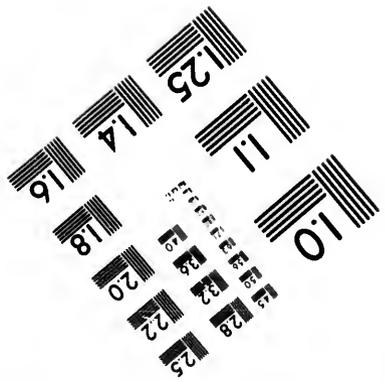
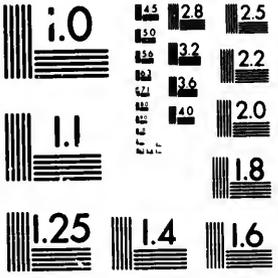


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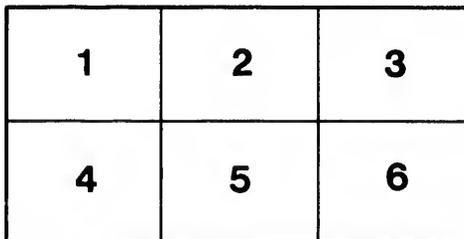
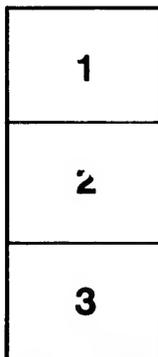
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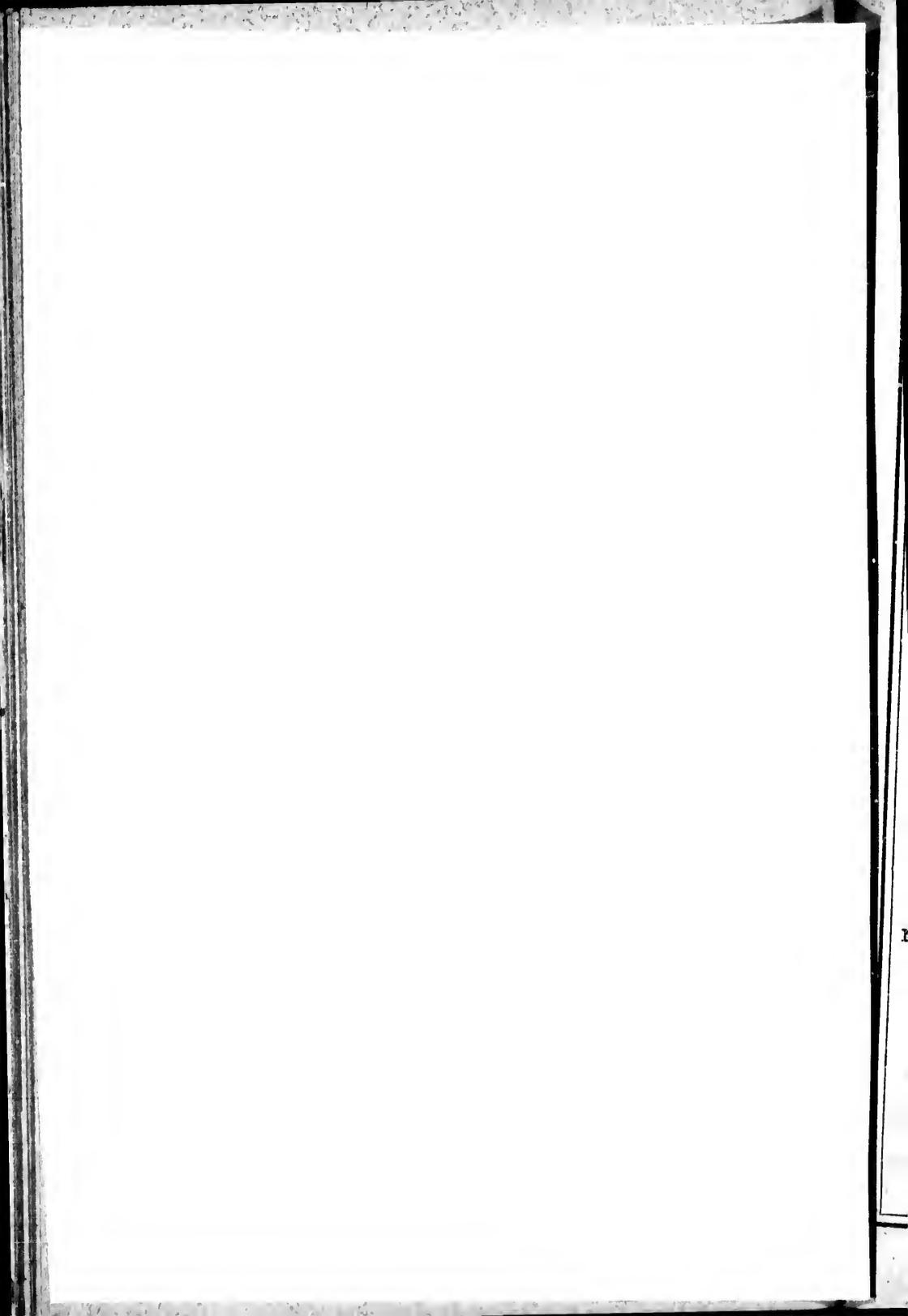
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DOMINION ELECTION.

CAMPAIGN OF 1886.

Hon. Edward Blake's Speeches.

No. 9 (First Series).

(WINGHAM)—Blake's Tribute to Mackenzie.

(STAYNER)—Blake's Tribute to Sir Richard Cartwright.

(BRANTFORD)—Blake's Tribute to Paterson—Duty of Young Men.

NOTE.—See Inside Cover for List of Mr. Blake's Speeches in first Series. Apply to W. T. R. Preston, Reform Club, Toronto, for Copies of these Speeches.

Toronto:

HUNTER, ROSE & CO., PRINTERS.

1886.

