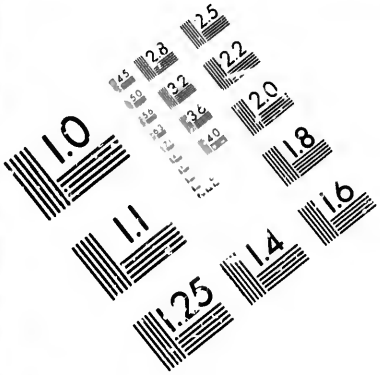

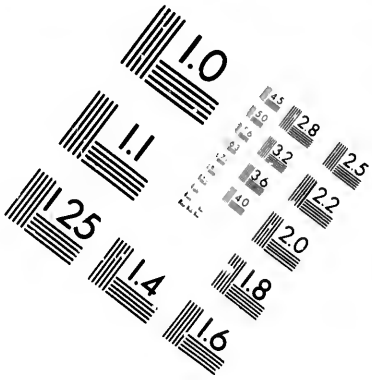

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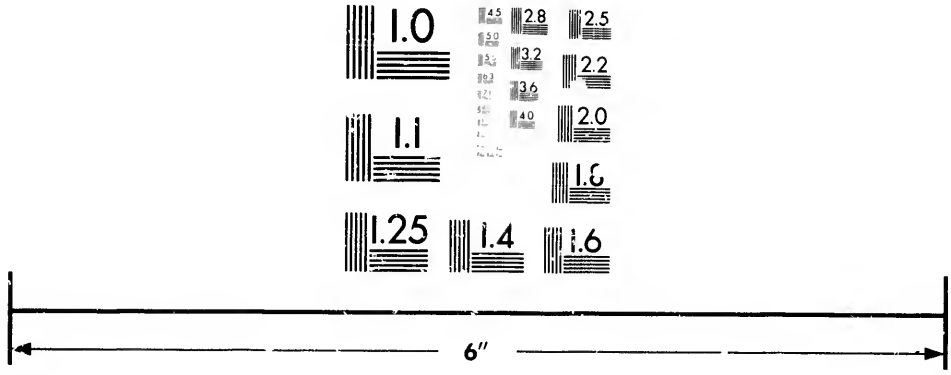

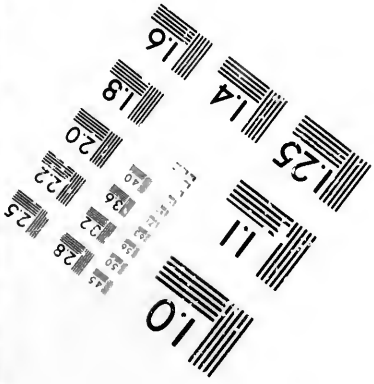

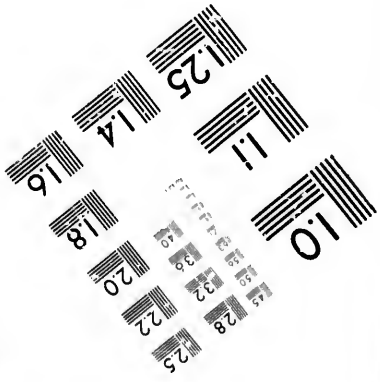

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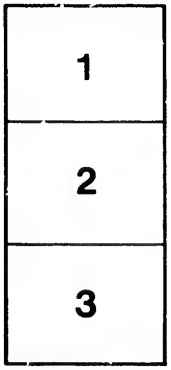

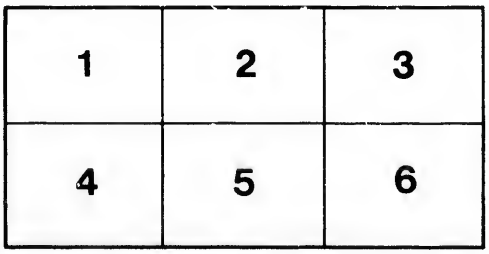

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"A NATIONAL SENTIMENT!"

Speech

OF

HON. EDWARD BLAKE, M.P.,

AT

AURORA;

WITH THE COMMENTS OF SOME OF THE CANADIAN PRESS THEREON.

"I am well convinced that there do exist in the ample memories, the Northern energy, and the quick apprehensiveness of our young men, resources all unwrought, of inestimable value to society. I would beseech of that most important class, therefore, to use their time; to exercise their powers of mind as well as body; to acquire the mental drill and discipline, which will enable them to bear the arms of a civilized State in times of peace, with honor and advantage. If they will pardon me the liberty I take, I venture to address them an apostrophe of a poet of another country, slightly altered to suit the case of Canada:

'Oh brave young men, our hope, our pride, our promise,
On you our hearts are set,—
In manliness, in kindliness, in justice,
To make *Canada* a nation yet!'"

—THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE—*Mental Outfit of the New Dominion*, 4th Nov., 1867.

"That we are a nation with an individuality and a type of our own, is now seen on both sides of the Atlantic."—Toronto *Globe*, 12th Oct., 1874.

OTTAWA:
E. A. PERRY, ELGIN SRTEET.

1874.

FACTS

— IN THE —

LIFE OF HON. EDWARD BLAKE,

TAKEN PRINCIPALLY FROM

MORGAN'S "CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARY COMPANION FOR 1874."

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The Hon. Edward Blake is the eldest son of the late Hon. William Hume Blake, a distinguished Canadian jurist, who represented East York in the Canadian Assembly from 1847 to 1849 (during a portion of which time he held the Solicitor Generalship for Upper Canada in the Lafontaine-Baldwin Government), and retired from political life on his appointment as Chancellor of Upper Canada in October 1349, by Catherine Hume, grand-daughter of William Hume of Humewood, Esq., M. P. for Wicklow in the British House of Commons. Mr. Blake was born in the Township of Adelaide, in the County of Middlesex, Upper Canada, in October, 1833. He is therefore now in his forty-first year, and it is safe to say that few Canadian statesmen (we can recall only Sir John A. Macdonald at the present moment), have risen at so early an age to so prominent a position in the public affairs of the country. Mr. Blake is one of many of our present leading and rising public men who can claim the University of Toronto as their *alma mater*, Messrs. Moss, Crooks, Blain, Hodgins, Bethune, J. L. McDougall, Meredith, Wells, Casey, Deroche and others being also graduates of that celebrated seat of learning. While there he was silver medallist in classics, and he graduated as M. A. in 1858. In 1856 he was called to the Bar of his native Province, and became almost at once one of the most distinguished practitioners in Equity. In 1864 he was created a Queen's Counsel by Sir John A. Macdonald, then Attorney General for Upper Canada, and ere long was elected a Bencher of the Law Society, of which for a short time he was one of the Examiners in, and Lecturer on, Equity Law. He was also appointed a member of the Senate of Toronto University. Mr. Blake did not enter political life until 1867, the year of the Confederation of the B. N. A. Provinces, when at the general election that immediately followed he was elected as the Reform candidate for West Durham in the House of Commons, and for South Bruce in the Local Assembly. At the local general election of 1871 he was returned for both these seats, and at the general election for the Commons in 1872 this great honour was repeated, thus forming a tribute by the people to this remarkable man that is without parallel in the political history of Canada. On both occasions Mr. Blake elected to represent South Bruce. With the other facts in Mr. Blake's career we are all familiar. We know that in the Ontario Legislature his course as leader of Her Majesty's Opposition, was one succession of brilliant triumphs: the Ministry of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald being finally driven from office, and Mr. Blake, only four years after entering political life, being raised to the proud position of Prime Minister of the Premier Province of the Dominion. We know that he remained at the head of the Ontario Government, without salary, until October, 1872, when owing to the operation of the Act against dual representation, he and his colleague, the present Prime Minister of the Dominion, retired altogether from local politics. We know that by means of his wonderful eloquence he contributed perhaps more than any other member of the Reform party towards securing the condemnation and overthrow of Sir John Macdonald's Government at Ottawa; and we know that when the new Minstry was being formed he was pressed by members on both sides of the House to accept a seat in Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet, and did so, again without salary, remaining in the Government, however, but a few months. Since his retirement he has not been heard in public as frequently as before, though during the late Session at Ottawa, he was there in his seat and from time to time gave the Government all the assistance in his power as a private member. His speech at Aurora, given elsewhere, sounding what many have been pleased to term a "new departure" in the discussion of political topics in Canada, is his one great deliverance since the debate on the vote of confidence motion in the Macdonald Government, and it has naturally, considering all things, caused a profound sensation throughout the country. This latter fact in itself is a sufficient justification for the present publication. Mr. Blake is married to the daughter of the late Right Reverend J. Cronyn, Lord Bishop of Huron.

HON. EDWARD BLAKE, M.P.,

AT AURORA.

On the 3rd October, 1874, the Reformers of the North Riding of York celebrated the victory won at the polls in the previous January,* by giving a political pic-nic at the village of Aurora. The weather, says the *Globe* report, was fine, without any intermission. At an early hour teams began to make their appearance, and continued coming in the whole morning, the farthest limits of the Riding being well represented, as well as the more central portions. The early train brought the Hon. Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, Hon. Edward Blake, M.P., Hon. Archibald McKellar, Commissioner of Agriculture of Ontario, and Mr. H. H. Cook, M.P., for North Simcoe. They were received at the station by Mr. Fleury, Reeve of Aurora, Mr. Nelson Gorham, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Dymond, M.P., and other gentlemen. At one o'clock a very large crowd had gathered at the corners of Yonge and Wellington streets in front of the Queen's Hotel, a large contribution to the numbers being made by the Reformers of Lloydtown and Schomberg, who came in procession, headed by the Schomberg band, in a waggon drawn by six horses. At 1:30 the Aurora Fire Brigade band appeared, and headed a procession on foot to the new drill shed, recently erected on the corporation land at the head of Mosely street, and nearly contiguous to the railway station. Every needful preparation had been made by the local committee for the comfort of the audience and speakers. The latter occupied a carpetted platform, which, decorated with evergreens, and interspersed with flags, ornamented every part of the building, and having on it a large sounding board. On the right of the platform were seats specially reserved for ladies, of whom over two hundred were present. The whole of the shed was provided with sitting accommodation, consisting of loose planks kindly lent for the occasion from the planing mills of Messrs. Phillips. On the platform were Hon. E. Blake, Hon. Oliver Mowat, Hon. A. McKellar, Mr. Dymond, M.P., Mr. Cook, M.P., Mr. Irving, M.P., Mr. Paxton, M.P.P., Messrs. Lambert R. Bolton, Nelson Gorham, J.P., Joshua Wilson, J. Aylward, &c., &c. There were also present amongst others—Messrs. J. P. Wells, formerly member for the Riding; W. Cane, Warden of York; J. D. Phillips, Reeve of King; Erastus Jackson, Reeve of Newmarket; J. Fleury, Reeve of Aurora; Silas Landy, Reeve of Whitechurch; E. P. Irwin, Chairman of the Central Reform Committee; Wilson Reid and H. Mosier, deputy Reeves of East Gwillimbury; H. D. Lundy, Aurora *Banner*, H. S. Broughton, Bradford *News*; Dr. Montgomery; James Parnham; C. Doan; Willard Bennett, deputy Reeve of North Gwillimbury; George Hughes, J.P.; B. Pearson, P.J.; James Parnham, J.P.; W. McMaster; Dr. Widdifield; J. W. Marsden; G. Flint, J.P.; W. Terry, J.P.; Henry Treloar, J.P.; J. Woods; J. S. Wilkin; Dr. Scott; Seth Ashton; James Bagg; W. Ireland; Robert Norman; Robert Irwin; John Black; J. Ferguson; Joseph Baldwin; Joel Phillips; J. Pitch; Alexander Thompson; J. Bell; Oslin Chappell; A. Davis; E. Pease; John Willson; Robert Cook; H. Johnson; Jacob Lundy; Amos J. Hughes, &c., &c., &c. The total number present was estimated at over two thousand persons.

Mr. Nelson Gorham was unanimously elected Chairman, and after speeches

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*At the General Election, when Mr. Mackenzie appealed to the country.

had been delivered by Messrs. Dymond and Mowat, Mr. BLAKE came forward and was received with hearty and prolonged applause. He said:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You will allow me to add my congratulations to those of the previous speakers upon the happy circumstances under which you are to-day assembled, and to express my own feeling of rejoicing that the first occasion upon which I have been permitted to address the electors of this historic riding, should be that of the celebration of an event not unimportant in your own annals or in those of Canada at large—the victory which has brought back to the standard around which it had rallied for so many years the united Liberal party of this riding. I recollect the political history of this constituency for a good many years. Up to the year 1871, when we made our calculations as to the probable results of a general election there was never any doubt or hesitation as to what might be the verdict of North York, but from 1871 to the late election all this was changed, and I am very glad indeed that a riding which had in the past played the part North York has played, should have by a very decisive majority restored its fair name and fame, and brought itself once more into good standing amongst the Liberal constituencies of Canada. (Cheers.) My friend, Mr. Mowat, who has spoken, has given you a very interesting account of the finances, and a terse but clear statement of the general course of legislation of the Province since the accession to office of the Liberal party. I do not propose to touch upon those topics at all. I desire simply to say that, having been for the last two years an observer, though not so close an observer as before, of the course, administrative and legislative, of the Provincial Government—without pretending to be able to form an accurate judgment as to all the petty details in respect of which my friends have been accused, being obliged in fact to confess to you frankly that I have never had the time to enter into the calculations necessary to come to a conclusion whether or not they paid too much for the fence around the Parliament Buildings—(laughter and applause)—yet, speaking of larger matters, which are fit to occupy the attention of an intelligent people, the general course of administration and legislation has been such as to commend itself to my poor judgment, and in my belief to entitle that Government to the confidence, the respect, the affection, and the continued support of the people of this Province. (Cheers.) With reference to the questions which are likely to come before the country at no distant time, some of those, as my friend Mr. Dymond remarked to you, are in such a position that they may not, to the public advantage, be at this instant discussed. There is, for example, a question which is of extreme importance to the people of this country. I refer to the negotiation for a Reciprocity Treaty now pending. (Hear, hear.) Without, in the slightest degree, presuming to set up my judgment against that of those who have thought it to the public advantage to discuss the draft Treaty at this time, I confess I never have been able to agree in that view, and for this reason—You are aware that the question, whether this draft shall be agreed to or rejected, is to be discussed and disposed of by the Senate of the United States next December, and it seems to me that every argument that may be used just now in Canada in favour of that Treaty, by those who do favour it, is an argument calculated more or less to damage the chances of its approval by the Senate, who will, I fancy, look at it from the exactly opposite point of view. On the other hand, with reference to those Canadians whose opinion is against the Treaty, all the arguments they use, all the meetings they convene, all the resolutions they pass, seem to me to be so many invitations to the Senate of the United States to pass the Treaty and take that step at any rate towards the consummation which they are deprecating all the time. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it appears to me inexpedient for either side to discuss it now, but I quite agree that it is a question which will at the proper time demand at the hands of the representatives of the people the fullest consideration and the most exhaustive discussions. I think the general principles upon which our judgment is to be formed are not far to seek. We shall have to consider, in case we be given the opportunity of passing judgment upon the question, whether the document is one which will, as a whole, without doing gross injustice to any

important interest, tend to the general advantage of this country. We are to take, not indeed an undistinguishing, but at the same time a broad, view of that question, and we are to decide it freely for ourselves. I entirely demurred to the line of action taken outside and in Parliament with reference to the Treaty of Washington. I insisted that Parliament ought to be perfectly free, since the question was remitted to it, to determine whether the acceptance or the rejection of its terms was in the interest of the country. What I said then I now repeat, and I am sure it will be found when Parliament does meet, should this question be brought before us, that the large majority which sustains the Government will be disposed to deal with it upon that basis only. I regret under these circumstances that at a recent assemblage of the Liberal-Conservative party, so called, of this Province, a party platform was enunciated, a party line taken with reference to this Treaty, and it surprised me not a little to see that while their Press earnestly denounced the supposition that it was to be made a party measure on the Ministerial side, they should have been first, in solemn convention assembled, to take a party line on the other. Those who have preceded me have referred at some length to the actions of the past. I desire to say something of the present and the future, illustrated, it may be, by the reference to the past; and I turn to another question of very great practical importance—the present position of the Pacific Railway matter. You will have observed that when the Government of which I was then a member undertook to deal with that question, their policy was enunciated in distinct terms to the electors before the late appeal, and that policy was most unequivocally approved, first at the polls and subsequently in Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I see that a deputation has been sent to England; that the people of British Columbia—no, not the people of British Columbia, for I do not believe they as a body sympathize with these extreme views—that the Government of British Columbia has sent a deputation to England urging that some measure should be taken to force the Government and people of this country to do more than has been proposed with reference to that railway. We last session took the unpleasant step of very largely increasing the rate of your taxation in order to provide funds towards the fulfilment, so far as practicable, of this and other obligations imposed on you by the late Government. Every man among us is now paying one-sixth more taxes than before in order to this end. Parliament has agreed that the work shall be done just as fast as it can be done without further burdening the people of this country, and I believe that the step just taken is a very long step on the part of the people of this country in redemption of the pledge given to British Columbia. At the period when terms were proposed to British Columbia which her rulers did not see fit to accept, I had ceased to be a member of the Canadian Government. Those terms in my opinion went to the extreme verge, and demonstrated the existence of an earnest desire to do everything which could be—with any show of reason—demanded, and I should very much regret if any attempt were made to entangle the country further, or arrange for the commencement and prosecution of the work more rapidly than is involved by the term so offered, and the large provision which we made by the increase of taxation last session. We are called upon to commence the work immediately. I do not know that I can point out to you more strikingly the rashness—the insanity of the bargain thrust upon you by your late rulers, than by telling you that the abandoned line of the Fraser—abandoned early because it was thought by the engineers to be so expensive and difficult as to be impracticable—has been returned to, as affording the prospect of a better line than those upon the exploration of which such large sums have been expended. And this is the state of things long after the railway should, under the bargain, have been begun. We are asked to begin at once, though we cannot yet find a route, and while a mistake in the choice may involve an extra expenditure not only of many millions in the first cost, but of annual millions more in the running of the road. (Hear, hear.) Until these surveys are thoroughly completed, and until we have found the least impracticable route through that inhospitable country, that "sea of mountains," it is folly to talk of

commencing the work of construction. Speaking conjecturedly, I am of the opinion that the British Columbia section of the railway, even if it turns out to be practicable as an engineering work, will involve an enormous expenditure, approximating to $36,000,000, and after its completion will involve an enormous annual charge on the revenues of the country for its running expenses; and I doubt much if that section can be kept open after it is built. I think the chief advantage the British Columbians will derive from the enterprise will consist in the circulation of money, and the profits of mercantile operations attendant on the construction, and that Canada will be a frightful loser by the affair. Now, even under these circumstances the fact that the population of British Columbia is only some 10,000 altogether, representing, perhaps, not so many householders as the audience I now see before me, ought not to disentitle them to say—"You shall fulfil your bargain, or release us from our bonds." It is their right to take such a course, if they think fit, but I deny that this is any reason why we should plunge this country into ruin by the attempt. I have some reason to believe that these people are sufficiently sensible and reasonable to recognize and act on the truth of the matter, unless, indeed, they are sustained by agitators in this country, who are willing for the sake of creating an embarrassment to the Government, to excite false and delusive hopes among them. The temper of Parliament you may judge from the fact that during last session an amendment was moved by one of the British Columbia members insisting upon an early prosecution of the work in that Province, but he was sustained by five members only—two or three from his own Province, and a couple of those who my friend Mr. Mowat delights to call Ontario Tories. (Laughter.) If under all the circumstances the Columbians were to say—"You must go on and finish this railway according to the terms or take the alternative of releasing us from the Confederation," I would—take the alternative! (Cheers.) I believe that is the view of the people of this country, and it may as well be plainly stated, because such a plain statement is the very thing which will prevent the British Columbians from making such extravagant demands. If these 2,000 men understand that the people of Canada are prepared, in preference to the compliance with their ruinous demands to let them go, and to leave them to build the Columbia section with their 10,000 people, their tone will be more moderate, and we shall hear no talk about secession. The principal person who has spoken of it hitherto is Sir John A. Macdonald, who almost invited it in his election speech during the late contest. They won't secede, they know better. Should they leave the Confederation, the Confederation would survive, and they would lose their money. (Laughter.) With regard to those sections of the railway which involve the communication between our interior seaboard and the great Northwest, the utmost diligence is being used to put them under contract. I go heart and soul for the construction of these lines as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit, in conjunction with an extensive scheme of immigration and colonization. The work of construction in itself will afford very great facilities for the rapid colonization of those territories: the annual cash expenditure in labour will produce attractions enabling us to a considerable extent to people the land. The interests of Canada at large point very prominently to a speedy settlement of that country. In my own humble belief the future of Canada as a distinct State, the representative of British power on this continent, largely depends upon our success in colonizing that region, and what is equally important and perhaps more difficult, on our success in retaining its sympathies, its trade, its commerce afterwards. Fertile as is the soil, great as are the resources, glorious as are the prospects with reference to production, it is certain that the distance from the great markets of the world of the inland portions of that country will form one great difficulty to be overcome. You have read of the war which is going on between the farmers and the railways in the Western States, the attempt which is being made to cut down freights by legislation. But I do not find that those railways are very rich. The fact is the war is a war against distance; it is a war against time and space; and that is the war the farmers of the North-west will have to encounter. We ought to

help as far as possible the successful prosecution of that war, and to that end we we must do what was so much ridiculed during the late campaign—we must improve the water communication of the North-west; you can carry by water for one-fifth the cost by rail, and you may be able to carry at a profit if you can get water communication when it would not pay you to grow wheat to be shipped by rail. (Hear, hear.) This is the more important because new sources of supply are opening now in England, and it is likely that the price of breadstuffs will rather fall than rise. I look on the success of our enterprises in the settlement of the North-west as practically dependent on the improvement of the water ways. Of course, there must be railways at once to connect the sheets of water, and eventually a through line; but I am confident that a bushel of wheat will never go to England over an all-rail route from the Saskatchewan to the seaboard, because it would never pay to send it. We must take it in the speediest and cheapest way to the head of Lake Superior, where our splendid St. Lawrence route commences: and we must use every effort to avert the threatened danger of a diversion to the States of the trade relations of that country. Let me turn to another question which has been adverted to on several occastons, as one looming in the not very distant future. I refer to the relations of Canada to the Empire. Upon this topic I took, three or four years ago, an opportunity of speaking, and ventured to suggest that an effort should be made to reorganize the Empire upon a Federal basis. I repeat what I then said, that the time may be at hand when the people of Canada shall be called upon to discuss the question. Matters cannot drift much longer as they have drifted hitherto. The Treaty of Washington produced a very profound impression throughout this country. It produced a feeling that at no distant period the people of Canada would desire that they should have some greater share of control than they now have in the management of foreign affairs; that our Government should not present the anomaly which it now presents—a Government the freest, perhaps the most democratic in the world with reference to local and domestic matters, in which you rule yourselves as fully as any people in the world, while in your foreign affairs, your relations with other countries, whether peaceful or warlike, commercial or financial, or otherwise, you may have no more voice than the people of Japan. This, however, is a state of things of which you have no right to complain, because so long as you do not choose to undertake the responsibilities and burdens which attach to some share of control in these affairs, you cannot fully claim the rights and privileges of free-born Britons in such matters. But how long is this talk in the newspapers and elsewhere, this talk which I find in very high places, of the desirability, aye, of the necessity of fostering a national spirit among the people of Canada, to be mere talk? It is impossible to foster a national spirit unless you have national interests to attend to, or among people who do not choose to undertake the responsibilities and to devote themselves to the duties to which national attributes belong. We have been invited by Mr. Gladstone and other English statesmen—notably by Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, very shortly before his Govern-Government fell, to come forward. Mr. Gladstone, speaking as Prime Minister of England, expressed the hope he cherished, that the Colonies would some day come forward, and express their readiness and desire to accept their full share in the privileges and responsibilities of Britons. It is for us to determine—not now, not this year, not perhaps during this Parliamentary term, but yet, at no distant day—what our line shall be. For my part I believe that while it was not unnatural, not unreasonable, pending that process of development which has been going on in our new and sparsely settled country, that we should have been quite willing—we so few in numbers, so busied in our local concerns, so engaged in subduing the earth and settling up the country—to leave the cares and privileges to which I have referred in the hands of the parent State; the time will come when that national spirit which has been spoken of will be truly felt among us, when we shall realize that we are four millions of Britons who are not free, when we shall be ready to take up that freedom, and to ask what the late Prime Minister of England assured us we should

not be denied—our share of national rights. To-morrow, by the policy of England, in which you have no voice or control, this country might be plunged into the horrors of a war. It is but the other day, that without your knowledge or consent, the navigation of the St. Lawrence was ceded forever to the United States. That is a state of things of which you may have no right to complain, as long as you can choose to say, "We prefer to avoid the cares, the expenses and charges, and we are unequal in point of ability to discharge the duties which appertain to us as free-born Britons," but while you say this, you may not yet assume the lofty air, or speak in the high pitched tones, which belong to a people wholly free. The future of Canada, I believe, depends very largely upon the cultivation of a national spirit. We are engaged in a very difficult task—the task of welding together seven Provinces which have been accustomed to regard themselves as isolated from each other, which are full of pretty jealousies, their Provincial questions, their local interests. How are we to accomplish our work? How are we to effect a real union between these Provinces? Can we do it by giving a sop now to one, now to another, after the manner of the late Government? By giving British Columbia the extravagent terms which have been referred to; by giving New Brunswick $150,000 a year for an export duty which cannot be made out as worth more than $65,000 a year? Do you hope to create or to preserve harmony and good feeling upon such a false and sordid and mercenary basis as that? Not so! That day I hope is done for ever, and we must find some other and truer ground for Union than that by which the late Government sought to buy love and purchase peace. We must find some common ground on which to unite, some common aspiration to be shared, and I think it can be found alone in the cultivation of that national spirit to which I have referred. (Cheers). I observe that those who say a word on this subject are generally struck at by the cry that they are practically advocating annexation. I believe that the feeling in the neighbouring Republic has materially changed on this subject, and that the notions which were widely spread there some years ago, and the desire to possess, as one Republic, under one Government, the whole of this continent, from north to south, have died away. A better and a wiser spirit, I believe, now prevails—largely due, perhaps, to the struggles which are unhappily occurring in that country. The attempt to reorganize the South has been going on for some years, and owing, I think, to a very great error in judgment as to the way in which it should be effected, it has been largely a failure. There is great difficulty, and there are frequent disorders in the South. Then there are the conflicts of interest between the Eastern and Western States, very great conflicts and heartburnings. Then there are the alarming difficulties and complications arising from the inordinate political power which has been grasped by great corporations. And I think that the best and wisest minds in the United States have settled down to the conviction that the management of the United States with its present territory is just as difficult a task as their best men can accomplish, and that it would not be wise to add to their existing complications and difficulties by any such unwidely accession or unmanageable increase as this great domain, the larger half of the whole continent, would be. I think that among those circles in the United States which are to be looked to as influencing the future, there is a great modification of view on this point, and there would be, even were we disposed, as I hope we shall never be disposed, to offer to join them, a great reluctance to take us. But I believe we have a future of our own here. My opinion coincides with those to which I have been referring in the United States. I believe that that country is even larger than it ought to be in order to be well governed, and that an extension of its territory would be very unfortunate in the interests of civilisation. "Cribbed, cabined, and confined" as we ourselves are to the South by the unfortunate acts of English diplomatists in the past, giving up to the United States territory which, if we had it today, would make our future absolutely assured, but still retaining as we do the great North-west, I believe we can show that there is room and verge enough in North America for the maintenance of two distinct governments, and that there is nothing

