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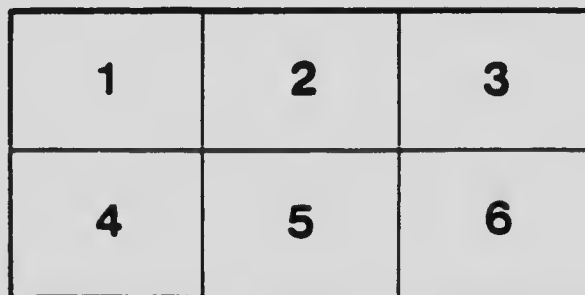
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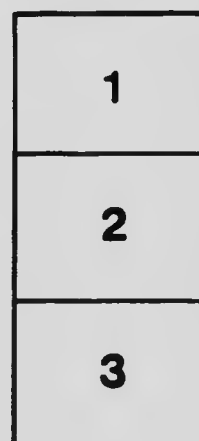
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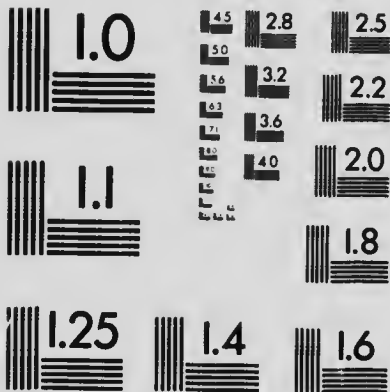
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# Politicalized Canada

Or Canada, Its People, Politics, and Some of its Politicians  
for the Last Fifty Years.

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## VOLUME I.

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### CHAPTER I.

Colonel Montague sat in a private parlor in the Hotel Cecil, in the City of London, England, having arrived the day before on the "Campania," via New York, from Toronto, Canada. He was buried in thought, reviewing in his mind some stirring incidents connected with a brief sojourn in Mexico twenty years previous, and now being vividly brought to memory by a letter just received from Lord Yuno, announcing that His Lordship would call upon him this very afternoon; and it was now three o'clock. He had not long to wait, for in less than an hour Lord Yuno and Colonel Montague were shaking each other with both hands, and only as such men can shake and feel who know of what mettle the other is made and who have passed through trying scenes together. As soon as mutual equanimity had been restored both, as of one mind, simultaneously exclaimed, "Hermosillo," for it was Hermosillo that had been uppermost in the minds of both since Lord Yuno, the evening before, received a letter from Colonel Montague stating that he was in London. It was at this city—Hermosillo, in Old Mexico—where they first met, and after a few months friendly relations parted, not to meet again for twenty years. Either, however, had his reminder of Mexico and of having met before. Colonel Montague had the mark of a bullet wound just above the left knee joint, which proved in his case that Mexican bandits used pistols as well as knives and other silent weapons for aggressive as well as for defensive purposes. Lord Yuno had a long scar on his right hip, made by the keen blade of a Mexican knife. I may here state that the wound was not inflicted upon the then Lord Yuno, but upon the Honorable Alexander Agincourt, who had gone to Mexico from England twenty years previous to this last meeting with Montague, partly for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the mineral wealth of the country and for other reasons that I will, at least for the present, consider private. Not long after the return of Agincourt from Mexico to England, Lord Yuno, his father, was carried to the

honored tomb of the Yuno's, and the Hon. Alexander Agincourt, without any occult process, became Lord Yuno, in accordance with the long established laws of England.

Now, my dear reader, if you will give me my own way and be a little patient, I will tell you the secret of the bond that bound my friends together. And I am proud to say they are both my friends, and if ever I am willing to admit that the sword is mightier than the pen it is when I bring to my mind a few of the life epochs of Colonel Montague, who has been a hero in many of life's battles, and to my mind displayed a courage quite as much to be admired as the heroism that wins the Victoria Cross under the inspiring influence of the thundering of artillery, the clash of steel and dying groans of fallen comrades. As to Lord Yuno, from what I know of him personally, and from what I have gathered from other sources, I believe he is capable of bearing honors even higher than those now borne so lightly, and the opinion of all who know him well is that he is quite fit to be ranked among nature's noblemen. I trust that the remarks just made as to Lord Yuno will not be attributed to a feeling in me, which might be said kindred to that ascribed to the Poet Moore for Lord Byron, and which brought forth the epigram: "Tommy dearly loved his Lord." Be that as it may, I will now proceed a step farther in carrying out my promise, and here let me state that when Colonel Montague was in Mexico twenty years ago he was very much of a live Canadian, about forty-five years old, well educated and of a good deal more than average versatility, and of more than ordinary experience in Canadian, American and English life in most of its phases. In person he was tall, straight, muscular and powerfully built, and one who once seen not easily forgotten. He was descended on both sides from United Empire Loyalists; his mother being of Virginian descent and a cousin of Zachariah Taylor, who once sat in Presidential Halls, and these cousins were descendants of the Earls of Hare. On his father's side he was descended from an old English county family, one of whom emigrated to America during the Cromwellian period, and was Governor of Connecticut in the old colonial days, more than a hundred years before the Americans gained their independence. This English county family traced their descent to a Duke of Normandy, and from thence perpendicularly, let me add on my own account, to King Adam the First. It was from other sources, and not from Colonel Montague that I received the information in the preceding paragraphs. Now, whatever I have stated concerning him on my own account, or told you in this discursive manner, one thing is certain, that on the — day of September, 188—, he was at Hermosillo, Mexico, visiting a friend who was superintendent of a railway running from Benson on the Southern Pacific, to Guymas on the Gulf of California — a branch of the Atcheson, Topeka and Santa Fe at that time. It was this friend who introduced him to the Hon. Alexander Agincourt,

who had then been in Mexico several weeks, and who, not long after this introduction, invited Colonel Montague to join him in one of his peregrinations and adventures in the mining districts not very far from this central point—Hermosillo—which was the headquarters of both. Colonel Montague was only too pleased to accept this invitation as he did others and on many occasions; for about five months Agincourt and Montague made the acquaintance in various ways of a pretty large tract of country in that part of Mexico lying east of the Gulf of California and west of the Sierra Madra, and occasionally visited other points reached by railway; Tucson and Benson in Arizona, and Guymas and Torres in Mexico, were four of these points.

As it was not, however, my purpose to add to your geographical knowledge of Mexico, I will shortly come to the pith of my narrative and give you what might have been a tragedy indeed, yet proved but little more than ordinary episode in Mexico.

One beautiful morning, on the — day of December, 188—, Agincourt ran down to Guymas on the train, having some business with a banker at that place. Having done his business and being about to return, the banker asked him if he would be good enough to take a small package containing ten thousand dollars to the treasurer of the railway at Hermosillo, as it was imperative that he should receive it in the morning and there was no regular express passing up until the next day. Of course, an English gentleman, or any other gentleman, would hardly refuse such a request, and more particularly if the request was made by a friend and banker, as it was in this instance Agincourt put the package in his valise, jumped on the train and reached Hermosillo about three hours later than the scheduled time, owing to a smash-up on the road. The train arrived at a little after twelve, but quite late enough to account for the treasurer being in bed and sleeping, as the servant informed Agincourt. Not being gifted with the intuitions or premonitions of some of the more favored of our race, and not realizing that a poor ten thousand dollars would excite the cupidity of anyone, in fact, for the time, forgetting he was in Mexico, and not wishing to arouse Mr. Cash from the sleep of the just, I presume, he proceeded to his own room with the ten thousand dollars to be delivered in the morning; and it was delivered in the morning.

I may here state that the one-story adobe houses in Hermosillo, with its then population of eighteen thousand, were built upon streets not more than twenty-five feet wide, and that upon the principal and other streets there were few doors on the street, and those far apart, strongly built and intended to resist the combined assaults of many men, or, rather, Indians. For two hundred years and more ago, when Hermosillo was built, the Indians were the only assailants. These immense, massive doors opened into a court large enough for many

buildings, and it was in a room in one of those inner buildings that Agincourt deposited his money in a secretary, his revolver under his pillow, and, undressing, laid down to sleep. In another room in the same building, and not far away, was Colonel Montague who; being troubled with insomnia, was often, at the witching hour of twelve, very much awake. And fortunately it was so this night, for at about half-past twelve he heard the report of a pistol shot which seemed to be in the direction of Agincourt's room. At once springing from his bed in his night dress, he grasped his revolver and ran to Agincourt's door. It being unlocked he rushed in to find his friend apparently in mortal combat with two ruffians; the third was looking for the treasure. The room was only moon-lit. At once realizing the situation, and knowing that if he fired he was as apt to hit Agincourt as one of the robbers, he grasped a camp chair, and with the strength of a giant dealt one almost deadly blow on the head of one of the robbers who was clutched with Agincourt. Immediately before this Agincourt had put a ball very near the heart of the robber who had, by this time, found the treasure, and was about leaving with it.

In less time than it would take to write four lines of this narrative my heroes were masters of the situation. For upon the arrival of two American gentlemen with pistols in hand, and who had heard three pistol shots, one of the robbers was lying in a fainting condition, bleeding freely from the wound made by Agincourt's shot. Agincourt, though slightly wounded, was holding down another, who had been badly bruised by the blow from Montague's chair, and Montague himself had a grip that seldom failed on the throat of "Gomez the Terrible," whose very name had for years sent a chill to the hearts of the children and women of the State Sonora, of which Hermosillo is the capital.

This, then, was the situation when the two American gentlemen arrived upon the scene. It took but a short time to communicate with the proper authorities who, as on other occasions, had a hope revived that they might at least be the recipients of a part of the large rewards that had long since been offered for the capture of "Gomez the Terrible." In less than an hour from the time Montague heard Agincourt's first shot, which missed its aim, and greatly to the relief of some of those most immediately concerned, Gomez the Terrible and his two not much less villanious companions in crime, were on the safe side of the prison walls of Hermosillo, there to remain until found guilty of attempted robbery and murder. When these outlaws were forced to give up their lives for the scores of lives they had taken, a sigh of relief was breathed through the whole State of Sonora, though the lives of these wretches seemed but a small offering when placed in the scales of justice with all the misery they had caused on the other side.



Now, my dear reader, I have told you, though in a somewhat rambling way, the secret of the bond that binds Montague and Agincourt, and I must now go to where I expect to meet them both after this brief but by no means disagreeable excursion with you, and if you will accompany me to meet my friends at the hotel where we left them I will, on the way, give you a little information concerning myself, for I happen to be one of the American gentlemen who took a hand in binding down Gomez the Terrible and one of his companions before the arrival of the officers of the law on that memorable night.

I was then, and for many years afterwards, the special correspondent of one of the largest and most influential newspapers in America, if not in the civilized world, and I happened to be in Hermosillo writing up some events connected with the expulsion of the Governor of the State from that city by a force of armed rebels a short time before, and that ever memorable night was the starting point of my acquaintance and relationship with Montague and Agincourt. Since then I have met the former in Toronto and Montreal, in Canada, and Boston and San Francisco, in the United States. The latter I have met at New York, Boston and St. Petersburg, in Russia, and now we must go in and interrupt for the time the first interview between Lord Yuno and Colonel Montague in England.

Well, well, my Dear Stanley. Colonel Montague has just told me how he ran across you at the Haymarket after the ovation to Langtry last night. Let me see, it is now about three years since I last saw you, and at St. Petersburg. Yes, Yuno, but it is more than nineteen years since we three parted at Hermosillo, you then remarking when shall we three meet again. And we have met again, Yuno. I am pleased to know from Colonel Montague that you are both on affairs that will tie you here for some time, for in addition to having you down with me in Surrey occasionally, I may now tell you, for I had not got that far when you walked in. You both already know that I have been knocking about the world for more than twenty years, visiting almost every corner of it. I have been in America, three times, but never in Canada. Quite recently I had, and I dare say still, have an opportunity of investing largely in lands in the Northwest Territories of Canada, near a town called Regina, which, I believe, is the capital of the Territories. As you know, Colonel Montague, until within a very few years, Englishmen have known but little, if anything of Canada. Since this land proposition was made to me I have read Major Butler's "Great Lone Land," and Colonel Boulton's "History of the Two Rebellions," but it is many years since Colonel Boulton's history was written, and quite thirty years or more since Major Butler wrote the "Great Lone Land." What I desire now, is information concerning Canada for the last fifty years, and up to date, and more particularly concerning the politics of the country. For the

last fifty years all English-speaking countries, you know, have been making history so rapidly that if one is well informed during that time for all practical purposes he is fairly well equipped. I have acquired considerable information pertaining to the material resources of Canada from books and other sources, but, as I hinted at just now, I wish more particularly to know something of the politics and politicians of Canada, say, for the last fifty years. Allow me to say for a moment, that the men who are connected with the government of a country, especially a young country like Canada, assume mighty responsibilities. We all know that there are countries, both in the eastern and western hemispheres which for salubrity of climate, fertility of soil and geographical position, in short, in everything that humanly speaking would largely contribute to make a country prosperous and great. Still, as we too well know, these very countries possessing all of the material elements and vast potentialities of greatness, are, notwithstanding, fast becoming effete. In proof of this it is not necessary to point to the Grecian, Roman or any other country of ancient date as we have more recent examples. Who, I ask, is responsible for upsetting the laws of nature, that are always right, and mocking the designs of a generous Creator? Is it not to a very great extent those who assume to govern? Call them politicians, diplomats, statesmen, popes, or any other name you choose. You will pardon the apostrophe, I pray. What I was about to say is this: Some ten years ago, a brother Oxford man informed me that he had relied upon information published in some immigration pamphlets, gotten up by a railway company in Canada, and that that information as to wood and water (both prime requisites) was not by any means accurate. Consequently his speculation was not nearly as good as he had good reasons for believing it would be, had the representations been correct. Since then, however, there undoubtedly has been great improvements in many ways in the country that in my boyhood was known only as the land of the red man and buffalo, and the possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company, and had it not been that my deceased father was many years ago for a short time one of the directors of that company, it would now be a "veritable terra incognita" to me. In the meantime I am in what might be termed a half-sentimental and half-business mood concerning it. But if you will both come down to Surrey Hall, as I had proposed to Colonel Montague before you came in upon us, Stanley, I am satisfied I can get all the information I require, and we can, I believe, have a few pleasant days together. In addition to Lady Yuno and my unmarried sister, I will have a few of our immediate friends from Kent and Surrey to whom I shall be more than pleased to introduce you. As I perceive my train time is approaching, I will now say adieu for the present.

Stanley: Before leaving, Lord Yuno, allow me to say, that if there

is a man in Canada who can give you the information you are looking after regarding that country. This is the gentleman I now address as Colonel Montague.

If my experience, said Colonel Montague, of fifty years of Canadian life be my guarantee of what may be expected from me I shall be only too glad to give you that experience, and my views, based upon my experience. Lord Yuno, you will see or hear from me again in a day or two.

## CHAPTER II.

Lawrence Stanley and Colonel Montague were seated in a private parlor in the Hotel Cecil, which was now their headquarters in London, having returned from Surrey Hall, where they had been spending a few days with Lord Yuno.

"Well, Montague," said Stanley, "if I was only thirty-five instead of forty-five, I would feel very impressionable in the direction I have, no doubt, you have already anticipated."

"The truth is," said Montague, "you have inferentially told me that at forty-five you are very much impressed, and it is certainly not to be wondered at, for the more I think of the triangular conversation we had with Lady Beatrice Agincourt, and the penetration, intelligence and good taste she displayed in her very evident earnestness to obtain reliable information concerning Canada and Canadian politicians, and without appearing to be at all conscious of the impression she was making on her listeners, I say the more I think of it, the more I am convinced and feel that life is worth living, notwithstanding all that fatalists, pessimists and cynics at times assert to the contrary, even at fifty-five plus ten. I always feel fortified in fighting another of life's battles after such conversation as we had in a general way with different ones at Surrey Hall for the last five days. Lady Beatrice is very much like her brother: with all her vivacity and pleasantry, however, she cannot conceal that admirable hanteur which freely translated, means, 'I am Lady Beatrice Agincourt, only sister of Lord Yuno.' The sleepy old Duke was interesting in his way, though I fear your Republican views as to the ultimate supremacy of mind over matter, or intellect over wealth, rather appalled His Grace. That is, if he understood your reasoning, which I very much doubt, and to be candid, Stanley, your advanced views, if I fully comprehended them, contrary to what I consider should be the relations of some of the inhabitants of this world to other people or peoples on the same planet. I can go as far as most educated men regarding the brotherhood of man and all that kind of thing; but the demagogue being always on that side rather puts a damper on my ardor, for if there is

any one type of the human family for whom I have a supreme contempt it is the demagogue in whatever character or shape he presents himself to me."

"Precisely my own feeling," said Stanley, "but pray, remember, I was talking to one of the bluest of the blue aristocrats of Britain, and you should not take me too seriously. I must now hie me away to Paris the gay, after first telling you the secret of the invitation you received to deliver a lecture, or rather an address, in the ball room at Surrey Hall on Wednesday evening next, for I am convinced that I know more about the origin of the invitation than you do. To make quite a long story short, I may tell you that it originated in the brain of the fair maid of Surrey, and as soon as she suggested it all present joined in a chorus. At this time you were in the dining hall with the gentlemen, who remained there after dinner, and doubtless for good and sufficient reasons, and quite in accord with English form and hospitality. Don't forget that we have an invitation to dine at the hall before the lecture commences, and at six o'clock."

"Before you leave, Stanley," said Colonel Montague, "let me say that I am more than pleased to have an opportunity of bringing some matters political in Canada before such an audience as the name of Lord Yuno and his connections will be sure to attract on Wednesday night. To my mind, the Government of Canada, without reference to any political party, have never been intelligent on the question of immigration to that country. In fact, in no sense have they been in the least patriotic; but quite the reverse. For in endeavoring to secure foreign immigration they have to a very considerable extent driven Canadians out of the country and into the United States. I believe I am quite within the mark in stating that within the last twenty-five years six hundred thousand Canadians have gone to the United States, and this includes very many of the best educated and most enterprising of Canadians. Competitive immigration has cut a considerable figure in discouraging our own mechanics, laborers and others, and to make matters less endurable those crowded out are taxed for the money required to secure in many cases a most undesirable class of foreigners. I do not, of course, refer to British subjects, but to the Scandinavians and others less desirable. Immigration agents are sent over Europe at great expense to secure foreigners we would be much better without. This is work done that true statesmen would leave undone. To my mind, stimulated immigration of the kind I have referred to, proves to be a disturbing of social, political and economic forces, and consequently destroys the equilibrium that should be preserved and regulated by the natural law of supply and demand. The sudden assimilation of heterogeneous elements is sure to retard and for the time destroy homogeneity, and as you are aware, nearly all of the greatest countries in the world, except your own, are those who have best preserved their homogeneity. The lecture at Sur-

rey Hall and the other I have promised to deliver when we visit Sir Rowland Courtier, will give me an opportunity of putting my views upon which this important subject should be based before impartial audiences and I trust will be the means of directing many men and many families with more or less capital to Canada. Now go, my dear Stanley, and be sure to be back on Wednesday next in time to reach Surrey Hall for dinner and the lecture."

From the time Stanley left for Paris until the day of the lecture Colonel Montague was busy arranging his material in proper shape and in getting advice from English friends as to certain things he fancied would be required of him in his new character of lecturer extraordinary to the House of Yuno on political and economic questions pertaining to Canada.

Well, a little after eight o'clock on Wednesday night Colonel Montague and Lawrence Stanley found themselves on a platform, erected for the occasion in the ball room at Surrey Hall, surrounded by several ladies and gentlemen, to whom they had been introduced before dinner, and facing an audience of two or three hundred, comprising many of the nobility of two counties, and many old county families, with a number of bankers and merchants Lord Yuno had specially invited from London. Lord Yuno was, with great good humor on all sides, elected chairman.. Upon rising he said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, that I occupy the chair to-night will not surprise anyone who is aware of the relations which subsist between the lecturer pro tem and myself, and the manner that that relationship was brought about. I know that nearly every one of my personal friends have heard from me the Mexican episode, and I do not wish to make any allusion to it this evening, though I do wish to say that my position as chairman is intended to emphasize the friendship I have always entertained toward Colonel Montague since we met in Mexico on rather a confined field of battle about twenty years ago at Hermosillo. Now, ladies and gentlemen, we know that until within a very few years Canada and Canadians were almost unknown in England, and then only to the official classes and merchants. In the columns of the "Times," and occasionally in the financial papers, strong articles appeared from time to time reflecting on the honesty of Canadian politicians who occupied, as evidently they considered, high places in the councils of the country. These articles were calculated to discourage any very close intimacies with Canadians and Canadian politicians. Doubtless some in this audience have noticed at times articles in English newspapers not many years ago of this kind. Many Englishmen, and particularly the readers of the "Times" were, and probably now are prejudiced against Canada and Canadians having formed their impressions in the way indicated. Knowing Colonel Montague to be a man of truth and honor, as all men of true courage are, I have invited him to address us this evening, believing that from

him we will get the truth regarding Canada and Canadians, and the political life of the country generally. I have very good reasons for believing that if there is a man in Canada in whose words we can place implicit faith, it is the one whom I have great pleasure in introducing to you."

Colonel Montague, rising (amidst cheers), said:

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, after the rather too complimentary remarks you have just heard concerning me, it is with more or less diffidence I now rise to address you, as I fear I may dissipate the good impressions which may have been made by the chairman. As the profession to which I belong is suggestive of action rather than words, I trust you will not expect too much, for if you do, I fear you will be disappointed. That I am a Canadian and from the backwoods of Canada, I do not wish to deny. Nor do I consider it at all necessary to apologize for it. I was born in Canada (as my father was), and with the exception of a few years spent in other countries, have lived there. At the commencement I will be obliged to ask you to pardon the rather too apparent egotism in saying that I know the politics and politicians of Canada through and through, and I have good reason for so knowing them, and the politics and politicians of Canada will be my chief theme to-night. That the politics of Canada have a somewhat peculiar interest for me will not be wondered at when I tell you that I was born in very rebellious times in that country, in fact, in the midst of a rebellion, and probably, like many boys, I was born a rebel, and this will explain to you another fact, that I became a politician at the age of fifteen. For fifty years at least I have been a pretty close political student in all that pertains to Canada, the United States and Great Britain. But more particularly have I studied the politics, politicians and statesmen of the country which was the home of my ancestors, and in that country I now have the honor of addressing you. (Cheers.) Before visiting England the second time, I was anxious to know every part of North and South America, and for that reason I spent three years in the United States and South America, having been in Mexico, as you have already learned. In referring to the United States, allow me to say, in passing, that we have in North America and to the south of Canada a great and united nation with eighty-five millions of people, and the best elements of those eighty-five millions speak the same language, are of the same origin, and in part have the same traditions as we have. Many Canadians, I am aware, visit England before knowing much of the great people and great country to the south of Canada, and, consequently, if you are disappointed in meeting them and find them ignorant regarding this great country, it is difficult, no doubt, for you to refrain from expressing in words the thoughts that are uppermost in your minds as to the ignorance displayed by some colonists you have met. (Laughter.) In accepting an invitation to de-

liver an address in these time-honored halls upon the Politics and Politicians of Canada for the last fifty years, it occurred to me that in speaking the whole truth I would expose myself to the attacks of some of the most bitter of the partisan press on either side of politics in Canada. In this connection, I may say further, that I have long since ceased to fear criticisms inspired by hireling scribblers who shed their politics, and principles, too, if it can be said they have any, as often as necessity, fear or party exigency require. If I pursue the semi-Academic methods of the professional politician who is engaged and paid by the party managers at so much per night to abuse his self-constituted political opponents, I am sure you would not be at all responsive to my efforts. Then, again, I know I am wanting in the varied and peculiar characteristics necessary for a political demagogue, a type of politician generally very much in evidence, not only in Canada, but in some other countries. My position, as you will perceive, is rather perplexing and my scope circumscribed. If I had sufficient occult power to bring the partisan political witness of Canada to this hall to-night and before you as judges, I would have enough evidence in a short time to warrant you in passing the sentence of imprisonment for life and probably the sentence of death in some cases upon many of the most prominent politicians in Canada for the last fifty years. I do not propose to be such a witness against politicians generally in Canada, as I have seen enough of the world to know that all politicians who do not happen to agree with me are not rascals, though a few may be, nor are all priests angels who do agree with me, and I do not, nor will I altogether, I trust, forget the lesson taught by the well-known story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, showing our dual natures. The politicians as a rule (I am not now speaking of statesmen, for there is often a wide difference between politicians and statesmen; all statesmen must in a sense be politicians, but many politicians have few, if any of the characteristics of statesmen). The politicians are in many ways what the people make them. The electors at times seem unduly generous in electing men who, perhaps, have more than once betrayed their trust. Then I say, 'The fault, dear Britons, is not in our stars (politicians) but in ourselves that we are underlings.' I am sure that in Britain you have not had any great cause for complaint for very many years in the direction to which I cannot refrain from alluding in speaking of a few politicians in Canada, for you are not the people in England to be satisfied with a half-told tale, political or otherwise.

