CIHM
Microfiche
Series
(Monographs)

ICMH
Collection de
microfiches
(monographies)

Canadian Institute for Historical Micro .productions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

©1994

Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

- [x] Coloured covers/ Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged/ Couverture endommagée
- [x] Covers restored and/or laminated/ Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing/ Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps/ Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/ Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- [ ] Coloured plates and/or illustrations/ Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- [ ] Bound with other material/ Relié avec d'autres documents
- [x] Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/ La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- [ ] Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/ Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- [ ] Additional comments:/ Commentaires supplémentaires:

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- [ ] Coloured pages/ Pages de couleur
- [ ] Pages damaged/ Pages endommagées
- [ ] Pages restored and/or laminated/ Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- [x] Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/ Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- [ ] Pages detached/ Pages détachées
- [x] Showthrough/ Transparence
- [x] Quality of print varies/ Qualité inégale de l'impression
- [ ] Continuous pagination/ Pagination continue
- [ ] Includes index(es)/ Comprend un (des) index

Title on header taken from:/ Le titre de l'en-tête provient:

- [ ] Title page of issue/ Page de titre de la livraison
- [ ] Caption of issue/ Titre de départ de la livraison
- [ ] Masthead/ Générique (périodiques) de la livraison

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/ Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X		14X		18X		22X		26X		30X	
12X		16X		20X	✓	24X		28X		32X	

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

National Library of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol —► (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

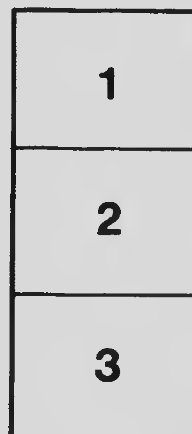
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

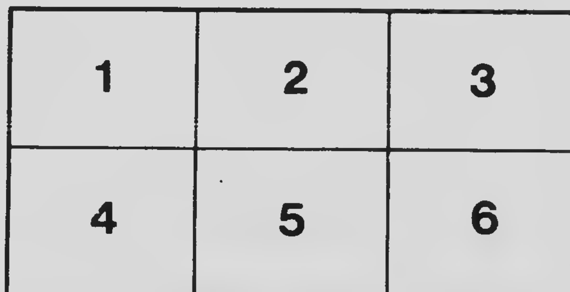
Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole —► signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

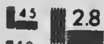
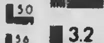
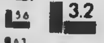
Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

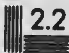


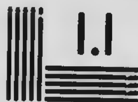


MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

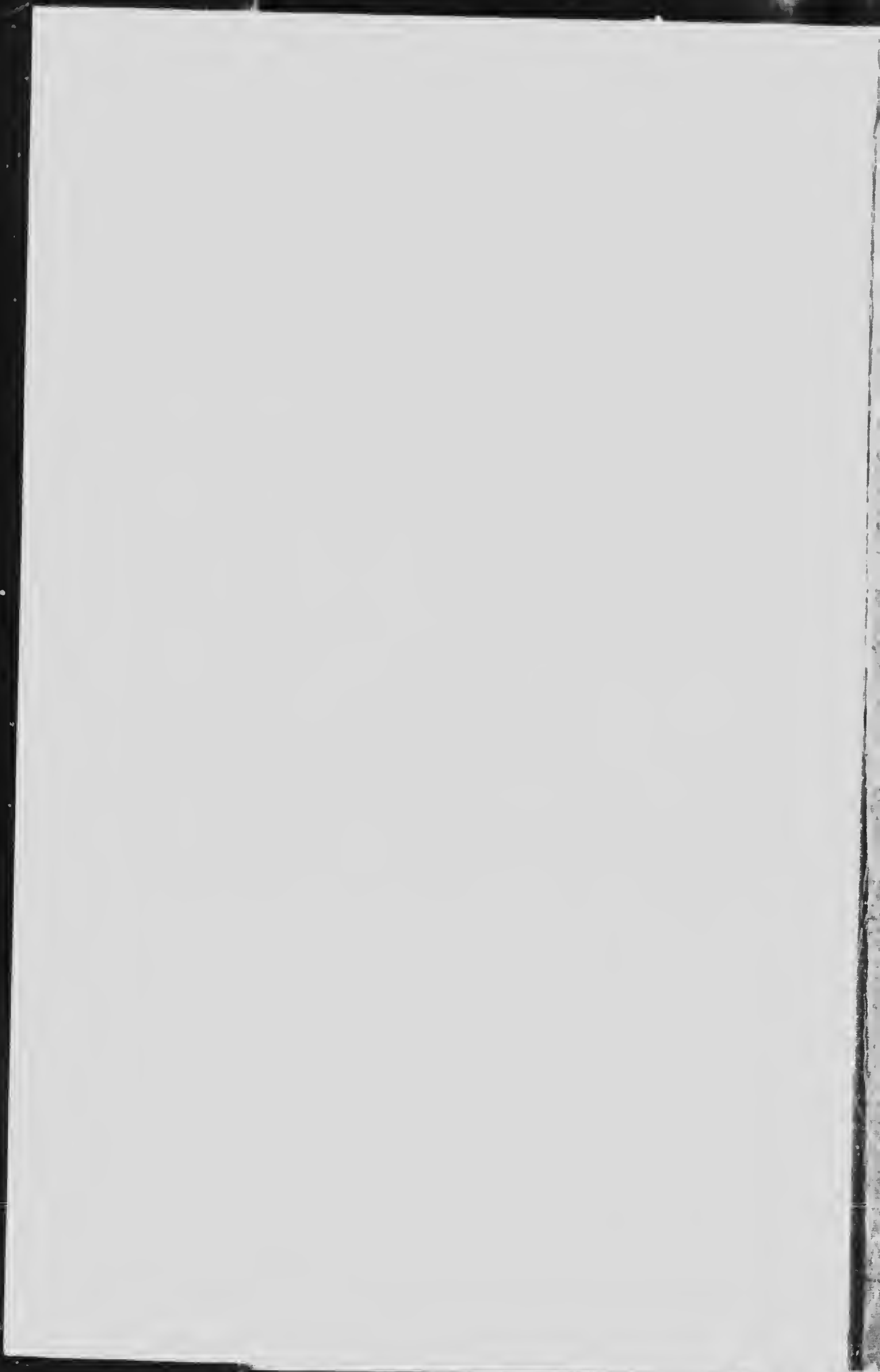
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)





