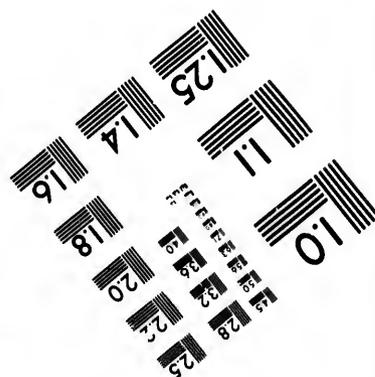
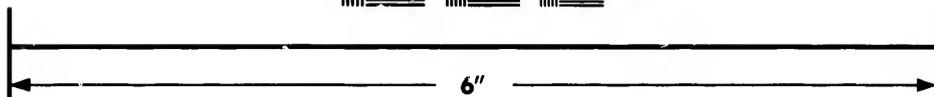
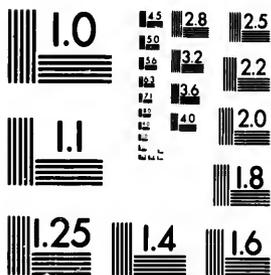
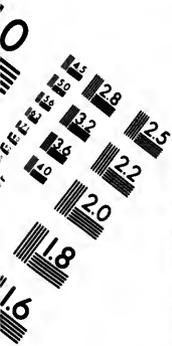


**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

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



**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques



© 1985

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

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

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

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured pages/
Pages de couleur |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers damaged/
Couverture endommagée | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages damaged/
Pages endommagées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages restored and/or laminated/
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages detached/
Pages détachées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Showthrough/
Transparence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Quality of print varies/
Qualité inégale de l'impression |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents | <input type="checkbox"/> Includes supplementary material/
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion
along interior margin/
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la
distortion le long de la marge intérieure | <input type="checkbox"/> Only edition available/
Seule édition disponible |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Blank leaves added during restoration may
appear within the text. Whenever possible, these
have been omitted from filming/
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées
lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,
mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont
pas été filmées. | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata
slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to
ensure the best possible image/
Les pages totalement ou partiellement
obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,
etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à
obtenir la meilleure image possible. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Additional comments:/
Commentaires supplémentaires: | |

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

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

The copy
to the g

The
Un

The image
possible
of the c
filming

Original
beginning
the last
sion, or
other or
first pag
sion, an
or illustr

The last
shall con
TINUED
whichever

Maps, p
different
entirely
beginning
right and
required
method:

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

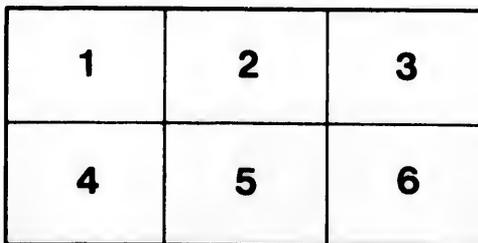
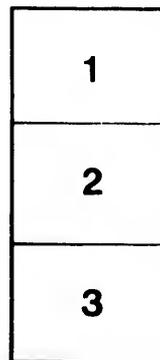
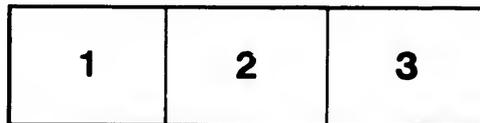
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,
University of Toronto Library

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

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

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

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



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

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,
University of Toronto Library

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

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

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

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

Pamph
HC
S

59

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

Dinner of the Committee and Stockholders

OF THE

“NATIONAL CLUB,”

OCTOBER 8, 1874.

By GOLDWIN SMITH.

TORONTO:

W. G. GIBSON, PRINTER, KING STREET EAST.

1874.



AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

Dinner of the Committee and Stockholders

OF THE

"NATIONAL CLUB,"

OCTOBER 8, 1874.