"Now, Sir, after these prolonged introductory remarks, and being anxious to get down to real work, I may say if one of this audience were to ask me what the matter was with Canadian politics and politicians, in the fitness of things I could hardly refrain from saying that it was their too much *muchness*. You will better understand the suggestiveness of my remark, when I tell you that if you had in your



House of Commons in England the number of representatives in proportion to your population in Great Britain that the Dominion of Canada has in proportion to its population, instead of a beggarly six hundred and seventy you would have one thousand seven hundred, and if I were to take into consideration the vast Colonial, Imperial and international interests that demand so much of the time of British statesmen, and which interests and duties connected with them have no analogies in our political system, and quite outside of the performances required in any way of our politicians in Canada, you would, if accepting the Dominion of Canada as a precedent in political adjustments, be able to add another thousand to your House of Commons in addition to the one thousand seven hundred to which you would be entitled in entering the race for representation by population with Canada. On the other hand, if the Dominion of Canada had the same unit of representation that you have in Britain, the members of the Dominion Parliament would be eighty-four instead of two hundred and fourteen as at present. Then again, in each of the seven Provinces of Canada, there is a local parliament, and three or four of these local parliaments have a House of Lords, if you please. There is also a local parliament in the Northwest Territories. This will make at least three hundred more representatives, and as many of you will be aware the Dominion Parliament has an auxiliary by the way of a Senate with seventy-eight members. The Senate is sometimes called the House of Lords, and at other times it is called the Lord's House, the latter name being more particularly used when the Senate may have found it necessary to veto some obnoxious bill from the House of Commons. The Senate has proved on many occasions that under strong party government it can be hardly dispensed with with safety to the State, though it is to be regretted that for the last few years it has been simply an echo of the House of Commons and quite as partisan. A good many of the appointments to it, of late, are from the ranks of the defeated Ministerial candidates at the general elections of nineteen hundred. In addition to these numerous representatives, who each receive from ten to fifteen dollars per day while they are legislating, we have township as well as county councillors who, in the largest of the provinces, Ontario, number about two thousand. These councillors are paid out of the township & county funds. Now we come to the more patriotic members of society, known as school trustees. In the Province of Ontario alone there must be about twenty thousand. The trustees receive no remuneration. I might add that the public schools in the rural districts of the Province of Ontario, as well as in the cities and towns, are taught my men and women as a rule capable of imparting instruction in all branches necessary to equip the pupil for a business or a commercial life. I have been speaking of the Province of Ontario, it being the premier Province of the Dominion, containing, probably, two-fifths of the popula-



tion of the Dominion. I may say just here that the Province is nearly, if not quite, twelve hundred miles from east to west, and on an average of two hundred miles from north to south. The municipal systems of the Territories and the other provinces, except Quebec, are similar to the Ontario system. In most of the cities in Canada, in addition to the public schools, there are high schools, collegiate institutes, colleges and universities. In Ontario there are technical schools and a school of pedagogy. All of our schools in the cities of Canada are ably represented in an academic sense, as well as by able men in their different governing bodies. They have no special representatives in Parliament, however, unless the Minister of Education be so considered.

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, have I not by this time convinced you of the pertinency of my remark as to the too much muchness of our political system. Do you not consider in the light of your political system in Britain that we are very much over-governed. In fact, we are governed to death in Canada, and it is yearly, yes monthly, getting worse. I believe, Sir, from every standpoint it is the most fatal disease that has ever overtaken us, and it has decidedly weakened us in many respects. With the many material and natural advantages of Canada, instead of a population of hardly six millions, we undoubtedly should have been ten millions and more in this year of grace. All well informed men in America know, and have known for many years, that Canada has more undeveloped wealth than any other country on the face of the globe. Therefore, it can be fairly assumed that maladministration has done its part in not only deterring settlement, but driving settlers from the country, regarding which I shall have more to say before leaving England. We have been a long-suffering people in Canada in many ways, and still you hear few complaining. From the fact I have good reasons for believing that if you deduct the great and numerous armies of office-holders of every degree and office-seekers and their relations to the second and third generations from the whole male adult population there would be fewer left to complain than you might imagine, and the twenty-five or thirty thousand who have been yearly leaving for many years, becoming discouraged, leave quietly. I believe that I am quite within the mark in stating that for the last thirty years one-half of the young men who have passed out of our highest schools of learning are now settled in the United States, and in nearly every instance doing well. The truth is, if I must say it, the political life of Canada, especially Ontario, has become so corrupt and degraded, and that too by governmental action and approval, that the graduates of our colleges and universities stand but a poor chance for positions in the civil service in competition with the uneducated political demagogue and ward heeler. In fact, in our highest political representative bodies, and in the

highest civil service appointments we only rarely find at the present time an educated gentleman. The celebrated American divine, the late the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in visiting Ontario in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, said that we had more politics and politicians to the square acre than any country in the world, and that was before we had time to show our hand as to what we could do in that regard, or as to what was likely to follow, and what has unfortunately followed. After what I have stated, Mr. Chairman, you will be disposed to ask "What have your statesmen being doing?" I regret, I most exceedingly regret, to say, Sir, that although we have politicians and officials by the thousands, a kind of innumerable host that no man can number, yet I can safely say that within the last fifty years Canadian statesmen of the type or any approaching the type you have in Great Britain, can be numbered by counting the five fingers on both your hands. You will pardon me, but I just heard a gentleman ask his near neighbor if this can be true. I will give you the answer in the language of the immortal Shakespeare:

" 'Tis true, 'tis pity, pity 'tis, 'tis true "

"Now, Sir, I would like to return for a short time to that part of my address referring to the payment of the members of Parliament in Canada. In the composition of the local parliaments there are many farmers who go from their farms, where they have been working all summer and autumn, to the more congenial occupation of making laws for their fellow countrymen during the winter, and it is no secret that in some cases the six hundred dollars or more they receive for a few weeks playing at statesmanship, is more than they, their wives and families, altogether make during the year, and be good enough to observe in addition to this, there is the very good prospect ahead that if they give a strong support to the Government on all occasions, and ask no embarrassing questions, they will, and in probably quite a short time, receive a reward, either for themselves; or a son, father, uncle, nephew, or possibly a wife's relation, of something in the way of a registrarship, wardenship, superintendent or inspectorship of some of the public institutions of the country. Offices worth from one thousand to five thousand per annum. From what I have just said it is hardly necessary to say that the independence of Parliament or that of a majority of its members is not strongly guarded or severely criticised. In fact there has been so much of this kind of violation of the true principles of legislation and government that we nearly all feel that like other vices,

" 'Seen too oft familiar with its face, we first endure, then pity, then embrace.'

"The strong feeling excited in the Province of Ontario at the time of the rebellion in that province by the Liberals of that day against nepotism, has now entirely died out, as the party who have

carried nepotism farther than it has ever been carried in any country having responsible government still call themselves Liberals, and at times as a matter of expediency masquerade under the name of Reformers. Now you can see that no ordinary member of Parliament—and the majority of them are very ordinary—can hardly be proof against the temptation of an office almost in sight if he vote on every occasion for the government, and the offices I have named and many others that are utilized in the same way, are held for life, and in families who have strong enough pull in perpetuity, and as the duties pertaining to these offices are of a perfunctory and routine nature and performed by deputies and clerks, if the incumbent appointed by the Government can write his own name his qualifications or fitness for the office are not considered. I have in mind that on one occasion there was a vacancy in the office of sheriff in one of the oldest, and politically the most historic of any county in the Province of Ontario, a gentleman every way capable of filling the office and a leading gentleman in the Liberal party for a quarter of a century in the county. This gentleman was an applicant for the position, and had the support of four-fifths of the Liberals of the county. He was, however, put aside, and the high office of Sheriff given to a village innkeeper and bartender as well. I mention this to show you the length to which party exigency and a desire for power is carried in the great Province of Ontario. The remarks I have made with regard to the violation of the independence of Parliament in the local Parliament of the Province of Ontario will apply with only a little less force at the present time to the Dominion Government. In the latter case the return for fidelity to the Government by the members supporting them in the House on every occasion is now paid for by judgeships, postmaster-ships, commissionerships, wardenships, customs and inland revenue positions and scores of other offices created as party exigency requires. In some cases when a member of Parliament or a political manager happens to be in possession of compromising secrets, or has done some skilled work for the Government in connection with ballot boxes, in the doing of which he may have jeopardized his personal liberty, then if the latter contingency makes it necessary an office hitherto unknown is speedily created, and if the climate of Canada is likely to prove fatal to the person whose special services have been required by the Government, then, and in all such cases—and they are not at all infrequent—the party in question or skilled workman receives a foreign appointment at a large salary, and is sent abroad to travel for his health in European countries, among the Doukhobors and Scandinavians. I have more than one of such cases in view at the present time. Now, notwithstanding anything I have said, I am pleased to tell you that we have in Canada even yet just as good, able and honest men as there are in any country of the same or about the same population; men, too, who think more of their country and prin-

ciples than of any party, and when absolute necessity requires it on strong moral grounds and demands action, as it certainly does now, will act. Many of the ablest men in the Dominion have for years looked upon politics as too unclean to touch until the last half dozen years or so. The ablest men in Toronto kept aloft from the political life of the country, although it is now represented by four gentlemen who would do credit to themselves and to any representative English-speaking parliament the world over. In our governments, both at Ottawa and Toronto, at the present time it is simply a contest between mediocrities. In this regard the Province of Ontario, and in fact the Dominion as a whole, have sadly degenerated. I regret to be obliged, in telling you the whole truth, to say that many of those at the head of affairs and in the most important positions in the Civil Service are no more or less than a disgrace to the country and its institutions. The question may well be asked in the interests of the people, 'What is the use of establishing at great cost high schools, colleges and universities if the majority of the best and most representative positions in the public service are to be given by the Government as a prize for corrupt and criminal acts to ignorant and unprincipled ward politicians?' It has occurred to me while speaking that there may be some special matters that different ones in this audience would like me to touch upon and which probably could be best answered in the colloquial style of question and answer. I am here for the purpose of giving you all the information I can without reference much to style or form, therefore if it be the pleasure or wish of the majority of this audience that my remarks for the next thirty or forty minutes be in answer to questions, I shall only be too glad to answer any question put to me by any lady or gentleman, provided I am able to do so."

Baron Cheeseworth, rising, said: "Mr. Chairman, although I have been very much pleased with the remarks of the lecturer, it appears to me that there is a good deal in the suggestion he has made, and if it be agreeable I will move that the suggestion made by the lecturer be carried out."

Major Abadlot then rose and said: "Mr. Chairman, I shall be only too glad to second the motion, with the provision that I will be allowed to do a little of the firing myself."

The Chairman then said: "Ladies and gentlemen, although the carrying out of the proposition before the chair may, to a certain extent, partake of the practice in vogue in this country during a political campaign, I imagine I know the good taste of the ladies and gentlemen of England too well to be in the least apprehensive that any question will be asked of the slightest nature offensive. It certainly seems to be the wish of those present that the suggestion be carried out. I will therefore declare the motion made by Baron Cheeseworth, and seconded by Major Abadlot, carried."

The Hon. Benjamin Israel, at once rising, said: "With your per-

mission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the lecturer a question which involves a few remarks, and though personal to myself I feel I must make. You will therefore, I trust, allow me to say that I have had large financial transactions, amounting to many millions with certain railway presidents and others in Canada, including the Mayors and financial agents of two of its largest cities, and if it be not considered impertinent, I would like to know from the lecturer what he thinks will be the future of Toronto and Montreal twenty or twenty-five years hence. In asking these questions it is no breach of confidence on my part to state that I am not the only one in this audience who is peculiarly interested in Canada, and therefore in its financial administration.

Colonel Montagne, rising, said: "Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, as to the question propounded by the Hon. Benjamin Israel, I may first say that it would not be difficult for any reading and intelligent Canadian to answer, for every intelligent Canadian knows of the immense still undeveloped agricultural, mineral, timber, fishing and other interests of that great country, extending as it does from the Atlantic on the east to the Pacific on the west, that being more than four thousand five hundred miles, or, say, eight times larger than England from north to south and from about forty-three degrees north latitude, and in places forty-nine degrees to the North Pole. Canada is a very young country, except the French Province of Quebec, and the largest part has only been known as Canada for about thirty-five years. I refer to Manitoba, the Northwest Territories and British Columbia. I might say just here that Canada, previous to the year 1817, consisted only of Upper and Lower Canada, the former now known as Ontario, the premier Province of Canada, the latter, Quebec. These Provinces were united for legislative purposes from the year 1841 to 1867. On the consummation of Confederation, the first of July, 1867, Ontario, Quebec and the two more eastern Provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, commenced their political lives together under the name of the Dominion of Canada; to that Dominion have since been added on the west Manitoba, the Northwest Territories and British Columbia; to the east Prince Edward Island. Canada, I may say for the second time, has immense resources, and only very partially developed, but the Hon. Mr. Israel knows that. Capital all the world over is looking for undeveloped resources; in fact, there appears to be much more capital in all the great financial centres than can be profitably employed, if employed at all, and although Canada and Canadians altogether owe Britain and British capitalists eight hundred millions of dollars, what of that?"

The Hon. Mr. Israel, hastily rising, said: "I beg, I beg your pardon, Mr. Lecturer. Did I understand you to say eight hundred millions?"

The Lecturer: "Quite so, and if it were double that amount you need have no uneasiness as to the ultimate payment, though we may not always pay the interest on the very day it is due. In the City of Montreal there is one gentleman who could pay the civic debt of that city, and there are two gentlemen, if not one, in Toronto who could pay the fifteen million debt of that city. The position of Canada in the past has been as it is now, more or less tentative. Two rebellions have passed over Manitoba and the Territories within the last thirty-five years, and have undoubtedly strengthened that Province and the Territories. One rebellion has passed over Quebec and Ontario and certainly in no way has weakened them, and now Canada is passing through an evolutionary state, caused in a great measure by two very potent events which have taken place within the last twenty-five years; but as I propose to refer to them on a subsequent occasion, and not having sufficient time, I will not discuss them this evening. As the Western American miner would say, we in Canada are now getting down to hard-pan; we are shaping things to do some good work, and within the next fifteen years I expect to see a greater increase in population than there has been the last thirty years. If not so, it will be the fault of the politicians. The public lands fit for settlement in the United States are about exhausted, and many Canadian farmers who have given the United States a fair trial are now returning to Canada, and in great numbers American farmers are removing to Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, and this is the kind of immigration the country requires in order to counteract the baneful influences of some European immigration the Dominion Government has been stimulating for reasons that will not bear the searchlight of truth. If the Hon. Mr. Israel could find time to visit the thousands of square miles of the wheat fields of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories and after that go to British Columbia's mining districts and become at the same time acquainted with the fishing and lumbering interests of that Province, and then go to the City of Vancouver, the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, he would be within twelve hundred miles of the Yukon, that has for several years produced enough gold yearly to pay a fair interest on all the borrowed millions we in Canada have from Britain and British capitalists. Then if the trip to the Yukon and British Columbia be or be not, satisfying, I may be allowed to suggest that before the Hon. Mr. Israel's return to England he take a glimpse at the mineral wealth and immense timber interests of Northwestern Ontario. The great and almost inexhaustible wealth of this part of Canada alone should do away with any misapprehensions any one can have concerning the future of Canada for hundreds of years to come. A visit to the old parts of Canada, particularly to the Province of Ontario, could not fail to interest any one who takes an interest in agriculture, for in the Province of Ontario there are tens of thousands of beautiful



and productive farm containing as a rule from one to two hundred acres each, nearly as well improved and cultivated as any in your best counties in Britain, and pray, if you make this trip do not forget to visit the beautiful City of London, situate in the County of Middlesex, on the River Thames, with Westminster and Blackfrais bridges over which you can pass on your way out of the city to one of the finest sections of cultivated lands in any part of America. Then a visit to the Cities of Hamilton and Toronto, two of the largest cities in the Province of Ontario, the former containing a population of seventy-five thousand, the latter two hundred and fifty thousand, would, I have no doubt, do away with any still lingering misapprehensions as to the City of Toronto twenty-five years hence. Toronto, with a population of two hundred and fifty thousand, is only a little more than a hundred years old, and everything now points to its being in a few years the great manufacturing, commercial and residential city of British North America. I may say that it is essentially British. I am safe in saying that there is not a city on the map of the world, with the same or about the same population, that has more of the potentialities to make a great city. It should have a population of half a million within the next twenty years, and the Dominion of Canada, with nearly all of its natural wealth still undeveloped, cannot with even a fair share of honest administration in a political sense fail to quadruple its population within the next fifty years, and to take a position among the nations of the world that will be the envy of nations now double its population. Men may come and men may go, politicians may come and politicians may go, but I hope and trust that principles indestructible and eternal will, before many years, obtain political life in Canada, and with Canada and Tennyson's break for ever."

Sir William Beveridge, rising, said: "Mr. Chairman, with your permission I would like to put an interrogatory to the lecturer, although it may be what my attorney would say was travelling out of the record. I would like to know if the Government of Canada put an hexcise duty on beer, hale, etc., etc.?"

The lecturer, rising, said: "Sir William is not by any means travelling out of the record, for it would be a difficult matter for Sir William to interrogate me upon any question concerning Canada that does not either directly or indirectly enter into the political life of the country. For many years, and until quite recently, our boast has been that the Judges of the Superior Courts were quite above the vulgar methods of the politicians. It is to be feared, however, from present indications, that this boast cannot much longer be made. If we are not politicians in Canada, we are nothing. Politics enters the school, the public institutions, and the machine politician from his past success has grown brazen enough to approach (with considerable success, I regret to say) some of the first judicial seats of the country. Unfortu-

nately, the men who should consider it their duty and privilege to attack this vile monster, are apparently, with few exceptions, not in the least disturbed. When the morals and honor of the people of Canada are being sapped by the ballot box stuffer, ballot box burner and the perjurer and sabornor of perjury, with the approval of the Ministers of the Crown, who, I ask, should, upon moral and religious grounds speak out, if not the ministers of the Gospel of truth and righteousness? By coming in contact with corrupt and criminal men in political life have we, too, become so inoculated with corruption by mere unavoidable and passing associations, that conscience is stifled. Is the poet right, when he says of vice,

"Seen too oft familiar with its face, we first endure, then pity  
then embrace?"

"It would seem so. I may say, Sir William, that there is an excise duty on beer, ale, etc., and as you are in this line of business you will know if you cultivate Canadian trade that the customs duties are quite high enough to satisfy those immediately concerned, though not too low to satisfy the Prohibitionists of that country who, by the way, in the autumn of 1898 got an expression of the feelings of the electors as to the total prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of all spirituous and fermented liquors, including, of course, beer, ale, porter, etc. The result of the plebiscite, which was taken and paid for by the Government, showed that the Prohibitionists had been successful in all of the Provinces except the French Province of Quebec, the home of the present Premier of Canada. As the Government had promised the Prohibitionists that they would be guided in their legislative action by the result of the plebiscite, and as the vote in the aggregate showed that the Prohibitionists had a very large majority and in every Province except Quebec, the Government find themselves in quite a dilemma, and in the meantime seem to be balancing the relative strength at the polls of the Prohibitionists on the one side and the brewers, distillers and saloon keepers on the other. The promise to the Prohibitionists, though apparently made in good faith, in all human probability will not be carried out, for some men in high political positions in Canada, for several years past have been in the way of creeping through a very small hole, even if it be the bung-hole of a beer barrel. The promises of the present party in power in Canada, when casting long eyes towards the treasury and greatly treasured sets, have often found these promises very embarrassing since they reached the Mecca of their desires."

Sir William, again rising, said: "Surely, Mr. Lecturer, the people of Canada can never be so lost to their rights and liberties as British subjects as to give up their hale and beer. As to whiskey, wine and brandy, that is none of my business; indeed, I sometimes think that if we could do away with the latter and have only beer



hale and porter, it would be better for Hingland. If the people of Canada never wish to become a nation and put off the colonists' clothes, they must have their beer, and, Mr. Chairman, allow me to say in conclusion and ask you as Chairman if Hingland's greatness does not depend more on the quality and sale of beer than upon its army and navy?" (Great laughter and cheers.)

Major Abadlot, seeing the good humor of the audience, and taking advantage of it, rising, said: "Mr. Chairman, as seconder of the resolution which has brought on this war of words, which has, perhaps, inadvertently or otherwise, sent a few stray shots in different places that possibly were not intended during the skirmishing, I would like to know from Colonel Montague, for I always feel that a Colonel, or if you will permit me to say a Major, should be addressed as such, and in hearing Colonel Montague addressed as Mr. Lecturer, I feel that it is a slur upon the military of the British Empire; but what I wish to ask Colonel Montague is, whether he considers the harbor at Esquimaunt, British Columbia, safe for the war vessels sometimes sent there by the Navy Department, and also as to whether he considers the French City of Quebec in the French Province of Quebec as impregnable as it was when the brave General Wolfe sold his life in the conquest and acquisition of Canada in 1759."

The Lecturer, rising, said: "I trust Major Abadlot will not be offended when I say that I do not by any means feel annoyed in being addressed as lecturer pro tem, and especially when I feel as I now do that my lecture may be the means of removing prejudice, and in a measure I hope and trust, bring about a fair and proper understanding between all of the better elements in Canada of all political parties and the people of England, from the cottage to the throne, and now I will answer Major Abadlot's first question as to Esquimaunt harbor. It is not many years since I was at Esquimaunt, and I know it was then considered perfectly safe, so far as defence was concerned. I remember seeing three large war vessels in the harbor and another on the dry docks for repairs. As to Quebec, I can only say that it is considered as impregnable as it was when it was first called the Gibraltar of America. It is hardly necessary to say that it is a most picturesque looking city, and quite unlike any other city in Canada or in America. It is essentially French, and by many considered two hundred years behind the rest of America. However, the scenery in and about Quebec City is very picturesque and grand, as it is many other places in the Province of Quebec."

Major Abadlot: "Thank—eh, very much, Colonel Montague, and allow me to say that I admit the propriety as well as the common sense of your remarks. Still, I feel that I can never stoop to call Colonel Montague Mr. Lecturer, for ever since a boy at college I always abhorred the names professor and lecturer."

The Chairman then good-naturedly said: "And that is the reason possibly, that you are now Major Abadlot instead of being a peer of the realm or on the woolsaek." (Great laughter at the expense of the doughty Major.)

Major Abadlot: "I would not exchange my commission for either."

Mr. Adolphus Howard, rising, said: "Though my youth and inexperience in life hardly entitle me to a prominent status in this audience, composed as it is of the beauty, intelligence, wealth and nobility of the historic Counties of Surrey and Kent, to say nothing of the great financiers from the metropolis of the world, still my inclinations may be said to get the best of my judgment and good taste, when I say that I cannot refrain from asking the lecturer, whom he considers the most noted among the politicians in the past as well as the present in Canada, and also as to whom he considers the statesmen, few though they be."

The Chairman, rising, said: "Mr. Howard, your name and the honor you have won as a double first will always entitle you to a hearing in a land where the name of Howard is well known as one of England's greatest names, and, I may add, in an audience like this that knows what the honor and merit attached to a double first wrangler implies."

The Lecturer, rising, said: "The question asked by Mr. Howard is one which, if answered by a Canadian partisan Conservative politician, would hardly satisfy the ladies and gentlemen who make up this audience, for if the partisan happened to be of very insular and provincial views, he would, at least if you would permit it, readily give the names of fifty Conservatives in Canada quite the peers of Peel, Wellington, D'Israeli, Salisbury, Balfour, or any of your great Conservative names of the twentieth or any other century. Again, if this question were to be answered by the Liberal of the machine or partisan type, and with only the knowledge acquired from books and a strict adherence to party discipline, and who perhaps would claim to be able to answer the question because his father and grandfathers had all been Liberals and never given a Conservative vote, I say, an answer as such a tyro in politics would give would hardly be satisfactory to an audience composed of English Liberals, Conservatives and Whigs. From what I have just said you can readily conclude that my answer will hardly satisfy the partisan politician on either side in Canada, however well it may satisfy the noble independent men who belong to neither party and only have the good of the country at heart, irrespective of party or selfish considerations, or, indeed, however well it may satisfy the audience I now have the honor of addressing. I am, though, in this answer as in other I have made, only amenable to my intelligence and honor. I will not tell you what we have had, or have even one, in Canada, probably one, who would rank

with Pitt, Burke, Fox, Peel, Derby, Gladstone, D'Israeli, Salisbury or other mighty names on the scroll of English fame, though I will say this much, we have a Canadian, though not in political life in Canada now, who, had he been placed at the time he entered political life in Canada in the year 1867, in close political relationships with the statesmen of Britain, and had a seat in either the British House of Lords or the Commons of England, I say, had he had the advantages of the political environment I have just named, I believe he would have easily ranked among the Peels, Palmerstons, Russells, Gladstones, D'Israelis, Chamberlains, Devonshires, Salisburys and other great names that will for all time and as long as the world endures shed a lustre on British statesmanship. Not wishing to keep this audience in suspense, I will give you the name, the Hon. Edward Blake, often spoken of in Canada as the "Great Canadian." (Cheers.) In thus paving the way to answer Mr. Howard, I may say that it is not my intention to pursue any fixed or conventional course in bringing my characters in review before you, for there entrees and exists on their different stages of political life may have been so interrupted and changed by passing events that I could not, if I so desired, successfully do so, though when it can be done I will introduce them as they will appear, as many of them have already appeared in histories of Canada, confining myself as nearly as circumstances will admit of to the last fifty years. It is not much more than fifty years since responsible government was completely established in Upper and Lower Canada, now Ontario and Quebec, respectively. In 1841 these two Provinces, as I have already told you, were united for legislative purposes. It was not long after this union that Robert Baldwin, in Upper Canada, and Louis Lafontaine, in Lower Canada, were the leaders of the "old Liberal party," Robert Baldwin being the Premier. These were the men who, with a few others quite as able, among them William Hume Blake, the father of the Hon. Edward and Hon. Samuel Blake—these three men, Baldwin, Blake and Lafontaine, were three of Canada's statesmen at that time engaged in working out the problem of responsible government in that country; it is not necessary for my purposes to refer to the antecedents of any of the gentlemen I have named, further than to say that they were men of good birth, well educated, and indeed well equipped for the duties and responsibilities with which they had been entrusted. Mr. Baldwin, the Premier, was a barrister in high standing in the City of Toronto, as was also his ablest minister, Mr. Blake. In the fitness of things, and considering the duties required of them, no better three men could have been selected to shape the destinies of that struggling new country, which not many years before had passed through a rebellion, and in which in very many ways little progress had been made. That Robert Baldwin was the central figure of the Liberals in the Government was not by any means because he was their superior in point of ability, but sim-

ply because he was the Premier, and consequently the figurehead. That he was an able man, a man of sterling character and great propriety in all relations of life and unyielding upon the side he considered right, is well known, and as much can be said of the other two of his ablest Ministers, Mr. Blake and Mr. Lafontaine. Robert Baldwin and William Hume Blake are names that will ever be dear to all of the best elements of the Liberal party in Canada, and especially so to those now known as the "old school of Liberals," who are always on the side of honest government, irrespective of the party cry; and the memories of these men are and will be respected by men of all political parties who believe in honest government and purity in political life and as much can be said of Louis Lafontaine, for in the Province of Quebec the name of Lafontaine is still dear to the old school of Liberals, and is not yet forgotten by the old school of Liberals in Ontario. The Baldwins and Blakes are still prominent in their respective spheres, and whatever amount of detraction and abuse have been heaped upon other politicians since the gentlemen to whom I have referred were placed in honored tombs, no one has ever dared to pursue with calumny the men or the memories of the men, who will always be considered the first among the statesmen of Canada."

