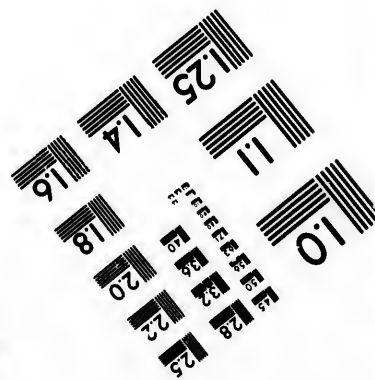
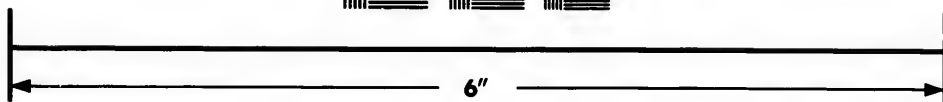
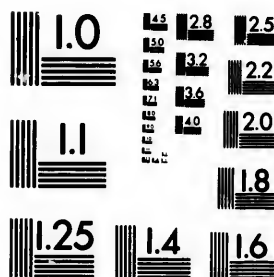


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



**Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques**

**© 1983**

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.

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 covers/  
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/  
Couverture endommagée
- 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
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion  
along interior margin/  
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la  
distortion 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:

- Coloured pages/  
Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged/  
Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated/  
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/  
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached/  
Pages détachées
- Showthrough/  
Transparence
- Quality of print varies/  
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material/  
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Only edition available/  
Seule édition disponible
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata  
slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to  
ensure the best possible image/  
Les pages totalement ou partiellement  
obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,  
etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à  
obtenir la meilleure image possible.

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

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

The c  
to the

The i  
possi  
of the  
filmin

Origi  
begin  
the la  
sion,  
other  
first p  
sion,  
or illu

The i  
shall  
TINU  
which

Maps  
differ  
entire  
begin  
right  
requi  
meth

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

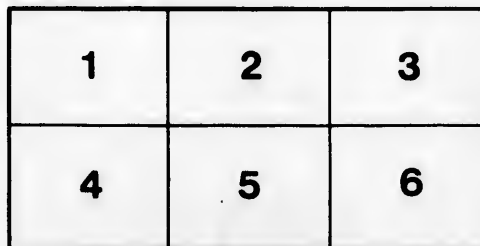
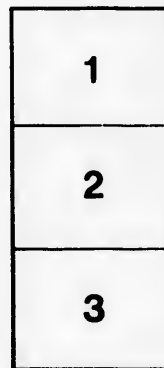
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,  
University of Toronto Library

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  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (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:

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,  
University of Toronto Library

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 apparaît sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  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.

re  
détails  
es du  
modifier  
er une  
filmage

ses

e

y errata  
d to

nt  
ne pelure,  
çon à



# SPEECH

OF

*Alexander*

(SIR) JOHN MACDONALD

TO THE

WORKINGMEN'S LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION  
OF OTTAWA AND LE CERCLE LAFONTAINE,

DELIVERED IN OTTAWA

ON THE

*8th of October, 1886.*

# CONTENTS.

|   | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| I.  |       |
| Mr. Mowatt and Ottawa.....  | 3     |
| Readjustment of seats.....  | 5     |
| II.   |       |
| The two great parties contrasted .....  | 6     |
| Canada at the Exhibition .....  | 9     |
| The National Policy .....   | 9     |
| Statistics relating to Canada's prosperity.....                               | 10    |
| Experience of Free Trade, New South Wales.....                                | 10    |
| Statistics of failures in Canada.....   | 11    |
| Benefit from C.P.R. in tea trade .....  | 12    |
| III.  |       |
| Obsolete laws relating to trade unions.....                                   | 13    |
| George Brown's treatment of workingmen .....                                  | 13    |
| Liberal Conservative legislation in relief of workingmen.....                 | 13    |
| IV.   |       |
| Liberal Conservative legislation respecting the convict labour question ..... | 14    |
| Mr. Mackenzie's views in 1875.....  | 14    |
| Mr. Mills' opinion .....  | 15    |
| Present Government record.....  | 17    |
| Exclusion of products of United States' convict labour.....                   | 17    |
| V.  |       |
| Liberal Conservative policy on Chinese labour question.....                   | 17    |
| Opposition views thereon .....  | 17    |
| Toronto <i>Globe's</i> view .....   | 18    |
| What Mr. Mills thought .....  | 18    |
| How the present Government dealt with it.....                                 | 19    |
| VI.   |       |
| Government policy respecting savings banks.....                               | 20    |
| Opposition attacks upon it.....   | 21    |
| VII.  |       |
| Future plans discussed.....   | 21    |
| Bureau of labour statistics.....  | 21    |
| Enquiry by means of Royal Commission.....                                     | 22    |
| Workingmen to be represented thereon.....                                     | 22    |
| Proposed establishment of a Department of Trade and Commerce.....             | 22    |
| Policy respecting assisted immigration.....                                   | 22    |
| Appeal to workingmen.....   | 23    |

## SPEECH OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD.

### I

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen :*

I desire to convey to you in the first place my deep and grateful thanks for your kind and cordial reception. I have often been greeted in the same way in Ottawa. I have found friends always here, and therefore am not surprised, though gratified, that you still extend your kindness to me. But it is an additional source of satisfaction to-night that you have asked me to be present on the occasion when the leader of the Conservative Opposition of our province is present in his political capacity. (Cheers.)

(At this stage of the proceedings Sir John was interrupted in his remarks by the chairman to present Lady Macdonald and her lady friends with bouquets of flowers.)

Sir John, continuing, said: This interruption is agreeable not only to myself and to you all but to the ladies who are the honoured recipients of those bouquets, and I think they will tell us all that they prefer flowers from the garden to flowers of speech from us. (Applause and laughter.) It affords me particular pleasure and gratification to be present at the advent of my friend, and, I may call him, my political colleague, Mr. Meredith, on his visit to you and your city. (Applause.) Were he not present, as I know his modesty, I might perhaps expatiate on his merits and draw some contrast between himself and the distinguished gentleman who presides over the destinies of our province as Premier. Mr. Mowat was here the other day and gave, of course, a pleasant dissertation. He is a most respectable man, and in any other position but the one he now holds, would perform the duties of it most satisfactorily. (Laughter.) But he came to Ottawa, a place that he had always distinguished by his kind attention, and we are told, either by himself or by his friends who surround him and speak for him, that this city owes particular obligation to Mr. Mowat and his administration because he has adorned Ottawa with the Normal School. It is a magnificent building, gentlemen, and he deserves credit and you will give him credit for it especially when you compare it with the insignificant buildings erected on Wellington street and on the old Barrack Hill by the Dominion Government. (Cheers and laughter.) It is true that Mr. Mowat could not place the Normal School anywhere else. There had to be a Normal School in the eastern portion of Ontario as well as in the west, and I do not see how he could have overlooked the metropolis of Canada, the chief city in eastern Ontario, in selecting a site for a provincial school. Mr. Mowat has always been a friend of Ottawa, and as a remarkable proof of that I will go back to 1858. (Ironical cheers.) You will remember that Her Majesty, being badly advised, as the Opposition of the day loudly proclaimed, made Ottawa the seat of Government. You will remember that it was then contended that this "backwoods village" was quite unfit for that honour; that although myself and those who acted with me in the Canadian Government thought, as we asked Her Majesty to be graciously pleased to select a site, and as she had, at our request, selected Ottawa, that we were in honour bound to carry out her

decision, others thought differently. Other cities were disappointed. Montreal, Toronto, the city I then represented (Kingston), Hamilton and other places were all aspirants for the great honour, and there was therefore a very considerable disposition in Parliament to carp at the decision of Her Majesty and to criticize her selection of this good town. However, the Government of which I was a member were resolved that, as far as we were concerned, Canada should not be dishonoured, by first asking Her Majesty to make the award, and then throwing it in her face. (Cheers.)

