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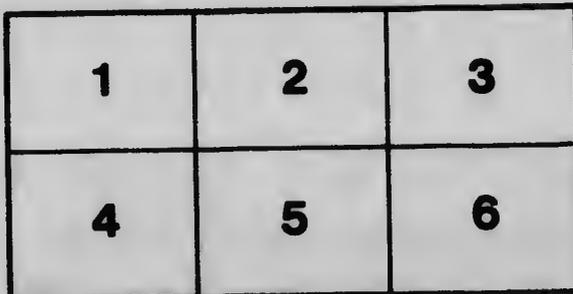
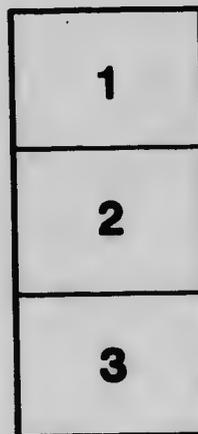
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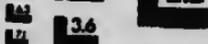
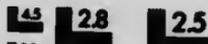
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SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

Sir Richard Cartwright

(MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE)

IN

ASSOCIATION HALL, TORONTO
December 10th, 1903

" They that are wise may follow,
When the world's war trumpet blows
But I, I am first in battle,
Said Our Lady of the Snows "

Kipling.

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SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT,
(Minister of Trade and Commerce),

IN ASSOCIATION HALL, TORONTO, DECEMBER 10TH, 1903.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—Some considerable time has elapsed since I had last the pleasure of addressing an audience in the city of Toronto, and some rather important events have occurred in that interval. Much water has flowed down the St. Lawrence and some curious events have taken place in political life. When I last addressed you I very well remember that the atmosphere of Toronto and the parts adjacent to it were almost blue with the denunciations that Conservative journals and Conservative speakers were hurling at a certain old friend of mine, Mr. Israel Tarte. He, according to those veracious gentlemen, was a monster of iniquity, a most disloyal man. Mr. Tarte was the evil genius of the Laurier Administration and likewise its master. As I observed during the interval there has been a wonderful change in the estimation in which Mr. Tarte is now held by those Conservative journals and Conservative speakers. Very recently I noticed that at a great Conservative love feast held in the city of Montreal Mr. Tarte occupied the foremost place in the procession. The prodigal son was welcomed back. Mr. Borden all on his neck and kissed him. (Laughter.) That no detail should be wanting the fattened calf was there also in the person of Mr. Monk, Mr. Bergeron being detained by other pressing engagements. Now we know on the very highest authority that there is much joy over a repentant sinner.

EVIL SPIRITS' WORK.

We know also on the same authority that there have been cases where an evil spirit has been temporarily cast out of a man, and that after ten or twelve years of marching up and down, the evil spirit has taken unto himself seven other evil spirits worse than himself. (Laughter.) And they have entered into their former habitation, and the last state of that man has

been worse than the first. (Loud laughter.) Now it is not for me to say which particular role Mr. Tarte is enacting at present in the Conservative ranks. I have my suspicions. But I am bound to say that my own estimate of Mr. Tarte does not vary from that which I entertained of him when he was a member of the Liberal Government. He is erratic, and impulsive, but he is also plucky, intelligent and indefatigable, and an able and witty journalist to boot. And I have not forgotten, nor will any of us soon forget, the excellent services which he rendered to the country twelve years ago, when he rent the veil of the terrible mass of corruption which had festered in the Conservative ranks for so many years. For that good deed we continue to cherish a kindly regard for Mr. Tarte, and I would say to our Conservative friends that they might perhaps take a lesson from what has occurred. I think that in future they would do well to show—I was about to say a little modesty, but I do not wish to ask for the impossible—so instead I will say they should exercise a little caution in expressing opinions prematurely about public men. Had they done so, they would have escaped this dilemma. Either they were terribly mistaken about Mr. Tarte two years ago and ought to apologise to him most abjectly for the gross way they slandered him then, or they were correct in describing him as a traitor and a creature with whom it was contamination to associate, in which case how do they account for their readiness not merely to receive him back into their ranks, but even to instal him in high rank over the heads of their own tried and trusty friends, as they are doing? For myself, ladies and gentlemen, such is my charity towards my political opponents, and so boundless is it, that I am prepared to say that I like Mr. Tarte and that even if he had been all that their fancy painted him there are many much worse men than Mr. Tarte in the ranks of the Conservative party at this moment.

THE CHANGE OF '96.

However, ladies and gentlemen, I had somewhat graver matters to lay before you to-night than any little peculiarities of Mr. Tarte or the Conservative journals. Sir, a period of seven and one-half years has passed away since the destinies of this country were entrusted to a Liberal Administration. You all remember that that Liberal Administration succeeded a Conservative Government which had held power for eighteen years. Now,

sir, I think the time has come at which we may very fairly contrast together what has been done for Canada in these two terms of eighteen years and seven and one-half years respectively. I do not pretend for my part that the Liberal Government is immaculate. I have as Sir William Mulock has told you had forty years' experience of public life in Canada, and, for one thing, I entirely agree with the late Sir John Macdonald, that Canada is by no means an easy country to govern. In fact, Canada occupies an almost unique position.

There are difficulties political and difficulties geographical. We are not a homogeneous population by any means. There are serious questions affecting race and religion constantly cropping up. Altogether the Government of Canada presents and will present many questions of considerable difficulty. That thirteen men, administering the affairs of half a continent, under such conditions, can carry on the government for a period of seven and one-half years, without committing some mistakes, without making some blunders, or, it may be, committing some faults, is almost absolutely impossible. There may have been sins of omission, there may have been sins of commission. I remember that the Duke of Wellington, when asked to express his opinion as to what sort of man made the best general, observed that it was not the man who made no blunders, for no General had ever lived who made no blunders, but the man who saw them earliest and repaired them the quickest. (Laughter and applause.)

JUDGE BY BROAD RESULTS.

Therefore I do not pretend to say our Government has been immaculate, but I ask you to judge us by the broad results obtained, results manifest to every man who knows anything of the affairs of Canada, and to contrast the position that Canada occupies to-day, in 1903, with the position in which we found Canada in 1896. (Cheers.)

Sir, I demand to be judged by these results, and I will tell you what I claim for the Liberal party, and what I claim for the Liberal Government to whom the Liberal party has entrusted the affairs of Canada for the last seven and a half years. I say, sir, that in 1896 we found Canada in a condition of stagnation, in a condition almost of depopulation, at least of growth so slow that we had come practically to a standstill. We found Canada what was worse—dishonored and degraded in the eyes of the world, and I ask you, sir to look at Canada as Canada stands to-day.

If we laid down the reins of power to-morrow, I say we would leave Canada at the very highest point that Canada has ever attained, commercially, financially and politically, since Canada became a nation, or a confederation, at all. (Cheers.) I say, sir, that we have greatly reduced the burden of taxation, for our British preference was a more far-reaching measure than perhaps even its friends or foes were aware of. (Applause.) I say that in addition to that we have doubled our gross revenue, and very nearly quadrupled our net revenue. I say that the increase in the total volume of trade in the period of seven and a half years has been more than double the total increase of trade in the entire thirty years which preceded our regime. (Cheers.) We found the population of Canada in 1896 almost at a standstill. If the truth were told I believe that for many years previous the population of Canada had not been increasing at the rate of 30,000 a year.

ONE YEAR AND TEN.

Sir, there is every reason to believe that last year—putting together the increase by immigration and the natural increase of our population, who, I am happy to say, are for the most part remaining in Canada—the growth of population in Canada ranges between 200,000 and 300,000 souls, and was rather nearer the greater figure than the small. In the space of one year, under the Liberal Administration, a number of people have been added to Canada, equal, I say, to the number that were added in ten years under their predecessors. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, this for the material. What as to our reputation abroad? When we came into office, I say, and no man can honestly contradict my statements, we found Canada ignored and slighted. If Canada was noticed at all by the foreign press it was to cast some sneer at her; if we were spoken of at all it was as the place and home of hoodlers; as a place, to quote the words of one English journal, "in comparison with which Tammany itself would smell sweet," or, as an old Conservative Premier was wont to call it with respect to his own Cabinet, "a nest of traitors." (Cheers and laughter.)

Gentlemen, how stands it now? Sir, Canada leads the van. English statesmen of the highest rank are quoting what Canada has done, are holding up Canada and our acts and policy as an example to their own countrymen. Sir, we hold to-day a high place in the counsels of the empire. As I have said, Canada is known, Canada's opinion is inquired for, Canada's

example is being followed. Time will prove—and on that I shall have something more to say before I sit down—that the policy of Canada was inaugurated, may prove the chief factor in settling great questions that are now disturbing the whole British Empire.

GOOD FORTUNE WELL USED.

Sir, there may be greater things yet in store for us if we do not miss our opportunities. I grant, I am not in the least disposed to deny it, that the Liberal Government have had great good fortune; but the Liberal Government have used that good fortune greatly to the welfare of Canada. (Cheers.) Mr. Chairman, these are proud words. They would be very foolish words for me to use if we were not in a position to justify them to the letter: I am aware that it is much easier to inform an audience through the eye than through the ear, and I have therefore caused to be prepared certain diagrams which will show you at a glance what it would take many minutes to read in detail. What has been done within the last few years? I told you but a little while ago, ladies and gentlemen, so rapid had been the growth of the volume of trade of Canada, that within the space of seven years, under our regime, Canada had more than doubled the total volume of its trade, as compared with thirty years preceding. Glance at yonder diagram and you will see that in 1867 the total volume of trade amounted to just \$131,000,000; in 1896 it had grown to \$230,000,000, or thereabouts, being an increase of \$100,000,000.

From 1896 to 1903 it has grown to \$290,000,000—(cheers)—being an increase of \$60,000,000 in seven years, as against an increase of \$100,000,000 in the thirty years preceding.

TRADE AND PROSPERITY.

