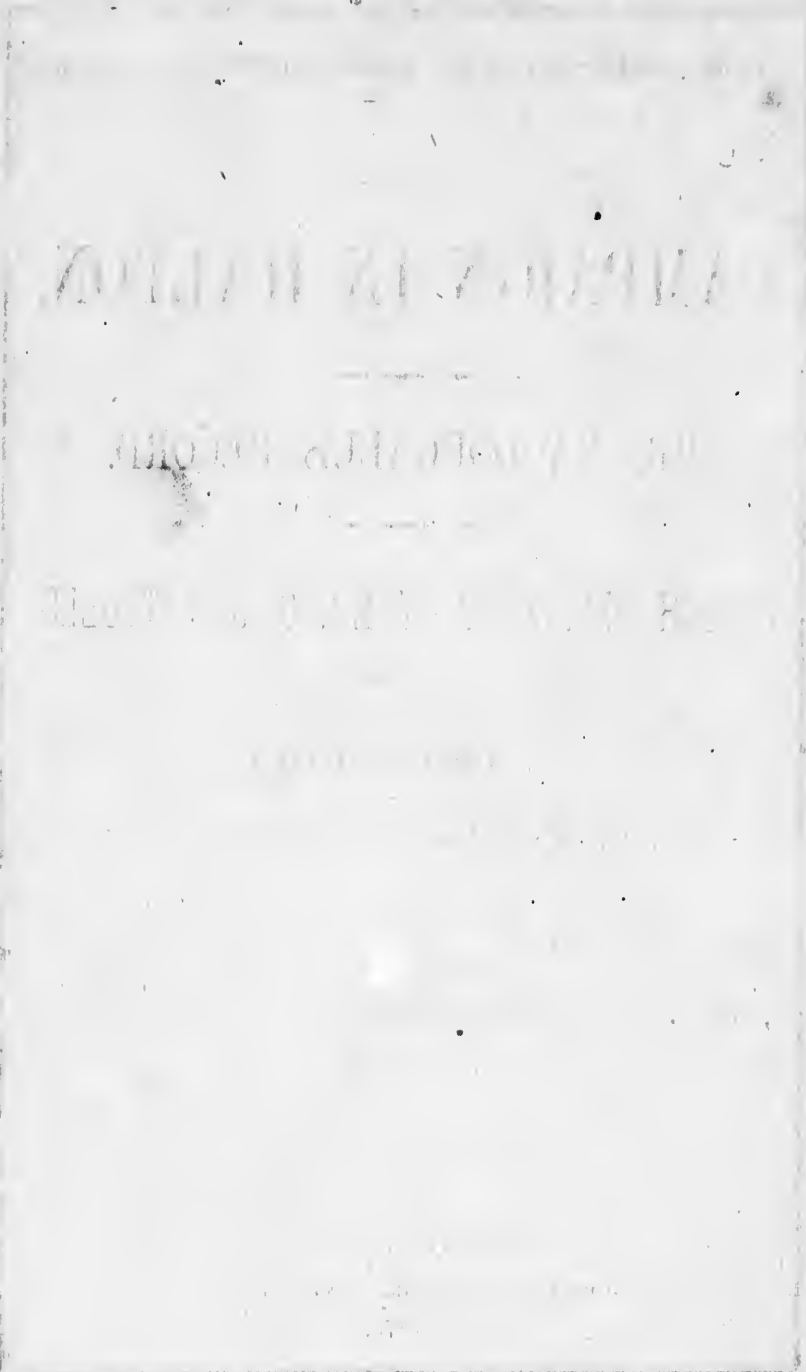
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# THE CAMPAIGN IN HALTON.

## SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. G. R. PATTULLO,

Secretary of the Reform Association of the Province of Ontario,

AT GEORGETOWN, FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 30th, 1878.

A meeting in the interests of Mr. McCraney, the Reform candidate, was held in the Drill Shed in Georgetown, on Friday evening, 27th August. The meeting was organized shortly after eight o'clock by Mr. Mackenzie, Mayor of Georgetown, taking the chair. The CHAIRMAN invited Hon. Wm. Macdougall, the Opposition Candidate, if he was present, Mr. Pattullo, and Ald. Hallam, of Toronto, to take seats on the platform. The first named gentleman had not, however, entered the building. The others came to the platform. After an interval, Mr. Macdougall entered and was received with cheers by his friends. After a private consultation between Messrs. McCraney and Macdougall, the CHAIRMAN announced that arrangements had been made that each speaker should be limited to one hour, and that he would enforce the rule. He hoped that the meeting would give a fair hearing to all those who addressed them. After addresses by Messrs. McCraney and Hallam, Mr. McDougall was called on, and having been allowed to speak a quarter of an hour more than his time, was reminded by the Chairman of the fact that his time was up. He remarked that he would have fair play or else somebody else would not have fair play. The CHAIRMAN informed Mr. Macdougall that he had already exceeded the time agreed upon. Mr. Macdougall said that if he sat down now and Mr. Pattullo spoke after him he would claim the privilege of replying. If not, he would leave the meeting and ask his friends to do the same. (Cheers, hisses, and cries of "Oh, oh," and "Don't let him run the meeting.") Mr. McCraney said he was not going to break the arrangement he had entered into on account of such a threat by Mr. Macdougall. Mr. Macdougall thereupon seized his hat and cane, loudly wished the Chairman "a very good evening," and departed, remarking "You'll see how that will work." Evidently the expectation of himself and his friends was that this little piece of theatrical effort would just about clear the hall.

It did clear the hall of the boys and those friends of Mr. Macdougall who had come from Milton and Oakville, and who sneaked out as if ashamed of themselves; but the majority of the meeting remained, as did certain very decided opinions of the man who showed his appreciation of the courtesy extended to him by acting in such a manner. The crowd, after standing at the door for some time, howling and hooting like a lot of demons, left for parts unknown, and the remainder of the proceedings were characterized by the best of order, the closest attention and the warmest enthusiasm.

The Chairman then called upon

Mr. G. R. PATTULLO, Secretary of the Reform Association of Ontario, who on rising was received with loud cheers. I am not surprised, he said, at the exhibition of Opposition tactics which we have just witnessed. It is only a repetition of what has taken place elsewhere since the present campaign opened. A party that had shown so little respect for the position of the Prime Minister of the Dominion as to intrude themselves upon the recent workmen's meeting in Toronto for the sole purpose of breaking it up, and preventing the Premier being heard, could hardly be expected to conduct themselves with more propriety in their treatment of Mr. Mackenzie's followers. (Cheers.) It seemed to be the opinion of Mr. Macdougall and the managers of the Conservative party that they had a right to control not only their own meetings but meetings held by Reformers, and when they could not so control them they endeavoured, as they had done to-night, to break them up. But I am glad that here, at all events, they have failed. When Mr. Macdougall took his hat and with his friends retired from the meeting with an air of bravo that ill became their cowardly conduct, he evidently expected to deplete the hall. But he was mistaken. He found that his friends were greatly outnumbered in the audience, as

they would also be greatly outnumbered at the polls. (Cheers.)