to be said in favour, but on the contrary everything to be said against, the notion of annexation. These are the material reasons, independent altogether of the very strong and justly adverse feeling arising from our affection for and our association with England, and the well settled conviction which I believe exists among the people of this country that a Constitutional Monarchy is preferable to a Republican Government. The Monarchical Government of England is a truer application of real Republican principles than that of the United States, and I have no hesitation in saying that the Government of Canada is far in advance, in the application of real Republican principles, of the Government of either England or the United States. (Cheers.) But, with the very great advantages which we enjoy over that portion of our fellow-subjects living in England, by reason of our having come into a new country, having settled it for ourselves, and adapted our institutions to modern notions, by reason of our not being cumbered by the constitution of a legislative chamber on the hereditary principle, by reason of our not being cumbered with an aristocracy, or with the unfortunate principle of primogeniture and the aggregation of the land in very few hands, by reason of our not being cumbered with the difficulties which must always exist where a community is composed of classes differing from one another in worldly circumstances so widely as the classes in England differ, where you can go into one street of the City of London and find the extreme of wealth, and a mile or two away the very extreme of poverty; living, as we do, in a country where these difficulties do not exist, where we early freed ourselves from the incubus of a State Church, where we early provided for the educational needs of our people, under these happy circumstances, with these great privileges, there are corresponding responsibilities. Much remains to be done even here before we can say that the ideal of true popular Government has been reached; and some mistakes have been made, in my poor judgment, in the course already taken. I do not believe it is consistent with the true notion of popular Government that we should have a Senate selected by the Administration of the day, and holding their seats for life. (Cheers.) I am not of those who would be disposed to abolish the Senate at this time. The Senate was supposed by those who framed the Constitution of the United States—to which we are bound to look as the framers of our Constitution looked—to be the representative of the various States as States, in which, being as States equal and co-ordinate sovereignties, they had, however unequal in their population and wealth, equal representation. That was the notion upon which, in the framing of that Constitution and in the framing of ours, a Senate was introduced. I am not prepared at this time to take the step of dispensing with the Senate. I desire to see a Senate selected upon truly popular principles, and in a way consistent with popular government, and I am inclined to believe that a Senate so selected would be a useful and influential body, and might perhaps accomplish an important object by removing from the House of Commons the notion that the delegation in that body from each Province is to act as an isolated band in defence of Provincial rights and in assertion of Provincial interests. Is it consistent with the notion that the Senators should represent the several Provinces that they should be selected by one Government? We know that under our form of Government the Governor-General has no controlling voice in the selection of these gentlemen, that the Cabinet recommend A or B to him and he appoints him, or, if he does not, his Ministers go out of office. The practical result is that the Ministry of the day name the Senators. They name them for life. They may possibly be very good and efficient men when they are placed in the Senate. But even so they may become, as, I suppose, most of us will become some day, utterly effete, utterly incapable of discharging the duty for which they were selected, but so long as they can drag their weary limbs to Parliament once every second session, so long as they can be supported there, as I have seen them supported to the halls of Parliament to save their position, and sit for an hour so as to register their names, they hold their seats as Senators, and are supposed to represent the special interests of the Province for which they were selected. That is one evil, supposing the selections to have been such as ought to have been made in the first instance, but we all know they have not

been such as a rule. If the members of the Senate are to be the guardians of the interests of the Provinces, it is the provincial mind which should be referred to as to their appointment, and my own opinion is that the Senate, besides being very largely reduced in number, should be composed of men selected either immediately or mediately by the Provinces from which they come. I believe in the mediate mode of selection; I think that the selection by the Legislature of the Province and the appointment for moderate terms, not going out all together, but at different periods, would be a system under which that body would obtain an importance and a value hardly dreamed of under the present system. You want that body not to change as rapidly as the popular body, not to be composed exactly of the same class of men, but to change from time to time. You do not want a set of old gentlemen there with notions of the time when they were appointed perhaps, but which have not advanced with the age, to be dreaming in the Senate, blocking improvements in legislation as far as they dare, and only conceding them under an extreme pressure of public opinion. (Hear hear.) You want a body to which it would be an honour to send any of the principal men of a Province, and which would have an importance which the United States Senate once had, and, though the lustre has perhaps diminished, still, to some extent retains. (Cheers.) I think also that something may still be done towards securing freedom and purity of election. I am amongst those members of the Liberal party who are prepared to express their very great regret at the disclosures which have recently taken place in the Election Courts. From the earliest moment of my entrance into public life, I have taken a very earnest part in the effort to bring about freedom and purity of election. In these struggles I did not say that my friends of the Liberal party had never resorted to improper means of securing their elections—I said you must not expect a different result when you enacted sham laws, professing to prohibit bribery and corruption, while you refused to provide proper means of enforcing those laws. I said that as long as it was seen that there were no means of carrying out these laws, the situation was worse than if there was no law, and both parties would go on disregarding the law, until it ended in the retirement of honest men as candidates for public life, and in the retirement from any participation in politics of those citizens whose notions of propriety, morality, and respect for the laws prohibited them from using such unlawful means. We were resisted both in the Local and Federal Legislatures as long as resistance was feasible, but fortunately for the Province, we were able to obtain a stringent law in Ontario before the elections of 1871, and the result was that these elections were infinitely purer than before. Though some of the elections were voided by illegal practices, the sums spent were not large, the corruption was by no means widespread, and the election may be said to have been comparatively fair. We were unable to get the law in the Dominion for the elections of 1872. The country in that contest was flooded with money, and I suppose it was the most corrupt election which ever took place in Canada. But public opinion was so strong on the subject, that the Government which had refused to pass the law brought it in during the next session, and that law was in force when the elections of 1874 took place. I rejoice that it was so, and I repeat what I have said before, that I would not as a member of the Government have taken the responsibility of concurring in the dissolution of 1874, if that law had not been on the Statute Book. The result of the elections, as you are aware, was a very extraordinary victory of the Liberal party. A number of petitions have been presented, some on each side, and it has been found that no single election which was brought before the judges was conducted properly according to the law. Although no candidate has been found guilty of any impropriety, it has been found that many men belonging to the Liberal party, and prominent in the electoral districts, so far forgot what was due to their country and to their party as to be engaged in the disposition of funds in an illegal manner. My own opinion—founded upon my knowledge of what

took place in some cases, upon what has come out before the judges, and upon the fact that, though it was competent to each of the petitioners to ask not only that the seat should be voided but that the other candidate should be seated if his hands were clean, none of them have dared to do so—is that there was an equivalent or a larger amount of illegal expenditure on the other side. I have no doubt that if these gentlemen who are prosecuting those petitions with such energy—and I rejoice to see that energy displayed—had dared to say not merely—"You have been guilty of corruption," but "our candidate has not, and he can, therefore, take, and asks the seat," they conceded that the verdict of the people on the new elections, will be as a rule, in favor of the unseated member; and these people, understanding that perfectly well, would be very glad to have their candidate seated by the decision of the judges rather than undergo a new election to receive another adverse verdict. I do not believe the result of the elections has been materially affected by the expenditure, but there is no doubt of the gross impropriety of the acts disclosed; and the only excuse for it that I can see is that these gentlemen could not have fully realized that we had got the boon we had been struggling for, but thought the old corrupt course would be followed by the other side, and that whosoever won by any means, would keep the seat. In that case the results of these trials will have disabused the people of this country of any such idea. They will have found that we of the Liberal party who represented you in Parliament were not so recreant to our trust as to make an appeal to the country without a law which would be effective, and that we have got a law which will enable the people to conduct elections purely and to punish those who are guilty of corruption. I have a good hope that what has taken place will produce a beneficial effect on the men of both parties in the elections for the Local Legislature, and that we may then see an election even purer than that of 1874. I need not, I suppose, repeat to the people of this riding the exhortation which I have addressed to other ridings—the exhortation addressed to the country generally by the Government through the address of Mr. Mackenzie before the late general election. I would point out to you that even a good law by which effective machinery is provided is almost useless unless the popular sense and feeling be committed to the support of it, and that the main force and efficiency of any such law is dependent upon the mind, the will, and the determination of the people to sustain the law and frown down those who transgress it. I hope the Liberal party of this Province will take that course. I believe they will. I have a firm confidence that now, both sides having learned that there is a means by which corruption can be discovered, and that the discovery of that corruption, practised by those who have acted with the concurrence of the candidate, will destroy the illusory victory which has been gained, the axe has been laid at the root of the tree, and we shall have fair elections for the time to come. There is another improvement on the Statute Book of which we have not received the advantage yet. I mean the ballot. But I think that still further improvements might be achieved. I think every one will agree with me that one of the great difficulties in securing freedom of election in the past has been the reluctance of voters to go to the polls, the difficulty that was made about it, the compliment it was supposed to involve, and the attempt—too successful in many cases—to extort money as team-hire for going, when the voter ought to have been proud and happy to drive or walk, and if he had a team, while his neighbour had none, to take his neighbour as well, so as to strike his blow for the good cause. (Cheers). I believe it is under the guise of hiring teams that bribery has to the greatest extent permeated the body of the electors. I believe that another system of bribery which has gained ground of late years is that of paying voters to abstain from voting. That is the system which is most likely to be resorted to under the ballot, for this reason: if you buy a man to stay at home, you can always tell whether he has kept his bargain or not: but if you buy him to vote for you, you cannot tell whether he has, because he may have voted against you. I am strongly impressed with the idea that some provision whereby

voters should no longer imagine that they were to be invited, allured, complimented, attracted to the poll, their teams paid for, themselves solicited to go, would be a proper provision. Who are we who vote? Is it a right only that we exercise or a trust? We are but a very small proportion, perhaps not more than an eighth of the population, male and female, men, women, and children. Is it in our own interests or for our own rights only that we vote? Are our own fates alone affected by our votes? Not so. The whole population of the country, our wives, our sisters, and our children, those male adults who have no votes, all these are affected by it. Therefore it is a trust, a sacred trust, which the voter holds in the exercise of franchise. True, it is a right, because the voter, in common with the rest of the community, is affected by the laws which are passed; but he is bound to vote in the interests of the whole community; and therefore I do not see why the Legislature should not point out to him that it is his duty, if he chooses to allow himself to remain on the register, to exercise the trust which he has undertaken. I would not go againts any man's conscience. There may be some men, even in this country, of a peculiar persuasion, who hold it wrong to vote, but a provision permitting any man, upon his own application to the County Judge on the revision of the rolls, to be disfranchised, would get rid of any difficulties on the score of conscience. But if a man chooses that his name shall be retained on the list amongst the electoral body—which is itself a representative body, for these tens of thousands represent the hundreds of thousands for whom they vote and in effect legislate—then let him be told that it is his duty to exercise the franchise. I would not force him to vote for a particular person. He may say, "I do not like either of the men." A man may be so crotchety and difficult to please that he cannot make a choice between the candidates. We cannot help that; our ballot is secret; but let the voter, at all events, go to the booth and deposit his ballot. Whether it be a spoilt ballot or a blank ballot we shall not know, but I think it is likely that every man who goes to the booth will deposit an effective ballot. I think those who remain on the roll should be compelled by law to deposit their ballots, and that a law establishing some penalty for the breach of this provision, unless they excuse themselves by proof of illness or absence from the constituency, would be a good law, and as far as this branch of the subject is concerned, would tend largely to increase the virtue of our present electoral system. Besides a moderate penalty to be sued for, I would be disposed to add a provision that the man who had failed to vote at an election, whether general or special, and who within 30 days did not file a solemn declaration excusing himself upon one ground or the other, should not be entered upon the roll of voters again at any period until after the next general election, so that he should not be counted amongst the trustees of the popular right, for a certain period at any rate. (Cheers.) You know how difficult it is to get men to vote at a special election. Men are busy in their fields or about their affairs, and they forget, I am sorry to say, how very few hours in the year they, as self-governors, devote to the discharge, of that highest and noblest privilege—the privilege of self-government. Let them understand, if at an election they prefer their business, their pleasure, or their occupations to the exercise of the franchise, that until after the next general election at any rate, they who have been proved to be unfaithful guardians, and have shown their little regard for the rights and privileges they hold, shall have no further concern or part in these matters, and shall leave to the faithful trustees the control which is theirs by right. (Hear, hear.) It may be said, "You are proposing a law which will bring forward a number of persons who do not care about politics, and whom it is better not to have at the polls," but it is my object to prevent their being brought forward by improper means. A great many of them are brought forward now. The corrupt man says, "I cannot go, I cannot afford the time." He does it to get a few dollars. The indifferent men—and there are many of them of a highly respectable class—should be made to see that it is part of their duty to vote. Once they understand that it is their duty to take part in elections, I believe they are moral enough and conscientious enough to

take that part, and I believe it will be taken generally for the good of the country. I am sure you will agree with me that a proposal which is calculated to poll out the popular vote to the utmost extent is a proposal in the interest of real popular Government. There is much more likely to be a true expression of the people's feelings in that than in any other way. I do not intend to detain you with any remarks upon the general abstract question of the franchise. My own opinions on that subject I may perhaps give some other day. I may say that however little the present character of our franchise answers the theoretical views and principles of some, there is nodoubt that as a practical measure, in its actual working, it does give the vote to such a large proportion of the people of this Province, that the popular vote fully polled and rightly counted would be a fairly accurate exposition of the popular opinion; but I believe that even without attempting radical changes, without attempting to lay down a principle for the franchise more satisfactory than that which now prevails, there may be some practical reforms in the present system. I shall limit myself to two. You are aware that the general franchise is based upon the ownership or tenancy or occupation of real property or certain values. Now, it is deeply to be regretted, on many grounds, that the rural communities of this Province do not determine, once for all, to do away with the false and injurious system of under-assessing property which prevails amongst them. (Cheers.) I have said in the Legislature, and I repeat here, that it is a disgrace to the people of Ontario, that we should find the vast mass of our property deliberately under-assessed forty, perhaps fifty, per cent, by officers sworn to assess it up to its full value—(Hear, hear)—and this with the concurrence of those whom you place in power. It is done, in fact, because your councillors sanction it, and sometimes even so instruct the assessors. It is generally a misarable short-sighted attempt to procure a favourable equalization of the county rate. A township thinks if its property is under-assessed no other township will get an advantage over it, and so you have a system which is dishonest, which is a fraud on the face of it, and which, apart from its moral degradation, is injurious to the interests of the Province, because it keeps back from the knowledge of the people of England and of the world what our property is really worth. You tell them it is worth so many millions when the value might be truly doubled. It is injurious because such a system, artificial as it is, renders much more difficult a fair and equitable adjustment. In my city we are taxed very heavily, and we have found that the true course is to assess the property up to its full value, as that is the way in which every man is most likely to pay his fair share. But when you establish a fictitious basis, there are immense facilities for fraud and enormous difficulties in the way of a fair adjustment. More, it gives opportunities to partizan assessors which they could not have under a proper system, because if you bring down the assessment 50 per cent., you may bring it down to the margin of the qualification, while if you have a fair valuation there would not be a man who would not be entitled to vote on any cottage or plot of land on which he lives. But when you under-assess you give the opportunity for fraud. I have seen a column of lots assessed at $190, and another column assessed at $210. What did that mean? Why, we all know that it meant simply that the $190 men were all of one stripe of politics, and the $210 men of the other stripe. (Cheers and laughter.) The thing would have been quite out of the question if you had determined to make your assessors assess justly and rightly. There is no use in passing laws if the people will not support them. You have the law, but so long as you instruct or wink at your assessor in doing this, or do not dismiss him for doing it, so long the law will be violated. (Hear, hear.) I mentioned in the Legislative Assembly my feeling of humiliation at this state of things, my hope that it would be amended, and my view that if so there would be no ground on that score for a change in the franchise. But in the class of householders it might be well to get rid at once of all that difficulty by prescribing that the simple occupation as a householder should give the vote. This is, in fact, a very old franchise in England, and can do no harm but would do some good here. Then there is another thing. There is a custom in

this country, which cannot, I think, be too highly commended—there is a custom among those farmers who have raised a family of retaining one or two of their sons on the farm. They live there with the expectation that when the inevitable day arrives, the faithful son who has done his duty by his parent, has soothed his declining years, has worked for him, as he was worked for in the days when he was a child and helpless and his father was strong, will inherit the farm. That is a state of things which is highly desirable and should be perpetuated. That degree of mutual confidence, that pleasant continuance of the family life after the son has attained to manhood, is a matter of great importance to the moral standing and virtue of the people at large. It is my opinion that such adult sons would make as good a class of voters as you can find in the country. (Hear, hear.) I believe some of them leave the farms and discontinue that state of things because they desire to wear that badge of manhood, the franchise. I do not see why they should not were that badge. I do not see why they should be penalized—educated as they are under our school system, and showing themselves to be alive to one of the highest duties of citizenship—by being excluded from the privilege. It would, I think, be well, when dealing with a system of representation which is not theoretically correct, a system which you cannot logically defend, but which you say works practically, to extend the franchise and give the right to vote to every adult son who is living on the farm of his father. (Cheers). You know that such votes have been obtained in the past by a process which I regret. By an evasion of the law, fathers have placed their sons on the roll, and they have obtained votes by a side wind. That is unfortunate, because it is against the law, and because such vote is not held freely, but to a great extent at the pleasure of the father. I do not care that a man should have the right to vote if I or some one else may tell him how he must vote. Give these men the right, and their votes will, especially under the ballot, be as free and as useful to the community as any others in the country. Before passing from this subject, I desire to speak of one of the truest tests of the right to the franchise—I mean the educational test. There is no doubt that our future will be largely affected by the course we take with regard to the extension of education throughout the land. I agree with many of the remarks of Mr. Mowat on that subject. I commend heartily the public spirit which has led the people of this country to expend such large sums on education; but my information leads me to believe that the people have not done all that they ought to have done. It is not only expenditure which is needed, but it is equally important to take care that when you have the schools, you send your children to them for a proper portion of the year. Then you cannot get good work without reasonable pay. You have improved considerably the rate of pay of your teachers in the last few years. Three or four years ago, after investigating that subject, I spoke to my own constituents upon it, and I say now again, that if you want to make all this expenditure effectual, it is a prime duty to consider how much is required in order to obtain a good teacher, and to pay that sum whatever it may be. Without that the whole system is ineffective. The teacher is the key. To what purpose do you build brick school-houses, elect trustees, and send your children to school, unless you have an efficient teacher to instruct them? And you cannot get good teachers at the present rate of pay, increased though it is. Another point is this. In old and well settled counties where the farms are cleared and the men have become wealthy, where there is no reason, no necessity, for the children being kept at home, how is it that the average period of attendance is so short? In some parts the shortness of the average attendance is positively alarming. I exhort my fellow-countrymen to see to these things. You have established free schools, and you have resolved to tax everyone to maintain them. We are all interested then in this matter, and it is to the general and wide diffusion of instruction and education that we must largely look for the great future that we expect. But, sir, with such a hope for the future before us, I believe we might effect immense improvements upon the present system of popular representation. For my own part, I have been for some time dissatisfied with our present mode of popular representation, as furnishing no fair indication

of the opinions of the country. I do not think a system under which a majority in one constituency elects a member, the minority being hopeless, helpless, without any representation of its own at all, is a good system. I have been collecting some statistics on this subject, and it is extraordinary to what extent the popular voice, as shown in the popular vote, differs from the expression of that voice in the Legislature. In the State of Maryland you find an election lately in which parties were so divided that two-thirds of the people polled on the one side, and one-third on the other. The result of the election was that the Republicans, who polled two-thirds, elected every member, and the Democrats, who polled one-third, did not elect a single man. That was not a fair or reasonable result. In the State of Maine something of the same kind happened. The Democrats had polled one-third of the votes, but only elected 43 out of 247 members. Coming nearer home, for perhaps our Tory friends will object to my taking illustrations from across the line, in Nova Scotia, in the year 1867, there was a bitterly fought contest on the question of Union or anti-Union. The result was that only Mr. Tupper was returned from the whole Province, and that by a very narrow majority, as a representative of the Union sentiment. I have analyzed the statistics of that election, and I find that the real strength exhibited at the polls would have given, as nearly as I can estimate, seven to the Union side instead of one, and only twelve to the anti-Unionists instead of 18. Take Nova Scotia again in 1874. The returns gave 19 to the Government, one Independent, and one Opposition—Mr. Tupper again. I will give him the Independent man into the bargain, because I think he belongs to that quarter. (Laughter). The popular vote on that occasion would, as nearly as I can judge, have given 8 out of the 21 to that side instead of 2, and but 13 to the Government instead of 19. Our principle of Government is that the majority must decide. Upon what is it founded? Well, you cannot give a reason except this, that it is necessary. It is the only way in which Government can be carried on at all. But if the minority must on this ground of necessity, bow to the voice of the majority, the majority is all the more bound to see that the minority has its fair share of representation, its fair weight in the councils of the country. The majority must recollect that it may become the minority one day, and that then it would like to have its fair share in those councils, and such disparities as these are not likely to induce a feeling of cheerful submission on the part of the minority. In Ontario, in the election of 1867—I cannot, of course, be precisely accurate in these matters, because there were some acclamation returns, and there are other difficulties in making an exact calculation—but there were 82 members to be returned. The whole popular vote would have resulted in a slight majority for the Liberal party over the Government, but discarding fractions, the result would give 41 members to each. The Government however, carried 49 seats to 33, and so the Liberal party did not obtain its fair share in the Government of the country. A turn of 408 votes would have taken seventeen seats from the Government and given them to the Liberal party. We say we have representation by population, but we have not representation by population unless the population has a representation in the Legislature equivalent to its strength at the polls. In the late election of 1874, the popular voice, although very strongly in favour of the Government, was by no means so decided as the returns showed. And besides this, 178 votes turned the other way would have changed eight seats, making a difference of sixteen on a division. Little more than double that number would have changed sixteen seats, or thirty-two on a division, and this in a Province where over 200,000 votes would, if all the elections were contested, have been polled. My own opinion is that it is not houses, and stocks, and farms that are represented, but human beings, with immortal souls—these are the true subjects of representation, the sharers in, the owners of political power, and I think a scheme ought to be devised, as a scheme has been devised, to give them a fairer representation. In England, in constituencies which return three or four members, a cumbrous mode has been adopted called the "restrictive vote," which I do not recommend, by which each man votes for one less than the

whole number to be elected. That gives some representation to each side. In the School Board elections, which have caused the greatest possible interest and excitement, and have resulted in London in the return of an Educational Parliament which may vie with the Parliament of the Empire in ability in proportion to its numbers, the cumulative system has been with great advantage adopted. By this the voter, having as many votes as there are members, may give the whole of his votes to one candidate or divide them as he pleases. That system has been also adopted with the most beneficial results in the State of Illinois, where the returns under the amended constitution of 1870 have been within one of the actual popular voice. I say the system of representation under which we now live is inadequate to the purposes of the age. The complicated interests of society, the various views entertained by various sections of people, the enormous divergencies and the minor shades of divergency which exist, the fact that you cannot accurately or reasonably approximate the real strength of popular opinion as evinced at the polls by the return of members to Parliament—these considerations are sufficient to condemn the existing system and send us on search for a better. That better can, I believe, be found, and if it be reserved for this Province or this Dominion to set the example of finding it, a great benefit will have been conferred by us on the cause of freedom throughout the world. I believe Mr. Hare's system or some modification of it—a system by which each voter may vote for any one he pleases, and give his vote should it not be required for his first choice, to second, third, or fourth candidates, in the order of his preference—would result in the return by unanimous constituencies of men having the confidence of those constituencies, and of just so many men on each side as the strength of that side at the polls would justify. What is my position to-day? I have a very large constituency. I represent a constituency in which many more votes were polled against me than sufficed to return Mr. Dymond. Within nine of 2,000 votes were polled against me. Can I say I represent those people? I do not. I do not represent their views. They thought I was wrong, they wished to defeat me, they wished to condone the Pacific Scandal and to support the late Government. I am bound to consider their individual wants, but I cannot say I represent their views. How are they represented? Some will say that people a long way off elected, say, Mr. Cameron, of Cardwell, or Mr. Farrow, of North Huron, represent them. That is a very peculiar mode of representation, by which the unrepresented minorities of adverse views in different constituencies are in effect told that they are to be content because there are others in like evil plight. Look at home. Turn to this Metropolitan district. Take, if you please, the old County of York, including Toronto, Ontario and Peel. You have there nine districts, and you have nine members all on one side, and not a single one on the other. The return at the polls gave five to four. The popular vote gave you five and your adversaries four, and upon a proper system of representation that would have been the proportion of the members. We shall have to settle before long the question of the Parliamentary system of the future. As the late Prince Consort said some years ago, Parliamentary systems are on their trial. When we provide a plan by which every man shall be represented, by which each side of opinion shall be represented in proportion to its strength, we shall have avoided the difficulties which result from the artificial divisions which we make, and which render the expression of opinion by the returns so essentially different from that shown at the polls. There is not time now to give you even a fair summary of the reasons for this reform. I must bring my speech to a close. I know, Sir, that I have made a rather disturbing speech, but I am not afraid of that. As far as I can judge, not much good can be done without disturbing something or somebody, and if that is the only objection to be made to the sentiments I have uttered, I am quite ready to meet it. I may be said also to have made an imprudent speech—at least it might be said if I were one of those who aspire to lead their fellow countrymen as Ministers. It is the function of Ministers—we know it, and I do not quarrel with it—to say nothing that can be caught hold of—(Laughter)—nothing in advance of the

popular opinion of the day, to watch the current of that opinion, and when it has gathered strength, to crystallize it into Acts of Parliament. That is the function of a Liberal Minister. The function of a Tory Minister is to wait till he is absolutely forced to swallow his own opinions. (Laughter.) My hon. friend, Mr. Mowat, will, I doubt not, by your suffrages, enjoy a long time in which to perform his high duty, but it may be permitted to one who prefers to be a private in the advanced guard of the army of freedom, to a commanding place in the main body—(Loud cheers)—to run the risk of promulgating what may be called a political heresy to-day, but may perhaps become a political creed to-morrow. (Cheers.) I am sure that whatever may be your disposition as to the opinions I have advanced, and however disinclined you may be to accept my proposals, you will receive them with toleration and liberality. I believe that feeling which is strongly existent in the ranks of our opponents, of intolerance of any difference of opinion, that determination without argument to write and speak down the man who advances anything new as revolutionary and unsafe, is not shared by the Liberal party. I believe you realize the value in the interests of true liberty of a free utterance before his fellow countrymen, of the distinctive opinions held by a public man. (Cheers.) I am quite sure you sympathize with the eulogy which the poet-laureate of England conferred upon the old land, and you desire that his words of praise should be properly applicable to the new, when in immortal verse he sung:—

You ask me, why, tho' ill at ease,
  Within this region I subsist,
  Whose spirits falter in the mist,
And languish for the purple seas?

It is the land that freemen till,
  That sober-suited Freedom chose,
  The land, where girt with friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will;

A land of settled government,
  A land of just and old renown,
  Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent:

Where faction seldom gathers head,
  But by degrees to fulness wrought,
  The strength of some diffusive thought
Hath time and space to work and spread.

Should banded unions persecute
  Opinion, and induce a time
  When single thought is civil crime,
And individual freedom mute;

Tho' Power should make from land to land
  The name of Britain trebly great—
  Tho' every channel of the State
Should almost choke with golden sand—

Yet waft me from the harbour-mouth,
  Wild wind! I seek a warmer sky,
  And I will see before I die,
The palms and temples of the South.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON MR. BLAKE'S SPEECH.

TORONTO GLOBE (REFORM.)

MR. BLAKE AT AURORA.—The Reform Demonstration at Aurora on Saturday last was even more than usually successful. Everything was in its favor. The weather was excellent. The attendance was large, respectable and enthusiastic; while the speakers and speeches were such as to give interest and importance to almost any assembly that could be convened. Where all did well we are sure that not one of those who took part in the demonstration, and contributed each in his own way to its success, would hesitate in acknowledging that Mr. Blake's presence was one of its great attractions, and that the speech which that gentleman delivered on the occasion was one of unusual power, and at the same time characterized by many of the peculiar excellencies which have won for him a prominent place among the statesmen and orators of Canada.

Dealing as he did with a good many of the current questions of the day, it was not possible for even Mr. Blake to impart all the freshness of novelty to everything that he uttered. In the midst of universal discussion it is not possible for even the most vigorous and richly stored mind to strike out new trains of thought on every occasion, or to pass in review the same topics without appearing to repeat oneself or to re-echo the already expressed thoughts and opinions of others. But even where absolute novelty is impossible, everything spoken by Mr. Blake bears the stamp of vigorous and judicious thinking, and his Aurora speech was as good an illustration of this as could possibly be desired. His full and unmistakable endorsation of the general course pursued by the Ontario Government during the past two years was what was to be expected from one who had watched that course with any measure of intelligence and candour; while his deprecation of discussion of the Reciprocity Treaty at the point which that matter has as yet reached, was backed by arguments at once evident and unanswerable.