I am perfectly aware that there are some parties who believe, honestly enough, I do not doubt, that an increase in the total volume of trade does not matter so much. To this doctrine I do not assent. On the contrary I believe this increase in the total volume of our trade means, first of all, that the people of Canada are getting full value for their money in all the exchanges they may make; next, that the taxes extracted from the pockets of the people are in the bulk going into the public treasury, and not into the

pockets of a favored few, as heretofore, and, lastly, as a general proposition, that whenever there is a great increase in the volume of trade there is generally a great amount of prosperity in any country. Sir, it is an interesting fact, that not only has the growth been what I have described it in the last seven years, but that that growth is going on with perhaps an even more rapid increase at this present moment. If you will look at the last Gazette you will see that in the four months ending November 1st our volume of trade was \$179,254,645. In 1902 for the same period it was \$157,230,992, so that the volume of our trade in four months has increased by \$22,023,653, while between 1882 and 1896, a period of fourteen years, the volume of trade increased by \$16,815,202. Four months of Liberal rule show an increase of five millions more than fourteen years under our predecessors. (Applause.) I do not say that rate of increase is going to be maintained. I do not even say that I desire it. There may be even too much of a good thing. (Laughter.) We might increase possibly a little more rapidly than is in all respects quite desirable. But I do say that, as a general rule, you may depend upon it that no great increase takes place in trade unless it is accompanied by a general increase in prosperity.

A REGULAR INCREASE.

Now, in deference to those of my friends who think the total volume of trade is not always a matter of great importance, I here exhibit, likewise, a diagram showing the increase in the volume of our exports. If they will look at that they will find that the increase in the total volume of exports has been relatively almost as great as the total volume of our imports and general trade. We began with \$57,000,000, or thereabouts, in 1868, we increased to \$121,000,000 in 1896, and in the last year, in 1903, reached \$225,840,000. Perhaps you would like to know of what that increase in exports is chiefly composed? And I would draw your attention to the fact that the accompanying diagram shows that the growth of exports of farm products of Canada shows enormous and most gratifying increases. We began 40 years ago with \$19,000,000, which increased to \$50,000,000 in 1896 and to \$114,000,000 in 1903.

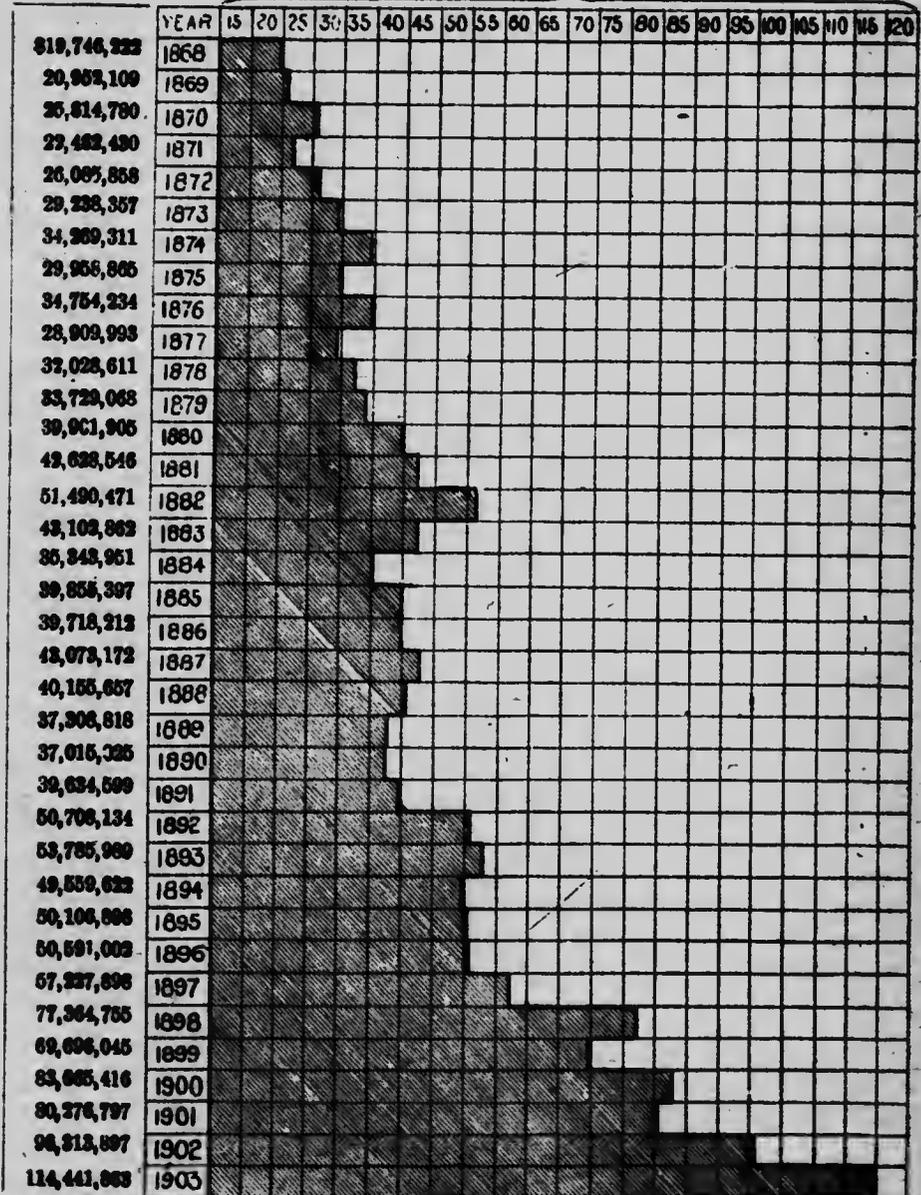
FARM PRODUCE.

Total Exports of the Dominion of Canada from 1868 to 1903.

THE PRODUCE OF CANADA.

(Includes Agricultural Products and Animals and their Produce.)

Millions of Dollars



Year.	Farm products.	Total.
1868	\$ 19,746,222	\$ 57,567,888
1869	20,952,109	60,474,781
1870	25,814,780	73,573,490
1871	22,462,430	74,173,618
1872	26,085,858	82,639,663
1873	29,238,357	89,789,922
1874	34,269,311	89,351,928
1875	29,958,865	77,886,979
1876	34,754,234	80,966,435
1877	28,909,993	75,875,393
1878	32,028,611	79,323,667
1879	33,729,068	71,491,255
1880	39,901,905	87,911,458
1881	42,628,546	98,290,823
1882	51,490,471	102,137,203
1883	43,102,862	98,085,804
1884	35,343,957	91,406,496
1885	39,855,397	89,238,361
1886	39,718,212	85,251,314
1887	43,073,172	89,515,811
1888	40,155,657	90,203,000
1889	37,308,818	89,189,167
1890	37,015,025	96,749,149
1891	39,634,599	98,417,296
1892	50,708,134	113,963,375
1893	53,785,989	118,564,352
1894	49,559,622	117,524,949
1895	50,106,898	113,638,803
1896	50,591,002	121,013,852
1897	57,227,898	137,950,253
1898	77,364,755	164,152,683
1899	69,696,045	158,896,905
1900	83,665,416	191,894,723
1901	80,276,797	196,487,632
1902	96,313,897	211,640,286
1903	114,441,863	225,849,724

INCREASED MANUFACTURED EXPORTS.

Nor have the manufactures lagged much behind. This, gentlemen (as a new diagram was thrown on the screen), is a diagram showing the increase in exports of our manufactures. They amounted to about \$2,000,000 in 1868, to \$9,000,000, or a little more, in 1896, and they amounted in 1903 to \$20,624,000,

by no manner of means a bad showing for a Government which was declared to be a determined foe to the manufacturers of Canada, and under whom, according to Sir Charles Tupper, "one universal wail of anguish from the distracted manufacturers would resound from earth to heaven."

GROWTH OF TRADE.

Relative percentage of growth of trade of undermentioned countries for seven years, 1895 to 1902 :—

Country.	Increase.	Percentage of growth.
Canada	227,472,289	107.43
Japan	129,359,208	97.20
Cape Colony	87,031,400	59.50
United States (a)	775,058,014	47.18
Italy	197,468,942	45.99
Germany	683,111,578	38.59
Belgium	206,037,529	34.84
Argentine Republic	65,004,094	31.31
Switzerland	81,755,424	26.82
Great Britain	822,453,702	26.29
France	300,875,900	21.98

(a) Includes total imports, not imports for consumption only.

Note.—Imports for consumption and exports of domestic merchandise unless otherwise stated.

COMPARATIVE GROWTH.

This, gentlemen, is a diagram in which, as a Canadian, I take some pride. This shows you how Canada has advanced compared with all other competitors in the commercial race during the last seven years. The figures at the top relate to Canada, then come Japan, Cape Colony, then the United States a long way behind, then Italy, Germany, Belgium, the Argentine Republic, Switzerland, Great Britain and France. Gentlemen, I advise you all who desire to see what the relative progress of your country has been during those seven years to look at that diagram and study it well. It shows this, that today, in 1903, Canada is first in the commercial race. (Applause.) And if you want to know, in racing parlance, where Canada was in 1896, I am sorry to

THE RELATIVE PERCENTAGE OF THE GROWTH OF TRADE OF THE UNDERMENTIONED COUNTRIES FOR SEVEN YEARS.

In the case of Canada and the United States the Fiscal Year ends June 30th, the figures, therefore, in these two cases only are for the Fiscal Year ended June 30th, 1896 and 1903, respectively; the Fiscal Years of all the other countries mentioned end December 31st, 1895 and 1902.



* Includes total imports, not "imports for consumption" only.

NOTE.—Imports for consumption and exports of domestic merchandise unless otherwise stated.

say that Canada, was nowhere. Now, I think we can let in a little more general light on the subject. I do not want to be confining it to myself. (Laughter.) (This referred to Sir Richard's request to turn on the lights in the body of the hall.) He continued: I commend these diagrams to your serious study, because, as I have said, they show at a glance the enormous, almost phenomenal, progress, which has been made in Canada within the last seven or eight years. (Applause.) Now, sir, although we say and are proud to say, that great progress has been made in the way of material progress, I, for one, would be far from content if that were all.