### The Issue

An orderly meeting being now assured by the retirement of the Opposition, I shall now, Mr. Chairman, refer to what I believe are or ought to be some of the leading questions for the consideration of the electors in the present contest. The Canadian people are now asked to consider and pronounce their verdict between the two great political parties who seek to govern this country, and in one respect, at least, they are in a better position to arrive at a fair and just verdict than in any previous general election since Confederation. Both parties—the Conservative, led by Sir John A. Macdonald, and the Reform, led by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie—have now a legislative and administrative record. The former held office from 1867 to 1873; the latter has governed the country from 1873 until now.

### Comparison of Records Necessary.

It is by the records which they have made, by their respective policies for the future, by the character, private and public, of the two political leaders and of their respective following—who, with them, are now appealing for the suffrages of the Canadian electorate—it is only by a comparison of this kind that a fair and just verdict can be recorded. Upon the result of such a comparison, Mr. Mackenzie and the Reform party are prepared to await, with the utmost confidence, the nation's verdict. (Cheers.)

### Sir John Macdonald's Opportunities.

To contrast fairly the records of the Conservative and Reform Administrations since Confederation, it is necessary to consider the circumstances under which each assumed office. In 1867, Confederation having been consummated by the union, for the time being, of both political parties, Mr. (now Sir) John A. Macdonald was called on to inaugurate the first Government of the Dominion. No Canadian statesman—no Colonial statesman anywhere—ever had so magnificent opportunities for great, wise, and patriotic statesmanship as were then presented to him. Appealing to the people upon the ground of no-party, asking them to forget the political differences of the past, and surrounded by colleagues drawn from both political parties—colleagues for the most part of political experience and prominence in their several Provinces—he was sustained by an immense majority at the general election which followed. Further:—Canada, in common with the whole civilized world, was just then entering upon an era of great commercial prosperity—a circumstance which

ensured an ample revenue for Governmental purposes, and naturally also a greater degree of contentment amongst the people than can possibly exist in a time of depression. Such were the happy circumstances which surrounded Sir John A. Macdonald on the formation of his Government in 1867. Such were his opportunities for great statesmanship—for laying broad and deep the foundations of the new Government:

### How he failed to Improve them.

How was it, then, that surrounded by experienced and influential colleagues from the different Provinces of the Dominion, and backed by an immense majority in Parliament, Sir John A. Macdonald, who, we are told, is "Canada's greatest statesman," in six short years afterwards, brought his Government and his party to destruction and disgrace, and was compelled to resign the reins of office into the hands of his opponents? (Cheers.) How came it, the thoughtful elector will naturally ask, that after seven years' experience of his Government, the Canadian people ejected him from office by a majority equally overwhelming as was that by which they had sustained him when he appealed to them in 1867? How was it that they preferred his opponents—men, if we are to believe Conservative testimony, of no ability, and certainly of very little legislative experience—to one so able, one so experienced, and one so patriotic as "Canada's greatest statesman"? Surely these are questions which will occur to every elector at the present time, be he Conservative or Reformer; for the Conservative even more than the Reformer should hesitate to again return to power a political leader who had—in spite of the most splendid opportunities—led his party not only to destruction but to disgrace. (Cheers.)

### The Late Government's Record.

To answer these questions satisfactorily and to understand aright the reasons which led to the rapid decline and fall of Sir John Macdonald's Government, it is necessary to consider some of its chief acts, to refer to its legislation, to its administration, and to its general policy.

### The Intercolonial Railway.

One of the conditions of our union with the Maritime Provinces was an undertaking to build the Intercolonial Railway. What was the course of Sir John Macdonald's Government with respect to that undertaking? Was the location of the line, its subsequent construction and management, such as to subserve the best interests of the Dominion?

### Wm Macdougall's Testimony.

With respect to the location of the route I shall refer you to the testimony of one



of Sir John A. Macdonald's colleagues—one who is still a political ally, and who is now asking your suffrages as Sir John's candidate for the House of Commons, I mean Mr. Wm. Macdougall. (Cheers.)

#### Fruitless Missions.

It will be remembered that in 1869, Mr. Macdougall was sent out by Sir John Macdonald to take possession of the newly acquired North-West Territory, just as he has been sent out now to take possession of the county of Halton. (Laughter.) Unfortunately he was unsuccessful in his mission then, as he will be unsuccessful in his mission now. (Cheers.) His position then and now reminds me of a little story which, when a boy, I heard Mr. Macdougall tell in the county of Oxford, and as it is his own story I am sure Mr. Macdougall will not object to a personal application of it.

#### An Apt Illustration—Porker vs. Potato Patch.

When a young man upon the farm, having been, like the majority of us, to the manor born, Mr. Macdougall had for a neighbour a worthy Irishman. Said Irishman owned a very long-nosed, voracious, and exceedingly mischievous specimen of the *genus* porker. This porker was always getting into mischief, and frequently into a certain potato patch. The owner could not understand it. He had examined the fence between his pasture field and the potato patch thoroughly, and had "chinked" every hole that his porkship could possibly get through, but still he found him daily among the potatoes. At last he discovered the secret. He found under a certain panel of the fence that a large hollow log had been used as the ground rail, and through this log the animal was accustomed to come and go at his own sweet will. The Irishman observed that the log was not only hollow, but curved, and, just as any Irishman would, he determined to have some fun. He turned the log so that both ends would lead to the pasture field, and when his porkship returned and started full-boned by his accustomed route to the potato patch, he was greatly surprised to find himself coming out on the same side of the fence. (Laughter.) So with Mr. Macdougall. Sir John Macdonald, no doubt anxious to get rid of him, sent him up as Governor to the North-West, but he took good care to turn the log under the Manitoba line-fence—that "blawsted fence"—so that Mr. Macdougall never got into the North-West potato patch, but came out on the wrong side, just as he will come out on the wrong side on the 17th of September (cheers), only with this difference, that the outward end of the log instead of leading into the pasture field will lead into the road, and Mr. Macdougall will find himself not even in

the bare pasture of the Local Legislature, but on the street—the only consolation left him being that he will have plenty of Opposition stock as company. (Loud laughter and cheers.)

#### Mr. Macdougall out of Temper.

Well, when Mr. Macdougall returned from this fruitless mission to the North-West, he was not in very good temper with his late colleagues, and he wrote a book or pamphlet, and from this pamphlet we get some very interesting testimony as to the conduct of public affairs by Mr. Macdougall's former leader and colleagues and present political allies. And as Mr. Macdougall's opportunities for knowing the facts and of knowing these gentlemen were unequalled, and as he is now accepted by the Conservative party as a political authority, what he says with regard to Sir John and the Intercolonial Railway and other matters connected with the late Administration ought to be accepted as good evidence by the Conservative party, at least, if not also by Reformers.

#### Eight Millions Thrown into the Sea.

Writing in 1870, after his return from the North-West, Mr. Macdougall charges that "*Sir John and Mr. Campbell surrendered the interests of Ontario to Quebec and Mr. Mitchell, and threw eight millions of dollars into the sea*" by selecting the long route for the Intercolonial Railway instead of the shorter and more natural one. By this grave mistake 138 miles more road had to be built and the whole commercial inter-communication between the Provinces greatly injured—in addition also to the consequences of being compelled to maintain for all time to come a much longer and more expensive line of railway than was necessary—and all this for a purely political object—simply to strengthen Sir George E. Cartier and Mr. Peter Mitchell in certain Quebec and New Brunswick constituencies.