"Sir Alexander Galt came into full view in the political life of Canada about fifty years ago, and who, although representing a constituency in the Province of Quebec, was often claimed as an Upper Canadian, as his early life was spent in Upper Canada, where his brother, Sir Thomas Galt, and his father lived. Sir Andrew Tilloch Galt was more than once invited by Governor-Generals of Canada to form a Ministry and become Premier, which he always declined and for the same reason that he on more than one occasion retired from Conservative governments, the reason being that he was not at these particular times in accord with the majority of his political friends on some question of principle. Permit me to say, Mr. Chairman, that it is now many years in Canada since a politician (with two honorable exceptions) has been known to possess the virtue of resignation, unless he perchance happened to have a more permanent office with a larger salary in sight. There are scores of instances of this latter class of politicians resigning; it is a frequent occurrence nowadays. Sir Alexander Galt was a member of different Conservative Governments in Canada. He was a gentleman of unquestionably great abilities, and of the strictest integrity in every relation of life. He was one of the leaders in political life in Canada for many years, though when he eventually retired from political life he was not an old man, and was engaged for several years in developing the coal fields in the district surrounding Lethbridge, in the Northwest Territories of Canada. The last conversation I had with Mr. Galt was at Butte City, Montana, in the autumn of 1882. Mr. Galt was a gentleman admired

and respected by men of all political parties, and he was and is now considered by very many as able a man as Canada has ever produced. He was undoubtedly a statesman.

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### THE HONORABLE GEORGE BROWN.

"Another of the political leaders in Canada for many years was the Hon. George Brown, who was nearly his whole political life in Parliament with the gentleman of whom I have just spoken, but on opposite sides. Except for a short time, when they were members of a coalition government of old Canada, formed for the special purpose of arranging for and perfecting the Confederation of the Provinces, Mr. Brown was a Scotchman by birth, and educated in Scotland, and when quite a young man emigrated with his father, Peter Brown, to the City of New York, and after a few years residence there moved to the City of Toronto. In the latter city, and not long after taking up their residence in it, the father and son started the "Weekly Globe" newspaper, which in a few years developed into a bi-weekly, afterwards into a tri-weekly, and soon after into a daily, which daily in a short time became the leading daily of what was then known as Canada West, or Upper Canada. Owing to the influence wielded by the "Globe" newspaper all over the Province, Mr. Brown, as a young man of thirty-three years, entered the Canadian Parliament as a representative of a rural constituency. His commanding presence and very soon acknowledged abilities as a speaker, writer and thinker, in a short time won for him a seat on one of the front benches in Parliament, and before very long the leadership of the Liberal party, which at that time it might well be considered an honor to lead. He was for about twenty years the opponent in Parliament, in the press and on the platform of the late John A. Macdonald, who had, by the way, such a long political career in Canada, and of whom it is my intention to speak on a future occasion in this country. Mr. Brown was an able and earnest speaker, and could on occasion be eloquent, as his great speech in Parliament on the question of the Confederation of the Provinces will always bear ample testimony. His political aims were not in the direction of official life; it seemed to be his ambition to effect the carrying to a successful issue certain principles that he kept continually before the country through the columns of the "Globe" newspaper, from his seat in Parliament, and on the political platform. The independence of Parliament, representation by population, the secularization of the clergy reserves in Canada West and the abolition of the seigniorial tenures in Lower Canada were among the most important. Not many years after his death the leaders of his own party tore to pieces the two first of the great principles, so long, so ably and

so stubbornly fought for and won by him, but the two latter were beyond the reach of the impious hands of some of the politicians of the present. Had Mr. Brown been in any sense a trimmer or opportunist or built in any way after or like this "new school of Liberals" in Canada, and more particularly in Ontario, he might have spent a good many years of his political life in power or office; but like many other great parliamentarians, such as Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox and our own Edward Blake, he seemed to prefer the more independent and honorable way to political distinction. He was not a courtier or sycophant in any sense, but a strong-minded man, able, conscientious politician and statesman, who to my mind has never had on the Liberal side only one superior and one equal in Canada. Few, if any, in Canada have left such a record of political deeds as the late very much lamented the Hon. George Brown. His fight was for principles, not for place and plunder. He was not, however, by any means an angel but a man of very strong resentments; was imperious, and to a certain extent tyrannical when opposed, and particularly when opposed in caucus or on the platform by men of his own party. Before the Confederation of the Provinces he, with the Hon. Wm. McDougall and the Hon. (now Sir) W. P. Howland, were three Liberal members at one time from Canada West of the Coalition Government, formed for the special purpose of arranging for terms with the other British Provinces of North America, and doing other things considered necessary in order to accomplish the carrying out of the Confederation scheme. This, I may here say, was in many respects considered the best Government Canada ever had. As time went on however, the Hon. George Brown, becoming dissatisfied, and probably for good reasons, retired from the Government, but quite a considerable time before the purposes for which it had been formed had been accomplished, Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland, the other Liberals, still remaining in the Government. On the first day of July, 1867, the Confederation of the four Provinces, to which I have before alluded in this address, became an accomplished fact on paper, endorsed by the British Government. The endorsers were all right. The working of the political machine, or whether it would work or not, was problematical to a certain extent, as the Province of Nova Scotia had by a large majority marshalled its forces against the union, and these forces were led by the Hon. Joseph Howe, one of the most popular as well as one of the ablest politicians at that time in Canada. Both before and after the Confederation scheme was accomplished on paper Mr. Howland and Mr. McDougall took the ground that it would be better for them to remain in the Government as Liberals, even under the leadership of a Conservative, than to abandon the ship as soon as it was launched, but before it had got fairly started. They remained in the Government, and it was then that the Hon. George Brown and the



"Globe" newspaper put forth their energies to destroy the two life-long political friends, simply because they could not see eye to eye with the Hon. George Brown and the "Globe," that was at that time under the chief editorship of Mr. Gordon Brown, a brother of the Hon. George, and a very worthy man. The "Globe" was a mighty engine in the way of destroying the character of public men of independent minds who dared to have opinions that had not their birth in the brain of Mr. Brown. Let me here state that the Hon. Wm. McDougall was one of the quite numerous fathers of Confederation, and as able as either the Hon. George Brown or Sir John Macdonald. He was some years younger than Sir John and about the same age as Mr. Brown. It would seem that in one sense it was unfortunate for Mr. McDougall that he possessed a calm, judicial mind, was a keen logician of eminently great rhetorical power and abilities generally of a high order, and of great independence of character. I do not consider that at the time I am speaking of it is too much to say that he was quite the peer of any man in Canada for statesmanlike ability. Of course, Mr. Brown and his paper, that was read at that time in the homes of half the people in the Province, had it in their power to ostracise both Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland from the ranks of the party with which they had been closely identified for a quarter of a century. Then, Mr. McDougall, possessing too much independence and ability to suit Sir John Macdonald, not very long after Confederation, found himself in the position of having to oppose in many ways the two strongest men politically in Canada, and the two strongest men, in a political sense, won. I have now, though I must admit rather unconventionally, introduced the Hon. Mr. McDougall. I gave you notice, however, some time ago that you might expect something of the kind; and it is difficult, as I imagine I have just demonstrated, to speak of, or even to write, the biography of a prominent politician or statesman without accomplishing nearly, if not quite as much, for those who have been associated with him. As for the party himself, I have more to say of Mr. McDougall, and I may as well say it now as afterwards. He was a Canadian by a birth, though his family before him many years ago lived in one of the eastern of the United States, in the Colonial days of that country. In his younger life he pursued literature, afterwards studied law, and became a barrister, though during his legal studies he was an active and prominent politician and was in the old Parliament of Canada, and in the Government before the Confederation of the Provinces. He was the first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, but owing to the movement set on foot by the French rebel halfbreed Riel in 1869, he did not reach Government House, or any other house in Winnipeg, the capital of the Province. He and his young family, exposed to all kind of hardships, remained for several months some distance to the south of Winnipeg, expecting at differ-

ent times to be attacked and perhaps murdered by these French half-breeds under the leadership of the man Riel, who was hanged at Regina in the autumn of 1885 for his part in the second French half-breed rebellion in that country. Mr. McDougall and his family, after remaining several months under very discouraging circumstances with no hope of relief from the Government, returned to the Province of Ontario, having to stage it for several hundred miles through the snow and cold of a Minnesota and Canadian winter. At that time Winnipeg was a hamlet of a few hundred white and halfbreeds, and Indians, surrounded on every side by Indians and halfbreeds. It is now a city of seventy-five thousand of the most intelligent people to be found in the Dominion of Canada. Mr. McDougall, as I have already stated, was one of the gentlemen sent to London as a delegate to put in shape the Confederated Provinces, so as to meet the approval of the British Government. I heard Mr. McDougall speak of one occasion when he and the other delegates dined at Windsor Castle and of the suspicious looks John Brown gave towards the Hon. George E. Cartier, when that plucky Frenchman was chirping forth his views on various Canadian topics in the sometimes uncertain English of the Quebec politician. Mr. McDougall mentioned that on meeting one of the noble ladies the next day who was present at the royal dinner party, she informed him that the half English and half French utterances of Cartier, coupled with the amazement on the face of John Brown, brought a smile to the face that had not smiled since Albert the Good had passed, more than four years before. I will now leave the Hon. Mr. McDougall to be dealt with more ably and justly by the historian and biographer. Mr. Chairman, as you cannot fail to notice that my voice is getting very husky, I may here say that I will be obliged to close my remarks, having first said a few words that the name of the Hon. George E. Cartier suggests. This gentleman was from about fifty-five to thirty-two years ago one of the leading politicians of Canada, both before and after Confederation, and for that length of time the close personal and political friend of Sir John Macdonald, and went hand in hand with him. He was once or twice Premier of Canada. The Hon. George E. Cartier was a clever Frenchman, and always had the courage of his convictions. As a young man he was a rebel under the noted Louis Papineau of Quebec Province during the rebellion of '37 and '38. Whilst most of the ablest and best men on the Liberal side of politics in Quebec opposed the scheme of Confederation, George E. Cartier never flinched in its advocacy, and during the debates in Parliament on that question, he on one occasion spoke thirteen hours. When the City of Montreal was first founded the name Jacques Cartier, the first of this family, appears as founder. And now, Mr. Chairman, as you as well as my very patient listeners generally will know that prudence suggests that



my remarks should be brought to a close, I thank you all for your very kind attention and applause."

The Chairman, rising, said: "Ladies and gentlemen, it is hardly necessary for me to say that we all very much regret that Colonel Montague has overtaxed his voice, and I fear this temporary inconvenience to him and consequent loss to us has been caused by the lowness of the ceiling of this hall, for although good enough for the purposes for which it was intended, it is not high enough for the safety of a public speaker. I hope and trust, though, that Colonel Montague's voice will be fully restored to him in a few hours. In saying this much I may be allowed to add that I am sure we, one and all, have been very much pleased as well as interested with the able and earnest remarks of the lecturer pro tem. I am satisfied we have received more reliable information regarding Canada and Canadian politicians in the one and a half hours' speech of Colonel Montague than a month's reading would give us. It is very easy to see that Colonel Montague rises above the petty tricks of the petty politician and immigration agent that seem to abound in this and some European countries at the present time, and who so often prove to the observing and thinking world that they are little less than barnacles sapping in some way the vitals of the country that they are paid for serving. I only regret for Canada's sake that men possessing the intelligence and honesty of Colonel Montague had not spoken years ago in England, as well as in other parts of Great Britain."

The meeting then closed with three cheers for Canada and Colonel Montague.

### CHAPTER III.

Once more, and about a week after the lecture at Surrey Hall, Lawrence Stanley, now of the American Embassy at Paris, and Colonel Montague were again at the Hotel Cecil. They had read the "Times'" special correspondent's report of the lecture at Surrey Hall. Colonel Montague asked Stanley if he had ever known the "Times'" correspondent when he (Stanley) was correspondent of the New York "Tribune." Stanley said he had once met him in Chicago seventeen years ago, and not long after the anarchists of that city had created such a sensation in the Socialistic world and for which several of them were hanged.

"At that time," said Stanley, "I was still correspondent in America for the New York 'Tribune,' and went to Chicago upon the same errand that took Marmaduke Hailstone of the 'Times' to that city. We were both at the Grand Pacific for a week and became quite intimate."

"Possibly that may be the reason," said Montague, "that he has

given your humble servant such a flattering notice now, nearly after the report of the lecture at Surrey Hall was published 'Times' with extended comments."

"Not at all," said Stanley, "for I called at the 'Times' the morning after the lecture to see if I was correct in my recognition of Hailstone from the platform the night of your lecture and found him in his room in the 'Times' building. He recognized me and stated he was satisfied at the time he recognized me the evening before on the platform, but that he had no time to spare, and it was imperative for him to reach the city in time to hand the report of your lecture in for publication the next morning. As you are now already aware, he was very much pleased with your address, and certainly did not fail to do you ample justice. I have only been on this side about three weeks, but long enough to see that the British Government are very much disgusted with the different ways. You know, in England, the Civil Service representatives are always educated gentlemen with good moral character above reproach. I have been informed very credibly that the best men Canada has sent to England would never be able to fill the Civil Service positions in England. Now, Montague, as this is the first time we have met since the lecture night, I wish to say I was very much interested in and pleased with your address; it was certainly most cheerfully received by the audience, and with an audience one could not fail to receive additional inspiration. Your voice is not yet quite in its normal state, I would suggest we remain in for a short time and talk over matters and things in general, for I am now as anxious as Lord Yuno to learn more of Canada and Canadians. I must confess that although there are thousands of Canadians scattered over every State and Territory of the United States, I have never become on what might be termed intimate relations with any. I had always considered Canadian a long way behind the American age of civilization. Years ago, when I was a boy in California, I was at an uncle's—John Blair, of Placerville. He had a great friend by the name of Jackson Montague, a young man, apparently thirty, and although it is thirty years ago since my uncle moved East, I have never seen Jackson Montague since and I dare say you are now thirty-five years older than he was then. Notwithstanding this, I have more than once felt that I could see a resemblance between you and him."

"Stanley," said Montague, "say no more, for you have said enough to convince me that the Jackson Montague to whom you refer was my only brother. In his letters to me from California he frequently mentioned the name of your uncle, John Blair, of Placerville, as one of his most intimate friends. Poor fellow! Very shortly after you saw him he joined the expedition, organized at San Fran-

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cised by the Russian Government and the Western Union Telegraph Company to explore Russian Siberia, with the view to telegraphic communication through that country. However, after spending two million dollars on the expedition by way of exploration, the Atlantic cable became a success, and the expedition was consequently abandoned. My brother, however, remained in the country for some time, and on a visit to Major Abasa, a Russian friend of his, at the Court of St. Petersburg, he was taken ill, and after a few days' illness died. This, remember, is over thirty-five years ago, and when telegraph messages were not sent round the world with the same speed they are now. For more than a year after my brother's death we knew nothing of it in Canada, and not until I initiated a correspondence with Mr. George Kennan, who was the captain of the expedition in which my brother was the lieutenant. In this way we became acquainted with the sad news. By the way, I may tell you that I dined with Kennan in the winter of 1895, at the Rossin House, in the City of Toronto, thirty-five years and more ago, and before he became the famous lecturer and literary man he now is, we were correspondents for some time. He and my brother were companions and friends under very trying circumstances in Siberia, and he spoke to me feelingly of one occasion, when my brother was instrumental in saving the lives of the whole exploring party when they were about breathing their last owing to a night of exposure to the cold and snows of wretched Siberia. It seems that my brother was the only one of the whole party who had enough vitality left to get on his feet in the morning, which he did, and by force of will power, or some power of speech and action, aroused the others from their torpidity and beds of snow to life. His exposure and efforts that morning were ultimately the cause of his death."

"Let us go for a walk," said Stanley.

"Certainly," and the friends, now more intimate than ever before, continued walking for some time, and as they were meeting and passing so many fair Saxon faces, Stanley said :

"Well, Montague, what a contrast these fair English faces and strong characters present after living in Paris with the insincere and volatile Frenchman chattering on all sides of you, and whom I am now meeting at every turn, and continually at the Embassy. I regret now that I had not been put on the staff at St. James'. After the theatrical Frenchman makes his bows a few times you lose interest in him, as he soon impresses you with his insincerity. Evidently they have become aware that my too indulgent father allows me to draw on him for a thousand dollars monthly, for before I had hardly received the letter stating it, I had almost every degree of Frenchman bowing to me."

"It occurs to me, Stanley," said Colonel Montague, "that since

our visits to Surrey Hall you are becoming decidedly English. I am certain, too, that the American citizen is in high favor with Yuno. A travelled Englishman is apt to become very much liberal and although Yuno is a born aristocrat in every way, his intellect like the intellect of many able men, is democratic, if you will let me so to express it."

"I quite understand you," said Stanley, "and I may as well confess to you that I have been very much impressed with Beatrice, and I know you will forgive me when I tell you that I went over to Dover and went to Surrey Hall on two occasions of which I have not spoken to you. At any rate, it so happened that I had time to come to London to see you."

"I had fancied," said Montague, "that that little Major would not have been talking away his not too abundant brains descended upon the enormous wealth of the father of the peripatetic American they call Stanley, 'you know.' I have too high an opinion of Beatrice to imagine for a moment that they would or could in the slightest degree be moved by anything like sordid motives in their treatment of either of us. Yuno knows, as well as you, that about the only material substance I possess is a hundred and eighty pounds of avoirdupoise. My experience in life teaches me that a gentleman be properly introduced or established in any way, of many ways, that he is a gentleman among gentlemen, whether he be nobles, philosophers or statesmen, he is always treated as all gentlemen worthy of the name should be. Is it not so?"

"It certainly is, and it is my experience."

#### CHAPTER IV.

"Now, Stanley," said Colonel Montague, "as you have spoken frankly, and given your views so unreservedly upon Canadian topics, and which views are so nearly in accord with my own, and as you have more than once questioned me regarding the small population of Canada, considering our great natural resources, I will now speak to you more freely upon this point than I have ever yet done. Be good enough to remember that in Canada we have fortunately, or unfortunately, two very distinct peoples. One of the greatest Provinces, indeed, much the greatest and most populous of the Provinces, Ontario is essentially British, as are all of the other Provinces, except Quebec which to all intents and purposes is French. Many years ago we were known as the Eastern Townships in the Province of Quebec were settled chiefly by English-speaking people, but from year to year they are becoming more French. These two peoples, British or the descendants of British, and French or the descendants of French, live side by side and divided only by a narrow river—I say, these two p

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ples, with the exception of a few politicians, merchants and manu-  
facturers, are personally strangers to each other. They, of course,  
speak a different language; they do not intermarry. An Ontario man  
would be almost as likely to jump into a balloon and attempt a trip  
to the moon to seek the hand of Miss Luna as to go to the Province  
of Quebec for a wife; and the Frenchman, quite forgetting his native  
gallantry, passes west through Ontario without once deigning to cast  
an amorous glance at one of its fair daughters, rather, it would seem,  
preferring to go still farther west into the wigwams of the native  
tribes of the Northwest Territories of Canada and select a dusky  
maiden as a partner for life, being doubtless more congenial to his  
taste. Hence the number of French halfbreeds in the Northwest Ter-  
ritories. The religion, the origin, and the traditions of these two peo-  
ples are the antithesis of each other. In the Dominion Parliament  
many of the French members speak only French; the British, or Eng-  
lish-speaking members, numbering about one hundred and seventy,  
speak only English. Out of all the English-speaking members there  
will not be more than twenty who can speak French, and not one who  
speaks it on the floor of the House. How, I ask, can any man in any  
representative body vote intelligently, or independently on the merits  
or demerits of a measure if he do not understand the language of only  
a proportion of those who have made arguments for or against it?  
At the seat of Government at Ottawa you will find a much larger  
number of the civil servants of French origin, in proportion to their  
population in the Dominion, than of English origin. The parliamen-  
tary reports, sessional papers and statutes are printed in French as  
well as English. In this connection I would like to direct your atten-  
tion to what the late Lord Macaulay said in his History of England  
as to these two peoples in Canada. I believe it will be found on page  
forty-nine, first volume. I have not a volume of Macaulay within  
reach, or I would read it to you. However, as food for reflection, it  
would be better for you to read it yourself. If by some wise and  
mysterious dispensations of the Great Architect of the Universe Eng-  
land and France were to become united for legislative purposes, and  
the representatives of both countries meet in the House of Commons  
here, one speaking in the main, English, and the other in the main,  
French, such anomalies as England would then have to contend  
against the English-speaking representatives of Canada have now, and  
have had for many years. This condition has obtained in Canada  
for nearly three-quarters of a century. If you are surprised at the  
small population of Canada, especially the Province of Ontario, with  
all of its great natural wealth, you will know one of the chief causes.  
The French in the Province of Quebec are about one-quarter of the  
whole population of the Dominion, though at present that Province  
completely dominates the political life of the whole Dominion. It

would seem that there are always enough English-speaking representatives in the other Provinces who are apparently willing to sacrifice themselves, and sometimes at a pretty low figure, in order to stay with the Government of the day, which Government at present for the last eight years past, as I have already said, has been completely dominated by Frenchmen who live in the French Province. The premier Province, Ontario, has for the last forty-eight years been in many ways the milk cow of Canada, and thus has its progress been retarded. I have noticed in the papers that there are many Canadians in the city, and the owners of the names of two of them I know very well and would like to call upon them. Let us go together to the High Commissioner's office and see if they are registered.

The friends at once proceeded to the High Commissioner's office to find that the names were not registered. Colonel Montague, who was making some inquiries as to emigration to Canada, asked Presto Change, the great magician of the ballot box in Canada, in the office, whereupon a young man engaged in writing at the desks, volunteered to say that he believed Presto Change was conducting some emigration movements among the Doukhobors, and he appears to be looking after at present.

"Now, gentlemen," said the young man, addressing Colonel Montague and Laurence directly, "I assume you are both coming from England and from Canada. Well," said he, "we in England know but little about our colonies, there are so many of them, and what we know is hardly as favorable as it might be in some instances. Of course, gentlemen, I am not in the least personal, and we all know there are good and bad in all countries, but what I wish to say is that one of the leading newspapers in Canada, 'The Mail and Express,' published in the City of Toronto, reached us with a marked article in reference to some elections in your country, and if even one-half of what is stated in this ably-edited paper be true (and I have no reasons for doubting the truth of all that is written), then Mr. Presto Change, to say the least, should be recalled, and made to stand on trial as the leader of a gang of ballot stuffers and ballot box buyers. He certainly should not be here and in an official position, I believe made for him by the Premier of the Dominion, in consequence of the criminal work done by him for the political party now in power in Canada and the Province of Ontario. In England a man known to be guilty of such a crime would be tried, and if found guilty imprisoned, and not placed in a Government position. Such a condition of things will soon bring responsible government into contempt, and certainly discourage British emigration to Canada."

"Pardon me, young man, but my friend (who is an American citizen, by the way), and I have an engagement and our time is

"An American citizen! That has the right wrong about it.



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took off your colonists clothes over a hundred years ago when your population was between three and four millions. I love most of us Englishmen admire an American citizen, knowing that his ancestors had independence enough to strike out for themselves. You were not afraid to try and stand alone."

"Well, my young friend, you certainly have the courage of your convictions, and I admire your pluck. Good morning."

Stanley: "I am glad to know, son of Albion, that you have such a good opinion of Americans generally. It shows that you know a good thing when you see it. Au revoir."

The friends returned to the Cecil, and after lunch Stanley took himself off to Paris and the Embassy, and Colonel Montague, opening his letters, found one from Sir Rowland Courtier, in which that gentleman stated that he regretted very much that Colonel Montague's voice had not been sufficiently restored to warrant him in delivering another address. He also stated that there was a large park on one side of Romney Castle and that he would like to give a sort of picnic and have the address delivered in the open air, if the weather permitted, and made quite public to all, for, said Sir Rowland, "I intend to stand for the county in the Liberal interest at the next general election, and an occasion of this kind would be a good introduction and one that would be of some benefit to me. Besides, Lord Yuno has informed me that you are a gentleman of very Liberal and Radical views, and that would tend to popularize the meeting. However, as soon as you are able to name the day, I will give it sufficient publicity to bring a few thousand together. Lord Yuno is, as probably you are aware, a very advanced Liberal, and I will have his support. I purpose giving him, Lady Yuno and Lady Beatrice Agincourt, an invitation to spend a few days with us, and now I invite you to do the same, and I have, by the way, written to your American friend that we will expect him. Yours sincerely,  
COURTIER."

## CHAPTER V.

Colonel Montague: "Come in, Stanley. I was just closing the door when I saw your head near the top of the stairs, and pray what brings you so soon from Paris. When you left the day before yesterday, from what you said, I did not expect to see you for several days."

"Well, I am here, and my business may prove in the end of a serious nature. I will at once tell you why I am here so unexpectedly.