#### THE RECORDS CONSULTED.

In order that I may speak by the card, and that you may quite understand the position of that question, and in order that I may prove to you—because I like to do justice to our opponents—the warm affection and interest that Mr. Mowat took in this place I shall read to you the proceedings in Parliament at that time—after the attempt was made to dispute the award made by Her Majesty.

It was moved by Mr. Daukin, seconded by Mr. Dorion, “that an humble address be presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen to represent that this House humbly pray Her Majesty to reconsider the selection which has been advised of the future Capital of Canada, and to name Montreal as such future Capital.”

Mr. George Brown moved in amendment that all the words “after presented” be struck out, and the words “to His Excellency the Governor-General praying that no action be taken towards the erection of buildings in the City of Ottawa for the permanent accommodation of the Executive Government and Legislature, or for the removal of the Public Departments to that city.”

Both resolutions were, perhaps, strong enough, but Mr. Piché did not think they were, and he moved in amendment to the proposed amendment, “that the words ‘an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General praying that no action may be taken towards the erection of buildings in the City of Ottawa for the permanent accommodation of the Executive Government and Legislature or for the removal of the Public Departments to that city’ be left out and the words ‘in the opinion of this House the City of Ottawa ought not to be the permanent seat of Government of this Province,’ inserted instead thereof.”

The first resolution was respectful; the second resolution was also respectful, but here was an amendment which was moved and which was carried by the majority of the House that, “in the opinion of this House the City of Ottawa ought not to be the permanent seat of Government in this Province.” (Ironical cheers.)

That amendment, Mr. chairman, was carried by 64 to 50, and amongst those who voted that Ottawa was not fit to be the seat of Government was Mr. Mowat (Derisive laughter.) I read from the record to show you the long abiding interest which Mr. Mowat has in this part of the Province, and in Ottawa especially. (Cheers.)

#### READJUSTMENT OF SEATS.

But, gentlemen, how has Mr. Mowat shown his interest in this city since that time? He lately introduced into the Legislature a bill



for the readjustment of the representation of the Province of Ontario. When Parliament in Ottawa readjusts the representation for the Dominion it is called "gerrymandering," but when Mr. Mowat does the same thing in Ontario it is called "readjustment." (laughter) Well, how did they readjust it? Ottawa has a much larger population to day than it had a few years ago. Ottawa is so large and important that it has two members in the Dominion Parliament. But Mr. Mowat did not think it of sufficient importance to give it a second member in the Legislature. You, Mr. chairman, have properly alluded to the fact that the inhabitants of Ottawa, of "*French and English race*," live together in peace and harmony, and I can see no reason why Mr. Mowat in his great interest for this part of the Province could not give Ottawa two members. What is the consequence of your not having two representatives? The population of the city is divided almost equally into English and French-speaking inhabitants, but the English-speaking inhabitants are in the majority. Now, if you had two members in the Legislature both races could be represented, as you have them at this moment in the Dominion Parliament. But with only one member, should there be a great struggle, and unfortunate dissensions of a racial character arise from some cause of irritation and the two races be drawn up in hostile political camps, the consequence is that the minority would always go to the wall, and the French Canadian inhabitants of Ottawa, by the fact of there being only one member, would be virtually disfranchised. This is a crowning proof of the great regard Mr. Mowat has for this part of the country, and I must say that I am rather surprised that he had the courage to come here with this record attaching to him and claim your suffrages and the suffrages of the various constituencies in the Ottawa Valley. (Loud cheers.)

## II

## THE TWO GREAT PARTIES.

Gentlemen, why do the representatives of the people give their confidence and support to one party more than to another? Those having the franchise ought to choose men best adapted to represent the interests of the country, and those representatives when they meet together give their confidence or withdraw it from one party or the other as they think the leaders of the party deserve it or not. In order, therefore, that the representatives of the people may come to a reasonable and sensible conclusion as to which of the two great parties occupying the political arena in Canada best deserve their confidence, they naturally look to see which of the leading public men—the leading statesmen of the country—have the best record. (Hear, hear.) Now, in looking back on the years that are past I claim, on the part of the Liberal-Conservative Government, that the confidence reposed in us in 1878, and renewed to us in 1882, still ought to be accorded to us. (Hear, hear.) For we affirm in the first place that we have carried out all the pledges we made before we obtained power. (Cheers.) I claim also that the Government has fairly, honestly and prudently administered the affairs of Canada, and that much of the present prosperity, now happily prevailing over the whole Dominion, has been caused by the Acts of legislation and administration of the present Ministry.

(Loud cheers.) Let us go back to 1873 and see what was the position of affairs then. I need not elaborate the various circumstances which occurred before that time, because you, as inhabitants of this Province, and residents of Ottawa, almost within sound of the voices of the members of Parliament, have had every opportunity of knowing for years past what has been the conduct of the two political parties, and doubtless you have already made up your minds on some of the points which you will hear referred to to night. In 1873, you will remember, the Government of which I was a member was forced to resign under the cry of, what our opponents called, the

“PACIFIC SCANDAL”

but which the country has declared to be the “Pacific Slander.” (Cheers.) Well, we retired in 1873, and from that period until 1878, the Reform party—if they can be called the *Reform* party, for Mr. Blake said on one occasion they had nothing to reform—(laughter) the Grit party had an opportunity of showing what they were made of. They had a large majority; they had full power to develop this country and to show what they could do as statesmen. (Hear, hear.) It is perhaps expedient that there should be occasional changes of Government, and many people said as Sir John Macdonald and the Liberal-Conservative party had been a long time in power, perhaps it would be as well to see what the other party could do. The Grits had every opportunity; they had a clear sheet. They had committed no sins as a Government, for they had not been in power for years. They had a strong support in Parliament. Everything was in their favour. Yet from their first session until their last their record was one of continuous maladministration and failure. (Loud cheers.) The country was in a fair state of prosperity when we transferred to them the management of its affairs, but what was its condition when their tenure of office expired? In 1878, and during the four preceding years there was universal depression. (Hear, hear.) There was no employment for our workmen; there was a large exodus of our best artisans to the United States; our people were losing their sons who were obliged to look for employment and earn their bread in a foreign country, because there was no employment or bread for them in their own country. Manufacturing was at a stand-still; the shops were closed; merchants were suffering from a wide-spread insolvency, and despondency and depression prevailed almost amounting to despair. (Loud cheers.) But the Conservative opposition had faith in the future of our country. We knew we had a beneficent and healthful climate, and a people accustomed to free institutions and able and willing to work for their country. (Loud cheers.) We had a fertile soil, and a grand prospect before us, and we said “surely we are not going to give up this battle; we are not going to lie down and consider ourselves hopelessly crushed. No, we must look for a remedy.” Gentlemen, we