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- No. 1.—(LONDON): General Review of Situation. Riel Question.
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- No. 2.—(BEAVERTON): Independence of Parliament. The Boodle Brigade.
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(BELLEVILLE): Burden of Public Debt—The Interest on Debt.
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- No. 8.—(NEWCASTLE): Canadian Pacific Railroad Matters.
(LISTOWEL): Canadian Pacific Railroad Matters—The last Sacrifice of \$10,000,000—Collapse of Tory "Boom" Policy.
(ST. THOMAS): North-West Lands.
(HUNTSVILLE): R.R. Policy—Sir John's Subsidies to "Guinea-Pig" Directors—Assisted Immigration and Railway Frauds.
(PARRY SOUND): Railway Policy of Liberals.
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- No. 10.—(WELLAND): Liberal Party, Creeds and Classes.
(ORILLIA): Leaders and Newspapers—The "Mail" Crusade.
- No. 11.—(AYLMER): Prohibition and Politics.
- No. 12.—(TORONTO): Interests of Labour—The Tariff.
(WELLAND): To Knights of Labour.
(BELLEVILLE): Legislation for Labour.
(DESERONTO): Workingmen and Parties.
(HAMILTON): Workingmen and Parties.
- No. 13.—(HAMILTON): Provincial Issues—The Religious Cry—Liberals and Catholics.
- No. 14.—(LINDSAY): North-West Affairs—Neglect, Delay and Mismanagement—Race and Creed Cries.

The Calumniators of Mr. Mackenzie.

HOW THEY VILIFIED HIM.

They accused him of Dishonesty. Now they laud him for Purity. But Gerrymandered his Constituency.

"THANK GOD, MR. MACKENZIE'S REPUTATION DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE COMMENDATIONS OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD."

Hon. Edward Blake in his speech at Wingham, after some preliminary remarks, said:—

We public men, who from time to time have occupied the leading positions in the Liberal party, while we are indebted to our friends and supporters for generous expression of sympathy and confidence such as have been accorded me to-day, have not, I think, as a rule, while still entrusted with the discharge of the foremost duty, received from our political opponents that measure of fair play and just consideration which we had the right to expect. I dare say there are here in this meeting, seeing that the riding is very equally divided—I hope there are here, a good many Conservatives; I always like to see them at my meetings. My anxiety, in truth, is rather greater to get within reach of those on the other side than to reach my own friends. If a man believes he is speaking the truth, if he thinks he has a message to give, he ought to wish to reach the ears of those opposed to him, and through their ears to reach their minds and hearts. (Loud cheers.) To them I speak, and say that the public life of our country has been injured by the system of

FALSE AND CALUMNIOUS ATTACK

which has been adopted towards the Liberal leaders. A friend of mine at the opening of the London Young Liberal Club last night, said there was a time at which the Liberal leaders always received a tribute of respect from the Tory leaders, and that was when they were no longer in the forefront of the fight; but just so long as they were conducting the party they had been and

would be exposed to unjust and unfounded attack. (Cheers.)
Will you allow me to take the

PROMINENT AND STRIKING EXAMPLE

of our respected friend, Mr. Mackenzie. You have not forgotten the storm of abuse and calumny which was hurled against Mr. Mackenzie for the many years during which he was our leader. Not merely was he charged with incapacity; he was charged with dishonesty, corruption, disgraceful conduct utterly unworthy of a public man. Let me give you some examples. Not examples from newspapers, not examples from the rank and file, examples from the lips of a man of no less prominence than the leader of the Conservative party himself, the present Prime Minister of Canada. You recollect the election of 1872, when Mr. Mackenzie occupied the double position of Treasurer of Ontario in the Reform Government, of which I was First Minister, and of leader of the Liberal party in the Canadian Parliament. At Lindsay Sir John said, during that election:—

“He did not doubt that large sums had been raised as a corruption fund among persons interested in timber licenses under the Ontario Government, or by other such means. Already a case had been made out against them which would demand legislation of the most stringent kind * * * These matters would undoubtedly come before Parliament at its next session.

There is a distinct, positive, direct charge against Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues in the Government of Ontario of a corrupt use for election purposes of the public domain, and a pledge that the matter would be brought before Parliament at the next session. Next session came; many other sessions have followed it

SIR JOHN HAS BEEN CHALLENGED

to bring forward his proof; but I need not tell you he has never redeemed his pledge.

In Toronto in the same year he said:

“Mr. Mackenzie had gone down to Nova Scotia and made a corrupt bargain with Mr. Annand by which he was to aid in getting \$84,000 for the Provincial Building at Halifax, on condition that the Government of Nova Scotia was to act against the Government of the Dominion.”

There is another charge of corruption. At Kingston, for which city Sir John Macdonald was then standing, the report of the nomination proceedings is thus:—

“Mr. Britton followed, and during his speech Sir John, who appeared to be much excited, walked over to Mr. Carruthers and accused him of some discreditable oil speculation, which Mr. Carruthers denied. Sir John then repeated the accusation and intimated that he could prove that Mr. Carruthers was implicated in an oil swindle in company with the Hon. A. Mackenzie.

"Mr. Carruthers denied the charge in forcible language.

"Sir John gave him a back-handed slap in the face, and attempted to take him by the throat before Mr. Carruthers could retaliate."

Shortly afterwards at Sarnia, in Mr. Mackenzie's own riding, these gentlemen met, and Mr. Mackenzie speaking before Sir John is thus reported :—

"He was going to call Sir John Macdonald his friend as formerly, but until the hon. gentleman retracted a certain expression he had used on the hustings at Kingston he would not do so.

"Sir J. M.—I certainly will not retract it.

"Mr. M. said he defied the hon. gentleman to prove it, and until he did so or withdrew it he would treat him as a slanderer.

"Sir J. M.—Everybody knows it in this part of the country."

So you see Sir John declined to retract and equally declined

THE IMPOSSIBLE TASK OF PROOF.

Shortly afterwards Sir John Macdonald spoke thus :—

"He (Mr. Mackenzie) had been tried in that capacity (*i.e.* as a Minister) and he (Sir John) had no hesitation in saying that the Government to which Mr. Mackenzie belonged was more false, more faithless and more corrupt than any Government that ever existed in Canada. (Great cheering.)

"Some years since a Bill had been introduced in Parliament by Mr. Mackenzie, who had been the exponent and touter of a ring to rob the Indians, by which a number of old claims by tavern-keepers and others against the poor Indians had been revived and made valid. That Bill had nearly passed into law, but the truth had been declared by Mr. Morris, now the Chief Justice of Manitoba. He (Sir John) had the authority of Mr. Morris, who was a man of honour, for stating that Mr. Mackenzie walked across the floor of the House, and shaking his fist in Mr. Morris' face, had said he would never forgive him for it.

"Mr. Mackenzie (from the back of the platform)—That is a lie.