#### "Trepanning" Imperial Despatches.

But it has been alleged that the longer route was chosen on account of imperial pressure, on the ground of military necessity. The only evidence to substantiate this statement is a despatch from the Colonial Secretary, but which despatch Mr. Macdougall publicly declared in St. John, New Brunswick, the Colonial Secretary was "TREPANNED" into writing. That is to say, that despatch was written by the Colonial Secretary at the suggestion of Mr. Macdougall's colleagues, and then those colleagues having, for political objects, thus secured it, gravely presented the despatch to Parliament as the *raison d'être* for adopting the long and expensive route and imposing immense additional and unnecessary burdens upon the Dominion for all time to come! Thus, then, I submit, upon

the evidence of Mr. Macdougall, was one of the grave mistakes made by the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald, and assented to, be it remembered, by Mr. Macdougall himself. (Cheers.)

#### North-West Blundering.

Another of Mr. Macdougall's charges against Sir John Macdonald's Government was its blundering with respect to the acquisition and subsequent mismanagement of the North-West Territory. In the same paragraph of his pamphlet from which I have already quoted, Mr. Macdougall says:—

I am disclosing no secret of the Council-room when I affirm that in September, 1868, except Mr. Tilley and myself, every member of the Government was either *indifferent or hostile* to the acquisition of the North-West Territories. When they discovered that a Ministerial crisis respecting the route of the Interoceanic Railway could only be avoided by an immediate agreement (and immediate action) to secure the transfer of these territories to the Dominion, they were ready to act. *On the same day that Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Campbell surrendered the interests of Ontario to Quebec and Mr. Mitchell—and threw eight millions of dollars into the sea—I carried a proposition to send a deputation to England with full power to close negotiations for the purchase of one-third of the North American continent as an off-set.*

From the above it will be seen that, contrary to the wishes of the whole people of Canada, and especially of the people of Ontario, Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues were either indifferent or hostile to the acquisition of the North-West Territory, and that it was only to make political peace with Mr. Tilley and Mr. Macdougall, and to prevent a Ministerial crisis, on account of their opposition to the long Interoceanic route, that they finally consented to complete the purchase of that territory.

#### Macdougall Charges Sir John and Colleagues with Treason! and Incapacity.

It was natural, therefore, considering the indifference and hostility on the part of Sir John and his colleagues to the acquirement of the North West, that they should show equal disregard for the proper establishment of a Government there. Hence we find Mr. Macdougall, in page 7 of his pamphlet, addressing Mr. Howe and Sir John's Government in the following language:—

The authority of the Dominion has been at length established over that vast region, and can only be endangered by *treason or incapacity* at Ottawa. The latter, we know, *reigns supreme in every department*; the former is more than suspected in yours. When I use the word "treason," I desire that you shall understand it in its widest sense. *Treason not to the lawful sovereign of this Dominion only but treason to the people of Canada; treason to the interests, civil and, religious, of the people of the North-West; treason to human progress, freedom, and civilization in every Province of the Dominion.*

Here again we find Mr. Macdougall fur-

nishing us with a strong and doubtless true indictment of his former and present colleagues.

#### A Happy Family!

But Mr. Macdougall goes further, and gives us an interesting insight into the "interior economy" of the late Administration and of the mutual confidence entertained one toward the other by its members.

Before leaving Ottawa I took the precaution to obtain copies of all the despatches, draft agreements, and documents relating to the North-West, which I have since found was a wise precaution. I knew by experience that it would be unsafe to rely upon official promptitude or perspicacity at Ottawa, or to assume that the proper Minister or a quorum of Ministers would be found at the Capital in any emergency that might happen. And I know—what this case has conclusively established—that you and the majority of your colleagues *would not hesitate to garble or suppress important State papers* even when demanded by Parliament if their production was likely to expose or embarrass the Government.

What a happy family Sir John's Government must have been! What unbounded confidence and respect for each other and for their mutual honour is exemplified in the above passage!

#### Macdougall's Appointment a Mistake.

There was still another error made by Sir John Macdonald's Government in attempting to establish the new Government in the North-West. It was—and I regret to refer to this in Mr. Macdougall's absence—the selection of Mr. Macdougall as Governor. Not because he was not qualified for the position in point of ability, of experience, and of knowledge of constitutional government, but there were other reasons which made his selection unfortunate. It was extremely desirable that, considering the peculiar circumstances surrounding the purchase and acquisition of that territory, and the varied character, creed, and nationality of its people, that a Governor should have been selected who would be acceptable to all classes of the community. According to Mr. Macdougall's own evidence this was not likely to be the case if he were chosen. For some time previously Mr. Macdougall had been looked upon with suspicion, if not hostility, by a considerable section of those who then constituted a large proportion of the population of the North-West.

#### His Hostility to the Catholic Clergy.

As a member of a former Canadian Government, Mr. Macdougall had made himself obnoxious to the Catholic population and the Catholic clergy in Manitoulin Island. He refers to this in his pamphlet, and offers it as, in some measure, an explanation of the difficulties which followed his appointment as Governor. Referring to the Catholic clergy, Mr. Macdougall says:—

In the course of official duty I disturbed, a few years ago, one of their outposts on the Island of Manitou-

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lin, and the falsehood and calumny with which they have pursued me ever since, and the secret wires pulled for that purpose, prove at once their vindictive spirit, their indomitable energy, and their powerful influence in our complex society.

**A Still More Bitter Attack.**

With such feelings as these—and from his vindictive attack upon a Catholic contractor and newspaper to-night, Mr. Macdougall evidently cherishes the same hostility still—mutually entertained between himself and an important section of the people whom he was sent to govern, and having been thwarted in his attempt to reach the seat of Government at Winnipeg, Mr. Macdougall returned to Ontario, and wrote as follows to his late colleagues:—

Your Jesuit allies, with their treacherous doctrines, their blood-stained hands, and their indiscriminate hostility to human progress in whatever form, have ruined every power and every cause that has trusted or employed them. Even the Pope himself could not survive their patronage. By their intrigues they rendered him so unpopular with his own subjects that his reign as a temporal sovereign could not be maintained. Driven and being driven from nearly every country in Europe, these dark birds of evil omen seem to have alighted upon the northern shore of the finest lakes of America, and to have spread themselves, under the name of Oblats, over the vast regions and among the nomadic tribes of the North-West.