WEALTH NOT EVERYTHING.

Growth in material wealth no doubt is of very great value, very great importance, and I am not likely to underrate it. But if I had seen that growth accompanied by a similar stagnation in the matter of the increase of population in Canada so that which took place in the years between 1878 and 1896, I would have regarded our work as extremely imperfectly done. Sir, I am happy to be able to tell you, on the most excellent authority, that the growth of population in Canada is keeping pace, and keeping pace well, with the extraordinary growth in material prosperity, of which I have just laid the evidence before you. It is true, sir, that this has been partially concealed. I have had occasion in my place in Parliament and elsewhere to point out to other audiences, as I now point out to you, that the census of 1891 was in almost all respects a deliberate fraud. (Applause.)

Sir, facts are coming to light, coming to light too slowly, coming to light in some respects too late; but those facts are clear, those facts are manifest. Some eighteen months ago, standing in the House, I laid on the table in Parliament the minutely detailed statements, which showed that in twenty constituencies in Quebec frauds to the extent of an addition of 40,000 people had taken place in those ridings alone at the time of the census. There is now but too much reason to believe that the frauds which took place in these twenty counties were duplicated, were perhaps increased even, all over Ontario, all over the Maritime Provinces—whether or not in the northwest I cannot say.

THE EVIDENCE OF FRAUD.

Sir, these proofs, as I said, are accumulating; they are accumulating in the census of the United States, which we have now the opportunity of comparing with our own. They are accumulating in connection with our municipal statistics; they are accumulating still more in the course of researches which are being carried on under the supervision of Mr. Fisher, when our census enumerators are obliged to compare and to check their returns with the returns which were made in 1891. Sir, I am sorry to say that throughout there is evidence of the extremest and most criminal carelessness and worse on the part of those who compiled the census statistics of 1891. I cannot on the present occasion enter into a minute analysis and give you all the details which have led to this conclusion, but I can give you this conclusion generally, that there is the strongest possible ground to believe that the nominal population of Canada was fraudulently increased by 250,000 or 300,000, if not more, in the census returns of 1891, and that, to a great extent, the Liberal party were thereby defrauded of the credit of the increase which really did take place after they entered office in 1896. But I will give you one or two brief illustrations which have been put into my hands very lately, to show, as I have said, the extreme carelessness with which these matters were conducted. Sir, if there is one thing more than another that ought to be carefully attended to, it is our agricultural statistics in a country like Canada.

CROPPED UNTILLED ACRES.

Nevertheless, sir, we found very lately, on examining the returns of the quantity of land under crop, that in the census of 1891 the then enumerators—or perhaps I am wrong in saying the enumerators—but the census authorities at any rate, had returned 19,900,000 acres as being under crop, when the schedules in the possession of the Census Department showed that there was not more than 15,500,000. That is to say that they had added four and a half millions to the nominal acreage under crop throughout the Dominion of Canada. Sir, that is a very bad showing, and that is but in keeping with the great number of other facts which have recently been brought to light in connection with this same census; and which, taken together, much more than justify my statement that there has been the grossest and most criminal negligence displayed in the taking of that census from first to last.

Now, in this connection I will submit to you a few isolated facts of some interest. Gentlemen, you will perhaps learn with some surprise that in the year that we came into office in 1896 the value of Canadian Pacific Railway stock on the market was an average of fifty-seven cents on the dollar. And if you had been so disposed, and had the money, you might have bought the whole of the sixty-five million of Canadian Pacific stock for \$36,000,000 in cash. To-day, in 1903, in a very depressed stock market, there are eighty-five millions of that same stock. It has been selling at an average of \$1.20 all through the year in a very depressed stock market, and you would have to pay \$100,000,000 for the stock, which you could have got for \$36,000,000 in 1896. (Applause.)

THE HOMESTEAD ENTRIES.

My second fact is this, sir, and it bears very forcibly on what I have said as to the growth of the population in Canada, and as to the complete stagnation which had taken place. In 1896 there were in the northwest and in Manitoba, in all, homestead entries to the number of 1,384. In the year which has just closed, 1903, there were 31,383 homestead entries. (Applause.) In 1896 the number of immigrants reported to have come to Canada, professing to intend to settle here—whether they did nor not—amounted to 17,394. In 1903, for the ten months only of the current year, the number of immigrants, who, we have every reason to believe, all remained in Canada amounted to 123,084. (Applause.)

THE DEBT SHOWING.

I have spoken before of the increased volume of our trade in four months, which equalled, and more than equalled, the total increases in fourteen years under our predecessors. But you have all heard, I have not the slightest doubt, that among the many sins of the Reform Government, one of the greatest was the reckless way in which they had increased the national debt. It was even asserted that they had increased it nearly one-sixth as much as our predecessors had done in a similar time. (Laughter and applause.) Gentlemen, I think you will all admit we are not responsible for the addition to the national debt which took place in 1897, under the estimates prepared by Mr. Foster, and in carrying out works which were begun and put under

contract by our predecessors, and therefore, I select for starting point the year 1897, in which the national debt amounted to \$261,538,596. On the first day of July, 1903, the national debt under this present most extravagant and profligate Government, amounted to \$261,609,720, being an increase of \$71,000 in six years. (Applause.)

And the last of my isolated facts is this: that the Conservative Government went out in 1896, and the Liberal Government have been in power from 1896 to 1903. I do not say that there is a necessary connection between these facts, gentlemen, but some of you, perhaps, may see your way to make it.

TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Now I may pause here to review one or two of the complaints which have come to my ears, chiefly aimed at our trade with the United States. The gentlemen who make these complaints appear to think that it is all right if we sell to Great Britain twice as much as we buy from Great Britain, but all wrong that we should buy from the United States twice as much as we sell to them; and for myself I would be glad to see the condition of things altered. But, sir, when I hear men who ought to know better, alleging in the press, on the floor of Parliament, and elsewhere that the people of Canada are most grievously ill-treated because, forsooth, some sixty or seventy million dollars' worth of goods are imported from the United States free of duty, whereas we send very little free of duty into the United States, I am tempted to ask these men if they have ever sat down to consider of what our free imports from the United States consist, and who would be injured if the present Government were to put a tax on those same free imports?

OUR FREE IMPORTS.

Now, to you, as representing a great business community, this is a matter of some interest; and I have taken the trouble to prepare two or three brief statements showing the largest items which enter into this very large importation of free goods from the United States. Sir, it is worth while paying, perhaps, more than a little passing attention to this point. I find that, of our great volume of free imports from the United States in 1903, our importation of cotton, wool and waste for the benefit of manufacturers, amounted to \$6,250,000; anthracite coal and coke, \$8,000,000; of coin and bullion we im-

ported \$8,800,000; settlers' goods, for which remember, we paid not one farthing, which were a free gift, so far as the United States were concerned, to the people of Canada, \$5,280,000 worth. Add to that the very large amount of goods which you found it to your advantage to import in transit, via the United States, on which they may get some small middleman's profit, but which are certainly not the product of the United States; add to that the enormous mass of goods imported for the benefit of certain manufacturers to enable them to make up goods in Canada for our own consumption, and I think that you will agree with me that there are very few articles in the whole list which do not come within one or the other of those categories. I think you will agree with me that the United States do not make very much profit out of the free importation of goods we obtain from them. They may have the monopoly on some of these articles, but I do not think there is any man in Canada who would propose to tax coin and bullion which we import from them—that is a form of American invasion which will be most acceptable to our merchants—or who would propose to tax the settlers' goods coming in free.

And let me observe to you that there is every reason to believe that the total profits on the great trade between the United States and ourselves is very small indeed under our present system, and I believe, for my own part, and I am not speaking without warrant, but in concurrence with the opinion of American economists. I believe that that \$5,267,000 of goods coming into Canada, the property of American settlers seeking homes here, and which, as I have said, is to all intents and purposes a free gift from the United States to Canada, that five and a quarter millions would in all probability represent much more than the total profits which the Americans make out of their whole trade with us.

THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

Now, this same balance of trade is always an intricate and a little difficult question. I have never myself denied that an excess of imports is not always a sign of national prosperity, because I know well it may arise from various different causes, such as over-much borrowing on the part of the importing nation; and whether that is good or bad depends upon how the money which so borrowed is expended. It may mean, as excess of imports in the case of England do to a great extent mean, that other nations are compelled to pay tribute to the importing nation; or it may mean that we are doing a pro-

fitable trade, and that our profits on our exports enable us to increase our imports. But I will call your attention for certain good reasons to the fact that I, have just alluded to, that the United States at this moment are practically making us a present of \$5,250,000 in the shape of imports of settlers' goods; I call attention to the fact that these five and a quarter millions are a mere fraction of the wealth which these Americans who are now flocking into Canada are bringing here. I have been at some pains to ascertain by conversation with experienced officers of the Department of Immigration what the real value of the American immigrant was to us, and with one accord these gentlemen assured me that they never in all their lives saw so rich or valuable a class of immigrants coming into any country as those now coming into Canada from the United States. They assure me that in a very great number of cases, almost in all cases, these men over and above the item of settlers' effects, which come in free, have sold lands in the United States and have large sums of money in their pockets and are coming to Canada to invest that money in the purchase of Canadian lands or in the purchase of Canadian goods, and in various modes of expenditure throughout the northwest.

CANADA'S BEST IMPORTS.