"Sir John Macdonald said he had not got through yet. That man, who was the leader of the Opposition, and who ought to have some respect for himself, had been the chairman of the Printing Committee and the touter and paid servant of Messrs. Hunter, Rose & Co. It was Mr. T. R. Ferguson who had caught him and exposed him. Then, coming down a little further, Mr. Mackenzie had come out as the touter of a petroleum ring in order to raise the price of oil. The secret of the bargain between him and the oil kings he (Sir John) did not know, but this he did know, that he had urged upon Sir John Rose, at that time Finance Minister, the imposition of an excise duty upon petroleum, and he had sold himself deliberately for that price. (Cheers and counter cheers.) He (Sir John) went on to charge the Government of the Province with using its powers corruptly by granting silver lands in Western Canada in return for assistance at these elections. This would be proved before a committee of the House during the next session of Parliament. (Cheers.) If it were the case, then he would ask whether Mr. Mackenzie was a proper man to represent the constituency of Lambton? (Loud cries of no and yes.)

Well, I felt bound, when charges of this nature were being hurled against my friend and colleague from one end of the country to the other, to express my opinions, and in South Bruce I did so. I prefer to quote rather than to summarize my words. This is what I said :—

“ I have been connected for five years in the House of Commons, and for the last year in the Local Legislature as well, with my friend Mr. Alexander Mackenzie—(hear, hear)—who has throughout taken a leading part in Opposition in the House of Commons up to this time, and has assumed office with me in the Local Legislature. Mr. Mackenzie has been more intimately thrown together with me for the last five years than, perhaps, with any other public man. Our intercourse has been most constant, cordial, and unrestrained; and there is nothing in my public life to which I can refer as having given me pain—and there are many circumstances which have given me pain—which does not sink into insignificance at the pain which I have felt at the unjust observations and gross attacks which have been made upon my friend on recent occasions. I have this to say, that when I was called upon to form a Government, I felt it necessary in the interests of the country that my hands should be strengthened by my friend taking office with me, and the greatest difficulty that I found in the formation of that Government was to persuade Mr. Mackenzie to assume the position he now so worthily fills, of Treasurer of Ontario. Not that he was unwilling—he had always been willing—to make any sacrifice in his power for the sake of his country, and of that party with which he felt the great interests of the country were identified, but that his own views of his public duty led him to hesitate. He offered his support to the Government outside the Cabinet, but he desired that I would not ask him to take office, and it was with the utmost reluctance that he had at length consented. I have found him the truest and most faithful of friends and colleagues. Efforts have been made by the adversary to weaken his position in the Legislature at Ottawa, and observations have gone abroad with reference to my relations with him, which have given great pain to me. It has been said that I am desirous of withdrawing from the Local Legislature, in order to obtain a leading position in the Commons. My only desire is to go there to assist my friend Mr. Mackenzie, as his faithful supporter in the future, as I trust I have been in the past. I have no ambition to be any other thing than a private member of Parliament. I believe in party government. I am a party man, and belong to a party to which I intend to stick as long as it carries out its principles. My personal desire has always been to act in the ranks, and along with the ranks of that party, and in no other or more prominent capacity; and in that position I shall find myself if returned to the House of Commons on a future occasion; and I have told my friends that whether on the left hand or on the right hand of the Speaker, my place must be in the ranks. I have to say to you and to my countrymen generally, that of all the public men whom I have met—and I have observed, I hope, not unfairly but closely, the men of both sides—I know no man of equal diligence, of equal self-sacrifice, of greater integrity, of a nicer sense of public and private virtue, no man more sternly devoted to the cause which he in his conscience believed to be right, and more willingly and incessantly lending his ever effort to the success of that cause, than my friend Mr. Mackenzie, whom we are all proud to acknowledge as one of the most prominent public men in the Dominion of Canada, and for whose good and great qualities my own admiration has been intensified by time.”

* * * * *

In the fall of the same year I dealt with the general subject thus:—

“ I have been subjected, like my friends, to a sort of political warfare of the most unwarranted description. I have seen by the press that Sir John Macdonald has stooped to say, ‘ Why, look at my Government, were ever such charges made against my Government as are made against these men ? ’

The more shame to him ! It is the boast of the Liberal party that they do not make charges which they cannot substantiate. It is to the shame of Sir John Macdonald that foundationless charges, which, if true, would have been enough to damn the fair fame of any public man, should have been made against my colleagues and myself, not one of which has hurt us in the slightest degree. A general policy of slander, such as has been adopted by Sir John Macdonald and his organs, must be repudiated by the respectable people of this country, if they expect respectable men to remain in public life."

Not long after, we attained power, and Mr. Mackenzie became Prime Minister, and

THE STORM OF CALUMNY

was raging still. The old tales were repeated and new ones invented. There was the Goderich Harbour affair, with respect to which Sir John Macdonald, having during the recess made violent charges, in Parliament used these words:—

... "The Prime Minister was informed by Mr. Stirton that Mr. Tolton was a good, competent, and wealthy man, and that his sureties were men of wealth. The hon. gentleman possessed that information, but he did not convey it to Mr. Page, who was wandering in ignorance all the time."
 . . . "The difficulty experienced by Mr. Page with regard to Mr. Tolton would have been at once removed if the hon. the Premier had handed over a telegram he had received from Mr. Stirton. Why were those circumstances withheld from Mr. Page? It was difficult to understand why Mr. Moore should be favoured. The letter written by the hon. the Minister of Justice was highly creditable to him—it was a letter which Mr. Moore had a right to ask from him. Mr. Moore supported the hon. the Minister of Justice, as a candidate for North Bruce, in 1867. He was, therefore, a friend of the hon. gentleman, and had a right to receive a letter stating all the hon. gentleman could honestly state. The hon. the Minister of Justice was not in any way personally responsible for the loss of those \$29,000 to the country. . . . "The hon. the Minister of Public Works was justly chargeable with having given a contractor \$29,000 more than the sum for which another competent man would have executed the work. He submitted the case to the House as it appeared from the papers submitted, and he held that no hon. member could honestly say that under the circumstances Mr. Tolton should not have received the contract. . . . With regard to the statement he (Sir John Macdonald) had made that the Department had acted with undue favour towards some of his own friends, there was one instance; it had been shown that Mr. Moore was a political friend, and that no doubt \$29,000 had been lost to the country, and before the session closed he would feel it his duty to submit to the House other cases of a similar character. The House and the country could come to no other conclusion than that \$29,000 of the public money had been thrown away.