I have a quarrel on, and in a private quarrel it would have involved in it anyone in the Embassy as that might lead to complications and consequences more far-reaching than could now be anticipated. I was sitting in the semi-private parlor of the Hotel smoking a cigar and looking over some American papers at eleven o'clock last evening. Near me were two Frenchmen and both on their feet bowing and shrugging their shoulders in a manner I believe almost peculiar to the French. As I am a French scholar, though rarely speak French, I was forced to join in all they were talking about. The one that did most of the talking was, as the card with which he burdened me shows, of the name of Ishmael Snake, which certainly does not sound in the least like a French name. Ishmael Snake, evidently assuming that I was an American, began to talk in my dress, and fancying that I did not understand French, opened in great style, and reaching a climax, said: 'Yes, Monsieur Grevy, I am the Prime Minister of Canada, the master of the administration. I am the Warwick of the Dominion, as the hated English would say, and if I am not in a position to make kings, I can make governments that are sometimes greater than kings. Yes, Monsieur Grevy, do not mistake there. My business,' said he, 'with you as an official representative of the French Republic, is of a nature that every Frenchman should understand. I must have my compatriots who leave France come to us in the Province of Quebec, but that is official, and we will discuss it to-morrow in your department. Yes,' said he, 'Wilfrid, a good fellow, who knows that it was I, Ishmael Snake, who won the election of 1896, and without his large majority in the Province of Quebec he would not have been able to form a government that would have lived for a day. Wilfy knows,' said Snake, 'as I have often written to him, that I hate the British, or English. I have not even forgiven him, and I will curse the day I do forget, our great General who calmed whom that assassin Wolfe killed—yes, murdered, on the field of Abraham one hundred and fifty years ago. No true Frenchman in Quebec who is true to his race shall ever forget that as long as Ishmael Snake lives, breathes and controls a newspaper, or a newspaper, he will have his tongue to talk. Why, Monsieur Grevy,' he continued, 'Wilfy, my friend, Ishmael Snake—pray don't forget the name of the real Prime Minister of Canada—I say, Wilfy and I, or, rather, I and Wilfy, formed the Cabinet of Canada together the next morning after the election of 1896, and long before the old Ministry resigned, and without consulting any of those I asked to join us who, I may say, are now in the Government as a matter of policy on my part. Wilfy is a man of very sunny ways, and by nature too good for a politician. He gives notice daily that he is changing fast. According to my way of thinking, a politician in Canada and with the kind we meet from the other Provinces, should be a diplomat, but that in English is not the name for a statesman. Well,' said Ishmael, 'at the very commen-



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I said to Wilfy, "We must not forget that it was that wretch George Brown, of the Province of Ontario, who forced us into Confederation and into accepting representation by population, and actually getting into the Dominion Parliament a score and more members from Ontario than Quebec. Well, now, I shall show them how I shall carry out representation by population and what it means. The Cabinet that I shall form shall be the very gateway into Parliament for our supporters and friends. I will give them in Ontario a dose of their medicine of long ago with interest—I mean representation by population. I will bring the very ghost of that old Radical George Brown among us. I will give them, the people of Ontario, with a population of half a million more than Quebec, five very unimportant seats in my Government. To Quebec I shall give seven. Ha! ha! ha! I wish," I said to Wilfy. "I could in some spirit way bring back George Brown, although dead for many years. If I carried out that odious representation by population principle in forming my Cabinet, Ontario would have seven members and Quebec five. Time brings its revenges." Wilfy said: "They in Ontario, Cartwright and Patterson, will not stand it." I said, "Wilfy, leave that to me. They know I have been a Conservative all my life, and although a Liberal to-day, I could easily be a Conservative to-morrow. I have got, I and you, a large majority in Quebec, and it shall be larger after I get up the race cry for all it is worth at the next general elections. We now hold the balance of power. I had the newspaper and other stuff that did it. Quebec Province is mine, and if we can't rule the Dominion with the Liberal party, I will sell out for a big price to the Conservatives. You can go to Ontario, and with your sunny ways, Wilfy, and good theatrical work adroitly got in, you can fool them. Never forget your graceful movement of putting your hand on your heart and swearing about, you know. That takes so well in Toronto the Good, and is such a good joke on these hated English in Ontario, and takes so well. They will think that with your sunny ways you would not deceive them." Well, then, I proceeded with Wilfy's assistance to name some places I could give Ontario, and the other Provinces in my Government. I gave five very unimportant positions to five Ontario men of the Commons and Senate. First, their ablest man, Sir Richard Cartwright, I at once manacled with the office of Trade and Commerce, which really meant nothing. This office is a kind of appendage to the customs: then, to the office of Minister of Justice, I appointed Sir O. Mowat; of course I knew he would be satisfied with anything that would be easy as long as the salary was higher than the salary he was receiving in Ontario, and it was. Then the office of Secretary of State I gave to an ancient of many years, the Hon. R. W. Scott. This was to show that I was not forgetful that he was the father of Separate Schools in Ontario forty-five years ago, and put the Separate

School Bill through the old Parliament of Canada long before the federation took place, and although George Brown and the Liberals fought against it. Notice, M. Grevy, I am liberal, very liberal to those who have in any way assisted Quebec, and it was the solid support of the Quebec members that forced Separate Schools in Ontario. I may say to you, Mr. Grevy, that I thought at that time that I would have to dispense with the Senate, but I have changed my mind, for Senatorships have risen in value since I increased the indemnity from one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars a year. A fellow by the name of William Mysir Mulock I made Postmaster-General, but he is so unpopular with all classes both inside and outside of Parliament that he will not trouble us; so you see this great English Province of Ontario, with two-fifths of the whole population of the Dominion, and the Province that pays half of the taxes of the whole Dominion, gets nothing worth speaking of in the first Cabinet Government we have had in Canada for eighteen years and more in my own position, as the real Prime Minister and Minister of Works and good and bad. I may say) is the most important of any. It is a great spending department, and as I have told you before, I have been running it for all it is worth. The portfolio of Minister of Finance is the next in importance to my own. I gave to a fellow of the name of Blair, who had been running a small Government down in the Province of New Brunswick, the whole population of which is not more than the population of the City of Toronto. Then as Minister of Finance I got a fellow by the name of Fielding from one of these decaying Provinces, as Wilfy and I thought he might be a good man during and immediately before elections when we might need some very good fielding to keep in office, but you know the Liberal speaking people of Canada can always be fooled by the party that has no effect upon the intelligent French, provided other things are right. Cartwright was entitled to the position, but at that time we were afraid he might be squeamish over money matters which required cash to help us at elections. Cartwright soon came to the French or new Liberal way of doing business, and can now be hand in hand with any of us in effecting sales of offices and Commissionary railway subsidies, Senatorships and all business of that kind. and I thought at the time we put the Government together that Cartwright would not see eye to eye with this new Liberal school and resign. He was entitled to the High Commissionership, but I considered it best to leave Donald Smith in that position to conciliate the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, as I and Cartwright and the old Liberal party had opposed that company for a dozen years, as it was gobbling up everything in its way. We now go hand in hand with that company and Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Stratheona, is still High Commissioner. You see

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policy to make friends at once with the C. P. R. Co. It was a hard pill for Wilfy to swallow at first, for had he not denounced them and their subsidies from one end of Canada to the other. He often said at the starting of this 'New Liberal School' what would my old tutor, Edward Blake say? I said Edward Blake is not an up-to-date politician, and that a man of Edward Blake's great abilities and strict adherence to every principle of honor would never do for an electorate still under the spell of the greatest hypnotist Canada had ever produced. Oh, no, although Sir John ostracised me from the Conservative party, I can never forget his kindness to me and mine in days long past. The other offices I and Wilfy gave round to fellows who would not trouble us much in any way or ask questions.' "

" 'Since then,' said Ishmael Snake, 'I have made some changes. Sir Oliver Mowat was growing a little restive, being known as a Christian politician in Ontario, so I appointed him Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. He was satisfied with this, as it gave him a higher salary and he was too aged to do any work, and always had a deputy to open and close the Legislature, so out of his salary he would have \$10,000 to say nothing of the rake-offs on household expenses. At present, and since 1896, the Ontario Government has been working with my Government in the Dominion, but I am afraid that that ballot box burning will yet drive them to the wall. The Mowats, for a few generations back, should be well off now, as long ago they were up-to-date politicians for themselves. Mr. Mills, the ablest man acting with the new brood of Liberals, I made Senator, without any payment in advance. He followed Sir Oliver as Minister of Justice. At the commencement, in 1896, the great Province of Ontario had only three members in the Government who had seats in the House of Commons whilst Quebec had five. Was that representation by population? Ha! ha! ha! "

" 'Well,' said Mr. Grevy, 'let me call you General Snake, for you must be a great General to have done all this for our compatriots in Quebec, but what, pray, let me ask you, will the people say? "

" 'The people of the great Province of Ontario. The people,' exclaimed Ishmael Snake. The people! Why all the up-to-date Liberal party in Canada believe with Thomas Carlyle that the people are 'mostly fools,' and are no more or less than both food and raiment for this new Liberal school in the Province of Quebec and the Dominion generally. The French are ruling Canada now, and Ontario, too, although in the whole Dominion we are little more than one-quarter of the population. I am the people, and if I had even one more Ishmael Snake to do as I would tell him, before two years I would have the tri-color floating over the buildings of that doomed city. 'Toronto the Good.' It was I, Monsieur Grevy, when a Conservative, assisted Langevin and other Frenchmen to frame and pursue an immigration

policy that drove the young and middle-aged men and their families out of Ontario by the tens and hundreds of thousands, and pursuing that policy. We are now pursuing all of the old policy of the late Conservative Government that the old Liberals could not even protection or the National Policy, that Laurier and his Government fought against for eighteen years. By the immigration policy pursued by Sir John, and now pursued by Laurier, we have crowded out at least five hundred thousand English, Irish and Scotch out of Ontario within the last twenty-five years. In this we always had the aid and press of Ontario to second our efforts, and which cost me a large sum of public money. When I was a Conservative I opposed these policies that have done this work of decimation. It is now my intention to push them stronger than ever in Ontario, with all of its manifold advantages over Quebec. In every sense, should now have a population of four millions. We in Ontario instead of only a little over two millions. We have always outwitted or bought her politicians, and are now a thousand times more powerful than ever before. Now that her representatives in the Government are third and fourth rate men their position in Ontario is almost pitiable. Ontario has no influence in the Government of Canada; we in Quebec are having our innings as a vengeance. Ontario has so many advantages over Quebec that her only chance is to keep her best men out of Parliament, and, as we know we have done so, out of the Government. We have crowded them out of six seats, and in this we have been aided by the new Liberal school at Toronto, who are always quite willing to give their own Province a black eye if they see money in it for themselves. We have all of the seats for Quebec in the Dominion Parliament. I worked this by the race cry and the assistance of the sensational press of the new Liberal school in Ontario. The poor, ignorant, ignorant habitants who can neither read or write, but numerous enough to hold the balance of power at the polls, are our never-failing backers. Among the intelligent and educated Quebecers the party are about equally divided, and it is by the men who can neither read nor write that we are kept in power. Laurier and I know that the English-speaking electors of Canada, who are all intelligent and can at least read and write, are getting onto our game and will get up on their own. We intend, though, to make hay while the sun shines.

"You ask, Mr. Grevy, why I do not have a dukedom bestowed upon me? I want no titles from any British Government. I know, though, that it might be as well to have one for Wilfy, as it would please him very much, besides I fool the English by allowing him to accept an English title. I, Ishmael Snake, as a patriot and Frenchman, and when my aspirations for French ascendancy in Canada

ceases, then may I cease to breathe. I, Ishmael Snake, has spoken! These Ontario men are mean sneaks and cowards, and can be easily bought by the hundreds at a pretty low figure."

"Montague," said Stanley, knowing one Ontario man that was neither a sneak or coward.

"I said, hold on Mr. Snake, I wish to ask if you know a Colonel Montague, of Toronto, Ontario?"

"No," said he, "but if he is from Ontario I will call him a sneak and coward, too, if you choose."

"Then," said I, feeling that as an American citizen I should go him one better, "I call you a sneak, coward, and certainly the biggest swelled-head I have ever seen."

"So, as I have already informed you, we exchanged cards, and you know, Colonel Montague, what that means in Paris. I came over of course to see if you would help me through with the business. It must be done *pro forma*. I may say to you that since I left the Pacific slope I have had but little practice at pistol shooting, yet enough, I believe, for present purposes. When quite a boy in Nevada the gamblers and sports of the mining camps, as they call some large towns there, never drew a bead on me or asked me to hold up my hands. As a representative of the greatest nation on earth, as my unsophisticated fellow-countryman would say, I shall have an apology from this excitable, swell-headed Frenchman, or possibly put a hole through him. I have been in too many scenes of an exciting nature to be very easily moved in taking a shot at Ishmael Snake."

Montague:—"This is really my quarrel, not yours, and if there is to be any shooting I shall be one of the actors. It occurs to me that Ishmael Snake is known to me by another name, and was simply for some ulterior purpose masquerading under the rather suggestive one on his card. I remember, though it is now some years ago, of being introduced to this man on the platform at a political meeting held in the village of Markham, near the City of Toronto, but for the last few years I have paid but little attention to him. Some time before leaving Toronto I was told that Ishmael was leaving Canada for Paris (this was in 1899) ostensibly for his health, but really to push some immigration scheme in France. You know the French are great actors. The Premier of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, would have made a fortune on the stage. Knowing the French-Canadian of this class as I do, I can assure you, Stanley, this little comedy you have related will never assume the proportions of a tragedy. Ishmael Snake, although a swelled-head is no fool, and as soon as you and he exchanged cards he would realize what an ass he had made of himself in speaking to Mr. Grevy as he had. After the tone he had adopted with him he was in a measure obliged to play the character he did. You never know where you will find a French-Canadian of

Ishmael Snake's type, and it is unquestionably divine at times what their ultimate aims are. My œcur to him in the meantime, and when he returns to normal condition, if he have any. The acting be Grevy was all for effect. That was a part of the emanating from the swelled-head with which many politicians of Ishmael's kind are suffering in Canada. There was, however, a good deal of truth in many of Ishmael's comments as to the policy adopted by him and Laurier in putting the Liberal Cabinet together in 1896, and that accounts for the out of six members of the Government from Ontario there is of any marked ability. With this exception the others would even been considered if the people of Ontario had been given a referendum on the selection. Even the little Province of Prince Edward Island, with not half of the population of the City of Toronto, has more influence in the political life of Canada when Sir Louis Davies was a member of the Government than the Province of Ontario. It is more than twenty times the population of Prince Edward Island, and it is to be hoped that such caricatures of statesmen as this man will not and a majority of those now in official political life in Canada will raise such a feeling of distrust and disgust that it will have the effect of bringing high-class men into politics. We have scores of men in Canada who would do credit to themselves and to their country in the highest representative positions, but unfortunately they shrink from contact with the kind of men that are now doing the official political life; with men whose sole aim in politics is to make all they can out of their political positions. These men, and there are hundreds of them in Canada, are doing a disastrous, not only to the finances and credit of the country, but to its morals as well. This new school of Liberals, in the Dominion and Ontario, have driven from the Liberal party all of the old school of Liberals in Ontario, whilst they have naturally attracted to them the very worst and most corrupt of all parties. Probably there is not a government in the face of the earth so utterly shameless in their disregard of the principles they formerly professed. Not even one of the old school of Liberals who went to the country upon in 1896 has been out, but in order to retain office millions of public money and lands are handed over to contractors who subscribe large sums to corrupting constituencies wholesale. It is believed that at the elections of 1900 it took one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to carry one Government constituency in the Province of Manitoba. Some of the best and most moral of the people of the Province of Ontario have been so alarmed at the growing power of corruption in Ontario that they have left the country. I personally know



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of families who have preferred to go to the United States rather than live in politicalized Canada under the reign of what was once known as the party of purity.

"Well, Stanley, if I am not very much mistaken, you will never see Ishmael Snake again, except in a disguise. When he realizes what a fool he has made of himself he would rather masquerade in the streets of Paris in a disguise that would be impenetrable to you than to meet you at Philippi. At any rate, we have only one veritable Ishmael Snake in Canada, and that one you have met to see no more. Ishmael is no fool, still we will go over and see the end of the comedy. Of course, you informed him your friend was in London?"

"Yes, and the sport was to come off in a few days, or as soon as my friend and his could arrange a meeting."

"Now, my dear Montague, I must return to Paris, as our Embassy have important matters on the tapis, and I will be required to assist in their solution. Sincerely,

"LAURENCE STANLEY."

## CHAPTER VI.

American Embassy, Paris, September 20, 1899.

Colonel Montague, Hotel Cecil, London:

My Dear Montague,—Not long after reaching Paris the night I left you, I strolled over to the Hotel St. Dieu and took a seat in the parlour that held the Frenchman, Ishmael Snake, and I the other evening. After sitting a few minutes looking over some American papers, and when I was about rising to leave, I noticed a man bowing his way toward me, apparently in great haste. I was not long in recognizing Mr. Grevy, and he was not in the least backward in delivering himself of many compliments and saying, "Well, Monsieur Stanley, I have been here several times expecting to see you, but you were not here. Now, Monsieur, Mr. Snake, is very sad about the affair the other evening. Had he fancied you understood his remarks he would not have made them. I am sure you must have observed that Mr. Snake was not well."

I said I noticed he was troubled with a badly swelled head.

"Let me say," said Mr. Grevy, "to you very privately that Mr. Snake has been in Paris, that we all love so much, for his health. Mr. Snake has discovered that you belong to the American Imbeciles."



"You mean, Embassy," I said.

"Oh, yes," said Grevy, "but you know we French, Canada or France, do not always get the right English word oh! pardon the mistake, Monsieur Stanley. Mr. Snake now having met the very brave and gallant Colonel Montague some years ago. I hope you have not mentioned this affair to the brave and gallant Colonel?"

"Certainly I have," said I, "and the moment he had exchanged cards with Ishmael Snake on his account, he said to me, 'Attend to this man, Stanley, the quarrel is mine, not yours,' Grevy," I said, "if you had only seen Col. Montague shake his heels and stamp his foot when I told him the story Ishmael Snake told you regarding his, Snake's, connection with the political life of Canada. Colonel Montague is a very giant in strength, and you and I, one in each hand, and knock our heads together. Montague easily recognized Snake as a political renegade in this affair. I presume that it is this little business that has brought you here so frequently to see me?"

"Oh, Monsieur Stanley," said Grevy, "do not press this. I pray you. You know Mr. Snake has been in bed since the day he saw you here, and he wishes me to say he had too much work to do last night. You know France supplies the world with the best champagne. Perhaps you did not exactly understand Mr. Snake, for he speaks to you in broken English, not knowing that you could speak French. I may say, better than he."

"Yes," said I, "but Mr. Snake surely understood what the change of cards meant in this city, where you have a code of honor. And why does this man go under an assumed name?"

"Well, Monsieur," said Mr. Grevy, "I know him by name so far. You know politicians and diplomats in all countries, and particularly in France, have strange ways of doing. The Prefect of Police of this city. He could tell you strange stories. He was well paid to do so about many Frenchmen in high office in this country and French Canada, or the Province of Quebec."

"Surely," said I, "Snake well knew that he was not the Minister of Canada?"

"Oh, yes, Monsieur Stanley, but I could hardly say he was."

"Certainly," said I, "there should be no misunderstanding at that point, as he repeated it to you two or three times, and told me to make no mistake about it. Well," said I, "Monsieur Grevy, I am an American citizen (which is as high a privilege as any man can boast of), and I deprecate this kind of caviling, and in

this interview allow me to ask you to say to Mr. Snake that I believe him to be not only a sneak and coward, but decidedly anything but a gentleman, at the same time I trust you will accept Colonel Montague's card. We are both in very good health, and I may be permitted to add that Colonel Montague will be only too happy to come over to Paris almost any day if he have an invitation to do so. *Au revoir, Monsieur Grevy,*" and thus ended our interview.

I will be over in a day or two, my dear Montague, and I trust your voice will be sufficiently in tune before long that we will be able to comply with Sir Rowland Courtier's invitation. He has, as you know, invited us to make a few days' stay with him. Lord and Lady Yuno and Lady Beatrice are also invited for a few days' stay. May the Gods be propitious.

Ever sincerely,

LAURENCE STANLEY.

## CHAPTER VII.

Colonel Montague and Laurance Stanley, about one week after their last meeting, were again together at the Cecil awaiting the arrival of the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who had previously arranged with Colonel Montague for a meeting at four o'clock, and for reasons best known to himself, Mr. Chamberlain wished to have Stanley present, possibly for the reason that he had frequently met that gentleman when visiting his wife's relations in the United States.

On the arrival of Mr. Chamberlain, he at once said: "I have been anxious to meet you two together since I have observed in the newspaper reports that you were hunting in couples. Lord Yuno told me the Mexican story many years ago and in thinking, or speaking of Mexico, where, by the way, I have only been once, the names Montague and Stanley always come to my mind. Apart from that they are both good British names. Well, said the Hon. Joseph, you seem to be the lion of the day in many parts of Great Britain just now, if the newspaper reports are a criterion by which to judge. The comments upon your address at Lord Yuno's are certainly very complimentary to you, though not quite so complimentary to some politicians in Canada. I feel that I have good reasons for congratulation in being in a position to meet an English Canadian like yourself born and educated in Canada, and so well informed on all questions per-

taining to the welfare of that country. The fact that you are politically independent in politics and at present unconnected with any political party, gives additional weight to all your views on Canada, political, economic or otherwise. I must say, Colonel Montague, that your allusions to the too much muchness of politicians and politics struck me as being very apropos. I have since been convinced of the truth of your statements, although it was the first time I have said as much in that regard. I am glad to say that from your address at Lord Yuno's, as published in the "Times," I have received more reliable information concerning Canada on many points than I could have got at the High Commissioner's office in a week, if at all.

Colonel Montague then touched the button and the waiters were ordered. Wine having been indulged in and international toasts such as might be considered apropos on an occasion of this kind, Mr. Chamberlain resumed the conversation even with more freedom than he had as yet shown, and perhaps with a freedom that might not have characterized the utterances of a diplomat speaking in an official character. However, Mr. Chamberlain knew something of the character of the gentlemen with whom he was speaking, and he considered it necessary to be on his guard every moment, so he spoke freely and to the point.

I was about to say, Colonel Montague, before being so interrupted by you, that in my official position as Secretary of the Colonies for several years, it became necessary that I should be well informed upon everything pertaining to our dominions on the sea; of everything, at least, of a political nature; and as Canada is such an immense country, and decidedly the most important in many ways of any of our dominions, anything that I can gather now from truly reliable sources is fully appreciated. In some cases I have consulted the Hon. Edward Blake, who never failed to give me whose information concerning Canada is so reliable as well as inexhaustible; but you know Mr. Blake has been on this side of the Atlantic for several years, and you certainly have had great experience in your political and economic life, though I believe you have secured "free trade as they have it in England," as was, I am sure, promised you in good faith by the present Premier when he was Leader of the Opposition in Parliament.

Colonel Montague—We had a great many things promised before the elections of 1896, but I am sorry to say not even one of these promises has, unfortunately, been carried out. As you have known Mr. Blake, Mr. Chamberlain, let me say that there has never been a time in the history of Canada when his Master mind has been so much required in Canada as it has been for the last seven years, and is now.

at you are emphatically connected with any views regarding say, Colonel Montague's views of Canadian politics. I have long felt, although this is I am quite free to publish in the press concerning Canadian High Commission-

and refreshments intermixed with passion of the kind, which more good feeling and freedom that would not speaking in an something of the kind, and did not ment, so he often

ing so hospitably Secretary for the should be pretty dominions beyond ; and as Canada most important in can gather even In some matters r failed me, and as well as inexperienced side of the At- great changes in ou have not yet was, I dare say, when he was the

promised us be- ven one of such u have referred has never been and has been so seven or eight

Stanley—Gentlemen, I trust you will pardon me for a moment in proposing the toast of a union of all English-speaking people. I do wish Lord Ymoo was here, said Stanley; and so do I, said Chamberlain, as he has always stood by me through good and evil report. Ymoo, Lady Ymoo and Lady Beatrice Agincourt, have never said "Not for Joe." God bless them, and any union, Stanley, that you may hint at of any section of English-speaking people, however small, I will fully endorse. Now, Colonel Montague, there is no use of trying to disguise the fact, for it is too apparent to escape the notice of the most superficial, that the Dominion of Canada has not been as prosperous as it should have been and as her great natural resources would warrant us in believing it would. I fear there is a good deal more in what you say than is known to those unacquainted with your political condition. I refer, of course, to the too much muchness of politics and politicians as stated by you at Lord Ymoo's. From what you say, and from my knowledge of Canada, personal and otherwise, it appears to me that your official and political equipments are quite sufficient for a population of twenty millions. Let me ask you, Stanley, how many representatives have they in the United States Congress corresponding with the two hundred and fourteen members of the Dominion Parliament?

Stanley—Three hundred and fifty-eight, I believe.

And your population is about eighty millions, so that you have a representative in the House of Representatives at Washington for every 223,000 people, whilst the Dominion of Canada has a corresponding representative for every twenty-five thousand. In proportion to population they have more than eight times as many representatives as you have, and the number in the Canadian Senate is about the same, I believe, as the number in your Senate at Washington. In Britain, in the Commons, we have sixty thousand people for every member. I am aware that the "British North America Act," which is the Constitution of Canada, was considered and is a sort of compromise between the English and American systems of government. The Local Parliaments in the different Provinces of Canada were evidently copied after your State Assemblies.

Stanley—There is, however, considerable difference, for in the States that I know most about, the Assembly only meets once in two years, and is elected only for two years, and I believe the members of the Assembly, as a rule, only receive three dollars per day, while in session. In Canada, if I am correctly informed, the members of the Assembly receive ten dollars a day during a session of two or three months' duration, and meet at least once every year, so that the Canadians expend over this part of their Assemblies six times as much as we do. Besides, the Governors of many of our States do not cost the State he presides over one-fifth of what each of the Governors of

the different Provinces cost Canada. They do things on a scale in Canada than we do, besides they have a kind of spend fifteen or twenty thousand a year by the way of gubernatorial residence for a man, or Governor, who will pay six dollars per week for his board if he did not live out of the State. We are in many respects a great people in the United States and possessed of immense wealth, still they in things of this kind have quite taken the lead. For fussers in the political life of the country we are not in it with the Canadians. You Britishers have a way of your own of doing things although you undoubtedly find it expensive.

Mr. Chamberlain—I must say, Stanley, that I am convinced there is a good deal in what you say—a great deal of fuss and bother enjoyed by the comparatively few at the expense of the many.

Colonel Montague—Allow me to say that after seeing the people, most ostentatious and business-like methods of the provinces in opening and running these small places of amusement like the Local Assemblies in Canada, the exaggerated notions and performances of the Canadians are simply ludicrous. To my mind it was not intended when these Local Assemblies were introduced into the system by the British North America Act that they should be more than County Councils, so far as the expense of running them was concerned.

Mr. Chamberlain—It is hardly conceivable that the Fathers of Confederation did not see farther ahead, for in the British North America Act came into force you had three millions and a half, and even then you had nearly as many representatives from the Provinces that then constituted the Dominion as these same Provinces send to the Dominion Parliament now. You would give me further light upon this subject.