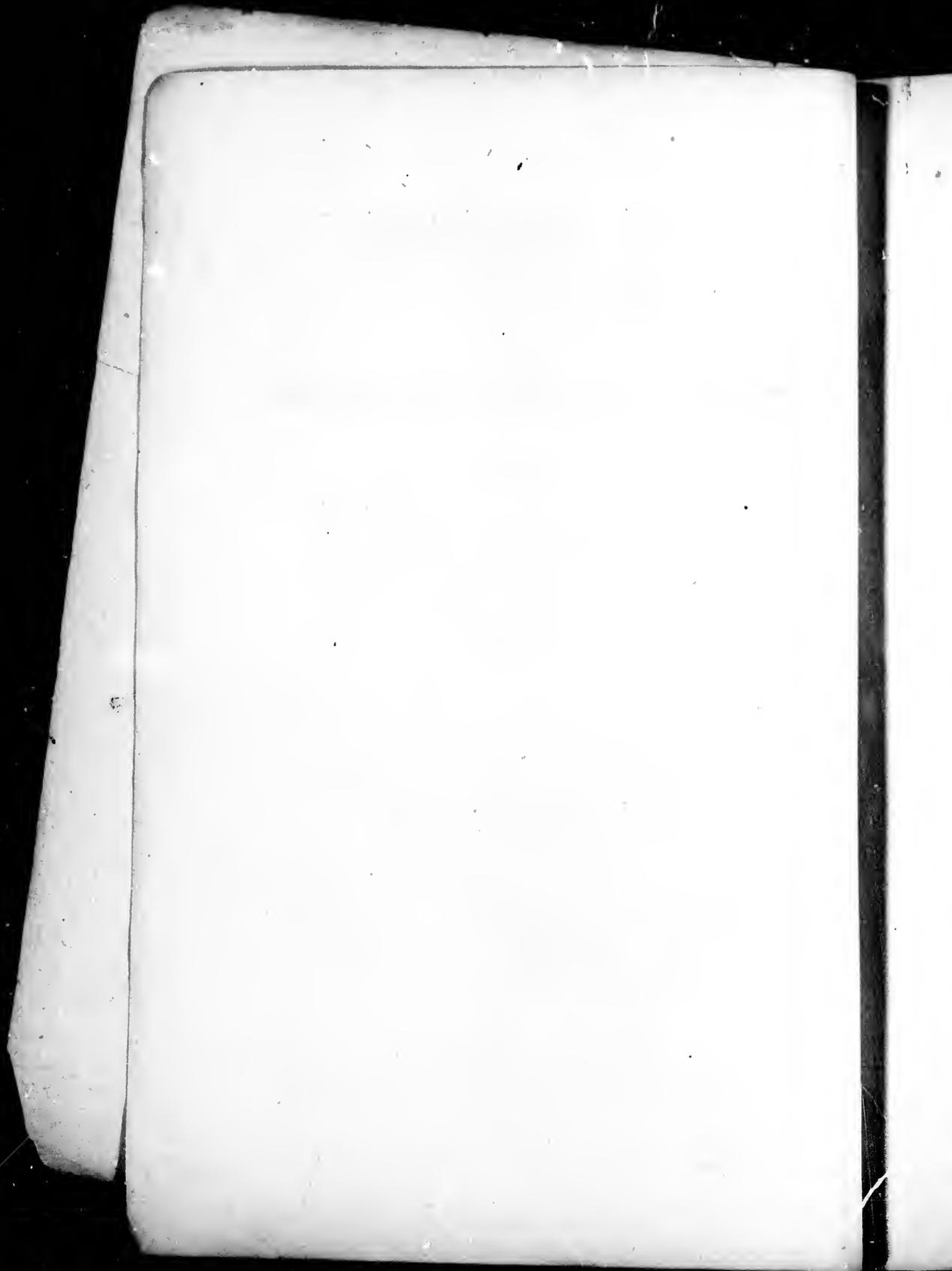
By GOLDWIN SMITH,

TORONTO:

W. G. GIBSON, PRINTER, KING STREET EAST.

1874.

310212
29 . . . 35



THIS ADDRESS was delivered at a private dinner of the Committee and Stockholders of the National Club. But some who were not present wishing to see it, it was published in the Toronto "Nation." The limited number printed, however, having failed to meet the demand, it is now printed in a separate form. Its republication will be the best answer to the account of its contents which has been given by a hostile journal for the purpose of exciting public feeling against its author.

G. S.

TORONTO, November 7, 1874.

