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## OSTRACISM OF ROMAN OATHOLIOS

## SPEECH OF"SIR OLIVER MOWAT

## KINGSTON,

19TH JANUARY, 1895.
Respecting candidature of Hon. William Hearty.

- I thank you for the kind manner in which you hive received mo. I specially appreciate it as coming from a la men and women of Kingston, my natl a th gathering of the youth and early manhood, the home still of near and dear relatives and of osteemed friends, the home formerly and the resting place now of my honord father and mother and of a dear brother, who have all gone to the other world before me. There is much to attach me to old Kingston. I' like to visit whatever in sand around it is least changed, and therefore serves to remind me most of the days of my boyhood and youth ; but 1 also rejoice greatly at the progress which Kingston has made since those days. Like to contrast its condition in my early days, when its population was some 5,000 , and its condition now; when its population is nearly 20.000 , with improved Greets and roads, railways connecting the city with the whole conteneut in various directions; and an electric street railway for the convenionee of its own people when movingabout at home. And it has many other admanSages now which it had not in my early days-gas lamps and electric lights, steam ferries, great school buildings, grand churches, noble public buildings, and many other marks of wealth, prosperity and progress. I am glad that chongat the schools of Kingston there has recently been established a school of Mining and Dairying, and I am glad that 1 had something to do with. making praotionble the establishing of such a school here for eastern Ontario. The Leqiniature had provided at a still earlier date for a school of Mining at
 gond any further: It wa but a year or on before I loft Kinguton that

Queen's Collége went into operntion, and Kingston became a Univeruity: town. It has now held that position for half a century and more, and the University has during that time made more progress than Kingaton has done. in perhaps any other respect. The University has accomplished a grind work' so far, and I have no doubt is destined for still greater thinge Its sons are in every part of the provimee ; and by the positions they occupy they teatify to the value of their alma mater; for they are filling most creditably places in Parliament, in the Local Liegislature, in the Churoh, in the Army, and in every other profession and worldly calling for which montal culture is necessary or important. Kingston is unsurpassed in attractions for residence, and has natural advantages which secure for it permanent progress. Its progress may sometimes have been slower than some of its people and friends would desire, but its progress has always been sure, and ite future is promising.

Apart from any particular views on political aubjects, it is interesting for a native of Kingston to remember that it was from Kingston that the Conservatives of Canada took their leader in Cansdian politics, Sir John Macdonald. It was from Kingston too, that Conservatives chose for many years their leader in tho Canadian Legislative Council and afterwards in the Canalian Senate under Sir John Maodonald. It was in Kingston they found one of their best Speakers of the Dominion House of Commons. It was from Kingston that His Excellency the Governor-General in Council chose two of the Lientenant-Governors of Untario. And it is from Kingston rather than from some other place that, as Premier of Ontario, I now want my Commissioner of Public Works for the next four years. Bis Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has appointed Mr. Harty to this office, but his appointment is subject to ratification by the electors of Kingston, and it is for you now to ratify it I want his help in giving to the province the beat Government practicable.

A voice-You'llyet him. (Cheers.)
I am glad of that assurance. Yon could not do better, I want him - beosuse of the high character he has always borne in all the affairs of life. The best guafrantee a people can have for the fidelity of a representative in the Liegislature or the Government is the uprightness of his tranmactions in.privatelife. I want Mr. Harty as Commissioner of Public Worke becquae also of his business experience and proved ability. The department of Public Works is an important one, and as it has always (like every other department of the Provincial Government) been free fronx boodling heretofore, ${ }^{\text {bo }}$ I know that under Mr. Harty it will continue to be free from boodling in the future. It is not only that Mr. Harty is too honent a man und too self-respecting to be a boodler himself, but-he in also too alert and wide-awake $n$ man, and too resolute in character and habitis, to admit of others boodling in any matters under his control. Dr. Smythe, his opponent, is a very respeotable man, and $I_{i}$ am glad to know this from Mr. Harty himsolf as well as from others; but Kingaton with Dr. Smythe as its member, reupectable as ho is, would ocoupy a far less important place in the estimation of the people of the province and outside of the provinoe, than Kingiton will with Mr. Harty as ite member and at the same time Minister of Public Works and a member of the Goveriment of the province.