It is gratifying to notice Mr. Blake's thorough accord with the policy of the Dominion Government on the Pacific Railway. We had never any reason to entertain even the shadow of a doubt on that point, though of course the Opposition has been anxious to extract comfort from the very possibility of any supposed divergence of view on the part of one whose opinion is deservedly of so much weight and importance. The folly of the bargain made by the late Government with British Columbia could not have been stated in fewer or more appropriate words. With this view of the matter the great majority of British Columbians, we are convinced, emphatically agree, though they may fail to appreciate the frankness which tells them that if they are not satisfied with the change that has been made, they are welcome to withdraw from the Confederation. The British Columbians do not desire to withdraw, and may very possibly, therefore, feel pained, if not annoyed, at the broad hint given in Mr. B.'s speech. We are quite sure that that gentleman has no wish that British Columbia should withdraw from the Union, or that he in any measure underates the importance and promise of our Pacific Province. Evidently all that is meant is that the terms of the original bargain pledges to the performance of what is a physical impossibility, and that consequently if the people of British Columbia insist upon the performance of that impossibility on pain of breaking up Confederation entirely, they must have their way. Men and Governments can only do so much. If more is demanded, disappointment will necessarily follow. All that can reasonably be done in this case will be honestly attempted by the Mackenzie Government. Honest men, says Mr. Blake, could not offer less; reasonable men could not ask more. It is in the interest of the whole Dominion that all the newer and more westerly Provinces should be brought as speedily as possible into easy and direct communication with the older and more easterly sections The plan for accomplishing this which has been adopted by Mr. Mackenzie will commend itself to every candid and intelligent enquirer. No one also can doubt that cheap as well as expeditious means of communication are indispensible, and that the magnificent water ways to our Northwest which nature has provided will never be superseded by any railway, though they will no doubt be thereby supplemented and rendered still more complete.

The question about the future relationship between Canada and the Empire may be well regarded as an open one, and while at present interesting as a speculation, it is not to be looked upon as much more, so far as it contemplates a change in our present condition. We have more than once given the various suggested changes in detail, and have stated the inherent difficulties attached to them. A great Federal Parliament for the British Empire is not, by any means, a novelty, and is an idea which has many attractions, for a certain class of minds. Much in the abstract may be said in its favour, but its practicability is a very different affair. The sentiments of all the different parts of the Empire would, as a preliminary, have to be ascertained, the consent of the British House of Commons to take the subordinate position of a Local Legislature secured, the constitution and powers of the great central authority defined and settled, with many other points discussed and determined which are yet so distant as not to promise to be among the living questions of the day for many long years to come. Still, the subject affords material for interesting and harmless speculation, which in the course of time may issue in some arrangement which will fuse the whole Empire more thoroughly into one united whole, and make the inhabitants of all its different parts so entirely one in sentiment and feeling and aspiration, that the only country they will recognize as theirs will be the British Empire, and the only national sentiment they will deem worthy of cherishing will be one that thinks not of "Canada first," or of "Australia first," or of "Heligoland first," or "Norfolk Island first," but of the grand old British race first, and of all who love their Sovereign, and all who swear by the "Old Flag," as first and last and midst as well. "National sentiment," if that is another word for a narrow Canadian sentiment, is surely as little compatible with a grand federated Empire, as would be the inculcation of county or Provincial sentiment in order to a general loyalty to Canada as a whole. If we Canadians are to take our due place in the Imperial Councils, and bear our due proportion of the consequent ourden and responsibility, we must rise not only above Provincial but Dominion attachments, and no sentiment short of "British," in its widest and most comprehensive sense. In fact, however, neither a national nor an Imperial spirit can be secured by mere resolutions or by meaningless recommendations. It must grow, not by individuals every now and then saying to themselves, and to each other, "We must be national," but by the people of a land generally feeling that they have a country, a history, and a destiny in common of which they find increasing reason to be proud, and for the advancement and exaltation of which they feel increasingly prompted to do noble acts and live noble lives.

Mr. Blake is somewhat hard upon the members of the Dominion Senate. He speaks of them in language which savours of contempt; and one might doubt if it were quite prudent to urge a change of the Constitution in such a way as might make those, without whose consent such a change could never constitutionally be effected, determine that rather than that this consent should be given, they would make something like a *coup d'état* indispensible. It is not possible to have any system against which some objections may not be urged. But, whatever be the machinery devised for the construction of an Upper Legislative Chamber, if such a body be made strong by receiving a direct or indirect representative character, collision with the more popular Assembly will follow naturally and necessarily. As at present constituted, though the Dominion Senate can never hinder the passage of measures upon which the popular House has set its heart, yet it secures the reconsideration and, often, the amendment of these, and thus very effectively prevents hasty and injurious legislation. This is all it can accomplish at present, and all which in any case we believe it ou[illegible] aim at. Our Federal system has been in operation but a short time. It is well to gi[illegible] fair trial before starting on the work of constition-mending. Nations, institutions, [illegible]ts *grow* and grow slowly They cannot be called into existence, or have their [illegible]ened, by any number of individuals assembling and resolving there and then to [illegible]nal and patriotic; while as little will the plan be crowned with success which, lik[illegible]tle boy with his flowers, consists in every other day having a general pulling up to se[illegible] how the growth proceeds. We rejoice to notice, and from day to day to note, how a true Canadian and Imperial spirit extends and strengthens among us. Changes will in due time be needed, and will, no doubt, be also effected; but our wisdom is to hasten slowly in constitution tinkering, to develope our resources with all diligence, bring the people of the different Provinces more together, increase our numbers, work honestly the Constitution, and improve carefully the privileges we actually possess, and we shall thus be all the better able to meet whatever in the future may be in store for us, and to effect, with success, those changes in our Constitution and external relations which may by experience be found conducive to our sectional progress, and at the same time indispensible to the permanence of that Empire of which there is no reason why Canada should not for all time to come rejoice to form an honoured and influential part.

THE TORONTO MAIL (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE.)

THE BLAKE BOMBSHELL.—The first instalment of Mr. Edward Blake's speech at Aurora, carefully revised and corrected for the press, as all Mr. Blake's speeches are, amply justified the Ministerial print in withholding its publication for a day and heading it off with a "leader" whose application was as evident as though words were used to express the reasons which caused its appearance. Should there be as much heresy in the concluding portion of the speech there will be little difficulty in understanding why so great a commotion disturbed the editorial sanctum, and why there was such hot haste to discredit the utterances of the member for South Bruce before they appeared in print.

We may pass hurriedly over portions of the speech. . . . . .

Haughtier, more galling, crueller words than the member for South Bruce used in speaking of British Columbia and its people would not be easy to call to one's command. It was only the other day, down in Prescott, that Mr. Mackenzie boldly charged, upon a public platform, that Sir John A. Macdonald and the Opposition had counselled the people of the Pacific Province to secede. Let us see what Mr. Blake says: "If under all the cir-"cumstances the Columbians were to say—'You must go on and finish this railway accord-"ing to the terms or take the alternative of releasing us from the Confederation, I would "take the alternative!" If it were not that later portions of Mr. Blake's speech removes him from the list of "Reform" leaders, we would have to say that the Grit Party had at last issued an ultimatum which means nothing if it is not a declaration that the sooner the British Columbians take themselves out of the Confederation the better. Perhaps when we next hear from Mr. Mackenzie he will give us his view of what Mr. Blake, and not of what Sir John Macdonald, said on this question.

Mr. Blake rather deprecates discussion of the proposed Reciprocity Treaty at this time, but favors the view that Parliament should be perfectly free to discuss it. We cannot agree with Mr. Blake that Canadians should withhold discussion of the draft of Treaty because of the possible consequences of that discussion in the United States. It requires time and long consideration to get at the merits of a great question. What may be said here will have but small effect on the United States Senate, but it will have made clear the way to an intelligent discussion in Parliament. That Mr. Blake should seek to throw upon the Opposition the odium of having made the question a party one is not unlike him; but the resolution of the Liberal Conservative Convention to which he refers does not sustain the accusation. The very resolution itself deprecates in express terms the discussion of the Treaty from a party stand-point. So large and influential a body of farmers, lawyers and merchants was not, however, to be debarred from expressing an opinion because they held very pronounced political opinions. The attempt to make it a party question has come from the Ministerial organ; a fact which is very much to be regretted.

It is when he comes to speak of "the relations of Canada to the Empire" that Mr. Blake, as we have said, utters opinions which have never yet been expressed in any "Reform" declaration of principles, and have formed no "plank" in the "platform" of the Grit Party. Robert Baldwin was considered to be unfit to be a candidate in the York Division for the Legislative Council, unless he would make public declaration of his views, the editor of the *Globe* having a dread suspicion that the old Reform chieftian had backslided! Can it be that Mr. Blake may talk party treason all the day, and yet be considered sound in the faith? Where is the line to be drawn? We hear much of "Reform principles." It is high time to ask what Reform principles are when we find one who the other day was Mr. Mackenzie's colleague in the Dominion Cabinet declaring himself hostile to Confederation, and avowing himself a believer in the "Canada First" creed, to the extent at all events of advocating a Federation of the Empire, of doing away with a Crown-appointed Senate, and supporting Hare's doctrine of the Representation of Minorities. If these are "Reform principles" it is the first time we have heard so. If they are not—and most assuredly they are not—then we would ask, is Mr. Blake still to be considered a bright and shining light of the "great Liberal Party," as Mr. E. B. Wood used to say, with marked emphasis on the "great?"

On one of the questions upon which Mr. Blake has expressed a very decided opinion he is in great hostility to Mr. Brown. Said the latter in his speech in Parliament on Confederation: "I have always been opposed to a second elective Chamber, and I am so still, from "the conviction that two elective Houses are inconsistent with the working of the British "Parliamentary system." On the other hand Mr. Blake says: "I do not believe it is con-"sistent with the true notion of popular Government that we should have a Senate selected "by the Administration of the day and holding their seats for life." Which expresses the true Reform doctrine on this question—Mr. Blake or Mr. Brown? They are as far as the poles apart; and yet the friends of both of them talk of the Liberal party and its principles as though there were perfect harmony in the camp, and everything was lovely.

Apart from Mr. Blake, the acknowledged leaders of the Grit Party claim credit for the part which they took in bringing about Confederation. They say it was especially their handiwork. In 1867, they assert, they practically secured the "some joint authority" and "Rep. by Pop.," for which they had been seeking and labouring many years before. In effect, Mr. Blake declares that Confederation has been a failure; that we are still in a condition of change; and that the true panacea for our troubles is Federation of the Empire. That is a large question; we certainly do not propose to touch it now. But we are justified in saying that in so bold an enunciation of strange doctrine Mr. Blake has virtually severed himself from the Grit Party, and in his defection the "Canada First" men may perceive a gleam of sunlight piercing through the thick cloud which has heretofore enveloped their pathway. The Grit print asked the other day, who is the leader of "Canada First?" We make bold to ask it to read its own columns. Perhaps in the discharge of so pleasant a task it may stumble across something in the shape of an answer.

THE NATION (NATIONAL.)

MR. BLAKE'S AURORA SPEECH.—Mr. Blake, as the expositor of national feeling, has met the demand for a "definite statement of principles." And he has done so with a courage at once rare and heroic. By his speech in North York he has distinguished himself from the common herd of politicians by "a new departure." His exposition of principles is identical on most points with the views which have found expression in these columns. While expressing the belief that the future of this country greatly depends upon the cultivation of a national spirit, he pointed out the only way in which he conceived it possible to develop a national spirit: that there must be some national interests to require attention. He insisted on the need which the Provinces have, for this purpose, of some common aspiration; and he pointed to the critics of ill-omen and bad faith by whom everything of this kind is set down as a practical advocacy of annexation. There is no feeling on this side on which the anti-nationalists could operate so as to make the absorption of this country by another power at all tolerable; and Mr. Blake gives cogent reasons for concluding that the United States would not now willingly consent to the perilous experiment of enlarging their bounds to an extent which the annexation of Canada would imply. He might have pointed to the refusal to purchase the Island of St. Thomas since the civil war, in contrast with the intrigues previously set on foot for the purchase or annexation without purchase of Cuba; to the development of the Ostend Conference, and the refusal of the United States to enter with France and England into a tripartite treaty, by which the several contracting parties should mutually agree never to acquire possession of that island; to the filibustering expeditions which from the days of Sam. Houston to those of Major Walker, were set on foot and directed against the territory of neighboring and friendly nations. In contrast with all these attempts at forcible extensions of the boundaries of the United States, might be noticed the absence of any similar attempts and the total decay of the spirit in which they took their rise. The only sense in which Canadian nationality has been said, even by the prophets of evil, to mean annexation is, that the Americans would use force to bring about that result. Mr. Blake, while showing the great improbability of any such attempt being made, expresses his faith in the future of Canada as a nation.

It is remarkable that, on this question, Mr. Blake finds himself in direct opposition to the tenacious, not to say fossilized Conservatism of what is called the Reform party. On the question of the constitution of the Senate, he is almost equally in advance of the bulk of both the old parties. When Mr. Mills, in the course of last session, brought up the question of the constitution of the Second Chamber, we expressed ourselves as Mr. Blake does now, in favor of the elective principle in some form. If the leading organ of the Reform party can be taken as the exponent of the views of that party, Mr. Blake is, on this question, in accord with the National Party alone. The mode of selection which he favors is that by the Local Legislatures; and this we believe would be far better than direct election, by which one Chamber would be little more than a duplicate of the other.

The re-organization of the Empire, on a Federal basis, we must confess, seems to us to be very far off; as a thing not likely to be realized in practice. The last time the question was brought up in the Imperial Parliament it received no countenance; there is no growth of feeling in its favor, and it now appears highly improbable that the outlying portions of the Empire will ever be permitted a voice in questions of peace and war.

On two other questions, compulsory voting and the representation of minorities, Mr. Blake is equally pronounced and in advance of the two old parties. To show the injustice of the present mode of representation he had collected some valuable statistics, which greatly aid the argument. On compulsory voting the views of Mr. Blake are identical with those to which expression was given in the early numbers of this journal. Both these questions are assuming a practical shape and will now be submitted to a full and complete discussion.

London Free Press (Liberal Conservative.)

Blake's New Nostrums.—If, as some suppose, it is the intention of Mr. Blake to become the Prophet of a new political party, he has commenced his career in a manner not very auspicious. The creed he has propounded is not a vital one. It does not lay hold of any existing want, but suggests difficulties that few have become aware of, and asks for modifications which are not only needless but would prove to be positively injurious. To be the successful leader of a new political party requires, in the first place, the occasion. A want must be felt by the public, a moral or a political want, before it will be possible to draw those crowds of adherents which go to form a new sect. What Mr. Blake offers to supply no one has seen the need of, and though he proffers his wares with a certain degree of oratorical effect, yet when they are carefully scanned they will be found to consist more of fanciful theories than practical measures suited to the condition of Canada. But seven short years have passed since Confederation was accomplished, the success attending which is the best justification for its existence. The people at large are just beginning to comprehend its significance, and to accept its conditions and obligations, when up jumps a "Reform" leader, and demands a Federation of the entire Empire as the only basis of continued alliance. It is that condition, he thinks, which every one should yearn for; though how it would benefit the Canada of to-day he leaves unexplained. He does not show that it would remove any hindrance to material development, or add one dollar to the capital of the country. Canada is now federated in the surest and most effective manner, and the affiliation she has with the mother land is both honorable and salutary. Why disturb such a condition? Brought to the test of practical examination, divested of platform enthusiasm, and oratorical display, the demand for a federation of the empire reveals a theory but does not establish a necessity. It may be all very well to talk about, for enthusiasts to dream over, but it lacks that home thrust on the affections of the people which must underlie political success. The call for a new Federation, including Australia and the Fiji Islands, is that which a bran new "Reform" party is to be based upon. That is the goal of its ambition, that the claim it places before the public for recognition. The other nostrums which Mr. Blake has announced are inferior and secondary to it. The abolition of the Senate as it exists; the compulsion to vote under pain of civil disability or actual punishment; the permission to farmers' sons to vote to the exclusion of the sons of other members of the commonwealth—are demands which will not call up any great enthusiasm. As a matter of fact, few will be found to coincide with Mr. Blake in his demand for a reorganization of the Senate. The adviser-in-chief of the Grits—Senator Brown, has always been in favor of a Crown nominated Senate, for reasons which have been thought cogent. The Liberal-Conservative party do not favor the election of a second Chamber from out of the same elements that constitute the inferior one, and thus it is reasonable to conjecture that Mr. Blake's second chief hobby will fall flat upon public attention. At any rate, it is one of those matters which may suit any uneasy mind to fret over, but which lacks marrow. Compulsory voting, like the compulsory church-going of days gone by, may suit the habit of one of gloomy disposition and austere character to advocate. But it is so emphatically opposed to the liberalism of existing society that it is as unsuited as the other nostrums that have been propounded, upon which to base a new political departure. Once compel a man to vote, and the ground is surely laid to bring about compulsion in other matters. Mr. Blake says that men with "immortal souls" ought to vote, or to be compelled to it if unwilling. And if the fact of their having "immortal souls" is reason enough to urge them, like a drove of cattle, to the polls, why would it not be good enough to compel them to go to church three times on Sunday, to class-meeting twice a week, and prayer-meetings between whiles? If the "soul" is to be the reason in one case, it is certainly far greater occasion in the others. In fact, it might, upon Mr. Blake's reasoning, be made the excuse for any kind of compulsory action, affecting not only the poll-book and the church, but also the social circle and the dinner-table. For one

claiming to be a statesman to say that because man has an "immortal soul" therefore he should be driven to the polls—even if when there he does but deposit a "spoiled ballot"—seems most extraordinary. We venture to say that no such proposition has ever been broached before for such a reason. Yet it has been made with all the weight which Mr. Blake's name is supposed to carry with it, and the Grit papers—the *Globe* excepted—have already commenced to beat their tom toms of approval. But many people will regard this exhibition on the part of the leading Grit orator as a melancholy spectacle, as an additional proof to others already exhibited, that though talkative enough Grit leaders are deficient in that practical habit which in a new country, especially, is the best kind of wisdom, the most successful kind of politics. Meanwhile, it may well be supposed that Senator Brown and Alex. Mackenzi are already laughing in their sleeves at the failure which Mr. Blake is destined to make when he attempts to run the political machine on his own account. They know, full well, that the platform upon which he has taken his stand is an impracticable one, in some senses, an absurd one. They knew that Mr. Blake was a man to be feared, but they know that he is no longer to be dreaded, for he has adopted a scheme in opposition to their own which where it is not practicable is little short of being nonsensical. And they may well hug themselves at the occasion.

KINGSTON WHIG (LIBERAL.)

A number of Tory prints are foolishly jumping to the conclusion that, because Mr. Blake has declared himself in favor of the re-organization of the Empire, and the drawing of the colonies to the Mother Country more tightly by federal or other bonds, he has deserted the Liberals, and espoused the cause of the "Canada First" Party. We have nothing to say against the latter organization, except for the life of us we cannot see what its leaders are driving at, and they will not or cannot tell their aims and methods; but if these Tory organists were even careless readers of the political literature of the day, they would say that Mr. Blake, in arguing in favor of Imperial Federalism or something of the sort, is dealing heavy blows at the Canada First people who, if it be at all possible to guess their meaning on the point, are in favor of setting up a Canadian nationality, and cutting loose from the mother land. That is how far Mr. Blake is in sympathy with Canada First on the national question—exactly opposed to them, which the Tory organists ought to have reflected upon before tossing up their caps at Mr. Blake's imagined defection from the Liberal Party. What hosannas they would sing if the ablest man that ever graced Canadian public life would only sever his connection with the enemy who are proud of his genius and oratory and who are under the deepest obligations to him who has been and is to them a tower of strength—their *decus et præsidium* their glory and their shield.

TORONTO NATIONAL (NATIONAL.)

But is the *Globe* really desirous that great thoughts should be loudly expressed? Hasn't it just had too much of 'em? What of Blake's speech? Did that boom any? We don't know if that rung through the national corridors enough; but we shrewdly suspect that it rattled with dire and startling intonation among the cobwebbed closets of the *Globe* office. Is Mr. Brown still there, or flown in terror, hiding paralyzed behind his phalanx of short-horns? Well may he tremble to hear those ringing sentences, for they tolled his political knell. Enough of him; let us speak of a man of greater consequence, and of nobler mind.

We remember Mr. Blake in early youth, over thirty years since. We remember him at school and at college; we saw with regret his entrance on his legal career, and with pleasure his commencement of political life. He is fulfilling the promise of his boyhood—the good metal is giving the true ring—the blade is keen and strong, though it has not escaped the contaminating rust of the law courts. For instance, his objection to discussing the Reciprocity Treaty lest Americans should overhear and profit by our conversation, is the objection of a lawyer, not of a patriotic Canadian.

Honesty needs no concealment. But when, in the face of false politicians who have concealed the facts, and lying journalists who have denied them, he told Canadians what none, save the columns of the *National*, had yet dared to tell them—that "in their foreign affairs, their relations with other countries, whether peaceful or warlike, commercial, financial, or otherwise, they may have no more voice than the people of Japan," in that true and telling sentence the great mind and gallant spirit of Edward Blake asserted itself in an utterance which shall be remembered while Canada exists.

With much of Mr. Blake's speech we are heartily in accord. We must be, for he takes ground that no party, save the Canadian National Association, has ventured to occupy. With that Association his name has not as yet been prominently connected, but whether it be or not, while he advocates such measures as compulsory voting, re-adjustment of the Senate, the representation of minorities, and above all, Federation of the Empire, he is likely to be a powerful co-worker in the cause we advocate, and there is no man living whose assistance we should as readily accept.

Orangeville Advertiser (Liberal.)

Mr. Blake's Speech.—The great speech delivered by the Hon. E. Blake at Aurora, has received great attention from the press in this country, and no doubt it will also attract notice outside the Dominion. Mr. Blake is one of the foremost statesmen in Canada, indeed we might say that he is *the* foremost. When he speaks he deals with questions of national importance, and gives a freshness to the subject which no other public man in this country can hope to approach. It is truly humiliating to us as Canadians to read the speeches of some of our politicians * * *

Mr. Blake is a gentleman of large culture and independent thought. He will not allow himself to be confined within the narrow bounds of political partizanship. Every question touched by Mr. Blake is discussed in a masterly, independent manner, and he is not afraid to propound new views on public matters, regardless of existing parties or popular prejudice. In another part of this paper we give extracts from his great speech in which he treats of two very important subjects—cumulative voting and the relations of Canada to the British Empire. Mr. Blake remarked truly that he was making "a disturbing speech" and certainly he has succeeded in stirring up the jog-along politicians of both political parties now existing in this country. The Conservatives have been laying the flattering unction to their souls, that Mr. Blake is at war with the Reform party because the views expressed by him have not been advocated by that party heretofore. But we fail to see what benefit the Conservatives can derive from this circumstance, even if it were true, for certainly they have never shown themselves in favor of such radical reforms as are enunciated in this speech. The *Globe* also finds it necessary in the interests of party to deprecate such advanced opinions. Mr. Blake, however, as an independent thinker, puts his views before the country in such an able manner that none of those who have attempted to discuss the subject, have been able to disprove a single statement, or to show the least fallacy in the reasoning of the speaker, with which they profess to disagree. There is no question as to the fact, that our present mode of electing members is defective. Both in England and the United States, this has been admitted, and it seems to us that the time is not far distant when some such plan as that sketched by Mr. Blake will be adopted in preference to the present one. The relations of this Dominion to the Empire, must also be considered. There is no use in saying that we are well enough as we are, and that it is wrong to discuss such a question as this at present, for fear it should do some injury to this country in England. This question has been discussed in England, and the leading statesmen there, have had no hesitation in expressing their views upon the subject, and in a manner too, that was not very complimentary to ourselves. We cannot see that any harm can result from a free discussion of a subject of so much importance to the future of this Dominion. Let us hear the views of our public men upon the question, let our young men study the subject, and by this means be prepared to deal with it in an intelligent man-

ner when the time comes to take action on it. We believe the people of Canada are warmly attached to the mother country, and that there is not the least desire on the part of any to sever our connection with England. But at the same time it is but right and proper that we should consider the question of our future relations to the Empire with a view to remove any cause of dissatisfaction that may spring up at any time. It is absurd to say that our present relations will be permitted to continue as they are; that a self-governing people, with the large territory and population that we have, shall remain in the position of colonists. That the home Government shall furnish us with an Army and Navy, with foreign ambassadors and consuls, and that we shall not be called upon to pay any of the cost, nor to take any part in directing the policy of the Empire, although forming an important portion of it. Mr. Blake, like a true statesman, looks forward, and anticipates the dangers that surround us. What connection had Canada with the sailing of the Alabama? And yet we were told by England, that it was on our account that the Alabama claims were paid, and for our welfare that the treaty of Washington was concluded. We have no desire for independence and certainly much less for annexation. We wish to remain a part of the glorious empire to which we feel justly proud to belong. But we wish to be placed in a position of equality with our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, we wish to take our fair share of the expenses of our own government and to have an equal share in the administration of its affairs. Why should any son of Canada be debarred from filling a high position in the Empire, if his abilities qualify him for the office. The old fogey politicians may be greatly "disturbed" by Mr. Blake's speech, but we believe it will have an excellent effect on the youth of Canada. The freshness of the views expressed, the ability of the speaker and the confidence that is felt in Mr. Blake by the young men of Canada will cause them to consider these weighty matters with great care, and thus we shall be prepared to decide intelligently on any changes which may be proposed as necessary in regard to our political relations.

NAPANEE EXPRESS (LIBERAL).

MR. BLAKE AT AURORA.—Mr. Blake's speech which appeared in the "Globe" as delivered in North York is a manly and masterly exposition of the prominent public topics on which he discoursed. His reference to the Reciprocity Treaty must convince all who read it of the mistake which has been made and is being made in discussing the question at all. He says truthfully that all said in this country in favor of the Treaty will be used in the United States against it and "vice versa." The result must be of a doubtful character. If the Treaty is desirable it would be wisdom on the part of Canadians to condemn it, and on the other hand if there is a fixed determination to have none of it—then by all means let us praise it and declare the profoundest faith in its provisions to make this Dominion prosperous and happy. National conceits, no more than individual, are not unusually so engrossing as to lead them to ignore outside opinions, or so disinterested as to count of no consequence the advantages of a bargain.

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Mr. Blake's second reference was to the Railway. He ably defends the position of the Government in regard to that undertaking. He would abate not one jot of that policy to please the 2000 voters of British Columbia. If the little North-west Province threatens secession he would say to them "Act your own pleasure." He would much prefer that they should secede—as we take it—at the same time believing that they have every interest and inclination not to pursue that course, rather than cripple the resources of the country by expending money on a Railway before the surveys are completed and the best route is settled upon—a railway which he says will cost millions to construct and millions to keep in repair afterwards, even though it be possible to keep it open. But he would connect, as the Government is doing, the valley of the Red River with our magnificent chain of lakes in the most speedy and effectual way possible. He does not believe that one bushel of grain will ever be

carried from the Canadian prairies to Europe by rail; he does not think it could be transported so great a distance in that way to advantage; but he sees an outlet for the future productions of this most fertile region in utilizing water communications connected by railways, reaching the head of lake navigation. This is the government policy, and we congratulate the ministers on so able an advocate of their projects. Mr. Blake speaks very strongly and convincingly in regard to the Pacific Railway, and his views cannot but have weight with the country.

Mr. Blake's next reference reads like an essay on the science of government, which, in fact, in a political way it is. He thinks a Constitutional Monarchy preferable in every respect to a Republic, and he has no hesitation in saying that the government of Canada is far in advance, in the application of real republican principles, of the Government of either England or the United States. He still looks forward to the time when Canada will be able and willing to assume her part of national responsibility and become Federally joined to the Empire. Then and only then will we be free—free not only to direct our own legislation; but free to exercise an influence on the Treaties with foreign powers that effect us—a state of freedom which we now lay no possible claim to.

For the present we shall make but one more reference to this statesmanlike address. In his eloquent reference to the Senate of Canada Mr. Blake expressed himself favorable to the appointment of the Senate by the respective Local Legislatures. It will be remembered that this view was advocated in these columns some months ago.