In brief, although I do not pledge my word to this, they allege that the total amount entered free as settlers' goods would hardly represent one-fifth, and in many cases would not represent one-tenth of the wealth of these immigrants who are coming here. I say nothing of the still more important item in the account between us if you want to consider how the balance of trade trims between Canada and the United States. I would have you remember this simple fact, that according to the best American economists the value of every able-bodied immigrant who comes into the United States, whether male or female, is put down by them as something like \$1,000 of added value to the United States. Sir, I am not going to put these American immigrants, or those who come from any other part of Canada, on a par with those who come from different parts of Europe. I say their value is incalculably greater, and in estimating the value of this immigration you must remember that these men come to you, not empty-handed, but possessing large resources, and this further fact, that they themselves are a most valuable asset in estimating the increased wealth of the country, inasmuch as they become in a very short space of time large consumers as well as large producers.

AN EXCELLENT INVESTMENT.

I do not hesitate to say that ten thousand immigrants of this class will, almost within year and day, produce an increase of wealth in our country of something like \$10,000,000 a year. Sir, I find that in four years from the United States alone we have imported into Canada, practically as a free gift to ourselves, a matter of \$17,000,000 worth of settlers' effects. Sir, I find also that in that time we have expended on the Immigration Department a matter of \$2,500,000 all told. I do not think, ladies and gentlemen, that any of you will say that was a very bad investment. I think that if you are able to spend your \$2,500,000 or \$3,000,000 and to obtain in return, as we have obtained in four years, without counting the amount brought in from other countries, a return of \$17,000,000 in the shape of settlers' effects alone and a manifold greater return in the shape of capital which these settlers are bringing into the country, we must admit that that money was well spent.

You are getting value for your money—ten fold, it may be one hundred fold value for your money on that expenditure. Sir, I noticed a little while ago that one or two parties were disposed to take a little exception to the statement I made that we had progressed in one year in this regard as much as our predecessors had in ten years. Looking at the facts before me I am prepared to retract that statement. I trust that I will never be ashamed to apologize when I am mistaken, and I apologize to Mr. Sifton and to the able officers in his department for saying that they had done as much in one year as our predecessors had in ten.

A THIRTY-TO-ONE SHOT.

On looking at the homestead entries I find that the total entries were 1,384 and in 1896, but I find 31,383 entered in 1903. (Applause.) So instead of doing as much work in one year as their predecessors had in ten years, Mr. Sifton and his coadjutors have at that rate done as much in one year as they did in thirty years. (Renewed applause.)

Now, I can only deal in a general way with the question of expenditure. I do not object to reasonable criticism under this head. Seven years ago I would have condemned myself, and very strongly, any Government which expended sums of money equal to the sums which we are now expending, and for right good reasons, because the whole volume of the trade was stagnant, be-

cause the population had only increased one-half of one per cent. in any year and the best of our people were flowing from our country, while as to our emigrants it was plain to see that any immigrants we imported sometimes at considerable cost only came and looked and went away again. I would have condemned any such increase as is now taking place under such conditions, and if I justify this increase it is as I will show you only because those conditions are wholly and radically changed.

WHY EXPENDITURES INCREASE.

It seems the only thing some of our opponents think it necessary to say is simply this, "You said eight or nine years ago, that such a sum was too much. Now you are spending many millions more." Let us strike a comparison. Let us understand, if we are going to make any comparisons, what expenditures we are to compare and what estimates. We will take the actual expenditures of 1896 or the estimates prepared by Mr. Foster in 1897, and be accurate to judge. In that connection I have three questions to ask of you, and to ask of all business men. The first is, How much of the increase is nominal—how much comes out of one pocket and goes into the other without adding one cent to the burdens of the people? How much has the population increased between 1896 and 1903? And, lastly, how much of this increase of expenditure is due to the increased cost of material and wages? I think I am in a position to show that of the total increase between 1896 and 1903 fifty per cent. is purely nominal, a mere matter of bookkeeping, taking the money out of one pocket and putting it into another. I think I can show you that the population has increased 25 per cent., and material and labor 25 per cent. This statement of itself would be sufficient answer but besides I believe I am able to show that most of our expenditure was of a productive character. Now let me call your attention to a few little inconsistencies on the part of our friends the enemy. I am not going to enter into any lengthy disquisition on the policy of Sir John Macdonald. I merely wish to call the attention of Conservatives who regard him as a model statesman and a genius in finance to the fact that in the six years from 1867 to 1873 Sir John Macdonald added about eighty per cent. to the annual expenditure of Canada. He added about forty per cent. to the national debt of Canada, and in so doing was, according to the Conservatives, an able, wise and far-seeing statesman.

THE RECORD APPEALED TO.

Even if I were to admit that we had increased the national debt and our expenditure as much as our opponents allege that we have increased it, how would the case stand? Under Sir Wilfrid Laurier in six years the gross increase has amounted not to eighty per cent., but to something like thirty-five per cent., of which seventeen and one-half per cent. is purely nominal, and the increase of the public debt, instead of being \$33,000,000, amounts to only \$71,000. Let me briefly enumerate the causes of this increase. In 1896 our expenditure amounted to \$37,000,000, and in 1903 on consolidated fund account to \$51,692,000, a difference of something more than \$14,000,000. A very large increase you say. How was it brought about? Three and a half million was due to the increased expenditure on the railroads of Canada, but it was balanced by increased receipts to a slightly greater extent. In 1896 our total receipts from railways, canals and minor public works were \$3,549,000, and in 1903 the total receipts amounted to \$7,150,000. So that while we had increased our expenditure on the one hand by a matter of \$3,500,000, we had gained \$3,500,000 in increased receipts. The postoffice, again, had added a matter of about \$450,000 to our annual expenditure as between 1896 and 1903. But, on the other hand, sir, while the receipts of the Postoffice in 1896 amounted to \$2,964,000, the receipts in the Postoffice in 1903 amounted to \$4,397,000. While Sir William Mulock had added \$450,000 to the expenditure of the Postoffice Department, Sir William was bringing in an increase of \$1,433,000 to the revenue. (Prolonged applause.) He was doing more. He was giving you your postal service for about two-thirds of what it cost you before. (Applause.) The letters that cost three cents before, now cost two delivered in Canada. The letters that cost five cents delivered in various parts of the British Empire now, likewise cost two. Sir, I do not think that the allegation of a very formidable increase of expenditure will lie in the case of the postoffice.

THE YUKON'S COST.

In the case of the Yukon territory we were obliged to expend about a million and a half, and we received every penny of it back. No portion of that expenditure could in any form or shape or way be said to be a burden on the older Provinces of Canada. I may add that in sinking fund we expended \$900,000 more; and we received about \$550,000 more. I may point out to you that in the case of the customs we spent, \$900,000, or thereabouts, in 1896. We

spent \$1,229,000 in 1903, and in the interval at an additional charge for customs of \$300,000 or thereabouts, our receipts from customs had increased from \$19,833,000 to \$37,001,000. (Applause.) Our predecessors required a matter of \$900,000 to collect \$19,800,000. Mr. Paterson has taken for the collection of the additional \$18,000,000 a matter of \$300,000. No very great sign of extravagance there. Now, if you will be good enough to add these items together and to bear in mind that there are besides quite a number of small additional charges in which we spent some \$600,000 and get back perhaps \$700,000 you will see that in these various ways and methods which I have just

Briefly the debit and credit account for these seven millions will stand somewhat thus :

Debit to additional expenditure since 1896.	
1. Railways	\$3,500,000
2. Yukon	1,500,000
3. Sinking Fund	550,000
4. P. O.	450,000
5. Customs.....	300,000
6. Maintenance, say	700,000
	<hr/>
	\$7,000,000
Credit by additional receipts since 1896 :	
1. Railways	\$3,500,000
2. Yukon	1,500,000
3. Sinking fund	550,000
4. P. O.	1,433,000
5. Miscellaneous.....	700,000
	<hr/>
Receipts, say	\$7,683,000

enumerated one-half of the whole of the total additional expenditure is accounted for, and accounted for without involving any additional charge upon the public.

Sir, I come to the second point that I alluded to. That is to say, the difference in population. Now, according to the best evidence in our possession at this present moment, the population of Canada has increased so rapidly within the last three years that there are probably at this moment something like six millions of people in Canada. And it is interesting to observe that of this number close upon one million, as nearly as we can now estimate, lie to the

west of Lake Superior, a number of people rather more than the total population of the Maritime Provinces put together. There is every reason to believe that before the end of 1904, if no very grave check occurs to interrupt our progress, they will increase to 1,200,000. There is reason to believe that by 1905 they will have increased to 1,400,000, not far short of the present total population of the Province of Quebec.

ONE-FOURTH MORE PEOPLE.

Sir, if you will compare 4,800,000, which appears to have been the population in 1896, in the light of investigations and researches that I have alluded to, you will find that there has been an increase of population of 1,200,000 in the seven or eight years which have elapsed since the Liberal Government took charge of the affairs of Canada. (Applause.) In other words, that the total of population of Canada is about 25 per cent. greater than it was a matter of eight years ago. As I have said, I cannot enter into the minute details which go to prove the exact accuracy of these facts. That I propose to do on some future occasion. But, assuming for the moment that I am correct, I think you will all be willing to admit that where you increase any population 25 per cent. you may very fairly make some moderate addition to the annual charge of government without in any way increasing the cost to the public at large. And, similarly, I think every fair-minded man will admit that when there has been an enormous increase in the cost of labor and materials it is assuredly not fair to expect to carry on public works or obtain the services of parties in the various employments in which we are obliged to use them without making a certain perceptible increase in the public expenditure.

PRODUCTIVE EXPENDITURES.