I am told that in the canvass whioh has taken plaoe so far it has boen found that the only thing which appears to weigh with anyone againat Mr: Harty is that he is a Romnn Oatholic. I do not hear that Dr. Smytha
himpilf urges this against him, but those who canvass for Dr. Smythe or otherwise endeavor to influence Protestant voters in his favor, are said to urge nothing else than the iniquity of voting for a Papist; and Dr. Smythe dood. ot repudiate their tactics, though they are too indefensible for himself to take part in.

No why should Mr. Harty's having been brought up a Roman. Catholic. and bolng a Roman Catholic, stand in his way with any Protestant? Ponran Oatholics have al waye been voting and working for Protestant oandidatep if Kingupa both Liberal and Conservative. In it much that a Raman Catholic refldent of the city, who is personally eatpemed and respected amopigt you, कhpuld in turn be elected by Protestantr notwithstanding his being a Roman Catholic $?$ Protestant as Kingston has always been, it. was once repreapnted by a Roman Catholic before Mr. Harty. I mean the late Anthony Manahan, who represented Kingeton in the first Parliament after the Unfon of Upper and Lower Canada; and Protestants got no harm from his Ramanism: After the lapse of half a eentury may not Protestants unite in thinding it is time to give a Roman Catholic a turn? Is any Congervative Protestant in Kingston objecting to this, and giving the fact of Mr. Harty being a Roman Catholic as a reason for voting againat him ? $\dot{A}$ Kingaton Conservative ought to be the last to use suoh an argument. Many Roman Oatholics in Kingston always worked und voted for the great Con:Porvativg chief. Sir John Macdonald was always in alliance too with the Roman Catholics of Quebec, and had at one time, and perhaps had always, the support of the great majotity of the Roman Catholics of Ontario ; and but for the support of Roman Catholios he would not have been able to hold offee for à day of his long official life. He was not only supported by Roman Oatholics, but he was alyays ansociabed with Roman Catholicis in the Government, and even held offioe under Roman Catholic premiers, Ho served for yeare under Mr. Oartier (afterwards. Sir George Cartier); then under another Roman Catholio, Sir Etienne Tache y and then under still another, Sir Narcisse Belleau. So, the first premier that he hinnself chose for Ontrio was a Roman Oatholic, Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald ; and whatever thet gentleqman's faults may have been, any undue leaning to his coreligionfots was not one of them. Again, all Canada is at this day mourning the death of another premier who was a Romin Catholic, Sir John Thompson. This Roman Catholio gentleman was practically chosen for premier by the Opneervatives of the Parliament of Canadn, and he was one of the best Oonservative premiers that ever hield office. In view of such facts as thesp, no Conservative in Kingaton can honestly use the religious objection agalnut one of the best Roman Oatholice in Kingston, now chosen to share in the Government of the province, subject to the ratification of the elector of Kingston.

As regards Mr. Harty, it is satisfactory to know that the most sensitive or expitablo Protestant has no fault to find with him porsonally. He is esteemed and respected by you all. He has mingled all his life with Protestants, in buoinom, in sooiaty, in politics, and in every public movement. An earnent. Roman Catholic, attached and faithful to his churoh; he has never made himno'f offensive on that account to those of a different religious faith from hif own. He has shown himself, in his intercourse with others and in all the relations of life, to be a broad-minded, indopeodent man, and hys always had the enteem, respect and confidence of the Protestants as well as Roman Ontholics of Kingation: He is in a word the lat-man aginet whom the "No Fopery" ory whould be raised here, except as it may he raised against every

or any one of that faith. A cry against all Roman Catholics an auch is, boyond all doubt, against the best interests of our country.