You recollect the charge with reference to the steel rails—the charge that Mr. Mackenzie had made a bargain, not merely bad, but with corrupt motives, to favour a relative; you recollect the charges of favouritism and wrong with regard to the Fort William town site and the Neebing Hotel, and others which it would be tedious to detail. This—this was the course pursued while Mr. Mackenzie

was our leader ; but now that, unhappily for his party and unhappily for the country, our friend is rather laid aside by illness ; now that the condition of his general health and the feebleness of his voice prevents him from taking as prominent and effective a part in the conduct of public affairs as in former days, now, forsooth, they acknowledge that these charges were false and calumnious. Sir John Macdonald, for example, at London the other day, declared that Mr. Mackenzie was, and is an honest man, and that he acted to the best of his judgment. So say they all now !

THANK GOD, MR. MACKENZIE'S REPUTATION DOES NOT DEPEND ON
THE COMMENDATIONS OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD.

He is gratified, no doubt, at those avowals, and doubtless he also understands, as you do, and despises, as you do, the motive which prompts his former slanderers to-day. The motive is palpable, and it is as mean as it is palpable. I have had to answer once or twice the charges or insinuations against me which generally accompany these encomiums and retractions.

I will read you the answer I gave Sir John Macdonald in Parliament in 1881, and which I repeat to-day :—

“ I have borne in silence, from an anxiety not to trouble the House with personal observations, from a feeling that a man who takes a leading part must endure in silence a great many aspersions, the insinuations which from time to time have been made by the hon. gentleman's followers on that topic. But a sensible man—to compare great things with very small ones—who, passing through the village streets, finds himself assailed by a pack of village dogs, will not, of course, turn round and heed their barking at his heels. While he takes that attitude towards the pack, if the master of the pack assails him he may be well entitled to answer his challenge.

“ Sir, I have to say with regard to the hon. gentleman's statement that I supplanted the hon. member for Lambton in the office of leader of the Liberal party which I now occupy, that that statement could not within his knowledge be true, and that it possesses in itself not one particle of foundation. I am not about to enter into lengthy details, but my views with respect to positions of leadership or of place and power are tolerably well known to all who are good enough to interest themselves in my public career, and are best known to those who know me best ; and they know well that I have never invited any position of that kind ; that on the contrary, I have always shunned it ; that I assumed this position with the utmost reluctance, and, if I had the wishing-cap of Fortunatus for one moment, the wish I would use it to accomplish would be that the path of honour and duty might lead me to retire from this position. But, sir, while that is so, and while the only thing that abates my desire to see hon. gentlemen opposite defeated, is the reflection that their defeat would involve my accession to office, I will use it, so long as I am entrusted with a position of influence such as I now occupy, with a desire to effect some share of good for the country in which I live. It is but the hope that I may to some extent increase the happiness and advance the prosperity of my countrymen that nerves me to my task.”

I wish, however, that these fair words of our opponents were accompanied by a little measure of fair deeds. Whatever they

say, they do not act in the same way. They first gerrymandered the riding of East York, the chosen constituency of Mr. Mackenzie. They failed to win. Then they Morganized that gerrymandered riding under the infamous Franchise Act. And now they are trying to Boultbody the riding! They are seeking not merely to defeat Mr. Mackenzie, but to defeat him by Alfred Boultbody! But for this they must have the consent of the electors, and in that gerrymandered and Morganized constituency I have every reason to believe there is left an

AMPLE RESERVE OF PUBLIC SPIRIT

to assure us a victory. I rejoice to see that our friend has accepted the nomination, and I read the other day, as I am sure you did, with emotion the brief but patriotic speech he made to the Convention. The circumstances were moving. They reminded me of the lines the poet puts in the mouth of an old hero and statesman, speaking to his comrades in his declining years :

Though much is taken much abides ; and though
 We are not now that strength which in old days
 Moved earth and heaven, that which we are we are ;
 One equal temper of heroic hearts,
 Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will,
 To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield !

(Loud cheers.) I am sure we all wish for him a grand success in his contest against the arbitrary, unconstitutional and improper course of the Conservative party, directed to his defeat. I am glad to observe by a western paper that the new departure of the MAIL is to include a declaration in favour of Mr. Mackenzie. (Laughter.) It would be a disgrace to East York and to Canada if Alfred Boultbody should be elected over the head of such a man. (Cheers.) I have heard from various quarters in the riding, and I believe it to be true, that many Conservatives have declared their intention of voting for our friend. He will be elected ; his country will have the benefit of the important services he can yet give without impairing further the strength which he has already overtaxed in his country's cause. (Cheers.) I have thought it well to give you this little history of the conduct of the Conservative party towards a leader of the Liberal party, and I would ask you Conservatives who may be here whether you regard this as worthy conduct ? I ask you Reformers who may be here to remember, in other cases and under other circumstances, when you hear charges hurled at those whom at the moment you have placed in the forefront of the battle, to remember these instances I have brought before you. Remember that for these many long years the leaders of the Liberal party

for the time being have been met with calumnies, which, in this case as in others, have after a long interval been acknowledged to be foundationless. Remember this, and call for proof and unquestionable proof before you allow your allegiance to be in the least shaken by the false accusers who have acted in such an unworthy way, and who have so lately confessed their shame. (Cheers.)

The Eminent Services of Sir Richard Cartwright.

