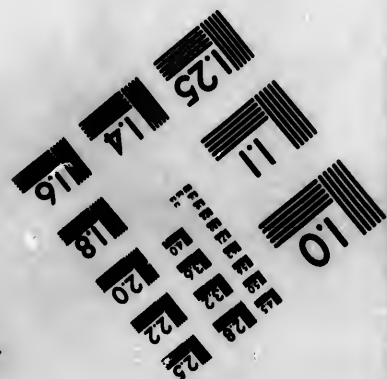
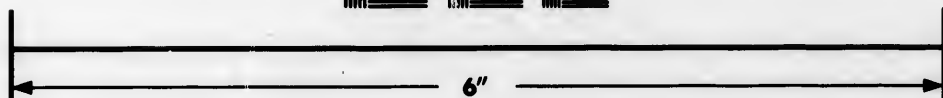
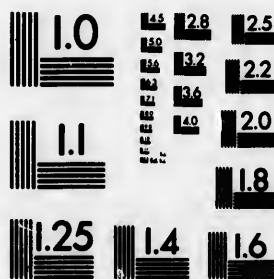


# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation

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

2.8  
2.5  
2.2  
2.0  
1.8

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



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

1.0  
0.7

**© 1984**

# 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.

- ☒ Coloured covers/  
Couverture de couleur
- ☐ Covers damaged/  
Couverture endommagée
- ☐ Covers restored and/or laminated/  
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- ☐ Cover title missing/  
Le titre de couverture manque
- ☐ Coloured maps/  
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- ☐ Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/  
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- ☐ Coloured plates and/or illustrations/  
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- ☐ Bound with other material/  
Relié avec d'autres documents
- ☐ Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion  
along interior margin/  
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la  
distortion le long de la marge intérieure
- ☐ Blank leaves added during restoration may  
appear within the text. Whenever possible, these  
have been omitted from filming/  
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées  
lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,  
mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont  
pas été filmées.
- ☐ Additional comments:/  
Commentaires supplémentaires:

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

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

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

10X	14X	18X	22X	26X	30X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12X	16X	20X	24X	28X	32X

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

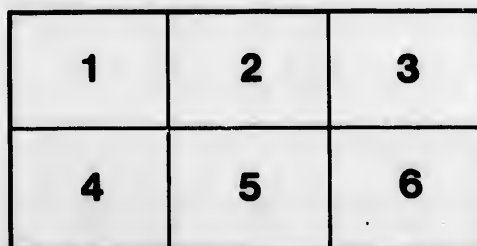
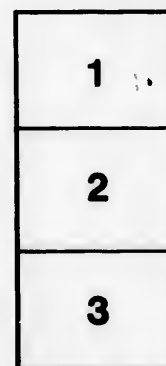
Library of the Public  
Archives of Canada

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  $\longrightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

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



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

La bibliothèque des Archives  
publiques du Canada

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.

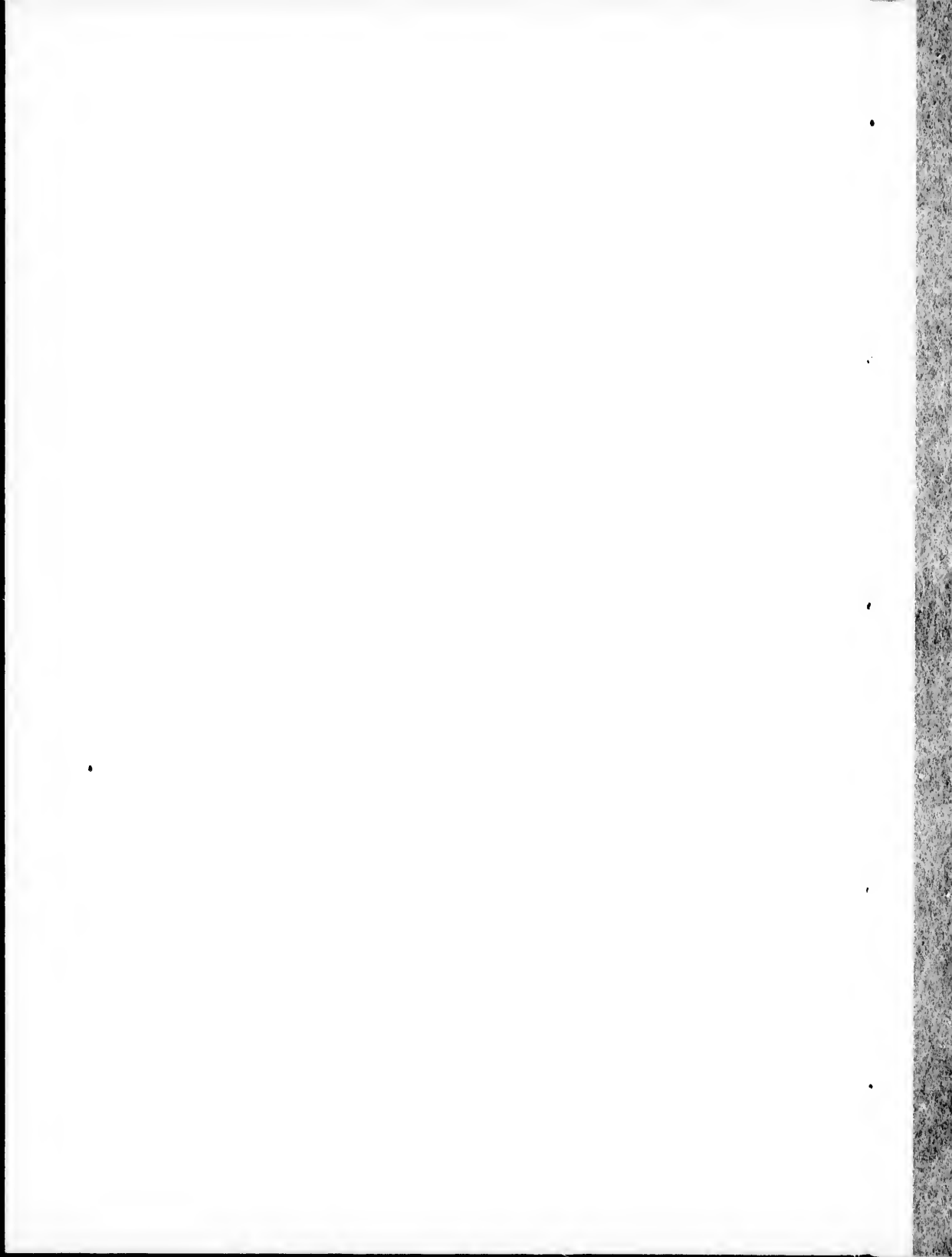
Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\longrightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

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

ails  
du  
odifier  
une  
mage

rrata  
to

pelure,  
n à



ADDRESS

BY

**EX-ALD. E. A. MACDONALD,**

OF TORONTO, ONT.

DELIVERED IN

**FANUEIL HALL, BOSTON, MASS..**

UNDER THE AUSPICES

OF

**The North American Union League.**

On FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23rd, 1892.



**Toronto:**

PRESS OF THE BUDGET, 12 ADELAIDE STREET EAST  
1892.

# ADDRESS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

I am fully aware of the nature and importance of the place I occupy to-night. I fully appreciate the character and intelligence of the audience now before me, and the momentous subject I am dealing with; but I have a still greater appreciation of the larger audience represented by the American press. And while the sense of my responsibility is great, I feel that I have one great advantage, that while my audience may be intelligent and critical, that very intelligence will make them sympathize with truth, progress and the development of the human race, however lamely advocated.

I would have you remember that I do not in any official sense claim to represent the people of Canada. I only claim to represent a political party who believe not only in republican institutions in their purity and simplicity, but we also believe in the political union, or rather re-union, of that portion of the North American Continent lying north of the Rio Grande.

I have the honor to be the first, and as yet the only man in Canada who has offered himself openly for the highest position within the gift of my fellow countrymen. I refer to membership in our parliament with political union as the sole plank of my platform, I am therefore the only person regularly authorized to speak on this subject in a representative capacity.

The Restrictionist press declare that there is no annexationist sentiment in Canada, but they seem to be giving a great deal of attention to something that they claim has no existence. "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God," but that statement does not affect the fact. I learn that some of your people have abolished Hades with less difficulty than the government abolished slavery; however that may be, our newspapers have not abolished the union sentiment of that portion of this continent known as Canada. There is a great deal of discussion of the question, and to use a vulgarism, "there must be some fire where so much smoke exists."

Speaking of Hades, you doubtless have heard of the rancher out west who said: "Ingersoll says there is no Hell; I kind of think as he does, but I would give that yoke of steers to be right down sure of it." It is the same with a great many newspaper men, office holders, militia colonels, place men and monopolists who declare that annexation sentiment is a myth, but still they would give a great deal to be real sure that a majority of the people of Canada were not in favor of Continental union.

I am frequently asked by people on either side of the line how the public pulse throbs on the other side with regard to union. I have known many citizens of the United States and some newspapers say: "We don't want Canada;" that may be partially true, but it is very misleading when expressed in those words. I want the ladies of this city to know that I am a single man and of fancy free, and I want a wife very much, but while that is the case I am in just the same position as Uncle Sam, I don't want anybody badly enough to take one who would not be glad to accept me.

With regard to Canadian destiny, the United States have adopted the only policy that would be

becoming a powerful, dignified and self-governing nation. I fully realize that the first steps towards union, or the symptoms of a desire for it, must come from Canada. The United States is debarred from doing anything that would have the appearance of coercion or undue interference with the autonomy of her weaker neighbor, and there would not be wanting plenty ready to give even a fair honorable advance on the part of this republic, a false and malicious interpretation.

Besides, international etiquette would not permit the United States to approach one of the dependencies of a foreign power with such an end in view; hence I say Canada is the only party perfectly free to approach this country on this question without being misunderstood or humiliated. She alone could do it without loss of prestige or dignity, in fact some such act is expected of us by Great Britain and other nations, for everyone knows that we are in an embryonic or chrysalis state.

I will quote the words of several members of the British Parliament of world wide reputation. The great John Bright said at Rochdale as long as December 4th, 1861:

I should say that if a man had a great heart within him he would rather look forward to the day when from that point of land which is habitable nearest the pole to the shores of the great gulf the whole of that vast continent might become one great confederation of states—without a great army and a great navy—not mixing itself up with the entanglements of European politics—without a custom house inside through the whole length and breadth of its territory—and with freedom everywhere, law everywhere, peace everywhere—such a confederation would afford at least some hope that man is not forsaken of Heaven, and that the future of our race may be better than the past.

At Birmingham on December 18th, of the following year he said:

I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen north in unbroken line to the glowing south, and from the wild bitows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific in—in, and I see on one people, and one language, and one law, and one faith, and over all that wide continent the homo of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and every clime.