FOUND THE REMEDY

in the National Policy (prolonged cheers)—not as a new proposal, however, because the Conservative party had advocated it years before (hear, hear) but the necessity was never so obvious as when we laid before the country the positive policy of keeping Canada for the Can-

adians and protection to native industries. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

You may remember, gentlemen, when we laid our proposition before the House how it was voted down. We were treated to long quotations from political economists. The speeches of Cobden and Bright were read to us, and we were jeered at and told we could never reverse the theories of those *doctrinaires*. (Hear, hear.)

But we did not believe them; we looked across the border and saw a nation of people of the same blood and lineage as ourselves, adopting for the United States the same policy that we said we should have for Canada. We contended that we had an additional and greater reason than they had in the United States, because we were a younger country, and as a smaller and poorer population were obliged to protect our own manufactures, which were then in embryo, against all the wealth, the skill and the acquired capital which had been invested in the United States, and which were making of

#### CANADA A SACRIFICE MARKET.

(Cheers.) O! it was a grievous thing Mr. chairman, to see as you have seen and as I have seen in a place like this, in the metropolis of Canada, the skilled artisans, notwithstanding their proud position as skilled workmen, seeking for work, begging for work and finding none—to see them compelled to send their children to the soup kitchens for support. It was a dreadful thing to see, as I have seen in Toronto, operatives and mechanics working on three quarter and half time, while every auction room and commission shop was glutted with goods from the United States and sold at a sacrifice—the sweepings of shops in the Republic, after supplying their own wants, sent over here and sold at ruinous figures to crush out our infant industries and give our people no hope of fair competition. (Cheers.) We said again and again that

#### OUR MECHANICS AND ARTIZANS

and manufacturers should have some protection against this state of affairs. We pressed it in Parliament; we pressed it through the newspapers advocating the same principles as ourselves; we pressed it from the platform and on the people. (Cheers.) And the people were with us. (Cheers.) They rose in their might in 1878 and most unmistakably, by their verdict, declared that they had weighed the Government of Mr. Mackenzie in the balance and found it wanting. (Cheers and applause.) They said that they had given them every fair play and every opportunity to govern this country; they said that Reform Government and disaster went hand-in-hand; that every trade, every industry, agriculture, commerce—the shop-keeper and the artisan—all

#### SUFFERED UNDER DEEP DEPRESSION,

I may say ruin. (Loud applause.) And they said “we do approve of keeping our own country for ourselves. (Cheers.) We do approve of giving protection to Canadian industries;” and they gave to the Liberal-Conservative party the opportunity of carrying into effect what we had promised before-hand while in opposition. (Prolonged cheers and applause.)

Mr. chairman, I ask everyone here to-night, friend or foe, whether we did not on the first session after we returned to power carry out to the utmost the promises we made in opposition; and I ask you further if the results of the eight years we have been in office have not shown that the country has

#### PROSPERED UNDER THE NEW POLICY

(cheers); have not shown that, instead of there being an exodus of hundreds of thousands of people from the Dominion, the working classes—the mechanic, the labourer and the artizan, find full and profitable employment. (Loud cheers.) I ask you, Mr. chairman, if the farmer has not found a home market for his produce, in every town and village where manufactures have been introduced? I ask you if the state of despondency and despair which crushed out the vitality, the strength, and the hope of the country for five long years has not all been removed. (Loud cheering.) I declare that Canada is at this moment one of the most prosperous—if not *the*

#### MOST PROSPEROUS COUNTRY

on the face of the globe. (Applause.) There is employment for everybody; every class in the community is now prospering. (Cheers.) The farmer has good crops—and you know that the Conservatives always bring good crops. (Cheers and laughter.) You know, Mr. chairman, as I told Reformers long ago, they brought in the weevil and the Hessian fly, and the Colorado bug came in with the last Grit Government (laughter) and there were bad crops and low prices. (Cheers and laughter.) Now everything is *couleur de rose*; the farmer has had large crops and few Colorado bugs and no Hessian fly. (Renewed laughter.) We find also that the manufacturers are largely and profitably employed. Look at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, now open in London! Every Canadian must read with pride the accounts which are given of the

#### HIGH POSITION CANADA HAS TAKEN

in her manufactures and her industries whether agricultural or manufacturing—such a high position that not only the people of England but visitors from the Continent of Europe and the far east are so surprised that they can hardly believe it possible that all those various productions have really been produced in what they had been accustomed to hear spoken of as “that frozen, hyperborean region, Canada!” (Prolonged cheering.)

I don't think the prosperity or the progress of the country can be disputed; and although it may be rather tedious to give you a few statistics I shall avail myself of a few figures placed in my hand by a statistician of high rank, and if I could mention his name you would know he is an authority almost infallible on such subjects. I will now ask you to follow these figures closely and to see for yourselves what the progress of Canada has been.

Two great facts stand prominently out before the labouring classes of Canada in connection with the fiscal policy of the Liberal-Conservative party. The first fact is that the importation of articles of food and drink during four years of the Reform regime amounted to 169 million dollars. During the six years 1880-85 the present tariff has

been in operation the imports of these articles has been only 106 millions. The average yearly imports during the Grit administration were 42 million and during the Liberal-Conservative regime 17 million, showing a difference of 25 million dollars a year in favour of the latter. If now we take into account the increase of population, averaging for the six years over half a million of people a year more to be fed than in the Grit period, we find that the difference in this class of our imports between the two periods is not less than

#### THIRTY MILLION DOLLARS

annually, a sum which, divided among those of our population engaged in pastoral and farming pursuits, would put into the pockets of each one \$50 a year, that would otherwise have gone to the farmers in countries outside of Canada. An examination of these imports shows that the decrease has not been in spirits, wine, ale and other drinks, for the average annual import of these during the Grit period was \$1,858,900 against \$1,569,800 a year during the last six years. Neither is it in the import of tea which, regard being had to increase of population, remains about the same in both periods. *The reduction is in the imports of breadstuffs, of fruits, of vegetables, of provisions and of refined sugar*--all but the last being articles from the farm. The reduction in the imports of vegetables alone is over \$3,250,000 a year or 19 million dollars in the six years of our rule as compared with the years of Grit rule. In this class of imports--imports of articles of food and drink--we imported about one-third as much as in the Grit time. Where did we get the balance--the other two-thirds. It was produced by our own people. Two-thirds of the whole consumption of this country, which formerly was imported from foreign countries, is now manufactured, produced and created by the people of Canada. (Loud and continued applause.)