At Stayner MR. BLAKE said:—

I did not know that you had a prophet in Stayner. (Laughter.) Sir John Macdonald said before the election of 1882 that there was nothing so uncertain as an election except a horse race. (Renewed laughter.) But your chairman seems to know quite well what the result of the election is going to be. He is wiser than I am, though I believe he is right. But this much is clear—the result of the election will depend largely upon the degree of exertion put forward by those not merely in the lead, but in the rank and file of the Liberal party. You have the fate of the election largely in your own hands, and you and I must keep that in mind from this time until the elections are over. We have

A PLAIN DUTY TO DISCHARGE—

to do our best to win, in the hope and belief, strengthened and encouraged by the signs of the times, that our course being just and righteous it will be crowned with victory; and thus believing, if we do our best we shall, even at the worst, have nothing for which to blame ourselves; but, I repeat, we stand to win. (Cheers.) The chairman has alluded in terms of deserved praise to my able colleagues. We have in the ranks of our party many strong men, who are doing their very best, co-operating strenuously with their unworthy leader in the effort to set matters in their true light before the electorate, and to guide Canada to a brighter career than that which has been her fortune lately. We have upon the platform some of these able men. We have elsewhere numbers who, at a considerable sacrifice of time, ease, and money, are devoting themselves to the public cause. (Applause.) I shall not name these men, their names are familiar in your

mouths as household words. I will refer to only one of them particularly, an especial aversion of the Conservative party,

SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT—

(loud cheers)—with regard to whom they seem to have some particular grievance, because, years ago, when the Reform party were in a minority in Parliament, with little prospect of its early conversion into a majority, he, from motives of conviction most honourable to himself, left the Tory ranks, came over to us, and assisted in the accomplishment of the triumph, which, a few years later, we realized. The Tories feel that his example is a dangerous one, and ever since he has been the subject of violent attack, upon all possible occasions. The favourite story just now is that he is being deserted by his friends, the Reformers, who will not offer him a constituency. (Laughter.) Sir R. Cartwright is not a man to whom a seat in Parliament, however honourable, is essential. He has in the course of his public duty made many sacrifices of private, personal and family interests. He has work to do in the world, whether he be in Parliament or not. He has more than once suggested to me a temporary retirement as convenient to him personally, but I have strongly opposed any such plan. I hope and trust that the Reformers of Ontario will consider it their duty and privilege to provide him with a seat, and a safe seat, too; in one of the hives, as they are called; not because he is not one of our strongest combatants, but just because he is one whose services I want throughout the constituencies during the stress of the general election, so that instead of fighting the battle in some one riding, he may fight at large all along the line, as I do myself on these occasions. (Cheers.) I have this only to say—

DO NOT BELIEVE THE STORIES

you read of there being any lack of accord between the Reformers and Sir Richard Cartwright. He has done great service to the Liberal cause, and he is capable of doing more. He has great claims upon us. (Loud applause.) We are not ungrateful. We recognize those services and those claims—(cheers)—and we know that what he has done in the past will be more than equalled by his performance in the future.

An election is going on to-day for the county of Haldimand. The date of this election, as compared with that of Chambly, emphasizes what I must call the

INDECENY OF THE CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT

in this regard. Many months ago, early last session, all our hearts

were filled with sadness by the death of Mr. Thompson, who had represented Haldimand for many years. The writ was moved and the Speaker's warrant ordered. It duly issued. But the law devolves the duty upon the Government of naming the returning officer and the date of election. That duty they did not discharge, and the writ therefore could not be issued. Dr. Landerkin asked the Government why the instructions had not been given. They asked for time, once and again. After a week's pressure Sir John Macdonald gave the answer. He said that a large number of persons had been lately accorded the right of franchise, that the rolls were being made up and would shortly be completed, that there was no pressing necessity for an election, as the member could not be returned before the end of the session, and that it would be an injustice, an insult to the new electorate who were not yet in a position to vote, the rolls not having been made up, to press on the election. He therefore proposed to delay the writ, and said that if his opinion were challenged, he would ask the House to agree to

SUSPEND THE ISSUE OF THE WRIT.

I felt that there was reason for that view, though it was inconvenient, and perhaps a strain on the constitution. True, the new electors were mainly Indians, wards of Sir John Macdonald, but yet I did not like the idea of the new electors, whatever their views might be, being deprived of the right to vote. I therefore did not resist the view that the election should stand, and the House thus adopted the principle of the Government without dissent. But some months later the Government appointed the

MEMBER FOR CHAMBLY

to an office which had practically been vacant for many months, if not for years, and *they immediately issued the writ for Chambly*. The new lists were just about completed; the new electorate was just about to acquire its title; the circumstances were the same as in Haldimand, only more glaring, because the issue of the writ in Chambly was hurried on, while in Haldimand, where a vacancy had existed for months, it was delayed. I ask Conservatives—because I appeal to Conservatives as well as to Reformers, believing that among them are men willing to consider these things on the principles of fair play and even-handed justice—what consistency is there in this? I ask whether this is even-handed justice and fair play; whether it is consistent with the declaration made in the case of Haldimand; the pledge made in the case of Haldimand; the principle laid down in the case of

Haldimand; the line of action agreed to in the case of Haldimand; that the Government should use their power—for they are supreme when Parliament is not in session—to spring an election in another county on the old lists, postponing the election in Haldimand for the new lists, just because they knew that the added vote would be unfavourable to them in one case, and would be in their favour in the other? (Cheers.)

IS THAT FAIR PLAY?

Is it not clear that the Government which is appointed in this respect to act for all the people, not for one party, but for both, is prostituting its power, and degrading its trust to base party purposes? (Cheers.) The election in Haldimand is going on to-day, and a great factor in the election is the vote of the Indians. You are aware that the Reformers objected to the Franchise Bill very strongly, and amongst other things, because it conferred the vote upon the unemancipated Indians. Our position on that question has been grossly mis-stated. We, as Reformers and Liberals could not but be anxious that all worthy, capable, and really free citizens should have the franchise. That is a fundamental principle of ours. Nor could we be otherwise than sympathetic with the Indian, the original possessor of the soil, and anxious for his elevation and advancement. Our main objection is this—that the Indian is not yet emancipated, that the laws are such as leave him in a state of tutelage, that he is not, as you voters are, a free man, but that he is largely under the control of the Government of the day, through the medium of the Chief Superintendent, who in this case is the First Minister himself; and *we contend that so long as the Government keep him in such an inferior position, so long it is not fitting for him or for the community that he should have nominally, what in many cases he will not have really, the rights that belong to the ordinary citizen; so long it is not proper to give him what you call the Franchise, but what is not really in his case a franchise.*

WHAT DOES FRANCHISE MEAN?

It means freedom, the right to give a free and independent vote. To enjoy that right you must be a free and independent man, you must be truly a citizen, and so long as you are under tutelage, and a ward of the Government, the franchise is no boon to you. It is something you may be able to sell, something you may be able to barter away, something you may exchange for the hope of the favour of your guardian and protector and controller, but it is not a real boon to you; it neither elevates you nor profits the community at large. The Chief Superintendent is to the Indians their

guide and guardian, the dispenser of bounty from the general funds in case there be sickness or distress. He may give them money or goods if he finds they need them. He controls their lands and the titles under which they hold them, and changes in title require his consent. How free would you consider yourself if there were an officer of the Government whom you were obliged to consult before you could mortgage your property or sell it? (Cheers.)