Then Mr. Henry Labouchere, M.P., the famous editor of London *Truth*, said:

If I was a Canadian I am inclined to think I should cut the connection with England, but being an Englishman, I have no wish that Canada should do so. I would rather be master in my own house, even if it were a cottage, than live in a sort of a back garden to a nobleman's mansion. The stronger and more powerful Canada becomes, the more American it will become, and the more anxious you would become to cast adrift from a European connection. Whether it will be an independent republic or whether it joins the United States will depend very much on the consensus of popular opinion at the moment of separation. Where I a Canadian I should be in favor of union with the States. It seems to me a very grand idea that one continent should have one government not the despotism of an individual, but the deliberate will of a nation.

In view of the foregoing one would think that Canadians could reasonably consider any scheme for the promotion of their own welfare. The words of these broad-souled, broad-minded men are a standing rebuke to our narrow-minded, small-souled colonial jingos.

Ex-Ald. Henry W. Darling, Ex-President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, in his address to "The Union League Club," of Chicago, was speak-



ing in favor of Free Trade, but his statements and arguments apply with still greater force in favor of union. On that occasion he stated:

"I have said that nature seems to point most unmistakably to the benefits of an arrangement of this kind. For example, we find in the Maritime Provinces, which nature has placed within such easy reach of your manufacturing state of New York, an almost unlimited supply of coal, peculiarly suited for their purposes. A similar state of things exists in British Columbia, where almost at the water's edge the coal can be placed in ocean-going ships, and conveyed to San Francisco and other ports on your Pacific Coast. The very articles which at these points, nature has practically deprived you of.

Then looking at the Province of Ontario, which nature has dovetailed almost into the heart of your country, we are short of the heat and steam-producing fuel, which your mines in Pennsylvania and Ohio seem to have been placed by a beneficent Providence to supply; but the politicians stepped in and, for a time, placed the barriers of custom house duties upon the free interchange of these necessities of our commercial life; and said in effect, 'the Jew shall have no dealings with the Samaritans,' and so with other products. Our Ontario barley, which is as necessary to your malsters as your Indian corn is to our distillers and farmers, the politicians have said 'we shall only exchange by the payment of a duty upon either side'; and so from one end of this imaginary line to the other, the natural tendencies of the people on either side are thwarted; and their industry deprived of its legitimate reward by these artificial barriers which the politicians have imposed."

According to the greatest minds in both countries and Europe, union is our manifest destiny, and if it is desirable and inevitable, why not have it now and let us, as well as posterity, enjoy its fruits. What would you think of a man and woman of twenty-five years of age making up their minds to marry and waiting until they were old before consummating the union?

Let there be honest, open avowal, free and kindly discussion on both sides of the line and you will see how soon we will remove all causes of friction and ill-will and dwell together in unity, peace, righteousness and prosperity.

Perhaps you would like to know just how the Canadian people feel on the question. I can only estimate and approximate; I will tell you what I do know and you can estimate for yourselves.

But I will first briefly refer to our alternatives that have of late engaged a large amount of public attention in Canada; and I could not put the matter more tersely and directly than by quoting the words of the Hon. J. W. Longley, Attorney-General for Nova Scotia:

"Speaking in general terms, it may be said that Canadians have the choice of at least four alternatives:—

First.—Remaining as we are, a colonial possession of the Empire.

Second.—A direct political alliance with the Empire, involving representation in the national councils and a share in the responsibilities and achievements of the whole nation.

Third.—Political union with the great English nation lying beside us on this continent, with whom we are intimately associated and connected by geography, race, language, laws and civilization.

Fourth.—An independent nationality, with our own flag and our own national responsibilities."

As to remaining as we are, a colonial dependency of Great Britain; that is simply out of the question, for the reasons given and to be given throughout my address this evening, and innumerable other reasons that need not be given, for the fact is generally, I might say universally, accepted.

The second alternative has been given the shorter name of "Imperial Federation." It is the last desperate fevered creation of a deceased Jingo

brain, and its very name is objectionable. We want nothing with the word "Imperial" in it, if I mistake not the spirit of the new generation of native Canadians who have the say in Canada.

That great thinker and master of English, Goldwin Smith, has disposed of the Imperial Federation orze with one brief argument. He claims that no Federation is possible unless based on the broad ground of individual political equality. And should the present British Empire federate on that basis 200,000,000 Hindoos would outvote the rest of the Empire three to one, and the capital of the Empire would naturally be Bombay or Calcutta. I think that Professor Smith has disposed of "Imperial Federation."

The third course open to us is my subject to-night and I will for the present pass on to the fourth, commonly called "Canadian Independence."

I will not trouble you with my views so long as I can compel my opponents to supply my arguments, and I quote the following from the pen of the moving spirit among the Imperial Federationists, a Mr. J. C. Hopkin, who, by the way, is a native of North Dakota, U. S. He said:

"Independence is a dangerous dream. Independence for Canada means dependence upon the United States; diplomatic weakness abroad; inability to protect our rights and privileges; the necessity of an enormous expenditure on defensive armament; increased debt and a steadily growing taxation as a consequence of added burdens; loss of possible trade preferences in the British market or chance of a treaty with the United States short of commercial annexation; provincial difficulties without any increased federal powers. It involves a similar declaration of independence by Australia; the loss to England of her coaling stations, harbors and fortresses and the command of the sea; the destruction of her prestige and the possible loss of India; in short the disruption and destruction of the British Empire."

My opponent, though not regarded as a political heavy-weight, has proved conclusively that Canadian Independence is "a dangerous dream."

Goldwin Smith has proved that "Imperial Federation" cannot even be discussed without provoking laughter and pity; and the commercial and agricultural depression, together with the depopulation of Canada, shows that colonialism must cease or we will have to hand Canada over to the public creditor and let her go back to a state of nature, for we can no longer afford to maintain Canada as a breeding ground to supply the United States with her best citizens.

I have undertaken to tell you what I know of the progress of union sentiment, so that you may be able to form your own opinion. I could give you the names of hundreds of public men who favor the cause, but they do not wish to declare themselves until they have a press and organized party to back them, and they argue that to declare for union until they have these auxiliaries, would only be depriving themselves of influence they now possess, with no real advantage to the cause; I differ with them entirely, and must and do respect their opinions. I would be guilty of a breach of confidence were I to make their names public, but we have some men who hold the liberty of free thought and free speech dearer even than their influence or position, and the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice for Ontario is one of these far-seeing, fearless and upright men, and as he makes no secret of the fact, I feel that I am guilty of no breach of confidence when I make it known, particularly when he did not confide in me the fact is already common property. Of course



the position of Judge of a Supreme Court entirely debars the Chief Justice from any active participation in other than the Judicial and private affairs of this life. But why cite this case when we have hundreds and thousands of such men; nearly every intelligent lawyer, I may say, every profound thinker in the country is a unionist.

But more important than these, more important than Chief Justice Armour's approval, is the fact that we have the Chief Justice of the Universe on our side. I verily believe that it is the design and will of Omnipotence that the English speaking peoples of the world shall federate for the preservation and advancement of the human race. Look at the map and history of North America and tell me what the Canadian Federation means. There we have welded together seven distinct colonies, and now we only have two parties to bring together and satisfy, instead of eight sets of men and eight sets of complications; even now Newfoundland is seriously discussing the advisability of coming into the union, and I and my friends are called traitors and renegades for believing in this union with all our hearts and souls, and acting accordingly. But Lowell answers our narrow, bigoted persecutors for us with these words:—

We owe allegiance to the State, but deeper,  
truer, more,  
To the sympathies that God hath set within  
our spirit's core—  
Our country claims our fealty; we grant it so,  
but then  
Before man made us citizens, great nature  
made us men.

Many of us believe in union, but we do not admit it even to ourselves, and we certainly would not call it annexation. There is often times more prejudice against the label on an article than there is against the thing itself. You could not induce some persons to drink milk out of a certain shaped bottle, and I must confess that I would examine well and make diligent inquiry before I would take even homeopathic medicine out of a wine glass.

To illustrate this point, let me tell you of an incident that actually took place in Toronto, the cultured Boston of Canada. When Dalton McCarthy introduced his now famous Dual Language measure in the House of Commons two years ago, the country was thrown into a ferment, and the burning question as to whether or not a dual language system should be imposed upon the great North-West Territories in perpetuity, was discussed in every home or place of meeting in the country. One intelligent (?) elector, a great defender of the altar and throne who did not seem to have a complete grasp of the question at issue, was heard to say "I don't mind French, German, English, or even Italian, but d—d if we will have dual language in this free country." That sounds funny, but it is no more absurd than the man who is willing to enter into a perpetual treaty of peace and free trade, including a postal union with the United States after having already adopted your decimal currency system and two-thirds of your domestic laws, but when it is called "annexation" he will have none of it.

The Conservative party believed, or pretended to believe, that the country would be made prosperous by extravagance and high taxation. We believe that we were going to rival this great republic and have two great friendly English speaking nations on this continent, but in 1891 when the census returns were made public we made the discovery that we had lost ground in one decade. We expected a fifty per cent. increase in our population, and had it not been for immigration we

would have had less people in the country than we had ten years before.

The publication of the census returns caused great discouragement and sorrow and it was the signal for thousands to leave the country, and in consequence we have from 8,000 to 8,000 vacant houses in Toronto. With the result that rents have gone down, property has become almost entirely unproductive, and our lands are just about as available for buying the necessities of life as Turkish Bonds or Confederate Scrip. Much of our wealth is wiped out and has now no existence except in our imaginations, and the only comfort we can take out of the situation is that we are landed proprietors in perpetuity, for no one will take our land off our hands at any price.

I was one of the short-sighted ones; but we have men in Canada who foresaw the coming events, and a friend laid the matter before me; I argued the point with him, but he met every argument in such a way that my eyes were opened, and in whatever quality I am lacking, I am not accused of being deficient in courage, hence as soon as I got light I was anxious to let others see. I was controlling a weekly paper at that time and I declared for union at once. I believe that mine was the first journal to do so in express terms. As soon as I declared myself I was privately hailed with great joy by hundreds of friends who I did not dream were so minded. I thought it advisable to call a public meeting to crystallize the adherents of union into an organized party; I then found that men were willing to think and talk one way and act another. I had but fifteen friends out of about forty who were present. The meeting broke up in great disorder.

A short time after this event I was in conversation with several friends in the western part of the Province. I claimed that open voting at public meetings on this question would be greatly to our disadvantage. One man said: "Why not print and distribute a ballot and let the people say what they want; when they vote against union now they only say what they don't want." Last March I was invited to attend a meeting in a small inland town called "Paris." I took charge of all the arrangements, invited three other speakers, and had ballots printed with five questions on them. There was a small disturbing element but we managed to submit the ballot, with this result:

Remain as we are.....	69
Independent monarchy.....	2
Independent republic.....	6
Imperial federation.....	1
Political union with the United States..	109

Thus union had a majority of 31 over all other shades of opinion.