#### THE SECOND GREAT FACT

is that the import of raw materials for manufacturing purposes during the period from 1874 to 1878 was \$45,750,000 or \$9,200,000 a year, while during the period of the National policy it has been \$105,500,000 or \$17,600,000 a year. This increase from \$9,200,000 to \$17,600,000 a year, illustrates the extent to which the artisans of this country have been benefitted by our present policy. Taking this increased consumption of raw material imported for manufacturing purposes as a rough guide, there has been an increase of ninety-three per cent. in the number of employees in the factories of the land.

Thus, again, the farmer is benefitted as well as the artisan. The latter finds more work to do because we now manufacture at home what we formerly imported from abroad. The farmer finds a largely increased home market and a largely decreased importation of articles of food from other countries. Hence our prosperity which is the more remarkable because all around us the cry of "depression" has been heard.

#### CANADA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

A cable from Sydney, New South Wales, states that the past fiscal year was characterized by the greatest commercial depression known in that Province for the last 22 years.

New South Wales is Free Trade and has the lowest Customs Tariff of the whole group of Australian Colonies—the customs revenue being an average of 7.29 per cent. of the whole imports, while in Canada the proportion of the customs revenue to the total value of imports is 18.07 per cent.

Canada has scarcely felt the severe depression which, since 1882, has been deeply felt by Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, France and the United States, (the five great rival manufacturing nations of the world,) and by all subordinate countries whose tariffs have, by being free trade, afforded opportunities for these great rivals to unload their surplus productions on them.

Canada, feeling but the faintest touch of the general depression, has been the first to shake it off altogether and to resume her former experience of buoyant revenue.

Why have we suffered less and been the first to show recovery? Why have we suffered little (if it can be said that we have suffered at all) while New South Wales has suffered more than it has done for nearly a quarter of a century? The answer is; the tariff protection we have had has saved us. We took care to minimise as much as possible the power of the great nations to dump their goods at depreciated prices upon our markets. New South Wales has exposed herself to the assaults of these great nations and has suffered deep depression, while we have been exempt—as is seen in the fact that the failures in Canada have been fewer each year, and during the past six years were three thousand fewer than they were during the Grit period of five years—one year longer, the traders many thousands more and yet three thousand fewer failures!

The policy the Government carried out in 1879—the National Policy—was simply this: That it made the free list as wide as possible for those articles which could not for climatic or other reasons be manufactured in Canada; that raw material which could be made up here should be imported free, and a duty placed on those articles which could be profitably produced in Canada, or on articles of luxury for the enjoyment of which the rich classes could well afford to pay. (Loud cheers.) This, gentlemen, was the policy we carried out, as you will see from the figures I have quoted. I would like you to carry these facts and figures in your minds, as they show conclusively that the policy adopted in 1878, and affirmed in 1882, when we appealed to the people again, has been thoroughly successful. Cheers.)

There was only one thing to be dreaded in the adoption of the National Policy. The great danger in all protected countries is over production—that the market may be glutted, so that manufacturers might not be able to sell their goods;—resulting in great depression, loss of credit, insolvency in fact all the consequences which arise from having a much larger supply than demand. That was the danger and we felt it to some extent in commencing our protective system. The cotton manufacturers were at once so successful that in all parts of Canada

#### PEOPLE RUSHED INTO

the manufacture of cotton, and there was more of that article produced than consumers required. But we have found a remedy for all that—we have built the Canadian Pacific Railway, (loud and prolonged cheers) and we have opened up that magnificent North-West country and



British Columbia to our own people and to settlers from the old land. (Renewed cheers.) The North-West is so bountifully endowed by nature with all the requisites to support a great and happy population that the difficulty has been removed; the problem has been solved, and with common prudence our manufactures will develop so steadily that if capitalists do not run blindly into over production there will be an increasing market in our West year by year which will

PREVENT ANY DANGER

of a glut. (Loud cheers.) And more than that. By the railway we have opened up a means for an enormous trade on the Pacific Ocean—with foreign countries and with our sister colonies. (Hear, hear.) I believe in another year there will be a magnificent line of steamers plying between British Columbia and China and Japan, carrying to these countries all the products of Canada, and receiving goods from them, either for consumption among ourselves or for transportation through our country for consumption in England or elsewhere. Already we have seen what may be done in the import of tea, of which article for this season there have been and will be imported direct, and transmitted over the Canadian Railway, nearly eight millions pounds. Taking the consumption of tea in Canada last year and putting the reduced cost at the low figure of three cents a pound the saving effected will be over \$550,000 a year, which at four per cent. is the interest on thirteen millions of dollars. (Cheers.) There are good hopes also of having an intermediate trade opened up with the magnificent Colonies of Australia. (Cheers.) So that the policy of the Government, in my opinion, and I trust in yours also, has been eminently successful and must be maintained to the end. (Renewed cheers.) With that view and to that end do I

APPEAL TO YOU,

the electors the country—to you in whose hands are the destinies of Canada—to continue to support this policy, and to frown down those men who have hitherto opposed that policy, (cheers) although some of them finding that they are in the wrong path are trying to hark back. I can tell you they will only be faint hearted friends of the National Policy. Remember who initiated the National Policy; remember who carried it out to a successful completion; remember those who are willing to stake their political existence on the maintenance of this great principle of protection to a native industry.—Canada for Canadians. (Loud cheers.)

III.

Mr chairman and gentlemen.—The fact that this meeting has been called together by the Working Men's Liberal Conservative Association and Le Cercle Lafontaine, composed, I believe, of a majority of working men, induces me to discuss briefly the

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE POLICY

of the Grits and the Conservatives with respect to the working classes. I desire to impress on you that the policy of the present Government has always been for the advancement of the material resources, the

intellectual development, and the social position of workingmen. (Loud cheers.) In order to prove this I will take some of the subjects affecting

#### THE WORKING CLASSES.

In the first place I call your attention to a fact, many of you are too young to remember, viz., what happened with reference to the treatment of workingmen in Toronto, who were imprisoned, charged with being guilty of conspiracy, charged with committing a serious breach of the law, because they formed themselves into a trades union and asserted their right to associate themselves together for the purpose of self defence and mutual benefit. The laws regulating trades unions in Canada in 1872 were exceedingly severe.

England had repealed the old law which prevented the combination of workmen, and we never thought, in our infancy as a country, that those laws would be put into force in Canada, but Mr. chairman, we were horrified in 1872 to find the then old leader of the Reform party of Canada enforcing obsolete and oppressive laws which ought to have been repealed a century ago—putting them in force in Toronto. All will remember, the general feeling of disgust and of horror when it was known that 24 men had been arrested by warrant in Toronto because, forsooth, they had ventured to form a trade union, and had resolved to carry the principles of their association into effect.

#### THE GRIT RECORD.

On the 16th day of April, 1872, twenty-four printers were arrested in Toronto, on the charge of conspiracy, and, Mr. chairman and gentlemen, let me quote to you the language of the leader of the Grit party, the editor of the *Globe*. Let me read to you what he said, at a meeting of employers held on the 18th of April, in Toronto. Mr. Brown then and there made a violent speech against labor organizations, saying among other things—"that masters should have no dealing with union men. They should employ none except those who signed a document to the effect that they did not belong to any labor organization. He trusted that those who had shown a rebellious spirit against their employers would be driven out of Canada. This course, was in his opinion the best to be pursued. The rules of the trades combinations were intolerable."