APPLIED IMAGE Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax



NATIONAL LIBRARY
CANADA
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

MEMORIES

OF

CONFEDERATION

A Chapter of Canadian History

THE RIGHT HON. SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT

SI

Before t

"

Mr. Ch

W
that I s
I had s
was on
require
appeare
answer
briefly
federat
judgme
Domini
advanta
over th
Quebec
that, in
John C
arian.

I de
in refer
Que' ec.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, P.C., G.C.M.G.

Before the Canadian Club of Ottawa at the Russell House, January 20th, 1906, upon the subject of

"MEMORIES OF CONFEDERATION."

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

When you were good enough to propose to me, a little while ago, that I should address the Canadian Club on the subject of Confederation, I had some little hesitation about accepting your invitation. The subject was one which, to deal with adequately, much less exhaustively, would require not one address but a series of addresses; but on consideration it appeared to me that I might best meet your wishes and perhaps best answer the expectations which you might have formed by giving you as briefly as I could my own recollection of the state of things prior to Confederation, in 1863, together with a few remarks on the men, who, in my judgment, contributed most to bring about the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada. I had another reason, Mr. Chairman, for taking advantage of this opportunity, and that is that the other day, in looking over the list of the sixty-five members of Parliament who appeared at Quebec in the session of 1863, to represent the Province of Ontario, I find that, in so far as I can ascertain, there remain but three survivors—Sir John Carling, myself and Sir William Howland, now almost a centenarian.

Was Youngest Member.

I desire, in the first place, to mention to you that I speak exclusively in reference to the state of things in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. At the time to which I refer we knew almost nothing, I am