BERLIN TELEGRAPH (REFORM).

MR. BLAKE AT AURORA.—Everything that Mr. Blake says in public is worth reading and worth reflecting over. He is a very able, cogent and suggestive political speaker. He is besides this not only a Canadian "to the manor born," but high-spirited and patriotic in the expression of his sentiments, and cardinal virtues like these, united with his many other admirable qualities as a public man, give to his utterances a commanding attention and respect. We do not know whether at Aurora Mr. Blake had, has he ought to have had, a sympathetic audience. Aurora is the heart, at all events, the pulse of an old Liberal constituency sacred to the memory of Baldwin, William Lyon McKenzie, Hartman and many another who unsheathed his blade in the cause of Reform at a time when its very name had a perilous signification. We can well believe, therefore, that his words fell upon no idle ears, but, whether or no, they will find a responsive echo in the hearts of the Canadian people, they will come home with power to every lover of his country, and to every one who has faith in her present, and an all abiding hope in the future destiny of the Canadian nation.

Mr. Blake has spoken very little of late, but it is evident he has not been heedless of the ultimate effect of political influences that have been slowly but surely making headway amongst us. In some respects his speech cannot be characterized as other than a "new departure" in politics. It exemplifies the force of the poet laureate's lines quoted by him that:—

> This is the land that freemen till,
> That sober—suited freedom chose,
> The land, where girt with friends or foes
> A man may speak the thing he will;
>
> * * * * *
>
> Where faction seldom gathers head,
> But by degrees to fulness wrought,
> The strength of some diffusive thought
> Hath time and space to work and spread.

The topics embraced in the Aurora address are so manifold that we can only refer a few of them. * * * * * * *

After alluding to the unreasonable dissatisfaction of the British Columbia Government with the old, extravagant and untimely terms of union, Mr. Blake launched forth into a very able review of the relations of Canada with the mother country, strongly advocated the re-organization of the Empire on a Federal basis, and impressed upon his auditory in that eloquent and incisive language, of which he is so much the master, the imperative necessity that existed for the cultivation of a national sentiment in this country. We hope to find space for this portion of Mr. Blake's speech in our next issue, as well as for his remarks on the present anomaly in our constitution by which minorities are totally unrepresented in our National Assembly. The latter, known as Hare's theory, is by no means a new theory with many eminent men in England who indulge in speculative political philosophy. We honestly confess to having little faith in its practical operation here, but since it has been started by one of the foremost, if not the foremost, of Canadian statesmen, it must necessarily challenge discussion by men of all parties, and should be ventilated fully both in the press and on the platform. As to the main burthen of Mr. Blake's speech there can be no two opinions, and even those who may find room to differ with him cannot but admire the bold and manly attitude which he assumed in speaking of "Canada as a distinct State," her singular position as a dependency with no treaty making powers, her silent voice in questions of peace and war, and her liability at a moment's notice to be plunged into foreign complications which she may have had no part in creating, but in which she may be obliged to peril her whole resources in men and money. These are things fraught with real interest to us all, but which in the ceaseless din and discord of party antagonism and conflict we are too prone to lose sight of altogether. Mr. Blake has brought them to the fore with a distinctness and freshness that will give them a place they have never had in our old programmes of politics. He has stated them to be his "distinctive opinions," and has with that true virtue and courage, which should never desert our public men, "run the risk of promulgating what may be called a political heresy to-day, but may perhaps become a political creed to-morrow."

St Catherines' News (Reform.)

Mr. Blake's Great Speech.—Leaving out Mr. Blake's great speech, delivered a few days since at Aurora, that which pertained to the Pacific Railway and British Columbia, the principles he enunciated were as follows:

1. Federation of the Empire.
2. Reorganization of the Senate.
3. Compulsory voting.
4. Extension of the franchise.
5. Representation of minorities.

These are not new doctrines, all having been enunciated years ago, both in Canada and in England.

Federation of the British Empire is very attractive in theory, but we fear it will not be found feasible in practice.

Compulsory voting will never become popular, however just it may be in theory, and the representation of minorities, as worked in England, to a moderate extent, has not fulfilled the expectations of its advocates. Some of these planks have been placed in the platform of Canada First, but there is nothing in any of the principles announced by Mr. Blake inconsistent with the broad and comprehensive principles of of progression now contended for by the great Reform party of Canada.

Bruce Reporter (Reform.)

Mr. Blake at Aurora.—Mr. Blake, last Saturday at Aurora, delivered another of his brilliant and masterly speeches, in which he set forth clearly the advantages accruing to the country from the operation of a pure election law, while regretting the disclosures that have recently taken place in the Election Courts, which have

resulted in unseating all the members whose cases have been tried. He showed that in none of these cases had the election been conducted according to law, inasmuch as the defeated candidate had in no instance claimed the vacant seat. He rejoiced that we had now the ballot, but he advocated as a further improvement the passage of an enactment to render voting compulsory, arguing that the franchise was a sacred trust to be exercised not only for the benefit of its possessor, but for the whole population of the country. Besides a moderate penalty for inexcusable failure to record his vote, he would go for not allowing the elector guilty of such dereliction to vote again at any period until after the next general election.

Mr. Blake adverted to the false and injurious system of under-assessing property. The law was sufficiently stringent on this point, but its violation in this regard was too often winked at. He would extend the franchise to every householder on the simple qualification of being occupant, and to every farmer's son of adult age residing at home. He believed the latter would make as good a class of voters as any they could find.

Mr. Blake, at considerable length, set forth weighty arguments in favor of electing representatives of minorities, which is certainly a bold advance in favor of just and liberal government.

In the course of his eloquent address he bore down heavily upon the Dominion Senate, and advocated their being constituted the direct repesentatives of the people —a proposal which the *Globe* does not seem to favor, but which we hope, at no distant day, to see an accomplished fact.

Mr. Blake expressed his hearty accord with the policy of the Mackenzie Administration in regard to the Pacific Railway, and expressed his convictions that his honorable friend Mr. Mowat would long be permitted to fill the high position to which he had been called while he himself preferred to be a private in the advanced guard of the army of freedom.

St. John (N. B.) Telegraph (Second Article).

Mr. Blake's Speech.—In point of form, Mr. Blake's speech is characterized by an eloquent, lofty, independent tone. From a party stand-point, it indicates, at least, a mild divergence from the true Reform doctrines, as expounded by the great politically orthodox journal. This, however, is more apparent in the use by Mr. Blake of a slightly different political nomenclature than otherwise. He seems to prefer the term Liberal to that of Reform. He gives prominence to those national sentiments, so called, which the Canada First Party claim especially as their own and which are the aversion of the *Globe*, and he distinctly states that the Reciprocity Treaty should not be treated as a party question in Parliament, whereas, should the Treaty pass the Senate of the United States, there can be little doubt that the Government would feel bound to carry it through Parliament, and as little that the Opposition would rightly hold the Government accountable for it and treat it as a party measure. If such treaties as Reciprocity are to be negotiated, the Government of the day must certainly be prepared to take the responsibility of measures of such far-reaching influence. Moreover, we hold that the Treaty is properly before the public, and that the people of England and of Canada do well to discuss it thoroughly.

In so far as Mr. Blake desires to improve the electoral law, repress corruption, and advance the political education of the people, doing so by means provided for to the Constitution, we are heartily with him. We are, however, utterly opposed in making any present changes in the Constitution itself. We want, for a good many years to come, "a land of settled Government," as Tennyson has it. We want to give to our people the idea of stability, repose and permanence, so far as the Constitution is concerned—otherwise we may disgust them with the frequency of our political changes, and suggest to them unadvisable remedies. The superfluous energies of Canadians, the fine genius of statesmen like Mr. Blake, the efforts of all patriotic men can best be expended on matters of legislation, administration and detail; on immigration; on the improvement of the means of intercommunication; on educa-

tion; on the great industries of the country. When we get a population of eight or ten millions, and our future as a nation is assured, then it will be time enough to consider what constitutional changes might be desirable. We believe, also, that there is no urgent, present necessity for dealing with our relations to the Empire, and we could wish that English statesmen and leaders of public opinion would act on this theory. If, in treaty making and otherwise, they will treat us as the self-governed people that they concede we are, and which we claim to be, we shall be perfectly satisfied with the present state of things.

BRANTFORD EXPOSITOR (Second Article).

"CANADA FIRST."—The address of Mr. Blake at the North York Demonstration will probably mark an era in the political history of this country. It was not the airy persiflage of an ambitious politician in search of popularity, or the whims of a leader vain of notoriety, seeking to build up a reputation. It consisted rather of the bold utterances of a high minded and able statesman, who had carefully weighed the questions which he discussed, and courageous enough to leave the beaten path, expressed his sentiments freely and unreservedly. That the platform enunciated by Mr. Blake will be taken up and acted on by any large body of the people at the present moment is scarcely probable. The Reform party has too lately returned from the battle field, gory with the contest of a hard won victory for pure and popular Government, to feel like buckling on its armour so soon to burst again the "links of habit" and old theories of statecraft. There is enough to do to knit together the antagonistic elements of our far spread nationality, to remodel, rearrange and perfect the machinery of Government now in operation without at present striking out a new programme for the reconstruction of the constitutional system, which will clash with the time-honored opinions and prejudices of many now allied with the Liberal party. And the Conservative party will find nothing in the latest platform congenial to their tastes and habits of thinking. At the same time there is nothing in the progressive measures for pure and equitable government advocated by Mr. Blake at Aurora, which conflicts with or is in any manner hostile to the principles so long and earnestly maintained by the Liberal party of Canada. Any Reformer can be in full accord with the whole programme, without swerving from any political opinion publicly or privately maintained by his party.

Coincident, however, with the Aurora speech we have the foundation stone of the Club House of the new National party laid—a party whose views are very similar to those which found expression on the Aurora platform—a party which has been met with gibes and sneers and rebuffs by the leading organs of both political parties. We are no apologists of the "Canada First" party, but the treatment they have received from the leading oracles savors too much of the "lash." It is scarcely politic or even honorable to "scout" those who, while their tenets of government are correct, have strayed from the well drawn lines, and have laid out new avenues, which, theoretically at least, show nothing but progress and advancement towards the goal to be desired. The class of men who have unfurled the banner of the National party are not those who can be awed by sarcasm and irony. Talent of no inferior order is at their command, and enthusiastic in the work they have undertaken, the party will not be slow to enlarge its borders and extend its ramifications. The endeavor to stamp it out will only serve to feed the flame. Its organ may be marked by a "paleness of thought," but it commends itself to many of the educated and intelligent classes of the country. The late speech of Mr. Blake, so acceptable to the sentiments of the Nationalists, has given new life and vigor to the association, and no one will be surprised, if ere long it finds a voice on the floor of Parliament. When, too, its voice is heard in the House, the people may be assured that it will not be represented by a mediocrity, nor without a very respectable following. Mr. Blake has touched a spring which will give the new party an influence and a status, and whether he identifies himself with them or not, having once got the start they want, they will be sure to work up. We consider it imprudent to agitate the country with

these questions before other grave measures which are now in course of evolution have been disposed of, and we apprehend they will exercise little influence on the history of our politics for some time to come. The train has been laid, however, and sooner or later the people will determine and act upon them.

TORONTO GLOBE.—SECOND ARTICLE.

MR. BLAKE AT AURORA.—In a former paper we noticed some of the more prominent points discussed by Mr. Blake in his recent speech at Aurora. The concluding portion of that address calls for a few additional remarks. In common with all those who really constitute the Reform party, Mr. Blake deplores and condemns the prevalence of bribery and corruption in the electoral contests of this country, and at the same time shows that while the Conservatives have uniformly sought to perpetuate this corrupt system by refusing any effectual counteractive law, Reformers have uniformly striven, and at last successfully, to make bribery so likely to be discovered and punished by legal tribunals that at last it must be at no distant day put entirely down. If this has not been as yet accomplished it is not the fault of the Reform party as such, and as little of the law which Reformers have enacted, and which has been so short time in operation. It is a matter of regret that anyone should so offend against propriety and good morals, as to seek to corrupt electors; but if they do so, whether they be Conservatives or Reformers, they are now almost certain to be convicted and exposed. Besides, as Mr. Blake showed, we shall in future have the ballot the better to protect the elector from both threats and bribes.

In the abstract a good deal may be said in favour of compulsory voting, and Mr. Blake put it as strongly and effectively as possible, yet in its application it would be found troublesome in the extreme, if not positively impracticable. It is impossible to force individuals into activity in the discharge of their duty as citizens by threatening them with pains and penalties. Where national life is strong and intelligence widely diffused coercion will be unnecessary. Where these are absent or feeble, coercion will be almost useless. It has been far more the fault of the candidates and their friends than of the electors themselves, that teams have been hired on polling days ostensibly to convey the electors to the polling booth, but really to pay the owners of the teams for their votes. Many good reasons for absentation from voting might be given, and at the same time no reason at all why each should be laid before a Court in order to its being determined whether they were valid or the reverse. All the candidates nominated may be unacceptable to particular individuals. The person who would have been preferred might positively refuse either to be nominated or to serve, while the likelihood of his receiving support might be so small that his friends would not think of putting him into the invidious position by bringing him forward as a candidate only to receive a few votes. It is not at all certain that it would not be more demoralizing for an elector to stay at home than to go to the polling place and make believe to vote, while he actually put in a blank. We doubt much whether compulsory voting will ever be enforced.

Nothing could be more to the point than Mr. Blake's condemnation of the practice so prevalent all over the country, of greatly under assessing real estate. It does no good, it saves no taxes. At the same time it gives outsiders a very inadequate idea of the wealth of the country and of the prosperity of its inhabitants. We hope all will take the advice thus tendered them, and seek in their assessments, as well as in everything else, to be honest and truthful, whether being so, result in injury apparently or benefit.

Were honest assessments made there can be no doubt that the number of voters would in many cases be greatly and beneficially increased, though we cannot say we can see any special propriety in Mr. Blake's suggestion about giving votes to farmers' sons who live with their fathers, and hope by and bye to be their successors. It is very possible that these young gentlemen might make very good and very intelligent voters, but why they should be singled out from among all the young men that live with their fathers in town or country does not appear. The sons of all householders would, in fact, receive the franchise under this plan, because it would be impossible to make a distinction between those who remain at home and those who show their enterprise by going abroad. The step to manhood suffrage after that would not be a great one, and it would be of no use to make two bites of the cherry.

The representation of minorites has of late years been the subject of considerable discussion in Britain. Many plans have been suggested in order to secure such representation most effectively. This discussion started from the supposed principle that minorities ought to be represented in the counsels of the nation. To illustrate this, cases of supposedly grievous hardship have been adduced. For instance, where two-thirds of the population are of one opinion, and one-third of another, it is quite possible that over a whole country the

minority might not be able to elect one who could expound their principles or defend their rights. Is this, it has been asked, fair or right? And the answer given has been in the negative. But is this negative so evident as Mr. Blake and many others would have it appear? We rather think not. Do as one may, there will always be many unable to have any representative of their peculiarities, or any expounder of their opinions, in the Ministry or Parliament. It is a grievous fallacy to think that there will only be one minority in a country or a district, or that the supposed injustice complained of will be at an end if provision is made to have that one minority in some way or other represented. As a matter of fact, there is on many a subject an almost endless variety of minorities, and each may complain of injustice if it is either ignored or outvoted. Once the principle of rule by majority is given up, difficulties multiply on every side, and in endeavouring to escape from one injustice there is the greatest danger of others of more formidable character being inflicted. If a minority of 500 may legitimately claim representation, why not the minority of 50 within that minority? Perhaps the 50 that are conscientiously opposed to the majority are equally hostile to protesting minority. What then? The answer is merely, we must stop somewhere. In that case it is not a question of principle at all but simply of expediency. Is a minority only to be represented when comparatively large? If so, why and who is to determine when it is large enough? If all minorities are to be considered, by what possible process could this be effected? By none we have yet seen described and certainly not by that which Mr. Blake seems to prefer, though he does not speak positively. In all electoral districts where only one representative is chosen it is not pretended that the minority can be represented. There the minority and majority are destroyed. The "restrictive" vote could not be tried, for each only votes once. Equally impossible is it there for the cumulative vote to be employed. Yet the supposed injustice is manifest enough in these cases, as Mr. Blake mentions about his own county of South Bruce. In such cases the plan proposed would result in a compromise, and would, if carried out, not return the man believed by the majority or the minority to be best, but the man regarded upon the whole as least objectionable to all. Say there were twenty candidates started for South Bruce, then each elector would have the right of voting for each of these in the order of his supposed merit. The result it is supposed, would be satisfactory, giving a fair average of the opinion of the constituency. But will any one say that such a result would be more satisfactory or fair than that which by the present system has issued in Mr. Blake being the representative? We fail to see that it would, while the labour involved in making up and determining such returns would be positively appalling.

In the case of large constituencies, where two or three representatives are to be chosen the advocates of minority representation fancy they can make out a more feasible case. They have the "restrictive" vote, by which is meant that each shall vote for one less than the number of representatives to be chosen This, it is said, would give a minority a fair chance if its members happened to be tolerably united among themselves. But if they were not so united, what then? The *cumulative* vote has also been advocated. By this is meant that each voter may distribute or concentrate his votes as he pleases. If three representatives are to be chosen he may give all his three votes to one person, or two to one and one to another. All this, however, takes for granted that the minority is united, and as such act, and votes. The changes made in Canada show that the people regard large constituencies having two or three representatives, as objectionable, and that the only way to reform them is by distribution among small electoral districts with as nearly as possible an equal number of voters. This is the simplest plan involving the smallest degree of labour on the part of candidate and elector. Mr. Hare's plan, whether as originally propounded so as to have each elector vote for the two or three hundred whom he thought best fitted to form the whole House of Representatives, or as it has since been modified so as to allow each voter in his own electoral district to give a list of those whom he would prefer as representatives in the order of preference, would be perfectly unworkable, and it would scarcely obviate one objection brought against the common plan, or make the members chosen either a fairer or better representation of the opinions and wishes of each constituency as a whole. Discussions of fancy franchise have doubtless their uses, but in many cases they must be classed rather with the recreations of leisure hours than with the graver efforts and more earnest work of high and practical statesmanship.

TORONTO MAIL—SECOND ARTICLE.

MR. BLAKE'S SPEECH.—The last half of Mr. Blake's speech at Aurora appeared yesterday, and may be briefly summarized. He takes credit to himself for having tried from the earliest moment of his entrance into public life to bring about purity of elections, and asserts that but for the existence of the Dominion Election Law of 1873 he would not have consented to the dissolution of 1874; he fully admits the corruption that is faintly hinted

at rather than fully disclosed, by the late trials under the Act, but he consoles himself with the idea that probably the other side was corrupt, because Opposition candidates have not claimed the contested seats. A more characteristically unfair suggestion could scarcely have been made by that ingenious special pleader. A new and complex issue is introduced by the claim of the defeated candidate to the seat. and it is always open to the other side to petition against him if it desires to show that he has used corrupt means.

Mr. Blake thinks the result of the elections of 1874 would have been nearly the same whether there had been bribery or not. From this we must beg leave very emphatically to record a different opinion. Can any honorable man suppose that the elections of London, Lincoln, West Northumberland, Essex and the others in the same category were not carried by the profuse expenditure of money ? and will any one pretend to say that there is not grave ground for the conclusion that the great Grit majority of 1874 do not sit by virtue of such shameless bribery and notorious manipulation of assessment rolls as should form sufficient reason for dissolving and purging the House as was urged for the dissolution last winter ? The Election Courts may do some service in that behalf, but your true Grit swallows the most nauseous doses and returns to the besmirched candidate without a frown.

The right to vote, Mr. Blake thinks, is a sacred trust, held by not more than one-eigth of the population for the benefit of all, and he urges that voters should be in some way compelled to exercise it so far at least as to go to the polls and deposit a *blank ballot* there. Lest this may be deemed an unfair statement of his argument let us quote his exact words : "Let the voter at all events go to the booth and deposit his ballot, whether it be a stock "ballot or a scratched ballot we shall not know, but I think those that remain on the roll "should be compelled by law to deposit their ballot ;" and if they don't choose to vote, he urges, let them have their names taken from the roll. This question of a trust was urged by the opponents of the ballot on the floor of the House, and it was argued by them that such a trust should be discharged openly and not secretly ; but Mr. Moss, one of Mr. Blake's near friends, said that the trust was so slight, by reason of the extension of the franchise, that it was practically of no importance Mr. Blake, however, says that one-eighth of the community holds it for the whole, and a more forcible argument against secret voting could not be brought forward.

Under assessments next come under notice, and are very properly condemned ; but while upon the subject it might have been very proper to refer to the infamous frauds by which voters are manufactured, and which the framers of the elaborate law of the last session refused to remedy.

A crotchet is next aired in behalf of the representation of minorities illustrated by the fact that in Mr. Blake's own Riding there are 2,000 voters opposed to him whom he claims he does not represent. These are his words : "Within nine of 2,000 votes were polled "against me. Can I say I represent those people ? I do not. I do not represent their "views." A system of representation by districts must of course involve the difficulty complained of by Mr. Blake, that the majority may be represented by a minority of all the votes. This must be a possibility always, unless each candidate is voted for by the whole Province or district represented by the whole body of members. In the United States it was clearly shown for instance, that under the system of voting by States Mr Lincoln was made President by a minority of more than two millions of the voting population, and that the vast and momentous questions then convulsing that country were decided practically by that minority. A very important admission is made by Mr. Blake in this connection ; and for the benefit of those who supposed or asserted that the general elections of 1874 indicated a change to the Grit side of a majority of the entire voting population, because a great majority of Grit candidates were returned to Parliament, we will quote what he says on this subject : "In the "election of 1874, the popular voice, although very strongly in favour of the Government, "was by no means so decided as the returns showed. And besides this, 178 votes turned the "other way would have changed eight seats, making a difference of sixteen on a division. "Little more than double that number would have changed sixteen seats, or thirty-two on "a division." Our Grit friends should ponder these remarks. Cumulative voting is suggested by Mr Blake as a means of securing the representation of minorities, but the practical difficulties in the way seem almost insurmountable, and a review of them would make us willing to accept Grit tyranny for a while in hope of some less complex and more easy means of relief.

Mr Blake, as he draws to a close, very pointedly and unmistakably bows himself out of the company of his Grit associates and coolly takes up his hat and retires with these last significant words : "I must bring my speech to a close. I know, Sir, that I have made a rather "disturbing speech, but I am not afraid of that. As far as I can judge, not much can be "done without disturbing something or somebody, and if that is the only objection to be "made to the sentiments I have uttered, I am quite ready to meet it. I may be said also "to have made an imprudent speech—at least it might be said if I were one of those who

"aspire to lead their fellow-countrymen as Ministers. It is the function of Ministers—we "know it, and I do not quarrel with it—to say nothing that can be caught hold of—nothing "in advance of the popular opinion of the day, to watch the current of that opinion, and "when it has gathered strength to crystalise it into Acts of Parliament." And as the school-boy grasps his satchel and whistles a familiar tune as he leaves the hated school form for the free air of the play-ground, a reminiscence of last summer's travels comes upon the ex-minister like a fresh sea-breeze, and beautiful words from Tennyson's *In Memoriam* sink the politician and elevate the man, who says:

You ask me, why, tho' ill at ease,
Within this region I subsist,
Whose spirits falter in the mist,
And languish for the purple seas?

It is the land that freemen till,
That sober-suited Freedom chose,
The land, where girt with friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will;

A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent:

Where faction seldom gathers head,
But by degrees to fulness wrought,
The strength of some diffusive thought
Hath time and space to work and spread.

Should banded unions persecute
Opinion, and induce a time
When single thought is civil crime,
And individual freedom mute;

Tho' Power should make from land to land
The name of Britain trebly great—
Tho' every channel of the State
Should almost choke with golden sand—

Yet waft me from the harbour-mouth,
Wild wind! I seek a warmer sky,
And I will see before I die,
The palms and temples of the South.

We remember seeing a very impatient, irascible gentleman who was driving a high-spirited but balky horse to the railway train. Time was up—and at the foot of a hill near the station the horse stopped and refused to go further in that direction. The temper of the animal was well known, and force could not be applied without danger of life and limb. The contrast between the patting and coaxing and the interjectional expletives was irresistibly ludicrous. Something equally amusing and not very dissimilar, may be noticed in the *Globe's* review of this remarkable speech. There is evident restraint; and we can imagine the effort by which the claw is kept sheathed and velvety and the purr is continued when there is fierce impulse to flesh the talons, suck the blood, and growl tiger-like over the quivering victim.

This remarkable utterance may be considered the key-note of the formidable faction who are about to signalize their departure from the Grit army and to set up camp by themselves, and in it the sneering question of the *Globe* as to the leadership of the recalcitrant host is very defiantly as well as distinctly answered. Patting and purring will not avail now. Will teeth and claws be used? *Nous verrons!* Meanwhile, we may say that the foreshadowed exodus of a great body of intelligent men from the Grit organization, led by one of the boldest and bitterest of spirits among them, may well cause a shaking in the secret councils of the faithful at this juncture, when the pending Ontario elections, under the evidences constantly accumulating of party depravity and Ministerial corruption, are becoming day by day more dreaded by the Purists, and the Draft Treaty obnoxious to everybody, begins already to exhale such putridity as to cause Mr. Blake to say that until it has been disinfected in the sweet atmosphere of the United States' Senate it must not be brought 'twixt the wind and his nobility.

Truly it may be said in respect to the crib that Brown built, that the Aurora *pronunciamento* is the beginning of the end.

OTTAWA TIMES (REFORM).