It is well known that the people along the border (smugglers excepted), feel the inconvenience of the international line more directly than any others, and they and the farmers are nearly all unionists: their influence is discounted because it is said their principles are based on personal interest, as if the whole world were not actuated by similar motives; however we are more anxious about the inland towns, for if restrictionists have any stronghold it is there.

We held several meetings, but Sir Oliver Mowat's henchmen would not allow a vote to be taken. Twenty or thirty men may not be able to run a meeting their own way, but we have all known meetings where one man prevented the transaction of business. I take the results of the

Paris meeting as a fair average expression of Canadian public opinion, and until our opponents meet us fairly and hold meetings and get other honest expressions of opinion it is but fair to assume that they are afraid of the results. The Paris vote shows that over seven-thirteenths of the people are straight unionists, against a divided residue.

The Hon. Mr. Longley, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, has practically declared for union, and I believe that Ontario is the only province that even has the appearance of being opposed to it, but Ontario is the Empire Province and the keystone of Confederation.

The greatest and most potent influence against union in Ontario, is the Prime Minister of that Province. He is the real head of the Government. He is called the chief adviser of the Vice-Viceroy, or Lieutenant-Governor, a mere appointed official figure-head. Sir Oliver, before he had the handle to his name, as the Hon. Oliver Mowat, first Minister and Attorney-General of Ontario, visited the State of New York. He happened to be in Albany when the Legislature was in session, and some member of the Senate moved that he be invited to take a seat on the floor of the Chamber of that august body; whereupon some over zealous friend of Ireland rose and opposed the motion, declaring in tragic and grandiloquent vote-catching terms, that that sacred privilege would not be accorded Victoria herself even though she stood at the door a humble suppliant. Victoria has not made the application as yet, at least I have not been advised of the fact if she has. The result of that little incident was to make Oliver Mowat a most bitter and hostile monarchist. He was formerly a great admirer of the United States, as shown by a tendency on his part to introduce and enact American laws, and when he was Judge he used to cite and follow American decisions; and to make the matter worse and more embarrassing, Oliver was not a member of the Tory party like me, he is the Provincial leader or boss of the Liberal party, and that party have always been charged by me and my fellow loyalists with being hated annexationists and rebels.

This only goes to prove that more flies can be caught with molasses than with vinegar. Whoever that man is, he made Oliver a loyalist, or rather a restrictionist, and Oliver has been rewarded by a Knighthood, a questionable honor that does not emanate from the people and which is repugnant to true Liberals, as they seldom or never accept such pot metal decorations, notwithstanding that they are frequently tendered; the acceptance of such titles is now regarded as an infallible symptom of senility.

Great God on what a slender thread  
Hangs overlasting things.

Sir Oliver Mowat, an alleged Liberal leader, now out-ories the Tories, and this great change has been brought about by one of Ireland's misguided friends.

Sir Oliver has shown his hostility to political union in every way possible, but like all narrow extremists he has overreached himself; for instance when I was the unionist candidate for the Legislature in Toronto, I was told by hundreds of electors and all the newspapers that annexation or political union was not a Provincial, but a Dominion issue, and therefore thousands of unionists who belong to the old parties refused to break from old ties and party allegiance, simply on the objections taken as to its proper sphere or jurisdiction; in vain I pleaded that union was and is the most important question either in Dominion, Provincial or Municipal elections, and that we ought to force

a discussion and division at every opportunity, but the general verdict was against my view on that question, but time speedily vindicated me.

We have in the county of Dufferin, Ontario, a gentleman, learned in the law, a Queen's Counsel and Ex-County Crown Attorney—who filled the office of what you would call the Public Prosecutor; his name is Elgin Meyers. Sir Oliver is the Attorney-General for the Province; he controls the administration of justice, and Mr. Meyers was an appointee holding office during the pleasure of Sir Oliver. Mr. Meyers performed his public duties to the satisfaction of his superiors and the general public, but this officer of the Crown, while off duty acquired the pernicious and detestable habit of thinking, and to aggravate this offence, he thought aloud in the hearing of many people, and he grew bolder and wrote his thoughts in relation to political union and they reached the press over the signature of the intrepid Queen's Counsel; and he even had the audacity to comment on some of Sir Oliver's utterances, whereupon Sir Oliver wrote reprimanding the offending official and asking him to desist; he would not desist, then Sir Oliver wrote demanding his resignation; he would not resign and gave as a reason for not doing so that resignation would be tantamount to an admission of wrongdoing, and that he (Meyers) would be no party to his own condemnation; whereupon Mr. Meyers was deprived of his office.

Sir Oliver Mowat has by the dismissal of Mr. Meyers made annexation, and not only annexation, but free speech and individual liberty, an issue in Provincial politics. What would we do if there were no fools in authority among our opponents? Now we can consistently force a discussion and division at every election in the land.

You have no conception of what this means to our cause. Not only do Municipal and Provincial elections come more frequently than Dominion elections, but they are much cheaper, and in order to make you fully understand this, I will have to expound one or two features of our Dominion election law. This country claims to be ahead of Canada in every respect, but you are fully fifty years behind us in political jugglery and rascality, and I am sure that some of our politicians would gladly steal a leaf out of our Statute book. If three men wanted to form a party or force a discussion upon any public question in former times, all that was necessary was that Smith and Brown would go to the hustings and nominate Jones, and whosoever thought proper could vote for Jones, and thus public opinion was educated and moulded. We had Prohibition parties, Peoples' parties, Paper-money parties, Socialist parties, Single Tax parties, and every conceivable kind of party. We had free speech and open discussion and thus the people could indulge themselves to the full and talk to crowded halls or empty benches as the popularity of the occasion would warrant. The little plans of the old parties were often interfered with, much to their disgust, by the election of new and independent men with radical ideas and the courage to express them without the concurrence of the boss. The old party leaders got tired of this and they put their heads together and concluded to sit on the safety valve. They forgot that confined ideas, principles, wrongs and grievances, like confined steam and other powerful explosives, will find a vent and the mischief of the explosion that will ensue will just proportion the repression.

The Grits and Tories passed an Act requiring the signatures of at least twenty-five electors with endless technical forms before a nomination was legal; these forms cannot be properly filled without a

lawyer or person with some legal training, but for fear the poor people should have sufficient influence to secure the nominating signatures and sufficient intelligence and knowledge to fill in the forms, it was enacted for the more effective suppression of the development of public opinion that \$200 should be deposited with the returning officer to be forfeited to the government if the candidate should not poll at least half the number of votes cast for the successful candidate, no matter how great the grievance or popular the cause. The people who complained that they had been robbed of their means by oppressive laws, could not express their discontent or grievance unless prepared to run the risk of a further robbery and a deeper wrong; for a failure to receive a certain number of votes is an offence against our law punishable by a fine of \$200.

This wicked, justice-throttling law does not apply to Provincial and Municipal elections, hence our joy when Sir Oliver made annexation an issue so far as Ontario is concerned at every Provincial election.

We held several meetings throughout the country. I held the first ever held in Toronto, as previously stated. You have no conception what it means to hold forth the doctrine of union in that modern Mecca of monarchism and basswood loyalty.

Like yourselves we have a government of the office-holder for the office-holder and by the office-holder.

The office-holder flourishes in Toronto like a green bay tree, planted near the great river of public revenue at the base of Mount Sinecure. But while we have innumerable sinecures, we have multitudes of cynics, who are not cured. Monarchy is the parent of cynics. There are two kinds of monarchy, the absolute and the limited, and there are two kinds of limited monarchy, the direct and the indirect, we will call them the Imperial and the Colonial.

Monarchy is vicious in principle and subversive of the equality, dignity and liberty of man; but if you are ever called upon to choose between such evils, I would counsel you to choose the direct, or Imperial brand, as against the Colonial.

It is generally understood that we are the subjects of the Queen of Great Britain. There never was a more popular error. We occupy no such exalted position. We are the subjects of the Queen's subjects, and we are not proud of our status.

We have the same difficulty in Canada that you had here a hundred and twenty-five years ago only in a lesser degree. We do not see, neither could you, why a Britain in Canada, or the then colonies, should not be the equal of a Briton in Britain. We are not even on a par with poor Ireland, for Irishmen in common with their oppressors, have an equal voice in the management of their own affairs in proportion to their numbers. Englishmen not only claim, but exercise the right to publicly discuss the abolition of the House of Lords, the disestablishment of the Church, and even the abolition of the throne itself. That is quite legal and constitutional in England, if agitated in a legal and constitutional way, but many regard it as high treason in Canada. I do not want you to suppose for one moment that I complain of the treatment meted out to us by England—far from it. The Canadian difficulty is from within, for we have a set of so-called loyalists (you would call them copperheads), that seek letters of tin-pot knighthood and other Imperial favors, and the loyalty and devotion, or rather the nauseating imitation of it by a few of our politicians, make the statesmen of the mother country sick.

I said that we have government by, for and of

the office holder. I wish to amend that statement for we have other influences at work.

We have government by office holders.

Government by militia colonels.

Government by contractors.

Government by ecclesiastics of every important denomination.

And worst of all, we have government by the Canadian Pacific Railway. And horror of horrors, that gigantic corporation is presided over, controlled and directed by a real live Dutch Yankee by the name of Van Horne, who still retains his citizenship in the United States. So we are indirectly the subjects of an American citizen; but we are not governed by him in the interests of Uncle Sam, but in the interests of the greatest government railway corporation in the world. Van Horne can govern 5,000,000 people easily enough, but he does not see how he could control 70,000,000, consequently he is strongly opposed to political union, so he shouts loyalty, waves the Union Jack of Old England, and declares that Britons never, never, shall be slaves.

This Canadian Pacific Railway is a great bastard production—a hybrid cross between the octopus and the vampire, and it has the whole Dominion in its deadly grasp.

I am preparing a somewhat comprehensive and startling indictment against the C. P. R. which I propose to make public in the near future, and also one against that sacred (?), spotless (?), immaculate (?) and divine (?) institution known as the Canadian Judiciary, or at least some members of it; I would be sorry to include them all for we have some of the grandest, broadest and noblest men that ever adorned the Bench of any country. For the present however time will not permit me to give you more than one exemplification of the enormous power and influence of this leviathan monopoly called the C. P. R., but it will serve as an index of the whole.

We will suppose that I purchase a railway ticket from here to San Francisco, and before I reach Buffalo I receive a telegram that my interests lie in a totally different direction. Suppose, as is the case with most of us, that the loss of my ticket is a matter of some moment to me, and as good fortune or providence will have it, I meet a friend at Buffalo who wants to go to San Francisco, and naturally enough I offer him my ticket, and as half a loaf is better than no bread, I sell my ticket at half price. That transaction looks perfectly natural and legitimate, but the Canadian Pacific Railway have emetted by means of a subservient and outrageously corrupt parliament, each member of which has a C. P. R. pass in his pocket, that the transaction that I have described is a crime in that portion of Her Britannic Majesty's Dominions known as Canada.