sorry to say, of our brethren in the Maritime Provinces, and perhaps m
friend, Sir Frederick Borden, would confirm me in saying that they di
not know a great deal more about us. If, gentlemen, on this occasion,
should appear to you to speak with a little more authority than can prop
erly belong to a man, who was almost, if not quite, the youngest membe
in the Canadian Parliament of that day, I might observe that, although
is perfectly true that the junior members of Parliament in their earlie
years are not always taken into the close confidence of their seniors, ye
the circumstances of the case then were peculiar. At that time, partie
were very equally divided. In the last Parliament of the two Canadas
we stood for many months 63 to 63. Now, under these circumstances
every man, junior or senior, becomes a factor to be reckoned with and the
consequence was that the elder members found themselves, probably
somewhat against their inclination, compelled to take us, juniors, a great
deal more into their confidence than they otherwise would have done. I
might add that there were peculiar circumstances that brought me personally into very close touch with many important leading men on both
sides of politics, and the consequence is that I became perhaps a little
better acquainted and more familiar with the interior workings of the two
parties than any man ordinarily could expect to be in his first or second
session of Parliament. I might add, too, that the circumstances were
such as to imprint themselves very strongly and very deeply on the mind
of any man who took the slightest interest in the politics of the day.
Now, there is one point which, perhaps, it is difficult for you, at any rate
for the younger members of the Club, to sufficiently appreciate, and that
is the extreme state of isolation in which the two Canadas, Ontario and
Quebec, stood in 1863, more particularly the Province of Ontario. We
had hardly any means of communication with the outer world except
through the country to the south of us, through a foreign country, which
we knew right well might at any time become actively hostile. In those
days there was no Atlantic cable. We could only communicate with the
Motherland by the slow and tedious process of correspondence which
occupied a space of several weeks. I need scarcely tell you that there was
no transcontinental railway. Then we had very little means of communication with the Maritime Provinces and what was perhaps, having reference to the future, still more important, there was for us, in 1863, practically no Northwest. There was, we knew, a great lone land, and it is possible that there may have been one or two men on the floor of the House
who thought that in the dim and distant future it might become a factor

30922

in the development of North America, but for all practical purposes at that time there was no Northwest, as far as we were concerned. Moreover, even in our own territory, and it was a matter not to be disregarded, the state of communication was exceedingly slow and imperfect. Practically, the City of Quebec was almost as far from Toronto in those days during a great part of the year as Ottawa is from Vancouver to-day. I can remember, myself, if I must recall these ancient recollections, on one occasion being on a train which took four days to make its way from Prescott to Ottawa, and that train had on board, besides myself, the then Minister of Finance of Canada and the Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway. (Laughter). If the communication was difficult under those circumstances, there were other conditions, too, which confronted us, and which required our most serious consideration. Commercially speaking, the condition was alarming enough.

Credit Was Low.

Our credit at that time was very low indeed. I can remember, and it is worth while recalling the fact, that in the years just immediately preceding Confederation, the credit of Canada was so low that I have known Canadian five per cents selling at seventy-five cents on the dollar in the English market; in other words, it would have cost us, if we had put a loan on the market at that time, about seven per cent., and my commercial friends will understand what that meant in obtaining funds to carry on the requisite improvements in Canada. We had had a series of huge deficits largely caused by the breakdown, for the time being, of the Grand Trunk Railway. How grave these deficits were you can judge from this simple statement that in proportion to the then revenue of the two Canadas, the deficits were as great as if we had to-day in proportion to our present revenue a deficit on our annual expenditure of from $20,000,000 to $30,000,000.* I need not say to my elder friends that at that particular

(*) Appended is a statement from the Public Accounts of old Canada, prepared by J. Langton, Auditor-General of Canada, and countersigned by J. M. Courtney, now Deputy Minister of Finance, showing the condition of affairs from 1858 to 1864.

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

Sir John Macdonald was in office from 1858 to 1862 when he was succeeded by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald.

time the Grand Trunk Railway was in a very desperate position an[d]
was even thought that it might be compelled to close its operations at
hour's notice. More than that, all along our border, one of the grea[t]
civil wars that the world has ever seen was raging, and within a f[ew]
months of the assembling of the Parliament of 1863, we had had an [ex]
ceedingly narrow escape, how narrow perhaps very few people know,
being dragged into the vortex.(1) We knew, too, and we had no reaso[n]
doubt that the threat would be fulfilled, that the American people we[re]
disposed to put an end, as they afterwards actually did, to our Recipr[o]
city Treaty.(2)

The Famous Deadlock.

Such was the condition commercially. Politically, we were co[n]
fronted with a deadlock of a most formidable character. While I hav[e]
nothing to say against the men who effected the legislative union of th[e]
two Canadas in 1841, I have this to say, that it was emphatically a ***mariag[e]***
de convenance brought about by political exigencies without any partic[u]
ular good will on the part of the contracting parties. We had got alon[g]
indifferently well for a certain number of years, but it was becoming ver[y]

(1) There is no doubt that at the time of the Trent difficulty Mr. Lincoln was strongly urged to come to terms with the South and to seize Canada.