THE SUPERINTENDENT-GENERAL'S CONSENT

is required to validate an Indian's will, which would be valid were he a white. He has control of the guardianship of their children. His consent is necessary to their enfranchisement. For it is recognized by the law that the Indian is not now enfranchised, and there is provision in the Indian Advancement Act by which he may be enfranchised and placed in something like the position of a white citizen. After long and careful probation, after the Superintendent-General consents, and after a time of three years' trial, if after all that he is found worthy, he may acquire some, but some only, of those rights which you and I have now. The Superintendent-General's assent to the by-laws of their Council is necessary to their validity; he

DISQUALIFIES AND REMOVES

their councillors. If he thinks a councillor, though elected, is not fit to occupy that position, he turns him out. What would you think of your degree of freedom if, after you had elected a township councillor, a member of the Government should have the power to say, "I don't think this man a good councillor, he is not fit to occupy the position, I turn him out"? (Cheers and laughter.) The Superintendent-General is the man who does all this and much more for the Indians; they call him in many parts their "father." (Loud laughter.) And they consider him the representative of their "great Mother," the Queen. Of course we know that in truth that representative is the Governor-General, who is above and beyond parties, but these people are told by some of their guides that they are to regard Sir John as their "father," their great chief, and the representative of the "great Mother." Many of them cannot read, and for these the ballot is no protection at all, because they must be assisted in marking their ballot, and it must be known how they vote. And just remember the Indian agent, who is the legal representative of the Superintendent-General, through whose mouth he speaks, by whom he communicates his will, who is the embodiment of his authority, who is at the elbow of the Indian all the year round; and consider the influences under which the dependent and illiterate In-

dian will vote. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) In the report of Sir John Macdonald, made two or three years ago, he declared that he had issued circulars to all his officers to ascertain whether the Indians were fit for some rudimentary form of municipal government as a training for the full status of free men. He did not lay the replies before us, but he gave us a summary in a few lines of his report. He declared emphatically that

THEY WERE NOT FIT

for even the most rudimentary form of self-government. And these men whom he so declared unfit for the first step toward freedom, he now makes, not independent voters, but largely *his* voters by the law. (Great cheering.) And this further declaration he made in his report—that there is but one way of elevating the young Indians—and that is to undertake their entire training, and to separate them from their parents and their homes. The home and parental influence, he thinks, are fatal to advancement; but if they can be taken away from their parents and homes, and kept in the schools they will probably progress. This is not my doctrine, mind you. No doubt the Tory papers will say it is I who said these things. This is a

STATEMENT MADE BY SIR JOHN MACDONALD

in his report, and I call upon you to judge how far those can be qualified to exercise the franchise, the best hope of whose children is, according to the First Minister, that they should be taken from the home and influence of the parent? (Loud and prolonged cheering.) I do not say that all the Indians are unfit by their conduct to be voters. *I believe there are Indians who are fairly advanced in education, intelligent, industrious, provident, progressive, and discharging the duties of parentage creditably. But almost all are unemancipated, and of the condition of the bulk I have only the Superintendent-General's report to judge from, and I have told you what he says. It was only last night that, speaking at a missionary meeting in Toronto, Sir John Macdonald, referring to the British Columbia Indians, inflicted upon those of the East a great slur. He declared that the British Columbia Indians were of a superior strain, because they had in them an admixture of Mongolian blood. Thus they were superior to the Indians of the Territories and of the Eastern Provinces. But we have declared by an Act of Parliament that the Mongolian is not fit to vote, that, in fact, he is not fit to live in Canada at all. (Loud laughter.) The Mongolian is good enough forsooth to improve the strain of the British Columbia Indian blood, but the*

Eastern Indians, whose blood is not so improved, are made voters, while neither the Mongolians nor the British Columbia Indians, whose blood they have improved, are deemed fit to vote. (Loud and prolonged laughter and applause.) Under these circumstances, then, so far as the Indian is concerned, the polling in Haldimand is proceeding. But many of the Indians are

NOT UNOBSERVANT FOLLOWERS

of those affairs which affect their own race, and their own blood, and, besides, the Indians have seen the general demeanour and attitude of local Liberals, and of the Liberal party in regard to their concerns. The Indian doubts the boon offered to him by the Government, and he does not relish the management of the North-West, and *it has been found that the Indian vote is not as safe, even in Haldimand, as the Government expected it would be.* We all expect the Government will poll a large majority of the Indian vote. Under existing circumstances the Indians would be more than human if they did not largely so vote. I cannot greatly blame the Indians, under those circumstances, for giving the Government a large majority of their votes. But they will not poll them all. (Loud cheers.) The Government supporters must have come to the conclusion that they were not going to poll them all—they must have found that all was not going as they expected—for the great father, chief, and councillor, the guide and guardian, the great authority of the Indians,

THE SUPERINTENDENT-GENERAL HIMSELF,

just two days before the election goes—not into Haldimand, indeed, that would be, perhaps, a little too indecent—but goes to the borders of the county into the Indian reserve in the county of Brant, adjoining the Haldimand reserve, to hold a great pow-wow. (Derisive cheers and laughter.) That it had something to do with the Haldimand election I will show you upon good authority. I have here the newspaper report in the *Mail* of September 4th, headed “Sir John among the Indians,” and stating that “the Indians in Haldimand are greatly pleased at Sir John’s forthcoming visit to the Six Nations.” On September 6th the visit was paid, Sir John Macdonald went out in company with Mr. Robert Henry, ex-Mayor of Brantford, a leading Conservative light in that city, Mr. J. J. Hawkins, who is called “ex-M.P.P.,” a well-known Conservative just now, and Mr. Thomas Elliott, who is described as President of the North Brant Conservative Association. So you see the political character of the gathering; that it was as a politician the Superintendent-General went, if

we are to "judge a man by the company he keeps." (Laughter.)
The report of the *World* says:—

"Sir John, the chiefs, and the leading warriors, and bucks of the tribe afterwards entered the Council House, where a three hours' conference was held with closed doors. No whites were admitted."