D

G

yo

la

C

us

th

ha

w

ab

de

to

st

fo

it

so

I

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

DINNER OF THE NATIONAL CLUB.

GENTLEMEN,

I have the pleasure of reporting to you that the first stone of our Club-house was laid on Thursday last. At a meeting of the Committee the day before the architect told us that the workmen were waiting and that there must be no delay; so that the ceremony had to be performed at once, and of course it would not have been possible, had it been desirable, to organize anything in the way of a demonstration or even to give notice generally to the members of the Club. However, the stone has been duly laid with the customary forms and with the confident hope that upon it will be reared a superstructure of goodwill, social enjoyment, patriotism and honour. Why I should have been selected to perform the

ceremony on behalf of the Club and to occupy this place to-night is a riddle which, having tried in vain to guess it, I must be content to leave unsolved, and submit myself to your kind commands. But one thing is clear; those who selected an Englishman as their first President could not be *Know-nothings*. I have long had connections in this country, but I have myself lived in it only a few years, though I believe no native Canadian can be more thoroughly identified with it in interest or more loyal to it than I am. That I should have been called upon, and should have consented, to preside over a society, the object of which is to propagate "the cult of nativism," is a thing which writers in certain journals may say, because they must say something and something good-natured; but which they can hardly themselves believe. I have signally experienced in my own person the readiness of those native Canadians who have taken the most active part in getting up this Club to extend the kindest welcome to all, wherever born, who come to Canada meaning to cast in their lot heartily with the country.

We have been sharply interrogated as to our aims in founding a Club. We are only doing what others have done before us, and I do not know that we are bound to allow ourselves to be put to the question by the familiars of any political Inquisition. The primary object of every Club, besides material comforts and convenience, is social intercourse. In London the Clubs are a group of palaces, which is always increasing in number and magnificence. It will be long before we rival the least of these. But in the meantime we can do something towards organizing Canadian society in a pleasant way. We can endeavor to present some little counter-attraction to those attractions of Pall Mall and Belgravia, which lure so many wealthy colonists away from the land where their wealth was made, to the great detriment of the colonies, not only in a commercial but in a political and social point of view. A Club organizes social intercourse, and it also organizes social opinion. The man who wishes to get into a good Club has an additional motive for keeping the right path; and probably expulsion from a Club is

a penalty for social offences which few offenders are brazen enough to disregard. Such influences are of special value in a new country, where the texture of society is still somewhat loose and the force of social opinion is not easily brought to bear. Let us hope that on the stone which was laid the other day dishonor will never tread; that the roof which is rising above will never shelter anything that can bring disgrace on our circle or our country.

In giving our Club the name of National we imply that Canada is now a nation. If any one denies that Canada is now a nation, and not the meanest of nations, we shall be ready to defend the accuracy of the appellation. But if Canadian nationality is an undeniable fact, why not avow it? Why mutter it with downcast look and bated breath, as though there were treason in the sound? Why not frankly cultivate the sentiment which in all countries is the life of patriotism and of public virtue? An oracle tells us that we want a principle such as would draw all hearts around it, a principle like that which, combined with

the attractions of singular largeness of mind, breadth of sympathy, generosity and courtesy, draws all hearts around the power to which the oracle belongs. It is to be "a great thought booming through all the halls and corridors of the nation." I am afraid we have nothing so august as booming thoughts or booming thinkers, though the journal to which I refer, and which has showered upon us so many pleasant epithets, has them in great perfection. But if it is a principle that is wanted, not a party label or a picklock of office, what principle can be more heart-stirring than nationality? When free play is given to it, when it is allowed to become a real force instead of a furtive aspiration, it will do for us that which it, and it alone, has done for other nations. It will do for our confederation what it did for Holland and Switzerland, animating, elevating and uniting. It will make our citizens citizens indeed. In public affairs it will be the parent of a more definite and a more vigorous policy. It will give us a race of thoroughly Canadian statesmen looking to Canada and not elsewhere for