**The Manitoba Act—A Slap at Mr. Langevin.**

The measure proposed by Sir John Macdonald to form the Province of Manitoba was condemned in equally strong terms by Mr. Macdougall, who took occasion in the following extract to return to his attack upon the Catholic clergy, and also to get a slap at another of his present allies, the incorruptible Mr. Langevin:—

The Bill, as submitted by the dominant faction in the Cabinet, was, on the face of it, a Bill to establish French half-breed and foreign ecclesiastical ascendancy in Manitoba. The English and Protestant settlement of the Portage, the most prominent in the Territory, was, by a cunningly drawn boundary line, excluded from the Province. Father Richot expected by this arrangement to secure for himself and his faction the easy control of the new Government. When I pointed out this as the probable result and object of the peculiar configuration of the proposed Provinces, and Mr. Mackenzie, with his compasses on the map, proved the truth of my suspicion as to the exclusion of the Portage settlement, Ministers confessed the fact, and attempted to justify it by falsehood—to wit, that the people of Portage "desired" to be excluded! A sufficient number of the Ontario supporters of the Government signified their intention to vote with the Opposition on this point to compel even the *Chevalier of St Gregory* (Mr. Langevin) to expand his contracted ideas a little, and take in the English settlement on the borders of Lake Manitoba. But the emaciated section of the Cabinet cannot claim any credit for the change; it was forced upon them by the House, and their helplessness in the subsequent stages proved that their political virility was lost for ever.

But in spite of Mr. Mackenzie's protest, and the protests of several members of the then Opposition, the Manitoba Act, which Mr. Macdougall thus describes, was pushed

through Parliament and became law, although—as was known at the time—it was *ultra vires*, and as a consequence, Imperial legislation had to be sought to give it validity.

**Charge of Treason Proved.**

But certainly the most serious charge of all made by Mr. Macdougall against Sir John A. Macdonald and colleagues was the following:—

There is one question yet to be answered under the head of "my policy" in the North-West. Why did the movement of the loyal people of the settlement, under Col. Dennis, fail? Leaving out of view all secondary and minor causes, the reason was this:—The rebel leaders had private information from Ottawa by the same mail that brought me your non-committal and deceptive despatch of 19th November, that the Canadian Government would not accept the transfer; that their so-called Governor had no authority, would be left to get out of the scrape as best he could, and that the leaders of the insurrection need not fear either punishment or coercion! I may add that the same mail brought me the *Montreal Gazette*, with a paragraph informing the public that the Government had telegraphed Mr. Rose not to pay over the £300,000! This was the first and only information I received while at Pembina from which I could infer your policy. Richot and Biel were better advised; they had positive information, and acted on it at once. Meetings were held which Colonel Dennis was not invited to attend, and it was resolved that the half-armed loyalists had better not take the field—they could not expect to conquer the French half-breeds and the Canadian Government at the same time.

**Dr. Tupper's Nepotism.**

But this is not all that has yet another charge made by Macdougall against Sir John Macdonald and colleagues in the North-West question—a charge which affects both Sir John and his first lieutenant, Dr. Tupper. In the appointment of Captain Cameron of "blawsted fence" notoriety, and son-in-law of Dr. Tupper), Mr. Macdougall said:—

Capt. Cameron was sent to the North-West against my strong remonstrance. I was told that he had to be provided for, that Dr. Tupper demanded it.

And again, on page 17:—

In a short conversation with Dr. Tupper, whom I met on the plains as I was returning to Canada, he informed me that Capt. Cameron was sent to the North-West under a promise that he should be a member of my Government, and that he (Dr. Tupper) had that promise in writing.

Could a more direct and serious charge of nepotism be made against Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper than the above? That Capt. Cameron, because a son-in-law of Dr. Tupper—whose tender solicitation for the gallant captain's promotion was truly touching,—"had gone to the North-West under the promise that he should be a member of my (Mr. Macdougall's) Government; and that "this promise was made in writing." Who gave the promise? Was it Sir John Macdonald? If so, it is clear that Dr. Tupper also, like Mr. Macdougall, was very suspi-

clous of the value of Sir John's promises and was not content to accept them unless they were in black and white! (Cheers.)

#### Mr. Macdougall's Indictment of Present Allies.

These, Mr. Chairman, were the opinions entertained of Sir John Macdonald by Mr. Macdougall and his colleagues in 1879—after three or four years' close association with them in the government of the country. These are some of the errors of policy, blunders of administration, and evidences of incapacity which Mr. Macdougall alleged were justly chargeable against them. Briefly stated, Mr. Macdougall's indictment of Sir John and his colleagues was:—That for political purposes they had consented to a waste of the public money to the extent of eight millions of dollars in locating the line of the Intercolonial Railway; that they were hostile or indifferent to the acquirement of the great North-West Territory; that they had blundered egregiously in attempting to establish a Government there; that they were guilty of the grossest nepotism in the selection of his (Mr. Macdougall's) officers when he was sent to the North-West as Governor; that incapacity reigned supreme in every department of their Administration; that, in a word, they had been guilty of "treason, not to the lawful sovereign of this Dominion only, but treason to the people of Canada; treason to the interests, civil and religious, of the people of the North-west; treason to human progress, freedom, and civilization in every Province of the Dominion!" This, Sir, is Mr. Macdougall's indictment against his former and—strange to say—present political allies. Their opponents could not wish to have it made stronger, and with such an indictment—drawn by a friendly hand—with such a certificate of character from Mr. Macdougall, how can that gentleman now ask you to assist him in returning these traitorous politicians, these blunders, these incompetents, to power again? (Loud cheers.)

#### Their Indictment of Mr. Macdougall.

But, Mr. Chairman, we must hear both sides of the case. We must be fair to these gentlemen whom Mr. William Macdougall has thus so severely condemned. I have given you his opinions of them. It is only right that I should give you their opinions of him.

#### Mr. M. C. Cameron's Certificate of Character.

The Hon. M. C. Cameron, M. P. P., and for the past four years Mr. Macdougall's leader in the House of Assembly, made a speech some years ago in the county of North Ontario, and this is what he said of Mr. Macdougall on that occasion: That Mr.

Macdougall was a "loud-mouthed pretender"; that Mr. Macdougall "had proved recreant to the most cherished principles he had formerly professed"; that Mr. Macdougall's "practices and professions differed very widely" (as they do now); that Mr. Macdougall was "formerly termed Washington Macdougall, and was reported to have threatened to appeal to Washington"; that Mr. Macdougall "had been guilty of treason to the best interests of Canada"—you will observe that the charge of treason is mutual—(laughter); that Mr. Macdougall "was not honest or reliable" (and he is no better now); that Mr. Macdougall had "boxed the political compass" (and he has boxed the political compass several times since); that Mr. Macdougall was a "political weather-cock;" that Mr. Macdougall, when in office, had been involved in matters of a "suspicious character." (Cheers.) This, Mr. Chairman, was the opinion formerly held by the Hon. M. C. Cameron of Mr. Macdougall. I don't believe he has changed his opinion since, but it has, he differs in that respect from a vast majority of the people of Ontario. (Cheers.)