I'know that an organization exists in the province which avows as its purpose to exclude Roman Catholics from all office in the gift of the people, and to shut them out us far as possible from all privato employnent at wolh. This organization had a branch and emissariea here at the time of the general election, and had much to do with depriving Mr. Harty of the majority he had in 1892, and of defeating him for the time by a majority of one at the general election. The membership of this organization shd its influence have in most western parts of the province greatly diminished since. I hope that the polling on the $28 t h$ will show that religious rancor has had its day here too, and has inw passed away; that Roman Catholics are not to be ostracized in the loyal city of Kingston ; and thata Roman Catholic candidate will be treated by every elector according to his merita and hid qualifications, as a Protestant is:

The ostracism of Roman Catholics is not a way by which Protentante can hope to make them Protestants. As to this, a Protestant relig-

- ious journal in a' recent number had this to say: "There is only one effuctual way by which the Roman Catliolics of Quebec and of opery other country can be shown that Protestantism is a much better assitem of religion than theirs. Let the lives of Protestants be purer, more useful, and more consecrated than the lives of Roman Catholice, and then the Catholics can see the superiority for themselves. If a man deforids Protestantism with his tongue, and libels it with his life, he need never expect to commend it to anybody." All thoughtful Protestants muat concur in these observations of the reverend editor.

Most Roman Catholics are Roman Catholics by reason of their education and surroundings ; and most Protestants aro-Protestants for like reasons. I believe with my fellow. Protestants that in regard to the differences between us and Roman Catholics, the truth is with us. But 1 do nọt forget that Roman Catholics are not necessarily bad men, or bad citizens, or ignorant persons, as some well-meaning Protestant zealots allow themselves to believe. While as a Protestant, $I$, in common with other Protestants, regard as indefensible many dogmas of the Ronian Catholic church, and many of ita doinge too us rocorded in the historien which we accept, I cannot and do not shut my eyes to the historical fact, strange and unaccointable as it may senm to us, that the Roman Catholic faith has been held and defended by men distinguished for virtue and'learning and genius; by auch men in the pastan More, Fenelon, Bossuet. Newmsn, Manning and many othert, whome memories all good Protentants who know anything about them respeet, or more than respect.

I should not forget either, that Protestants and Roman Catholics hold some important religious opinions in common. We do not differ about evarything. The best theologians of both creeds adnnit and assert this. I say of both creeds. For example: Hear first' what the Roman Catholio Archbishop Rjan late'y said to his people as to articles of 'faith which are common to Roman Catholice and Protentanites: "I Haw inuch have we not in common? Belief in God and His providence. belief in future rewards and punishnients, and, above all-belief and hope and love in the great unitive power of the world-Jenus Chridth. Around His standard let us gather who love Him.- Let un remember the incident related in the ninth chaptor of St. Luke's Gospel, when the Apoutle St. John said to our Lord, "That there was a man who was easting gur dovila ia'
blood in their country's cauce quite as fredy as their Protestant comrades shed theirs It has been so in Canada as well as elsewhere. Roman Catholics were with the Protestants of Canada in the time of the American revolution. They were with them in the war of 1812: They were with themin the outbreak of 1837. They were with them in resisting the Fonian raid in 1866, and in putting down the revolt of the half-breeds in the North Weat in 1885. They have been our brothers in arms. Lét every Protestant treat them as brothers in peece. (Cheers.)

Sorine good people seem to be in a very fright, at the idea of a Roman Catholic being elected to the Provincial Legislature. I should be sorry to think Protestantism so weak a thing as their notion supposes. Their notion is a mistake. Protestantism is not so weak a thing. It is not weak at all. Protestantism is strong. As a Protestant I bolieve, and all vigorous Protestants should believe, that in an equal fight Protestantism can and will hold its own as against every hostile influence, be it what it may. But the fight which these people fear would not he an equal fight, for what is the position of a Roman Oatholic in the Government of Ontario ? He is one of eight members The Governinent consists of seven Protestants who have been eleoted, and of one Roman Catholic who is now seeking election at your hands. Has Any Protestant elector in Kingston so poor in opinion of Protestantism and Protestants that he thinks seven Protestanis cannot hold their own againat one Roman Catholic?. Then take the position of Mr. Harty as a member of the House of Assembly.. What could one man do in a House of ninety-four members? I believe five Reman Catholios only were returned at the last general election. When Mr. Harty and Mr. Conmee are elected, there will be but seven Roman Catholics in the House-seven Roman Catholics to eighty-seven Protestants. Is'it pogsible that any Protestant supposes that the Protestants of Ontario cannot afford to have seven Roman Catholics in a House of ninety-four members? That one Roman Catholip is equal, or more than equal to thirteen Protestants? And that for the safety of Protestantism the number of Roman Catholic members must be kept down to five? The P. P. Als. think that their en'ire exclusion from place and power and employment is the only safety for Protestantism, but it is hardly possible to imagine that any intelligent Protestant outaide of that organization has any such absurd notion. 1 think we can stand Mr. Harty in the House and in the Government. I shall not be afraid of him. (Laughter.): .