Colonel Montague—Certainly. I may first tell you of the Provinces our politicians in Canada generally, and with few exceptions, as Stanley would say, get swelled heads, or in other words, too big for their boots. It would appear that George Brown and John Macdonald did not escape this disease, for they both were leaders of their respective parties, and the most prominent authors of Confederation, are responsible for most of the mistakes in the British North America Act and certainly they are responsible for the too great abundance of members. How much swelled were these gentlemen's heads that they did not bring the electors into their confidence before Confederation was adopted in the Province of Ontario, where both George Brown and John A. Macdonald lived, were not directly consulted. The question so vitally affecting the people of all the Provinces interested was never submitted to the people at the polls for their approval.

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whole scheme was arranged more or less in a hole and corner manner by the leaders of the political parties. The chief actors, George Brown and John A. Macdonald, were men of good abilities and boundless ambitions. You could hardly expect that men of their characteristics generally (both expecting seats in the Dominion Par- liament) would be content to settle down and grow up with the coun- try, as our good old friend the late Horace Greeley would have advised them. Oh, no; so apparently in their imaginations they made a coun- try at once inhabited by many millions, and in addition to the asses, very horse, cow, pig and fowl in the Dominion was represented in Parliament. Even then they did not reach one-half the unit of representation in England, nor one-fourth the unit of representa- tion adopted by the United States; in fact at this point the analogies, similes and precedents so largely drawn upon from Britain and the United States had to be dropped. They were good enough in shaping some of the academic parts of the British North America Act, but not good enough to satisfy the ambition of men eager to hear themselves called "statesmen." You can readily understand that two such men would hardly be content to sit in a Parliament of forty or fifty, or possibly fewer, which would have been the case had the unit of rep- resentation in Canada been the same as that in the United States at that time. The politicians of Canada for many years have not placed much stress upon precedent of any kind, even if it be British, if it conflict with their own personal aspirations and aggrandisement. This is the reason, I have no doubt, we seem no nearer free trade now than when its advocates made it the chief plank in their platform from eight to twenty years ago; although the party now in power made the free trade promise, which I personally heard the present Premier re- peat on half a dozen platforms, and in these words, "Return me to power and I will give you free trade as they have it in England."

Mr. Chamberlain—How do the members in the civil service in Canada compare with the number of paid representatives in Parlia- ment?

Colonel Montague—I regret to say that it is on the same much naughtiness principle, only very much more so. In the Province of On- tario the same party has been in power for thirty-two years.

Mr. Chamberlain—I beg! I beg! your pardon, Colonel Montague. Did you say the same party had been in power for twenty-two years?

Colonel Montague—I said thirty-two years.

Mr. Chamberlain—Good heavens, I am feeling a little weak. Colonel Montague, might I ask you to send me a glass of wine.

Be good enough to allow me to substitute brandy—wine for wo- men, whiskey for men, but brandy for herces.

Colonel Montague, giving Mr. Chamberlain time to recover from

his temporary weakness, again proceeded on the line of vice, reserving in the meantime anything that might t Mr. Chamberlain.

Colonel Montague—I have rather unfortunately seem that the present Government or party in Ontario power for thirty-two years—from the commencement of the time Mr. Mowat took office until the present time, eling to office; it has always been a kind of unwritten la to do well by their parliamentary supporters by the way for them and their relatives for a few generations. Th case, you can readily understand that we have a great m well as a great many unevil, servants of one kind and a in and out of the country, for although Ontario is pretty ter it is sometimes too hot for the health of some of the c and hangers-on of the Provincial Government. In su Government at Toronto or the Government at Ottawa sen abroad for his health. Between these Governments for t or eight years there has been exchange of many good o regard, very much, as the most superficial will see, to th of the public generally.

Mr. Chamberlain—Would you be good enough to s brandy, Stanley. I know Colonel Montague will join us.

Colonel Montague—Certainly. I find it rather fortif prolonged effort of any kind. I fear, Mr. Chamberlain, y weatied with this rather monotonous and to me nauseating

Mr. Chamberlain—Yes, just upon these lines. Th I was quite unprepared to hear with equanimity some of tions you have made. Let me thank you most heartily reserved manner you have spoken, painful though it may b times. It is no wonder to me that Edward Blake was have said, "God help poor Canada." Something must would like to know, Col. Montague, what you think of titles upon colonists.

I can only say, said Col. Montague, that so far as Can eerned, I believe it has had a most demoralizing and pe feet, and I am glad to have an opportunity of answerin tion. The party with which I have been generally identifie when they were not in power—and when fighting for some eiple of Government, I mean the old Liberal party as it tuted under the leadership of such men as the Hon. Edw and the Hon. George Brown, the party as then constitut variably opposed to titles. All of the great Liberal leaders have not only opposed titles, but in many instances flat to accept them when offered. Baldwin, Brown and Blake, est names on the Liberal side in Canada, could never be



line of the civil service might tend to excite into accepting titles. The ups and downs, particularly the downs in life in that new country, often makes a title ridiculous. In proof of this I will give you an instance: Half a century ago one of the ablest, most aristocratic and highly educated gentleman in the Province of Ontario, with ample means at the time, had the title of Baronet bestowed upon him, without the Baroncy of course to support it. This gentleman bore the honors with all the dignity and grace of a highly educated and cultured gentleman that he was. The Baronet died and at his death the title descended to his eldest son, a respectable and educated gentleman, and at the time in good financial standing. As time passed, however, and in the struggle that unhappily comes to too many in that country, he lost his means and took a position in the civil service at a very moderate salary. At his decease the title descended of course to his eldest son, who bears up under it as well as could be expected on a salary of eight hundred dollars a year. Titles descending in refined and educated families, though even without means to support them, are preferable to those bestowed upon uneducated, and in a literary sense ignorant men—men who perchance have made their money in some Credit Mobilier scheme. The wealthiest men in Canada now are as a rule those who have made their wealth within the last twenty-five years, and probably in a way that no truly honest man would resort to. There are men in Canada who have received such large subventions from Canadian Governments, as subsidies, and that, too, without a quid pro quo in return to the people, that they have become multi-millionaires in less than a dozen years. Titles bestowed upon men of this kind are not only ridiculous but very bad precedents, for the jobbing, railway manipulator and contractor, who, perhaps as you would view it in England, never made an honest dollar in his life is more than likely to aspire to a title, and become more reckless and dishonest in his money getting methods to acquire it; in many respects I consider it demoralizing to a degree never considered by a superficial and unthinking people, who seldom look for causes if the effects are only glittering. You will pardon me, Mr. Chamberlain, if I say that titles are hardly bestowed with the same forethought upon Canadians as they were from twenty-five to sixty years ago, when it was considered that any man receiving a title should at least be an educated gentleman in a good financial position, though not necessarily a millionaire. Now I will give you a sample of the new titled school. It was on a festive occasion that Sir William Pork was elected to the chair. His first performance was to introduce the musicians which he did as follows: "Ladies and gentlemen, I will now have great pleasure in introducing the musicians to yeas." The musicians, fancying that they were the party intended, smilingly sang "The Maple Leaf." Of course, there is nothing truer than the old Johnsonian saying, that "if you put a beggar on horseback he will ride to the devil." Wealth, remember,

places the illiterate and uneducated in a more unenviable position than poverty does the refined and educated, though the latter, which probably the former do not possess, is more difficult to bear. I have done, at least for the present, what I could.

Mr. Chamberlain—I have been very much pleased and instructed by all you have said concerning Canadian politicians, and I am more desirous than ever of knowing Canada, and to that end I shall attend the picnic at St. Courtier's. I may say to you now, Col. Montague, that as to titles have always been mine—not only as applied to Kingdoms and Empires as well. I believe with one of the English poets of the past, that "Worth makes the man, the fellow, and all the rest is leather and prunella."

Yes, said Col. Montague, and I believe with the Poet "I am proud, ye selfish, ye severe, how vain your mask of state; alone have joys sincere, the good alone are great." And, said Stanley, I believe with the poet who wrote, "Honor and fame from duty rise; act well thy part, there all the honor lies."

Stanley—When I take into consideration what you have said and more particularly what you have stated to me on other occasions, and couple it with the trend of political life in Canada, it seems to me quite apparent that before many years you will have another political crisis. The present state of affairs will enable you to see the humiliating position, in other words, when the British people of the English speaking Provinces of the Dominion are in their present position, which is as slow in rising as the intelligence of some English people is in sharpening (pardon me, British subjects) when British blood becomes once aroused, and the people will be as Carlyle and Ishmael Snake consider "mostly fools" once their eyes open, then the fooling and tricks of the politician will stop. Three-fourths of the population of a country will have no voice in the government, and the other one-fourth will have to submit to be governed by the other one-fourth when they fulfil the fact, and the further fact that they are being robbed by the fact. Was it not the English speaking people of Canada who for ten years before Confederation, and under the leadership of Hon. George Brown, fought against what was then called Louisiana, or French domination.

Yes, said Col. Montague, it was that struggle that eventually led to the constitutional crisis, the latter leading as a last resort to the formation of Confederation, and ultimately to the Confederation of the Provinces.

Stanley—As simply an onlooker, I should say that many people point to a political crisis. All that is required is another leader, Brown or, I may say, George the Second, as leader. From

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have learned from various sources concerning the political life of Canada at present, said Stanley, I would say you were experiencing "Tammany rule."

Yes, said Colonel Montague, and by the party who for fifteen or twenty years styled themselves "the party of purity." All of the worst elements of the community appear to have joined this "New Liberal Party" to despoil and rob the taxpayer.

Mr. Chamberlain—Under such conditions do you not think it would be better to form a Coalition Government, and thus give the best elements of all parties an opportunity of joining to free the country from a condition little less than alarming, for, said Mr. Chamberlain, when a party in power casts aside the principles they professed and advocated before attaining power, and to attain it, and do the very things (and infinitely worse) that they condemned in others, then it is safe to say that the sooner they are driven from office and power the better for the country, as such a state of things must, and in quite a short time, sap the vital principles of constitutional government, end in immorality and shamelessness and blight the future of Canada in a moral sense for many years to come, and quite possibly end in anarchy and rebellion. Surely, said Mr. Chamberlain, your present condition will arouse the best elements of the English-speaking Provinces and the honest politicians, of whom there are not a few, in the Province of Quebec?

Colonel Montague—They have some good and able men, it is true, in Quebec.

I am inclined to think, said Stanley, that these theatrical Frenchmen, wishing to make hay while the sun shines, and in their own sunny ways, have lost sight of what they are approaching. They are simply dizzy with their great success in getting enough English-speaking traitors to assist them in robbing the country of hundreds of millions in building railways the country would be much better without for the next twenty years at least. You have more miles of railway in Canada at present than any country on the face of the globe in proportion to your population. Your aim should be to settle that part of the country that has good and ample railway service now, but only sparsely settled. I am satisfied that you could add two millions to your present population in Canada, and that every one of them would be within reasonable distance of a railway station. In the United States we have pushed railway construction only as fast as settlement demanded. When our population was thirty millions we had only two transcontinental lines, and now with eighty millions we only have six, making over thirteen millions of people to sustain each line. When the Canada Northern is completed you will have two through lines, with a population of six millions. In these particular lines of railway Canada will have four times the railway

mileage that the United States have in proportion to population and it seems that your Government are determined to build another transcontinental line. Surely fools rush in where angels fear to tread. It is no wonder that your chief railway man, Mr. Blair, retired from a Government who seemed bent upon this scheme upon you.

Colonel Montague—I am prepared, in view of the position in Canada and the men connected with it, to see one of the worst swindles that has ever been perpetrated upon a free people.

Stanley—You certainly must have very weak men in your Government from Ontario to allow a scheme of this kind to be carried out.

Colonel Montague—We undoubtedly have. It is a disgrace to anyone to state that they are third and fourth rate and more than half of them quite uneducated, and entirely unrepresentative compared with the people of the Province generally. The difficulty now is that the moral standing of the Government is such that no able, honorable man would enter it. In the position in the Government is anomalous in the extreme and heartening to the old school of Liberals who are now joining the conservative ranks by the thousand. We must hope and trust that there will be a renaissance in political life before long in Canada. There has never been a Government in any British colony so completely belied all their promises and professed principles as the mongrel Government now led by Laurier. Any Liberal member of the House of Commons who shows the slightest inclination to carry out the platform of eight years ago is at once ostracised from the Government by Laurier himself and crushed by him and his Government.

Mr. Chamberlain—What astonishes me is that either the Conservatives or the Liberals in Canada can remain in power as long as they have. No Government in Britain has become corrupt. In Britain, for the last eighty years, no Government has remained in power for longer than eight or nine years at a time. Only three times have they remained in power for eight or nine years. The average for the last eighty years has been a little more than four years at a time.

Stanley—That would go to prove to some extent that the short year terms of government is about the thing. Human nature is the same in all civilized countries, and that one party is more corrupt than another under analogous conditions is absurd. Were the members of all parties all intelligent and educated on public questions and the conditions practised by the political demagogues, party feeling would die out and the political demagogue be obliged to earn an honest living. They are a curse to the country, particularly when they are in status in the Government.

Mr. Chamberlain—Again thanking you, Colonel Montague, I am, you both good-bye for the present.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Colonel Montague stood on the landing at Dover awaiting the arrival of the steamer from France, as he and Stanley had arranged to drive to Sir Rowland Courtier's behind a two-in-hand. The road on which they had to travel the greater part of the distance was known in England many years ago as Wetlinga street. It was a road that had at one time served as a common boundary between the Saxons and Danes in the division of territory; it was also known as the Great Roman Road, through the County of Kent from Dover to London. On Stanley's arrival a span of high-steppers before a one-seated carriage were driven to the hotel where Colonel Montague had temporary quarters. It was not long before the friends seated themselves in the carriage, and in high spirits drove away. The air was clear and bracing and well calculated, with the beautiful and picturesque scenery on either side, to give inspiration to almost anyone inclined to either poetry, politics, romance or war. Not long after the friends started it was noticed that at every cross-road fine equipages with liveried coachmen seemed to be all going the same way. There were ladies and gentlemen in equipages grand and stately. There were the more ordinary two-seated carriages, hansoms and other vehicles that the Canadian and American had never seen in America. Ladies with their attendant cavaliers in quite large numbers were seen racing their horses and all in the direction of Sir Rowland Courtier's. Everyone seemed anxious to get a glimpse of the gentlemen from America, even in advance of the picnic. One lady, well mounted, passing Colonel Montague and Laurenee Stanley, with her cavalier, before she had got far enough away to be unheard, said:

"I know these must be the gentlemen from America from the description given of them by the newspapers; besides, Lady Beatrice Agincourt told me that they were both tall. One about sixty and the other forty. It must be them. Why, my dear Cousin Fred, I had always imagined, though I must admit that I cannot tell why, that Canadians had red skins, wore blankets, had feathers stuck in their hair and carried what they call tomahawks, and wore beaded moccasins. That has always been my idea of Canadians. Why these gentlemen look like English gentlemen. I would like to hear their voices." "Be careful," said Fred, "or they will hear yours."

The caution was too late however. By this time the road on the way to Sir Rowland's was literally crammed with carriages, for we are now within half a mile of our destination and can see a number of ladies and gentlemen in the park surrounding Romney Castle. Upon arriving, the first to greet the much-lionized Americans were Sir Row-

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land Courtier and Lady, Lord and Lady Yuno, Lady B court and the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. The space now contained ten thousand people eager to see and hear a man from the Dominion beyond the sea. Between the arrival of the lecturer and his friend, and the lecture hour was spent in partaking of a light lunch with Sir Rowland and his guests. It was a great day in and about Romney Castle. The castle was killing two birds with one stone. As a new man in the county and a new man in the county and a new man in the county and a new man in the county, he desired, as a new man in the county and a new man in the county, to stand well in a social as well as political sense. Who could stand well in a social as well as political sense? Sir Rowland Courtier, a statesman, and in a strictly conventional sense a man of the county, was, nevertheless, a good type of many wealthy Englishmen. He had enough intelligence, energy and perseverance to have made a name for himself during the Cromwellian period had he lived at that time. Sir Rowland was paving his way to a seat in the House of Commons. His very laudable ambition for any intelligent and wealthy man of the county. The lunch having been finished and everyone apparently satisfied, the vast concourse of people who had convened, probably numbering between fifteen thousand and twenty thousand, among this fifteen thousand there were two strangers, and the two strangers were not made to feel that they were strangers, for they were sought after by the people. A platform had been erected in the courtyard to accommodate three hundred, and three hundred and more when Sir Rowland, Lord Yuno, Stanley, Chamberlain and the other lords took the seats reserved for them in the front row. Sir Rowland occupied the chair, having received a hint from Lord Yuno. Hastily rising, he said:

"Ladies and gentlemen of the counties of Kent and Sussex, and all others, I may say, fellow citizens (Stanley whispered to the ladies and gentlemen, with the Shakespeare (William whispered Lord Yuno), I refer to the Shakespeare, Esq., whom I have lately been reading in my treat. This, ladies and gentlemen (and fellow-citizens Stanley), and fellow-citizens is the first time in sixty years that I have attempted to address the electors of my county."

"Is this an election occasion?" asked an old Tory.

Sir Rowland, soon recovering himself, said:

"Mr. Speaker, I mean, ladies and gentlemen, I now introduce to the gentleman from the Republic of Canada."

Quiet being fully restored, Colonel Montague, rising and continued cheers, said:

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, in accepting the invitation from the Chairman to address a few thousands of the politics and politicians of Canada, I little thought that even



Lady Beatrice Agincourt, whose own popularity of the Chairman would be sufficient to attract to the spacious grounds of this lovely park the vast and magnificent audience here congregated, and hear the gentle murmuring not less, I believe, than fifteen thousand. I cannot find between the hour of the birds sufficiently expressive to thank you, sir, and this audience for the future hour, the time giving me an opportunity to address you on the topics before stated. Sir Rowland's special more particularly do I feel the honor you have done me and the Castle. The owner treasure you have given me, when I consider that it is in this very one. As a matter of county where some of my ancestors lived for several centuries. I and a wealthy one, to be also reminded that the very road that almost skirts these grounds Who of us would hears the historic name of the Great Roman Road, over which Julius Cartier, though not a Caesar and his army travelled nearly two thousand years ago on a man of the world their march from Dover to London. In looking over this vast sea of Englishmen, and with faces, I am struck with the unmistakable homogeneity which the have made himself evolutionary processes of centuries have brought about, and which at that time Sir undoubtedly in a great measure accounts for England's greatness. use of Commons, a (Great and prolonged cheers.) I shall presently proceed to address a wealthy Englishman. you, as you have a right to expect, upon the politics and politicians are already satisfied of Canada for the last fifty years. When my voice failed me a few probably to the num- weeks ago at Lord Yuno's it was when answering some questions put and there were only me by Mr. Adolphus Howard, whom I am pleased to see on this made to feel in any platform. I was then commenting upon some of the politicians in right after from the Canada whom I considered, in answer to a question put to me by ed in the park to Mr. Howard, might be classed as statesmen. I then closed my re- and more were on it marks by referring to a politician and statesman in Canada, now de- main and Montague ceased, Hon. George E. Cartier, a name closely associated for a quarter Sir Rowland occu- a century with a name I now introduce to the people of England- ed Yuno to do so. the late Sir John A. Macdonald—and in doing this and in intro- t and Surrey and- being other names, I shall ask this highly intellectual and cultured- aspersed the fellow- audience to pronounce the verdict as to whether or not you consider- these gentlemen statesmen after I have given you some facts closely- with the late John- connected with their political lives. Some of them are still living. er to the late Wm. In doing this I must ask you not to judge them by the critical stan- g in my rural re- cards you would judge British statesmen. Please remember, that- citizens whispered- English-speaking Canada is very young. The great, undeniably the- ty years or since- greatest, of the Confederated Provinces, Ontario, is only a little more- e electors of this- than a hundred years old, and the almost illimitable acres of Manitoba- ory. and the Northwest Territories and British Columbia forty years ago- how introduce you- were almost unknown to civilization, save the rude and semi-civiliza- sising amidst loud- tion meted out very economically by the officials of the Hudson's Bay- ting the kind in- Company, and that it would be better not to refer to very critically. usands upon the- In giving your verdict, ladies and gentlemen, you must consider the- at even the well- almost insurmountable obstacles that the people and the politicians- of the western part of the Dominion have had to contend against, not- by the way of preserving their scalps from the tomahawks of the-



great Indian warriors to the north and west who, very properly, felt aggrieved in being driven from a country the Great Assignor of all lands had apparently given to them (cheers.) Again, you must consider the few advantages in Canada in an academic sense until within a very few years, when I a plain backwoodsman, fresh from the shores of the great lumbering districts of Ontario, was first to address an audience in this country I could not forget that I was more or less looked upon in this country as little better than those we had driven from their homes and hunting grounds on the banks of the Great Lakes and rivers of the West, and that my audience might very naturally expect, as the immense audience proves, that I would appear in the dress of a conqueror with moccasins on my feet, a blanket around my waist, and paint on my face and, possibly, with the war-whoop of the victor. To some extent I now so appear without the trappings of a conqueror. (Great cheering.) While, sir, I was uncertain whether an audience in this country would assign me, on that point, I could not forget that if I appeared in the character of a backwoodsman on a platform in this country, or, I may say, in the County of Ontario, especially so, if under the patronage of so distinguished a person as the Chairman, I would be addressing a people who had produced a line of several centuries of statesmen, philosophers, authors, divines, poets, wits and warriors, as well as men of science and inventive power, who have shed a lustre not only upon this country, but upon the whole civilized world, and that it would be such men and women, if you will, and their descendants, who would have to address myself. Is it any wonder, I ask, that a backwoodsman from the fields, forests and mines of the lumbering districts of Ontario, should hesitate, as I must admit, sir, after these introductory remarks, and feeling some embarrassment by the kind manner you have already displayed toward me, to endeavor to get to work, and give you the information which will enable you to form an impartial and correct judgment upon my your verdict. Sir John A. Macdonald, whose name I have just introduced, and who died in June, 1891, was in the Parliament of Canada for forty-seven years. For thirty years of that time he was a Minister of the Crown, and for nearly twenty years of a century Premier. He was in Parliament twenty-three years before Confederation and twenty-four years after. He entered Parliament at twenty-nine years of age, and left his seat in 1891. He died at his deathbed at Earncliffe, Ottawa, mourned by his personal friends and foes, who apparently shared in a common grief. Sir John was of Highland Scotch origin; a Presbyterian in religion and in politics a Liberal-Conservative—sometimes very Liber-

no, very naturally and very Conservative. I may tell you at the commencement, for it is a country which has been conceded by all classes of politicians, and in fact by everyone who has been brought to it. (Grew him, that from his very start in political life, indeed before that, even to them. (Grew him, that from his very start in political life, indeed before that, advantages we have had was both a wit and a wag, and for the last thirty years of his very few years. While a diplomat of no mean order. In fact, as a diplomat on many occasions he would not have discredited any government in any country. He had the qualities or gifts by nature, to say nothing of training or education, to make him rank high as a diplomat; classically speaking, I believe the Gods intended him for one. Just here I may say that the friends of Sir John in Canada a few years ago felt very much aggrieved that one of your Princes in this country in connection with the late Premier of Canada, called him Sir Thomas Macdonald; had it not been that the well-known loyalty of the Conservative party in Canada had often been tried by similar mistakes concerning Canada, I fear my friend, Mr. Chamberlain, who was at that time Secretary for the Colonies, would have had quite a considerable correspondence as to such ignorance of Canadians on the part of the British Government as to the throne of England; in Canada not to know Sir John A. Macdonald was simply a confession that you were yourself ignorant. Sir John was with his party the most popular Premier Canada has ever had. In speaking to you of him I would have preferred, had I been confined to speak only of his amiable and social qualities; in the latter case, he was to some extent, like our present Premier in his sunny ways; in the case of Sir John it was spontaneous, unaffected and natural; there was nothing theatrical about it. He was a ladies' man, and in families where the female wore the male attire, Sir John received the feminine vote of the voter. He was a gallant of the old school, and a gentleman, and very unlike in this respect many members of Governments and Senators all over Canada nowadays. As the great Dr. Johnson might have said, had he been caught young he would not have disgraced an Ambassadorship in any Court. He possessed very much of what is now known as hypnotic power. In his case it was hardly necessary to take you by the hand or even slap you on the shoulder, as was his wont at times, to put you under the spell, for in most cases one twinkle of that penetrating eye did its work. You can easily imagine that a man with such gifts and endowments might, if the Mr. Hyde of his nature got the better of the good Dr. Jekyll, be very dangerous, either in the social or political world, and I was about to say the world to come.

"In his profession—Law—he was not known among the great lawyers of Ontario, though a man who, if he had taken to Law instead of Politics, would, I have no doubt, held a position of respectability among the leaders of the profession, though I very much doubt he had the kind of ability to have ever ranked with a Blake, Osler, Meredith, Cameron, McCarthy, Robinson and a few others I might

name. Sir John was not in any sense an orator. He was a talker; undoubtedly the greatest speech he ever delivered was upon the Confederation of the Provinces, still, in effort it is tame reading compared with the very optimistic speech of the Hon. George Brown upon the same subject. John, away back in the year 1847, was taken into the Government of old Canada, of which the Hon. M<sup>r</sup>. Brown was Premier, and remained in the Government for a year or two, charged the duties of his department with credit to himself and the Government. He was thirty-two years of age on entering the Government. He was but eight years older than Mr. Gladstone when he became Premier for the Colonies.