Mr. chairman, I happened to be Minister of Justice at that time, and in my position as such I advised the representative of our Sovereign, at once to release those men from prison and let them walk out as free men once more. (Loud cheers.) And more than that, I at once introduced a bill in Parliament, repealing those obsolete and obnoxious statutes and

#### WIPED THEM OFF

the statute book as a disgrace to our present state of civilization; and I introduced and carried through Parliament, a measure establishing Trades' Unions, confirming them in their previous proceedings. Under that Act the trades unions of Canada can assemble and act together in concert (cheers); and can advance their own interest (cheers) and protect themselves, if need be, against any combina-



tion of employers of labor and capitalists in case they should become the oppressors of the laboring classes. (Cheers and applause.)

Let me read, Mr. chairman, what the then principal exponent of Conservative principles in the press said on that occasion. The *Leader* of Toronto, on the 17th day of April, 1872, used this language. —

#### INQUISITION IN CANADA.

"Yesterday, twenty-four men were arrested on a warrant of Mr. McNabb, the police magistrate. Their crimes appear to have been that they were members of the Vigilance Committee of the Typographical Union. The charge on which they were arrested was 'conspiracy.' We are sorry and surprised to see that certain interested opponents of the Nine Hours Movement have caused these arrests on the strength of the obsolete and defective laws which at present prevail in Canada, but which will soon be erased from our Statute Books. To our minds, it is one of the most contemptible things a 'master' could do, to employ an expert Ottawa detective for the purpose of entrapping a few unoffending workmen, whose sole aim was to better their condition.

Since writing the above we learn that twenty-four warrants are issued, but have not all been put into force. One of the arrested parties was taken out of our own office."

A few days afterwards I moved for leave to introduce a bill respecting Trades' Unions. I explained that the measure was based upon the Imperial Statute upon the same subject. Hansard says :

"Sir John moved for leave to introduce a bill respecting Trades' Unions. He explained that the measure or rather measures, for there were two of them, which he would ask leave to introduce, although he had given notice only of one, was based upon the Imperial Statutes upon the same subject. His attention and the attention of everyone interested in the prosperity of Canada, had been called lately to the fact, that the law relating to Trades' Unions, with the civil and criminal side, was not the same as in England, and that the English mechanic who came to this country, as well as the Canadian mechanic, was subject to penalties imposed by Statutes that had been repealed in England, as opposed to the spirit of the liberty of the individual. He proposed a law, the same in principle as the law in England, so that the operatives from the mother country, would have the same freedom of action, and the same right to combine for the accomplishment of lawful objects, as they had in England.

The subject was too important to be taken *ab initio* without great care and study, and it was only since the opening of Parliament that his attention had been called to it. He had not thought it well to embrace in the bill all the points that were involved in the battle that was going on between labour and capital. The subject of the relations between these two was engaging the attention of able minds in England, whose deliberations, he had no doubt, would eventuate in the introduction of a comprehensive system, possibly with the sanction and authority of Her Majesty's Government, in the next session of the Imperial Parliament. In the meanwhile he purposed to proceed with the measures, one of which would complement the other because it affected the civil branch of law relating to Trades' Unions, while the other affected the criminal branch. He moved for leave to bring in the bills."

That bill was occasioned by the oppressive conduct of one of the leaders of the Grit party, and was carried into effect by the Conservative administration. (Cheers.) If for nothing else than this measure I think I have some claim to the support of the workmen of the Dominion. (Applause.) In 1872, in this city, a presentation was made to me on behalf of some of the workmen. I hold it in my hand (exhibiting a beautiful gold-headed cane.) (Cheers.) This cane was presented to me by the several Unions of stone-cutters, printers, brick-layers, carpenters and masons of Ottawa in consequence of the principles I had avowed, and because of my course in the

carrying out of those principles. (Cheers.) It was presented to me by a deputation, and if I remember right it was placed in my hands by a gentleman who made a most eloquent eulogium in my favor, and I think he now lives in Toronto, Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue. (Derisive cheers and laughter.)

Subsequently, Mr chairman and gentlemen, when we were in the cold shales of opposition, and I had to go and work at my trade to earn my living as a lawyer in Toronto, (laughter.) the workmen there followed up the course of the workmen here, and I have had the pleasure, and the profit, and the comfort of carrying in my pocket since 1876 this watch, (exhibiting gold watch) and a very good watch it is. (Laughter.)

#### IV.

##### CONVICT LABOUR.

There was one question which agitated the workmen all over this Dominion, perhaps more than its importance warranted; still it was a standing annoyance and a grievance, irritating in its character, and causing the loudest indignation to be expressed in Parliament and out of Parliament. That was the employment of convict labour and bringing it in competition with the work of the honest artizan. Those men as a reward for their crime, were clothed and fed and made comfortable in the Penitentiary, while workmen who were neither thieves, robbers nor murderers were obliged by taxation to help to support them in the Penitentiary. The workmen contended that it was offering a bounty, as it were, for crime, and that it should be no longer endured. (Cheers.) Before 1873, when we retired, the Government of that day (the Conservative Government) had taken up that question, and they had promised Parliament and had promised the people that they would do away with the contract system for convict labor as fast as the nature of the existing contracts would allow, and that they would employ convicts only in work that did not compete with the honest artizans of the country; and we were carrying out that principle to the fullest extent that good faith and the legal obligations, which the Government had incurred years before by giving long contracts for certain articles of production, would permit. But when we went out of office we found that Mr Mackenzie's Government did not agree with us. They took up the cold blooded politico economical doctrine—the utilitarian view,—that goods must be produced cheap, the convicts must be employed, and whether the labour of the convicts deprived the honest workingman of employment or not, it must be utilized—no matter what the result might be to the honest artizan. (Derisive cheers.) In 1875, when I was leading the Opposition, I put this question in Parliament: I asked if the Government had any policy as to the

##### LETTING OUT OF CONVICT LABOUR

by contract; as the present authorities who wrote upon that subject disapproved very generally of that system.

Mr. Mackenzie, (Hansard page 641) said, "his government had not decided upon any policy." (Laughter). That was their fault during

the entire five years they were in office. They never had a policy, but that of drawing their salaries once a quarter. (Laughter.) "The whole subject," he, (Mr Mackenzie) said, "was to be reviewed by the government after the session. He had an idea, which was not clearly defined, of employing the labor of convicts in carrying on the public works of the country. It was quite possible that they might be able to manufacture the greater portion of the rolling stock required on the great railroads about to be constructed. That was one reason why he desired to locate prisons in the lower provinces or some convenient place on the Intercolonial Railway, but nothing had yet been decided upon by the government."