Many years later in Washington the writer was assured by a very eminent American statesman that this proposition had been seriously debated. According to his informant the deciding factor in the case was the alarm felt at the threatened invasion of Mexico by an Anglo-French and Spanish force and the well grounded apprehension felt by the United States authorities of the ulterior designs of the Emperor of the French. This, coupled with the conviction that the recognition of the South meant the loss of all effective control over Central America and the possible Isthmian, Canal turned the scale decidedly in favour of peace. As for Canada the six weeks' suspense during which no man knew from day to day whether we would find ourselves at war, produced a most profound impression. A witty friend of the author was wont to maintain that the true father of Confederation was neither Brown, Cartier nor Macdonald, but Capt. Wilkes, U. S. N., and it is certain the incident had a very great effect.

(2) How grave were the fears entertained as to the results of abolishing the reciprocity treaty may be understood from the despatches of Sir J. A. Macdonald and his colleagues to the Home Government in 1866.

The immediate consequences were less serious than was expected, but there is little doubt that the repeal of the reciprocity act had a marked effect on the exodus from Canada to the United States, and also on the slow development of Canada from 1866 to 1896, especially after the United States re-established the gold standard and adopted a series of very hostile tariffs pressing very heavily on Canada in the case of most of her staple productions. Here also the action of the United States produced very important political results.

clear that there were grave difficulties ahead. In those days we had the extraordinary spectacle of a dual premiership. Governments were not governments of Sir John Macdonald or Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Sir Charles Tupper, but governments were governments of Cartier-Macdonald, or Macdonald-Cartier, a kind of reversible arrangement which was supposed to work tolerably well, Brown Dorion, Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte, Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion, or Taché-Macdonald. We had not merely a dual premiership with certain inconveniences attendant upon it, but we had the curious arrangement of a dual capital alternating from Toronto to Quebec and *vice versa* at great inconvenience and expense to the country, so great that it was at the point of being done away with. We had even an attempt, and it shows how far the feeling had gone on the part of Parliament, for some little time to have what was known as a dual majority, that is to insist that the government of the day should not merely have a decided majority in the House, but should have a majority in each of the two provinces which then formed Canada. I need not say that the arrangement did not work very well. I believe that one unfortunate minister was turned out under it, and I remember perfectly well that his successors repudiated the whole arrangement with great promptitude.

In addition to these little inconveniences when I first went to the House, we were in the enjoyment of a dissolution once a year. The average life of a ministry was about six months. The Cartier-Macdonald ministry subsisted six months after the election of 1862, the Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte ministry lasted six months, the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion ministry six months and if the project of Confederation had not come to its aid the Taché-Macdonald ministry would have broken the record by an existence of four months. That would have been a dangerous state of affairs if it had been merely a deadlock between two parties in the ordinary sense of the term, but it was much more than a deadlock between two parties; it was a deadlock between two provinces and between two races. Every day it was clear that the chasm between the two was widening. Every day it was more and more manifest to those who bestowed any thought upon it that the situation of things was becoming intolerable. Both sides, in my judgment, had a good deal to say for themselves. In the case of Ontario, which contributed the larger share of the public revenue—we will not enter into the question of how much larger—and which possessed the largest population and was increasing faster than the other, there was a determined demand for what was called repre-

sentation in accordance with population. On the other hand, in the Province of Quebec they took their stand, I think fairly enough, on the te of the union of 1841. They pointed to the fact that the Province Quebec had submitted for many years to inequalities precisely simila those of which the Ontario people complained, and they also felt, and without reason, that their nationality and the privileges that had b solemnly guaranteed to them might be considerably endangered if rep sentation by population became the order of the day. As I have said, men who paid any attention to public affairs saw that that kind of th could not last. Under the conditions that I have depicted stable gove ment was absolutely impossible, every ministry was at the mercy of a two or three knaves or faddists who happened for the time being to s port them. Useful legislation had become perfectly impossible, and I not believe the veriest democrat in Canada, had he been on the floor Parliament, would not have said that even an autocracy would have be preferable to the chaos that was then subsisting. I remember perfect well that many of the oldest, the best and wisest of our public men we at that time almost in despair. Many of them expressed their opinion me quite frankly that under such a state of affairs the dissolution of th union was absolutely inevitable. Under the conditions I have pointed o it was perfectly clear—and I believe there is no sort of doubt it woul have happened—that the dissolution of the union would have been ver shortly succeeded by the absorption of Ontario and Quebec in the Unite States.(1)

Explaining Confederation.