For four or five years after the fall of the Draper Government, of which he was a member, he was simply a leading member of the Legislature. After the retirement of Robert Baldwin, and a few years' Premiership of Sir F<sup>r</sup>. D<sup>r</sup>. John, and the defeat of the latter, Sir Allan McNab was called into a Cabinet, which he did, and appointed Sir John his Attorney General for Upper Canada. On the retirement of Sir Allan McNab, Sir John became leader of his party for the first time, and had a long run as leader in the French Province, the Hon. George Brown, of whom I briefly spoke in my address at Lord Yung, and Sir George, from the year 1856 to 1864, were two of the most known and undoubtedly best abused politicians in the Provinces, which at that time consisted only of Upper Canada. It is proper to state, however, that during the year 1858, the Hon. George Brown, of Toronto, and the Hon. John Brown, of Montreal, wrested the political machine from them; but their Government was defeated when its members were re-elected to Parliament for re-election. Sir Edmund Head, the then Governor of Canada, came in for a good deal of severe criticism on that occasion that Mr. Brown characterized as "Double Shuffle." Two years before what was for the time called the double shuffle, the Province of Upper Canada (which at that time had a population of some three hundred thousand) had a population of some three hundred thousand. Quebec or Lower Canada, and from 1856 to 1864 the Hon. George Brown in the "Globe" newspaper, on the platform of the Government, and I may say both in season and out of season, a question of Representation by Population. For at least every other public question was subordinated to this.

The first year after Sir John became Premier, the year 1857, the Liberals of Upper Canada returned to power, and they carried out a policy against his Government, which was only sustained by a majority from Lower Canada supporting him. In the next election, in the summer of 1861, the Liberal party of Upper Canada had a majority of twenty-five over the Conservative party.

tor. He was simply delivered in Parliament, still as a rhetoric, very optimistic and of the same theme. Sent into a Conservative Hon. Mr. Draper within a year or two and delit to himself and then entering official life he became Secretary

Draper Administration a leading and influential member of the House of Commons. Sir Francis Hincks called upon to form his Attorney-General, Sir John A. MacNab, Sir John A. MacNab had associated with George E. Cartier and Sir John A. MacNab's were two of the best men in the Canadian House of Commons. During the summer of 1871 the Hon. A. A. Dorian was with them for two days. Members were out of the then Government were criticism for the characterized as the as for many years for Canada (now Ontario) with more than 64 the Hon. George Brown and in Parliament, advocated the at least eight years of his.

For the latter part of the 1870s, a large majority was won by a little large in the next generation of Upper Canada. The Conservative party of the

Province, in a house entitled to one hundred and thirty members, sixty-five from each Province. The energetic and clever Cartier, however, a little more than balanced this by getting a still larger majority of Conservatives from Lower Canada, though he it said to the everlasting credit of Cartier, he never gained his majority by producing the race cry among the poor, innocent and ignorant habitants, as was done in 1900 by the leading Liberals of Quebec.

For many years the Province of Ontario was entitled to from ten to fifteen more representatives than Quebec had the principle of representation by population been carried out. The tactics displayed by Sir John in winning elections (although very close) and the subtlety played by him in winning over weak-kneed members after elections, is needless to say, told very much in his favor, and enabled him to hold on to office long after an immense majority from his own Province were opposed to his administration. At one time, and for three or four years, Sir John's following in Ontario only numbered from twenty to twenty-five, whilst Mr. Brown's following as leader of the Opposition was from forty to forty-five. In days gone by, in fact in the very days of which I am speaking, there were several Liberal-Conservatives in Parliament who would not accept office in a Government with a majority in the House from their own Province against them. However, Sir John was not built in that way. I can now, after long years, fancy the well-remembered shrug of the shoulder and twinkle of the eye, when Sir John was with his close political friends planning some scheme to startle or thwart his political opponents. He certainly possessed the ability of getting through the smallest hole of any politician we have ever had in Canada. He on many occasions, it would be easy to imagine, relied on the assumption, as Thomas Carlyle says, that the people are mostly fools. Sir John was not by any means a stoic or a sage. He was at the time I am speaking of, as he always was, a politician, and sometimes a very human one at that. The fact that he had to rule, or rather over-rule, his own Province for many years with very close, if not questionable, relationships with Quebec, lost him tens of thousands of Conservative votes, and at the same time gave the Liberal party of Ontario under the leadership of George Brown very good grounds for raising the cry of "French Domination." This, however, did not seem to trouble him very much except at elections. In addition to his being a politician and diplomat in his younger days, and these are his younger days of the political field I am now speaking of, he would at elections and other times whoop it up with the boys, and the boys in a new country can, as a rule, get in their work much better than their fathers. Sir John thus in time stole away many erring lads from the political sides of their fathers. Oh, yes, Sir John was a hypnotist in its fancy in the Province of Ontario. In fact as a political hypnotist it was the first of which in Canada we have any authentic record,

though it would seem just now that he is likely to be forgotten by others. His memory, I have good reasons for believing, will not be obscured by the memory of his imitators who are now ending in his line. He was, with him a natural gift, and the people were the gift who tried to ape Sir John A. Macdonald in the sure to fall between two stools "verbum sap." There is in particular that will be always remembered to Sir John that he was not a hypocrite and never pretended to be what he was, and his own party as well as his political opponents knew where he was at. Another thing for which he is remembered is that he never allowed politics to interfere in his duties to the first judicial seats in the country. It is true that on one occasion, when being pressed by a strong and a noted lawyer west of Toronto, in London the Little Court judgeship, he said to the lawyer, "Rather than of your moral character to a seat on the Bench I would prefer the Premiership of Canada." In this regard it is to be John's example will always be followed not only in every other country. Any man of immoral character to be moved by social or political considerations, and mentally, should never be appointed, for in this way a seat can be very easily brought into disrepute.

It must have been a source of considerable amusement to the witty politician and diplomat when the editor of a village paper in one of the western counties discovered and announced to the rather unbelieving people of Canada that he had found out and that the name of that statesman was the Hon. John A. Macdonald. At that time Sir John had not been knighted; this was the year 1870. Before this the politicians of Canada seemed to be satisfied with less pretentious adornments, names as being best suited to a new country with a view to economy, and less expensive. Very soon after this, however, a conservative newspaper in the country adopted the high-sounding name of statesman, and applied it not only to the Hon. John A. Macdonald but scores of others, going away down near the confines of the Empire in their liberality. Then the Liberals, not to be outdone, made a batch of not less than fifty statesman in a twinkling of an eye, and to keep up their name for liberality the Conservatives one better. I have a somewhat vague recollection that it was about this time the Hon. George Brown was of the party and called "Lord Astrayoon," possibly after some place in Scotland, for you know Mr. Brown was a Scotchman. He was a specimen at that. The Hon. George never having been involved in any questionable transactions, railroad manipulation, or Mobilizers of any kind, did not wish to have his own place obscured or covered up. He imagined it looked suspicious.

likely to be followed by believing, will never endeavoring to follow the politician with a mind in this line will. There are two things to Sir John's credit to be a whit better than political opponents always which he will be remembered in his appointment truthfully said of his strong political friends. Little, for a Superintendent than appoint a man which I would resign to be hoped that only in Canada but character or one like tions, any small man his way the judgment of amusement to of a village newspaper and announced to the ad found a statesman. John A. Macdonald; this was about the Canada of every degree adornments to the with a small population however, every Canadian the high-toned world John A. Macdonald confines of the Country, not wishing to statesman in almost or liberality went to argue recollection the was offered the time place of that nation a Scotchman, and a great being engaged in populations, or Creole own plain name suspicious on the face

besides he did not like the title of a-stray-coon, for he did not feel all astray in his own proper environment and name, and he might with this title, which he feared would be more or less upon him; over and above all that it was not, as he considered, as the good old democratic name Brown, and again he did not feel as if he would like to make enemies of his time-honored friends, Smith, Jones and Robinson. Upon these grounds George Brown always refused titles, simply saying that he was not the kind of a Scotchman to willingly throw stones at his father, or at his father's epitaph, and if it was after dinner and Mr. Brown was unusually lively, he would say, "What is good enough for the old man is good enough for Georgie," and there it always ended so far as Mr. Brown was concerned. He had undoubtedly fully imbibed the idea of Scotland's bard:

"The rank is but the guinea stamp,  
The man's the man for 'a that."

But here I am, ladies and gentlemen, travelling out of the record, as my good friend, Sir William Beerbottom would say, and have introduced Mr. Brown in the place of Sir John A. Macdonald. Had I been in a mixed political audience in Canada and done this, I would have been hissed by one-half of my audience and cheered by the other half long ago. However, it is difficult to do otherwise, and it is my wish to give you as much information about Canada and Canadian people and politicians as I can without considering whether or not it is done in a strictly proper and academic manner. One of the biographers of Sir John A. Macdonald gave him rather a small space in a book of more than four hundred pages, and entitled "The Life of Sir John A. Macdonald." He found himself in even a worse position than I do, for I cannot help, in even-handed justice, giving a good deal of time to one who for nearly the same fifty years of the politics and politicians of Canada that I am speaking about was the much greater part of that time one of the central figures and for a quarter of a century the central figure.

As it has now occurred to me, and as probably I may not have another opportunity and will forget it, I would like to speak to you a little more about the word statesman, or rather something bearing upon it. You see I will have Sir John to fall back upon, as many had in his life-time. What I wish to say may probably bring to the memory of some here the name of the Hon. John Norquay, many years ago a noted politician in the Province of Manitoba, the Province immediately to the north and west of my own Province, Ontario. Mr. Norquay was the Premier of Manitoba for many years, as he was at the time to which I wish to direct your attention. Mr. Chairman, I now ask to apologize for having to refer personally to myself



for a moment. In the year 1884, for reasons that it is not necessary to explain to this audience, though I may say for all reasons that many go west in Canada, at any rate, I found Winnipeg after a three days' trip from the City of Toronto and St. Paul, etc. Being of English antecedents, as I know, I had procured several letters of introduction to the citizens of Winnipeg; among others one from Sir John Porter, London, Canada, to Mr. C. J. Brydges, formerly general manager of the Grand Trunk and other railways in Canada, though I am speaking of Land Commissioner of the Hudson Bay at Winnipeg, where he resided. I was only a stranger in Winnipeg when I easily came to the conclusion that Mr. Brydges was the great chief of the city, and the centre of the social life. Indeed, he was not only the great chief of the city but the representative of the native and other tribes and halfbreeds for hundreds of miles around. For, be good enough to remember, he was the chief representative of the great Hudson's Bay Company that in the Northwest possessed more land than is occupied by the British people on the Isles. You can readily come to the conclusion that anyone walking along the street with Mr. Brydges did not require identification on the bank.

From what I have already said it is almost needless to say that the first letter I presented of numerous ones on my person was one from Sir John Porterhouse to C. J. Brydges, Esq., Commissioner, etc., etc., Winnipeg. I am only stating a fact in telling you that it was almost at once taken up by Mr. Brydges, and put up at the Winnipeg Club. I had at the same time an elegant suite of rooms at the Potter House, an hotel well known to all high-class English people who went west between the years 1877 and 1887. One evening, in the middle of July, and shortly after my arrival, at about eight o'clock, and just after dinner, and as I was leaving my room for a walk along the Assiniboine River, Mr. Brydges hurriedly appeared, and asked me if I would like to hear an address that Sir Richard Temple, President of the British Association, had even then, he said, no doubt commenced in the opera house. Of course I would go without a moment's delay we walked hastily to the opera house, being the most expeditious way we had of getting there at that time. The lecturer had already commenced. The Premier of Manitoba, before referred to—a Scotch halfbreed—was in the chair. Now I might make a digression to state that Sir Richard Temple had been in Manitoba for a week, and on his return from Calgary remained in Winnipeg to deliver an address on Manitoba and the North-West Territories. I might parenthetically observe that he must have been a very clever man, as he seemed to know more about the country than did the Hon. Lawrence Clarke and other educated gentlemen who resided in and travelled over it for a quarter of a century.



it is not at all necessary to state that the only drawback to Sir Richard's part of the performance was that one-half of the distance travelled by him, or nearly as much, I found myself doing, was at night and in a sleeping car, and it could hardly be expected that information or impressions received when asleep on a car going at the rate of thirty miles an hour, would be as accurate as what he would be in possession of in the daytime, sitting in a palace car reading (as everyone did) Major Butler's "Great Lone Land." Be that as it may, and considering the disadvantages he labored under by the way, though at the time getting information, he rounded his periods in a manner that seemed to please the audience very much. After speaking for some time, and wishing some of his information confirmed by the Chairman, he said that Mr. Brydges said: "I ask the Prime Minister of this great country of magnificent distances if I am not correct" (he had evidently been reading Major Butler's "Great Lone Land"). To be thus addressed as the Prime Minister of this great country of magnificent distances by Sir Richard Temple, President of the British Association—this was too much for him in their day position as Prime Minister. Only a few minutes before the meeting commenced the Prime Minister had come up from his home in Kildonan, where he had been mowing hay, and not having heard of the meeting, he was in his shirt sleeves. As luck would have it one of the Prime Minister's large friends loaned him a dress suit for the evening. Norquay, needless to state that may tell you, weighed two hundred and sixty pounds; about one hundred of that was Scotch and the one hundred and sixty came from the great Lo family.

I may say that the Chairman on this occasion had been associated with a different kind of the Lords of Creation than the man had Sir Richard Temple. To make a long story short, Norquay, to be thus addressed as Prime Minister, was non-plussed, dumb-founded, in fact paralyzed, and turned as pale as could be expected, about the time Sir Richard observed this, endeavored to explain away the phrase Prime Minister. Alas! it was too late, the virus had already entered the weak spot of poor Norquay, as it has many a worse man. He was never really himself again. The wigwags he had been visiting all his life were visited no more by the Prime Minister of Manitoba. Even the great braves and chiefs of the Red and Assiniboine rivers were made to feel that Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind, etc., etc., was no more to the man who had by some occult process unknown to them been changed from the good medicine man Dr. Jekyll to that wretched man Mr. Hyde. After returning the dress suit, and feeling that it would no longer comport with the dignity of Prime Minister, a man was engaged to finish the mowing of the hay; a dress suit was purchased; in a few days Bill Alloway, though then a banker was once a vet., had in order from the Prime Minister to purchase him horses and carriages; a few days later I received (as many others did) an invitation

to a champagne supper to be given by the Prime Minister, required but a short time at this pace for the Prime Minister to make a complete change in his outside environment. He could not change his heredity but the change of environment and Mr. Hyatt's death gave the deathblow to poor Norquay, as similar changes have given the deathblow to other men who have in a moment of vanity changed their environments and accepted titles even higher than that which Richard Temple bestowed upon Norquay at that unfortunate time. Norquay in a few years lost his political following, and as the Premiership passed to Mr. Greenway, in a year or two he died, unwept, unmonored and unsung by the great braves of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, though he was held in esteem among all classes in and about Winnipeg.

I trust that the remarks which I have rather gone out of my way to make, as to the effects which the bestowal of honors upon Canadians had, will find a resting place in the proper quarter in Britain. I do not in England to argue whether titles in Britain are desirable or not, as to that I have no contention; it is none of my business. I only say that they are a mockery, a delusion and a snare, and were I so inclined I could furnish this audience with facts regarding the men who have been honored in the past by some in Canada in the way of money grants. I will not have received high titles from the Government of Great Britain, I will forbear, however, for if I did so the disgrace would be upon my own native country as well as upon those receiving the titles. The Government of Great Britain would make themselves thoroughly conversant with the political life and needs of Canada, I feel that there would be few titles (if any) bestowed upon Canadian politicians, railway contractors, and manipulators. It bears a strong resemblance in many cases to rewarding crime. Those who have shed a lustre upon any title your Government have the power to bestow have declined to accept them, and for all I can flatter myself I have made plain. These refusals should have been sufficient argument against a continuance of the practice. Canada is at present more in need of men who have the ability that shines without any adventitious aids. If we wish to have an aristocracy in Canada, let it be understood that it is an aristocracy of intellect, not of gold and ignorance. It is a very questionable compliment to the intelligence and intelligence of Canadians to imagine that the leaders of intellectual life in the country would be pleased or satisfied with any titles the British Government have it in their power to bestow. "Ill fares the land to haughty men, where a prey, when wealth accumulates and men decay. Princes and lords may flourish or may fade, a breath has made and breath has taken etc., etc." These lines of Goldsmith, although written a century and a half ago, are more applicable to Canada now than they are to any other country since they were written.

## CHAPTER IX.

Feeling that I have, at least for the present, sufficiently discussed titles and apologizing for the great digression I have made, I now return to Sir John A. Macdonald, and from what I have already stated concerning him you can quite readily come to the conclusion that he was the first Premier of Canada as it is now constituted, or rather as it was constituted at the inception of Confederation, the Hon. Geo. E. Cartier being the leader of the Quebec Conservatives, both in the Government and Parliament. At this time dual representation obtained in Canada, and as a consequence many members of the Dominion Parliament had seats in the Provincial Parliament of their own Province. Most notable among those from the Province of Ontario was the Hon. Edward Blake, the Hon. Sandfield Macdonald, the Hon. E. B. Wood, Sir John Carling and the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie. It was at the first session of the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, and in the first session of the Local Parliament at Toronto, that young Edward Blake gave some proof of his great ability. It was at the opening of the first session of the Dominion Parliament after Confederation in the spring of 1868, that Sir John A. Macdonald, on seeing Mr. Blake take his seat on the Opposition Benches, observed to the Hon. Sandfield Macdonald, "That young man will give us a good deal of trouble yet," and the young man did for many years give them a great deal of trouble. Young Edward Blake had already shown in the smaller field of politics in the Local Parliament at Toronto, and in the first session, that he was, to say the least, quite the peer of the best and ablest of the old parliamentarians of that house, yes, of men who had been leaders of political life in Canada for a quarter of a century before the Confederation of the Provinces.

Sir John A. Macdonald was a keen and accurate judge of character. He at once knew and felt that he had a poor chance of ever winning to his side of the House the great chancery lawyer of Ontario. He very soon discovered that he and the young politician had very little, if anything, in common, in fact they were the antitypes of each other. The Hon. Edward Blake and the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie (the latter afterwards Premier of Canada for nearly five years) attended the first session of the Dominion Parliament together, having gone there after the close of a session of the Local Parliament at Toronto. They were, of course, on the same side and in close political relationships. The Gods, so to speak, seemed to have favored Sir John at the commencement of the first session, for the Liberals in the House

by way of compliment to Mr. Maekenzie's long parliamentary services elected him leader of the Opposition. Mr. Blake, though unquestionably the ablest, was a young man and only elected to Parliament the first time six months before. For six years the Hon. Edward Blake and the Hon. Alex. Maekenzie fought side by side on the Opposition benches. At the Provincial elections in Ontario, in March, 1871, the Liberals made some important gains, and at the first session of the new Parliament the following winter the Hon. Sandfield Maedonald's Government was beaten. Mr. Blake then took the Premiership of the Province and was president of the Council without salary (this latter incident would now be considered by the new brood of Liberals as suggestive of insanity), Mr. Maekenzie being Treasurer. It was about this time that dual representation was abandoned and that Mr. Blake and Mr. Maekenzie decided to take the larger field of political life in the Dominion Parliament for which they were both eminently qualified.

It was at about this time or a little after that British Columbia had decided to come into the Confederation of Provinces. It is of British Columbia I now wish to speak for a short time and of the price paid by Canada for British Columbia's consent to enter the Confederation of Provinces, the price, including the land subsidy to the Canadian Pacific Railway, was, in round numbers two hundred millions of dollars—the cost of the Canadian Pacific to Canada. The whole of the white and halfbreed population of British Columbia at that time did not exceed twenty thousand, or say, four thousand families, so that each family in British Columbia cost Canada fifty thousand dollars to be coaxed into Confederation. Our politicians and Government at Ottawa were at that time assumed to be acting in the interests of the then Confederated Provinces, and not for British Columbia, as the latter was a Province by itself, and simply wished to be let alone. Here, I may tell you, that the people of the Province of Ontario, that has to pay the larger proportion of all Canadian indebtedness, has had the grim satisfaction of largely assisting in building a railway and bringing in an immense territory to lessen the value of farm lands in Ontario. It requires but little intelligence to see that the large increase of territory by the acquisition of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories and British Columbia has militated against the value of farm lands in Ontario, and will for very many years to come. As the price paid for British Columbia, or I may say, its acquisition, is one of the two most potent events that has taken place in Canada since Confederation from either a political, economic or ethical point of view, you will, I trust, pardon my reference to it. Although it is of a more or less domestic character I am about to make a statement that in Canada would be considered a bold one, indeed. I am now before an impartial British audience who will consider my utterances in an impartial and not partisan light. I am therefore encouraged to

spoke without fear, favor or affection. The two events that have in a manner and to a great extent politicalized and revolutionized Canada are: First, the change from a revenue to a protective tariff; secondly, a contract entered into by the Canadian Government when Sir John A. Macdonald was Premier with a railway syndicate of seven men for the final completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had been in course of construction for several years in a kind of fragmentary manner by the Government. In the winter of 1880 and 1881, at the suggestion of the leader of the Government of Canada, George Stephen (now Lord Mount Stephen), Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona), R. B. Angus and Duncan McIntyre, all of Montreal, in the Province of Quebec; James J. Hill, of St. Paul, Minnesota; a Mr. Kennedy, of New York, and a Parisian Frenchman whose name I have never known to remember, formed a syndicate to complete the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway upon which about twenty-five millions had already been expended, including the Onderdonk contract, which pertained to that part of the road west of the Rocky Mountains and on the Pacific slope.

Remember, this syndicate was to own the road after it was built; the Government subventions of every kind were virtually presents to the syndicate. From anything like a business point of view it would naturally be assumed that as the Government was paying for the building of the road it would have preferred to own it, for with all of its prospective advantages in a few years the Government could have sold it for every dollar it had cost, and thus the Dominion would have been two hundred millions better off. However, for reasons that have always been more or less inexplicable to me, the Government gave the road to the syndicate as a present. Anyone will be perfectly correct in stating that no Government on the face of the globe has ever given anything approaching this in magnitude to half a dozen of their political and personal friends. Imagine the magnitude of these operations, seventy-five millions of dollars and thirty millions of acres of land, and the very best of land. The syndicate were, in point of fact, building a railway at the expense of the people of Canada to make their own lands more valuable. You must admit, ladies and gentlemen, that the building of this road or such a road in any country under such conditions would be a great and historical event, for the lands given away were more than half the acreage of England. By this operation two hundred millions of dollars were legislated out of the hands of the people to a syndicate of six or seven men, and that without a quid pro quo to the people in return.

Seven years before this railway deal Sir John A. Macdonald was out of office—this was in 1874. In a short time he grew restive, and although from the year 1867 to the autumn of 1873, when in power, he was satisfied with a revenue tariff for Canada, after being in Opposition for a year or two he saw new light and discovered in that new

light that the poor manufacturers of the country (the majority of whom were Liberals at that time) required a protective tariff, as they were getting poorer from year to year on a revenue tariff of from fifteen to twenty per cent., many of them not making more than fifty thousand dollars a year each nett profit. Poor fellows, said Sir John, with a twinkle in his eye, we must save them as an act of humanity, and although the majority of them have opposed me in the past they will oppose me no longer. We will at the same time save from starvation the farmers of those fertile farms in Ontario. Well, said Sir John to Sir Charles, his first lieutenant, "To horse"; we must save these poor manufacturers and honest farmers; we must save them from these awful Grits, and (with another twinkle in his eye) in saving them we will save ourselves. Sir John, relying as he always had on the most vulnerable part of our poor human nature, quietly consulted the poor manufacturers all over the Dominion, and the wail went up from the poor manufacturers and the Conservative newspapers and a few of the farmers, that the naughty Americans and Englishmen who were giving the farmers cheap goods under a fifteen to seventeen per cent. tariff were doing them irreparable wrong, and accordingly the Liberal manufacturers, although really rowing in quite a different economic boat than were the farmers, mechanics and others, were quite willing to assist in laying the foundation for the Great Chinese Wall to be placed around Canada to protect the farmers and others against the foreign invasion of cheap goods. Of course the poor manufacturers did not care so much about it on their own account. At any rate, even in their great distress and poverty they were patriotic enough to put up among a few dozen of them two or three hundred thousand dollars to lay the foundation for the wall. Accordingly newspapers were subsidized, great picnics held all over the rural districts of Canada (not to discommode the poor farmers, you know), the best speakers of the Conservative party and some patriots who were willing to save their fellow-countrymen at so much per day for the campaign, with a contingent of poor manufacturers who became pro tem Ministers of Finance. With this equipment Sir John and Sir Charles proclaimed the glad tidings from the Atlantic to the Pacific that the poor farmers and mechanics of the country were to be protected against cheap goods. "nothing but shoddy, you know." The poor laboring class of the towns and cities were to be protected against cheap pork that Mr. Armour, of Chicago, was occasionally sending east. No! said they, it would never do for Canadians, especially the horny-handed sons of toil, to be fed upon Armour's pork, as the hogs that made the pork were fed upon Kansas corn and everyone knew (?) that corn, especially Kansas corn, could never make good pork. And hence it was that the people of Canada, as a whole, were for two or three years fed upon chaff, and thus it was that the Wall was erected, and in less than four years from the time lam-



entations and mourning went forth through the land it was finished and Sir John was in power. The wall being examined by the experts in economic and political science of that day on the Conservative side, and the experts among the manufacturers, it was pronounced good and sufficient to ward off the enemies of the farmers, mechanics and others, always provided anything hereinbefore stated to the contrary notwithstanding that if in the future there were found to be places in the wall that the enemy—the foreign manufacturer—could possibly enter, then, after being examined by the experts, to wit: the Government and the manufacturers interested, were it shown by them that the wall was not high enough, then, and in all such cases not made and provided for, the architect, the Government of the day, would be instructed by the workmen, the M. P.'s, to put the wall still higher. Year after year subsequent to this it was frequently shown by parties interested that the wall should be made still higher to protect the poor farmers, etc., etc. However, after some nine or ten years, strange as it may appear, the poor farmers themselves in great and increasing numbers commenced to jump the wall and go west to grow up with the country in the State of Dakota, Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. I am now speaking more particularly of the Province of Ontario and the Provinces to the east of Ontario. In fact, in less than twelve years from the time the wall was erected, farm lands in the Eastern Provinces, including Ontario, had decreased thirty per cent. in value, in some instances forty per cent. and occasionally fifty when sold under a mortgage debt. At the time the wall was placed around the poor farmers of Ontario the whole mortgage debt of the Province did not exceed fifty million dollars. In fifteen years it was one hundred and twenty millions, an increase of seventy millions of dollars. It also appeared that the poor manufacturers of the Province were about two hundred millions better off; one hundred and sixty millions they had gained by protection and forty millions ordinary business profits. Under these conditions and in great distress the farmers asked one of another how this state of things had been brought about. At length they came upon a Sage who had never been tempted by evil spirits, but who, losing his farm, had retired to a cave that he might be away from the evil haunts of men and study nature's great laws, now termed economic laws, in many things. He read and studied the old authors that Sir Robert Peel (the great English Conservative), Richard Cobden, and John Bright of the Manchester school had studied sixty years and more before, and the Sage came to the same conclusion, as did the before mentioned statesmen, that "the nearer we can keep to nature's great laws and make every tub stand on its own bottom, a large majority of the people of England, Canada and every other country will in the long run be best served."