Van Horne now controls our liberties and we are beginning to ask the question that troubled Saul the first King of Israel "What more can he have but the kingdom."

Among some of the narrow-minded and illiterate of our people there is a genuine feeling of hostility and bitterness against the United States. I have read somewhat of your history and politics and I conclude that you are made of pretty much the same kind of clay as ourselves.

In former days when an elector asked an embarrassing question, the candidate in this country would establish his purity and integrity beyond question by vigorously denouncing the Mormons. That question being practically settled, I am at some loss to know how your public men will be

able to divert public attention from their own misconduct and burning national questions. Our politicians are not reduced to that extremity yet, for when asked to explain what became of a railway subsidy or appropriation, they can at once wave the old flag, shout treason and damn the Yankees. Of course if you throw enough dust in the air you will be sure to blind some one, more particularly where there is more or less sediment or body in the dust, and this fair-minded audience will admit that the people of the United States and its politicians have not reached that degree of excellence which may be deemed perfection.

Perhaps you do not wish for my opinion on the matter, but I cannot help taking advantage of this opportunity to say that the United States would stand higher in the opinion of Canada and the civilized world if she would refund to Great Britain the unused and unclaimed portion of the "Alabama Award." I may not be possessed of all the facts, but I know the retention of that money has been used to the detriment of this republic on many occasions.

The abandonment of the alien labor law, at least in so far as Canada is concerned, would go a long way to promote a better feeling on the Canadian half of this continent. It would at least remove every excuse for a hostile feeling and strengthen the hands of the friends and advocates of union.

We have been laying down the doctrine that forms, governments and institutions were made for men, and not men for them. We hold that if that Divine institution, the Sabbath, was made for man, surely such purely human institutions as flags and governments were also made for our convenience and advantage, to be changed from time to time to suit our purposes.

I have told you something about the ultra loyalists of our country. I am not here to pass judgment upon my parents; I am sure they taught me to the best of their ability; I am forced, however, to say that although I was naturally liberal in my views, I could not help thinking that my heavenly Father made a mistake when He made such a disparity between the monarchical, the aristocratic and the plebeian portions of the Universe, for I never thought for one moment to question the divine right of Her Most Gracious Majesty to call me her subject, my mother taught me that error from my infancy; however, thank God, there arose a power which knew not Victoria, I might say two powers, one was the school master, the other was William Lyon Mackenzie. The former taught me to read, and I soon found out the devices of Kings and Kingcraft, and the latter took up arms against the tyrannical, oppressive government of 1837. My father, bless his memory, took up arms with Mackenzie for liberty or death; it resulted in a great measure of liberty for Canada and exile for my unhappy father, who had to seek the hospitable shores of this free country to find a birthplace for his children; but "there is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we may." I thus became qualified for the presidency of the United States. I was taken from Oswego, N.Y., my birthplace, in my mother's arms, and I have never seen my native city since, although I feel an affection for her that I cannot put into words. I have seen her harbor lights as I have passed up and down the great lake, but I will make ample amends for my unfilial conduct in the near future.

What you want to hear about, however, is not myself, but Canada; I will resume and promise not to digress again unless my affairs or history become an integral and indispensable part of the subject.

Limited monarchy is an unnatural, hybrid system of government, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbol. The history of the British Monarchy is a history of a thousand years of oppression, the people contending against the landed aristocracy for their liberty and lives, and the boasted result is a mongrel production satisfactory to no one.

The British Empire is in name only, governed by the Queen, but let the Queen even make a mere suggestion and she is firmly but respectfully informed by Mr. Gladstone that she is there to reign and he is there to rule, in her name but by the power and might of the democracy of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Gladstone and his cabinet are termed the advisors of the Queen. Advisors is a veiled word, as they are the commanders of Her Majesty. Even in this country you will find men who exalt the altar above Him who sitteth between the cherubims, and with the illiterate, unlearned and unthinking of our country it is the same; the Queen, who is merely the overpaid servant of the State, is exalted above the State itself.

The system I have partially explained, prevails in Great Britain and in all self-governing colonies, it is called.

#### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Allow me to explain the term and its origin: it requires a great deal of explanation, as these two words, when used in the narrow sense in which we use them, have a special meaning. Responsible government does not mean responsible to the people; it means responsible to the peoples' alleged representatives; It is a device of the landed aristocracy whereby a small wealthy minority can control and rob the nation, in the name of, and with the seeming consent of the majority.

Responsible government is the greatest and most invidious and most deceptive curse ever inflicted upon a noble, generous and patient people. True it has a grandiloquent sound as it rolls off the politician's tongue, but if we did not know its history we would imagine that it was designed to facilitate robbery on a great national scale.

In the time of Walpole, the only way that the people of the United Kingdom could secure liberty was to force the King to accept a set of advisors elected by, or at least possessing the confidence of the peoples' representatives, and compel him to act upon their advice; this was accomplished by the House refusing to vote money or supplies until the King was advised as the Commons thought proper, and you can readily imagine what kind of a figure a King would cut without money. There was a much shorter way out of the difficulty, and in a former epoch that Divinely appointed agent of Heaven, Oliver Cromwell, adopted it. He took the expeditious method of cutting off the King's head; but in order to do that Walpole would have had to fight and perhaps abolish the power of the landed aristocracy, and the peoples' leaders always looked forward to a place for themselves in that sacred and charmed circle. So the compromise of responsible government was agreed upon, whereby the King was compelled to act upon the advice of men possessing the confidence of the peoples' representatives, and this doctrine has been crystallised into short, catchy election by-words or phrases such as, "The Queen reigns, and the people rule," and "The Queen can do no wrong"; the latter is literally true, for if the Queen be governed by the advice of ministers responsible to parliament, she of course can do no wrong, for the wrong, if any, lies with the administration and the house.

I have noticed that the President of the United States selects his cabinet, having regard only to

personal fitness and territorial or sectional representation. When a man is mentioned for a cabinet position the question is usually "Is he an eastern man, a western man, a northern man, a silver man, a gold man, &c."

Under responsible government the first question is "Is he a Methodist," "Is he a Presbyterian," "Is he a Catholic," "Is he a Congregationalist," "Is he a Quaker, or an Orangeman." These questions are discussed by the cross roads politicians and newspapers who control the Federal Government, as if there were no other object than beating the air in a hopeless endeavor to unite in one harmonious whole, the representatives of religious and sectarian hatred and bitterness; when the only true, safe and strife-quelling policy is for the state to ignore completely the existence of all creeds and denominations and devote itself on behalf of all the people to the purely secular affairs of this world.

Responsible government is bad enough in England where absolute sovereign legislative powers exist. But the evil is intensified in Canada where we are tied up to an absurdly defective written instrument for a constitution; I refer to the Act of Confederation, called "The British North America Act," passed by the Parliament of Great Britain. The powers of the Dominion Parliament and all of the Provincial legislatures are very vaguely defined and set out in that Act.

Our constitution is supposed to be modelled upon yours, but we attempted the impossible, as oil and water will maintain a separate and complete existence however much you may agitate or churn them together; so we have found that monarchy, aristocracy and democracy will not amalgamate. Cowper realized this long ago when he said:

"Courtier and Patriot cannot mix  
Their heterogeneous politics  
Without an effervescence  
Like that of salts and lemon juice  
Which does not yet like that produce  
A friendly coalescence."

And I have thought that the only defect in the workings of your institutions is seen when you attempt to mix these elements, for you have them here in a lesser degree under different names. "Privilege" dies hard.

I have said that the Canadian difficulty is from within, and so it is, for all we have to do is to agree among ourselves as to what we want, which is not always an easy thing to do, and the Parliament of Great Britain will amend the British North America Act in any direction we may desire; but you know how hard it is to get an amendment to the United States constitution when you are right on the ground and have the enacting power absolutely in your own hands; there are so many interests to consult and protect. It is far more difficult with us for that Act is twenty-five years old this year and we have not had the first amendment yet, unless to correct some self-evident clerical error or omission, and I have no knowledge of even that. What an unnatural instrument that must be when it requires no amendment!

"Look abroad on nature's range  
Nature's mighty law is changed."

and yet we have been in this one miserable rut for a quarter of a century without deviation.

"It is not enough to win rights from a King  
And write them down in a book,  
New men, new lights and the father's code  
The sons may never brook.  
What is liberty now were looness then; their  
freedom our yoke would be;  
And each new decade must have new men  
to determine its liberty."

The politicians know a thing or two. They keep us busy with internal, external and eternal revenue laws. We elect men to put certain kinds of fruit and other necessities of life on the free import list and the broad souled, high minded (?) statesman who control our customs department thwart the spirit of the law by taxing the baskets that the fruit is shipped in.

An old man in a place where I once lived was asked by an honest, industrious, worthy fellow for a job shingling a barn; the old miser replied: "You can't shingle the barn in the rain." The young man answered: "No, Mr. Thomas, I will do the work when the weather is dry." The old man hobbled off saying: "The barn don't need shingling when it's dry."

And so with our constitution. We elect a House for the purpose of bringing about some great reform; after the election is over and the Reform Bill passed, the discovery is made that there is no provision for such legislation in the British North America Act. The matter is taken to the Supreme Court to test its validity and from there it almost invariably goes to the Privy Council of England, this takes two or three years, and the measure is eventually disallowed. By this time the people have had several bad crops and following that disaster comes commercial depression and then the struggle for bread and the wherewith to pay taxes drives mere questions of principle into the shade for another decade and then we begin again and repeat history for the benefit of a new generation.

The conditions of life have entirely changed during the past few hundred years, and a system of government designed to hold a King in check after having been shorn of all prerogative is a very inadequate and defective system to protect the people from the abuses of their representatives. Our watchword now is "save us from our friends." In all human governments there is more or less corruption. Imagine if you can the state of things if the administration at Washington, instead of being elected for a term of years as it is, were dependent for its existence from hour to hour upon the will and pleasure of a majority of the House of Representatives. Suppose the administration possessed the confidence of that House by a majority of fifteen, quite a sufficient majority for all practical governmental purposes; you see at once that the fate of the administration would be in the hands of any eight of its supporters, for the desertion of eight to the opposition would obliterate a majority of fifteen and leave the administration in a minority of one, and in that event the President and his cabinet under our system would be forced to resign. Just follow a little further. Think of some small State, we will say New Jersey, suppose her congressional delegation should wait upon the Secretary of the Navy and say: "We want a navy yard established in our State." The Secretary would probably inform the deputation that the Federal authorities had more navy yards now than it could use to advantage. Would the deputation meekly bow themselves out and quietly acquiesce in the Secretary's remarks? Not by any means. They would probably state, though not in so many words: "We came here to secure the establishment of a navy yard in New Jersey, and not to get your views on the subject, if this administration does not see fit to establish it we will mighty soon install one that will." Of course which ever party happened to be out of office would gladly pay that or any other price out of the public chest in order to occupy the treasury benches.