Do any in Kinguton say, that while the fact of Mr. Herty's being a Roman Catholic is not against him, yet that he should be opposed by Protestants because the Government of which he is now a meniber has been too favorable to Roman Catholics in the matter of Patronage, or of grants to Hospital. and Charittes, or in the matter of Separate School legislation? This charge has been made against us; but there is not the slightest ground for it ; and it is really easy to show this to the satiofaction of every intelligent man who wants to know the truth. I can only now speak briefly on the subject. As for Patronage, we had some months ago an officinl enquiry made of the facts; and the report thereon has been published. Anyone might have sflown errors in this report if errors were to be found; but not one error has been shown. What did this report prove? It proved that the nuyber of-4 Roman Catholics in public employment is less than their proportion of the population, and that the aggregate of their salaries also is lesis than the proportion of Roman Oatholiop in the population. In other worth, the report shows it to be perfectly certain that Roman Catholics have not had an

- Peesuive share of the patronage in the gift of the Ontario Goyerament, Those who have thought ot herwise have beyond all question been under a mis.: take. If anyone atill says otherwise he must either be a deeeiver or be himself deceived:- Then as to Hospitals and Charities. The pripoiple on which grants to these are regulated was adopted twenty years ago with genera! approval, and embodied in a statute passed in 1874, and acted on over aince. The principle is, that the amount of the grant to each should be according to the work done and the amount contributed from other sources, in the caso $S_{\text {overy }}$ institution aided, irreepective of the religious creed of the maiangern. Sworn returns are made to enable the provincial inspector (who is a Protestant) to report what under the law each is entitled to receive; and the returno made are further verified by the pernonal inspection of the inspector: All the institutions receive both Protestant and Catholig patients, ind the rate of aid given to each institution has nothing whatever to do with any matter of creed.

Then come the complaints of some as to the Separato School legisiation : of ten years ago or more. I have repeatedly discussed the objections to our legislation respecting Separate Schools, in speeches which have' been pub lished in pamphlet form and in the public jourmats. So also have my col. leagues ; aid the Minister of Education may probably say something on, the subject to night. I shall only ask you to remember that all our Separate School legislation had for its object to enable the ratepayers supporting Separate Schools, since they are here, to make these schouls more efficient, in order that all our people, Catholic as well as Protestant, may receive ás good an edueation as possible.. The legislation objected to now or in the "No Popory" campsigns of the past is not recent legislation, but is legisiation which took place some years ago. The first and principsl Act objected to was passed in 1879 ; the last Act objected to, I think was not a very important one, and was passed in 1885. All were passed because when being passed they seemed to be fair and reasonable, and such as we all thought would be House objected to Protestant community of all parties.: No one in the through several stages before they were before the House. Every bill goes paper, and are distributed eth inal passing ; and copies go to every newsafter the first stage is taken ; yet no objedion wat the country immediately ious journals of the province yet no objection was made by any of the relig. Protestant church or congregnd none from any other quarter. Not one individual, clerical or lay, said an adv, woved. Not one society or one did not arise until the "N' Popery" cry was word. The adverse sentiment thereby carrying againat us the elections of $1886 . \mathrm{w}$. Beaides adt thin hopen of remembered that the Conservative leader, Mr. Marter, has publicly announced hiis abandonment of opposition to Separate Schools, and that the Conservative press generally has approved of this change of policy. Notling will be gained, therefore, as regards Separate Schoo's by voting against the Goverament eandidate, and the only object of any talk against them to Protestant eleetor in the present contest in to get yotes.