MR. BLAKE AT AURORA.—Mr. Blake's latest public utterance has been the chief subject of comment in the Western papers of all shades of politics for the past few days, and indeed is likely to form the principal topic for newspaper editors to exercise their ingenuity upon for a good while to come. Before proceeding to make any comment of our own upon the points brought out prominently in that speech, it might be well in the first place briefly to state the points themselves. In the early sentences of his oration, Mr. Blake took occasion to pay his sincere tribute of praise to the general course of administration and legislation pursued by Mr. Mowat and his government, which he declared to be such as in his judgment and belief entitled them to the respect, affection, and continued support of the people of Ontario. Turning to Dominion politics, he deprecated the discussion of the proposed Reciprocity Treaty at this stage of the negotiations—especially a discussion of its advantages to Canada, which would simply be furnishing arguments to its opponents on the other side of the line with which to defeat its passage through the Senate; while on the other hand, he remarked that all the meetings held by opponents of the Treaty on this side, all the arguments they used and all the resolutions they passed, seemed to him to be so many invitations to the Senate of the United States to assent to it. He remarked upon the transparent inconsistency of the Tory press deprecating the discussion of the draft treaty from a party stand-point, while the Tory Convention at Toronto—a Convention which met only for the purpose of passing upon the Provincial politics of the day—drew up a party platform in which opposition to the treaty formed a conspicuous plank. Mr. Blake might well have inquired, although he did not, why the Provincial Tory politicians, while professing to deal with local matters alone, had gone out of the way to incorporate opposition to the Treaty in their programme for the forthcoming elections. How much aid Mr. Cameron and his quartette would be able to afford the enemies of the Treaty in the House of Commons, even if they were in power in Ontario to-morrow, is a question which might be answered without much calculation or discussion. On the Pacific Railway question, Mr. Blake adhered with the utmost persistency and consistency to that policy on the part of the Government to which, a year ago, as one of the advisers of the Crown, he gave his consent and approval, a policy which, as he very appropriately remarked, the country had supported with extraordinary heartiness and unanimity. The calculations he made regarding the future of our trans-continental railway as a commercial undertaking, while as yet largely speculative, savour very strongly of probability, however unwilling we might feel as a people to admit it in advance. There, indeed, can be no question that our enormous expenditures in that connection will not terminate with the construction of the road and that to maintain it in running order will be a very large drain upon our national finances for many years after complete communication by rail shall have been established. We have never seen any statement to the opposite from an authoritative quarter, and nothing beyond the mere bald assertions and imaginative clap-trap of interested politicians has as yet been adduced in favour of the theory. When Mr Blake plainly stated that even a threat of secession from the Confederation on the part of British Columbia would not force the people of Canada into attempting the impossible, he only stated what we believe to be the prevailing sentiment of every political party in every Province; he might have even gone further, and assured them that nothing would be more likely to alienate from them the good feelings of the sister Provinces—nothing more likely to breed a spirit of defiance and retaliation—than an attempt to coerce us into doing that which would inevitably result, even if possible in any shape, in national bankruptcy and ruin, by holding the alternative of disruption menacingly over our heads. But we cannot help thinking that Mr Blake did the people of British Columbia an injustice by admitting, even indirectly or by implication, that they had ever held out any such threat. It is perfectly true that the conduct of the men who, unfortunately for the Pacific Province, are in the meantime at the head of her local affairs, has been of the most overbearing and irritating description. A population only about one-third that of the City of Ottawa could not well be productive of many great men, but there is no reason why there should not be plenty sensible men, as we have no doubt there are. The petty dignity affected by Mr Walkem and his colleagues does not impress us very strongly with the idea that the sensible men are at the head of affairs at present, and the childish airs they have assumed, the exceeding importance with which they have clothed themselves, and the priggish, overweening, arrogant and pragmatic temper they have displayed throughout the recent negotiations, have all conspired to try the patience and irritate the feelings of a people opposed to shams and red tape above all things conceivable. But neither Mr Walkem nor his newspaper organs in British Columbia have ever dared to whisper disintegration or secession. They know that the moment they did so their doom as a Government would be sealed. Not half a dozen of the loyal people of the Pacific Province would raise their voices in defence of such a proposition, but as a matter of fact no person in British Columbia has ever breathed it. It has been left to our

ultra-loyal Toriés in Eastern Canada—the men who have the word loyalty always upon their lips when they are in power, but mad faithlessness, perfidy, and rank intolerance, in their hearts and actions when in the cold shades of Opposition—it was left to them, and to them alone, we say, to become the advocates and exponents of disaffection between Columbia and her sister Provinces, of the Dominion. Mr Blake very properly pointed out that the leading representative of the secession idea is Sir John Macdonald, who in his election speech openly counselled the people of British Columbia to take the step; but while he stated with a positiveness which he had a right to assume that the people of Columbia would not secede, he forgot to mention that they had not approved of the suggestion, even when made to them by such a high authority as the late Prime Minister of Canada, and present leader of one of the two great parties into which the people of the Dominion are politically divided. Mr. Blake's remarks anent the necessity for the rapid colonization of the North West country, and—if we are to maintain upon this northern half of the continent a State representative of British power—the equally important if somewhat more difficult matter of retaining the sympathies, trade, and commerce of the people of that territory when it has been peopled, at once discredit the assertions of Tory organs that he is about to secede from the Liberal ranks to accept the leadership of an embryo party which is suspected by these same organs of cherishing leanings towards nativeism and know-nothingism. We do not say that such are the sentiments of the Canada First party, nor do we intend to enter into any discussion regarding that organization in the mean time at all. We simply say that if the Tory organs have interpreted that party's principles aright, Mr. Blake entertains sentiments which unfit him from ever becoming even a follower under its banner, not to speak of its leader. If the truth must be told, however—and told it must be—the wish that Mr. Blake should become dissociated from his present political allies has been father to many a thought in the minds of the Tories of a character similar to this one. What hope they would be able to extract from his secession in the direction most recently suggested, so far as Mr. Blake is concerned, it appears to us somewhat difficult to ascertain. We could easily suppose that any symptoms of a leaning towards Conservatism—any tendency to rebel against the changes and innovations—if reforms can properly be called innovations—which a Liberal Government might from time to time propose, on the part of a gentleman of the eloquence and power of thinking, and possessed of such unquestionable influence in the country as Mr. Blake—we say we can easily suppose that these things might give rise to a very natural hope in the hearts of the Tory party that he would by-and bye be one of themselves. But when Mr Blake's sympathies and tendencies are shown to be so very decidedly in exactly the opposite direction; when he advocates a policy of radical reform in advance even of any Liberal statesman of the day; when all appearances indicate that he will soon become the John Bright of Canada; when he leads the way into new domains of political thought and research, and asks all liberal and progressive men to consider whether it is not time that they had widened the distance between themselves and the rest-and be-thankful party; in view of all this, we cannot help being astonished at the short-sighted exultation with which the Tories contemplate his new departure. They admit that they prefer to bear with the existing evils—as they call them—rather than fly to those Mr. Blake would have; and surely in that case it would be the wiser course in them to cultivate the friendship of that portion of the Liberal organization as at present constituted which he is likely to leave behind when he secedes. If there be any portion of the Liberal party which does not believe in the new theories he has propounded, that will not bring Mr. Blake any nearer the Tories; rather would it make the cause of the Tories and the less advanced Liberals as against him somewhat a common one. As a matter of fact, however, there is not the slightest probability that upon these or any other grounds will any portion of those who now subscribe to Liberal principles dissociate from Mr. Blake, or associate with those whose principles are in their very nature completely antithetical to those he has just developed. On the contrary, as we shall at another time be prepared to show, the existence in the ranks of the Liberal party of a gentleman of Mr. Blake's abilities and advanced ideas, is the surest evidence of the innate vitality of that party, and of its readiness, in the future as in the past, to fulfil to the people of Canada those great functions which Liberalism has fulfilled, is filling, and will continue to fulfil to the people of the Mother Country.

OTTAWA FREE PRESS (INDEPENDENT REFORM).

MR. BLAKE'S SPEECH AT AURORA.—The speech of the Hon. Edward Blake at Aurora continues to furnish the pabulum for the editorial columns of the Tory newspapers. At first, deluded by the fallacious idea that Mr. Blake's speech indicated a severance of that gentleman from the Liberal party, a thousand hands were stretched forth from the gloom of the cold shades of Opposition, willing to "shake across the bloody chasm," and to welcome a respectable politician to the purgatory of political life. Now, chagrined by the knowledge

that Mr. Blake with his liberal ideas, as the enunciator of new reforms, and the educator of the popular sentiment, has not a whit the less confidence in the integrity of the Government, the *Mail* and its petty satellites are scolding the Hon. Mr. Blake with all their might and main. That they have not yet, however, abandoned the hope that Mr. Blake's course will be able to create diversion in the Liberal ranks is evident from the utterances of the Toronto organ, which on Saturday stated that it felt "compelled to drop a word of admira-"tion for the honest Conservatism which Mr. Mackenzie's organ has displayed, and shall "stand by it approvingly while it continues so good a fight." When the *Mail* offers to "stand by" the *Globe*, we may look for a speedy initiation of the period of a political millenium; but in fact, its meaning is that it sees in a diversity of opinion between the *Globe* and Mr. Blake a spark which it hopes to be able to fan into a flame of dissension and discord. That its anticipations will be realized there is not the remotest possibility. Mr. Blake defined his position at Aurora as follows:—"It is the function of Ministers—we know "it, and I do not quarrel with it—to say nothing that can be caught hold of—(laughter)—"nothing in advance of the popular opinion of the day, to watch the current of that opinion, "and when it has gathered strength to crystalize it into Acts of Parliament. That is the "function of a Liberal Minister. The function of a Tory Minister is to wait until he is abso-"lutely forced to swallow his own opinions. (Laughter.) My honorable friend Mr. Mowat "will, I doubt not, by your suffrages enjoy a long time in which to perform his high duty, "but it may be permitted to one who prefers to be a private in the advanced guard of the "army of freedom to a commanding place in the main body—(loud cheers)—to run the risk "of promulgating what may be called a political heresy to-day, but may become a political "creed to-morrow. (Cheers.) I am sure that whatever may be your disposition as to the "opinions I have advanced, and however disinclined you may be to accept my proposals, "you will receive them with toleration and liberality. I believe that feeling which is "strongly existent in the ranks of our opponents, of intolerance of any difference of opinion, "that determination without argument to write and speak down the man who advances "anything new as revolutionary and unsafe, is not shared by the Liberal party. I believe "you recognize the value in the interests of true liberty of a free utterance before his fellow-"countrymen of the distinctive opinions held by a public man." In such a position, if the stagnationists can find any crumb of comfort, it would be cruel to deprive them of it. "Hunger sweetens beans," and in these days of their small mercies, the party in Opposition may be permitted to enjoy imaginative advantages without let or hindrance. When the first struggle for responsible government was initiated in Canada perhaps the leader of the then ultra-Liberal party would have been as little disposed to favor a proposition to abolish Church and State, to introduce representation by population, or to reduce the franchise, as some of the members of the Liberal party of to-day seem to be to favor the reforms of the future, shadowed by Mr. Blake the other day. Yet all these things have come to pass, and we find the very men who were foremost to oppose them now most anxious to claim credit for having aided in securing them. Even Mr. Baldwin, who was in his own time to the Liberal party what Mr. Blake is to-day, looked upon the proposal to secularize the clergy reserves as a step towards the demoralization of the country. So Mr. Brown, who followed him as the leader of the progressive party, and to whom the country owes many of the constitutional privileges which we now enjoy, may fall behind the ever progressive spirit of the age, and may find himself as far behind the prevailing sentiment of the Liberal party as in early days he was in advance of it. Popular reforms are not the result of a spontaneous outgrowth of the public mind. People are generally cautious in receiving new ideas, or in adopting new doctrines of political economy, however commendable they may appear on the surface; Governments are necessarily so. It requires time and agitation, free discussion, advocacy and criticism to educate the popular mind in the direction of progressive reform. That work Mr. Blake has made his own, and in giving shape to doctrines, most of which have many sympathizers in the country, and among our public men, he has initiated a movement that will eventually be crowned with success. As Mr. Blake has stated, the country is not prepared for the reforms he has proposed now; it may be some years before the "political heresies" of the present shall become the "political creeds" of the future; but when that time does come we have no doubt that the Liberal party, from whose ranks such progressive aspirations most fittingly proceed, will be found ready to espouse the cause of progress, as it has ever been in the past, and to adopt as its own those principles which are given birth to by its most eminent and able leader.

OTTAWA CITIZEN (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE).

MR. BLAKE'S HERESY.—The organs of the Combination are extracting comfort from such portions of Mr. BLAKE'S Aurora speech as are directed against the Conservative party. They point to such remarks as evidence that he is still a faithful follower of ALEXANDER MACKENZIE,

forgetting that an alliance for Opposition to Sir JOHN MACDONALD does not necessarily imply unity of sentiment on all public questions with GEORGE BROWN and his henchmen. Indeed, there is nothing more natural than this very alliance against the Liberal-Conservative party. Mr. MACKENZIE and his master in the Senate profess unbounded loyalty to Her Majesty's Government, yet pursue a policy hostile to Imperial interests and tending directly to the severance of the colonial connection: Mr BLAKE lays down a platform of which the principal "plank" is Independence for Canada. The alliance between EDWARD BLAKE and GEORGE BROWN is, therefore, the natural cohesion of the Radical factions in opposition to Conservatism. It is such a union as we have seen in the Imperial Parliament between our illustrious Agent-General and Mr. BUTT, the Home Ruler. They unite to war against a common foe, whose loyalty to the empire is a reproach to their Radicalism, but have as little sympathy for each other as the Irish Home Rulers and the English Liberals who oppose DISRAELI's Government. If Mr. BLAKE is such a faithful follower of ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, as the Ministerial organs says he is, why are they so slow in publishing his last great speech? The only newspaper in which we have seen it, is the *Globe*. Some extracts from it have appeared in other Grit organs, but these have been few, brief, and as carefully selected as quotations from DON JUAN in a young ladies' reader. If this great oratorical effort of Mr. BLAKE's is all that they claim for it, they show very little anxiety to place it before their readers.

The principal features in the Canada First Programme are:—

1. The necessity of cultivating a Canadian national sentiment.
2. Imperial Federation.
3. Reconstruction of the Senate, through election of its members by Local Legislatures.
4. Compulsory voting.
5. Representation of minorities.

On all these questions Mr. BLAKE declares that he is in accord with the new party, while the *Globe* has opposed them and ridiculed the men whose offspring they are. On every point embraced in his speech he is in sympathy with the Canada First Party; on many of them he is in conflict with the *Globe* and its followers. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that Mr. Blake has declared its independence of the Brown-Mackenzie Party and assumed the leadership of Canada First. The transition is easy and natural. Mr. Blake merely abandons one Radical faction in which he was a subordinate to assume the command of another wing of the same army. His spirit rebelled against the tyranny of George Brown and resented the vulgar insolence of Alexander Mackenzie. He, a Canadian, possessing all the elements of success as a public man, chafed under the leadership of men who are regarded by his new colleagues as "foreigners" and whose ability is so far beneath his own. We cannot blame him for his desertion under such circumstances, but we regret that his services are enlisted in a cause which all loyal Canadians are bound to oppose.

That Mr. Blake's defection will seriously weaken the Ministerial Party, we have ample evidence already in the changed tone of many of the Radical organs. The most significent article we have yet seen appears in the Brockville *Recorder*. It is a small and somewhat obscure supporter of the Combination, but the gentleman who controls it is the Nestor of the Canadian press, and has devoted a life time in the Grit cause. He refers to the old Conservative party as an organization of the past, and adds:—

"Under our system it is absolutely necessary for good Government that two political parties exist, and that the parties be nearly balanced. Then will arise a new party claiming the confidence and support of the people, and should the selection of the leaders of that party be judicious, and the principles which it advocates calculated to advance the general interests of the Dominion, and to cultivate a national spirit and self-reliance, there can be no doubt of the new party becoming, in a few years, a power in the state. In the struggle it will possess advantages, as well as disadvantages. No follies or blunders committed in the past, will retard its progress; having no record, it will have no political sins to answer for. Its success then will depend in a material manner, upon the breadth of its views, coupled with the acknowledged ability of its leaders. The hour and the day has gone by, we trust, never to return, when the least divergence in thought and sentiment, by a leading politician, will be greeted with the cry of a traitor and turncoat, without any attempt to controvert the arguments adduced.

This is the opinion of many leading Radicals who regard the new departure of Mr Blake as the first step towards their emancipation from the irksome yoke of the Grit Dictator. They are mistaken, however, if they imagine that the Conservative party is dead. On the contrary, it never possessed more vitality than it does at the present day and never since 1837 did it so urgently need to put forth all its strength in defence of British institutions and the colonial connection. Radicalism is reckless and aggressive in the Mother Country as well as in Canada. The colonial tie is attacked at both ends, and nothing but a united effort on the part of all loyal subjects of Her Majesty can avert the danger which threatens its continuance. Such a union must take place, and whether the organization will be known by the old familiar title, it will, at all events, be Conservative in its principles.

TORONTO CHURCH HERALD (CHURCH OF ENGLAND).

A speech from Hon. Edward Blake is tolerably certain to be a great intellectual entertainment. His oration at Aurora, last Saturday week formed no exception to this rule. As a native Canadian we are proud of Mr. Blake. Both in character and talent he occupies a front rank amongst the able men of the day. A nation has an interest in its gifted sons far beyond a mere sentiment of admiration. There are certainly men who stamp their own genius upon the character of their country. Men, in the brilliancy of whose achievements their native land derives a reflected lustre.

There are some things in Mr. Blake's Aurora Speech in which we in common with many others can scarcely fail to agree. But perhaps there is nothing in it more indisputable than the statement near the close in which the speaker avowed his belief that he had made a disturbing speech. If we are not very greatly mistaken it has "disturbed" the relations between himself and the Reform Party with whom his political fortunes have heretofore been linked. Mr. Blake is not the man to follow the lead of any body or any party. He is not the stuff that followers are made of. When his party acceded to power on the Pacific Railway question, public opinion would have assigned to him a prominent place, if not the chief place, in the incoming Administration. By the arrangement, then, which left him out of such a place, public opinion was naturally surprised and disappointed. The true reason for this apparent discrepancy, outsiders, of course, were not to know. But the opposition party professed to see in the circumstances, evidence that Mr. Blake and the other leaders of his party were not in perfect accord. His late speech will certainly not tend to weaken, much less to remove this impression. Whilst expressing approval in general of Mr. McKenzie's acts of administration, Mr. Blake, expressed opinions widely at variance with the known policy of the Government on questions of serious importance. He spoke rather in the tone of a critic than of an adherent. His speech was from the standpoint of an independent observer, and he can scarcely be numbered with the party of which the Premier is the ostensible leader.

The chief interest attaching to Mr. Blake at present, however, is not as to his relations with the Reform party, but his position on the question of the relations of Canada to the British Empire. He is much dissatisfied with the present character of these relations, and thinks the time is at hand when they should be altered. The alteration he suggests is the "reorganization of the Empire on a Federal basis." He complains that the people of this country have not a sufficient control in the management of foreign affairs. He admits that under our present constitution we are the "freest country in the world," but that in order to make us perfectly happy we must have, what he says we do not at present enjoy, a voice in fixing our relations with other countries. Now although as a cure for these evils of our condition, Mr. Blake faintly spoke of a "Federal basis," it is quite evident he had in his mind the dissolution of our connection with England. Speaking of that connection he said "This, however, is a state of things of which you have no right to complain, because so long as you do not choose to undertake the responsibilities and burthens which attach to some share of control in these affairs you cannot fairly claim the rights and privileges of free-born Britons in such matters." He asks how long is the talk which he often hears of fostering a national spirit among the people of Canada, to be mere talk." He thinks the time has almost, if not quite arrived, when we should "take up our freedom;" and he quotes Mr. Gladstone's hint just before his Government fell, to the effect that if we wished to be off, no obstacle would be placed in the way of our departure.

Whilst we do not yield to Mr. Blake in our solicitude for the welfare of Canada, we do not share his dissatisfaction with our present constitutional position. Reorganization of the Empire on a Federal basis is a chimera, which, for us, is neither attainable nor desirable. The real question is whether we will remain a part of the Empire or "take up our freedom." We believe the all but unanimous voice of Canada will declare that our freedom will be best consulted by remaining where we are. The very fact that we can go if we choose enables us to consider the question with greater equanimity. Whatever Mr. Gladstone may have said it has been often shewn that the people of England do not wish the connection cut, and shall we be the party to cut it? Why should we cut it? Mr. Blake says because we have no voice in the foreign relations of the Empire. As a matter of mere sentiment it is needless to go into the question at this moment; as a matter of fact, however, we are consulted by England in relation to such foreign matters as we are interested in. Mr. Blake says the Treaty of Washington made "a profound impression in Canada." In one sense that treaty made a profound impression on the civilized world; inasmuch as it was considered that for the sake of removing the danger of future war, England allowed herself to be imposed upon by the United States. But we believe the welfare of Canada, so much exposed to damage in the event of such a war, was an important element in the consideration which moved England's desire to make peace even on terms unfair to herself. But if it is said the Washington Treaty

impressed Canadians with a conviction hostile to our present connection with the mother country, such a statement is made without the slightest evidence to support it. Individuals may have tried to create such an "impression," but that is a different matter. The voice of Canada *was* heard in the making of that treaty. The prime minister of Canada was one of the commissioners who negotiated or signed it. He was appointed by England expressly to attend to the interests of the Dominion; and then in order that the voice of Canada might be heard more directly, it was provided by the treaty itself that the Canadian clauses should have no operation unless the Parliament of Canada should confirm it. So far, therefore, from this country having had no voice in the matter, her own minister helped to make the treaty, and her own people in Parliament ratified it. This is the only instance cited by Mr. Blake of wrong to Canada in the management of foreign affairs, and it does not sustain his position. If Canada has no control in managing her relations with other countries, we should like to know what Mr. Brown was doing at Washington two or three months this year in connection with a reciprocity treaty?

In common with Mr. Blake we desire the cultivation of a Canadian national sentiment but we believe such a sentiment perfectly compatible with a sentiment of loyalty to the Empire, and we hope this will continue to be a "profound impression" in this Dominion.

MONTREAL GAZETTE (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE.)

A DISTURBING SPEECH.—Mr. Blake has delivered a speech which possesses at least this merit, that it has provoked more general discussion than any speech delivered by a Canadian politician for a great many years. And the special feature connected with it is that the member for South Bruce intended that it should have this effect. He appears to have been conscious that he was not doing what he had been brought to Aurora, the seat of the deliverance, to do; and he wound up his hour-and-a-half oration by what was almost an apology for having made it, and a quotation from Tennyson on the priceless value of free speech, and independent thought. "I know that I have made a rather disturbing speech, "but I am not afraid of that. As far as I can judge, not much good can be done without "disturbing something or somebody, and if that is the only objection to be made to the "sentiments I have uttered, I am quite ready to meet it. I may be said, also, to have made "an imprudent speech—at least it might be said if I were one of those who aspire to lead "their fellow-countrymen as Ministers; * * * * but it may be permitted to one who "prefers to be a private in the advanced guard of the army of freedom to a commanding "place in the main body, to run the risk of promulgating what may be called a political "heresy to-day, but may perhaps become a political creed to-morrow. I am sure that what-"ever may be your disposition as to the opinions I have advanced, and however disinclined "you may be to accept my proposals, you will receive them with toleration and liberality."

We propose to discuss some of the features of this speech in future articles, for the reason that when boldly announced as the questions of the immediate future by a gentleman whom common consent has marked out for the position of leadership, they pass out of the arena of the purely speculative and enter that of the practical. But in the meantime, what strikes us as somewhat remarkable is the fact that such a speech should have been delivered at this time at all, and that the special occasion should have been selected for its deliverance. The meeting was one of a series which are being held at this time in the sister Province, in view of the approaching elections for the Legislative Assembly. The Provincial Ministers are on a tour through the counties, doing what we remember a very eminent authority thought it utterly derogatory to the character of the late Premier of the Dominion to do, viz: stumping the constituencies. North York, the particular county in which the meeting was held at which Mr. Blake delivered his disturbing utterances, is at the moment represented by a member of the Opposition, Mr. Boultbee, and is one of the counties which the Government have strong, and perhaps reasonable, hopes of reclaiming. It was necessary to this end, therefore, that the demonstration should be as imposing as possible, and, with that object, Mr. Blake, undoubtedly the ablest man of the party, was induced to attend. Everyone knows the power of invective and satire possessed by the member for South Bruce, and there can be no doubt that it was expected that he would devote his splendid abilities to the utter annihilation of "the quartette," as the Clear Grits have designated the leaders of the Opposition. It must, therefore, have been both a surprise and disappointment to find that his references to the party politics of the Province were of the baldest and most innocent description. He confessed that since he had retired from the Legislative Assembly he had not had time to watch carefully, and was, therefore, unprepared to speak upon, the questions which at this moment constitute the subject of party controversy, and he contented himself, therefore, with a general expression of confidence in his friend Mr. Mowat, to whom he had no doubt the people would continue their support. And having said that much, he launched forth into a speech, or rather an essay upon questions of

speculative politics, such as the confederation of the Empire, the constitution of the Senate, the extension of the franchise, compulsory voting, and the representation of minorities.

It has been contended by some of our contemporaries that in this speech Mr. Blake has bowed himself out of the Liberal party, and openly identified himself as the leader of that new political organization known as the Canada First, or National, party. There is no doubt that the views he enunciated are those which have been generally understood as belonging to the new party, and that there was a special significance in his public declaration of them at the very moment that the party were erecting a visible sign of their existence in a new club house in Toronto. Notwithstanding this coincidence, however, we are not disposed to attach any such importance to the speech as many of our friends are disposed to attach to it. That Mr. Blake is momentarily out of humor with his party friends is quite possible. That they are very decidedly out of humor with him, is proved by the kind of criticism which has been bestowed upon his Aurora speech—one organ declaring that the Reform party cannot consent to follow him in his principles, and another dismissing him with the statement that his utterances were quite "harmless." Undoubtedly it was an extraordinary thing that a gentleman occupying the front rank position which Mr. Blake occupies, should have seized such an occasion for the ventilation of his political crotchets. He was expected to help in rousing the people to enthusiasm in favor of one set of politicians and against another. He was expected to sound a note that would have reverberated from one end of Ontario to the other, and literally swept the Province in favor of the Local Government. He was expected not simply to laud one side, but to denounce the other with all that trenchant vehemence which on occasions he knows so well how to employ. And instead of these things he contented himself, after dismissing the local politics in a few sentences, with the announcement that the issues of the past were indeed dead, and should in all decency be buried, and that the questions of the future were new, and as to some of them sufficiently startling questions, questions upon which he boldly avowed that his opinions were diametrically opposed to those of the gentlemen with whom he had been acting politically, and by whom he was at the moment of their utterance surrounded. All these features of the speech are remarkable. They undoubtedly augur that Mr. Blake is not going to trouble himself much about the political quarrel between the ins and the outs in Ontario; but whether they indicate that he intends formally to separate his political fortunes from those of the Liberal party and place himself at the head of a new organization, having distinct and in some respects new principles, is a different question, and one upon which, judging Mr. Blake by his antecedents, remembering how, in spite of his show of independence, he has always exhibited a meek and disciplined spirit toward his party chiefs, we are inclined to differ from many of our contemporaries.

We prefer to regard the speech as another added to the many evidences which surround us of the advancement and prosperity of this country. In earlier history men struggled in politics after the purely practical. Substantial grievances, like those of the old family compact rule, the Clergy Reserves and the Seignorial question, made for the people of this country, eminently practical questions, within the grasp of all, and the people battled until they obtained the necessary reforms. Their settlement gave rise to the question of representation, which for many years was discussed with a violence which indicated that there was substantial injustice to be removed. The union of the Provinces at once removed this greivance, and gave rise to higher aspirations and a more widespread and general advancement. All the old practical questions have been settled. There is not at this moment in Canada a single political grievance, felt to be so by the people at large, and demanding reform at the hands of Parliament. Take the addresses and speeches of the leaders of both parties, and you look in vain for any difference between them, as to questions of politics. The subjects which interest us are subjects of material development, and upon these there is no party difference. The questions of party discussion are mere matters of administration, in relation to which the standard of both parties is the same, the ground of controversy being the failure of either to reach that standard. Thus placed, with all substantial political grievances removed, we occupy the happiest position that it is possible for a people to occupy. There is leisure for speculative politicians to air their doctrines, and there is fortunately culture enough to appreciate and weigh their value. That, to our mind, is the significance of Mr. Blake's speech; and we hope to see his views, which coming from him cannot be dismissed with a mere wave of the hand as "harmless," discussed with fairness and without partizanship. Were we to act upon the method of our opponents, we should make all the political capital possible out of the fact that a leader of their party has advanced views which we are sure, as to some of them, are utterly impracticable, and as to others will never be accepted by the people of Canada. We prefer the better, and, as we believe, the wiser course. It is not a ground for taunts, but rather for congratulation, that prominent thinkers can afford in these days, and in this Canada of ours, to step aside from the more

party wrangle to discuss with the boldness with which Mr. Blake discussed them, new questions of politics. They do not involve retirement from his party; for to lay down such a doctrine would be to cut off all higher discussion, and to dwarf men into mere political parrots and voting machines. But they do, by drawing men's minds away for a moment from the mere personal controversies which too much characterize our politics, tend to elevate the tone of political thought and debate, and thus help us on in that career of national advancement upon which we have so worthily entered.

St. John's (N.B.) Freeman (Liberal).

Mr. Blake's Speech at Aurora.—Those open and secret members of the Dominion Opposition who were led by the telegraphic reports to believe that Mr. Blake's speech at Aurora indicated his dissatisfaction with the present Government, his determination to break away from the Reform Party, to quarrel with Mr. Brown, and to become the leader of the malcontents, must be greatly disappointed when they read the speech of this most chivalrous of politicians. In it there is no word or tone of discontent. On the contrary, he fully and unequivocally declares his entire approval of the Government in all the great questions which have thus far occupied their attention, and the approval of a man so able and so disinterested is worth much. He spoke indeed of the future of this country in a way which perhaps led some to suppose that his views as to the future are in some degree identical with those of the Canada First Party, but views precisely similar were propounded as plainly before the Canada First Party was heard of, and even before the Confederation of these provinces was ever mooted, and as everyone who thinks seriously of the future of this country must feel that it cannot exist forever exactly in its present state of semi-dependence, as President Grant would describe it, speculations as to the changes which must one day take place in our relation to the rest of the Empire will no doubt be indulged in by men who have the welfare of Canada at heart, and opinions will differ on this as on all important questions. But we believe the time is more remote than Mr. Blake supposes, when it will be either desirable or necessary to modify our relations with England.

Brantford Expositor (Reform).