When New Jersey is satisfied Oregon makes a demand for a land grant to some of her favored



sons for railway purposes, and each State in turn would make her demand and soon the public lands would be alienated in 20,000,000 acre blocks, and the Secretary of the navy would be kept building battle ships enough to enforce the Munro doctrine and extend its operations over the entire globe. In every town you would have a school to train military snobs to live in illdness and insanit the people by their very presence. You would be deluged with a saturnalia of corruption that would make the late Boss Tweed turn green in his grave with envy or very shame for the deminutiveness of his punny frands; and what will you think when I tell you that Canada has been governed on that principle ever since she has been governed at all, and the same system prevails in every Province. Do you wonder that contractors, monopolists, office holders, the landed aristocracy and other vampires are loyal, of course they are loyal. Why wouldn't they be loyal?

The effect of this responsible government so called has been to make our capital city of Ottawa a great political ulcer, that through its endless ramifications has poisoned the blood of the whole body politic, until the entire Confederation is sick, and incapable of healthy public opinion; constituency after constituency has been openly and shamelessly debauched with public money, until anything approaching public spirit or national honor only asserts itself under excessive stimulants and high pressure, and we are under extremely high pressure just now. Poverty is a great educator, and the people are quite alive to anything that promises a solution of their increasing difficulties and C.P.R. thralldom.

Of the absent and the dead I would speak no evil; but in speaking of loyalty I must refer to the man who led the conservative party in Canada ever since Confederation, the later Sir John A. Macdonald, who died a year ago last June, and just to show the hollowness of this loyalty cloak which is put on and off to suit party and individual exigencies I will tell you what this great man said at a general election. This man, who confessedly for material consideration was willing to endanger British connection when an anti-British trade policy was popular, said in my presence before a vast audience, "I was born a British subject, I will die a British subject," and immediately the election campaign poet immortalized the sentiment by this doggerel:

The patriot raised his aged arm,  
And Heavenward gazed with reverent eye,  
"A British subject I was born,  
A British subject I will die."

It was easy to prophesy in his then state of health, for he died within four months from that time at a very advanced age, and his end was said to have been hastened by the publicity given to the proven charges of wholesale corruption that existed among his colleagues and subordinates, and that threatened the destruction and annihilation of the powerful Conservative party; and of which he ought not to have been ignorant; but whether he was or not it is not profitable to enquire, now that the man is dead. except for the purpose of demonstrating the rottenness and hollowness of this absurd loyalty cry which is used for purposes of personal preferment and aggrandizement. It is

#### LOYALTY FOR REVENUE ONLY.

and like every fraud it had its day, a long day, but the people are now asking who is going to pay the butcher, the baker and the grocer, and who will meet and satisfy the public creditor.

Under responsible government a mere handful an infinitesimal minority, sometimes a single family, controls the State and its vast resources and revenues.

One would think that an appeal to the Court of Last Resort of the sovereign people would practically settle a question, but you have a case in point where the popular verdict is only one small step towards the solution of a great national issue.

In the recent English elections Mr. Gladstone was returned by an immense popular vote, but has he a free hand to carry out and execute his promised reforms? No, so far from that being the case, his administration has no guarantee of seven days existence, although the people have said in express terms that they want him to govern for seven years.

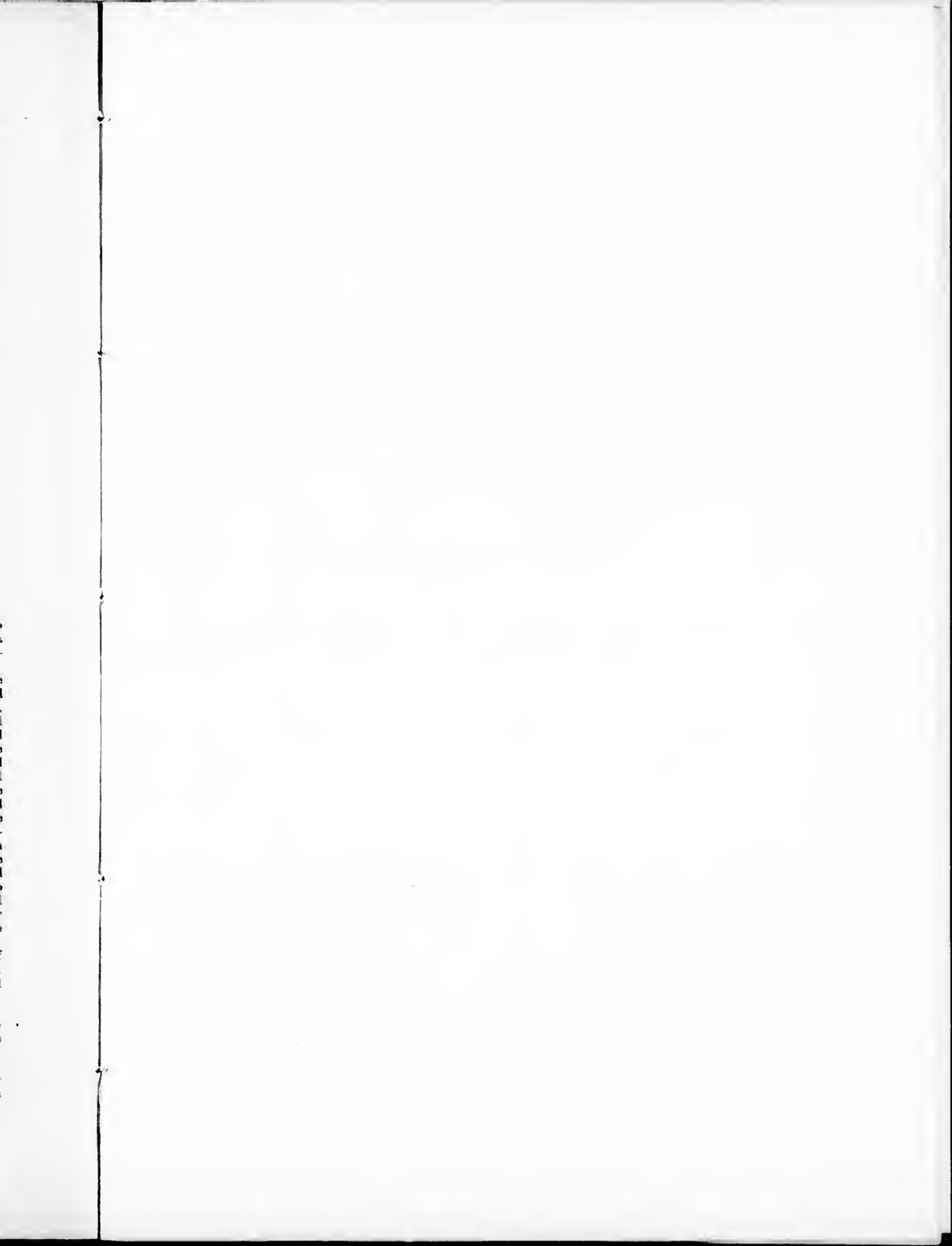
I could not give you a better illustration of the effects of responsible government than by referring you to the Irish Home Rule question that now occupies so much of the attention of the world. This case, thank just Heaven, is an illustration of the landed aristocracy falling into their own trap. Here are 71 Irish members forcing a measure of Home Rule through a hostile House of about 650 members.

This is the only case within my ken where the good end justifies the bad means, and the means are very bad and vicious for it is government by minority.

But to everything earthly, there is an end. Canada has been governed on that basis until the grandest country on the face of the globe, with such native wealth that the fabulous resources of the Indies are thrown in the shade, has become crippled and restricted and lags in the race for national supremacy. We had exceptionally good credit, but the public creditor is now knocking at the treasury door of the once proud and wealthy Province of Quebec, and our fair Dominion will soon have the same experience unless we at once do away with responsible government and adopt a policy of fixity of tenure, economy and retrenchment.

But while we are thus reduced to this deplorable condition I would not have you think that political union with this great country is our only way out. I am free to admit that it is the most natural and ultimately the best way out. I think it was Lord Macaulay who said that "such was the creative power of man that the individuals of Europe and particularly the British portion of Europe, could create and accumulate wealth faster than the armies of Europe could destroy it." And I would impress upon you the fact that the recuperative power of Canada is immense, inexhaustible and immeasurable. We have all the known minerals in abundance and a practical monopoly of some of the rarest and most valuable kinds. Our natural reservoirs of wealth are such that all we have to do is to abolish responsible government and all manner of customs, duties and taxes on industry and the products of labor, and resort to a single tax on land and the natural resources of wealth.

The proclamation of democracy, the abolition of responsible government, and the removal of all shackles from capital, labor and industry, would attract the eyes of the world to Canada as the right and literal home of the free in name and substance. Our powers of production would then be such that we could undersell your manufacturers in your home markets, notwithstanding your sixty per cent. tariff, or rather because of it. And further, we could force you to adopt our policy, for hundreds of millions of dollars worth of our goods would reach your markets free of duty via the secret under-ground railway used only by smug-







glers. Under the conditions I mention you could not prevent the use of that railway unless you should place customs house officers one hundred feet apart night and day, over and along that international line of nearly four thousand miles, and that would take an army of about four hundred thousand men.

Enough of what we might do to injure one another. We have been "fighting like devils for conciliation and hating one another for the love of God" long enough.

We are one people in very deed. We have a common origin and I believe a common destiny. Let me give you an illustration of our oneness. According to your census returns you have over 800,000 native born Canadians in this republic who have acknowledged their nationality, and goodness knows how many who have not, and counting their children born here, you might say there are almost if not quite as many Canadians in this country as there are in Canada. Canadian influence if united could easily turn the scale of any Congressional or Presidential election.

On one occasion a party of men met in a store or blacksmith shop at one of our inland cross-roads; the conversation as usual turned upon England's foreign policy and Canada's future; the question at issue for the moment was which was the greater power, England or the United States; one Jingo went so far as to say that the British navy could bombard and destroy New York City in forty-eight hours; whereupon one excitable old gentleman broke in "You d— fool what do you want to bombard New York for, I have four sons in New York."

Canada comprises forty per cent. of the area of the British Empire, and the union of Canada with the United States would be the signal for the breaking up of that Empire, that was carved out by the sword and maintained by force and repression.

Australia, New Zealand and the other colonies would follow the lead of Canada as nearly as may be, as they have always done in the past, but such a union would also be the signal for the reconstruction of that greater Empire under our protectorate, founded not on a selfish, social and political basis, but founded on love and natural affection and maintained by the pure milk of human kindness, for we would all love humanity more if we had greater knowledge and intercourse and less cruel artificial restriction and misunderstanding. There can be true federation around a principle, but there can be no true federation around a person or family. We have too many good persons and good families for any one of either to be held sacred or superior to all others.