It occurs to me, however, whether men are engaged in either public or private work, that every convict employed on it shuts out

#### AN HONEST LABOURER.

(Loud cheers.) The Canadian Pacific Railway has just been built. The Intercolonial Railway was built by money taken from the pockets of the people, and while railways were being constructed all over the country, Mr. Mackenzie's proposition in regard to them was that this important branch of industry, employing thousands of men and entailing an expenditure of millions of capital, should be handed over to the convicts and thus take away or lessen the employment of thousands of honest workmen (Loud cheers.) That was in 1875.

In 1877 the present Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Kirkpatrick, a good and worthy Conservative, brought this question up. In his observations to the House Mr. Kirkpatrick (Hansard, 1877, page 259), thought it very undesirable that convict labor should be brought into competition with honest mechanics and labourers outside the prison walls. Mr. Dymond, a Grit of the Grits, a member of Parliament, and also editor of the *Globe*, replied (Hansard, page 260.) "He did not sympathise with Mr. Kirkpatrick in his objection to convicts being trained in the arts of honest labour. He fancied that although the honest labourer might in one way find a disadvantage by work being performed by convicts, he gained in the long run by their being trained to useful vocations." (Laughter.)

I said on that occasion (page 261), that the question was surrounded with difficulties. The remedy was to employ convicts in those branches of trade which would as little as possible interfere with the honest artizan outside the penitentiary. The contract system, as bringing convict labour in competition with the honest artizan, was a bad system. Then came

#### PHILOSOPHER MILLS.

(laughter), the gentleman who kept and keeps the politico-economical conscience of the whole Grit party in his pocket. (Renewed laughter.) Let us hear what he said. He was then a member of the Government, mind. He said:

"The position taken by the honourable gentleman was a very extraordinary one. He argued: If we withdraw a few hundred people engaged in the ordinary industries of the country and confine them where they do less than if they were free, thereby free labourers are unfairly competed with. He would ask him what was the difference by way of competition between a thousand men in Kingston Penitentiary

and the same thousand engaged in the ordinary mechanical and industrial pursuits of the country competing as free labourers. Were they in a worse condition? Certainly their labour was less efficient than it would be if they had the activities of free men; so they competed less as criminals than as honest citizens. The honourable member for Kingston had said these men did not really do a great deal of harm while they were at large, but the moment they were confined they were brought into conflict with honest labour. They ought then to try and remedy that mischief and to leave these men at large. The logical inference of the argument of the member for Frontenac was that the prisoners should do nothing. But what were they to do with them? If they must not employ their labour they must pension them. There was one class of persons they pensioned for long and faithful work for the State, but here was a class of criminals whom they were to pension in order that the whole population might not suffer by their industry. That was a very extraordinary theory of political economy which the honourable gentleman opposite adopted. When they occupied the treasury benches they asked for money to enter into competition with the free labour of this country by bringing out immigrants, and yet they complained because the prisoners in the penitentiary, by compulsion of the State, were made to do the very thing they put immigrants to do. Supposing that the views of the honourable member for Kingston were carried out, leaving out the objection which the honourable Minister of Justice had pointed out, that these men could not obtain employment after they came from the penitentiary. If they engaged them at unprofitable pursuits how were they to make up the loss which the State sustained? They would have to put a tax on the industries of the country. These considerations were perfectly conclusive to his mind, against, he would not say the arguments, but the clap-trap suggestions of the honourable member for Frontenac."

and so on in a speech of the same deep philosophy which is the admiration of people who don't know anything of practical economy. (Laughter.) I said in the same debate (page 1202) that there had arisen a cry, the justice of which had been recognized in England and also in France, against the subsidizing of prison labour for the manufacture of goods that would compete with free labour.

Then in 1879, when the present Government was in power, I stated (Hansard 1879, page 1537) from my place as leader of the House: "My opinion has always remained the same on this point, that it is a great misfortune that the labour of convicts should be brought into competition with that of honest men outside, and that that should be cured as much as possible. We commenced with the view of doing away with the contract system by degrees. It could only be done by degrees, because we had contractors there who had much plant and had running contracts. The principle will be carried out as much as possible that the convicts should interfere as little as possible with the honest labour of the country."

Mr. Mills, however, in 1879 was as wise and philosophical as in 1877. He said, (page 1539):

"He was rather surprised, although he had heard some very extraordinary doctrines of political economy laid down since this session began by the honourable member for Montreal East. He remembered very well the discussion that took place on the subject last year. He thought it was the honourable member for Frontenac that suggested that the convicts in penitentiaries should be employed at some labour that would not be of the slightest use to them when they had served their time. Now, the position taken by the honourable member on that occasion, and the position taken by the honourable gentleman who had spoken that day, had intimated that these people were in a wholly different position to the industries outside. In the Kingston Penitentiary they had 800 or 1,000 convicts. These people, if they were outside would probably be producing a greater number of articles which would come into competition with the products of the rest of the community. Then the labour of the convicts was less efficient than it would be if

they were outside. Nothing could be more preposterous than arguments of honourable gentlemen in this particular. They might as well legislate criminally against the introduction of emigrants into the country. In proportion as the penitentiary was self-sustaining, in the same proportion it was advantageous to the rest of the community. The community suffered in proportion to the amount of tax it was obliged to pay to support these people. If the convicts were taught trades it would be a practical advantage to them when they went back to the community.

Well, gentlemen, notwithstanding the arguments of Mr. Mills, and the gentlemen of the Opposition, we have steadily persisted in our policy. The contract system has

#### BEEN ABOLISHED,

and the convicts are now employed in work that interferes as little as possible with the industries of the country. (Loud cheers.) The Government does its utmost to encourage the starting of new industries in Canada that will help the workingmen, and I think you will agree with me that on this point, as on the matter of trades unions, we have fulfilled our promises. (Prolonged cheers.)

So completely and constantly has our attention been directed to this important subject that last session, when it was represented to us that the United States, where the same cry against convict labour has been raised as here, were shipping to Canada the products of convict labour, to put an end to that state of affairs we passed a law absolutely prohibiting the importation of prison made articles. (Loud cheers.)

#### V.

#### CHINESE LABOUR.

Now, gentlemen, there was another branch of labour strongly objected to by the workingmen of Canada—I mean Chinese labour. On that point, as on the others, the Conservative party and the Reform party have been decidedly at variance. We believed that Chinese labour was not beneficial to the country; we felt that the two races would not work harmoniously together; we had before us the disastrous consequences flowing from the importation of Chinese labour into the United States, where white men were being deprived of employment by an alien race, men who did not become citizens of the United States, but who made as much money as they could and then carried it off to their own country. So inimical are the Chinese to this or any other country but their own, that they even send home the dead body of every Chinaman who dies out of his own country, that it may rest forever in the Flowery Land.

On the 18th of March, 1878, when Mr. Mackenzie was in power, a British Columbia member moved a resolution against the employment of Chinese labour on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Mr. Mackenzie said "he hoped the hon. gentleman did not really expect such a resolution to obtain any support in the House. It was one unprecedented in its character, and altogether unprecedented in its spirit, and at variance with those tolerant laws which afford employment and an asylum to all who come into our country, irrespective

#### OF COLOUR, HAIR,

or anything else." He also said "it would not become a British community to legislate against any class of people who might be imported into or might emigrate to this country."