Now, sir, further, though these three things alone would amply account for the increase which has taken place in the expenditure, I desire to point out to you that a great deal of the expenditure has been of a highly productive character. I showed you what had occurred in the case of immigration. A large increase, \$500,000, has taken place, similarly, in the Department of Agriculture. A very considerable increase likewise amply repaid to our people in increased exports and better prices, and in the improvement, which, I am happy to say, has taken place in most branches of agriculture

TOTAL TRADE OF
For the Fiscal

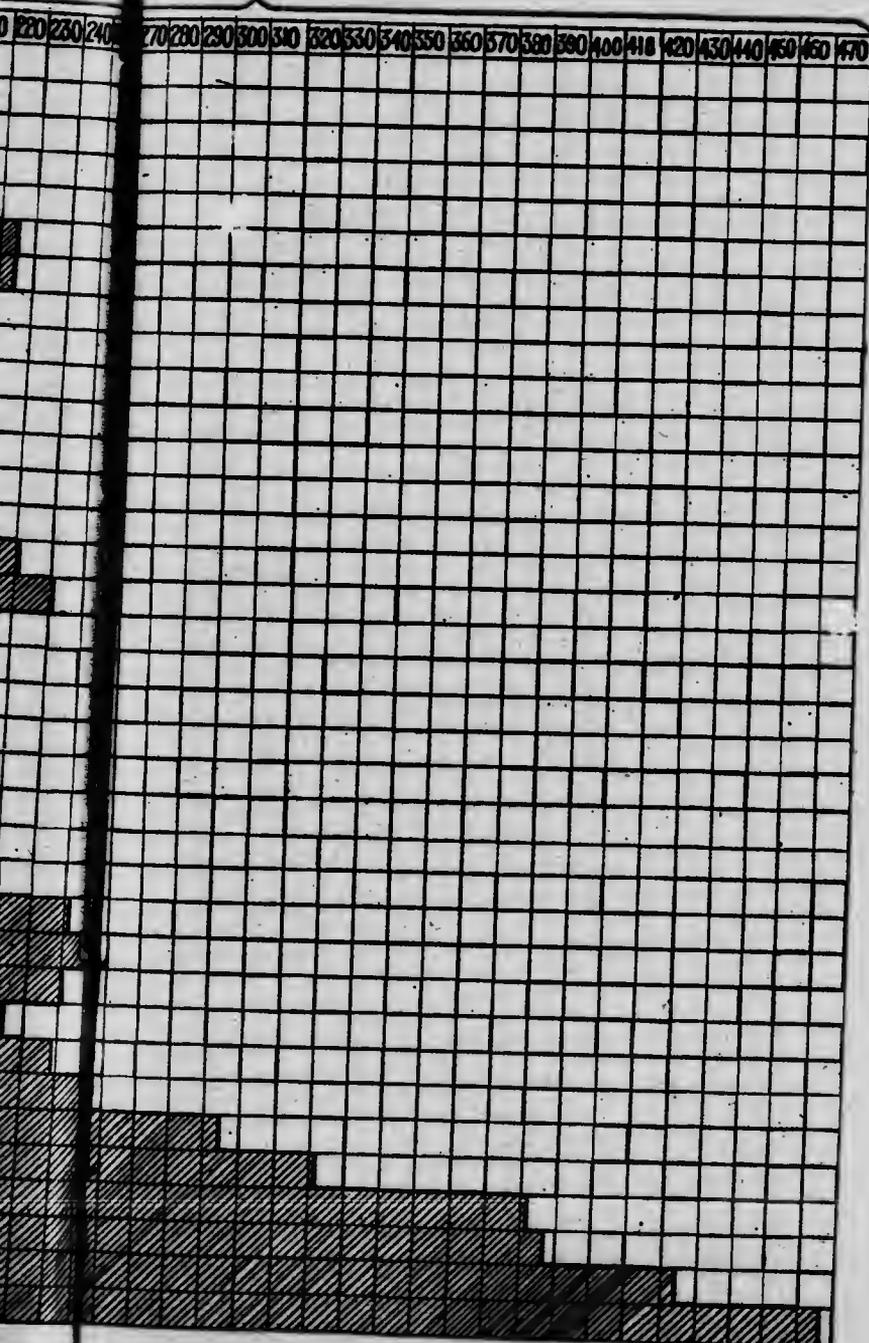
	YEAR	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240
\$181,027,582	1868											
130,889,946	1869											
148,387,829	1870											
170,266,589	1871											
194,070,190	1872											
217,801,203	1873											
217,565,510	1874											
200,957,262	1875											
174,176,781	1876											
175,203,355	1877											
172,405,454	1878											
153,455,682	1879											
174,401,205	1880											
203,621,668	1881											
221,556,703	1882											
230,339,826	1883											
207,803,539	1884											
198,179,847	1885											
189,675,875	1886											
202,408,047	1887											
201,097,630	1888											
204,414,098	1889											
218,607,890	1890											
218,384,934	1891											
241,369,443	1892											
247,638,620	1893											
240,999,869	1894											
224,420,485	1895											
239,025,360	1896											
257,168,862	1897											
304,475,736	1898											
321,661,218	1899											
381,517,236	1900											
386,903,157	1901											
423,910,444	1902											
467,061,494	1903											

OF THE
Fiscal Year
Millions

DOMINION OF CANADA

From June 30th, 1868 to 1903.

of Dollars.



from one end of the Dominion to the other. I may point out to you that we have rightly expended a very much larger sum than we formerly did in the construction of lighthouses, improvement of navigation, opening up of new routes for the development of our exports and manufacturing industries. I may point out to you that we are expending to-day a very much larger sum, and rightly, in the administration of the Northwest. You cannot put five or six hundred thousand additional people into the Territories west of Manitoba and expect to provide for their various wants for the same sum that you could if there were 200,000 there.

I may point out to you, further, that in almost all of the minor matters there has been a very considerable increase in the receipts in proportion to the increased expenditure. We have taken some new subjects under our jurisdiction, or at least we have entered them in our accounts, which formerly did not appear there. Take, for instance, the inspection of staples. This added \$66,000 to our expenditure and \$102,000 to our revenue. No very great loss to the public exchequer there. And so it goes on. We are expending, I believe, with the general approval of both sides of the House and of the country at large, very nearly a million additional on our militia system. I might take the largest item of all, the one to which most exception may, perhaps, be taken. That is the expenditure on public works, which amounted in 1903 to a matter of \$4,000,000. Well, of course, I accept the responsibility, as the Government must accept the responsibility, for this very large increase; but, in common justice to Mr. Tarte, under whose administration this increase took place, I am bound to point out to you that a very considerable amount of expenditure was necessarily incurred in providing for the wants of the Northwest and for purposes which might very fairly have been charged to capital expenditure rather than to income. And that expenditure was increased, lastly, by reason of the fact that Mr. Tarte had, I think rightly enough, decided on obtaining a very much more extensive and effective plant than had ever been applied to the public works before, particularly in the matter of dredging and such works of general utility. But, ladies and gentlemen, after all is said and done, the best way to measure all this is to see how the burthens of the people come out when measured by population.

THE BEST YAPD-STICK.

Now, if I am correct in the statement that in 1896 we had a population of about 4,800,000, and that we have to-day a population of 6,000,000, it is worth your while to consider how the burthen of the national debt, for instance, is

affected by that increase of population, and that will give you a tolerable measure to judge how far the general public are able to bear the burthens now inflicted upon them, as compared with those inflicted in 1896. Sir, I find in 1896, taking the population as I have given, that each family were responsible for \$271 of the national debt. I find to-day, taking our population as 6,000,000—and I have reason to believe it is rather under than over the mark—that they will be responsible for \$218, as against \$271. (Applause.) So, even if our calculations miscarry, even if we were obliged to add fifty or sixty millions to the national debt within the next few years—which I do not think at all likely—still, we would be no worse off than we were in 1896.

While if you prefer to see how our expenditures compare on a per capita basis and if you choose to deduct the seven millions, which, as I have pointed out to you, is purely nominal, and if you choose them to divide the national expenditure of 1896 by 4,800,000, and of 1893 by 6,000,000, you will find that we are administering the affairs of Canada for a matter of some 40 cents a head less than those gentlemen were administering them in 1896—putting entirely out of sight the fact that our expenditure, as I have said, is to a very large extent productive, and theirs most assuredly was not.

One thing at any rate is certain. The burden of taxation cannot be very heavily felt when we find that our opponents in all these seven years have never once, so far as I can recollect, proposed to reduce or abolish one single, solitary tax, nay more, at this very moment they are attacking us because we will put on more and much heavier taxes than you are at present called upon to bear.

A VANISHED OPPORTUNITY.

I have but one word more to add on this question, and that is this: You have seen the general results that were obtained during the last seven years—I am not going to repeat them—but I will say this: that I believe that all these results which have been obtained in the last seven years, magnificent as I think I may justly call them, might have been obtained, might largely have been obtained, in the seven years between 1878 and 1885 if reasonable common sense and reasonable honesty had directed the government of your affairs. (Applause.) Sir, during that period of seven years I rarely omitted for a year to pay a visit to Manitoba and the Northwest, and I was witness myself of the vast volume of immigration of the best kind which was

pouring and which was ready to pour from Ontario and other Provinces into Manitoba, and which would have been supplemented by a vast immigration from other countries if only they had been permitted to do so.

THE TIME WAS RIPE.

The time was ripe, and had the electors of '78—I am making this statement with knowledge—had they been wise and true to their trust and had they not discarded in the person of Alexander Mackenzie, one of the most faithful and upright public men that Canada ever knew—(cheers)—long ago, nearly twenty years ago, we might have attained substantially the same results that we have attained to-day. Sir, the people of Canada, I say it with all due deference, made a terrible mistake; the people of Canada paid a heavy penalty for their mistake; the people of Canada threw away twenty years; the people lost, according to the showing of our own Conservative friends, about two millions of people by that operation. According to the Conservative records in the returns of the Department of Immigration of that day, 886,000 immigrants are said to have come into Canada in the decade between 1881 and 1891, and, as the returns of the United States show only too clearly, very nearly one million of our people, and the best of our people, had made their way across the border in the interval from '78 to '96. Sir, to-day, I say it with regret, if Canada has six millions where Canada ought to have eight or ten millions you know the reason why, and if any of you doubt the accuracy of this statement I advise them to compare the statistics of the growth of Dakota or Minnesota or of the great grain-growing States of the Union in earlier days, and then estimate, if they can what a population we threw away.

A WORD OF CAUTION.