#### Sir John's Certificate, via the "Leader."

But here is another certificate of character for Mr. Macdougall, from a thoroughly reliable Conservative source—the Toronto *Leader*, then the chief organ of Sir John A. Macdonald—and no doubt it was written by instructions from Sir John. Referring to Mr. Macdougall on his return from the North-West, the *Leader* said:—

Fish-blooded though Mr. Macdougall is, he has never been noted for an even temper. \* \* His condition is pitiable enough, but appeals of misericordiam are generally disgusting when coming from one who has well merited his fate. \* \* He (Mr. Macdougall) has gone through all the degradation of political life—reformer to-day, Tory to-morrow, Coalitionist the next day, his name stinks sufficiently in the public estimation. \* \* The heart of a saint might well bleed at the spectacle he (Mr. Macdougall) presented. Still ejecting his bile and displaying the intemperance of his mind, he was buffeted about from side to side, now rejected by the Ministerialists, then repudiated by the Opposition. \* \* Mr. Macdougall was a staunch Ministerialist so long as there were any pickings to be had, and it was only when out of employment, and not likely to get any, that he became the gushing patriot once more. \* \* What a gushing patriot is the Hon. Wm. Macdougall, C.B. He has just paid a visit to his constituents, and tried as hard as he could to show how different are a man's words when he is feeding at the public crib and when he is left to his own resources. \* \* We do not know how much the Governor (of Manitoba)—at was to have been—drew under the head of salary. But in the matter of expenses he (Mr. Macdougall) drew with a vigour which would soon tell on the public exchequer. \$13,000 in three months is a trifle not to be sneezed at. Is it to be wondered at that, having lost so comfortable a berth, Mr. Macdougall became so suddenly virtuous and patriotic? \* \* Perhaps they (Mr. Macdougall's constituents) can place implicit confidence in him. If they can they are far more fortunate than those who have had more intimate relations with him. He (Mr. Macdougall) is now too old a hack to deceive anyone. It is well known that his allegiance is simply a question of money and money's worth.

Now, Sir, I have presented both sides of the picture. Surely I have dealt fairly with Mr. Macdougall, Sir John Macdonald and the late Government. I have not myself condemned them, but have only given you their condemnation of each other. You have on the one hand a certificate of character for Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues from Wm. Macdougall, and on the other you have a certificate of character for Mr. Macdougall from Sir John Macdonald's organ and from Mr. M. C. Cameron. Both were no doubt conscientiously written, and are no doubt strictly true. (Cheers.) And, if so, how can the electors of Halton give their votes to return either the one or the other of them to power or to Parliament? The faithful Conservatives of the riding, who pin their faith to Sir John Macdonald, surely cannot support a candidate who has given them such a picture of their leader; nor can they support one who has been painted equally black by Sir John. (Cheers.) And as the Reformers believe Sir John and Mr. Macdougall to be precisely what they have painted each other, they will do their utmost to keep both out of power by rejecting the Reform candidate. (Cheers.)

#### Other blunders of late Government.

But to return to the record of the late Government. It must be remembered that in addition to the many sins of omission and commission charged against them by Mr. Macdougall, there is also their blandering with respect to the Nova Scotia subsidy, the admission of British Columbia to the Union; the monstrously absurd and impossible proposition to build the Pacific Railway in ten years—the absurdity of which was proved by the fact that three years of the ten were allowed to elapse before the late Government went out of power, and yet not the first spadeful of earth had been turned upon the proposed road, and as a result Sir John had left the people of British Columbia upon the verge of secession; that they had increased by the most reckless extravagance the public expenditure of the Dominion from—*in round numbers*—\$13,000,000 to \$23,000,000, and the gross public debt from \$93,000,000 to \$141,000,000.

#### What has since come to light.

But besides all this, it must also be remembered that at the time Mr. Macdougall wrote his pamphlet, nothing had been heard of the Pacific Scandal—an offence, yea, a political crime against the people of Canada such as was never before perpetrated among a free people or in any constitutionally governed country—a crime which shocked alike the people and press of Canada, of the United States, and of England—a crime for which Sir John Macdonald, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* said, confessed him-

self guilty, and added further, "It will be the duty of the honest people of the Dominion to take care that none of the persons who were concerned in the proceedings at which Sir George E. Cartier was the agent shall ever again obtain power in Canada."

#### The Northern Railway Scandal.

Nor was it then known that Sir John Macdonald and his friends had used another railway corporation for political purposes in the same way as they were proved, upon their own evidence, to have used the Canada Pacific Railway Company; that he and his friends had received \$27,000 from the Northern Railway Company—a Company which afterwards appealed to Sir John to compromise its indebtedness to the country at the rate of about 25 cents on the dollar. And when Sir John A. Macdonald proposed to settle the country's claim of over \$2,000,000 for \$500,000 it was not known that he had previously put himself under obligations to this poverty-stricken road by agreeing to accept from them this large sum of money for election purposes! No wonder that he should have felt inclined to deal leniently with so generous a contributor to his political treasury. But even a Conservative Parliament, although it contained, no doubt, some of the very men who were elected by the Northern Railway Co.'s money—did not dare to sanction so outrageous a proposition, and Sir John Macdonald was consequently compelled to withdraw it. Since then the Reform Government has received somewhat over a million dollars, besides compelling the Company to pay back the \$27,000 improperly contributed to Sir John, for the claim which the latter had proposed to settle for \$500,000! (Cheers.) This is one of the economies of the present Government to which Mr. Macdougall has not alluded.

#### The Secret Service Fund.

Neither had Sir John Macdonald at the time when Mr. Macdougall condemned him been guilty of retaining \$32,000 of public money after he had ceased to have any right to be its custodian, after he had been ejected from office, and when he had no more authority to hold or to dispose of the moneys of the Crown than a bank manager would have the right to retain a portion of the funds of the bank and dispose of them as he pleased two years after he had retired from its management—or than the treasurer of your municipality would have to retain in his possession and dispose of the funds of this municipality two years after his successor had been appointed.

#### Mr. Macdougall lets in a Flood of Light on this Question.

But Mr. Macdougall, in this precious pamphlet, has thrown a flood of light upon an-



other dark transaction of his present leader—the Secret Service Scandal. He (Mr. Macdougall) was himself a member of the Committee of the Privy Council, under whose direct control the Secret Service Fund was placed. He knew, therefore, to what purposes the fund had been applied in the past, and unless he was aware that Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues had been accustomed to use it—as had been strongly suspected—for political purposes, how does it come that on pages 6 and 7 of his pamphlet, referring to the publication of a Government brochure criticising his conduct in the North-West, Mr. Macdougall says:—

“I am absolved by this official attack (if not made at the cost of the Secret Service Fund it certainly is with the assent of the responsible guardians of confidential state papers) from all obligations to secrecy or reticence respecting the *res gestæ* of this whole matter”? (Cheers.)

Now, Sir, mark the insinuation here made against his colleagues by Mr. Macdougall.

#### His Personal Knowledge.

He says in effect to Sir John and the other members of the Secret Service Fund Committee:—“I know all about this matter; I know how you were accustomed to use this fund; I have had some experience with respect to it myself, and I very strongly suspect that you are now doing as you have done before—drawing upon the fund to pay for the publication of this criticism of my conduct in the North-West.” (Cheers.) Such, Mr. Chairman, is a record of the chief events which led to the rapid decline and fall of Sir John Macdonald's Government, and such the evidence supplied by a member of that Government as to the righteousness of the verdict which the people subsequently recorded against it.

#### The Reform Record.

Coming to the record of the present Administration, let us contrast the circumstances under which Mr. Mackenzie assumed office with those which surrounded Sir John A. Macdonald in '67.