their highest reward. It will lend dignity to our public life and to our press. It will bind the members of the Confederacy together by a stronger as well as by a nobler tie than Sectional Cabinets and Better Terms. It will make our rich men regard Canada as their permanent abode instead of selling out or living like people who are always thinking of selling out. It will kindle in them the ambition of patriotic munificence. It will give an impulse to our literature and to the development of our intellectual life: It will not be without a salutary influence even on our commerce; for national spirit gives life to everything; and the lack of it is apt to be attended by a certain depreciation of the products of native industry. What race, in fact, however gifted, has ever achieved greatness without the inspiring and sustaining love of country? Suppose distress comes upon us, what else will enable us to surmount it? Suppose temptation assails us, what else will enable us to overcome it? There are plenty of politicians who will give you speeches full of swelling statistics of our population and

territory, our exports and our imports. But in no enumeration of statistics is there the spell which there is in the name of country. It will be something better than a mere change of phrase when Canadians cease to talk about "going home and coming out," and when coming to Canada is coming home. But because we love Canada more, need we love our mother country less? I have not yet found that being a Canadian and having confidence in Canadian destiny has lessened the warmth of my emotions in visiting Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall and Oxford. When both sentiments are rational and manly the growth of one will strengthen not weaken the other. The more we prize Canada the greater will be our reverence for the land which has given us birth. But affection is not flunkeyism, neither is flunkeyism affection. We are accused of the stealthy propagation of esoteric doctrines and of burrowing beneath people's feet and cutting away the ground from under them by alarmists whose perceptions appear to be almost as much perturbed as those of the patriot when he was coming

home from the Reform picnic and the sidewalk slipped from under him. There is nothing esoteric, at all events, in my doctrines on the colonial question. I do not want to obtrude them, but feeling that I can commit nobody but myself, I always frankly avow them, because I hold that the frank avowal of honest and independent, though it may be unpopular opinions, is the strongest protest against a reign of political cowardice and about the best tribute which a private citizen can pay to his country. Gradual emancipation was no heresy, I apprehend, among the British statesmen of the last generation. At present, the current appears to run in favour of the theory held by some members of this Club, that the state of transition in which almost all allow that we are, will end not in a family of self-governing nations, but in Imperial Confederation. Not to mention other objections to this plan I cannot believe that England will ever part with her individual control over her foreign policy. Besides England is now a plutocracy and a very strict one; whereas our institutions are not only nominally but

really popular, and the rule of our government is the good of the many. I doubt whether incorporation would be congenial, whether it would not lead to misunderstanding and possibly to rupture. Some there are who recommend the ostrich policy, and bid Canada bury her head in the sand and turn her tail to the opening problems of the future. But when did such abnegation of reason and foresight on the part of beings endowed with them lead to good? And among all the communities of the earth why is such ignominious blindness preached to us? Can we not attend to the business of to-day without absolutely shutting up our minds in the present hour? Can we not be prepared for contingencies without rushing to meet them before the time? Is a statesman worthy of the name, who takes the helm of the State without having formed an idea as to the port to which he is steering? But the fact is, that all who take any interest in politics must have formed an idea. And if the ground is being hollowed beneath us, if a pitfall is being dug under the feet of the nation, it is by those who

swell the cry of loyalty with their lips, because it is the popular and profitable cry of the hour, while in their heart they hide a weak and fatalistic belief in our ultimate annexation.

I have said that I cannot agree in opinion with Imperial Confederationists, but though I cannot agree in opinion with them I can club with them. There are other subjects of national interest to talk about, and we can talk about this, if we are men of sense able to hold our different theories on a public question without bandying charges of disloyalty and treason. There is no greater treason than to brand with that name fellow-citizens who are seeking in singleness of heart the good of our common country. The most precious of all liberties, and the safeguard of all the rest, is liberty of opinion. Our Club will be outside any Popedom or Dictatorship. The writ of intolerant orthodoxy will not run within its walls. Keep the path of honor, be a loyal Canadian, show that you have no object at heart but the good of the country, eschew conspiracy, eschew everything that can lead to it, and give utterance to your honest thought without fear.