Now, sir, so much for the past; but you may ask me what have I to say for the future of Canada? How long may we maintain the pace we have been setting? Ordinarily and under ordinary conditions I would say you cannot maintain it. I would say if there is one thing more certain than another it is that periods of very great expansion and of rapid prosperity are apt to be followed by periods of stagnation, and sometimes by periods of retrogression.

That is the natural course of events, and it need cause no very great surprise if that were to occur with us. Sir, I would go further. I would say there is need of caution, as it is, I would say that those who conduct great enterprises should be cautious how they expand too much at the present time; that they should strengthen their reserves and pay their debts, rather than expand faster than the natural increase of the country warrants. I observe with some interest that a gentleman who is certainly not of my own persuasion in politics, a gentleman who most of you have heard of as rather a prominent member of the Conservative party, speaking very recently in Montreal, took occasion to express much the same views. What he said was this: "If I were disposed to attempt a forecast, which I have no intention of doing, it would undoubtedly be necessary to give great weight to the factors already alluded to—the prosperity of our commerce, the wealth pouring into the Territories only recently a barren waste, the full employment of labor of all kinds at high wages, and the greatest industrial activity caused by the establishment of many branches of manufacture—but I should also be compelled to enforce the counsels of prudence and economy." These are the views of Senator Drummond, a member of the Conservative party in the upper House and Vice-President of the Bank of Montreal.

But if it can be shown that there is a chance to maintain the present rate of prosperity, that there is a chance of causing the next seven years, perhaps the next fourteen years, to equal, it may be to surpass, even the brilliant record which I have shown you to-night, if it is possible for us to greatly enlarge the productive area of Canada if it is possible for us greatly to increase the population, if it is possible for us to greatly increase the volume of trade, then I think we may pass successfully through the time which is ahead of us, and although there may be temporary checks, there will be no permanent interference with the great prosperity which, if things go fairly well with us, we anticipate for Canada.

THE NEW TRANSCONTINENTAL.

Sir, it is with that object, and for that reason, that the Government at the last session laid before you what is known as their railway platform, the project for the construction of a great transcontinental railway from Quebec or Moncton to the Pacific coast. I desire to point out to you what the ends and the aims of the Government are in this matter. We desire, and we have

the right to desire, to open up new territory; we desire to add to our population; we desire to add to our wealth, and exploit our yet undeveloped resources, both mineral and agricultural, but over and above all these reasons, important and valuable as they undoubtedly are, there are grave political causes at work which have induced the Government to propose this policy for your adoption. Sir, it is known to everybody who has bestowed the slightest attention to the subject that between the great centres of Canada, between the east and the west, there extends at present a great gap which must be bridged if Canada is to become a united and homogeneous whole. (Cheers.) The very success which has so far attended our efforts to colonize the west has in it elements of danger. You who choose to examine the map of North America will see for yourselves that that continent is very peculiarly situated in one respect. From New York to Winnipeg, and from Winnipeg to Edmonton, and probably further, there extends almost continuously a fertile belt many hundred miles in width.

TO BRIDGE THE GAP.

Naturally the north half belongs to us and the southern half belongs to the United States; it is equally natural that those who occupy the northern half would seek to trade with those occupying the southern half of this belt. The facilities of communication are probably easier that way than any other. On the west of that belt is what is known as the great American Sahara, and on the east there extends the uninhabited region which lies between Winnipeg and Quebec. Now, sir, our policy is, if we can bridge that gap to plant settlements of Canadians in the fertile land which I am happy to say the surveys of the Ontario Government have revealed to exist over a very considerable area of this territory. Our policy is to unite, and to unite for the benefit of older Canada, the eastern and western sections of the Dominion more closely together. If we succeed in the scheme which we now lay before the country, the total cost of which, as it has often been pointed out on the floor of Parliament, will barely exceed the cost of providing interest on a portion of that road for a matter of some seven years, think of what it will mean. Supposing that it is carried on on those lines; supposing that we succeed in adding one hundred thousand settlers, much more, two hundred thousand, and their families, to the population of that country, think of what that will mean to Canada.

A SECOND ONTARIO.

That would equal the addition of a second Ontario to the Dominion of Canada, and we know what that would mean. These men, as I have pointed out, soon become large producers and large consumers, and in dealing with settlement in that prairie country it should be remembered that a very short time indeed is required to enable capital and experience to produce very large yields of grain and other products. That affects the whole people of Canada. Is that a thing worth while taking some risk for? Is it worth your while to add one million people to the population of Canada, \$200,000,000 to the income, and \$400,000,000 to the general volume of trade, and to bind together the scattered sections, which now divide our country, into a homogeneous whole? Is it worth while to secure for Canada, and particularly for eastern Canada, the business of a country which is as large as France, Germany and Austria all together—probably as large as all Europe, with the exception of Russia; as large and more fertile, in any event, than any of the countries I have referred to? I have put out of sight the possibilities, which are great, of being able to improve and develop the section of the country from Quebec to Winnipeg, and I deal only with what we know; and I say that, if we succeed, there is abundant room and reason to believe that we should be able to place in the Northwest a population equal to that which I have stated. (Applause.)

SOME SHUDDERERS.

Sir, we will admit that there is some risk. Who are the gentlemen who shudder at the risks which we are undertaking? I am not going to deal with the wild estimates of some who ought to know better as to the possible cost of our undertaking; but, for argument's sake, suppose the cost exceeds the estimates that we have made. Suppose the cost is two, three or four times more than Sir Wilfrid Laurier named in his speech. Sir, I want you and our friends of the Opposition to compare our project with the project for the construction of the C.P.R., launched in 1871. Thirty-two years have passed since that time and there are very few people now living who remember what that project was and the reasons which led many of the ablest men in Canada to oppose undertaking it at that time and under the conditions proposed. What did the Government then propose? What were their revenues?

What was the population of Canada and what was their knowledge of the country they intended to traverse? I believe that except myself there is but one other man in the House of Commons, and not one from Ontario and Quebec, who was in Parliament when those things were discussed. Who opposed the scheme, and why? Sandfield Macdonald, Sir Alexander Galt, Mr. Blake, Mr. Dorion, Mr. W. McDougall, Mr. Holton, Hon. Alexander Mackenzie—(applause)—and others. They amply justified their position.*

IGNORANT OF THE DETAILS.

It was not possible in the ten years called for by the treaty to have built the road. To my certain knowledge it consumed almost ten years before the engineers even found a pass through the mountains of British Columbia. What did those men know at the time of the country? I well remember the debates which took place when the C.P.R. was launched, and I will take it upon myself to say that I believe there was not one man in the Government which brought down that measure who when examined on oath could have said whether one or three chains of mountains had to be surmounted in British Columbia. I do not think a single man among them had set a foot in the northwest except Sir Charles Tupper, who visited Louis Riel under peculiar circumstances—(laughter)—and spent half an hour with him in securing a practical knowledge of the geography of the Northwest. (Renewed laughter.)

A CONTRAST OF COST.

Suppose it did cost us two, three or four times as much as we expect and have reason to believe it will. What would the charge amount to? It would amount to one-sixtieth part of our present gross income. What would it have amounted to in Sir John Macdonald's time? No one dreams that it

*It is not generally known that so grave was the opposition to this measure in 1871, and so dissatisfied were very many of the supporters of the Government with the explanations they received that the decisive vote committing the country to the immediate construction of the road was carried by a bare majority of 10 (75 to 85) in a House in which as a rule a Government could command a majority of 50. It was an open secret at the time that several members of the Cabinet strongly disapproved of the terms of the bargain, and it was notorious and admitted even by their own strongest partisans that, had the vote been taken by ballot, the measure would have been defeated by a large majority.

could have been built within the time stipulated for \$100,000,000. But supposing that it had, what would the annual charge on that \$100,000,000 have amounted to at the then rate of interest, which was not less than five per cent. It would have been \$5,000,000, which amounted to one-quarter part of Canada's gross income at that time, and you had besides to purchase the Indian rights, which amounted to about \$1,000,000 a year, and other annual charges for Mounted Police and so forth, which would have amounted close to another million. Sir, I find that if you take the charges for interest and sinking funds and subsidies to Provinces and collections of revenues in 1871 and 1872, Sir John Macdonald had barely eight and a half millions a year of annual income.* And he proposed to undertake obligation involving the country in a charge of \$7,000,000 a year, without making provisions by taxation or otherwise for meeting a cent of that amount. Our present net income is about \$36,000,000 per year. Suppose we had to expend \$400,000, \$800,000 or \$1,200,000 in meeting the annual charge on our capital expenditure, it would only amount to one-thirtieth part of our present income, and if we succeed in maintaining the present increase of immigration I venture to say that one year of such successful immigration would be worth to the people of Canada the whole cost we would be called upon to expend within the next five, six or seven years in the construction of this great work. Sir, what have we to draw upon? As I have shown you, the tide for once has turned in our favor, and whereas we used to see our people flying by the tens of thousands to the United States, we can see tens of thousands of the best men in the United States, the best settlers in the United States, crossing our boundary and casting in their lot with ourselves. (Applause.) Practically, sir, we have 80,000,000 in the United States alone to draw upon, and half of Europe behind it, if this were not enough. And we know that in the United States the great bulk of their lands are already nearly occupied, and that there is very little chance, indeed, for any considerable immigration of the kind and quality that we desire to bring to Canada finding its way to the United States.

*It is a noteworthy and a most suggestive fact that if we include the annual payments to Indians among the fixed charges to which in truth they properly belong, the NET INCOME OF CANADA HARDLY INCREASED AT ALL IN THE 25 YEARS FROM 1871 TO 1896. Sir John Macdonald, as above stated, had a net income of a little over \$4,500,000. Mr. Foster, in 1896, if charges for Indians were included in the fixed charges, would have had a net income of somewhat more than \$6,000,000. The present net income in 1896, making a similar deduction, would be over \$24,000,000.

CANADA GETS THE BEST.