#### Grave Difficulties to be overcome.

When called upon in 1873, Mr. Mackenzie found himself face to face with many and vast difficulties, which were the natural legacies of the blundering legislation, errors of policy, and general mal-administration of his predecessors. British Columbia was clamouring for the fulfilment of the impossible terms which had been imposed upon us by Sir John A. Macdonald with respect to building the Pacific Railway; the Riel difficulty was still unsettled in Manitoba; the New Brunswick school question was causing irritation in the east; and besides all these he had to fulfil the enormous financial

obligations to which the country had been pledged for the proposed construction of the Intercolonial and Pacific Railways and other great public works. Further,—the country was just then upon the eve of a severe and prolonged commercial depression, the result of which has been to greatly curtail the revenue and make the financial administration of the new Government an exceedingly difficult task. The present Finance Minister found himself much in the position of the farmer who, having this year assumed large responsibilities in the improvement of his farm, or in the erection, it may be, of new and larger buildings, suffered in the following year by a short crop, and in order to make both ends meet he was compelled to enforce the strictest economy in every department of expenditure. What has been the record of Mr. Mackenzie's Administration despite these embarrassing circumstances—these enormous obligations?

#### How Obligations Have been met and Difficulties Surmounted.

In 1873-4 the late Administration increased the public expenditure no less than \$3,768,300. Immediately before going out of office they made 629 new departmental appointments, adding thereby \$322,943 to the annual burdens of the country. They increased the existing salaries of 1,381 employees, amounting to \$152,350 per annum, or a total annual addition to the burdens of the people of \$475,439. In addition to this they had undertaken public works to the extent of \$96,000,000, and there were maturing \$35,000,000 of debentures of the Dominion for which no provision whatever had been made; and yet, notwithstanding all this, the present Government have succeeded at the end of five years in providing for these vast obligations, and after doing all this it has managed to keep the total expenditure of the country down to within \$202,975 of what it was in 1873-74. (Cheers.)

#### Economy in Controllable Expenditure.

But, Sir, the best test of a Government's economy is its management of controllable expenditure, and in this respect the Reform Government has greatly the advantage of its predecessor. The latter increased the controllable expenditure during their tenure of office at the rate of \$182,296 36 annually, or a total of \$4,693,778 15; while Mr. Mackenzie's Government shows a total decrease of \$1,488,997 99, or an annual average decrease of \$496,332 66.

#### How these Economies were Effected.

These satisfactory results are explained by the following comparative statement of the various expenditures under the head of ordinary expenditure and charges on revenue by the late and present Governments for

the years 1871 to 1874 and 1874 to 1877 respectively. Only the details of total increases and decreases are given and both in all cases:—Civil Government—Tory increase, \$241,385; Reform decrease, \$71,492. Contingencies—Tory increase, \$69,510; Reform decrease, \$64,437. Department of Justice—Tory increase, \$134,626; Reform increase, \$106,360 (caused by establishment of Supreme Court, Court of Appeal in Ontario, and County Courts in Nova Scotia, judges having to be paid by the Dominion). Police—Tory increase, \$16,840; Reform decrease, \$45,032. Penitentiaries—Tory increase, \$176,359; Reform decrease, \$92,382. Legislation—Tory increase, \$427,842; Reform decrease, \$188,042. Geological Survey—Tory increase, \$52,034; Reform decrease, \$2,256. Arts, Agriculture, and Statistics—Tory increase, \$13,918; Reform increase, \$46,675 (for expenditure on account of Sydney Exhibition, \$16,887, and Centennial \$87,855, in 1876 and 1877). Census—Tory decrease, \$120,036; Reform decrease, \$32,924. Immigration and Quarantine—Tory increase, \$246,783; Reform increase, \$35,378 (included in this expenditure for 1875 6-7 is \$184,617 for loans, buildings, etc., not properly chargeable to immigration). Marine Hospitals—Tory increase, \$30,912; Reform decrease, \$4,054. Pensions—Tory increase, \$3,852; Reform increase, \$66,068 (this is on account of pensions to old soldiers in 1812, \$50,000 in 1876, and \$50,000 in 1877). Superannuation—Tory increase, \$51,563; Reform increase, \$40,384 (payments to this fund have increased \$4,000, and \$36,000 more have been saved by abolishing various offices). Militia and Defence—Tory increase, \$68,643; Reform decrease, \$426,925. Public Works—Tory increase, \$1,069,143; Reform decrease, \$563,178. Ocean and Steam River Service—Tory increase, \$48,661; Reform increase, \$54,635 (1876 includes the purchase of towsteamer, *Newfield* and *Glendon*). Fisheries—Tory decrease, \$21,580; Reform increase, \$20,101. Steamboat Inspection—Tory increase, \$1,970; Reform increase, \$2,782. Dominion Forces, Manitoba—Tory increase, \$209,169; Reform decrease, \$179,200. Indian Grants—Tory increase, \$139,988; Reform increase, \$155,528, (caused by new Indian treaties by which an immense territory has been acquired). Dominion Lands—Tory increase, \$268,920; Reform decrease, \$192,642. Mounted Police—Tory increase, \$199,599; Reform increase, \$153,150 (this was caused by the Act of the late Government). North-West Territory Organization—Tory increase, \$12,262; Reform decrease, \$12,262. United States Boundary Survey—Tory increase, \$79,293; Reform decrease, \$79,293. Boundary Survey, Ontario—Tory increase, \$2,430; Reform decrease, \$2,430. Military Stores—Tory increase, \$144,906; Reform decrease, \$144,906. Charges on Revenue, Customs—Tory increase, \$157,853;

Reform increase, \$663,305 (the result of increases and new appointments made by the late Government, change of system in P. E. Island, sundry changes in Montreal and Toronto, the erection of new outposts, etc.) Excise—Tory increase, \$87,372; Reform increase, \$4,222. Weights and Measures—under present Government—\$111,086; increase under the Act of the late Government, \$111,086. Inspection of Staples and Adulteration of Food—Reform increase, \$5,551. Culling Timber—Tory increase, \$20,756; Reform decrease, \$14,714. Post-office—Tory increase, \$571,799; Reform increase, \$318,041 (caused by large extension of mail routes, new post-offices, free delivery in cities, etc.). Public Works—Tory increase, \$1,558,698; Reform decrease, \$37,868 (this notwithstanding that 400 miles more railway are operated and \$500,000 per annum lost on the Intercolonial Railway and \$100,000 on the P. E. I. Railway). And yet Mr. Macdougall had the hardihood to assert before this audience that Mr. Mackenzie had broken every pledge of economy—that there had been a decrease of expenditures nowhere, but increases in every department! (Cheers.) So much for the expenditures of the two Governments.

#### Reform Measures of Present Government.

But Mr. Macdougall has asked, What reforms have the present Government given us? He challenged any Reformer present to name one, and in this respect also charged that Mr. Mackenzie had failed to fulfil his pledges. It is amazing that a public man of his experience and supposed knowledge of the legislation of the past five years should have made such a challenge. I could easily show, as Mr. Mackenzie has shown, that in bulk of legislation the present Government has considerably exceeded its predecessor, but this is unnecessary. Who gave us an improved Election law?—a Law for the trial of Controverted Elections by the Judges?—Simultaneous Polling?—the Ballot?—an improved Independence of Parliament Act?—an amended Insolvent Act?—a Supreme Court Act?—the Petition of Right Act?—the Prison Labour and Discipline Act?—the Act with respect to our Labour Laws and Contracts? (by which the rights of the workman have been protected)—the Temperance Act?—the Building Societies Act? and a host of other genuine reforms? (Cheers.)