The name National, however, applied at the present juncture to our Club, has, I suppose, a somewhat more special meaning. I suppose it implies that sectionalism and faction are beginning to lose their hold; that Canadians, especially those of the rising generation, are beginning to desire association and intercourse on a somewhat broader and more rational basis, and one more commensurate with the hopes and interests of the country than that of either of the two old parties. As to the two old parties, I find that the best and shrewdest Canadians think that there is a great deal of truth in what each says of the other every morning. One of them is now on a sick bed from which it is not likely to rise again unless some one can perform for it a miracle like that which was performed for the sick king of old, and make the shadow go back on the dial of Canadian history. The other party is victorious; but in the hour of victory it is in great danger of becoming an organization under cover of which, and beneath the mask of whose specious professions, a secret and irresponsible influence will control the

policy, the appointments and the elections of the Dominion. If this fear, which is wide spread, should prove well founded, elective institutions would be a mockery and worse. It is into this fold that the assistants of its shepherd are trying to scare and worry us back. But before we go, we must be satisfied that in giving our allegiance to such a power we shall be doing what is consistent with the interest and the honour of our country. These parties have played their part in the past, but what is there to attract any young man not seeking for government employment to either of them for the future? One of them styles itself Conservative; yet nobody can tell you what it purposes to conserve. It certainly is not evoking the moral forces which in a community essentially democratic can alone exert a conservative influence worthy of the name. It has even shown a disposition, like some other Conservative parties, to evoke from the very depths of democracy, forces which are anything but moral. At best it is clinging to some planks from an old dam which has long since been broken up by the stream.

Its antagonist assumes the name of Liberal; but I think I could point to eminent Canadian Liberals in whom I remark a singular resemblance to the most arbitrary British Tory. A nominee Senate is surely a curious monument of Liberal ascendancy. I may add that I have always connected with genuine Liberalism a certain moderation at all events in the homage paid to artificial rank which does not seem to me to characterize our Liberal organs when anybody with a title comes near the place of their publication. It is taken for granted that, as we refuse to owe a blind allegiance to the old parties, we shall hasten without a moment's delay to form a new one for ourselves. But it does not follow that because we object to the narrowness of one enclosure we must be anxious to pen ourselves up in another equally narrow. People who are accustomed to receive their orders every morning cannot understand how you can get through a day in a state of mental freedom. People who blindly follow a bell-wether cannot understand how you can walk a yard alone. As my name has been singled out, I will

say, and I can most sincerely say, that my sole desire is to see Canada well and quietly governed, in accordance with the national interest and with the national honor. I care nothing for fancy names or for historic reminiscences. The Double-Shuffle took place before my time. Whoever manages our affairs tolerably well and keeps the path of rectitude, will have, not my servile devotion, but my cordial support. I am just the reverse of the Irishman, who said that whatever the government was, he was against it. I acquiesced in the rule of the Conservatives till they did what in the judgment of the best men of their own party was contrary to public morality and to the highest interests of the nation. I acquiesce in the rule of the present Ministers provided they will preserve their independence and the independence of the country. I have seen too much of the lives which statesmen lead and the difficulties with which they have to contend under the party system to be captious in criticizing their actions or to add to their embarrassments. Whatever time I have had to spare from my ordinary

studies since I have been in this country has been spent, not in political machinations, but in aiding in an attempt on a small scale to build up Canadian literature, which however I fear is almost as obnoxious in certain quarters as Canadian nationality itself. Politically, I find here constitutions in the main such as I have always desired, and I feel no restless desire for change, much less any desire to take an active part in bringing it about. At the same time I believe that the future has rather better things in store, and I would advise any man under middle age, who means to take part in politics, while he avoids eccentricity and impracticable isolation, to keep his mind open for what is to come. There is no use in being prematurely anxious about organization. A principle, if it is sound, a sentiment, if it is genuine and strong, will in due time find an organization, and, if necessary, a leader too. Perhaps the voice of a leader has already been heard. A voice has been heard at all events, which is not everywhere welcome, which is disturbing, and which nevertheless, it is deemed necessary to

treat with respect. Be that as it may, our association has objects for which nothing is required but social harmony and political independence, both of which we are in a fair way to secure. We have passed a pleasant evening, and we have reason to hope that it will prove the omen and precursor of many such evenings and of much besides that will make us hereafter look back with pleasure to the day on which we celebrated the laying of the first stone of the National Club.

ur
is
al
a
a
pe
sor
les
ith
ted
nal