True, the United States immigration of late has been large, but no men know better than the United States that it is composed of what, without any breach of charity, I may call the inferior races of Europe, that the immigration of Scandinavia, that the immigration of England, of Scotland, and of the northern portions of Europe has ceased almost entirely to find its way to the United States. If it comes at all it comes to us in vastly greater proportion than it comes to the United States. (Applause.) Sir, I say this because, whether that policy is a wise policy or not, we have put our hand to the plough, and I feel perfectly certain that no true lover of his country will be in the least inclined to think that we ought to draw back. And if there are any here or elsewhere that think I am exaggerating our possibilities, I ask them again to look at the United States and they will see there, not once or twice, but a dozen times over an equal growth has taken place in the border States of the Union in an even shorter space of time.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, there is another subject on which I would like to say a few words to you, if I do not exhaust your patience. I have talked so far to you of our domestic politics, and our domestic politics alone. I have intimated to you that there are great and important questions in the air, and that the example of Canada may chance to be a determining factor as to the way in which these questions will be decided. I speak here with some hesitation. I know well enough that what I am going to say may be misunderstood by some parties whose opinions I value. I am perfectly certain that what I am going to say will very likely be misconstrued by others for other reasons. These are risks which statesmen who desire to do their duty by their country must sometimes take, and I have never yet hesitated to express my opinion when I thought that the welfare of my country demanded that I should express it. (Applause.) I say, sir, that there are great things in the air. I say that there are great problems to be solved. I say that these will greatly effect the future of Canada, and I say that it is probable that whether we will or no we must take more or less part in disposing of them.

TO SOLIDIFY THE EMPIRE.

The question of the present moment, which is probably more urgent than any other agitating the British Empire, is the question whether it is possible to solidify the empire. Now, sir, my memory goes back for forty years, and I remember very well that the time was when British statesmen thought it was not possible to solidify the Empire. I remember very well when British statesmen, and British statesmen of the very highest rank and place, were disposed to throw their colonies overboard, and more especially to throw their North American colonies. There has been a wondrous change in the spirit of their dream since then. (Applause.) Now, I have here in my hand that somewhat remarkable manifesto issued by Mr. Balfour but a few weeks ago. It is a thoughtful and scholarly production, as might be expected coming from such a source, but I would venture to say, with all due deference, that Mr. Balfour is more theoretical than practical in his treatment of the subject. Mr. Balfour speaks of the American fiscal system as one who has studied it from books. Mr. Balfour is rather like the closet naturalist—he never met the beast in its native jungle. (Laughter and applause.)

NO DWARF PIERPONT MORGANS.

Had he done so he would have known, I think, that the United States fiscal system is a corrupt and demoralizing system, that it is politically and commercially unsound, that it affects the distribution of wealth—a most important point—most injuriously. (Hear, hear.) Now, sir, Canada, so far, as yet has maintained itself as a free country; I venture to say a freer country than the United States. (Applause.) A country where life and liberty are better guarded and justice better administered. (Applause.) And I say, for my part, that, as far as I can judge, Canada wants no dwarf Pierpont Morgans, or miniature Rockefellers among her people. Canada does not want Standard Oil Companies or Steel Trusts. (Applause.) Canada does not desire to see her commerce at the hands of two or three irresponsible autocrats who can make footballs of the fortunes of millions of their fellow-countrymen. Mr. Chamberlain, who is a practical man, knows this better than Mr. Balfour, and I observe in one of Mr. Chamberlain's recent speeches he defines the United States tariff as "a tariff of abominations." Mr. Chamberlain, how-

ever, is not over-clear always as to what he means. I am not quite sure that Mr. Chamberlain has thought out all his propositions. I am very certain that his Canadian advocates have not. (Applause.) Possibly United States protectionists have done so, because self-interest is a wonderful sharpener of the eyesight, and I think they know whereto Mr. Chamberlain's propositions may come in the end. Now, I will tell you what I think should be done—you can judge for yourselves whether it is desirable that it should be done.

WITH A GRAIN OF SALT.

First of all I must clear the air of some misunderstanding. I do not say that Mr. Chamberlain contradicts himself, but I am bound to say that in dealing with Mr. Chamberlain's proposals I have to put in certain caveats. If Mr. Chamberlain means to state that the principles on which free trade stands are false, I must dissent. If Mr. Chamberlain states that not only are those facts to be considered, but there are other important facts, which must go to govern statesmen in dealing with these complicated questions, that is quite another thing. Briefly, if he designs protection I have nothing to say for him. If he means reciprocity I have a great deal to say in his favor. If Mr. Chamberlain declares that the United States owe their present prosperity to protection I deny it emphatically. If he says the United States has prospered in spite of it, I agree with him completely.

CANNOT AVERT DEPRESSION.

If Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, says Canada prospers because of protection, I take the liberty of contradicting him flatly, and so do the facts. If he says protection can avert periods of depression, I say he knows nothing of the history of this continent, at least of its commercial history. If he says that no fiscal system will avert depression, I agree with him entirely. If he says it would be a great gain if nations would exchange on fair terms I agree entirely with him. If he states it is worth while to make temporary sacrifices to bring about such a state of affairs, I agree with him again. It is not improbable that Lord Goschen, it is not improbable that Lord Salisbury, it is not improbable that even the Duke of Devonshire and Lord

Rosebery, and not improbable that research will show that Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill and Mr. Conden would be found of the same opinion.

IT DEPENDS.

Sir, if Mr. Chamberlain declares that protection hurts countries that do business with protectionist countries, he says what is true. If he says that he can tax all food products from all countries without adding to the prices paid by the consumer, I say Mr. Chamberlain is clearly wrong. But if he says he can tax the food products coming from one particular country without increasing the cost to the consumer, it depends. It may be so or it may not be so. Now, sir, the real truth of the matter is this: As I said, it is a rather complicated question. The economists are right, in my judgement, in saying that, under normal conditions, certain results must follow. The statesmen are right in saying that these results may be violently disturbed by abnormal causes, and it may be part of their duty to consider them. Economists are right in saying commercial wars are harmful, and statesmen may be right in saying that such wars may be forced upon a country. If I read Mr. Chamberlain aright, I think Mr. Chamberlain means more than his critics have given him credit for. I think he knows that there are certain great political possibilities, to which I will invite your attention.

GIVING PLEDGES TO FORTUNE.

Sir, I think Mr. Chamberlain sees that the selfish policy of the United States has resulted in a very extraordinary condition of things, and has put a very great power into the hands of the people of Great Britain if they choose to use it. The trade relations now existing between Great Britain and the United States are worthy of the most serious consideration. I have here a list of the exports of the United States to various countries, and I invite your attention to them. The United States in 1903 exported \$1,420,000,000 worth of goods, chiefly food products.

They sent to Great Britain and Canada, and the other dependencies, \$747,000,000; to all the rest of the world outside the British Empire they sent \$672,000,000—their trade with Great Britain and her colonies amounted to \$75,000,000 more than with all the rest of the world. As you know, their

products are imported free into Great Britain. As you know, the trade from Great Britain to the United States has been cut down by prohibitory legislation to such a point that only some £20,000,000, or about one-sixth or one-seventh part of the amount Great Britain imports free, has been exported to the United States, and that £20,000,000 is subjected to the most ferocious taxation. Now, sir, there are three courses, to my mind, open to the people of Great Britain. They may use, if they choose, the power which they possess to enforce reciprocity on the people of the United States, for themselves alone; they may use it to greatly stimulate the food production of Canada, of Australasia, of India, and of the Argentine Republic and other places; or, lastly, they may use it to pave the way to something closely approaching a zollverein, using the word zollverein for want of a better, though it does not exactly express my meaning, between all the English-speaking nations, and subsequently to something like a practical alliance between all English-speaking nations.

CONTROL THE NEW WORLD.

You want to consider what it means to us. The United States is an English-speaking nation. Sir, were such an alliance an actual fact, it would mean that the allies would control the entire new world. Of North America they have now almost inclusive possession. South America they have under protection, and I hope they will use it well. Of Africa they have the half, all of Australasia, and probably four-fifths of Asia would be open to them. Their fleets would control every sea and every island and the two main arteries of world's commerce are in their hands. Virtually this means the control of two and a half continents, three and a half if you count Australasia as one. I think that is enough for any modest and well-disposed community. (Laughter.) This may be accomplished if only the English race choose to stand together. It may come to this, that we will all live to see the two great world-empires, one Russian and the other English-speaking, one Saxon and the other Slav, and without in the slightest degree doing injustice to other countries. Here is a little sum in arithmetic which I would advise you, and all English-speaking people, to ponder over:—80,000,000 plus 55,000,000 make 135,000,000, and that is a dominating factor in the world's history. Eighty million minus 55,000,000 is equivalent to 25,000,000, and that is a negligible

quantity. Here will be an open door for the United States to extend commerce, here will be the true defence of England's food supply, and much else beside. I grant that until recent events this might fairly have been considered a pious imagination, but very important things have happened within the last few years which have had their lessons for us and for Great Britain and the United States.

CLEVELAND'S BRAGGART HUMOR.

Sir, I will take first that famous incident known as the Venezuelan despatch, when Mr. Cleveland in somewhat braggart humor took it upon himself to threaten dire things to the people of Great Britain if they did not immediately comply with the demands of the United States. I remember shortly after that despatch was written meeting a very influential member of the New York Exchange, who, while condemning that despatch in very strong terms, took occasion to say that he believed that out of it very great good had come, because, as he said, the result of that despatch was to show, as nothing else had shown, to a great and influential class of the American people how extremely closely were interwoven the interests of Great Britain and the United States, and how inevitably anything which threatened the interests of the one would effect the interests of the other. (Cheers.) He pointed out, and it is worth your while to remember, that three days after the publication of Mr. Cleveland's despatch the securities then listed on the New York Stock Exchange alone had shrunk by \$1,000,000,000. Tens of thousands of American citizens had been most grievously injured and brought to the very verge of bankruptcy by that unfortunate missive, and had the difficulty continued for three days longer their number might have been multiplied by ten, and one-half of the United States commercial world might have found themselves in bankruptcy. And, as he truly said, nothing had ever occurred which had so thoroughly convinced a very large number of the most influential men of the United States that their interests were as closely bound to the interests of Great Britain as it was possible for the interests of any two communities to be bound together. That is one incident.