In 1879, when the

CONSERVATIVES WERE IN POWER,

and the question came up again, Mr. Mackenzie repeated this language. On the 16th April, 1879, he said:

"He would like to know what course the Government proposed to take in reference to this matter. The honourable gentleman had indicated what he desired, which was *the expulsion of a certain class of people from the continent, and the prevention of that class from coming to the continent in future, in any capacity whatever, whether as servants or on board vessels.* He (Mr. Mackenzie) would like to know what course the honourable gentleman at the head of the Government proposed to take before he said anything on the subject."

THE "GLOBE'S" VIEW.

The *Globe* of January 4th, 1879, had an article on the subject which stated:

"Not content with having secured, as to all appearances they have done, such a change of route for the Pacific Railway as will necessitate an extra outlay of from twenty to thirty millions of dollars without one compensatory advantage, they are now *adjuting for the exclusion of the best, the most available and the cheapest labour to be had* for the construction of the great trans-continental highway. The word has gone forth that no Chinese are to be employed in any capacity in connection with railway operations. Imperial treaties are to be abrogated if their terms are not consistent with the fitness of things as explained and understood by Mr. DeCosmos and his brother Solons. A quiet, industrious and handy people are to be kept out of the country altogether, or to be subjected to odious and degrading conditions which would make them slaves in everything but name. In order to attract other labourers in sufficient numbers and of due capability, *extravagant wages are to be offered* and everything done, regardless of expense, to secure men of every colour except yellow, we suppose, and of every race except Mongolian. What matters it although this should involve the expenditure of ten or fifteen additional millions? Money, seemingly, is no object. A matter of still more importance than money, however, is involved in this movement, and that is justice. Hitherto it has been the understood policy of England that men of every race and nationality on earth were welcome to take shelter under her flag and enrol themselves as her subjects on the one condition that they were ready to obey her laws and lead quiet and orderly lives. This policy it is proposed to abrogate and to introduce the principle of proscription against race, creed and colour. The Chinese are to be its victims to-day, Negroes maybe tomorrow. Yankees, French, Scotch or Irish may come all in due time under the same ban and for exactly the same reasons as those now urged against the Mongolians. It would be a very easy matter to find among any or all of these races as gross and

DEGRADING HEATHENISM

as among the Chinese. Those who remember the glories of Omaha, Cheyenne, or any other of the temporary termini when the Union Pacific was in course of construction do not need to be told that there is a possibility of brutality and vice among even the ruling races of this continent at the contemplation of which Chinese would stand aghast. The high wages to be secured by the exclusion of Chinamen will bring an amount and a kind of high-handed blackguardism into British Columbia which will do more to swamp the morals and disorganize the social system of a community so small, and even now so heterogeneous, than the presence of all the Chinamen ever likely to find their way to the eastern shores of the Pacific."

MR. DAVID MILLS' OPINION.

In reply to Mr. DeCosmos, 16th April, 1879, Mr. Mills said:

"The honourable mover proposed to deal with these people as their Christian ancestors, to their dishonour, did with the Jews. It was only necessary to give those people a bad name to represent their peculiarities as crimes. They recognized the particular practices and customs of the Indians, and did not experience any inconvenience from them. The Indians were Tartars, or members of the same



Mongolian race, against whom might be said all that had been alleged against the Chinese. The proposition now advocated was not creditable to this age or country, that they should propose to attach odium to a nation with whom their mother country carried on trade and had treaty relations."

MR. MACKENZIE AGAIN.

Mr. Mackenzie on the same occasion said:

"If it was a mere question of how the Chinese were to be governed in Canada the Government might take the matter up, but the whole aim of the British Columbians was to devise the speediest means of excluding them from the country. *That was a measure he could not, on principle, accede to*, as he believed the principle would be surely abused in the worst possible manner were such power committed to any officials. He believed that it would be contrary to the principle on which their community was based. While the Chinese had bad, they had, no doubt also, good qualities. The honourable member for Cariboo (Mr. Thompson) had stated that there were many criminals among the Chinese, including perjurers; *he might get equally bad cases in Canada without going to the Chinese*. His impression was from all he had heard, *that the mass of Chinese in California were better behaved as regarded the observance of the law of the land than the same number of whites*."

The question was up again in 1882, when, from my place in the House, I used this language, "I share very much in the feelings of those who object to Mongolians becoming permanent settlers. Their presence, I believe, will not be a wholesome thing for the country. They are of an alien race and there can be no assimilation of the races; therefore when temporary exigencies have been overcome, and there is a railway stretching across the continent, and there is a means of sending in white settlers, I would be quite ready to join to a reasonable extent in preventing a permanent settlement in the country of Mongolian or Chinese emigrants."

Well, gentlemen, the Canadian Pacific Railway is built. Instead of taking weeks, or months, to cross the continent, as was formerly the case, you can cross it now in a few days. While labour is pouring into British Columbia from the older provinces of Canada, and there is

NO FURTHER NECESSITY

for the employment of Chinese labour. As I have said, the two races do not agree. Whether in California or in the sister colonies of Australia there is a conflict of feeling and sentiment among them, as well as a sense of hardship among our own fellow-subjects that they should have to compete with men who live on rats and whose clothing consists of a few yards of cotton. (Laughter.) No sooner, then, was the necessity of employing Chinese labour removed than the Parliament of Canada passed a statute placing a heavy tax on every Chinaman entering into Canada. (Hear, hear.) We did not put on a prohibitory duty for two reasons: first, because our Australian brethren, who had had to grapple with this question, adopted the system of putting a considerable tax on every Chinese immigrant or settler, and that has kept down in a great degree the immigration which threatened to overwhelm white labour. In Australia they are quite satisfied with the system, and we have followed it here with good results. I had the pleasure of spending some weeks in British Columbia this summer, and had the opportunity of studying the workings of the Act. I saw the working classes of Victoria—and it was particularly gratifying to meet with them, because when my old constituency of Kingston, after thirty

years' service, rejected me, I represented Victoria, the Capital of British Columbia for four years—and they in general expressed their belief that the law as passed, if efficiently carried out, would be sufficient protection to the white labour of that province. (Cheers.)

The other reason why we did not pass a prohibitory measure was that if we absolutely prohibited every Chinaman from entering this country, the Chinese would be apt to prohibit any Canadian entering their country. (Hear, hear.) One of the advantages we are going to secure from the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway is, as I have already said, that we shall have a

#### GREAT TRADE WITH CHINA,

and if we adopted a distinctly hostile policy it might be the means of killing future business relations with that country. (Hear, hear.) So, gentlemen, the law as it now stands has been found satisfactory. There has been no objection to it on the part of the Imperial Government. It protects the white labour of Canada from being under-bid by the Mongolian. (Cheers.)