To an English audience such as I am now addressing it is superfluous to ask if England has profited by free trade. (This was the occasion for tremendous cheers.)

Well, to come back to the Sage, he explained his diagnosis of the disease of which the farmers complained, in this way: He said, not to speak with pedantic exactness, we have one million families in Canada, each family on an average pays at the very least twenty-five dollars a year to the protected manufacturer to protect him against competition; in ten years the million families pay two hundred and fifty millions, and in twenty years five hundred millions. The Government compels each family to pay the amount, and often very much more, as long as they remain in Canada, although the manufacturer does not pay back one dollar directly to the consumer for the protection or contribution given him, hence the equilibrium of economic forces is destroyed, and the economic forces being destroyed in the way pointed out, the ethical forces soon give way, for if you starve a man against his will and by compulsion, he will be sure to curse you, and in many cases leave the country, and if he know that in doing so that he is simply flying from Scylla to Charybdis, as many farmers have done in leaving Canada for the United States. I have no hesitation in stating that during the last twenty-two years not less than six hundred millions of dollars have by the operation of a protective tariff been legislated and transferred from the people of Canada to the manufacturers of Canada without an equivalent in return. I do not wish you, Mr. Chairman, to accept my remarks as in any way condemning a revenue tariff, which is imposed for revenue purposes and which only slightly interferes with the freedom of trade, though it must be said that even a revenue tariff in its operation is a protection to the manufacturer. I have said that within the last twenty-two years six hundred millions of dollars have been transferred from the taxpayers of Canada to the manufacturers of Canada. This added to the two hundred millions of the people's money and property given to the Canadian Pacific Railway, or rather syndicate of six or seven men, without a quid pro quo, makes eight hundred millions at the very least transferred from the taxpayers to the manufacturers and railway manipulators of Canada. I ask any intelligent man in Britain or Canada if the changes or events just referred to are not sufficiently potent to revolutionize and politicalize to a considerable extent any country of the same population as Canada, not only politically but ethically as well. I regret, sir, to tell you that the average Canadian stood higher and was a better citizen from twenty to eighty years ago than he is to-day (he has been fed too much upon politics of a criminal nature). The truth is, that the politicians in high places, both in Canada and the Province of Ontario, have done more to lower the standard of morality than all other forces put together. I mean, of course, the dominant Liberal party, known as the "New School of Liberals."

If the source of the stream is impure so will the water of the stream be. It is true we have a few multi-millionaires, with a good many more almost in sight, a good many millionaires and a few thousands of wealthy men, but as a part of the same operations that made them wealthy, we have on the other hand hundreds of thousands in Canada who have fewer of the comforts of life than they had twenty-five years ago, to say nothing of the thousands who have left the Eastern Provinces (including Ontario) in poverty. Whilst many of the denizens of the large manufacturing centres may have prospered it has nevertheless been at the expense to some extent of the consumers of the country, who are the masses; were this not so, many who have left the country would still be here.

Pertinent to this, Mr. Chairman, I may be permitted to say that for the last fifty years at least British statesmen have been persistently and continuously legislating to improve the condition of the masses, as true statesmen or men worthy of the name of statesmen in all countries do, very properly assuming that as a rule capital is in the hands of men intelligent and shrewd enough to take care of themselves without any special favors or subventions of any kind. In Canada for many years past our politicians and mis-called statesmen have given up most of their time legislating in the interests of capitalists, railway contractors, railway manipulators, subsidy hunters and charter-mongers of various kinds. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, would you call this British statesmanship? (No, no, no, from a thousand voices.) I may say here, as a corollary to what I have already stated, that at least one-tenth of the people of the best agricultural Province of Canada, Ontario, have gone west to start life anew, and in many cases with only a few hundred dollars saved out of a mortgaged farm, and many of them will never inquire into, consider or know the origin of the changed conditions that have overtaken them in the hard battle for a livelihood. I sometimes think that there never has been under the canopy of heaven a country so crippled and made, so to speak, the sport of politicians as my own native Province of Ontario. From twenty to seventy years ago the trade, or rather the profits of the trade of the struggling and industrious farmers of Ontario, went to build up a class of merchant princes in the City of Montreal, through the retail merchants of Ontario who bought their goods in that city, and ever since the people of the same Province have been paying tribute in some way to the merchants, manufacturers, politicians, railway manipulators and millionaires of that city. Montreal would now be a small city had it depended to any extent on the poor, innocent, illiterate habitants of the Province of Quebec. Is it to be wondered at that hundreds of thousands of the best men and women of the great Province of Ontario and their descendants are now domiciled in a country offering no better economic conditions in any way than the

country they left. For fifteen years the Dominion of Canada has had more railway mileage than any country on the face of the globe in proportion to its population, even more than the United States, that has for many years been noted for railway enterprise. It would be a god-send if there were not another mile of railway built in Canada for several years. Then, as you will perceive, the part of our country only sparsely settled but with good railway accommodation would before long become fully settled. The Province of Ontario, with only a little more than two millions of population, could add another half million of population, and the two millions and a half would have ample railway service. If the roads now under construction were completed we could add two millions more to our population in Canada and everyone would have ample railway accommodation for the next fifteen years, even if the increase of population was fifty per cent. greater than it has been for the last fifteen years. The people of Canada or Ontario are not asking for more railways, it is the politicians, railway contractors, railway manipulators and capitalists who are taking millions from the taxpayers of Canada for something that they do not need. The so-called statesmen of Canada and Ontario have pushed through Parliament several millions each year for many years past in the way of subsidies to railways, until now the people generally take it as a matter of course, and opposition to such grants is considered futile; the opposition being easily overcome by the lobbyists. The present Premier of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, when leader of the Opposition in Parliament, and for more than a dozen years when in Opposition opposed the subsidizing principle as not being English (most decidedly it is not English), promised that when the Liberals attained power all this would be changed; but the same man a short time after he attained power quite forgot all his promises and is now, and has been for several years, shamelessly trying, it would seem, to even out-Herod Herod, the high priest of political tricksters in Ontario; in short, in political indecency and hypocrisy he has quite outdistanced any previous politician in Canada, and has gone farther and done more to bring parliamentary government into contempt than all of the political leaders and Premiers put together who have preceded him, and, as I have before stated, in this country any Liberal in Parliament who shows the slightest disposition to carry out the Liberal platform endorsed by the Premier himself before attaining power, is at once ostracised and if possible crushed forever, and this is the Liberalism of the new school of Liberals in Canada. What are known as the "Old School of Liberals" in Ontario are now made to feel and realize that Liberalism is being outraged for the personal aggrandisement of politicians whose chief aims seem to be to enrich themselves and their relations at the expense of the public exchequer.

I will go a little further to show you the depth of political degradation to which the Premier of Canada has descended. A few years ago there was an election of a member for the Local Parliament of Ontario in one of the western constituencies. The contest was likely to be a keen one, with the chances against the Government; for this reason a person engaged in an important and honorable position in the civil service of Ontario, who had been formerly known as one of the most disreputable political parasites in the Province—this person for the time retired from his position in the civil service, and at the suggestion of the Government of Ontario became the leader of a gang of ballot box stuffers and skilled ballot destroyers. The election was won by all kind of criminal acts known, and some unknown until that time in the catalogue of political crimes in Canada. The Election Court laid bare so much criminality practised by this gang that the sitting member, a supporter of the Government, abandoned the seat to prevent further criminality being exposed by the courts. The leader of the gang, the ex-civil servant, feeling some apprehension as to his personal liberty being interfered with, left the country; not, however, before the Premier of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had an office created for him some place in Great Britain. The election of which I am speaking had no relation to Dominion affairs, and in thus going out of his way to reward a friend and political criminal Sir Wilfrid brought himself into contempt with all honest and honorable men of all political parties in Canada. And this is the new Liberalism of Canada. In Britain were a Premier to reward a man of the type I have referred to, I believe you would soon have a Cromwell in possession of your House of Parliament.

Be good enough, ladies and gentlemen, to remember that the Premier of whom I am speaking is a French Liberal, and the leader of the "New School of Liberals." I can assure you at the same time that no English or French-speaking Premier of Canada has ever before disgraced himself, his party and his country by appointing a political renegade and criminal politician to a high position in which if he in any sense discharges his duties will necessarily be obliged to come into contact with honest men. It is to be hoped, for Canada's sake, that the honest people of that country, of whatever politics or nationality, will never again be so humiliated and disgraced. The old Liberal party of Canada knowing that Laurier had for many years sat side by side in Parliament with the Hon. Edward Blake, wrongly assumed that he had caught in some measure the spirit of the master mind. It had been, so to speak, the substance and the shadow linked together for the time, politically; the shadow, however, has in no way become in the least like the substance, but upon every question of principle, either ethical or political, the very opposite, for on all questions of principle the Hon. Edward Blake and Laurier are as far

apart as the poles. The Hon. Edward Blake many years ago, referring to the short-comings of the Conservative Government of that day exclaimed, "God help poor Canada." If the great Canadian were now to speak on the short-comings of this new school or brood of Liberals, it would be in the form of the prayer, "from such, good Lord, deliver us."

Mr. Chairman, I both speak and feel strongly upon our present condition in Canada, and how could it be otherwise, knowing, as every intelligent Canadian must know, that the future of Canada for many years to come will be morally blighted in consequence of the immorality and criminality now stalking shamelessly through the land, inspired, sanctioned and upheld by the members of the Governments of Canada, and Ontario and all the leaders of the "New School of Liberals." The Executive Government and its politicians are responsible in a great measure for our present condition. The great Province of Ontario, which has one of the largest population of any of the Provinces, or any two of the other Provinces, a greater diversity of interests and much more undeveloped territory than any of the others, and it is superlatively the most fertile and attractive in many ways, still, for the last decade its population, according to the last decennial census, has increased at a much slower rate than any of the large Provinces on either side of it. That being so is it not pretty good proof that the legislation and Executive Government of the Province has cut a considerable figure in retarding its growth.

Not many years ago I spent two years in the United States with the view of becoming better informed personally regarding the workings of American institutions generally. While there I visited twenty-five different States and all the Territories, and in every State and Territory I casually met hundreds of young and middle-aged educated Canadians and many graduates of our universities, and on questioning them as to their reasons for leaving Ontario, in the majority of cases the answer was the same, namely, that the Government of Ontario had given no encouragement to young men of education in filling the numerous Government positions in the Province, preferring in five cases out of six the uneducated political demagogues and ward politicians, who would be more serviceable to the Government before, after and at elections, and thus perchance strengthen them politically for the time being. I may say, sir, in this connection that we expend a great deal of money in Canada on our high schools, colleges and universities in educating the young men of the Province, and not by any means a few young women, to fill positions in the United States. If the Government of Ontario for the last thirty years had done their duty by the educated young men of the Province, thousands now in the United States would be in the land of their nativity worthily filling positions at present disgraced by the character of the men to

whom I have before alluded. Your positions in Britain of a similar kind are ennobled by the high character and ability of those honestly and faithfully performing their duties in connection with them. There is no room in the Executive Government of Britain for the ward politician, political demagogue or men guilty of subornation of perjury.

I have met scores of educated young Englishmen and Scotchmen in Canada capable of filling any clerical position in the country, as well as hundreds of artisans of different kinds, none of whom could secure positions of any kind, and here let me say that for many years in Canada there has been no room for immigrants of this class: stimulated immigration of this kind is simply doing a wrong to the immigrant, and quite as great a wrong to the Canadian with whom he is brought into competition. British capitalists can with caution invest millions in the forests, farms and mines of Canada and the English farmer with a few thousand dollars can find a comfortable home with a hundred or two hundred acres of fertile land, especially in the Province of Ontario, and these are about the only ones that will not be disappointed, except the industrious laborer who with five or six hundred dollars could, in a few years, have a comfortable home and farm in Manitoba or the Northwest Territories. There is already quite sufficient competition in both skilled and unskilled labor, and any efforts made by the Governments to increase the competition in labor in Canada is simply an injustice to all those effected by it. The Government of Canada in sending immigration agents to Britain and Europe to promote indiscriminate immigration is inflicting in many instances a wrong upon Canadians, and for no other reason than to find positions for their political parasites, and among them some who have been obliged to leave their country for their country's good,—*"verbum sap."*

The time has now come in Canada when there should be no mincing matters on the part of men of honest purpose, whatever their political affiliations may have been, in speaking in this country of some of the politicians and Governments of Canada. It is only honest and fair that the British public and British capitalists, both large and small, who are the mortgagees of Canada to the amount of over eight hundred millions of dollars, should know more than they apparently do of the character of the men composing the personnel of the Government and Governments of Canada, and who are therefore the trustees for the time being of the capitalists of Britain who have investments in that country. It is for this reason that I have spoken as fully regarding some of the men now dominant in political life in that country, as I have on many occasions since visiting England. Any legislation or Government act that militates against the moral or economic life of Canada most unquestionably lessens the value of your securities in that country, and let me say to you, Mr. Chairman, just



here, that any assistance in any way that the Capitalists of Britain who have investments in Canada can give the people with the view to purifying and strengthening our political life there will be well-timed and truly appreciated by every honest Canadian. For many years, and year after year, the Government of Canada and the Government of the Province of Ontario, have been alienating the lands of the people to railway contractors, manipulators and personal and political friends and relatives, and also hypothecating the public domain for very many millions of dollars to present to the same railway contractors, manipulators and friends—in fact, the major part of the legislation of the Dominion Government consists of the deals between the Government and the railway lobbyists, of which many members of Parliament know nothing of the considerations underlying such deals, though the supporters of the Government vote them through blindly—the worst and most corrupt of such acts are usually carried out at or near the end of the session, after many members have left for home.

Even this kind of legislation and attendant corruption have not been sufficient to keep the Government of Ontario with a comfortable majority, consequently a few years ago the Government's political managers sent gangs of men from Toronto into the rural constituencies to manipulate the ballots and ballot boxes. In some instances outsiders not known in the riding where the election was being held, but skilled in the art of destroying ballots as they passed from the Deputy Returning Officer to the ballot box—these skilled artists were appointed Deputy Returning Officers by the Government's Returning Officer. In one case when a ballot box containing many of the spoiled ballots was in the hands of Government officials to be kept as evidence in an election trial, it was burned. In several bye-elections the most flagrant crimes of a similar character were committed, but what is more alarming than all this is, that the Attorney-General's Office, that should be the fountain-head of Provincial justice, did nothing effectual in hunting down the criminals, but on the contrary they were kept near at hand for future service. And this is the New Liberalism of Canada and Ontario.

In bringing my remarks to a close, Mr. Chairman, allow me to say that notwithstanding anything I have said regarding individual politicians or Governments, I believe the two political parties in Canada are as pure as political parties in any other country. You will notice, I trust, that I have been exposing the methods of the members of the Governments of the Dominion and the Province of Ontario and their parasitic followers. There is, however, as you are aware, often a wide difference between a party and the individual members of a Government who for the time misrepresent or dominate that party, and it is when I consider and know this that I am encouraged in believing that the so-called Liberal Governments of the Dominion and the Province of Ontario do not by any means in their corrupt and



criminal methods represent the views or feelings of a very large proportion of the Liberal party in either the Dominion or Province of Ontario, or any intelligent and honest member of that party. On two occasions within the last thirty-one years Conservative Governments in Canada, relying upon their partisan majorities in Parliament, passed legislation and adopted methods that did not meet the approval of thousands of honest and well disposed Conservatives, and be it said to the everlasting credit of those same Conservatives that at the very first opportunity they drove their own Conservative Governments from office. I refer to the Dominion elections of 1874 and 1896. I now believe that among the Liberals of Canada there are thousands of men just as honest and independent as were the Conservatives to whom I have referred, and who will perform the same service for their country as did the Conservatives in the years I have mentioned. I, sir, with thousands of Canadian Liberals would feel very much humiliated and disgraced to know that in a moral sense the Conservative party stood higher than the Liberal party—the party once called (and not by way of derision, either) “the party of purity.” The truth is, that the Liberal party has been so befooled and bedeviled by corrupt and unprincipled leaders and traitors to the party that at the present time a large proportion of the party know not where they are at. In this respect the Conservatives have decidedly, most unquestionably, the advantage in having leaders, both at Toronto and Ottawa, who are not only able and accomplished in a political sense, but who have unblemished reputations and spotless characters. The Conservatives also have in their ranks at the present time thousands of the honest, intelligent and best educated among the Liberals of Canada, whilst their past parasitic following, as in all such cases, are now on the side where the loaves and fishes are.

In Ontario the Conservatives have a gentleman, Mr. Whitney, as leader, who for statesmanlike ability will compare most favorably with any politician in Canada, and he is considered and known to be what the people of Ontario have been and are now anxiously looking for, an honest man. “the noblest work of God.”

Mr. Borden, the leader of the Opposition at Ottawa, although comparatively a young politician, has displayed an aptitude and genius for political life that few Canadians in the past ever have. He is, like Mr. Whitney, a gentleman of unblemished and irreproachable character, and in this respect very unlike his political opponents, many of whom at the last session of Parliament have unequivocally proved that they are not men of either truth or honor, but simply time-servers and opportunists, willing to adopt any methods however vile in order to retain power. The high sense of honor and honesty for which Canadians were once known all over America will soon be a thing of the past if men of honest purpose and honor do not unite irrespective of political parties.

The intelligent elector, knowing of the criminal methods sanctioned and practised by the Government of Ontario for many years and votes to keep it in power, is not either an honest or moral man, I care not what his politics are. The man who will steal or destroy a ballot or ballot box, or defends those who are guilty of doing it, in nine cases out of ten would steal your pocketbook if he were not afraid of being found out, and the members of a Government who endorse or profit by such acts are even worse than the thief. No truly honest man would accept or hold office in a Government that remains in power when he knows that that power has been criminally obtained. The fact that no Liberal in the Province of Ontario who is known to be an honest man ever receives a Government appointment if he have to compete for it with one of the new school of Liberals or skilled ballot destroyers, should be enough of itself to overthrow any Government.

Let me now say, Mr. Chairman, that I have too much respect for and faith in my fellow countrymen in the Province of Ontario to believe that they will be guilty of condoning the crimes perpetrated by their Government, were it not that I feel confident that the Government of Ontario will soon be in the hands of the able and honorable men who have earned the good-will and gratitude of every honest man and woman in the Province for their able and self-sacrificing efforts in bringing to light and exposing the corruption and crime that has been rampant in Ontario for so many years. I say, were I not confident that this wretched Government will soon be overthrown, I certainly would not advise the capitalists of Britain to invest another dollar there. On the contrary, I would advise them to withdraw investments already made in that country. If it be that this corrupt Government has so sown the seeds of corruption that the majority of the electors have been inoculated with it, then, Mr. Chairman, the next occasion I visit England, a few months hence, it will be with a petition from the people of Canada to the King of England begging assistance to redress the grievances I have endeavored to point out.

In conclusion, allow me to say once more that the masses of the people in Canada have for several years had few representatives in Parliament and none on the Government side. The railway manipulators, subsidy hunters, charter-mongers, corporation grabbers and suborners of perjury have had many representatives to do their bidding. Hoping to see many of you again in a few months and of having the pleasure of again addressing you, I thank you all for your evident approbation and applause.

## CHAPTER X.

The scene has changed and many scenes through which we all have passed, my dear readers, and unconsciously changed with the varied and changing scenes, and now from the somewhat misty past we go to the bedside of the Duke of Lochinvar, who is for the time at the Hotel Cecil, he having at his own request been removed there from the House of Lords, where he had been taken ill. The physician to the Cecil had charge of the patient awaiting the arrival of the King's physician. A minister of the Presbyterian Church had been sent for. It was easy to see that the frail being in the bed had not long to live to make his peace either with a loving or revengeful Creator. On the arrival of the minister, and on his entering the room, the physician said, "Hush! His Grace sleeps; the potation has quieted his nerves; he dreams, his utterances are indistinct." At length, partly rising in his half waking moments, he said, "I pray you send for Colonel Montague; he is here at the Cecil. I must see him at once and before I die. I want no more of your ministers, and in my last moments; you deceived me through life and never reproached me for the great wrong I was doing the people of Canada, and never inquired how or where I was getting my millions as long as the ministers and churches were getting a few thousands from time to time of my ill-gotten gains. Away, Sir Minister, it is only mockery now when it is too late."

Colonel Montague being sent for, came immediately to the bedside of the apparently dying man, whom he at once recognized as Mr. Donald Robinson, of the firm of Smith, Jones, Brown & Robinson, the great bankers, railway magnates and multi-millionaires of Quebec, Canada. Mr. Robinson, who had been living at times for many years in Scotland and England, and again at times in Canada, was now after several intermediary changes between plain Donald Robinson and the Duke of Lochinvar, about it would seem to appear before the Great King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who only confers titles upon those who have by a life of self-sacrifice and self-abasement earned the crown. His Grace, passing his thin hands before his eyes, whispered as he saw Colonel Montague approaching the bedside, "It is you, Colonel Montague; we met years and years ago."

"Yes, your Grace, about twenty years ago when I was attending a session of the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa. I remember being in Mr. Blake's private room in the Parliament Buildings discussing with that gentleman the fallacy of pushing the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway so rapidly with probably no population to sustain it for many years to come, as was the case. During this conversation with Mr. Blake you were admitted, and almost immediately asked Mr. Blake, who was then leader of the Opposition in the Dominion Parliament of Canada, if he could not be less severe in combatting your endeavor to secure from the Government and Parliament an additional thirty million credit for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway over and above the thirty million acres of land and almost countless millions of dollars you had received only three years before as a present from the Government."

"Oh, yes," said the Duke, "it is these millions, millions, millions that are now driving me mad. Oh, that they had never touched these hands. Pray give me the cordial." After taking a spoonful he signified his wish to be left alone with Colonel Montague. The others having left the room he then raised himself upright and said:

"Colonel Montague, since reading your speech delivered at Sir Rowland Courtiér's I have been in great distress day and night over what you said about that two hundred millions we had received in lands and cash for building a railway to make our lands more valuable. I am now troubled night and day over this, to me, very sad business. I have given away thousands and millions at different times, and in different ways, but my conscience is not satisfied; I am slowly dying of remorse and fear since reading that part of your address at Sir Rowland Courtiér's referring to the number that had been driven out of Canada into the United States and into asylums and suicides' graves by the operations of the protective system, and the millions of the people's money and lands given as a present to the Canadian Pacific Railway syndicate twenty-three years ago. Since the night I read this I have been haunted by the spectres of hungry men, women and children crying for bread. Oh! oh! Colonel Montague, I feel that if even now I could give back to the people the thirty millions I still have I might die in peace; it is theirs. Twenty-six years ago I was comparatively a poor man on a salary only a little more than enough to keep me. I was tempted by an evil spirit in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota, and in a short time after other evil spirits beckoned me on with the cry, 'Let us be multi-millionaires. Let us be knights, let us be barons, let us be lords.' Yea, and at last the great tempter came, the archfiend of all, and in low, sweet accents said, 'Give me a million and you shall be a Duke.' I gave the million, and, oh! why did I not die then. I might then have gone to the home of the just and in peace, for I never had considered in the

excitement of the race for wealth *how the acquisition of that wealth was affecting others*. Not until I read your speech, published in the 'Times,' did I view things in the same light that I do now. Sometimes my mind, even in the great excitement of money getting and politics, would go straying back to the shores of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, but not for long; then I would turn to myself. Ambition should be made of sterner stuff, and then I would dismiss from my mind the old dusky faces I had known in other days on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine and plunge again into the very hell of money getting, but now when the sands of life are fast ebbing away I again, even now, hear the voices of the poor on the farms, and in the villages, towns and cities crying for bread. Oh! Colonel Montague, the thirty millions I still have seem to be hurrying me on to a fate I am unable either to avert or meet. Canst thou, I pray you, whose words have brought this indescribable misery upon me, I ask, I beseech you, have you no antidote to purge the foul bosom of this perilous stuff, answer me!"

Colonel Montague—"Yes, give to the people all that thou hast, it is theirs. Then, and only then, can the foul bosom be cleansed."

The Duke—"Is it the only way that you canst minister to a mind diseased?"

Colonel Montague—"It is in your ease."

The Duke—"Then pray send at once for the great Canadian lawyer, Edward Blake. My desire is to give sixty dollars each to five hundred thousand of the poorest families in Canada. That will exhaust the thirty millions and be about my share of the two hundred millions we took from the people of Canada without giving them any return except a railway that belongs to a company, not to the taxpayers of Canada who furnished the money, lands and credit that paid for it. The sixty dollars to each family will buy food and fuel for half a million poor families for the winter months. The Duchess has a few millions in her own name, what about that? That, too, belongs to the people of Canada."

Colonel Montague—"Say nothing about that, for if I know anything about Duchesses she would never relinquish a dollar until she felt the flames a good deal nearer than your Grace has."

The Duke—"Heaven be praised. Let the Duchess be spared. Even now I feel very much better."

Mr. Blake having arrived, a document was drawn up and signed, sealed and delivered, giving to Edward Blake and Stanley Montague thirty millions of dollars in railway bonds and bank securities in trust

and for the purposes before mentioned. This having been done the Duke felt so much better that a message was despatched to Lord Curcell stating that his services would not be required. The Duke, after a prolonged sigh, then said, "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king (self) He would not in mine age have left me naked to my enemy (conscience) for 'conscience makes cowards of us all.'"





## CHAPTER XI.

(Mr. Chamberlain, Colonel Montague and Lord Yuno.)