Such being the situation the question naturally arises how it was that the Confederation was effected. Certainly, I am bound to say, speak ing of Ontario and Quebec, that it was not effected by any popular enthu siasm on its behalf. I remember perfectly well, after the project was broached, holding a large number of meetings, as it was my clear duty to

(1) It was quite well known in inner political circles that many English statesmen of high rank on both sides of politics would have been very glad if Canada had seen fit to ask for independence. It was also the case that the British Cabinet gave private assurances that if the two Canadas agreed they would arrange for the junior provinces, as in fact they did. It was notorious that New Brunswick which in the first instance voted down the proposal for Confederation at the polls, was "re-constructed" by the direct intervention of the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon; while as for Nova Scotia, the Home authorities utterly ignored the protests and petitions of the great mass of the population.

do, all over my riding, for the purpose of explaining the situation to my constituents, and I am bound to say that I have no recollection of any measure of even a tenth of its importance being received in such a passive manner as it was by the people of Ontario and I believe by the people of Quebec. You will remember that I do not speak for the Maritime Provinces, where I have understood that there was a very much more lively agitation there than that which took place in our province. I recollect perfectly well that, when I was explaining to my constituents the terms of Confederation and the various reasons that had brought it about, my people accepted my explanations in a very excellent spirit and appeared perfectly disposed to give me a free hand in all points but one, and that point on which they struck was the Governor-General's salary. The proposal to raise the salary of the Governor-General of Canada from £7,000 to £10,000, met with the warmest disapprobation and I was heckled remorselessly for supporting it. Rural economists objected most decidedly to this proposal. They could not be made to understand as they put it "how it could cost any feller $150 a day to board himself and his family." I can assure you that it told very seriously on the result of the elections. I refused point blank to pledge myself to vote for a reduction of His Excellency's salary, and it cost me many hundreds of votes and very nearly lost my election. Nor was that the feeling of my own constituents only, for it is a matter of history, and a very curious little item it is, that the one and only resolution which, in the first Parliament of the Confederated Dominion was passed demanding an amendment of the B. N. A. Act was a resolution passed in spite of the Government of the day, strong as it was, calling for an amendment to reduce the salary of the Governor-General.

So far as Confederation was the work of anybody it was pretty nearly absolutely the work of a few leaders. I dare say that is true of most unions. I have very little doubt that the union of Scotland and England when brought about, would not have received an overwhelming vote in its favor in Scotland, and I have no doubt at all that the union of Ireland and England if it had been submitted to the popular vote would have met with very much the same reception that certain gentlemen are meeting with at the hands of the English public to-day.

It must, therefore, be a matter of great interest to Canadians to know who did the work, to know who it was in particular who took the risks and, in some cases, lost power and place in the attempt to secure this consummation. It so happened that in 1863 and 1864, there were two men in

Ontario and Quebec who possessed a predominant if not an alm
despotic influence over their respective provinces. One of these men
Mr. George Brown in the Province of Ontario, and the other was M
afterwards Sir George Cartier, in Quebec. They were both maste
men. They had been for many years bitterly opposed to each ot
Nevertheless these two gentlemen had one thing in common. I
bound to say, looking back through the vista of two or three and fo
years, that they, in their own respective ways, were both large mind
unselfish and patriotic men. At any rate, one thing is certain; both
them, for various reasons, had a thorough and hearty detestation of a
thing that promised to lead to absorption in the United States.
George Cartier thought that absorption in the United States would me
that the Province of Quebec would lose its nationality, and that it wo
lead to the creation of a state of things closely resembling that wh
exists in Lousiana to-day. Mr. Brown, although he was a staunch pa
isan of the United States in many ways, and although he had support
the north in the war to the uttermost, was equally devoted to maintaini
British connection.

George Brown Indispensable.

Under the circumstances there was no step possible without the co
currence of these two men; nobody who knew anything as to the state
feeling in Ontario at the time but must know that I am strictly within t
facts in saying that no project of Confederation could have made a
headway in Ontario without the active support of George Brown and
the Globe. No man, I think, will deny that things were very much in t
same position in Quebec and that without the active co-operation of S
George Cartier very little headway could have been made in that dire
tion. Both of these gentlemen were men of experience, men who h
been engaged in politics for a long time, and both were thorough
alarmed at the state of things then existing. The difficulty was to brin
them together. There is an old monkish proverb which I have seen som
where or other and which runs something as follows:—