The public utterances of Mr. Blake are always attentively perused by those interested in the welfare of the state, for well it is known that his logically-turned, clear-put sentences are the breathing of a true patriot, and the conclusions of an acute and liberal-minded statesman. Although allied to the Reform Party, and giving a most cordial and effective support to those who now conduct the affairs of the state, yet he never descends to the lower arena of party politics. With a broad and comprehensive grasp of thought he views the rise and progress of our fair Dominion with no common eye. His vision dwells not on the ephemeral questions, which for the nonce engage public attention, but by careful study of the commonwealth of nations and the growth and tendencies of Canada, in the light of the past he casts the horoscope of the future, and lays down the most benefical line of action for the present, with a force and a conviction which no other public man of the day can lay claim to. Party triumphs and the natural recrimination which is to a certain degree necessary to preserve a proper status in the present condition of the political world are never descanted upon or gloried in by Mr. Blake. He never addresses his remarks to Reformer or Conservative, but to the people of Canada. And to the people of Canada were his remarks at Aurora more particularly addressed.

Montreal Witness (Independent Liberal).

Mr. Blake is reputed the most independent of the leading men on the Reform side of politics, and the most eminent statesman we now have in the Dominion. His views therefore possess an interest beyond the mere limits of party, as is acknowledged even by his adversaries, and they seem in their advanced nature to harmonize well with the interests of a country that has all its career before it. A leading Conservative journal, taking this into account together with a deprecatory treatment of some of Mr. Blake's bolder flights by the *Globe*, revives the old story about his approaching secession from the Grits taking with him a large following of their best men, in regard to which it might be remarked that probably those left behind would be exceedingly few in number.

Quebec Mercury (Conservative).

The speech of Mr. Blake at Aurora, reproduced in our last, is significant of the present state of Canadian politics. One of the most famed and best speakers of Canada West is troubled to find any issue with things as they are of a really organic character. Still more expressive is the position of the *Globe* in reference to the utterances of Mr. Blake. The ve-

teran literary exponent of liberal and reform principles can find nothing either to eulogize or condemn in what is the only substitute in these tame and "degenerate" days for the fiery platforms of yore. That Mr Blake is a "Canada First" partizan is the assumption of some journalists in reference to his speech, but the speech rather proves "Canada First" to be a failure as an organic agitation. The fact the Reform party are prepared to do everything practical and advisable which the programme of "Canada First" contains, or its members can honestly and in good faith ask for. The concessions of England to Canada have been so wide and comprehensive that they have left no room for any party desiring more room for local self-action or an extension of local authority. England has unmistakably offered Canada nominal, as she now possesses substantial, independence; and Canada not less unmistakably declined the offer. No really great change is now possible in the direction of increased local independence except one involving total separation from the Mother Country.

St. John (N.B.) Telegraph (Liberal).

Politics in Ontario.—The political affairs of Ontario naturally attract a large share of attention in the smaller Provinces of the Union, not, perhaps, because here are to be found purer public men or more intelligent constituencies, but presumably owing to the extent of Ontario's population and her controlling influence in the Parliament of the country. When, therefore, Ontario's leading statesman of the dominant party in Dominion politics, delivers a carefully prepared address on political questions, of the present and the future, it is not surprising that his utterances should receive a large amount of attention even in the remote parts of Canada. Mr. Blake's recent deliverance is undoubtedly one of the most important with which the public have been favored since the prorogation of Parliament, and probably marks a new departure in political affairs.

Halifax Express (Conservative).

Mr. Blake's Disturbing Speech—In substance Mr. Blake's self-styled disturbing speech at Aurora, North York, Ontario, contains the following propositions:— * * * *

On each and all of these propositions much might be said, and as the discussion of serious political measures is a wise means of educating the people politically, the discussion of Mr. Blake's speech will be productive of good. We publish elsewhere, at length, Mr Blake's proposition regarding the Cumulative vote. We must say that the Ballot law compels thinking men to follow out the improvements it suggests by its awkward results so far. The ballot never can be logically applied till canvassing is abolished, till agents are forbidden, till ballots are provided as they are by the State, till cabs are forbidden, and colors made penal, till bribery is made a penal offence in the briber, till staying at home is made a crime; and no one ever expects these reforms to come in our time, or indeed in any time.

Mr. Blake claims with much ingenuity that the people will never be represented till the minorities are represented, and he is in a measure quite right. He is supported too by eminent authority. A year ago the *Times* speaking of the Cumulative vote as adopted in the School Board elections in England said: "It will be adopted bit by bit in all divisions of "our local and municipal government and must extend also to our Parliamentary elections." This is strong language coming from the *Times*; and Mr. Blake's proposition though opposed by the *Globe* will be favorably entertained by the most generous and just minds in this country.

Canadian Illustrated News (Independent).

A New Departure.—The stock-in-trade of political speeches in Canada is abuse. If a Ministerial mass-meeting takes place, as was lately the case at Prescott, the theme of all the orators present, from the highest Cabinet Minister to the lowest provincial politician, is denunciation of its adversaries, either in the lofty tone of withering satire, or in the more questionable vein of epigram and anecdote. If an Opposition demonstration is held, the changes are invariably rung on the corruption, the duplicity or the imbecility of the Government. Liberals think they have fortified their cause when they have exhausted their wrath on Sir John A. Macdonald and his administration. Conservatives feel that they have atoned for their past wrongs by proving, to their own satisfaction, that the present Ministry is not a whit better than its predecessor. This partisan spirit may serve the purpose of narrow partisan strife, but it is not conducive to the growth of an enlarged national sentiment. Neither does it indicate the existence of true patriotism or of broad statesmanship among our foremost public men. The leaders of the people should likewise be their teachers. They should discuss not only the tactics of action, but also the theories upon which all political action must be based, in order to be beneficial to the common weal. They should know that there are times in which they ought to rise above party, and peculiar circumstances when they ought to have the bravery to go even counter to their

party. Poor McGee gave a good example in this respect. His loss to the country was all the greater that he was struck down at the very period when he had chosen for himself the career of theoretic statesmanship. Mr. Thomas White, jr., has, on several recent occasions, proved that he had the ability and the courage to stand forth as the exponent of national questions, entirely dependent of partisan advocacy. And now Mr. Blake has come forward as a brilliant performer in the same role. His speech at Aurora is a new departure, not only in the matter which he treated, but in the fresh, fearless manner which characterized his discussions of constitutional change. Whatever may be the results of that speech, whether the ideas which it broaches prove acceptable or not, it is already such that it inaugurates a new system of political harangue, and breaks down, in considerable degree, the influence of mere party hacks. If Mr. Blake perseveres in the same course, and if he is followed by speakers and writers of equal maturity of thought and independence of expression, a marked alteration will soon be exhibited in our Parliamentary debate, and in the political feeling of the country.

We have left ourselves scant space to treat of the substance of Mr. Blake's Aurora speech. Stripped, however, of all personal and other incidental matter, it may be summarized as a plea in favour of the cultivation of a national spirit, of Imperial federation, of compulsory voting and of the representation of minorities. With regard to the first of these there can be no two opinions, but it is precisely because no real national spirit can be fostered under the demoralizing rule of strict partisanship, that we regard the attitude of Mr. Blake as important and salutory. But that a so-called national party, as distinguished from the two great parties now dividing the country, should arise in order to cultivate this national spirit, does not appear so clear. Mr. Blake himself hints at no such necessity, and those who represent him as about to break from the Reformers led by Messrs. Brown and Mackenzie, are perhaps rather consulting their wishes than their knowledge. Patriotism and nationalism are not distinctive. They are the substratum of all parties, the *primum mobile* of all citizenship. They must be the badges of both Liberals and Conservatives. No one party can truthfully arrogate to itself these qualities; and the only complaint is that heretofore they have been postponed to individualism, or the blind following of powerful leaders.

The elective Senate is plainly antagonistic to Legislative union, as lately advocated by some of the organs of Mr. Blake's party. The idea is an American one. If the Provincial Legislatures are to elect their own senators, it follows that the Provinces must remain distinct from each other, and not become merged into one legislative government. From this point of view, Mr. Blake's proposition assumes some importance. That the Conservative party is not prepared to accept it, is clear from the fact that that party established the Senate as at present constituted. And that the Liberal party is not favourable to it, will surprise no one who remembers what judicious use it has made of the Senate since its advent to power. One thing, however, is clear. The election of senators by the Legislature would wonderfully elevate the standard of the upper House, and give it that prestige which it enjoys in the neighbouring Republic. To be a United States senator is the summit of every American's ambition.

Compulsory voting and the representation of minorities are philosophical questions of the highest moment. They are not novel, however; neither has Mr Blake thrown any new light upon them. So far as this country is concerned they are doubtless premature, but the honorable gentleman deserves no less credit for having advocated them in his speech. The arguments in their favour which he has expounded will slowly germinate and produce their fruit in good time. In his peroration, Mr Blake expressed the apprehension that his will be a "disturbing" speech. In one sense he is right, as the comments of the party papers already abundantly show. But in a higher sense his fear is groundless. So far from disturbing the public mind, such speeches have a tendency to reassure it, by teaching proper lessons, and pointing to the path which must infallibly lead to national stability and prosperity.

The Nation—Second Article.

The Aurora Illumination—That Mr. Blake's Aurora Speech was somewhat of a surprise is evident from the way in which it was received. In the days of Milton and long afterwards no British subject could print anything without a Government license. In our day, and in this country, the tables are turned, and a public man almost requires the countenance or authority of a newspaper before he can venture on the utterance of anything in the shape of a political novelty. Statesmen before they can venture on the task of crystalizing thoughts into laws, must make sure that public opinion—not mere party or factitious opinion—is on their side and that the change contemplated is required and will be sustained by that inexorable dictator. The power of statesmen to effect a thing which public opinion does not sanction is very small. As a rule a Constitutional Government can do nothing for a people,

for which they are not already prepared. But Mr Blake is in the fallow year of official life; and he can sow the seed which will hereafter fructify. If he has started new questions, he has introduced them in the speculative form; thrown them out for popular discussion; in time they will rise into the importance of practical and parliamentary questions; in the interval their speculative and popular side will be presented. One of the questions on which he touched—the Constitution of the Senate—had already received parliamentary initiation at the hands of Mr Mills; but this is not a new question; it is older than the present Constitution of that Chamber. Political stagnation, the precursor of mental death, had already charged the political atmosphere with murky vapour. Politics had become almost entirely materialized, and statesmanship was nearly reduced to a matter of accounts. In stolid Conservatism the two old parties were on a par; and where there are no principles to discuss personal vituperation will come to the surface. The chief differences were differences of names and catchwords; substantially both were, in respect to progressive politics, at the end of their tether.

It was under these circumstances that Mr Blake produced his new programme. His words fell on willing ears, and awakened an echo which will not die away till some great and conspicuous reforms have been effected. It was to be expected that the Conservatism of the two old parties would oppose the novelties in opinion at which they both stood aghast. The organ of the Conservatives proper congratulates itself on the acquisition of a new ally in the ranks of Reform journalism; and public writers who daily clutched at each other's throats struck hands in a common opposition to the views enunciated by Mr. Blake. Here is the first germ of a new Conservative Coalition. Who knows but that out of the remnants of the old parties a new party, practically Conservative, by whatever name it may be known, will arise? It has what is essential to all parties—identity of views on what will soon be the questions of the day. This would be no forced Coalition; but the formation of a new party around old opinions which events have compelled them to share in common. Its growth would be as natural and as legitimate as that of any other party ever was. Meanwhile, the party of movement would be gathering strength with the progressive acceptance by the public of its principles. Once more political parties would have some *raison d'être*; for they would have a definite work to do; positive on one side, negative on the other.

At the outset, the discussion of the new principles was assured, by the opposition they encountered. The discussion is so far, apart from the initial contribution to it, only skin deep; hereafter it will become incisive and comprehensive. One result will be, that a great step in the political education of the people will be taken. The tone of political discussion will be raised out of the foul slough of personalities and rise to a level of the principles in contest. But we must not expect too much in that direction; old habits are obstinate, and the defenders of a falling cause will not stick at trifles; fear and despair are the passions which will in time come to possess them, and it will not be surprising if desperation should come to play its part in the dismal scene. We do not expect a hasty triumph of the new principles. We may go so far as to say that anything like an immediate practical application of the new ideas would not be desirable. The first effect will be to emancipate the political thought of the country from the thraldom in which it is held: an achievement of the most important and desirable character. No doubt some or all of these questions will be submitted to Parliamentary discussion, in the existing House; they will make converts and win adherents, but their practical application will probably be reserved to a future occasion.

TORONTO SUN (INDEPENDENT CONSERVATIVE).

OVER THE TRACES.—And now it is in order to read Mr. Blake out of the party. He has kicked over the traces; he has made a clean bolt of it; and in bolting has upset the precious platform of the party, and made splinters of several of its most valued planks. Even in the presence of the faithful, with Mr Mowat, and Mr. McKellar, and other shining lights at his side, he had the audacity to preach rank treason, and to declare himself in favour of nearly every plank in the platform of the National Party. His speech, as published in the *Globe*—and we may be sure that his hetrodox utterances are as mildly put as possible—is one of the most remarkable ever delivered in Canada; and if it does not cause a disturbance in the Grit camp then times have changed of late. While it is as a whole a defence of the views of the "Canada First" party, and while it advocates and upholds their views, in certain points it almost goes beyond them. Had Mr. Blake taken his place on the platform at Aurora for the special purpose of appealing to the people in support of "Canada First," he could not have done better. Nor must it be supposed that this was a spontaneous burst of nationalism on Mr. Blake's part. Everybody knows that he is one of the most careful public speakers in the Dominion. He seldom touches a subject either in Parliament or on the platform till he has mastered it thoroughly in all its details. In the present instance the speech bears internal evidence of study and preparation. Let any one read it carefully and he must come to the

conclusion that Mr. Blake specially prepared himself for the occasion, and went to Aurora with his mind fully made up to announce this new departure. He comes out clearly distinctly, and openly, in support of the principles of the new party. There is no beating about the bush, nor is there the slightest trace of insincerity in a word he utters.

With respect to the relations between Canada and the Mother Country, Mr. Blake takes advanced ground. "Matters," he says, "cannot drift much longer as they have drifted hitherto." There must be either a "reorganization of the Empire upon a Federal basis," or we Canadians must have "our share of national rights." Why! half of the "Canada First" party do not go so far as this. But Mr. Blake is not content with generalties; he goes into the details of the scheme he advocates, and shows how desirable the proposed changes are. Canada, in his opinion, must have more power, and in order to secure that power, "a national spirit among the people" must be fostered. Under present circumstances we may, to-morrow, "be plunged into all the horrors of war; or our foreign affairs, our "relations with other countries, whether peaceful or warlike, commercial, financial or otherwise," may be dealt with across the Atlantic, while we "may have no more voice in the matter than the people of Japan." And so he goes on piling argument upon argument to show that the sooner Canada takes up her freedom and asserts her independent nationality the better for us all, and for those who are to come after us.

But Mr. Blake does not confine himself to the question of Independence. Having burst his party bond asunder, he seems ready to attack nearly every part of our present system of Governments. Of the Senate he says:—"I do not believe it is consistent with the true notion of popular Government that we should have a Senate selected by the administration of the day, and holding their seats for life." Perhaps the Grits of North York, when they cheered Mr. Blake as he ended this sentence, did not know that to Mr. Brown, probably more than to any other man, the country is indebted for our system of appointing Senators for life. What will be done with Mr. Blake for riding rough-shod over the honorable Senator's hobby, time alone will tell. However, this is but a minor offence, compared with the unpleasant hints he threw out anent Mr. Brown's Treaty. It would seem to us that Mr. Blake has made up his mind to become a martyr. After all this treason to party and treason to the State; this general chopping up of the Grit platform; this hearty advocacy of the principles of "Canada First;" this determined onslaught on Mr. Brown's pet schemes; and this outspoken disloyalty, there can be only one fate in store for him, and that is to black-letter him in the *Globe* as a traitor, and to read him out of the party as a renegade.

Ottawa Times—Second Article.

Mr. Blake's Aurora Speech and "Canada First."—Notwithstanding the exultation with which Mr. Blake's celebrated Aurora speech was welcomed by the Tory press, because they professed to be able to see in it the first indications of a large secession from the ranks of the Liberal Party, with the hon. member for South Bruce at the head of it, they are at last awakening to a true sense of its import, and becoming convinced that this new departure will bring no strength to their broken down contingent. We have already shown, and the Tories are now admitting, that Mr. Blake's recently propounded theories only increased the distance and widened the gulf which has always divided him from Conservatism, and they now offer to strike hands with the less advanced Liberals in order to make common cause against him. They were equally inconsistent in their first essays regarding the probable results of the speech as they have been in this last attempt to draw more water to their mill. While many Liberals are at least not yet prepared to go all the length Mr Blake proposes to go—and no one knows this better or is more ready to confess it than the hon. gentleman himself—neither are they prepared to take one step backward; and without that backward step they could never make common cause with Conservatives. If Mr. Blake's theories are right in principle, and practicable as well, he can never look for the assistance necessary to mature them and prepare the public mind for their reception except from the party with which he is at present associated. Thus, although at present Mr. Blake is probably in advance of the majority of his fellow-Liberals, he would only weaken a cause which we have no doubt he has deeply at heart, by alienating himself from them; while they, on their part, would never permit themselves to do anything which would retard—as to cease to act with Mr Blake would retard—that progress and advancement in political thought which they represent, and of which Mr Blake is such a mighty exponent. Just as the Whigs and advanced Liberals of England go to form the great Liberal party, while individually some of the prominent men of each wing hold opinions much less or much more advanced than the other, yet make common cause against that school of politicians who refuse to progress with the age, so Mr Blake and the less advanced Liberals of Canada will find in the future, as they have found in the past, that they are bound together politically by ties too strong to be severed by the simple existence of different degrees of liberality in their opinions.

There is another party—or rather an embryo-party—in the Dominion which would fain have us think that Mr. Blake is their leader and the exponent of their political platform. We refer, of course, to that organization which delights in the cognomen of "Canada First." We do not know what the principles of that party are, nor do we profess to care a great deal; but in the meantime it will not

be at all difficult to show that neither is Mr. Blake a "Canada First" man, nor does that party have much ground for hoping that he will ever be. It is quite true that upon a number of questions—such as representation of minorities, compulsory voting, and an elective Senate—he and they are agreed; but then the "Canada First" men were not the earliest to evolve these theories, nor indeed have they ever professed that the object for which they organized themselves into a party was to carry into effect either one or other of the measures necessary to put these theories into practice. As to representation of minorities, we have reason to know that Mr. Blake had opinions on the subject years before the "Canada First" party were heard of exactly similar to those he enunciated at Aurora. The simple fact, therefore, that his enunciation of these views took place posterior to the publication of the "Canada First" platform, is no proof that he adheres to or even sympathizes with that faction; rather, indeed, does it suggest that, in order to curry favor with him, they appropriated the idea in anticipation, without giving credit to its author, but taking credit for it falsely to themselves. Just the same thing might be said of compulsory voting; and as to the question of an elective Senate, whether the principle be right or wrong, we need scarcely remind our readers that for the "Canada First" clique to claim any credit for it would be an absurdity too gross to require being dealt with. It is now quite a number of years since Mr. Mills started that theory, since he began his yearly test of the feeling of the House of Commons on the subject, and it is only as late as last session that the House of Commons, for the first time since the subject was introduced into Parliament, signified its approval of it by a majority of votes. It is true they did not commit themselves to Mr. Mill's particular scheme, or any other scheme whatever, but by the simple fact that they went into Committee of the Whole on the stereotyped motion of the hon. member for Bothwell, they admitted their agreement in his assertion that the present constitution of the Second Chamber is not satisfactory.

The only novel question raised by the "Canada First" party and dealt with subsequently by Mr. Blake—the only question upon which they can claim that they have anticipated the Liberal party as at present constituted—is that of our relations with the mother country. But do we find that Mr. Blake agrees either wholly or even in part with the change contemplated by the exponents of "Canada First." The question, we think, admits of but little discussion. For a considerable time there was great doubts as to what the import of this meaningless designation, "Canada First" really was. It was said that it meant independence, but we were timeously informed by Mr. Howland, the President of the organization, that this was not correct, and that loyalty to the British Crown was just as much a characteristic of the new party as it was either of the old ones. Then it was surmised that all the cry about "nationality" was only Know-nothingism in a new dress, but this again has been denied by no less an authority than Mr. Goldwin Smith, who seems to be the moving spirit of the whole thing. But if we accept Mr. Smith as an authority upon this subject, we must be equally bound by his statements on another point, and the original disclaimer of Mr. Howland to the contrary notwithstanding, the conclusion is now forced upon us that after all "Canada First" does mean independence. Mr. Goldwin Smith laid the foundation stone of the new "National" Club House at Toronto the other week. The occasion came so unexpectedly upon all concerned that the ceremonial was not attended by any demonstration, and the event was therefore unmarked by any startling enunciation of the future intentions or present prospects of the party. An early opportunity was embraced, however, to celebrate the event with becoming *eclat*, and one evening recently, the Council of the Toronto Branch of the Association had a semi-private party at the Queen's Hotel, when the gentleman who laid the foundation stone presided, and treated his select audience to one of his finely written essays—for it could scarcely be called an address—which was published in full last Friday by the organ of the party—the *Nation*. We say the production was a finely written one, but that was only what might have been expected from "a certain Oxford Professor." It was in many respects a remarkable production, which might also have been expected from the author; but it was still more remarkable

as an authoritative exposition of the principles of the new party, which have hitherto been wrapped up in such apparent mysteriousness. It may be a proper thing at another time to deal directly with this characteristic effusion, but in the meantime we only need to say that Mr. Smith denied most solemnly that "Canada First" meant Know-nothingism, which we are glad to learn once for all; but he asserted just as positively, and with equal solemnity that it did mean independence. With the importance of that asseveration we are not in the meantime concerned, but there can be little hesitation in setting it down as the distinctive political doctrine of the party. All the other planks of the platform, involving as they do only opinions which are shared in common with many members of the Liberal party dwindle down to insignificance in the presence of this one. They are simply theories regarding the proper regulation of our internal economy; it is the proposition of a sweeping change in our relations to other countries generally and to Great Britain in particular—an organic change, which involves the consent of the British Parliament and people as well as that of the people of Canada, and proposes, moreover, to sever that tie which binds us as an independent, self-governing colony to the Empire. If this then be the distinctive principle of "Canada First"—and we think, it being once admitted, as it has been, that it has been one of their principles, there will be no difficulty in agreeing with us that it is their distinctive principle. Let us look for a moment at Mr. Blake's attitude towards it. Does he agree with it? Not only does he not agree with it, but, anticipating that the discussion of the question must inevitably come up in the near future, he makes a proposal which is in very truth its perfect antithesis—a proposal which, if carried into effect, would draw still closer those bonds of unity which the new party which desires to count him not only as a supporter, but as its leader, would have entirely abrogated. Through the mouth of Mr. Goldwin Smith they have declared his proposition impracticable—and upon grounds, too, which are not without weight; and they have replied to it with a counterblast which, if it means anything at all, means that Mr. Blake can never, till he changes opinions the we are bound to presume, have not been arrived at without much consideration, f that position which has with so many blandishments been proffered him. The truth is that Mr. Blake's proper position is his present one, save and except that as soon as he is willing it must be a higher one, and that instead of a soldier in the ranks of the party of political advancement, liberality and reform, he will be a general, if not indeed in the course of events, the field-marshal.

MONTREAL MINERVE (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE).

QUERELLE DE FAMILLE.—Il y a trouble en la demeure grite et M. Brown voit, avec rage, la plus brillante individualité de son parti lever l'étendard de la révolte. M. Blake a osé penser autrement que le *Globe*. C'est un signe des temps. L'influence que M. Brown exerce sur ses amis est des plus tyranniques. Quiconque jusqu'à ce jour n'a pas accepté le mot d'ordre du *Globe* en toutes choses, a dû subir toutes ses attaques : obéir ou mourir, tel a été le premier principe de M. Brown. On a parlé de la discipline des partis dans notre province, mais jamais elle n'a approché de celle que M. Brown a imposé à ses amis. C'est le régime du sable appliqué à la politique et toute infraction à cette discipline militaire est regardée comme un crime.

Il s'est rencontré des grits assez osés pour s'insurger contre ce joug avilisant ; il s'est rencontré des hommes qui ont voulu penser par eux-mêmes. Mal leur en a pris et avant longtemps ils ont subi le châtiment ; ils sont morts pour n'avoir pas voulu croire au *Globe*.

M. Blake ose, après bien d'autres, reprendre l'exercise de sa volonté et penser sans M. Brown. C'est à Aurora qu'il a manifesté cette velléité d'indépendance. S'adressant aux électeurs de cette localité, il a exprimé des idées qui ne figurent pas dans le *Globe* clear grit. Ça été un événement chez nos amis d'Ontario. LE *Globe* s'est alarmé ; on a tenu conseil. M, Blake n'est pas le premier venu. Impossible de le traiter comme un simple soldat de l'armée grite. Il faut le menager et chercher à le ramasser tranquillement sous les drapeaux, tout en empêchant les idées nouvelles

de faire leur chemin. Comment atteindre ce double but ? Le *Globe* a retardé la publication du discours de l'insurgé. Il a essayé, sans parler de M. Blake, de le refuter dans un article dirigé contre les disciplinés du partis en général.

Puis deux jours après, il a commencé la critique du discours lui-même. Cette critique est aigre-douce ; le dépit perce à chaque ligne. " Vous avez débité des banalités dit le *Globe* à M. Blake. Rien de neuf dans votre speech, ce sont les théories discutées et jugées depuis longtemps qui constituent le fond de votre harangue. Lorsque vous ne dites pas des banalités, vous tombez dans le domaine des rêveries et de la spéculation. Vous n'êtes qu'un utopiste." Convenons qu'entre amis des compliments de ce genre n'ont pas l'effet des petits présents. On a vu beaucoup de rupture ne pas commencer autrement.

Ce qui parait froisser le *Globe*, c'est l'attitude que prend M. Blake relativement à la position du Canada vis-à vis de la Grande-Bretagne. On sait que M. Blake désire révolutionner notre état social ; Sir John et Sir George nous ont donné la Confédération des provinces, lui aspire à nous doter de la " fédération de l'Empire" qui englobernit autour d'un centre commun, le parlement fédéral, la Grande-Bretagne et ses colonies représentées dans ce même parlement. C'est ce projet que M. Brown range parmi les utopies et les rêveries : " Ce sont là des choses du domaine de la spéculation, digne d'être discutées dans les clubs de discussion. Il a l'air de croire qu'elles sont au-dessous d'un homme sérieux. Les vues de M. Blake sur ce point nous ont toujours paru bizarres et impraticables. La confédération était nécessaire, indispensable, inévitable. Nous étions arrivés à une voie sans issue dans notre existence sociale. Il nous fallait de toute nécessité opérer un changement, sans quoi nous tombions dans un état de crise politique chronique. La confédération a parfaitement répondu à toutes nos espérances. M. Blake admet " que nous sommes le peuple le plus libre du monde et que notre constitution est plus d'accord avec les idées républicaines que celle des Etats-Unis. " *I have no hesitation in saying that the Government of Canada is far in advance in the application of real Republican principles of Government than either that of England or the United States.*' Pourquoi alors le changer ?

Etant admis en Canada, la nécessité de ce changement, pourrons nous amener l'Angleterre et les autres colonies à partager notre avis ? La Chambre des Communes consentira-t-elle à s'effacer en faveur d'un parlement fédéral ? Et si nous sommes admis à ce grand conseil de l'empire britannique, façonné d'après le plan de M. Blake, ne serons-nous pas tenus de supporter le poids des guerres que la majorité du parlement fédéral nous aura fait déclarer ?

Le *Globe* parait appréhender que M. Blake devienne l'âme du nouveau parti qui a nom *Canada First*. Il a déjà combattu ce parti et il revient à la charge dans son dernier numéro. Quelle est le programme du *Canada First ?* Personne ne peut le dire ? Malgré toutes les questions posées à ses organes : *The Nation* et le *The National*, nous ignorons encore son but. On ne connait pas encore le chef ; la place est vacante, dit-on, et il parait que l'on n'a pas voulu la remplir avant ce jour, parce que l'on espérait y voir M. Blake avant longtemps. L'acharnement que le *Globe* apporte à combattre ce parti naissant ne serait-il pas un indice qu'il redoute la présence de M. Blake à sa tête ?