NO WHITES WERE ADMITTED

—except Sir John. (Great laughter.) You see that the affair was carried out in just such a way as to most impress the minds of these people with his power, and to combine that power which the law gives him as the head of the Indian Department, to be used in the general interest, with his power and position as the leader of a great party. And all this was accentuated by the time at which he came and by the holding of a secret conference with these people, during which he tried to influence their feelings. (Cheers.) If I had wanted further proof of the impropriety of giving the vote to the Indian, while he is a dependent of the Chief Superintendent, I care not whether the officer who guides him be Reform or Conservative, I could not have asked for more than this proceeding just before polling day. This election is a desperate struggle, and the result will be to the last moment uncertain. I am willing to believe that it was not without some qualms of conscience, some feelings of reluctance, that the Chief Superintendent so timed his visit as to make it plain he was seeking the votes of his wards—of those wards whom he declared three years ago not fit to enter even the most rudimentary form of self-government—that the Chief Superintendent did what his own officers are by law forbidden to do as improper practices vitiating the election. It shows you, as other things do, the desperate character of the struggle in which, holding the Indian vote of 125 as against a majority of 126 gained by the Liberal candidate at the last election, together with other influences, to some of which I shall allude, the Government hopes to snatch a victory. I hope differently. I believe against all odds we shall win. (Loud and prolonged applause.) But I call on you Reformers to remember that a defeat of the Opposition in a bye-election held under present circumstances is no index of the result of a general election. The Government has enormous advantages over the Opposition. They can pour in unlimited forces, as they have done; they can ply every method of gaining votes, as they have done; they can point to the complexion of the Parliament; they can promise favours. But

AT THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

all will be different. Sir John Macdonald cannot be on every reserve; the Great Chief cannot be everywhere to direct the votes of his "children" in a general election. (Great cheering.) We shall meet in other ways than on more even ground. It is only under special circumstances that the efforts they have put forth in Haldimand can be repeated, and therefore I say that, believing as I do, that the main tide and current of popular opinion is setting all our way, we are not to be discouraged if there should happen some eddy or backflow in an elbow of the river. No! we are to go straight onward, knowing that if we fight an even battle to-day under such circumstances as attend this contest, our ultimate victory in the struggle is assured. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I agree with your chairman as to the time of the elections.

WHEN THE FRANCHISE ACT WAS PROPOSED I STATED THAT AN ELECTION SHOULD FOLLOW THE COMPLETION OF THE LISTS.

At the opening of last session I expressed my wish for an early appeal to the people; and the other day in the east I explained that when a large addition had been made to the electorate, it was essential that at the earliest moment that an appeal to the people should take place so that the new electorate might have the opportunity to speak. I cared not whether they were for or against my views. *The constitutional rule is that the Parliament, which has been elected by a constituency which has been condemned as too narrow, has fulfilled its functions as soon as the incoming and enlarged electorate is in a position to vote, and should be forthwith dismissed.* But the Tories don't say so. They are not going upon that general principle. They reserve to themselves the power of acting as they may determine to be best in their party interest. They think they control absolutely the prerogative which was given for the public benefit and not for their own; and they will use it for their own advantage. "We won't say," they virtually tell us, "that we think that on the general and public grounds you state there ought to be an election." Because if they did they would be compelled to act on a view which might be very inconvenient. (Laughter.) If they think the time is not suitable for them as a party they will hold the election over until next year, but if they think their chances are good now, we shall doubtless have the election and a great deal of talk about the new electorate being represented. There is no power of the Government which is given them except

FOR THE PUBLIC ADVANTAGE,

but that with the Tories is synonymous with Tory advantage. (Laughter.) We fight the battle under great disadvantages in many ways, but we shall fight with good heart, confident in the good cause, and in the good sense and patriotism of the people. (Great applause.)

 REPLY TO INDIAN ADDRESS.

Honour in Politics—The Representative of South Brant in the Commons—Fitting Tribute to Mr. Paterson.

The following is the introductory portion of the speech of Hon. EDWARD BLAKE at Brantford:—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, allow me in the first place to return my thanks to the members of the Six Nations and Mississaugas for the address with which they have honoured me. I can assure them I have received it with great interest and gratification, and I rejoice at the tone, the broad and generous, the calm and just tone, in which they speak of the attitude of the Liberal party with reference to the very important step, as affecting the various Indian nations, which was lately taken. I rejoice also to know that there are amongst them so many who are able to appreciate the general principles of action of the Liberal party, and to recognize that its policy in the past has been, as its policy in the future, so long as it is worthy of its name, must be that which shall, in the judgment of the party, subserve the best and truest interests of the Indians.

For myself, I may say I have ever felt a

GREAT INTEREST IN AND SYMPATHY FOR

those who are the representatives to-day of the original possessors of the vast domain of this continent of North America. I have ever most anxiously desired that our legislation and our course with reference to them, and our relation towards them, should be such as might best conduce to their welfare, security, and prosperity, and I am glad to be assured that, being entrusted by the Parliament of Canada with the exercise of the franchise, there are, amongst those who may choose to avail themselves of

the right, men who, as they are capable of doing, consider the policy of both parties, and the true interests of the country in which they live, to which they belong, with which their fortunes are bound up; and who, after such consideration, are prepared to adopt the principles of the Liberal party. I dare say that the expectations of the Conservatives, hinted at in this address, may be in large measure disappointed; and that the Liberal party may find, as it ought to find, among the descendants of the original possessors of the soil

MANY WARM AND EARNEST ADHERENTS,

because *the Liberal party has for its objects, justice to, and the advancement and elevation of, all classes of our population*, no matter what their creed, no matter what their colour, no matter what the race to which they belong. I hope it may be my fortune some day to visit my friends on their reserve. (Loud and prolonged applause) In the midst of the series of very large meetings, which it has been my privilege to address, I had very great pleasure in agreeing to Mr. Paterson's request that I should speak in Brantford. I congratulate the Reformers of South Brant upon this magnificent assemblage. Our meetings have been the largest, most enthusiastic, and most satisfactory in every way, which in nearly twenty years of political life, it has been my fortune to attend. (Cheers.) Not merely have our friends gathered in great numbers, and in great enthusiasm, but we have also been favoured with the presence of very considerable numbers of those who do not ordinarily take as active an interest as I should desire in politics, and with the presence of a large number of those who have not heretofore seen eye to eye with us. And not merely have these two classes been present, but I am happy to say we have received abundant evidence that their