"*Dur m cum duro non facient murum*," which means "Besides you
bricks or your stones you must have good mortar if you are going
have a good wall." Fortunately amongst us there was at that time o
man in particular who was eminently qualified to supply the element r
quired. That man was the late Sir Alexander Galt, who, besides being

large minded and brilliant man, was a natural born diplomatist and I speak on that point with all the more authority because I had the honor of being one of those who employed Sir Alexander Galt to conduct the Halifax negotiation in regard to the fishery awards, the one negotiation which has ever taken place in my recollection in which Canada and the United States were concerned, in which Canada got decidedly the best of it, and the one negotiation in which the whole conduct of the matter from first to last was left absolutely in the hands of Canadian lawyers and statesmen, no man else interfering. Sir Alexander Galt was fascinated by the project of Confederation. He threw himself into it with all his energy and he succeeded in making a convert of Sir George Cartier,—Mr. Brown was red hot already; therefore, I say, without intending or wishing at all to detract from the work done by other able men in this connection that to these three men, for good or evil, must be attributed the initiation of the project of Confederation, and I repeat and with knowledge, that, at that time, at any rate, without their concurrence the Confederation project would have been entirely impossible. (1)

Sir John A. Macdonald.

Sir, I come now to tread on rather delicate ground. I have to speak of the attitude which Sir John Macdonald maintained towards the project in its earlier stages. I desire to be distinctly understood. I do not wish in the slightest degree to underrate the important services which Sir John Macdonald subsequently rendered to Confederation, and I am very far, indeed, from desiring to impugn his sagacity or statesmanship in respect to the attitude he took, but it is a fact, nevertheless, that in the first instance Sir John Macdonald was not by any manner of means en-

(1) The important part played by Sir George Cartier and Sir A. T. Galt in bringing about Confederation was subsequently, though somewhat tardily, recognized by the British Government. On the completion of Confederation Sir John Macdonald was created, K.C.B., and the minor distinction of C.B. was offered to Cartier and Galt. Both refused to accept the C.B. somewhat peremptorily, on the ground (at any rate in the case of Mr. Cartier) that they had done much more to promote Confederation than Sir John Macdonald. The Imperial authorities on consideration made Sir A. T. Galt a K. C. M. G. and gave Sir George Cartier a baronetcy, which technically ranks a little higher than a K.C.B.-ship. The affair was finally arranged by Lord Monk, who knew the facts, but the incident, as was natural, created no small stir at the time.

It may be added that it was always quite understood in well-informed circles that from 1865 onwards the underlying relations between Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier were far from cordial.

amoured of the project. The fact was that Sir John Macdonald wa
cautious and prudent man, much more cautious and prudent in regard
political matters than he perhaps always got credit for. Sir John M
donald thought that we were taking very great risks both as to the fut
of the country and as regarded the future of the party with which he w
more immediately connected. He did consent, but he consented un
duress, under the severest pressure and not until he had been notified
many of his own supporters in Ontario that they would not, in the eve
of dissolution, come forward as candidates again, and not until he h
been notified publicly in my presence and in the presence of many oth
by his Quebec allies that if he would not make terms with Mr. Brown,
he refused to enter into a coalition, they would withdraw their suppo
and make terms with Mr. Brown for themselves. Not until then did S
John consent to throw in his lot with us and support Confederation.
judging of the matter, as I have said, I do not impugn Sir John's sagaci
or statesmanship. We must remember that at that time there was
North-West and no hope of acquiring a North-West as far as we kno
There may have been one or two men, who, as I have said, thought th
at some far distant day we might get possession of that country an
make something of it, but, as a matter of fact, Confederation was broug
about without any thought of or reference to the acquisition of that gre
territory. It was a perfectly unknown quantity. Without the North
West, I am bound to say, Sir John's auguries and fears would have bee
to a very great extent justified. We are now in the full flush of prosperit
and in the enjoyment of the success which has been latterly achieved i
the settling of the North-West, but it is well for us to recollect that be
tween now and then there was a long and dreary interval. For thirt
years after Confederation our progress was very slow indeed. For som
thirty years, between 1866 and 1896, we were practically travellin
through the wilderness. It is a fact, which perhaps some people do no
like to have recalled to their minds, but it nevertheless is a great and im
portant fact that cannot be overlooked in treating of this subject, that fo
thirty years from 1866 to 1896, with possibly a short exception during th
panic period in the United States from 1873 to 1877 there was a most tre
mendous exodus from the Provinces of Older Canada and from the Mari
time Provinces to the United States.

Emigration to States.