Mr. Chamberlain—I am glad to know, Colonel Montague, that you propose returning to England after visiting Canada for a few months, and I am very much pleased to hear, indeed, that you intend to still further enlighten us on the political life of the country. We have large interests in Canada—financially speaking—that must not be jeopardized by speculators and politicians in collusion with Governments. The lands, forests and fisheries of the country are the people's heritage, and must not be given away to corporations and favorites.

Colonel Montague—Before leaving I would like to impress upon the Government of Great Britain the desirability of sending a confidential agent to Canada with the view to verify and confirm the statements I have made regarding the corruption and criminality in the official political life of the country. For many years the people of Canada have had grievances entitling them to be heard by the British Government, and more so now than at any previous time. When the people's heritage is being fritted away and squandered upon politicians, officials and Government favorites and railway jobbers and lobbyists, it is certainly time that something should be done to stay the hand of the spoiler. If this condition be allowed to continue it will bring disaster and poverty to millions in that country before many years and end in anarchy and rebellion which often in the past has been the sequence to continued maladministration. The sooner the people generally, and the capitalists of Britain especially, are aroused from their apathy with regard to the political, economic and ethical condition of Canada the better. This applies with more force to the Province of Ontario, as by Government acts it has sunk lower in the scale of political degradation than any of the other Provinces, and only a few days ago the Premier of Ontario boldly proclaimed his sinister methods in his future course, stating that as long as there was sin in the world it would find its way into politics. Twenty-five years ago had the Premier of Ontario descended to such vile suggestions he would have been driven out of the country by physical force.

Lord Yuno—It has occurred to me, Colonel Montague, that the information you have given to the people of England in your addresses and interviews in this country upon Canada, and more particularly on the political life of the country, is of so much importance

to so many thousands in this country, who have investments there, as well as to those who are proposing to emigrate to Canada—I say that this information should be published in book form and distributed generally throughout Great Britain.

Colonel Montague—I have not the slightest objection, Lord Yuno, as it might be the means of arousing from apathy some who seem so stubbornly ignorant of Canadian life generally, and probably some whose financial interests in Canada are of sufficient importance to provoke an interest in the people and honest government of that country. More than once in the past the people of Canada have had sufficient cause to protest in a manner of a very striking nature against the administrative acts of their Governments. I regret to say that there are weightier reasons for doing so now than at any previous time in our history. The truth is that the corrupt and immoral acts of the Governments of the Dominion and Ontario are having a most debasing effect not only on officials and politicians generally, but upon those connected with the industrial, mercantile and professional life of the country. You can readily understand that a Government that keep themselves in power year after year by grossly immoral and criminal agencies and openly and brazenly defends and protects the agents, are sowing seeds of immorality and crime that will be disastrous in many ways to the well being of the country for all time to come. As I have before stated on many occasions in this country, the same party has been in power in the Province of Ontario for thirty-two years; for the last eight years at least their retention of power has been accomplished by the sacrifice of every principle of true constitutional government. In Ontario, as well as in the Dominion, we have ex-members of Parliament and their relatives filling every position in the civil service worth having and thus diametrically opposing the independence of Parliament so long fought for by the Baldwins, Blakes, Mackenzie and Brown; the securing and creating offices for the members of Government, members of Parliament and their relatives and a few of their supporters, seem to be the mainspring and motive of political action; in fact there are few acts passed or suggestions made by the Government of Ontario that have not for their chief object the creating of offices for some of the members of the Government, member of Parliament or their relatives, and sometimes the most abandoned and worthless of their supporters receive sinecure appointments. In short, the whole official and political life of the country is saturated with corruption, fraud and criminality.

Plunder and place are the watchwords of the Government among themselves. It is only those who have made it their business to watch closely the methods of the officials of the Ontario Government who have anything like a true conception of the sinister and criminal practices brought into requisition in order to keep this Government in

power, even against the wishes of a large majority of the electors at the polls. Hundreds of thousands are paid yearly to men who have been brought into the public service from year to year for many years upon some pretext, not that their services are required, but because they have "the pull," and are in a measure forced in by a member of the Government or a member of Parliament. For eight years at least this corrupt and indefensible practice has obtained, and the public service is swarming with hundreds of officials whose chief occupations are to vote and hurrah for the government that keeps them in idleness, and thus robs the treasury of the Province.

It requires but a cursory glance at our position to readily conclude that the immoral and criminal methods adopted by the Government of Ontario to retain power will very naturally attract to their side the very worst and most debased elements of the opposite party, and undoubtedly the worst elements of the community at the expense of driving from them the most intelligent and moral of their own party, and hence it is that thousands of honest and intelligent Liberals of the old school, the pupils I may say of Brown, Blake and Mackenzie, are now strongly opposing the Government of Ontario, as well as the Government at Ottawa, for they are in all their vilest methods a joint Government.

A few years ago some of the officials of the Ontario Government, doubtless at the suggestion of the Government, destroyed the ballots of the voters by burning a ballot box which contained evidence of criminality on the part of a Government official. When the Government refrained from prosecuting the criminals in this instance (although it was the sworn duty of the Attorney-General to do so) they drove from them hundreds of honest Liberals, who, it appears, have loftier notions of what should be expected and required of a Government than any member of the Government apparently has. Let me ask just here, is it fair or just that a government of this kind should be allowed to have the custody or possession of ballot boxes to burn?

With us in Canada at the present time it has become something of more importance than a political question, or a political party, now to be considered by men of intelligence and good morals—the ethical side of our political life must now claim our attention, and it is only honest and fair to the capitalists of Britain that they should be in possession of the facts, that I have so often referred to in this country, regarding the criminality in political life in Canada, and, on the other hand, and considering that Canada is a dependency of the British Crown, I think it due to these in that country who are fighting for purity in the political life of the country to receive the moral support of every honest Briton.

### WHERE ARE WE AT? Hotel King Edward, Canada.

A meeting of a few of the old school of Liberals in Ontario, at the Hotel King Edward, Toronto. Present: Jonas Justice, of the Township of Markham; Alexander Muekenzie, Jr., of the County of Lambton; Gordon Brown, the nephew of the late Hon. George Brown; Lucius Baldwin, of Toronto, a descendant of the late Hon. Robert Baldwin; Confucius Lount, a grandson of the late Mr. Lount, who was hanged at the time of the Rebellion in Canada West, about sixty-five years ago; Colonel Montague, who had only returned from England a few days before this meeting; and Baldwin B. Blake, a grandson of the late the Hon. William Hume Blake.

Jonas Justice—Didst thee counsel, friend Montague, with Friends in England upon the poor quality of those who are set to rule over us in Canada; those whose hands we are asked to uplift that our children may be guided by the beckoning of their fingers, but we fear in the devils ways of the world of sin and unrighteousness?

Colonel Montague—Yes, Friend Justice, I did in this respect what thou didst ask me to do. I had frequent counsels with our brothers—the Friends.

Jonas Justice—And what didst they counsel thee to do?

Colonel Montague—They counseled us to go as far as peace would allow us to go, and then if our friends, the enemies of truth, pushed us to extremes, to leave this country and return to the Friends in Pennsylvania, the land of William Penn.

Jonas Justice—Do those who have been set over the people of England know that the lands and timber of this, our adopted country, are given away to the rich men of the country, who wear purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day, and that such lands and timber are not kept for our children and our children's children that they may have peace and plenty in the land as the ages pass by?

Colonel Montague—Yes, Friend Justice. I did as thou didst beseech me to do; I promised the friends in England to return to them in due season and relate to them what is now being done by this wicked and perverse generation in Canada who are following false Gods—the Gods of this present world—who neither spin, sow or reap, but live on the fruits of other men's toil—the fruits of sin and unrighteousness.

Gordon Brown—I have only been in Canada for a few hours, as in the summer months I reside among Canadians in the town of Ontario, in Southern California, not far from the far-famed Los Angeles. About two weeks ago I had a most remarkable dream that has

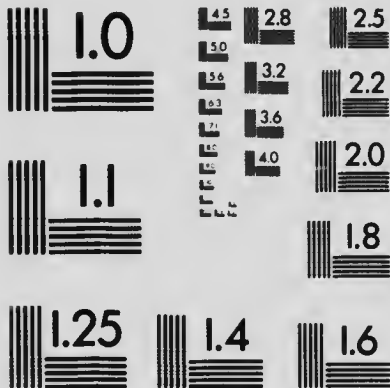
sunk deep into my very soul; in the dream my very dear and revered uncle, the late Hon. George Brown, the first Editor of the "Globe" newspaper, appeared to me exactly as I saw him last in the flesh, and with that same mobile, benignant and noble look that so well became him; he, as in the flesh, said, "Gordon, my nephew, my only brother's son, make haste and get thee away to Toronto, Canada, my home in the flesh for many years, and cry aloud to the people through the land that the spirit of your uncle, their old friend and protector, is troubled day and night in hearing the vile slanders and fabrications that are sent broadcast over the land in the columns of the 'Globe,' the paper to which I gave birth more than fifty years ago," he said. "Put one foot on the shores of the Atlantic and the other on the shores of the Pacific and, in trumpet tones, as if from the Angel Gabriel, say, that in the spirit world I still cling to the old Liberal principles; tell them, as I have often told them when in the flesh, that true principles are indestructible and eternal and cannot die; tell them that in this spirit environment I have adhered to my opposition to *Nepotism*, that I am still advocating representation by population, the independence of Parliament, economy in the public service, and all the old Liberal principles, and," said the dearly-beloved uncle with the same benignant smile and noble look, "tarry not and rest not day or night until you have found the greatest of Canada's sons, Edward Blake, if he is still in the flesh (which it is not permitted me to know), and say to Edward Blake that you have seen me and that I made you promise to hunt the world over until you found him, and when you do find him say, 'My Uncle George, now dead in the flesh for twenty-four years, has appeared to me in a dream and implored me to find you and say that it was not from the grave he spoke but from the spirit world, and the spirit's environment and with the spirit of a just man made perfect. My uncle,' say to Mr. Blake, 'beseeches and implores you to return to Canada and arouse the old Liberal school and revive the old principles and make them as distinct from this new Liberal school as possible;' say to him 'that my spirit is greatly troubled in consequence of the columns of the "Globe" being prostituted to base uses.'" As soon as the words prostituted to base uses were uttered I awoke, and you can readily understand, gentlemen, that I could hardly fail to be very strongly impressed by such a dream; so much have I been impressed that I had no peace day or night until I finally made up my mind to take a train for Toronto. To me and mine there is no place like our native city. I am grieved to say that the conduct of these new aspirants to the leadership of the Liberal party in Canada and Ontario are so much at variance with the Liberalism of the great Liberals of the party that I am at a loss to recognize the new Liberalism as worthy of the name, and have ignored it completely; they have been too corrupt and criminal for honest men of any party to tolerate. Imagine, if you can, Blake, Brown, Mowat or Mackenzie,





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resorting to such subterfuges as destroying ballots and burning ballot boxes in order to retain power. No, sir, there is not one of the gentlemen I have named who would not have his right arm severed from his body rather than do such work as this new brood of Liberals seem to take a delight in doing. No doubt, after the passing of the Ross and Laurier Governments, it will take years to rehabilitate the Liberal party—better that a hundred times than to be further humiliated and disgraced; besides, the leaders of the Conservative party, both at Toronto and Ottawa, are gentlemen of good abilities and undoubtedly honest men, and it certainly will be a relief to honest men of all parties to know that "Truth crushed to earth will rise again." I admire the politician most who adopts the principle enunciated by Shakespeare in these words, "'Tis better to deserve success, Sempronius, than to command it."

Lucius Baldwin—It appears to me that when the country gets quit of the Ross excrecence upon the body politic that more than half of even the present Liberals in Ontario will rejoice, but as the other half are officials of the Government, or barnacles clinging to it, it will be to them no laughing matter. Personally, although I bear the name I do, I have every confidence that men of ability and character, like Mr. Whitney, Mr. Foy, Dr. Pyne, Mr. St. John and many others on the Conservative side, will not disgrace themselves and their Province as the Ross and Stratton combination have, besides many of the old school of Liberalism have for the last six or eight years been voting and working with the leaders of the Conservative party, having perfect faith in them.

Mr. Baldwin B. Blake—Colonel Montague's long experience in political life, and his knowledge and views of politicians generally is so extensive, I would like to hear what his opinion is of the Premier of Canada, as I am aware he is personally well known to the Premier, and I understand the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, is very well known to Colonel Montague.

Colonel Montague—As Mr. Blake is aware, I have been in England for the last three months, and during that time I have given my views of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on several occasions, and certainly my views have not in the least changed, but are even stronger than when I left England, for it would seem from the utterances and doings of Sir Wilfrid Laurier for the last week or two he is bound to have every vestige and shred of Liberalism crushed out before the polling day. I refer to his wholesale bribery of constituencies by the way of offering them post offices, canals, bridges, etc., etc., though I must say that after watching Sir Wilfrid's course for six years and his abandonment of all the old Liberal principles, I say I was not nearly as much surprised at the hand he took in this bribery business as I was at the apparent innocence of Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Aylesworth in proclaiming it to the world. Twenty years ago a candidate for Parliament who

would present a bribery telegram at a public meeting, and with no other view than to bribe the meeting, I say such a candidate would have been thrown out of the window, as he deserved to be; but the brazen impudence of the candidate is disheartening to those who believe in purity in political life, for it shows the depraved condition of public life. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier was elected as Premier in 1896 he was, or rather he declared himself that he was a Democrat to the very hilt; three years of plenty in official life changed his democratic views (as apparently it did other views) and he became an autocrat of the first water, and the Historian Parkman says, "Extremes meet, and Autocracy and Democracy often touch hands, at least in their vices." Mr. Blake has desired my views upon Sir Wilfrid. I must say that Sir Wilfrid is a difficult man to follow, as he is so slippery that he slips away from you and his own views, that, like the Irishman's flea, when you put your hand on him he is not there. For instance, Sir Wilfrid was once a Commercial Union man; can anyone give you his views upon that question to-day? He was once a Free Trader; what are his opinions to-day? He was once opposed to nepotism; what is he to-day upon that? He once believed in the independence of Parliament, does he at present? Ask the fifty or sixty who were transplanted from the House of Commons and placed probably in deeper and more enduring soil in the civil service, every one of such appointments being in direct violation of the independence of Parliament.

Sir Wilfrid. I have no doubt at some period of his life, believed in the sacredness or sanctity of an oath, and yet he now endorses the appointment of a man to a very important position in the civil service who is guilty of subornation of perjury in connection with an election protest.

Anterior to the elections of 1896, I heard Sir Wilfrid pledge himself (with his right hand over his heart and with his eyes turned toward heaven, as is his wont at times) to reduce the public expenditure two, three, yes four millions of dollars annually. This was when he was most impregnated with democratic views; since he became an autocrat he has increased the public expenditure from year to year until it has now reached about double of what it was when he took office eight years ago. Not many years ago Sir Wilfrid accepted as a gift or present from a Dominion Government contractor a residence in the City of Ottawa valued at fifteen thousand dollars; it was also about this time that the same Government contractor received higher prices by forty per cent. for goods supplied to the Government than such goods could have been bought for in the open market. Here, let me ask, who really paid for this gift, the contractor, the Government, or correctly speaking, was it not the taxpayers of Canada?

Sir Wilfrid (strongly supported by Sir Richard Cartwright)

yearned to be only once in power, that he might show the poor taxpayer how he would discharge from the public service the useless officials that had found a resting place in it. Now, I believe, it would not be very difficult to count two thousand more civil servants than when Sir Wilfrid became Premier.

Before the last Dominion election in 1900, Sir Wilfrid and the members of his Government, feeling that their tardiness and "Tarte"-ness had aroused a hostile feeling all over the English-speaking Provinces, and fearing defeat at the polls, sent the then master of the Administration to the Province of Quebec with the view of getting up the race cry among the poor, unsuspecting, innocent and illiterate habitants. This had the desired effect, and to make assurance doubly sure, in addition to this a million dollars had to be raised to pay casual expenses. You know for very obvious reasons this had to be kept a secret. The "contractor" had again to be brought into requisition, and was in a manner, but not altogether, an adept in the arts of the Machiavelian school of politicians, as he stated he preferred the methods of the "New School of Liberals" in Canada, being more liberal and the best developed. Accordingly a "contractor" with a twenty-year of unexpired contract for lighting a canal was approached and offered an amended contract by which he would stand to make from one to two millions more than he would if he carried out the terms of the contract then existing. You can readily understand the contractor was only too glad to capitulate on such terms, as he knew that he would not be expected to pay over the full amount to the Government for the purposes already hinted at; but what was more important than that to him was, "future contracts." He would be a secret partner with the Government in corruption (as was the position of the Government at present with many contractors), and have them and through them the country, at his mercy. The proposition was carried out, and the Government, owing to the racial cry in Quebec and a few millions from contractors, or perhaps more properly the Dominion Treasury, was returned by a large majority. In time this plot against the treasury of the Dominion, and stinking, if you please, with perfidy to the people, and corruption as hot as hell itself, had to come before the St. Bernard of the Treasury who, by his honesty, manliness and courage saved one-half million to the people of Canada for partly frustrating this gigantic and damnable corruption in which the Premier of Canada was the leader of the thieves. Down upon Mr. McDougall red hot came the indignation of all the corrupt and subsidised press who for months pursued him with the malignity of Mexican bandits who have been thwarted in robbing their intended victims. I may tell you, gentlemen, that any truths of this nature exposed by an editor or publicist of any kind is by this new school of Liberals anathematized as *vituperation* on about the same principle

that the suborning of perjury when exposed is said by this new school to be just an "indiscretion, you know," on the part of the suborner or perjurer.

Gentlemen, I have spoken to you in pretty strong language, I must admit, but let me ask is it too strong, considering the provocation and the character of the political and financial freebooters that are not only robbing the people's treasury but ruining by example the people's sons, for "seen too oft familiar with its face, we first endure, then pity, then embrace."

Now, gentlemen, as this is the last time we will meet before the elections that are now in progress in that country will come off, let me ask you and let each of us ask himself, "Shall I take the side of truth, honesty and honor, or the side of corruption, perfidy and dishonor, or nearer the mark still, let us, let every honest and honorable man in Canada say to himself, Will I support men like Borden, Whitney and Blair, who believe in purity in political life, or Ress, Stratton and Laurier—whose records smack of immorality and crime at the present time?"

Jonas Justice—Dost thou know, Colonel Montague, what they are doing about the Grand Trunk Pacific, and dost thou think the politicians at Ottawa are dividing up the balance of the country among themselves and their families?

Colonel Montague (knowing some of the directors of the Grand Trunk Pacific and their past history in connection with Canadian railways)—I am quite prepared to hear anything concerning them, so far as dishonest deals are concerned.

Gentlemen, I have been invited to give my views upon the present Grand Trunk Pacific Railway scheme. In doing so I may first tell you that some few years ago I spent between two and three years in the United States for the sole purpose of obtaining information regarding the working of American institutions and undertakings generally, and in that time my eyes were not by any means closed to the railway affairs and the able and brilliant railway men of that great country. The railway problem is the greatest of the great problems of America. The United States, or rather some of the greatest intellects of that country, have successfully solved the railway problem in its relations to all of the other great interests of that and other countries. With the Americans it has long since been their settled policy to extend their railways only as the increase of population demanded, whether the increase was natural or from immigration, or both, and hence it was that several of their lines were in course of construction for many years, notably the Northern Pacific, their second transeontinental line, if it can properly be called a transeontinental line, as it certainly does not cross the continent to the east except by connection with other lines, the starting point of the road being, Duluth on the south side of Lake Superior in the State of Minnesota;

from Duluth it runs west through St. Paul, Fargo, Miles City, Bismark, etc., etc., to Tacoma in Washington Territory.

This line was not hurried through with break neck speed, but built slowly and entirely with the view of not outdistancing settlement, and the result was that when it was completed the country through which it passed, that was fit for settlement, was fairly well settled, and quite unlike the spectacle presented by the Canadian Pacific Railway for many years after it reached British Columbia. Through the west part of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories there was no sign of life (except at the stations), for many miles between the stations. The last spurt in finishing the C. P. R. (after letting the contract in the winter of 1880 and 1881), only consumed in time five years and a few months. The Americans accepted the Scotch maxim and made haste slowly, as they took about seventeen years in building the Northern Pacific, but as I before stated they always kept an eye on the settler to see that his life was not made miserable by isolation from his fellow settler. When the Northern Pacific Directors noticed too long a distance between the last settler and the last station house west, they simply stopped work until the settler came again in sight, and thus it was that many American railways have been built, and the country settled, and thus it should be in Canada. Had Canadian politicians and railway manipulators in Canada taken a leaf out of the field notes of the railway surveyors and engineers of the United States, and acted upon the policy and principles of the leading railway Directors of America, our splurge movements at the present time made by a few politicians, railway manipulators, and men whose insatiable greed for the hard earned money of the toilers, I say this railway movement known as the Grand Trunk Pacific would never have been made, for what does Mr. Blair, the only man in Canada who could be considered a specialist in railway matters, say, "It is absolutely useless; it is a total and absolute waste of public money; it is not only a destruction of the Intercolonial Railway, but it is a sheer unjustifiable squandering of the public money," and Sir Wilfrid Laurier said of Mr. Blair many years ago, "Mr. Blair, the best railway authority in Canada." It could hardly be expected that Sir Wilfrid, a lawyer, practising for nearly thirty years at a small rural town, Arthabaskaville, in the Eastern Townships, would be an authority on railway matters, although he has gone through the Province of Ontario asserting the G. T. P. would only cost Canada thirteen or fourteen millions. Mr. Blair has made the statement that it will cost \$139,000,000, being \$126,000,000 more than Sir Wilfrid is proclaiming to the unbelieving people of Ontario. To my mind, even Mr. Blair is very economical in his estimate, for the builders of railways as a rule exceed the estimates, and if this road is ever built as proposed I am bound to say \$200,000,000 will be nearer the cost. The present debt of the Government of Canada, and the



people of Canada, including the civic, municipal, Provincial and every debt of every nature that we owe the capitalists of Britain and France, cannot be less than eight hundred millions of dollars; with this additional two hundred millions, we will then owe one thousand millions, or a billion dollars, which would be, not to speak pedantically, about one thousand dollars to each family of the Dominion. Is it any wonder that a Canadian as able and honorable as Mr. Blair, who knows of our immense debt to Great Britain, is sounding the alarm. A thousand million indebtedness to a young country like Canada with less than six millions of a population, and not many more than a million householders, is an awful heritage to bequeath to those coming after us. There is not one man in Canada to-day in one thousand that would be permanently benefited by this G. T. P. scheme, then why burden those coming after us with burdens that may at this rate be too grievous to be borne before long, and especially should we consider our financial position when we are well assured that the Canadian Northern will be completed to the Pacific Coast in a few years. Then we will have two transcontinental lines without the G. T. P. The Americans had a population of thirty millions when their first transcontinental line was finished in 1868, and even now the Americans with eighty-five millions have only six transcontinental lines, and two of these are simply made up of different roads running in the same direction.

The only excuse for a third line in Canada would be to control and lessen the freight and passenger rates, and this could be done only by a Government owned road, as the roads owned by companies seldom fail to combine in order to keep up rates. Looking at this railway problem with the view to benefiting the masses of the people of Canada, no one acquainted with the general economic and financial condition of the country can come to any other conclusion than that a Government owned and a Government managed railway across the continent is the only one the people require and that almost solely for the reasons I have already given. The people of Canada, the toilers and the tillers in Canada, are not asking for this G. T. P., it is only the few hundred railway contractors, manipulators and subsidized press who are expecting to make millions that will be saddled on the country, and that, too, without any honest effort on the part of those who are pocketing the money. One of the chief actors in the promoting of this road is a man who not beyond the speaker's memory acquired a short line of railway not very far from Toronto that got into the hands of the English bondholders who were about foreclosing. The man to whom I refer got possession of the road, agreeing that the laborers and officials of the road who had not been paid for several months would be paid in full. In some mysterious way a broker appeared upon the scene and before it was known in Canada, except by a cablegram, what had been done in England,

the toilers had been compromised with at thirty cents on the dollar. The man who acquired the road, however, benefited to the extent of seventy cents on the dollar upon the amount owed the men, which I am informed was \$50,000. I say, since knowing of this man's connection with the G. T. P., I have always looked upon it as a huge swindle to rob the people, the toilers of Canada, out of millions to be put into the hands of a few hundred in Canada, some of whom are already up to their elbows in the treasury of the country. If the public of this country were intelligent upon this question and knew of the underlying considerations that are not seen, or exposed, they would rise as one man and drive out of Canada the political and railway jobbers and robbers that will if not prevented by the people's votes in a short time, be holding high carnival from the Atlantic to the Pacific with the people's money. I now make the statement and challenge contradiction that there are not fifty well informed men on railway matters in America, and being at the same time honest and patriotic men, who will favor the building of the G. T. P. as being material in any sense to the prosperity of this country, or desired by any except the few who are again anxious from past successes to bleed the people of Canada until they are too weak to be bled more. I am in a position to state and to know that Canada and the people of Canada in this railway connection are to-day the laughing stock of American railway men who are conversant with our railway and financial position. Well may it be said in Canada, as wealth increases in the hands of the few, men decay, wealth really increases as the artisans and toilers of the soil increases; the evidences of wealth are often more apparent than real, and an ostentatious display of wealth by some is simply a trick to ward off the evil day of reckoning. Wealth is not increased, but only changed hands, except it is a product of the toiler. If it were in the power of the Government to transfer all of the wealth of Canada from the hands of the artisans, merchants and farmers to railway contractors and manipulators, it would not increase our wealth, but would place in the hands of those who would more ostentatiously display it. If the people of Canada do not rise in their might and put a stop to the public robbery by politicians, which after all is private robbery to every citizen of Canada, I say if this is not done soon, before very long we all will have cause to repent it. I am not, gentlemen, a prophet or son of a prophet, but reasoning from analogy and fifty years' experience, I can come to no other conclusion that if corruption in political life is allowed to grow and honest men of all parties do not unite, before many years, indeed, in quite a short time, the sacred right of rebellion will assert itself. We have had one, two, yes three rebellions in Canada, but on none of the occasions referred to have the grounds for rebellion been half as potential as they are in this year of grace—"Verbum sap."

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