The next incident which is within our own time was the conduct of England in the Spanish-American war. That incident showed the people of the

United States where their true friends lay. They know right well, and many of their leading public men have admitted to me, that had England not acted as she had done, there was great danger of that war being prolonged, and not only prolonged, but of intervention by many European States, who looked with jealous eye on American policy, and they expressed to me a desire, if opportunity was given them, to repay in kind the great service we had thus rendered them.

GREAT TEMPTATION RESISTED.

The third incident was the conduct of the United States, and the course that Government took during the recent Boer war. I desire to express here publicly in the most emphatic manner my deep sense of the highly honorable conduct of the Congress and Government of the United States, as a whole, towards the people of Great Britain and the British Empire on that occasion. Sir, the temptation was great, there is not the slightest doubt about it, all of us who know anything about American politics know right well that there are very considerable sections of the community in the United States who were ready to acclaim the action of the United States had it interfered on behalf of the Boers, either directly or by extending to them moral sympathy and encouragement. Had the United States Government done so there is no doubt they would have greatly embarrassed the English Government, and possibly prolonged the war. It is only doing common justice to the Americans to say they repaid us honorably and well for the friendly assistance and countenance which had been extended to them on the part of our Government during the Spanish-American War. Sir, some may say that it is strange that under these circumstances I should talk of promoting good feeling with the United States by levying taxes on their food imports. Sir, it is a paradox, but it is not so strange a paradox when you come to consider the real position of affairs in the United States. First of all you want to establish permanent friendly relations with the United States you must show them that their interests are really and absolutely identified with those of the British people.

TAX THE UNITED STATES FARMER.

I will venture to say that there is one thing we can do which would teach the United States how intimately their interests depend on the maintenance of good relations with their best customers, and that is the imposition of such a tax. One thing is very certain. You will not produce any material effect on United States politics by taxing the manufacturers. If you want to hit the United States you must hit the United States farmer by putting a tax on the food he exports to Great Britain. Do that, and the advocates of protection and excessive tariffs would have no status. They have spent close upon two generations in telling the farmer that the producer pays the duty. Tax all the food products of all countries, and there is no doubt that the prices would go up; tax them from one country alone, and the producer cannot escape being burdened. The question is whether the producer has any other market to go to. In the case of the United States farmer there is no other market. France and Germany are closed to him by high tariffs, and Russia is practically closed also.

WOULD GIVE BRITAIN CONTROL.

Remember, this is one of the cases in which the prices received for foreign exports regulate the prices at home, and if once the United States farmer finds he loses ten per cent. of his gross profits by taxes on food products sold to England, and loses thirty per cent. of the net profits he expected to make, and is also taxed exceedingly heavily on the goods purchased in exchange, there is little doubt that the people of Great Britain would get reciprocity with the people of the United States. I do not pretend to say that the experiment will not be attended with risks. It must be done cautiously, moderately and discreetly, though most assuredly in the light of their own example, the United States can have no fault to find with England if this is done. My own opinion is that they will respect her all the more if she does it. Canada can help. Such a policy would be a practical adoption of our own British preference, and the preferential policy generally.

NO HOSTILITY AGAINST UNITED STATES.

Now, I want to warn you with all the influence I can command against cherishing foolish feelings of hostility to the United States. My policy is neither to cringe nor to snarl. (Applause.) I am no blind admirer of the United States or the institutions thereof. I admit that the people of the United States have many good qualities, as well as some bad ones, and I know too well that they do occasionally descend to commit pieces of sharp practice quite unworthy of a great nation. (Applause.) But I would say to Canadian jingoes—I hope there are not many of them here to-night, I do not think there are—that the greatest foe to Canada and to the English-speaking race is the man who would stir up evil feeling between the British Empire and the United States. (Applause.) This is one of those cases in which each party has much to give and much to gain, and, I may add, very much to lose by playing at cross purposes.

A FRIENDLY ALLIANCE.

I may be pardoned for saying a word for my own position. I have held this doctrine long; I have at all times advocated the formation of a friendly alliance by any possible means between Great Britain, Canada and the United States. With that view I advocated reciprocity with the United States. Largely with that view I have advocated the British preference. It is for that reason I would welcome an English Zollverein as a step in that direction, and if Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain desire to bring about the realization of such a project, then I would heartily bid them God-speed. (Applause.)

GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

If they mean to utilize this great weapon which American selfishness has put into their hands Canada will profit by it. I do not want, for my part, that we should gain at England's cost. We can prosper without that, and prosper abundantly, as we have shown the people of the United States we are able to prosper without them. (Loud applause.) But with all that I

recognize very clearly the political and commercial importance of an alliance of the British people with the United States. Sir, thirty years ago the people of the United States mustered 30,000,000. To-day they have grown to 80,000,000. I do not suppose that this rate of increase will be quite as rapid in the future. In the next thirty years, however, some now here may see that great nation of 80,000,000 grow to 120,000,000. If there be any public man in Canada who says that Canada or the British people can afford to despise the good will of such a people I cannot find Parliamentary language in which to express my opinion of such a person. If there is any man of business who says trade with such a nation is of no object, he is only serving some selfish ends in attempting to undervalue the immense importance of such a market to us if it can be secured on fair and reasonable conditions.

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE.

I have to ask the people of Canada one further question. Who are more likely to accomplish these ends, who are best fitted to deal with these questions and these problems? Are they the men who in seven years have placed Canada where she is, who have in seven years made Canada famous, whose names are known wherever the English tongue is spoken? Or is it mediocrates hardly ever mentioned outside their own parish—(laughter)—the gentlemen who recently kept us for seven months of Parliament, chattering from snowfall to snowfall, and in those seven months did not give utterance to one single phrase which was worthy to live a single day, or propose any project which was worth considering for an hour? (Laughter.) Sir, I put it in two words: Shall it be Laurier, or shall it be Borden? Will you have the great Canadian or the little one? Sir, it is a good rule, every man to his own place. I like the rule. Mr. Borden's friends have demonstrated and contended continually that Mr. Borden has many excellent qualities for a leader of the Opposition. Let him stay there. Let Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who has likewise demonstrated in the eyes of good judges his ability, let him continue to guide the destinies of Canada. (Applause.)

FREEDOM FROM GERRYMANDER.

Now, one word to my own brethern of the Province of Ontario. Till now, for many a long year you have been fettered and bedeviled. No honest representation has been possible for the people of Ontario for two and twenty years. The fetters are struck from your hands now. You are free. You are able to send an honest representation to Parliament. There, in my poor judgment, Ontario ought to lead the van. In my poor judgment your numbers, yours wealth, everything that has occurred, go to show that you ought not to be wanting to yourselves or wanting to your country at this crisis. In my judgment, it would be greatly to your advantage as a Province, greatly to the gain of good government in Canada, as well as to the advantage of the Liberal party, if you saw fit to support the Liberal Administration. I repeat, sir, five and twenty years ago the majority of the electors made a very grievous mistake. You, and all Canada with you, suffered grievously since then. Now, at long last, there is a way to redeem the error that was done. Do you choose to go back to the party who in twenty years brought Canada to an absolute standstill, under whose administration the growth of population in Canada was less than half of one per cent. per annum—in whose time at least a million of the very flower of our people sought homes in the United States?

CONFIDENT OF VICTORY.

Even if the Province of Ontario does not choose to support this Administration, there is not much doubt to those who scan the political horizon that this Administration will be sustained. (Applause.) But Ontario may, undoubtedly, very greatly diminish the weight which the Province of Ontario ought to have in the councils of the Dominion. It is even possible you might see some things done which would not have been done if Ontario had chosen to do its duty. Now, I speak thus because I know the danger which arises from your giving way to certain prejudices to which I will not allude now. I know how these were played upon before in the case of Mr. Tarte and others. I hope for better things now.

Sir, to Liberals I have this to say: I do not want you to whine. I want you to understand, I want you to believe, and I think that I know you appreciate that Liberal leaders and the Liberal party in the old time did what they thought was right and what was right. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I think could our opponents have shown such a record as I have had the honor to submit to you to-night, or anything remotely approaching it, the welkin would have rung from one end of Canada to the other with praise and applause for the Administration that brought about such results, and in this regard, though in this only, you may take a lesson from the example of your adversaries. (Applause.)

SEVEN MORE PROSPEROUS YEARS.

Now, I ask you not to credit the assertions of our enemies, I ask you to be loyal and true in the future as in the past to your own party. And in that event, with the blessing of Providence, I believe that even if there be some temporary checks, some unexpected hindrances, nay, even some unavoidable disasters, the record of the next seven years will equal and perhaps very considerably surpass the record which I have displayed before you to-night. I trust that before that time expires you will see your prosperity assured, your position recognized, the perils of the future cleared away from your path. Sir, I may not be there to see. My political career, of necessity, is drawing very near to an end. I am too badly crippled to carry the fiery cross from one end of Ontario to the other any longer. That task must fall to younger men, but I hope and trust that the good work which has begun will not be stopped midway. I hope that what you have seen is only a foretaste of what you are likely to see if you are true to Canada and Canada is true to itself.

DUTY TO SUPPORT LAURIER.

One thing more I have to say, and that is all. I am speaking to intelligent men, whether Conservative or Liberal. Now, sir, I have to say that I believe that all the statements that I have made are correct. Most of them, with very few exceptions, can be verified to the letter from the public records,

and I ask you, as Liberals, to examine them and consider them carefully, and if you find on examination and on consideration, that what I have said is substantially correct and true, then I say to you that your duty is clear. And I have no doubt that you will do your duty by supporting the Administration with Sir Wilfrid Laurier at its head. (Loud and continued applause.)