I have every reason to believe, and it is a subject that I have given very considerable attention to, that in the thirty years I speak of, every third adult male born in Canada between 20 and 40 years of age, found his way to the United States and I know that of all the immigrants who were reported to have settled in Canada during that time, not one in ten remained in Canada. As to Sir John's attitude in respect to the probable effect on his party I remember perfectly well that Sir John did not hesitate to express his conviction that if once the Ontario Grits coalesced with the Bleus in Quebec and made an alliance with them the Conservative party would be doomed to permanent extinction and it might interest this audience to know that I have the best of reasons for stating that in 1865 Sir George Cartier informed the Conservative members of Parliament from Ontario that Mr. Brown had been so loyal and efficient an ally that he was not disposed to part with his services if he could help it. Moreover, and this I can state on my own authority and I had it from the highest possible quarter, if Mr. Brown had remained in the Cabinet and had not voluntarily thrown his cards on the table, nothing could have prevented the initiation of Confederation from having been entrusted to Mr. Brown and Sir George Cartier instead of to Sir John Macdonald. You may ask how it came about that the attitude of the House should be, in this instance, so exceedingly—I will not say subservient— but so exceedingly easy. I remember perfectly well that at the time the House was not exactly divided against itself, but it was divided into two parties; the older men on both sides, I think, were very dubious, while the younger men were decidedly enthusiastic on behalf of Confederation. The situation in some respects reminded me of a poem of Whittier in which he described the effect produced by the introduction of a damsel of unquestionable beauty but of mixed parentage into an old fashioned Puritan congregation:—

> " Said the old men, gravely doubting, 'She is Papist born and bred;'
> Said the young men, ''Tis an Angel, come in Mary Garvin's stead.' "

I am bound to say that men who remembered all that had happened in the preceding half dozen years, who remembered how bitter had been the controversy, how fierce and fell the fight between the parties, were excusable when they saw Mr. George Brown and the Globe on one side, and Sir George Cartier and the Quebec hierarchy on the other, making

common cause and falling on each other's necks, in considering t[illegible]
was a spectacle to give pause. And that, Mr. Chairman, reminds m[illegible]
little incident that goes to show how great at that particular time wa[illegible]
tension on men's minds when Confederation was on the tapis. On[illegible]
memorable afternoon when Mr. Brown, not without emotion, mad[illegible]
statement to a hushed and expectant House and declared that he
about to ally himself with Sir George Cartier and his friends for the
pose of carrying out Confederation, I saw an excitable, elderly
French member rush across the floor, climb up on Mr. Brown, wh[illegible]
you remember, was of a stature approaching the gigantic, fling his [illegible]
around his neck and hang several seconds there suspended, to the vi[illegible]
consternation of Mr. Brown and to the infinite joy of all beholders,
box and gallery included.

Curious Attitude of House.

There was another consideration of a more prosaic kind. The Ho[illegible]
undoubtedly was in a chastened mood. If they refused consent to
proposal a dissolution was certain. Most of the members had g[illegible]
through two elections in very rapid succession. Elections, even to-d[illegible]
with a great many modern improvements, are rather troublesome [illegible]
expensive, but they are not a circumstance to what they were when I f[illegible]
entered parliament. In those days, elections, instead of being conduc[illegible]
in one day, were spread over several weeks, with results which I will [illegible]
stop to particularize. Besides this, first of all, we had nomination day,
which, by an unwritten law, the candidate, if a person of any spirit, w[illegible]
expected to entertain his own supporters and to do it well. This was f[illegible]
lowed by two days of open polling. Then, we had, on an average, o[illegible]
one poll to each township, which caused a great deal of trouble and e[illegible]
pense in bringing voters from distant quarters of the township to t[illegible]
poll. Furthermore, we had on top of that, declaration day, when [illegible]
parties, friends and foes, combined to have a festival at the expense of t[illegible]
fortunate or unfortunate candidate, as the case might be. Briefly, the fa[illegible]
was that in those days, having reference to the relative wealth of t[illegible]
country then and now, I should say that an election was three or fo[illegible]
times more expensive than it is to-day, and it is expensive enough. The[illegible]
if anybody wanted to appeal against any little irregularities that ha[illegible]
taken place on nomination day, or on polling day, or on declaration da[illegible]
he had the privilege of going before parliament, which would select fi[illegible]

men, two on each side, with a chairman chosen by ballot, who would hear the evidence, and if they got through hearing evidence in three years they would perhaps give him a decision in the fourth, by which time parliament would dissolve.