EYES ARE OPENING TO THE TRUTH,

as we understand it, with reference to the interests of Canada, that a very great change is rapidly taking place in public opinion, that the public mind is in a highly formative condition, and that we may hope from these demonstrations the best results for the future of Canada, which I believe to be inextricably bound up with the future of the Liberal party. (Loud applause.) I am glad to note also the presence on almost every occasion of large numbers of ladies deeply interested in those affairs which so much concern them. (Applause.) And lastly, I rejoice to see so many young men. This has been a special feature of the other meetings also, and a most encouraging and cheering feature it is. I have said elsewhere that one of the things which gives me now

the greatest satisfaction is, that I was to a considerable extent responsible—being the first to suggest it—for the policy which has resulted in the young men of the country being, at a very much earlier age, and under very much easier circumstances than formerly, admitted to the franchise. I proposed this, not that they might enjoy it as a pleasure, but that they might embrace it as a high duty. (Cheers.) I proposed it because I was convinced our best chance of making of them good and worthy citizens was to interest them early in public affairs, and I accompanied the suggestion with an expression of the hope, which I am so glad to see so largely realized, that they would recognize the responsibility which was attendant upon the privilege; that they would feel it to be their duty to interest themselves actively in the conduct of public affairs, to undertake the acquisition of that knowledge and the performance of that labour which is essential to an intelligent choice of their political party, and to the exercise of their proper influence over the fortunes of that party. (Renewed cheering.) If I may say a word or two to them, I would invite them, in the opening of life, to lay down for themselves and rigidly to abide by the principles which shall guide them in the

CONDUCT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

We have seen the politics of our country degraded and abased. (Applause.) It is for these to purify and exalt them, not merely by laying down principles of action, but by taking care that they enforce and exemplify those principles in their own conduct. (Loud applause.) They believe, I trust, and hope—it is natural to their years that they should believe—in the progress, if not the infinite, at any rate the indefinite, progress of the race. (Loud cheers.) Let them believe also that it is of the last importance that we should progress, not merely in the material, but also in the moral sphere, not merely in riches, not merely in strength, not merely in temporal prosperity, but that we should progress along the intellectual and moral plane as well. (Loud, applause.) Let them remember those words written so long ago, and just as true to-day, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." (Loud applause.) For my part,

I BELIEVE WE CAN DO OUR DUTY IN POLITICS,

and yet observe the rules that we shall do nothing and counsel nothing in private which we should be ashamed to have divulged in public; that we shall not adopt any standard of morality or party action in politics which we would decline to adopt in social or in private life; and that we shall refuse to act upon the base maxim that all is fair in politics as in war. (Cheers.)

ALL IS NOT FAIR IN POLITICS ;

the laws of truth, the laws of honour, the laws of justice, the laws of fair play and generosity ought to prevail in this as in other relations. In truth, on no other plan can we do our duty in politics. It is only by recognizing these cardinal principles, by practising them each one of us in his own sphere, and by enforcing them upon others, that we can raise politics to their proper level, upon which level they should be deemed the most ennobling of the pursuits of a free citizen in a free country. (Loud applause.) Now, I have to talk to you upon some of those many subjects which engross public attention to-day. The field is too vast for me to run over it all, however rapidly. And to-night I shall say hardly a word upon many topics, each of which, for its proper treatment, would demand a speech. I know that on all of these you have had the advantage for many years past of being informed in the fullest manner of the views of the Liberal party by our friend,

MR. PATERSON, YOUR REPRESENTATIVE,

who has no doubt done his duty in expounding Liberal views here, as he has expounded them so powerfully in other constituencies, and in the halls of Parliament. I know you have taken a special interest in some of these measures, those mainly affecting the representation of the people in Parliament, because you, the Liberals of the riding and your representative have been

THE DESTINED VICTIMS OF SOME OF THESE MEASURES.

(Cheers.) But I am glad to know that as you have not yielded heretofore, so now you do not intend to yield to these acts—not Acts of Parliament, but rather acts of force, and violence, and fraud. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I rejoice to know that the spirit of the electors of South Brant, their sense of justice and fair play, has been too high to permit these nefarious schemes—miscalled legislation in the interest of the public, but deserving of no such name—to permit these nefarious schemes for the carving and cutting up of counties and electoral districts to the benefit of one and the injury of the other political party to produce their designed effect. And if there ever was a constituency which had the right to resent such acts of injustice, it is the South Riding of Brant, treated as you have been, represented as you have been, led as you have been, by A STANDARD BEARER WHOSE ABILITY, WHOSE ELOQUENCE, WHOSE KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTENTION TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS, WHOSE WIDE SYMPATHIES, GENEROUS NATURE, AND HIGH SENSE OF EQUITY, WHOSE PERSONAL CHARACTER AND PRIVATE

WORTH HAVE ALL ENDEARED HIM IN THE HIGHEST DEGREE TO US WHO HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH HIM FOR MANY YEARS AT OTTAWA, AND I AM SURE, MUST HAVE ENDEARED HIM IN AN EQUAL DEGREE TO YOU AMONGST WHOM HE LIVES, AND WITH WHOM HE IS ASSOCIATED IN THE HAPPY RELATION OF MEMBER AND CONSTITUENTS. (Loud and prolonged applause.) In connection with the address which has been presented to me I may say that I have watched the course of Mr. Paterson since he entered Parliament in 1872, with reference to

INDIAN LEGISLATION AND AFFAIRS,

and at all times for long years before that recent period at which the suggestion was first made that the franchise should extend to the Indian population, I have found him exhibiting in their interest that sympathy, that breadth of view, that kindly feeling, that deep interest which you here, I believe, know that he has felt and shown. I have found him watching closely every measure of legislation affecting the Indians, making suggestions, indicating defects, pointing out improvements, engaged in discussions, showing that at all times he was influenced by the most earnest desire that those who were his neighbours and friends, although there was no idea that they might become electors of the constituency, should be, (as far as the legislation and administration at Ottawa could effect it) elevated and their condition improved. He was an active friend when there was no political gain to be expected. Now that the time and occasion have arrived, I believe those whom he sought to befriend in the earlier days will show their gratitude. Gratitude is a noble trait; and the Indian, if I read his character aright, possesses that trait in a marked degree. I look then with confidence, both on general grounds and on the special circumstances, for a considerable vote from the reserve, and a decisive majority in the riding for our friend, William Paterson. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

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