Il a raison. Les organes du *Canada First* ont rompu carrément avec le *Globe* et n'ont jamais eu d'attaches conservatrices. Il condamne les grits et les libéraux-conservateurs comme ayant fait leur temps et comme corrompus autant les uns que les autres. C'est tout ce que nous savons de ce parti, mais on le soupçonne fortement d'être " fédéraliste."

M. Blake s'est aussi permis d'attaquer la constitution actuelle du Sénat que le *Globe* défend contre lui et trouve aussi parfaite que toute autre institution humaine. M. Blake voudrait attribuer aux provinces la nomination des sénateurs. Son système mettrait fin aux nominations à vie, afin de faire disparaitre les invalides qui paraissent une fois par année aux séances, dans le but de ne pas perdre leur siége.

En terminant son discours, M. Blake a prononcé quelques paroles qui ont l'air d'un défi lancé au *Globe*. " Je dois m'arrêter, a-t-il dit, je fais un discours gros de

troubles (disturbing speech) mais je n'ai pas peur. Autant que je puis en juger, on ne peut faire grand'chose sans déranger quelqu'un ou quelque chose, et si ce n'est là que la seule objection, que l'on puisse faire valoir contre mes paroles, je suis tout-à-fait prêt à la discuter." N'est-ce pes dire au *Globe:* Maître vous avez fini de me fournir les textes de mes discours. Je veux à l'avenir exprimer mes idées et non les vôtres, sans me préoccuper des conséquences.

BERLIN TELEGRAH (Second Article.)

COMPULSORY VOTING.—The Reform governments, both the Dominion and Ontario, have done much to improve our election laws. It is to the Reform party that we are indebted for the stringent laws which now exist for the purpose of securing the purity of elections, and to obtain, as far as possible, a true expression of the voice of the people during election contests in regard to the conduct of those who for the time being may hold the reins of power. It is to the Reform party that the country is indebted for the admirable laws regarding contested elections. The efficiency of the law on that question has been fully shown by the speedy manner in which the recent contested election trials have been disposed of, and in such a manner as to teach both political parties that bribery cannot be practised with impunity, which must have a salutory effect on all future elections.

Voting by ballot, a measure too which was carried by the Reform party, will, we trust, completely secure for every voter perfect freedom of action and put a stop to bribery. While saying this much for the ballot, which so far has worked like a charm, we in common with many others, hold, that in order to make the law more complete, a supplementary compulsory clause should be added compelling every voter to record his vote.

The St. Thomas' *Home Journal* discusses the question so ably and well, that we copy the remarks of our contemporary. After referring to the advantages derived by the country from the excellent laws now in force, which we have glanced at above, the *Home Journal* says:—

"Much, very much, has been accomplished. Yet something remains to be done. A measure supplementary to the ballot is needed. The operation of the Ballot Act in the East Elgin election, as well as in a few other constituencies in which it has been called into requisition, has given the most entire satisfaction. It has proved satisfactory beyond the anticipation of its warmest advocates. The order, the regularity, the quiet, the ease and the air of independence and self-respect with which the polling is carried on under the ballot system, were alien to the practice under the system of open voting. It is a most decided improvement upon the old system of recording the verdict of the electors. The only drawback to its entire efficiency will lie in the indifference or lethargy of the electors. There is an astonishingly large number of the electoral body who would prefer not to be bothered—who would prefer not to leave their work to record a vote; and who would be much less inclined to do so if pressed to promise a candidate or a candidate's friend or agent "not to vote against him since they cannot conscientiously vote *for* him." Still more readily will they remain at home, if along with a gentle neighborly pressure of this kind it is made their *interest* to have nothing to do with politics. We opine that this is the only open door that can be effectually used for the exercise of bribery and undue influence. This door can be shut, and it ought to be. Let a law be enacted making the exercise of the franchise compulsory. If the franchise be regarded as a trust the trust should be discharged; if it be held a right, the right should be exercised with conscious integrity; if as a privilege conferred, gratitude requires the recipient to avail himself of it. Nor do we see any hardship in requiring a citizen under pains and penalties to record his convictions, if he have any, on the merits of his rulers and on the policy which they pursue; no more hardship than when he is required to discharge the duties of a school trustee or of a township councillor whether he will or not. Why should he seek to be released from the duty of recording his verdict upon the poll book with less excuse than he is required to return a verdict from the jury box, when the sheriff demands

his presence there? We know of few arguments which can be urged against compulsory voting that cannot be urged with equal force against the enforcement of the discharge of other public duties and functions long made compulsory by our laws under heavy pains and penalties. Any arguments that might have force under the system of open voting are dispelled under the Ballot. If a voter should find it difficult to make up his judgment as between man and man, or as between party and party, he can drop a blank into the ballot box. No one else will be the wiser, while he maintains a conscience void of offence. But while he goes through the formality, the door of escape for the briber is closed, and the interests of public morality and electoral purity are served.

An Act compelling every enfranchised citizen to drop his ballot at every parliamentary election is a desirable and needed supplement to the ballot and other laws lately enacted to secure the true expression of the electoral body at the polls."

QUEBEC MERCURY.—(Second Article.)

The federalization of the Empire has been lately considerably ventilated in Ontario in consequence of a speech by the Honorable Mr. Blake in North York, a report of which was published in (without being endorsed by) the *Globe*. In that speech the earnest and eloquent politician of Ontario laid down the proposition that Canada might at any moment be involved in war by England, in whose international policy she had no voice. Theoretically this is undoubtedly correct, but practically there is little apprehension upon the subject felt by Canada, because Canada as she stands has a more perfect guard against being unwillingly converted into a theatre of war than Confederation could afford her. Under even the most favorable circumstances she would have but one voice in a federal empire, and out voted would be without remedy, in consequence of her possession of that voice. Not so as she now stands. The leading statesmen of England have time and again declared that Canada might have Independence whenever she sought it, and the leading soldiers of Britain have time and again declared Canada practically indefensible by Great Britain under certain contingencies, and a source of weakness to the empire in the event of war, and not of strength. Thus Canada, as she stands, has the guarantee for peace of what is really a free choice of future allegiance, but Canada federated with the rest of the British Empire would be bound by the decision of the federation. The admission of the colonies to the councils of the empire would also, as is fully acknowledged, involve expense for colonial armaments; or, as the English express it, the colonies would have to bear their share of the expense of the empire. This would involve a change in the present governmental system of England. Federation would in any case involve Canada in the danger of having to take part in a war to the making of which she was opposed. But would the possession of a voice which might be raised in London (to censure a government after the war was over for having improperly made it) afford Canada a sufficient security for the outlay of a small army and the abandonment of her present facilities for escaping embarrassments, by claiming independence? We imagine not. We fancy, if the people of the Dominion are to bear the burdens of a military establishment, they must have at least the advantage of being consulted before they could be called upon either to fight or to pay war taxes. In fact a federation of the empire must be an alliance of the empire, and the colonies must have the protection of allies joined in a league and be asked their approval of war or peace before either can be commenced or concluded. Such a change in the present position of the empire, such an alteration in the distribution of its powers would, indeed, be favorable to peace, although in fact it would only exact from cabinets under the Hanoverians what was the established rule of English government under the Plantagenets. Than Edward the First, Henry the Second, Edward the Third, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, the English had no sovereigns more glorious and perhaps no captains more redoubtable, nevertheless those great kings never made war, peace or alliance without the assent of their peers in parliament, and there is no reason that this form of adhesion to the national will should not be revived in modern times.

At all events the conversion of the empire into a league of communities having a separate national and collective sovereign existence under one crown, would necessitate a previous assent to war not now necessary, and in so far would impose a check on English statesmen from which they are now free. In fact the federal project involves changes in England which go beyond the mere colonial relation as hitherto limited.

HALIFAX CITIZEN.—(LIBERAL.)

MR. BLAKE.—The position of Mr. Blake with regard to the Reform party seems to afford a great deal of anxiety to the Opposition press, much more in fact than it occasions to anybody in the ranks of the party he has always acted with. We have already published a condensed report of his speech, without, we may safely say, withholding a single sentence that indicates a disinclination to remain with the party. To those who have read the speech as we published it, or to those who have read it in full in those Reform papers which have given the extended report, it is needless to say that it betokens nothing like a withdrawal from the Reform ranks.

Mr. Blake is, as every one knows, a man of more than ordinary ability, not merely as an orator but as a thinker and statesman, and as an independent member of the Reform party, not trammelled by the responsibilities of a position in the cabinet, he feels at liberty to avow his belief in principles which form no necessary part of the platform of that party, but which are no more at variance with its essential principles than are the beliefs of every one who thinks upon religious subjects at variance with the particular creed to which he subscribes as containing a summary of his essential religious faith. That he believes in minority representation makes him none the less an able champion of the party that is endeavoring to reform the administration of public affairs. That he considers the present relations of Canada to the empire unsatisfactory and merely temporary, would no more disqualify him to hold a prominent position in the Reform Cabinet, if his affairs would permit, than did Mr. Howe's well-known views on the same subject interfere with his holding an important portfolio under Sir John A. Macdonald. That he advocates the cultivation of a national sentiment among Canadians would surely not disqualify him for a position in the councils of any party, Reform or Liberal-Conservative, or any other. Certainly the supporters of the motley company that gathered around the council table up to last November, can find no fault with a man who chooses to have beliefs, or even to enunciate beliefs outside of the common faith of his party.

The truth is, the position and influence of Mr. Blake in Parliament and in the country is such, that ever since, and long before the formation of the Mackenzie Administration, the "party of gentlemen" have been anxious, if possible, to secure him for themselves, and failing in that, to separate him from the party with which he has always acted, and to his connection with which he so proudly referred in his recent speech.

This is not the first time we have been told of his being at loggerheads with the Administration, but hitherto the wish has always been father to the thought, and more than that, has been the authority for the statement. We shall wait for Mr. Blake to declare himself the leader of a separate party before we believe in Liberal Conservative prognostications.

ST. JOHN (N. B.) GLOBE (LIBERAL).

MR. BLAKE'S SPEECH.—To day we present the readers of the *Globe* with a full and correct report of the able speech delivered by the Hon. Edward Blake, a few days ago, before a Reform gathering at Aurora, Ont. This is the speech that has excited so much comment in the newspapers. This is the speech which the Tory papers of Canada declare showed that Mr. Blake was not in sympathy with the present Reform party; and from which they seemed to find consolation in the hope that the great leaders of the party—Blake and Mackenzie—had each taken his own way, and that as a consequence the Reform party would soon become split up, weakened, helplessly

scattered, allowing the old Tories, corruptionists and obstructives, who are always united, to again step in and control the Government of the country. We ask for Mr. Blake's speech a careful and thoughtful perusal by every man who takes an interest in the political affairs of his country. It contains the sentiments of the most advanced Liberals of the Dominion. It is high toned and patriotic, and calculated and intended to stir up the patriotism of the people, to impel them to an intelligent consideration of their rights and interests as free British subjects, who have a great destiny before them, whether as a part of the British Empire, or as an independent offshot of that Empire. No loyal Canadian can read this speech without a feeling of pride in being a countryman of him who uttered it. Mr. Blake is as much in advance of the Liberal party of Canada as John Bright was in advance of the Liberal party of Great Britain. He is leading them on in the march of progress and liberty; but he is not alone. There are thousands in this Dominion who have long held the opinions that Mr. Blake ably expresses; but they required an exponent of their views, and they may well rejoice in having found one who is in full sympathy with them on so many questions of great public importance. The "Canada First" party, since the deliverance of Mr. Blake's speech, has obtained a prominence that it could not for a long time have obtained by any other means. It is a compliment to the ability of Mr. Blake and to the advanced ideas of young Canadians.

We confess to a feeling of great satisfaction on reading this truly liberal speech, for it completely "distances" the old Tory obstructives. They are now far behind—lost sight of. Mr. Blake and the large party which sympathises with his utterances, while they desire to accomplish what they advocate as right, are in full accord with the Reform party now governing. They are not only in accord with them and support them in the beneficial reforms which they are carrying out in the interests of the people; but they desire to go still further in the cause of political liberty and justice. The musty ideas of the exclusive class of politicians which so long governed the country are now obsolete. They may be looked back to as absurdities of a past age. Few will again entertain them seriously. Sir John Macdonald and his party are now completely out of the race of political parties in this Dominion. A few years hence and many of the systems and changes which Mr. Blake advocates will perhaps be accepted and adopted by the whole Liberal party. A few years more, and others, still more advanced, will take the place now held by Mr. Blake, and boldly and manfully stand forward in advocacy of new laws, new liberties, and new systems which will still further tend to promote the liberty, happiness, and prosperity of the land. In this respect the Liberal party differs mainly from the obstructive party. Satisfied that a reform in law or an addition of liberty to the people is right, it embraces and supports it. The Tory principle is to oppose all change; to keep from the subject all additional liberty, to take from him as much as possible of that liberty which he enjoys.

With some of Mr. Blake's ideas we cannot at present agree, and some we have long ago advocated; but on the whole his speech is an able and eloquent presentation of liberal ideas, is a credit to himself and to the country to which he belongs, and will largely influence the political thought of Canada.

ACADIAN RECORDER (LIBERAL.)

The *Express* pretends to think that the Reform party is alarmed lest Mr. Blake intends to desert from its ranks. But here is just where the shoe pinches. Gladly, indeed, would they see the Great Reform champion desert his colors—gladly would they see him give the lie to his past life, and ruin his position and prospects; but the real trouble is that Mr. Blake remains in thorough accord with the party with which he has ever associated—whose principles he has assisted to form, and whose success he has helped to achieve. Doubtless there was a faint hope in the breast of these forlorn, dismembered and demoralized Tories, that the Reform press would take issue with some of Mr. Blake's utterances; but it was a mistaken notion. The great

beauty and glory of the Liberal party of Canada is found in the fact that they are not tied down to any stern dogmas. They are ever ready to progress with the wants and enlightenments of the age. If Mr. Blake or any other respectable Reformer propounds any sound doctrine, the Liberal party is not afraid to accept it because it is novel and advanced. The whole Reform press of Canada has with one voice endorsed Mr. Blake's advanced ideas, and never before—not even when his thrilling eloquence and irresistible logic gave the death blow to "Twenty years of Corruption"—did Mr. Blake stand so high in the confidence and esteem of the Reform party. False hope! The Reformers have not given up Mr. Blake, and Mr. Blake has not given up the Reformers. It is cruel to take away this last faint gleam of consolation, but all of us have to bow to the irresistible logic of facts. Destitute of any leader or any respectable man whom they dare ask the people of Canada to support—with the few men of ability they had hopelessly tainted with corruption—the Tory remnant may well envy the Reformers the possession of such a man as Edward Blake. But their envy will not injure him, nor illumine by a single ray the deep gloom which overshadows their own dark and dismal condition.

But we turn to another statement illustrative of the strange lack of political knowledge and judgment on the part of the *Express*. It says: "A political disturber is looked upon as less than a fanatic or more than a fool, by the Liberals." Is this the fact? Was the late Joseph Howe a "disturber" and how was *he* regarded by the Liberals of Nova Scotia? Were Lemuel Wilmot and S. L. Tilley "disturbers," and what was their position in the estimation of New Brunswickers? Are Alexander Mackenzie and Edward Blake "disturbers," and how are they regarded by the Liberals of Canada? Are all the men who have achieved the political freedom of England and her Colonies—who have broken up the aristocratic assumptions of oligarchies, and asserted the co-equal rights of the people—are all these "disturbers," and yet who are they but the fathers and founders of British Liberalism? The fact is, to disturb is the mission of the Liberal party. Forty years ago they "disturbed" the arrogant pretensions of Imperial potentates in these Colonies; last year they "disturbed" the reign of corruption, inaugurated and perpetuated by Sir John Macdonald and his Tory coadjutors. With all earnestness we implore the visionary bard of the *Express* to devote his attention to some other more congenial theme than politics; a writer that could pen such a sentence can scarcely hope to be able to achieve any great success in political science.

But once more. "Mr. Blake's new departure is the signal for the breaking up of the Radical party of Canada," says the sanguinary writer of the *Express*. Is it though? It seems very strange. Some of the Tory journals criticise Mr. Blake's speech as being in advance of the principles of the Reform party, and accuse Mr. Blake of Radicalism. Why then should a speech, characterized by ultra Liberal sentiments, have the effect of "breaking up" the Radical or Reform party? We can scarcely see the consistency of this notion. "Breaking up" of the Reform party, is it? Well, if a speech replete with Liberal doctrine—abounding in everything that is calculated to strengthen the convictions and arouse the enthusiasm of a Liberal party—a speech of transcendant power and ability everywhere admired and everywhere discussed—a speech that is universally applauded and endorsed by the entire Reform party of Canada, and delivered by one of the truest, staunchest, and most uncompromising Reformers in Canada,—if such a speech as this can be the "signal for the downfall of the Liberal party of Canada," we have not one word to say; but we confess that we would be charmed to trace the exquisite and subtle logic of the *Express* while it unfolds the connection between the two respective ideas. As well might it affirm that a heavy rainstorm had diminished our water supply, that the rising of the full moon cast a gloom over the night—that the bursting out of the noonday sun rendered the air cold and chilling. We fear that some individuals in our midst must have rather crooked notions on political subjects if they form their opinions from the editorial utterances of our pseudo-philosophical contemporary, the *Evening Express*.

QUEBEC MERCURY (Third article).

The representation of minorities is a subject to which much attention has been lately given in Ontario, and to which the Honorable Mr. Blake has given favorable, and the *Globe* of Toronto, somewhat unfavorable consideration; the one in a speech which has fallen like a clap of thunder upon the political circles of Ontario, and the other in a remarkably cautious and coolly critical leading article, in which the ideas of the honorable and able speaker were partially analyzed, a process which they well deserve, particularly when they seem to present anything in common with those of the party of Canada First, and which, therefore, we have thought worthy of a certain amount of imitation. The idea of representation of minorities is far from original. It has been pretty fully ventilated in England, but made little progress in that country, where in fact it was not generally regarded as practical. The idea of such a representation was first offered to the conservatives, but was not unanimously or zealously supported by that party, whose chiefs have attained power without any change in that theory and system of the basis of representation which the Anglo-Saxons have acknowledged from the dawn of history until now. The project of representing minorities had its origin in modern times, and was a not unnatural outcrop of those movements for broadening the franchise which are so characteristic of the present epoch of English history. The abolition of the small, or "pocket" boroughs, and the abolition of special franchises, such as those of the "scot and lotyers," freemen and "pot wallopers," caused some political thinkers to look about them for the discovery or construction of some machinery for doing what those agencies before 1832 and Russell's first reform bill had frequently effected. Those who find good in everything and are assured that everything exists for some useful purpose will be fortified in their amiable philosophy by learning that there was a great deal which might be said in favor of "rotten" boroughs, and that even Old Sarum was not made in vain. It is true that a gentleman driving himself from London to his constituency and encountering said constituency in the form of his uncle's gardener, the only voter which the place afforded, is not a brilliant specimen of popular representation. Neither was the continuence of their representative character to towns which had dwindled from populous cities in remote ages to modern hamlets apparently calculated to make the House of Commons a true representation of the people of living England, but the benefit of these seeming anomilies and abuses was that they afforded a means of opening the door of the legislature to men of talent who would never have been elected by large constituencies. Than John Wilson Croker there were in his day few abler men in parliament, yet Croker owed his seat entirely to patronage, never was accepted by a real constituency, and never sat a day, or rather a night, in the Commons after the Reform Bill became the law of the land. As with him so with others. Patrons by the close borough system of yore put in many men who were far from being dullards, or mutes, or dunces, but who, nevertheless, either from their principles or manners, or some other disqualifying circumstance, could never have got the ear of a populous constituency. The same system, while sometimes undoubtedly abused, also permitted comparatively poor men, possessed of talent but without the pecuniary means of sustaining a contest for a county or a large borough, to sit in and sometimes to adorn and benefit the Lower House. It was thought by some theorists in England that the representation of minorities might supply the place of this sort of nominal representation. In Canada the Senate to some extent supplies, or is supposed to supply, the place of the old obsolete close boroughs of the mother country. In the comprehensive scheme, however, of the Honorable Mr. Blake, the Senate is to cease to be in any degree a nominated body, and the minority representation rejected in England, is to be law in Canada.

IRISH CANADIAN.—(INDEPENDENT LIBERAL).

MR. BLAKE AT AURORA.—The speech recently delivered at Aurora by Mr. Edward

Blake has created—we shall not say a sensation, but an amount of gossip and speculation that gives employment to every tongue inclined to the discussion of politics. If we except one or two important points, there was nothing in the speech beyond one of those masterly harangues the hon. gentleman is in the habit of favoring the constituencies with, when his professional business permits—although Mr. Blake himself appears to think that people may regard it as "an imprudent speech." Still the distinguished gentleman is not particular as to whose nerves it shocks, and rather offhandedly declares that he is quite prepared for the consequences. This attitude becomes a man who has said some bold things, and is ready to stand by them against all comers.

Compulsory voting forms one of the main features in Mr. Blake's discourse. He believes that the man who has a vote, and will not voluntarily record it at the polls, ought to be compelled to do so—accepting only as a valid reason for not doing so, illness or absence from the constituency at election time. The man refusing to vote at all, Mr. Blake would moderately fine; and besides would strike his name off the voters' roll, not to be replaced thereon till after the next general election. We fear that it would not work well, this compulsory plan of Mr. Blake's. It is much to be desired that as near an approximation as possible to the whole *bona fide* vote of the Dominion might be obtained; but if this is to be arrived at through a course of coercion, we think the voluntary system preferable.

Mr. Blake is not satisfied with our present mode of popular representation, by which majorities only are represented, while respectable minorities are to all intents and purposes a dead letter in the higher as well as in the lower councils of the nation. He is convinced that until both majority and minority have their representatives, in ratio according to numbers, representation by population will never be fairly and thoroughly established. How is the minority to be represented? Let us see. The Catholic population of Toronto—one fifth of the whole—is the minority here. Make *one* constituency of the city with three representatives, instead of *three* constituencies as at present. Then the Catholic vote in its entirety could be concentrated on the particular candidate of its choice, and thus he would receive three times the number of Catholic votes that he now receives. The rule that applies in this case would apply to all minorities in every section of the Dominion.

HAMILTON SPECTATOR.—(LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE.)

COMPULSORY VOTING.—Mr. Blake has suggested that voting should be made compulsory by law. Put in that bald way such a law has all the appearance of being both tyrannical and impracticable, and the law that is either the one or the other ought to be rejected. No symmetry of legal arrangement or system is an adequate compensation for the repression of individual liberty, and no law that is not sustained by public sentiment is other than an evil, the approval of public sentiment is to law what life is to the body, it gives it force and vitality. Without it a law cannot be properly enforced, and a law that is not enforced is a teacher of disrespect for all law. Now a law for compulsory voting, as the phrase is at present understood, would beyond doubt be open to both these objections, but Mr. Blake has thrown out some suggestions in connection with the subject which seem to us to be worth taking into serious consideration and calmly discussing. To fine an elector for refusing or neglecting to record his vote, much more to imprison him, would strike the public mind as a piece of tyranny, and we may be quite sure that it would never be enforced no matter how strictly the law might be framed. But society has a right to infer, in the absence of contrary evidence, that the elector who does not record his vote is indifferent to the privilege of having one to record, and it is this indifference which is the ground of all our electoral corruption. Suppose, then, that the elector who either refuses or neglects to record his vote should be deprived of a privilege which, by his conduct, he appears not to value, would that be a hardship which would shock the sense of justice? It appears to us that it would not. The punishment which flows naturally from the offence is always the most effective as a

restraint. If the offender himself can be made to see the justice of his punishment it has a salutary influence even upon him. Now this penalty for not voting would not have the appearance of an arbitary punishment, but rather that of the logical result of the voter's own conduct. But what would be its value? The popular notion of the object of compulsory voting is, that by it the sense of all the electors is obtained; this we apprehend is a mistake. Its main object is to prevent electoral corruption, and to the extent that it is serviceable for this purpose it ought to meet with cordial support. Now, as we have said the ground work of electoral corruption is the indifference, and let us add the dishonesty, of a portion of the electorate—for an honest man, even though indifferent, will not sell his vote. This corrupt element, in city constituencies at least, takes an organized form on election day. Five or six or a dozen men will combine under a leader who virtually becomes their broker with some election manager, and who generally keeps the lion's share of the proceeds. A part at least of the strength of their position as sellers of votes is that they have the choice of either recording them or not. If they were compelled to record them, or if even the pressure of such a penalty as that suggested was put upon them as to make it strongly probable that they could record them, election managers would in most cases prefer to take the chance of obtaining the majority of them without purchasing them. If they braved the penalty of refusing to record their votes and had the privilege withdrawn, a corrupt element would be eliminated from the electoral body for the time the disability lasted, and that itself would be a great advantage. If a distinction could be made between those who corruptly refused to vote, and those who neglected to do so through indifference, there ought to be a distinction as to the length of time for which their electoral privilege was forfeited, but as this would hardly be possible they would have to be dealt with as offenders in common, and a forfeiture of the right to vote at the next election would probably be sufficient for an experimental penalty. There would remain, of course, a considerable number who from various causes were unable to vote, and in this case Mr. Blake proposes that they should be required to file an affidavit within thirty days after the election of their inability to vote, and this would probably be a sufficient safeguard against injustice to the innocent.

This question is still in its tentative state, and we do not wish to be understood as committing ourselves to the support of the proposed measure, but it seems to us that that portion of it which we have sketched is worthy of being discussed at least.

HAMILTON SPECTATOR.—(Second Article.)

MR. BLAKE.—The mistake that Mr. Blake would be liable to as the leader of a party would be to run into an excess of what may be called constitutional legislation, or changes in the mere machinery of government. The importance of perfecting that machinery as nearly as may be, is not, of course, to be underrated, but after all it is only a means to an end, and if the means is mistaken for the end, the mistake is a serious one. We look back on the days of rotten boroughs in England and wonder that they ever were tolerated, but it must be admitted that under that system England was governed with an ability and patriotism that has never been surpassed since. When we wish to give an example of a model English statesman we think of William Pitt, and parliamentary eloquence will forever be associated with the names of Burke and Fox. The governmental machinery of these days has a very clumsy look from our point of view, but Great Britain was never guided with more sagacious and far seeing statesmanship than in the days of Old Sarum. The harshness of the penal laws, the non-recognition of the liberties of the people were rather the faults of the age than of the system. We do not refer to that system approvingly, quite the reverse, but point to it as showing that great things may be accomplished in statesmanship even with a system that is theoretically imperfect, and that statesmanship does not consist alone in remodelling our constitutional machinery. Mr. Blake's tendency to this word is partly no doubt the result of natural taste and partly of his fine drawn legal training. That training has always given a bent to minds even of the highest order, that has been more or less unfavorable to success in the broader field

of statesmanship, and so far as Mr. Blake has yet given evidence he is no exception to what has passed into a proverbial rule. He has been fertile in measures concerning elections–critical in a high degree in all matters by which legislation is affected, but he has not yet gone beyond that limit. The great question of the industrial development of the country, for instance, is one that he has never touched upon, and whether his sympathies are with the free trade proclivities of Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie, or whether he sides with their opponents, he has never publicly made known. It is probable that he has never studied the question, and does not care to become a public teacher on a question which he does not understand, and so far he displays a wisdom which Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie would do well to imitate; for however little he may know of this question he cannot possibly know less than they do. But is it not time for Mr. Blake to grapple with this important question? Can he hope to be successsful even as a "private in the advance guard," and continue to ignore a question which has a greater interest for the public than any other now before them? He cannot, it is true, be a pioneer of the question, because others have been in advance of him, but in the new position he has voluntarily assumed he can render valuable assistance if he should take the right side. His refusal to discuss Mr. Brown's treaty inspires the hope that he is opposed to the principles upon which it rests. He could with perfect propriety have discussed that treaty in his Aurora speech, if the claims of old political friendship had not restrained him. His lips are not sealed by official restraint, and he had the example of the Premier, who has spoken publicly in approval of it. If the position of the question did not prevent the Prime Minister from giving his views, it need not have imposed reticence on Mr. Blake, if he coincided with these views. If he does not coincide with them—if he opposes the treaty, there were obvious reasons of a personal kind why he should refrain from discussing it. He probably sees the prospect of his friend being relieved from the consequences of blunder, without his assisting to defeat him, and thus causing an open and undisguised rupture. But while we may sympathize with him in the embarrassment which a discussion of the treaty would cause him, it nevertheless appears to us to be his duty to the public to speak out, if he is opposed to it, and not run the risk of being too late.