I will now refer to the necessity for union and a few of the direct and material advantages that would flow to all concerned, viz.: Britain, Canada and this country. But owing to the length of time consumed already, I can only mention a very few points, but the material advantages are so many and apparent that it is sheer waste of time and an unfair tax upon your patience to go into figures at this late hour. But I have a manifesto or leaflet issued by "The Continental Union Club" of the City of Windsor, Ontario. I will give any one who may desire it a copy upon application.\* I have read it carefully and I endorse every statement contained in it, so far as my knowledge of the subject goes.

I know there are a great many people in this country who hold feelings akin to hatred and enmity to Great Britain, and not entirely without cause, for she proved a most unnatural mother to

you, but that would have been forgotten and forgiven long ago, were it not that the smouldering embers are fanned into flame and fresh fuel supplied in the persons of the children of Ireland, who have been driven from their homes by conditions of life that are simply unbearable; but that cause of friction is fast being removed.

I have observed two ways of getting rid of an enemy, one is to kill him, and the other is to make a friend of him; the latter is the course I would advise in this case. You cannot lay anything to the charge of the British people they are a noble, generous and chivalrous race. Your grievance is against a class—the aristocracy, who rule and oppress not only Ireland but England through the supineness and lethargy of the masses in the name of the nation, and I am sorry to say your own land is not altogether free from that evil, for I would be sorry indeed to hold the people of the United States morally responsible for some of the acts of their representatives, although, of course, the people of every country must assume the legal responsibility for the actions of men whom they authorise or permit to act for them.

We now tax British goods as freely as we tax yours, and when the imposition of that tax was first suggested the Liberal or opposition party raised the cry that such a course would endanger British connection. Our leading Tory statesman, through his organ, promptly replied: "So much the worse for British connection," and that loyal sentiment was applauded from ocean to ocean. And that is just how loyal we can be when it suits our purpose.

This country and Britain must never measure swords, except verbally, and that is pardonable on both sides at election times. But speaking seriously, a war between these two great powers would be the most disastrous to human life and civilization that the world has ever known.

It is only through a complication of Canadian interests that the probable, I might say the only possible cause of war between the two countries could arise. Unite these countries under one flag, with a bond of common interests, and that dreadful possibility, war between this country and Britain would be forever averted; and not only so, but there would be a far more friendly feeling between all parties than exists at present. Britain can only claim our fealty and friendship now, as vassals, not equals. She would have our friendship then and of an entirely disinterested quality, without her present burdensome responsibilities, which she assumes with no hope of direct financial reward.

As for Canada—We would have our public debts assumed. We would have an influx of millions of enterprising, energetic American men, and untold millions of American money to develop our limitless resources. We would enjoy the rights of citizenship over this entire continent. We would have unrestricted trade and commerce with seventy millions of people. The last will and testament of Peter the Great would be a nullity, a mere historical curiosity for the dominant power of this earth, subject to our Creator's will, would be North America. We would be the sole and unquestioned arbiter among the nations of the earth, and the armies of the Russian autocrat or the half-brained German Kaiser would cease forever to menace the peace, development and freedom of our race.

The great American eagle would scream and soar aloft and survey the universe from an altitude heretofore unreachd. The great American press would brag of the new acquisition of population, wealth and territory, and thus advertise Canada

\* See Appendix.

over the whole world. The emigration that now shuns our shores on account of the obnoxious name of monarchy, would seek homes in our great North-West and other Provinces. We cannot make emigrants believe, in fact I almost despair of making you believe, that we are quite as free and democratic as you are, but such is the case; and so far as governmental abuses are concerned, we hold the remedy almost entirely in our own hands.

And not the least of the advantages that would accrue, Canada would be at once and forever freed from that monstrosity known as responsible government.

You would be amused if you would not be pained to see the real alarm with which some look upon the proposed Union. The usual exclamation of the Restrictionist is, "What, be swallowed up by the Yankees; lose our identity and nationality?" About the last thing we would lose would be our identity, at least so long as we have votes. I think it was Emerson who said, "Liberty only exists where the snow falls." That may not be literally correct, but it is based on a great truth, as those know who are familiar with the history of the hardy race of Norsemen, Sea-Kings and other northern peoples. The idea of absorption is ridiculous. We can hold our own with any people, and as a part of this Union we would have an influence out of all proportion to our numbers. We are an ambitious, enterprising and aggressive people, as you would find were our unnatural restrictions removed.

"What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, or what would a man give in exchange for his soul?" Let me put the question in this way: What would the United States gain if she keep her great markets and other advantages, and have her grand institutions which are the pride and boast of the liberty loving world, subverted or destroyed by the preponderance of a foreign uneducated population, unfit for self-government, which you are unable to resist or divert from your shores, and still retain the glorious and honored name of the asylum and refuge of the poor and oppressed of all nations, the Chinese excepted. Unite the two countries and you add seven provinces and three immense territories, all ready for Statehood, the whole containing about 5,000,000 souls, eighty per cent. of whom are native to the soil; who have adopted institutions and laws similar to your own, some of which we consider superior to yours, and which we intend to foster and maintain, union or no union.

I have read with the deepest concern the words of your most able thinkers and writers, of the dangers to your institutions from the cause I have mentioned.

Apart from the basswood loyalty of a few flag waverers and office-holders, Canada would hail with loud acclaim the advent of such a grand union of the English speaking peoples of this continent; the greatest union of free, self-governing men and women that this world has ever seen, and let me assure you that Canada would prove to be no cypher in the development of this wonderful awe-inspiring federation. We would be the salt and cement of it.

When that Royal Scapegrace, Henry V of England, went through the form of courting the daughter of the crushed and conquered King of France, Henry propounded the old, old question, "Do you love me Kate?" The Princess overcome by patriotic indignation replied: "My hand is at the disposal of my Royal father and in obedience to him I will become your wife, but is it possible that I should love the enemy of France?" Henry

answered: "No Kate, but in loving me you would be loving the friend of France, for I love France so well that I will not part with a single village of it."

We love Canada so well that we are anxious that she cease to be a dependency of a foreign power and a mere make weight to a great empire, and that she should become the greatest part of the greatest federation of free or self governing states nations ever knew or ever contemplated.

Did you ever contemplate what a power we would then be? At our mere fiat (without firing a gun or drawing a sword, by virtue of our unlimited wealth, latent strength and honorable spirit), the suffering nations of the world would disband their inhumanizing military systems and dwell together in peace, plenty, love and security, and each citizen of this great union would feel that he was a joint reigning sovereign in the universal empire of love and brotherhood.

When the Munroe doctrine was first enunciated by the famous president of that name, it was hailed as the summit and acme of broad American statesmanship, but it is as far behind the age now as is steam as a means of conveying news and intelligence.

All honor to Munroe; seen with his light and from his standpoint his idea was great, grand and far-reaching; but seen from our elevation with the noonday light of to-day it is narrow, contracted and small.

I do not believe in the policy of non-interference. True, we belong to this continent, but we also belong to this world, to which we owe a duty that we ought not to shirk. We are our brother's keeper, and our brethren are all mankind.

Another immense advantage that would accrue to Canada and this country as a result of union, would be that we could then turn our attention to our much needed domestic legislation. No thinking person supposes that the industrial and social institutions that were established thousands of years ago for a semi-barbarous people, are such that they cannot be amended; and most people will agree with me when I state that the best way to repair a very old and badly worn garment is to make a new one; and that is the way some of our advanced thinkers say that many of our institutions require to be amended. Let us get rid of custom houses, at least the internal ones. Let us get rid of the Behring Sea controversy. Let us get rid of petty international jealousies of every nature, and you may be sure that the energies of this great people will vent itself in industrial and social reforms and national and individual development. There is room enough, wealth enough and happiness for all if this world's resources were only wisely developed, husbanded and distributed.

It has been said by a very distinguished Canadian, Mr. Erastus Wiman, who resides in this country, that there are only three ways of bringing about the contemplated union, and he propounded his theory of ways and means and in the same breath declared each to be impracticable and impossible; but the history of the world shows that great men make great mistakes; I might say that it is only a great man who is capable of making a great mistake.

The first way suggested is by revolution. Successful revolution is said to be patriotism; and unsuccessful revolution is unquestionably treason.

The union party of Canada are patriots, and if our loyalty were called in question we do not wish to establish our reputation for patriotism by even a successful revolution, and to become traitors and rebels is out of the question, particularly when the resources of our constitution, though very meagre, are sufficient for all purposes.

The second proposition is that we become independent and enter into this union as a federation of free sovereign states. Of course the acquisition of independence is fraught with all the difficulties of the first plan and might involve revolution.

The third is that the union be consummated by friendly negotiations between Canada, the United States and Great Britain, and I freely give my preference and endorsement to the latter scheme as being more conducive to future peace, goodwill and friendliness. It is the only course I would advise or countenance at present.

Mr. Wiman advises closer trade relations.

Some advocate unrestricted reciprocity in trade and commerce. Some claim that a commercial union would bring about such happy results that political union would be sure to follow in the immediate future. Do not believe it! Any of these would bring about a temporary measure of prosperity to Canada, but political union would never take place if we could be prosperous without it, and I look upon our present agricultural and industrial depression as the direct working of the Hand of the Most High.

I look upon Quebec's \$35,000,000 debt as a veritable Godsend, for through that debt and by that means only, the perplexing Quebec problem can be solved.

Union would never take place so long as the office holding, governing class, who would rather reign in Hell than serve in Heaven, can prevent it; and so long as the condition of the Canadian people will compare favorably with yours, you may be sure that the newspapers and the classes I have mentioned will be able to engender and maintain a feeling of false pride, rivalry and hostility, but you hold the key to the position and I implore you not to throw it away, but use it for the benefit of all concerned.

Do you suppose that I would be here to-night if I were making fifty to a hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year, as I was doing up to about three or four years ago; I would have had sufficient sense to leave well enough alone, and I would have accepted the newspaper version of our destiny asking no questions for conscience' sake.

Christianity does not hesitate to hold forth the eternal glories of the Crystal City with walls of jasper, gates of pearl and gold-paved streets, as a reward to those who will come under her light, burden and easy yoke; so I am not ashamed to say that I was primarily interested in this cause because of the great benefits that I was persuaded would accrue to me and mine; but since I have given the matter study, I feel spurred on and enthused by the real grandeur, sublimity, nobility and holiness of the work and I feel myself rising to a higher plane every day.

We want union complete and entire, and no compromise. The broad unassailable and unanswerable arguments that are and can be advanced in favor of union are not available for any half measure or temporary expedient.

You can do much as individuals and societies to promote this union. True, you are debarred as a nation or as a people in a collective capacity from taking any action that could be interpreted or readily misinterpreted into a design against Britain or any of her dependencies; but surely you are as free as I am to discuss the matter and promote an interest in the cause; such action as I am taking does not in any way commit or embarrass the State. This is purely legitimate and constitutional agitation.