#### Other Difficulties Settled.

But in addition to these reforms the present Government have settled satisfactorily the chief difficulty in Manitoba, the New Brunswick school question, and have allayed if not altogether removed the dissatisfaction in British Columbia—although in the latter Province the political allies of the Opposition are just now, for political purposes, doing their utmost to revive the discontent.

### The "National Policy."

Having thus contrasted the records of the respective Governments of Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Mackenzie—much to the latter's advantage—let us ask for what reason or upon what issue Mr. Mackenzie should now be replaced by Sir John?

### A Mere Election Cry.

There is what is called a "National Policy" proposed by the Opposition. So far as they are concerned, there is no such thing in reality. They proposed and carried through Parliament a National Policy when in power, but after a few months' existence, they destroyed it as "a step in the right direction."—Mr. William Macdougall being amongst those who voted for and are responsible for its untimely decease. (Cheers.) Now, this National Policy is revived, but it is merely a cry similar to what the Tory party has always endeavoured to raise on the eve of a general election. In 1867 it was the cry of "Union and Progress." Well Mr. Macdougall has since told us how much "union" there was even amongst the members of the U. and P. Cabinet; and as to the "progress,"—the only evidence we had there-of was a very rapid increase of the public expenditure and other serious difficulties into which the country was plunged. This National Policy is precisely the same—a mere cry—as is shown by Sir John's contradictory utterances upon the question.

### Sir John's Inconsistencies.

To the manufacturers of Ontario, he declares for a reciprocity of trade or a reciprocity of tariffs; while to his free trade friends in the Maritime Provinces, he telegraphs that he never proposed to "increase," but only to re-adjust the tariff. Now, Sir, he must, in making these very inconsistent statements, mean one of two things:—Either, should he be returned to power, to give us the American high tariff; or, not to increase the tariff any higher, but merely to re-adjust it—that is, to lower the duty upon some articles and raise it upon others, the total average being the same as at present.

### Results of the American Tariff.

If he means the former, then it would be the greatest blunder that the people of Canada ever made to endorse such a policy. It would be the first step towards the dismemberment of the Confederation and toward the severance of our connection with England. It may be for that reason that Mr. Macdougall supports this policy, because it will be remembered that in 1872, in Hamilton, Mr. Macdougall declared himself in favour of Canada's independence of the Mother Country. (Cheers.)

### Impossible to Carry It.

The Maritime Provinces, as was shown by the votes in the House last session, would be arrayed as a unit against it, so that it is impossible to secure its adoption in the House of Commons; and it would be ruinous even if it were adopted.

### Whom would it Benefit.

A higher tariff would not benefit the farmer, because the American markets do not regulate the price of his surplus products; it would not benefit but would ruin the wholesale man and the importer; it would ruin the lumbering interests of the Dominion by bringing about an increase of the American duty at present against us; it would ruin the shipping interests of the Dominion, and drive our ships from the seas, as it has already done to American shipping; it would not benefit the agricultural implement makers, who are already prosperous and do not want protection; it would not benefit the sewing machine manufacturers, who are more prosperous in Canada than in any country of the world; it would not benefit the stove-makers, who are also prosperous, and deny that they want more protection; it would not benefit the professional classes, small traders, and officials of all kinds; it would not benefit, but greatly injure, the working man and artisan, who, although they would be compelled to pay dearer for everything they ate, drank, and wore, could not have their labour protected against competition; and although it might for a time benefit a few manufacturers, they are after all only a small proportion of the community, and it is not fair that the great body of consumers should be taxed for the benefit of those whose present circumstances show that they can be fairly prosperous without an increased protection. Finally, protection would ruin the revenue, and thereby increase taxation. (Cheers.)

### Look to England or to Washington—Which?

These statements are fully borne out by the results of a free commercial policy in England and a protective policy in the United States; and why should Mr. Macdougall and the Conservative party—the super-loyal party—ask us to look away from the old land whose traditions and history are our glory, whose constitution and laws are the fountain from which we draw all that is best in ours, whose free commercial policy has made England the commercial mistress of the world, has covered every sea with her commerce—why, I say, should Mr. Macdougall and the Conservative party ask Canadians to look away from the mother land for a fiscal policy and "look to Washington," and adopt this miserable "Yankee notion" of protection? (Loud cheers.)



**Practical Re-adjustment.**

But if Sir John Macdonald means only to readjust the tariff, then he is in precisely the same position as Mr. Mackenzie, who has already done so by removing the high tariff from coal oil, thereby breaking up the coal oil protectionist rings, and thus reducing the price of oil to the people from 40 and 45 cents per gallon to 20 and 15 cents. Mr. Mackenzie has also readjusted the taxation of the country by reducing letter postage, and by removing the tax on newspapers—thus saving 26 cents a year to every man who takes a weekly paper. This is practical readjustment. And at Halifax the other day Mr. Mackenzie declared his willingness to readjust the tariff wherever it can be shown to be in the interests of the people, but as he said, "his duty is to protect the great body of the consumers."

**The Two Candidates.**

I come now to the two candidates who are soliciting your suffrages in the present contest. Mr. Macdougall has complained because Mr. McCraney has not discussed at length and defended the record of the present Government, and that he has not indicated his and their platform for the future. Mr. Mackenzie's Government requires no defence before the Reformers of the county of Halton, and Mr. McCraney's best claim to their support is the assistance which he has given to that Government in carrying out the many reforms to which I have alluded, and generally administering the affairs of the country wisely, economically, and well. (Cheers.)

**Work better than Talk.**

Mr. Macdougall has sneered at Mr. McCraney in his usual contemptuous way, because he (Mr. McCraney) does not occupy your time or the time of the House of Commons by talking. It is true that Mr. McCraney is not so good a talker as Mr. Macdougall, but he has proved himself to be a much better worker. (Cheers.) And after what took place in the House of Commons last session, the country has made up its mind that the fewer talkers of the Opposition stamp, at all events, there are the better. (Cheers.) Mr. McCraney can fairly claim to have been zealous in the discharge of his duties in Parliament, and to have earned for himself the confidence and respect of his leader and his fellow-members—something which Mr. Macdougall never could claim to have done. (Cheers.)

**Mr. Macdougall's Record.**

But if McCraney has failed to refer to his Parliamentary record, and to indicate his platform for the future, what about Mr. Macdougall? What has he been doing while Mr. McCraney was at his post supporting Mr. Mackenzie at Ottawa?