Every aensitive Protestant may rest assured that we have done nothing for Roman Catholics that fair-minded and earnest Protestants should not have done ; that Protentantiam is in no danger from the Liberal party or it leaders ; and that Protestants will not be harmed one iota by electing Mn Harty.

Mr. Harty was elected in 1892 as a supporfer of the Government. He comes to you now as a member of that frovermment, and it is by the general
reebrd and policy of the Government that he should stand or fall. That is
thie position he has taken. That is all he asks:" Now, what is the record of Uniter the system apart from the subjects which I have already discussed ? fanctions to perform. (I) Its mempily possess, the Government has two to time needed or proper; and (2) they have in the the legislation from time tration of public affairs. What they have in charge the executive adminisdepartments of governmental duty? been the Reform record in these two Has legislative capacity been shown or nirst, as regards provincial legislat:on'. laws for which they are respongown or not by Ontario ministers? Have the 6mbraced practically the whole field of nood laivs? And have thay or not has embraced every subject on which the B. N. A. Act an l/Our legislation jurisdiction; There have been which the B. N. A. Act gave to the provinces -one under the premiership of Mr. Blake, and the others under Legislature the laws passed are to be found in twenty-two the others under mine-and other yolumes in which were consolidated two annual volumes and in two to 1887. Every annual volume of the twentyitived all the purblic Acts up
 pared or revised by experienced legislate people. All were either prework. The rule of the Reform Governnient of other experts in statutory always on the alent for new daws or nient of the province bas been to be being of the people. We have not new enactments to promote the wellother hand we have not been, or been even chargid of novelties, and on the in our legislation; our most cadteal even charged with being, revolutionists approval of the whole country; any legislation has at the present day the ing throuigh the Hoise have as a rule been reco were attacked while passand proper laws. Let me specify a fer recognized subsequently as good with successfully." The vast improvem of the subjects which we have dealt absolutely indisputable. : It is the Reform Gise in our Election law are which first provided distinct voters' the provisions of Ontario on the subject ; and the immense superiority of minion is 'adnitted by all parties. Again, it wase of (for example) the Do-
$\Gamma_{\text {, and }}$ andiy whieh, amongst other improvements, was the Reform Government ing in Ontario as our model the Imperial Ballot introduced the ballot, adoptshortly before and which is still the 'approved law', which had been passed accepted by all parties there. with satisfaction. We the United Kingdom, from time to time as public opinion was prepared We entarged the electorate at length the Act we now have was passed pred for the enlargement, and for the elections to the Legislistive was passed, providing for Manhood Suffrage vote. Other important Acts have also been, and limiting every elector to one ernment for improving in various way been passed at the instanoe of the Govfying and cheapening and rendering the laws of property, and for simplijustjoe. Other important Government'measeficient the administration of special benefit in var'ous ways of farm measutes have been passed for the various ways of mechanics and other wathers for the special benefit in word. I clain that the Legislature of the earners and employeen." In a duced important inprovementacure of the last twenty-two years has introvincial jurisdiction; has given valuery branch of law whioh belongs to procommunity; and has dealt beneficially with legislation to every clase of the claiming the credit personally for this with every public interest. I am not sy my colleagues, and some of it by our Plation." Much of it was devised - legislation.