It lies in your power to remove the only semblance of an argument that the restrictionist falls back

upon as a last resort. He says:—"What, go to the United States with our hats in our hands begging to be admitted to the union as objects of charity; the Yankees don't want us, and our seeking an entrance to the union would be an admission that we are a huge failure. No, we will starve first."

It devolves upon the people of this country to evidence such a desire for union and such an interest in the Canadian people as will relieve Canada from the very natural embarrassments that she would otherwise feel in taking the initiative.

Most of us know that love making can always be done much better by two than one. Help us in our struggle against ignorance, bigotry and prejudice by taking a stronger, deeper and continued interest in the unification of the North American Continent. I know you are interested; your presence is conclusive upon that point, and I would ask you to eschew false notions of delicacy and help us in the way indicated, and in every other honorable way.

The American citizen who says "We do not want Canada," is an enemy to this republic, this continent and his race.

I would much prefer to see Great Britain one of the high contracting parties to this proposed perpetual treaty and solemn league and covenant for the betterment of the human race by means of the firmer and final establishment on this continent of democratic institutions, and the inculcation of the principles of liberty; and when Britain sees the happy results of her handiwork,, she will doubtless grant the prayer of Burns, who said:

"And then we'll pray, And England may  
Soon plant this far-famed tree, man.  
And blithe we'll sing and hail the day  
That gives us libertie, man."

I venerate and respect Great Britain, but I love and adore this "Greater Britain," this cradle of liberty, my own and my father's land.

But speaking of ways and means. I feel guilty of having taken up so much of your time with what is after all a mere detail.

Mr. Darling on the occasion formerly referred to said: "The tie that binds Canada to the motherland is a silver thread that can be broken practically at will."

The great Carlyle tells an amusing story of a Queen of one of the South Sea Islands who had been converted to Christianity. In her zeal to enlighten her people and turn them from the way of darkness and error, she walked up to the volcano that the people worshipped as a God and she boldly emptied her washbasin in the mouth of the great crater and threw her sandal in also, and heaped other indignities upon the false God in the presence of the nation. The people waited for the great consuming fire and destructive explosion that never came, and thus their eyes were opened.

In like manner a few of us have openly expressed our contempt for and unbelief in the twin phantom Deities of Royalty and so-called loyalty, that have long ruled our fair Dominion by promoting and engendering sectional and sectarian hatred, and the people have looked to see us smitten with the leprosy of treason and other plagues, but their phantom Gods are asleep, or too weak to assert themselves, and we still live, move and have a very healthy being; and the people themselves are now putting forth their hands and testing the texture of the gorgeous Royal ermine and the old flag, and they have come to the conclusion that they are very good and useful for covering the perversions of justice, the robbery of the nation and general wickedness in high places. They are of no use however for promoting the development and interests

of the people, and they have totally failed to promote national and individual prosperity and happiness.

It is the boast of Britain that she has given parliamentary government and representative institutions to the world; and she claims that she has a flexible unwritten constitution that she is not tied up to a piece of parchment however remarkable and great it may be, as you are.

Britain claims that a limited monarchy is the best, most expeditious and speedy means conceivable of registering the popular will. I do not agree with her, but if you, or any section of our people have any concern on that score you may dismiss it from your minds, for two reasons. In the first place: It is folly to be crossing bridges before you come to them, or going to meet difficulties half-way. And in the second place: You can rest assured that if the people of Canada express at the polls a preference for continental political union, the leaders, or rather followers of the people will soon be deprived of their power should they confess their inability to speedily and effectually register the decree of the people.

Give us the decree and we will see to its registration.

With your concurrence and assistance, union will take place within seven years, I believe much sooner, some say within two or three years and I think it quite possible; and when that great event takes place we will move on toward greater things; for after all the condition of the masses of the people, as families and individuals, is of far greater moment than any amount of collective national grandeur, and there is much to be done that we can do if we unite and work together with singleness of purpose.

There is one thing more, the discussion of which is perhaps quite premature at this stage, but it can do no harm and it may do much good. I refer to

#### TERMS OF UNION.

The direct annual saving of \$30,000,000 (a most moderate estimate) that would accrue to the union as a result of lessening the cost of government of Canada, would, if capitalized at 2 per cent.,\* be equal to \$1,500,000,000. It will thus be seen that the union would be profitable to this country at any cost not exceeding that amount; I am speaking now in a cold calculating spirit from the standpoint of dollars and cents. Our Dominion debt in round figures amounts to \$250,000,000; our various Provincial debts to about \$50,000,000 more; and our various Municipal debts, say \$200,000,000, or a total of \$500,000,000. Then in the interests of the interior of the continent, we must construct an inter lake ocean canal system that would admit any or all ocean vessels up to Chicago and to every port on the great lakes. This wondrous water way would be the greatest of its kind in the world, and I would like to enlarge upon this vast theme, but time presses.

This highway to the seas would cost in the neighborhood of \$200,000,000, making the total outlay to Canada \$750,000,000, leaving a net profit to the union of \$750,000,000.

I have received letters taking strong ground against the assumption by the union of the Provincial and Municipal indebtedness claiming that they were similar to your State and Municipal debts that you have to pay as such. Those who take that ground must do so through error regarding the facts. Our position is entirely different from yours. While our Dominion has been modeled as a federation more or less upon this republic,

there are many points of difference. For instance, your States derive their revenue by direct taxation, which is the only natural and honest way, but as yet none of our Provinces have resorted to it. Our Provincial Governments are maintained principally through a subsidy of eighty cents per capita that we receive from the Dominion Government; if we are to relinquish that great revenue it is not unfair or unreasonable to ask that we be relieved of all existing liabilities that were incurred on the strength or credit of the subsidies. Again, thus far the cities, counties and other municipalities have not been called upon to support and maintain State Governments by direct taxation, and if our municipalities are to assume that burden, we very naturally ask to be relieved of present burdens.

As to the canal system, it would be to the interests of all, and now is a favorable opportunity to have the matter considered and made part of the proposed terms of union.

The union of Canada and the United States would be of advantage to this country as well as to Canada, but you would have a special advantage in the preservation of your national banking system which is the envy and admiration of the world. Your bank note currency is secured by Government guarantee, and in order to save the government from loss the banks are required to deposit Government bonds in the United States treasury equal in amount to the currency issued. The present United States debt is fast being wiped out; when it is paid, as it soon must be, where will the banks get bonds to put up, unless you create a further indebtedness at once you will have to overhaul and revolutionize your banking system; as to whether that would be wise or prudent you are in the best position to say.

As to the terms of union, I would not presume to dictate them. I only throw out these suggestions to set people thinking and talking. One thing I am assured of if we can take the terms that this country gave the Republic of Texas as a fair index of American generosity and fairness, we will be more than satisfied. Only let the high contracting parties get together and I have no fear but that the terms of the union will be speedily and honorably adjusted to the satisfaction and advantage of both countries.

Mr. Chairman,—I have said a great deal, but for want of time and ability I could not give to such a vast and boundless subject, anything like justice. I expect that my words will be analyzed, criticized and pulled to pieces generally. If some of my arguments and deductions are found defective, it will only prove that I am a mere man, subject to like infirmities as other men; but if I only succeed in provoking a discussion of this great question I will be happy, for other and abler men will then supply the arguments to the enlightenment of all concerned. Of one thing I am convinced, that is, there is not one valid argument against union, at least I have not heard of it; if there is one it has been kept for future use by those who know of it, but if that argument is to do any good to the cause of restriction, someone will have to speak soon or forever after hold his peace.

I have a wonderful vista of the future. The way I regard this movement can be illustrated by supposing a man is on a mountain top; he endeavors to move a huge boulder, and for days, weeks, months, perhaps years, he builds derricks, fulcrums, and other scientific and mechanical appliances; and all this time he can see no perceptible progress, but bye-and-bye, after the most desperate and exhaustive struggle, away the huge rock goes rolling down the mountain side with irresistible and ever-increasing force.

\* The United States renewed bonds to the extent of \$25,000,000 at 2 per cent., and the union now has a credit never before equalled by any people.

Let us consummate this grand, great and glorious union and the nations of the earth will exclaim: "Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth." The spirit of union and brotherhood would become epidemic and sweep everything before it; the nations of the earth would draw closer together and the day would soon dawn when "men would brothers be, and a that"; and men would beat their swords into plough shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, nation will not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

The twentieth century is about to dawn and burst upon us with a flood of light and love. With it will come great things for the sons of earth, and to me it appears that we (the people of this continent), are the chosen vessels of honor through which these great blessings are to come.

You are already bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. Why keep apart any longer? But the paramount practical question is, what are you and I going to do to bring this scheme to a full fruition, for it lies with the people themselves. In past ages when the masses were kept in darkness, ignorance and poverty, they had real leaders and the people were the followers; now the case is reversed, the politicians are the followers, and they will not move in advance of popular opinion, and they take very little part in making it. And my chief aim here to-night has been to make each of my hearers and all who may read these words as individuals, ask his or her conscience "What is my duty in relation to the proposed unification of this marvelous people."

---

## APPENDIX.

---

Manifesto issued by "The Continental Union Club," of the City of Windsor, Ont., referred to by Mr. Macdonald in the foregoing address.

---

During the past few years a desultory sort of discussion has been going on regarding the future of Canada, but until the recent publication of the census returns the question was considered in a speculative manner, rather than with any idea that the present generation would be called upon to settle it in a practical way. But opinions which have heretofore been held more or less as theories have now become the firm and well-grounded conviction of a large and rapidly increasing number of Canadians that political union with the United States is the inevitable and desirable destiny of Canada.

In presenting for public consideration this appeal in behalf of political union, the Continental Union Club is actuated by a desire to see an all-engrossing question, that cannot now be ignored, discussed on its merits, without prejudice, free from personal re-primations and undeterred by baseless charges of treason made by mock loyalists, and by that section of the Government press subsidized by manufacturers and office-holders, against all who have the courage to hold aloft the torchlight of truth for the guidance of the Canadian taxpayer. To do what the press would be found doing if free from the influence of that moral terrorism which is exercised by the self-styled loyalist, who ordinarily has, or expects to have, his arm up to the elbow in the public chest, is the purpose of an organization which is based on the belief that political union is the rational solution of the difficulties which hinder our national advancement.

Confederation was a British rather than a Canadian idea. Old Canada was drifting steadily towards political union, when our rulers, who possessed inherited prejudices against the American people, conceived the idea of confederating all the provinces in the hope of building up a country strong enough not only to resist the absorbing influence of the greater force, but also to offer a menace to the stability of American Republicanism. Its founders were animated by an old, rather than by a new world spirit. It was with them as it is now with many of us—"what can we do to help England?"

instead of "will this be to the advantage of Canada and her people?" Confederation was the final effort to prevent political union. But time and events have softened our asperities. We have imbibed the spirit of the Democratic institutions of our neighbors and we are now asking ourselves, why should the schism which divided our race 100 years ago, be perpetuated? Why should not the old wounds be allowed to heal, and a lasting union founded on mutual interest, be effected between two branches of the same family? What do we gain by remaining apart? What would we lose by the union?