**His Opposition to a Genuine Reform Government.**

Mr. Macdougall has neglected to justify himself for having, during that time, constantly opposed the best Government and the best Premier that ever ruled in Ontario—a Government which has settled the Municipal Loan Fund indebtedness, which has given us the Surplus Distribution Scheme, a liberal Railway Policy, an improved School Act, the Farmers' Sons' Franchise Act, the Mechanics' Lien Law, the Women's Rights Act, besides a host of other wise and useful measures, and has also economised the public expenditure so that at the present time the Province has a magnificent surplus of over five millions of dollars.

**A Platform of "Economy"**

But, moreover, what is the platform that Mr. Macdougall has propounded? (Cheers.) Here it is—a platform of economy, at least so far as Mr. Macdougall himself is concerned. In reply to the Conservative Convention, which nominated him in Halton, Mr. Macdougall says:—

Your offer imposes on me some sacrifice. I shall be compelled to resign my seat in the Local Legislature, and to give up some business arrangements I had contemplated. I have been engaged in twelve contests on my own account since 1854, and I never yet personally solicited a vote, except before the public, and I never purchased a voter. Yet, I am obliged to confess, that having held office in several Governments, and having always lived economically, I am by no means a rich man. And I shall expect the Committee to provide for all expenses, except those which are personal to myself.

How touchingly pathetic is the above appeal! The offer of nomination by the Halton Conservatives imposes upon Mr. Macdougall "some sacrifice." He will be "compelled to resign" his seat in the Local Legislature, and being "by no means a rich man," he naturally enough intimates to the Committee that they "must provide for all expenses." The recollection of those "twelve contests" has evidently left an impression on Mr. Macdougall, as it has also upon a good many other people. (Laughter.) He does not mean to have a repetition of the disagreeable experiences of printers' bills in North Oxford and elsewhere repeated in Halton (cheers); and hence this economical plank in his platform!

**"Spoils" of Office "Found" by Mr. Macdougall.**

But Mr. Macdougall is not content with simply telling the Conservative convention that he is a poor man, and that they must provide for his election expenses. He cannot resist making the insinuation that other men may "have found spoils in office," but for himself, good, virtuous man, he has not. One would think that Mr. Macdougall was one of those poor, struggling, patriotic politicians who had never in his life fed "at the public crib," that he

had never handled a single dollar of public money, and that such a thing as official "spoils" were unknown to him. (Cheers.) Let us see what the public records say. The following is a statement of expenditure incurred since July 1st, 1867, and paid to the Hon. William Macdougall, C.B., for his varied and valuable services:—

#### Drawing with Vigor.

I. As Minister of Public Works, salary from 1st July, 1867, to 7th December, 1869 ..... \$12,178 43

Travelling expenses paid through Civil Government:—

1867-68 ..... \$480 00  
1868-69 ..... 400 00  
1869-70 ..... 100 00  
980 00

II. As delegate to England with Sir George Cartier:—

Paid in Ottawa, 1868-69 ..... \$ 400 00  
Paid in London, 1868-69 ..... 2,419 08  
Paid in do 1869-70 ..... 3,533 83

III. Services as Immigration Agent:—

do paid in Canada, 1872-73 ..... 6,352 91  
do do do do ..... 5,731 27

IV. Service in connection with Washington Treaty, paid in Canada, 1872-73 ..... 1,000 00

V. Services in connection with Fisheries, paid in Canada, 1875-76 ..... 400 00

VI. Services as Lieut.-Governor, &c. Draughts drawn on Bank of Montreal, 1869-70 ..... 800 00

do do do do ..... 1,296 45  
do do do do ..... 3,875 00  
do do do do ..... 5,290 00

Inspecting Fort William road ..... 300 00

Expenses proceeding to Territory, paid in 1870-71 ..... 2,056 35

Compensation in full of claims, paid in 1872-73 ..... 3,406 00

#### RECAPITULATION.

Service I. .... \$13,158 48  
do II. .... 6,352 91  
do III. .... 7,231 27  
do IV. .... 400 00  
do V. .... 800 00  
do VI. .... 15,217 89  
\$43,169 41

To this must be added the following sums, taken from the Public Accounts of the Province of Ontario:—

Hon. Wm. Macdougall, services as Crown Counsel ..... \$ 568 00  
Hon. Wm. Macdougall, services as Crown Counsel ..... 154 00  
Hon. Wm. Macdougall, services as Crown Counsel ..... 86 00  
Hon. Wm. Macdougall, services and expenses re North-West Boundary ..... 907 00

\$ 1,715 00  
42,160 41

Grand total ..... \$44,875 41

These, Mr. Chairman, are the "spoils" of office which Mr. Macdougall has "found" between the years of grace 1867 and 1872-3. I have already given you Sir John Macdonald's opinion, as expressed by his organ, that Mr. Macdougall could draw from the public service with wonderful "vigour" in the matter of "expenses," at least, and you will observe that it is Mr. Macdougall's "ex-

penditures" that must be provided by Halton Conservatives! (Laughter). The above items prove that Sir John's statement was absolutely true; and now, let me ask, is it any more than fair that you should pity the depressed condition of this unfortunate political patriot—this specimen of our struggling and depressed industries—and provide for his expenses in the present contest? (Cheers.)

#### General Prospects of the Election.

One word as to the general prospects of the Reform party in this election. A few months ago the Conservatives boasted loudly that they would carry a majority of constituencies in Prince Edward Island; that they would divide equally the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; that they would sweep Quebec by a majority of forty-five; that they would probably have a majority of twenty in Ontario, but at the very worst that they would tie Reformers; and that they would carry all but two or three seats in British Columbia and Manitoba. These calculations have been modified somewhat since; ten. The recent Liberal victory in the Province of Quebec, has annihilated all hope of a large majority from that Province, and in Ontario they now admit a Reform majority of ten.

#### A Reform Victory Certain.

Now, Sir, I have had some opportunities for observation of political opinions and of the strength of parties during the past few months—more especially in the Province of Ontario. I have had some means also of securing reliable information from the other Provinces as well, and my settled conviction is that on the night of the 17th September, the Reformers will be found to have carried two-thirds of the constituencies of the Province of Ontario (cheers); that they will have improved their position in Quebec; that they will have carried seven-eighths of the seats in New Brunswick; that they will have carried Nova Scotia by a four-fifths majority; that they will have carried Prince Edward Island solid; and that in the Western Provinces they will stand very little, if any, worse than they do now. (Loud cheers.)

#### Work Necessary.

This, Sir, is the Reform victory which present appearances indicate will be achieved on the 17th of September—the only condition being that Reformers in every polling division of every Riding in the Dominion shall from this time till the night of polling, work earnestly, untriedly, and systematically to secure and poll their full vote. (Cheers.) And among the Reform constituencies that I expect will assist to "Hold the Fort" on that day is staunch old Halton, which I know will not fail to reject

the rejected of many constituencies, the "damned of North Oxford"—as the Hon. M. C. Cameron used to describe him—that political wandering refugee, Mr. Wm. Macdougall. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. McCraney, in the course of a brief speech, dealt with the remarks of Mr. Macdougall regarding the contract systems of the two Governments, the steel rails cry,

and the National Policy. He closed by urging his friends to united action as the best means of partaking in the victory which awaited the Liberal party on the 17th of September next. (Loud cheers.)

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting closed with cheers for the Queen, and three times three for Mr. McCraney.