Then how has it been with our ádministration of public affairs ? -Hare we shown ourselves equal to the duties of our position? We have never yet been charged with eithor want of capacity or want of attention to these. Among the mostimpoitant inatters which we have hiad to deal with has been the maintenanee of the territorial and constitutional rights of the province half of the province and the right of the province jeopardy in the, early years after Oonfederatign, controyersy, through our efforts. The constitutional rightaced beyond future. various matters have from time to the constitutional rights of the province-in tained in every case which has hitherto been attacked, and we have beensus. Oouncil. Other constitutional iquestions are now pending ajenty's Privy no dopbt arise in the futuré. - Somuestions are now pending, and more will if is necessary to have them decided of these may be more or less doubtful; decided in favor of the:Dominions and some or the other, and sonse may be no one has expressed a doubt that' Ontario's in favor of the Provisce. 'But. hands in aty such cohtroversy. No one ina interests will not, suffer at our the past have beerr safer in the hands of the opposition : or would be safer in the fulure either with the Onposition, or with the new party which has sprung The matters in rons of rodustry. finance. In regard to such matters we are attacked are chiefly matters of that there is no ground for such attack the others we say with confidence better record, that the record of (for o, that no government-anywhere has a at Ottawa is immensely inferior. It example) the Conservative Government public means ; and the pretended proof of this we have been wasteful of the upon is, that in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's four which is perhaps most dwelt. tion he saved, or left unexpended, between four years of office after Confedera. while under the administrations which followree and four millions of dollars; diture, and in fact (it is said) the whi followed his there was greater oxpenand more, had been used. That is aggregate rèvenue from all sources, public revenue been used, so far as it has anaggeration ; but how has the I will tell you why more has beus it has boen used? 'That is the questions: years ago. Many grants have since been man'was expended twenty-two objects nöt in existence previously, and enade for yariouse beneficial public, unsde where needed for pother objects provilged appropriations have been for. These grants havers a rule had the approval in a measure provided at the time of their being made.. All this is kept back when of the House contrast the expenditure in Mr. Sandfield Macpt back when our opponents ture since. 'Of the expenditure since 1871 Macdonald's time and the expendibeen in aid of railways $(\mathbf{8 5}, 959,084)$, and not a dollar millions of dollars have until after 1871. More than another milli a dollar was paid in railway aid ( $\$ 1,180,175$ ) was by way of loan to municion of our aggregate expenditure not a dollar for this purpose is in the expalities for drainge purporea, and in our aggregate expenditure theré arpenditure up to 1871. Then agaln, ( $\$ 3,388,777$ ) distributed amongst the ne nore than three millions of dollais nection with the settlement of the the n.unicipalities in cash since 1871 in cona dollar for any such purpose in the Sandipal loan fund difficulty; there is not and many other 'useful and appraved yanield Macdonald expenditure. These tirely new, and form portions of thed appropriations made after 1871 weve encontrast for their own purpose with the expeexpenditure which our opponents 1 have said that' in other cases the expenditure in Mr. Macdonald's \$ime. the public interest, larger than those appropriations were necessarily, or in tion Thus thenverage annual exfenditure in thearly years after Confedera-

Arts ap to 1871 was less thay 872,000 ; while in 1893 the expenditure was considerably more than double that amount (or 8169,573 ). The average annual expenditure of the province for Educational purposes wan not much over $\$ 300,000$ in Mr: Shandfield Macdonald's time, while in 1893 the expenditure for this great object was more than twiee that amount ( 8662,520 ). There had been a gradual increase for agriculture and education in the intervening years. These and other subjects of expenditure were of public interest; and as the money was in hand it was used by the authority of the 7. people's representatives and the approval of the people for promoting im-

A portant objects. Our opponents often call attention to the increased expenditure on our publio institutions, emphasizing the fact that the ", annual expenditure for thejr maintenance was under $\$ 200,000$ until after 1871 , and that it is now about $\$ 800,000$. But they keep back the important fact that thero are now eleven great institutions in operation instead of the four smaller ones occupied in 1871, and that there are nearly five times as maliy inmates to maintain now as there were
then. Some micrescopioal objections are made to some of the supplies for these institutions and their officers, and there are exaggerations and misrepre, sentations in regard to the supplies geierally. But notwithstanding all that is unfairly or untruly said about them, the great fact cannot be and is not disputed that the cost to the province per inmate is greatly less than at most institutions elsewhere. I should like to take up and discuss at length every item in our expenditure to which objection is made, for every objection admits of a triumphant answer. I should like to show you that where there has been an increase in the expense of any department of government, there has been a still greater incroase in the business of the department-sometimes many times greater-a fact which our opponents always ignore. In a word, an honest reference to alf the facts will demonstrate greater economy, considering the amount of work done, than in those first four years after Confederation to which our opponents are fond of alluding. But I have exhausted both my time and my strength.

Rely upon it, electors of Kingston, that to vote for Mr. Harty is in the iuterest of the prurince, and is safe for every creed and class of the people. (Cheers.)