The importance of these queries is enhanced at this crisis by the fact that our attempt to overcome the forces of nature has been a very costly experiment and has produced a very unsatisfactory result. *To-day we are farther behind our great competitor in the race of national development and greatness than we were when the foundations of Confederation were laid.* Every reasonable man will admit that if we cannot become self-sustaining, and a people able to defend ourselves, our national existence cannot be made permanent, and our patriotism, for the want of satisfactory food, will famish and die. What progress have we made in building such a nation? We have been twenty-five years engaged in the work, and with the census before us as the balance sheet, the time is opportune for making a thorough examination of our affairs. Let us show, by figures that cannot be disputed, what sacrifices we have made and how futile those sacrifices have been.

At the formation of Confederation the national debt was seventy-seven million dollars, or \$21 per head of our population. To-day that debt is practically two hundred and fifty million dollars, or over \$30 per head: the interest on the debt alone representing a sum which would be almost sufficient, with prudent management, to carry on the affairs of five million people on this continent, were we homogeneous and in a compact territory instead of being strung along a narrow strip four thousand miles long and divided into



several sections each of which has little or nothing, either in sentiment or interest, in common with the rest. The people of Canada have cheerfully consented to this vast augmentation of their national burden in the hope that the population would increase and the country develop into a powerful community. But "man proposes and God disposes."

We shall confine our analysis of the census to the results of the last ten years, because it was at the end of that decade, particularly, that the best results should have been shown. A supreme effort was put forth to develop the country, and attract population as the *summum bonum* of national prosperity. In 1881 the population was 4,324,810. In 1891 it is 4,839,411. The increase is but 500,000, or 11.66 per cent., notwithstanding that in the same time—showing the value we place upon population—we paid three million dollars to bring 960,000 immigrants to the country, facts that simply show that had no immigrants arrived the population would be nearly 400,000 less than in 1881! But to comprehend the full significance of this deplorable result we must again consider the relation of these figures to the debt and annual expenditure. As we have shown the debt has increased since Federation over 200 per cent. The annual expenditure has risen to nearly forty millions, or from \$3 to \$8 per head of the population. This huge debt has been piled up and this vast expenditure made to fit the country for the reception and maintenance of a large population. And yet with all our development, and this expenditure, we have not been able to hold one-half our natural increase, besides losing all our immigrants. If a merchant, in examining his books, should find a similar result, would he not conclude a change in his business to be necessary?

To understand to what extent we have fallen behind our neighbors, a comparison between their progress and our own is in place. From 1880 to 1890 Minnesota alone gained 520,000, or more than the entire gain of the Dominion of Canada. The two Dakotas, which started even with Manitoba in 1870, have increased from 135,000 to 510,000, nearly 300 per cent., as against Manitoba's increase from 37,000 to 154,000 or 146 per cent.; and the Dakotas do not compare with Manitoba in soil or climate. Washington State, recently admitted to the Union, and nothing like as good a country as British Columbia, increased from 75,000 to 349,000—a rate of 365 per cent. Kansas increased 431,000, Arkansas 325,000, Wisconsin 371,000, and Michigan, which possesses less natural wealth than Ontario, 457,000 or almost as much as the increase in the entire Dominion.

But unfortunately there is no reason to expect any improvement in Canada's future under present conditions. The census returns have shown that the rural population of the older provinces, as well as many of the principle towns has diminished. The leading cities have grown, but as they must depend upon the rural districts for support, they cannot grow much more, for they cannot find an increase of consumers for their productions among the wealth producing element, themselves at a standstill. Financial experts recognize this as true and already some of the most important of them have refused to lend more than forty per cent. upon the present values of city property, and they insist upon gold clauses in their mortgages—which simply means that they understand the national situation fully and fear a inflation of the national currency, in the effort to tide over our difficulties until our long delayed period of national prosperity sets in.

It is perhaps unnecessary to point out how political union would benefit the country. Our national

debt would be assumed by the union at large, our assets in public works and mineral resources being accepted as an equivalent; the then national debt would be but \$16 per head instead of \$50; our enormous Dominion expenditure of nearly forty millions per annum would cease; the smaller provinces could reorganize with cheaper governmental machinery. So much for the direct financial advantages. As for the development of the country, Manitoba would undoubtedly increase in population as fast as any of the present Northern States, and her cities would grow in a like proportion; the vast mineral resources of northern Ontario and Quebec, the richest on the continent, would attract the capitalists of the world and a large influx of settlers would follow; our securities being enhanced, British gold would be invested in Canada as it is at present in the United States; the McKinley Bill and its hostile provisions being done away with by the fusion of the two countries, our farmers would find a market in America for nearly all their produce without going 3,000 miles across the seas. British Columbia would simply outstrip all provinces in development. The towns and cities of Canada would feel the impetus of new life resulting from increased population in the provinces; manufactures, which could be carried on more successfully in the east than in the west, would spring up in fields naturally adapted for them; our railways would receive their rightful share of traffic; our waterways to the sea would command the commerce of the continent. We would be part and parcel of a nation of sixty-five millions who are our brothers and sisters, have laws and institutions similar to ours; we would have the whole continent to trade in for all time to come instead of being confined to Canada; we would no longer be a source of irritation to our great neighbor by compelling them to guard a four thousand mile frontier.

All complications and possibilities of war between England and the United States being at an end, we would be relieved of that expensive burlesque, the militia; our final destiny would be fixed permanently on a firm and satisfactory basis. There would be great economy in government expenditure; our provinces would really acquire independence, instead of all their acts being subject to Federal revision as at present; trade would increase many fold; there would be a large flow of capital and immigration into our country and real estate would increase in value and that great and intolerable nuisance, the custom house, would be swept out of existence. In fact, we would get what in a new country is the real source of prosperity—population, and without which population cannot profitably proceed.

Prosperity is universally the foundation of loyalty. Contentment rests on prosperity, and loyalty and prosperity go hand in hand. Our duty is first to ourselves.

Were a union effected between Canada and the United States, England would be a gainer. It would remove forever all causes of friction between herself and the States; and everyone knows that, in the event of trouble between Canada and England, under present conditions, Canada would be the battle ground in a war which, result as it might, would not rebound to England's glory or increase her wealth. Union would be the means of ultimately cementing the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world. Then let us join hands with our neighbors, and in all friendliness to England, let us build up on this continent the greatest nation in the world. Upon the consummation of this grand purpose we can honestly boast that "a whole continent is ours."



Present Cost of Government per Capita in the United States	\$3 00
Present Cost of Government per Capita in Canada	8 00
Estimated Cost Under Proposed Political Union	2 00

WHAT SIR JOHN J. C. ABBOTT, PRESENT  
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA,  
SAID IN 1849.

"The proposed (political) union (between Canada and the United States) would render Canada a field for American capital, with which it would enter as freely for the prosecution of public works and private enterprise as any of the present states. It would equalize the value of real estate upon both sides of the boundary, thereby probably doubling at once the entire value of property in Canada, whilst by giving stability to our institutions and introducing prosperity it would rise our public, private and corporate credit. It would increase our commerce, both with the United States and foreign countries, and would not necessarily diminish to any great extent our intercourse with Great Britain, into which our products would for the most part enter on the same terms as at present. It would render our rivers and canals the highway for the immigration to and the exports from the west, to the invaluable benefit of our country. It would also induce manufacturers into Canada as rapidly as they have been introduced into the Northern States; and to Lower Canada especially, where water privileges and labor are abundant and cheap, it would attract manufacturing capital, enhancing the value of property and agricultural produce, and giving remunerative employment to what is at present a comparatively non-supporting population. Nor would the United States merely furnish the capital for our manufacturers. They would also supply for them the most extensive market in the world without the intervention of custom house officers. Railways would forthwith be constructed by America as feeders for all the great lines now approaching our frontiers, and railway enterprise in general would doubtless be as active and prosperous as among our neighbors. The value of our agricultural implements and many of the necessities of life, such as tea, coffee and sugar, would be greatly reduced in price. The value of our timber would also be greatly enhanced by the access to the American market, where it bears a high price, but is subjected to an enormous duty."

Every thoughtful Canadian who has given the question intelligent consideration cannot fail to see the causes which made political union desirable when Premier Abbott joined in signing the above manifesto exists with aggravating intensity to-day.

For signing the above and for their active promotion of political union, Sir (then Mr.) J. J. C.

Abbott; Sir (then Mr.) D. L. Macpherson and a number of other prominent young men were in 1849 deprived of their commissions as officers of the volunteer militia and dismissed from the service.

But it is a very significant fact that Sir John J. C. Abbott never recanted or repudiated these statements.

Mr. W. R. Meredith, Q.C., M.P.P., leader of the Majesty's loyal opposition, was also dismissed at a later date, not for advocating political union, but for declining to be a sub-servient time server.

Lieut. E. A. Macdonald was dismissed from the militia service October 2nd, 1892, for delivering the foregoing address at Boston.

And is this the kind of liberty our fathers fought and died for? The friends of liberty demand *and will exercise* freedom of speech not only when they take a popular side, but when they take any side they see fit provided they do not transgress the law.

THE APPEALS UNTO CÆSAR.

Mr. Macdonald is about to test the much vaunted British justice, as the following letter will show:—

TORONTO, 3rd Nov., 1892.

Captain Geo. Vennell, No. 1 Company, 12 Batt:—

SIR,—I am in receipt of an extract from the *Canada Gazette* of Saturday, October 29th, 1892, and therein I find the following:—

"12th Battalion of Infantry, York Rangers, O.,  
"No. 1 Company, Riverside. Lieutenant Ernest  
"Albert Macdonald is dismissed from the service."

I appeal from the decree thus promulgated direct to Her Majesty through her *immediate* constitutional advisers, on the ground that no cause existed that would warrant such action, and upon the ground that I am not subject to dismissal except for cause. No cause existed for my dismissal and if any charge has been laid against me I demand a hearing and trial by court-martial. And I respectfully request that you forward this communication to Her Majesty's Home Government through the proper channel; and I would further ask that you make no recommendation with a view to filling the alleged vacancy caused by my being illegally deprived of my rank and command, pending the final determination of the appeal.

Mr. Dalton McCarthy, M.P., is out of the city at present, and I wish to consult with him as counsel in the matter. After further advising I will take further and more formal procedure, should any be necessary.

I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient servant,

E. A. MACDONALD,

Lieut., No. 1 Co., 12th Batt.

N.B.—Mr. Macdonald claims that fully one-third of the militia officers are unionists including persons of all ranks, and he claims that the only effect of dragging politics into the militia will be to totally demoralize it.