### VI.

#### SAVINGS BANKS.

There is another point of difference between the principles which govern the Conservative party, and those which govern the Grit party. Canada has been obliged, as you are aware, in order to carry on her various great public works, to borrow money in the English market, and we pay four per cent. to the capitalists of England who lend us their money. In order to encourage

#### HABITS OF THRIFT

among our people the Government established the Post Office Savings Bank, and Government Savings Bank, in which the labouring classes and others of Canada might deposit their surplus funds and lay by something for a rainy day. We agreed to pay four per cent. to the depositors in our savings banks, as we thought it only right to pay them the same rate of interest as we pay to the capitalists of London, New York, Amsterdam and Paris. But that did not meet the views of the Opposition. Mr. McLelan, the Minister of Finance, said in the House that the Government thought it was clear while we pay four per cent. interest abroad that we should pay the same rate of interest to the working classes of our own country to encourage them in habits of thrift and economy, for the benefit of themselves and their families. (Hear, hear.)

But Sir Richard Cartwright impugned that principle to a very considerable degree, not so much so however as a gentleman who is a private banker himself, and, being interested, might perhaps have had the modesty to hold his tongue, but Mr. McMullen rose in the House and said :

“The Government pay four per cent. on deposits in the Dominion Savings Banks, and it costs even more, as I understand from the accounts that the Government pay a certain commission. If instead of four per cent. the rate were made three per cent., a very large sum of money at present held by the Government would



pass into the hands of the banks, and they could lend it to the farmer; whereas, at the present time, the Government use all the money they get from that source. I understand they have from \$24,000,000 to \$23,000,000 in their hands as deposits in the Dominion Savings Banks and it is all used. The banks have it not, and consequently they cannot extend the accommodation and reduce the rate of interest to the extent they otherwise could do."

In other words, instead of paying four per cent. to the working classes he would

#### ONLY GIVE THEM THREE

per cent, which would be too low a rate of interest to induce the workingman to deposit his savings. The workingmen would not do it. He would spend the money rather than take three per cent, or would look for risky investments elsewhere. Mr. McMullen, this honest banker, said it was unjust—it was really an injury to the banks that they should be deprived of getting this money and speculating on it to any extent. I need not tell you that Mr. McMullen is a Grit. On this point as on all the others I have mentioned we have carried our principles into practice, and we think in every case that our policy has been a superior policy and more in the interests of the country, more for the advantage of the people, and more for the development of the material prosperity of the Dominion than that of our opponents.

#### SUMMING UP.

Thus, Mr. chairman and gentlemen, to sum it up, we LEGALIZED TRADES' UNIONS AND HAVE PREVENTED WORKMEN FROM BEING ARRESTED AND SENT TO JAIL AS CRIMINALS BECAUSE THEY BELONGED TO IT. WE ABOLISHED CONVICT LABOUR AND THE UNWHOLESOME COMPETITION OF THAT LABOUR WITH THE WORK OF THE HONEST ARTIZANS. WE HAVE CHECKED AND PUT AN END TO THE OVERFLOW OF CHINESE LABOUR, AND WE HAVE GIVEN A REASONABLE RATE OF INTEREST TO THE WORKINGMAN, WHO SAVES HIS MONEY, FOR THE SAVINGS SO DEPOSITED WITH THE BEST SECURITY IN THE WORLD. (Loud Cheers.) AND IN CARRYING OUT THIS POLICY—IN THE AGGREGATE AND IN ALL ITS SEVERAL HEADS—WE HAVE DONE SO IN SPITE OF THE PERSISTENT AND CONSISTENT OPPOSITION OF THOSE WHO CALL THEMSELVES REFORMERS. (Cheers.)

## VII.

#### FUTURE LEGISLATION.

Now, Mr. chairman and gentlemen, having told you what we have done in the past, I shall say a few words as to what we propose to do in the future. In the first place we will carry out the principles, we have hitherto professed (cheers), and by a continuance of the same policy we shall endeavour so to develop the industries of this country as to make it one of most prosperous nations on the face of the earth. (Cheers.)

#### BUREAU OF LABOUR.

We propose in the next place to establish a bureau of labour statistics. (Cheers.) This we have announced, but we shall be obliged, I believe, to ask the Legislature to strengthen our hands by passing a measure enlarging our power in that direction. Without such a bureau, without the collection of statistics of labour, no satisfactory solution of

the various problems which from time to time arise between capital and labour can be arrived at. (Applause.)

In the next place we propose to issue a Royal Commission on which the working classes shall be fully represented as commissioners, for the purpose of enquiring into and reporting on all questions arising out of the conflict of labour and capital. (Cheers.) In order to explain to you and illustrate the extent of the commission I will recite to you the powers to be given to the commissioners. They will have power to enquire and report on the subject of labour, its relation to capital, the hours of labour and the earnings of labouring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity, and of developing the productive industries of the Dominion so as to advance and improve the trade and commerce of Canada; also to enquire and report on the practical operation of arbitration and conciliation in the settlement of disputes between employers and employees. Also to enquire and report as to the expediency of placing all such matters as are to form the subjects of the enquiry under the administration of one of the Ministers of the Crown who will be specially charged with the great and important questions relating to trade and commerce—in other words, to appoint a Minister of Trade and Commerce, who will have under his charge and supervision all the numerous and important questions that arise, directly or indirectly, concerning trade and commerce, and in doing so to carry out the results of the enquiry we are about to make under this Royal commission. On it will

#### BE PLACED WORKINGMEN,

not mere amateur workmen but real artizans working at their trade, who will bring practical knowledge and long experience in their various employments to the assistance of the Government in the solution of these great and important questions. (Cheers.)

#### ASSISTED IMMIGRATION.

Some objection has been taken to the operation of the system heretofore in force as to assisting immigrants. The Government have come to the conclusion either to cease granting such aid altogether, or to confine it to agricultural labourers and domestic servants actually settling in Manitoba and the North-West, and becoming consumers of the manufactures of the older provinces.

I know I have wearied you, (Cries of no, no.) I have addressed you as a

#### SERIOUS AND EARNEST MAN

addressing an assembly of serious and earnest men on subjects of first importance to our common welfare. (Cheers.) I have confined myself, as you see, to the important questions affecting labour and capital. Other speakers will follow me and deal with other subjects, but I have one important request to make. I have one thing to urge upon our Conservative friends, our Conservative workingmen, and especially upon our Conservative Associations. That is not to rest upon their oars—not to be satisfied with the goodness of their cause. Vigilance is the price of freedom, and vigilance is the price of political success. You

must organize and continue organized. You must not be satisfied with large meetings or small meetings. You must not be satisfied with coming to certain conclusions yourselves, and say "I shall vote according to those principles and conclusions." You must agitate together and work together, for I believe from the bottom of my heart that the prosperity of this country depends upon the continuance in power, of men who will carry out the principles I have enunciated. (Cheers.) I ask you not to sleep on your posts, but show as before that you are conscious of your responsibilities. I implore you, as you value the future of Canada, to work earnestly and unitedly, to allow no jealousies, sectional or racial, to arise. You must resolve to support the men whom the majority select as the exponents of those principles you approve, and if you act in that manner a certain, a glorious triumph is ensured, and with that triumph you will secure all the advantages which the correctness of our principles consistently maintained are sure to give. (Prolonged cheering.)