It is true there were the other and larger considerations. All were alive to the situation, all saw the dangers to which I have already alluded, and this goes far to explain how it was that Confederation, a measure of such vast and far-reaching importance, was put through with so little opposition in the parliament of the two Canadas of those days. Now, sir, to-day we are fortunate. We have put in our thirty years in the wilderness and I think a brighter future is now before us, but, I will say this, that had anybody told us in 1863, when we were debating that question, that thirty years would elapse before the people of Canada would add one-third to their existing population, we would have been disposed to handle that prophet of evil very roughly. On the other hand, had anybody told us that within forty years from that time Canada would be possessed of or would be in the act of constructing three, if not four, transcontinental railways from ocean to ocean, we would have been disposed equally to ridicule the prediction. Still, gentlemen, it is noteworthy that, as I said, during the period which elapsed from 1866 to 1896, the growth of Canada was very slow indeed—how slow you will judge from this simple fact: Our population at Confederation was almost identical with the population of the United States, when, in 1790, they inaugurated their present system. In thirty years they added nearly 200 per cent. to their population; in thirty years we added a little over 30 per cent. to our population. I am glad to say that this condition of things has been wholly reversed since, and I trust that the next decade will show that the progress of Canada has been greater proportionately than the progress of the United States. But—and mind you, that was without immigration—it remains a fact that starting with almost identically the same population that we did and with very poor means of communication, the United States in thirty years had risen to a total of 10,000,000, they had added nearly 6,000,000 to the total population and we in the same time had added a little over 1,000,000.(1)

(1) The population of the United States has increased as follows:

Year	Population
1790	3,929.090
1800	5,308,000
1810	7,239,000
1820	9,638,000

being an increase of 5,709.000 in thirty years, with hardly any immigration.

Canada Waking Up.

In any case, at long last, I am glad to say Canada seems t
waking up. Canada is now making progress that I trust will soon
pensate for the slow progress we have made before.

All that is needed now is a little prudence—a little courage—a
honesty on our part. We need to see that our present good fortune
not turn our heads, that we do not fall into the mistake of supposing
because we have had a few years of unusual prosperity we have the
acquired a fortunatus purse, which can never be exhausted and which
warrant any sort of extravagance we see fit to indulge in.

We need also, if I may say so, to see to it that we do not become
dupes of that most mischievous of all modern delusions—or perhap
should say to that most mischievous of all antiquated delusions, now
ningly revamped—that it is possible to increase the collective wealth
nation by increasing its taxation, a doctrine which appears to me econ
ically to be exactly on a par with Dr. Sangrado's famous maxim that
way to make a patient healthy and strong was to bleed him in every
ceivable way and on every conceivable occasion. I will only add tha
this be the desire of the people of Canada, I can certify that there is
lack of leeches ready to accommodate them.

The population of Canada was as follows :—

1866, estimated including British Columbia, P. E. Island and the North West.....	3,600 000
1881 by census,...........................	4,324,814
1896, estimated............................	4,850,000

being an increase of 1,250,000 in thirty years. It may be added that the census of 1
was notoriously faulty.

The total number of immigrants who came to the Dominion in those thirty ye
from 1866 to 1896 with the intention of settling can only be estimated, but the offic
records of the decade from 1881 to 1891 allege that no less than 886,000 arrived
Canada with the declared intention of settling. It is calculated that the total numb
of such immigrants from 1866 to 1896 was probably not less than a million and a ha
As to the exodus of native born Canadians it is to be noted that, as in the case of Irelan
the emigrants were mostly men and women in the very prime of life. It is probab
that there are now in the United States not less than three millions of people who we
either born in Canada or who are the immediate descendants of native born Canadians

The political effects of this exodus were very remarkable but it would be irrel
vant to discuss those here.

It is noteworthy that Canada, though a small country, ranks next to the Unite
Kingdom (Ireland included) and to the German Empire as a contributor to the popula
tion of the United States.

For the rest, it may be that the men of '63 builded better than they knew. The sapling they planted promises to become a mighty tree. The Confederation, of which they laid the foundations, will, I think, soon take its place amongst the foremost nations of the world. But, I would say to the men of to-day, that if they are the heirs of this vast heritage, vaster, richer, more fertile and possesing more abundant resources than any of us even to-day can know, they will do well to recollect it is due in a very large measure to the men who, in 1863, in a time of great storm and stress, had, nevertheless, this great merit, that they did not despair of the republic and were able at no small sacrifice of their personal feelings and no small sacrifice of their personal interests, to carry out the scheme of Confederation which they proposed. Sir, I doubt very much whether what these men did, the circumstances under which they did it and why they did it, have been altogether fully and properly appreciated. I hope that in the future history will do them justice, and if, Mr. Chairman, it be possible, that I have been fortunate enough in the few words I have addressed to you to-day to bring about a fuller recognition of those men's merits, all I can say is that I shall feel myself most amply repaid for any little trouble I have taken.