QUEBEC MERCURY (Fourth Article)

We have examined the question of the representation of minorities with regard to the general principle on which such representation is based, and the arguments which are applicable to it as an abstract proposition, or were elicited by it when first proposed in England. There is, however, another aspect in which this question is susceptible of being regarded, and after all it is the one most interesting to the inhabitants of the Dominion of Canada. It is this,—How would the representation of minorities work in Canada? How would it affect society as comoposed in the Provinces of British North America? That this question should in such a discussion be put last instead of first; that it should be at the end rather than in the early stage of investigation, is only the effect of two cardinal errors which are frequently committed in Canadian debates and political enquiries, though they are so glaring as to admit of little excuse. These errors are, first, to assume that the circumstances of Canada and England are so similar that what suits the latter will generally be equally successful when applied to the former, in fact, that the two countries are alike and may be treated alike; and, secondly, that the population of Canada is both in itself homogenous and cognate with that of England. Thus we are repeatedly treated to the utterance of the utmost number of the entire population of Canada as so many millions of the Anglo-Saxon race, the reckoning probably rather exceeding the whole population in fact, and claiming every soul in the Dominion as an Anglo-Saxon. This loose mode of talking simply ignores about one-half the people, or rather misrepresents them, denies their peculiarities, and claims for them an origin entirely alien to their own. By this language we refer not to one origin or one origin or one faith, but simply to that very numerous body of Canadians who,

while truly claiming a variety of origins and being far from community in creed or manners, have nevertheless no possible claim and no desire to present any claim to the name of Anglo-Saxon. The fact is that British America possesses an extremely heterogeneous population, and the process of welding them into one is more difficult than that of talking of them as one without the slightest warrant for doing so. This being the case, majorities and minorities are apt to be much more permanent in their character here than they are in England, and the question of the representation of the minorities is likely to give an increased vitality to differences of race, creed and language which exist amongst us, but have no analogy in Britain.

St. John (N. B.) News (Liberal).

In our remarks some time ago on the significance of Mr. Blake's Aurora manifesto, we referred to the singular circumstance that never once, in the course of that lengthy utterance, as reported in the *Globe*, did its author use the terms Reform and Reformers. It is singular that the Reform journals have given no explanation of this careful avoidance by Mr. Blake of their party name. His abstention in the case was very noteworthy. His train of thought led him in directions which rendered it necessary for him frequently to mention party designations, and he often used the word Liberal as pertaining to the party with which he was in sympathy. It would be interesting to learn from some authoritative source why on that occasion he steered clear of reformed Reformers. Does he dislike the name of the party of which he has been regarded as the chief ornament? It would seem so, and on reflection that does not appear surprising.

The word Reform under the circumstances signified either nothing distinctive whatsoever, or something so transient in its nature as to render it wholly unfit to become the permanent designation of a great party in the State. It was adopted, we believe, as a clever political dodge in an emergency. It implied no profession of political principles, and involved no recantation of past political belief. In presence of a proved abuse or a defective mode of administration, ultra radicals, and high and dry tories might alike go in for reform. Then, under the shelter of this name, a grand combination might be formed for the enjoyment of power, place and plunder, by men who had denounced coalitions as essentially evil and corrupt, and by such denunciation had damaged their opponents, and bettered their own prospects. The appelation was, therefore, apparently adopted on account of its supposed capacity, for hiding a coalition, or rather a conglomeration of politicians of all stripes, colors and shades of political sentiment. The dodge having for the moment answered its purpose, Mr. Blake, it seems, desires to be rid of it, and hence probably abstains from using it in his now famous Aurora speech. His example in this case is not likely to be followed by the leading organs of the Grit party, while that party has the ascendancy. Unlike Mr. Blake they cannot afford to dispense with a name that brought plenteous provender to their crib.

The Nation (Third Article).

Representation of Minorities.—That system of representation which most truly reflects the views of the electorate is so certainly the best as to be altogether out of the range of dispute. Does the scheme of representation in operation among us fulfil this condition? If it does not, it must be condemned as unjust. When the Confederation was formed, the boast was made that Canada was applying the principles of science to the representation of her people in the Federal Parliament. She had resolved to adjust the representation in as nearly as possible equal proportions to the population. The demand for representation by population, as it was clumsily and inaccurately expressed, was at last conceded. The British North America Act, 1867, provided that "immediately after every decennial census thereafter, the representation from each section in the House of Commons shall be readjusted on the basis of population." This implies that the several constituencies shall be made, as nearly as practicable, equal in population. The object of adopting this principle was

undoubtedly to make the representation of the whole people as nearly as possible just and fair; justice demanding equality as a first condition. But is that end attained in practice, or can it be under a system which gives the whole political power to the majority, great or small, in each constituency, and leaves the minority wholly unrepresented? The reply must be an emphatic negative. A majority of less than seven per cent. of the electors in Ontario, by the operation of the rule under which the minority in each constituency is left unrepresented, at the last election, returned a large majority of members. If the minority were fairly represented the majority in the house would be less than seven per cent. Mr. Blake has magnanimously pointed to the great injustice of leaving nearly two thousand electors in his constituency practically unrepresented. It is usual to say that a member represents the entire constituency and not merely the part of it by which he was elected, and there is a sense in which this is true; but the fact remains that on all questions on which political opinions are divided, the majority representative does not and cannot express the views of the minority. On the contrary, he sets himself in opposition to them, and does all in his power to prevent their prevailing. An election, which ought to reflect the varying views of the electors, in proportion to the votes by which these different views are expressed, becomes instead, under the actual arrangements, a collision of hostile opinions, in which aggregate majorities are the victors and the aggregate minorities are vanquished. In the flush of victory, with the exasperation of a struggle, which assumed many of the features of a battle conducted under hostile chiefs, still rankling in the minds of the combatants, the majority is in no temper to deal out political justice to all alike. It will rather aim to humiliate its defeated rivals and to profit by its victory. The degree of injustice that is inflicted on the vanquished depends upon the temper of the times and the spirit of parties. In England, in the present day, it is reduced to a minimum; in the United States the victors make it their first care to count the scalps and gather up the spoils of the slain; in Central and South America, the minority often attempts to evade the doom of proscription by insurrection. If a milder spirit rules in Canada and the instances of injustice suffered by the minority at the hands of the majority are comparatively rare, we are still justified in looking to other countries for illustrations of the evil in its more aggravated forms.

Minority representation has been tried on a small scale in England; where it has had the support of the philosophical Radicals and the Conservatives. Let this console those timid souls who tremble with fear at the mention of the slightest innovation in politics. In England there is less need of minority representation than here. The spirit of party, as controlled in administration, is there less vindictive; and the smaller constituencies serve as a rough representation of minorities; the majority is less likely to abuse its power. The extent to which the electoral system is here prevented, by caucussing and wire-pulling, from producing a fair representation of the voters, must be taken into account. Primary conventions in the States, however objectionable they may be, have all the features of a real election. They are thoroughly representative. Here whatever pretence the nominating convention may make to a representative character is the merest sham. A few individuals contrive virtually to defraud the electors of all real power, by settling everything in secret and beforehand. The power thus exercised is irresponsible; it is often wielded by men on whom no sort of responsibility can be brought to bear. The tendency is to drive the best men from public life. The minions and the tools of party have the best, almost the only, chance of election. Men with long purses who can bribe the electors and pay long printers' bills are selected as candidates for a position for which they have had no training to fit them. Minority representation would break the neck of this secret caucus tyranny, which tends to rob representation of its most essential qualities.

That the absolute power of the Government may be thrown into the hands of the minority, under the existing partial scheme of representation, was clearly shown by the late John Stuart Mill. "Suppose," he said, "that in a country governed by

equal and universal suffrage, there is a contested election in every constituency, and every election is carried by a small majority. The Parliament thus brought together represents a little more than a bare majority of the people. This Parliament proceeds to legislate, and adopts important measures by a majority of itself. What guarantee is there that these measures accord with the wishes of a majority of the people? Nearly half the electors, being outvoted at the hustings, have had no influence at all in the decision; and the whole of these may be, a majority of them probably are, hostile to the measures, having voted against those by whom they have been carried. Of the remaining electors, nearly half have chosen representatives who, by supposition, have voted against the measures. It is possible, therefore, and even probable, that the opinion which has prevailed was agreeable only to the minority of the nation, though a majority of that portion of it whom the institutions of the country have erected into a ruling class." And he adds: "Any minority left out, either purposely or by the play of the machinery, gives a power not to a majority, but to a minority in some other part of the scale."

The effect of basing the representation on population has been merely to redress sectional inequality. It was good as far as it went, but beyond this it has not gone, and as at present worked, it cannot go. It does not provide for the equal representation of the different views, opinions and feelings of the electorate. It leaves the minority in each constituency at the absolute mercy of the majority. It may, and sometimes does, leave a very large proportion of the elaborate unrepresented. The votes of the minority in each constituency are thrown a way; while under a more perfect system of representation, every vote should tell and every voter be represented. A mode of representation which is contrary to the first principles of political justice may be defended by those who fancy they can profit by the venerable abuse; but the attack will prove too much for the defence.

QUEBEC MERCURY (Fifth Article).

In Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick minorities of a permanent character would, we fear, be the practical result of that represention by minorities which the Honorable Mr. Blake has recently brought into notice in Ontario. The difference between the Dominion and England as subjects for political experiments is that the last named is homogeneous and Canada notably the reverse. The minorities of English discussions are purely minorities of opinion who are subject to change and very reasonably hope in time to swell into majorities. In this country, on the other hand, there are as we have already stated, minorities of a permanent character, based on lineage, creed and marked national characteristics. What would be the effect of minority representation on them? We fear it would be to make their differences from those who surrounded them more prominent and more discordant than they now are. We fear that it would in no respect strengthen or benefit those minorities, but on the contrary expose them to an odium from which they are now exempt. Under the present federal system it would have the effect of dividing and thus weakening the voices of the different provinces and introducing a system of vexatious continual appeals from the local legislature to the Dominion Parliament. Once introduced, the principle would last under other forms of national life than the existing one. In other words, should the national will of Canada, with the assent of the Imperial power in England, ever resolve on the substitution of centralism for federalism in our government, should it be finally determined to get rid of the various provincial assemblies and to consolidate all the legislative bodies into one; the principles of representation by minorities would then take on it a different aspect and organize the majority of this Province into one distinct body, thus practically restoring that war of races of which Lord Durham took so melancholy and despairing a view. Examining the question in as disinterested and impartial a manner as possible, and trying to look on it from every side and consider it from every point of view, we cannot but come to the conclusion that it is far better to leave our present form of government to the

slow and sure action of time, in order to fully mature its strength, than to resort to the path of organic change, of which Canada has had so long and often so rueful an experience.

QUEBEC MERCURY (Sixth Article).

Of the various planks of the new Ontario platform, if such it can be called, which we have noticed from time to time, the only one we have not yet expressed an opinion on is that of compulsory voting. That a vote is not a property is pretty clear, because the law does not, and never did, permit it to be sold, neither can it be entailed. That it is a right and a duty we have been occasionally told, but we are still more authoritatively informed that it is a privilege. As such the law regards it, and has regarded it from a remote period. Now compulsory voting destroys the legal character of the electoral franchise as it has so far existed. That is no privilege which leaves no discretion to its possessor. Compulsion may rightly be employed in reference to public duties and obligations and the discharge of public trusts, but the very character of privilege is destroyed the moment its exercise is made obligatory. Liberty is involved in the very idea of privilege, and no man can be at once privileged and forced to the same act. It is true that in some ancient republics all citizens were forced to vote, and the idea of regarding the exercise of the electoral power as every voter's duty is by no means new. Is the change an advisable one? is now the question, and we fear that little but the love of novelty can inspire an answer in the affirmative. Machinery for the purpose of supplying the absence of public spirit is, we fear, a fallacy. Laws cannot command public virtue, and if a people will not work free institutions honestly they cannot be beneficially governed by them at all. Then again in an age which attaches so much importance to liberty, is it exactly right to make a man a voter against his will? The existence of an absolutist party in Spain, Portugal and Italy, shows that all men are not enamored of the electoral franchise, and if any are conscientiously opposed to it are they not entitled to have their opinions respected? Is the age, however, as fond of freedom in fact as it is in name? Is it not in truth, just as fond of coercion as any of its predecessors, only changing the objects of its dictation where antiquity left freedom and giving liberty where antiquity employed restraint; liberating trade in which old legislation interfered to make individual profit subordinate to the public welfare; and compelling the citizen to desist from such pleasures and amusements as antiquity permitted, and forcing him to use his leisure in political thought and action, whether he desires it or not? Indeed, are we not right in saying the spirits of Prometheus and Frankenstein are in the air, and modern men are set upon morally making men in their own image? If so, Liberty is about to appear in strange forms, and the rule of the elective principle to prove a tyranny more caste-like and more hostile to individualism than any the Causasian race ever acknowledged, or it may be the world has ever seen!

TORONTO GLOBE (Article).

REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES.—There are some things which are capable of being reduced to a science, and in such cases every possible means should be taken to bring about exactness and certainty. There are other matters—and to this class belong most of the affairs of life—which are incapable of being so reduced, and amongst these, we take it, must be reckoned the representation of popular opinion in our Houses of Parliament. The various schemes of representing minorities, from Mr. Hare's down to that of three-cornered constituencies, are attractive on paper. But when we come to apply them we are met with difficulties of various kinds more or less formidable, while the arguments used in support of representing minorities will, when examined, be found more or less fallacious.

It is assumed that it is an evil that the majority, when there is one, is larger than would be the case under a system by which minorities wese carefully provided

for. But as the majority chooses the Government, and as a small majority means a weak Government, it is clearly better that whichever party has a majority should have a good one; else the Government will not be strong.

It is also assumed that minorities are not represented at all. But the fact is that minorities are represented. When a constituency returns a Tory member the Liberals in that particular constituency may be said, so far as their views on one or two questions are concerned, to be unrepresented. But what is the fact? In another constituency the Liberals have gained, and perhaps by about the same majority. Thus, so far as the special dividing questions are concerned, things are equalized. In all other respects, as a fact, a Tory member represents the interests of his Liberal constituents, and a Liberal the interests of his Tory constituents. To gain support at coming elections a representative will always pay due attention to the wishes of his former opponents.

Nothing could well be more fallacious than to suppose that under minority clauses caucuses, conventions, primary meetings, or whatever they may be called, would not have full scope. They would have more power than at present. Now it is a necessity to choose a good man, for he has to run the gauntlet of criticism of the opposite party. But under minority clauses all that would be needed would be for each side to nominate what candidates they pleased, as, say in a three-cornered constituency, two of one party and one of another, no matter what their intellectual and moral claims, would be sure to go in.

It is further assumed that there have been always or will be always only two parties. At present that is the case here. But it has not been always so, and is not likely to be so for ever. In England we know there are three parties—perhaps we might say even four—and these always found representatives in the House of Commons under our system. Nay, even small special bodies find means to send in their representatives.

To speak of the votes of the minority being thrown away in misleading. The object is to see which candidate or party is the stronger, and how else can this be known save by minorities, as they ultimately prove, voting as well as majorities? Moreover, the votes of the minority have a moral weight. Under a minority representation system surely, if there be anything in this objection of votes being lost, the same objection would apply. For the minority would ultimately be outvoted in Parliament. They might have ten votes there instead of eight. But this would be of little value if they should be outvoted on a division.

The fact is, this desire to bring things of the nature of representation to scientific accuracy is only fit for the interesting but barren discussion of the lecture-room; it is not suitable for common use, where the rough and ready method is best. How can simple people be expected to dubitate between a number of candidates, and puzzle themselves whether they are throwing away their votes or not? They can easily understand the issue, however, between two candidates—one Whig the other Tory, one Reform the other Union and Progress. Here there is no danger of mystification. They fight their fight. If they win they rejoice, and if beaten they are content, knowing well that their party has triumphed elsewhere. We may be certain popular representation is one of the things we shall not easily improve on.

Fourth

TORONTO GLOBE (Article).

CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE.—The most powerful agent in bringing about the present Confederation of the North American Provinces was the agitation carried on by the Reformers of Upper Canada between the years 1849 and 1864, to secure the recognition of the principle of Representation by Population. Their claim to be represented in Parliament in proportion to their numbers was strenuously resisted, not merely by the people of Lower Canada, but by many within their own borders. But they persevered, and finally triumphed, so that when the delegates of the various Provinces met to adopt a Constitution no resistance was made to the adoption of a principle which had been long contended for and thoroughly established in the public

mind. It was unanimously resolved that the representation of the people in the most influential Chamber in the new Legislature should be according to population. It was, however, claimed on the part of Lower Canada that in the Upper Chamber a certain degree of equality should be preserved in the representation, in order to act as a safeguard against injustice towards the less populous members of the Confederacy. The system pursued in the United States was so far adopted that Ontario and Quebec were given the same number of Senators, and the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia combined placed in a like position of strength. Thus it will be seen that, while Ontario at the present moment has 88 members in the Lower House, while Quebec has 65, and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia unitedly 37, each of these bodies in the Senate has 24 members. In settling the representation of the newer Provinces a similar system was pursued, each obtaining a larger representation in the Senate than her population would entitle her to.

The epresentatives of Ontario in the conference which preceded Confederation readily accepted the proposition made by Sir George Cartier, that the Senate thus constituted should be nominated by the Dominion Government. They were willing that the Upper House should be so formed as to act as a protection to the local rights of the less powerful Provinces, but they were not willing to make the body so constituted an entirely independent branch of the Legislature. Looking upon the Lower House, elected directly by the people, as the final arbiter of all questions in dispute, they regarded the Senate, although possessed of sufficient power to act as a buttress against any violations of the rights of the smaller Provinces, as not entitled to occupy a position of equality with that which was constituted on the only true basis of representation—numerical strength of the several electoral constituencies.

The system introduced in 1867 may be safely said to have worked efficiently. There has been no complaint of tyrannical interference with the rights of any of the P. .inces. The House elected according to population has not tyrannised over the smaller Provinces, and the House selected to protect these Provinces has not barred the way against the wishes of the more populous members of the Confederacy. No one who desires to see a change made is able to say that any practical evil has arisen from the present constitution of the Senate, yet in the public mind, and more particularly among a section of the Ontario population, there is a strong feeling against the nomination by Government of any branch of the Legislature. Some who remember the pre-Responsible Government days confound the nomination by a responsible Administration with the nomination by an irresponsible Governor, and recall the the times when the Council used absolutely to over-ride the legislation of the popular House. To these persons it seems useless to say that no such evils have arisen under the new system. They reply, once for all, that they do not like nominated legislators, and demand that they shall be elected by the people. One of their favorite arguments is that the Senate is useless, and jokes are cracked at the expense of the "old ladies" who sit in the gilded Chamber to confirm the proceedings of the Chamber at the other side of the building.

We have frequently pointed out how unjust it is to consider the present Senate a useless body. It occupies an important position in the Confederacy, since its constitution makes it a buttress against injustice proposed by one Province against another. Moreover, it brings to the capital a numerous body of men of comparatively advanced years, well informed generally upon public questions, and animated by a conservative spirit, whose advice at critical times exercises an important influence upon the course of affairs, and who on other occasions have the opportunity, and exercise it, of suggesting and carrying out important amendments in the legislation of the Lower House. To say that such a body is useless is contrary to well-known facts, which none will dispute but those who are ignorant. The cost is not great compared with the advantages derived from it. Yet, nevertheless, since the Legislative Council of the old Provinces of Canada was rendered elective, it may be that, in their attachment to the elective form, and blind opposition to a nominated Chamber, the people of Canada may determine, as they have the full right and power to do, that the present

Chamber is not constituted as they wish it to be, and that a change must take place. There are three courses, if that is their determination, open to them.

First. It is contended that it may be abolished altogether without injury to the public service. Valuable as are some of the fruits of the labors of the Senate, we by no means consider it indispensible. The success of a single Chamber in Ontario has strengthened the hands of the advocates of that system, and were the work of reconstructing the Dominion Legislature to be done over again, there might be no Senate to vex the souls of any portion of the population. But the Senate exists. It was established for the purpose of protecting the supposed interests of some of the Provinces, and it is a body more easy to establish than to destroy. If these Provinces would be content to rely upon the sense of justice of the great mass of the people of the Dominion, and not seek special representation in a second Chamber, the way would be clear. But without their consent, no one at the present juncture would be hardy enough to propose the abolition of the second Chamber.

Second. It is proposed that the Senate shall be chosen by the Legislature of each Province. This is the method adopted in the case of the United States Senate; but those who recommend it for Canada seem to have overlooked the difference between the Governments of our Provinces and those of the American States. Here we have Responsible Government, and for the time being the Premier and the members of the Cabinet have immense influence upon the action of the Legislature. Given a powerful Premier in any Province, he would practically have the choice of the members of the Dominion Senate from his Province during his term of office. Supposing that these gentlemen were chosen for eight years, as they were in the old Provinces of Canada, and that the same Premier continued in office during that period, the whole representation in the Senate would be his Even if the party which held power and not the members of the Government selected the Senators, the representatives in what it is desired to make the most influential body in the Dominion Legislature would represent one party in each Province and one party alone. The selection by the Legislature would also make the Senators peculiarly the representatives of sectional interests; they would be selected in all probability to look after the interests of the Province which selected them, it might be the interests of only a section of the party which happened to be dominant in the Local Legislature. This, we cannot help thinking, would be an evil in a House designed to be the most influential Chamber, and to which, even according to present arrangements, the Provinces are to look for the protection of their interests. The vice of sectionalism, which is one we are called upon peculiarly to guard against, would certainly be intensified by the adoption of this mode of election. At present the Senators are chosen for life by the Dominion Government which represents the whole body of the people. They are selected for their high character, wealth, and generally for moderation of sentiment. They are not required to yield to any sectional agitation by the necessity of re-election, but are free to take the course of action which their principles dictate. We cannot see that in breadth of view or freedom from local influences the Senate under the second system would be superior to that which exists at present.

The *third* and last proposal is that the Senators shall be elected by the people. This method was tried in the case of the Legislative Council of Canada, and in some respects it is less objectionable than the second method. It is true that but little variety was obtained in the class of persons selected for the two Houses. The Senate would be apt to be a mere repetition of the Lower House. This, however, has its advantages in all matters which do not involve disputes between the Provinces, since it avoids the danager of dead lock between the two Houses, and of a Government keeping office supported by the one and rejected by the other, unable to pass its measures and yet not required to resign. Being elected by the people, the representatives from each Province would consist of men of all parties, which would give an advantage over the second plan; and they would probably not be so sectional in their feelings as if they were appointed by the Provincial Legislatures. That the legislation of the new House

would be better than that of the present, or in any important degree an improvement upon the legislation of a single chamber, we do not believe. The third project would gratify those who object to a nominated House and prefer an elective one. But it would not provide what Mr. Blake has pointed out as the object which he desires, namely, a Chamber like the United States Senate, which would act as a check on the Lower House. As we have before pointed out, the idea of two independent Legislatures acting in defiance of each other is inconsistent with the theory of our Government. Responsible Government, in vogue amongst us, requires that both Chambers shall agree. In the United States the Senate and the House of Representatives may enjoy a chronic difference of opinion, the only effect of which is to stop legislation on the matter at issue; while executive powers are derived from the President and from him alone.

If the Senate were abolished the position of Ontario in the Dominion would not be injured; but if either of the other projects were adopted we should certainly lose a part of the advantage which we gained by the adoption of the principle of Representation by Population. We should establish a House representing sectional interests somewhat stronger than that which now exists, and perhaps bring about sectional disputes, dangerous, if not to ourselves, to succeeding generations. It is a great mistake to suppose that a Senate elected by the Provincial Legislatures or even chosen by the people will be a more Democratic or more Liberal body than that which is nominated by the Government, that Government being itself the nominee of a House elected by the whole people according to population. A nominated House is powerless to dispute for any length of time the deliberately expressed opinion of the popular branch. Any change which can be made, except abolition, will set up a House elected for a longer period than the House of Commons, according to one plan by a few individuals, and according to the other by larger constituencies, to act as a check upon the popular Chamber. The adoption of such a scheme goes to show that the House of Commons elected by the people of this country has not made a good use of its trust, and requires a check from some more Conservative body. We challenge advocates of a change to prove that any such necessity exists. In the interests of the people of Ontario, who struggled for fifteen years to secure Represention by Population, and who are enjoying the full fruits of their labors at the present moment, we enter our protest against any change which will weaken the power of the popular Chamber in which they possess their fair share of influence and authority.

HALIFAX CHRONICLE (LIBERAL.)

We have published a full report of Mr. Blake's now famous speech at Aurora Ontario, and we assume that all who pretend to keep themselves posted in the politics of the Dominion have given it a careful reading. We have found in it little to warrant the impression that Mr. Blake has identified himself with the "Canada First" party, so-called, and nothing to give any color to the Opposition statement that he has left the Reform party. In regard to "Canada First," we do not think that the adoption by any public man of the sentiments expressed by the phrase need cause any alarm, for they appear to be of a very innocent character. The chief objection to the "Canada First" party is that so far as its views have been explained they do not differ materially, if at all, from the professions of other parties. If "Canada First" is interpreted to mean annexation to the United States, the "party" indignantly repudiates the idea. If the independence of Canada is said to be the meaning of the phrase, the "party" either denies it or evades the point. Indeed, the "party" seems to have an idea that by the time it gets organized, some definite principles on which it can lay hold will turn up. All that the exponents of its opinions have been able to do up to the present, is to profess a high-toned patriotic regard for the interests of Canada. Is there any party in the Dominion that does not? Mr. Blake, in his speech, made some allusions to "the cultivation of a national sentiment,"—a phrase which is found in every "Canada First" speech and editorial, and this, we imagine, is the ground on which are based the reports of his adhesion to

the new party. But Mr. Blake's ideas of a "national sentiment" are tolerably clear, while those of the "Canada First" party are usually veiled in mystery. He desires the cultivation of a Dominion sentiment—a pride in the greatness, the resources and the future prospects of the whole country. He does not desire annexation, for he repudiates it; he does not desire independence, for he makes no mention of it; but he does desire to have a re-organization of the Empire, such as Mr. Howe for many years advocated, the principle feature of which is Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. In this desire he will have the sympathy of thousands, few of whom, however, will entertain any hope of seeing the change effected during their lives.

It is a little strange that any person should have been mistaken enough to imagine that Mr. Blake appeared at Aurora to quarrel with the Reform party. The occasion of his speech was a Reform demonstration. He went to Aurora to speak on behalf of the Reform Government of Ontario, and he did speak for them with an earnestness that cannot be questioned. His references to Dominion politics, so far as they touched any revealed policy, were entirely in accord with the views of Mr. Mackenzie's Government. On the most important question that has yet occupied the attention of the Government—we allude, of course, to the Pacific Railway policy and its consequence, the British Columbia difficulty—Mr. Blake was more emphatic in his declarations than any member of the Government has been. He pointed out the immense difficulties of the Pacific Railway project, the madness of the engagements entered into by Sir John A. Macdonald with British Columbia, and the impossibility of their being fulfilled to the letter; and he distinctly declared, amidst the hearty applause of his hearers, that if British Columbia insists on the fulfilment of the terms, or on a dissolution of the bond of Union, the Dominion must accept the alternative and let British Columbia go. We all hope that the people of the Pacific Province will listen to reason and accept the liberal policy of the present Government; but possibly they will not, and it is well that they should understand clearly what will be the result of the pressing of their reasonable demands. On this point we believe Mr. Blake has spoken the feeling of the people of the Dominion.

The speech deals with three other questions, viz., the constitution of the Senate, compulsory voting, and the representation of minorities. On the first, Mr. Blake is not in advance of the times. The necessity for some change in the constitution of Canada's Upper Chamber must be acknowledged by all, and the time is not far distant when the question must be settled on some principle more in accord with popular Government than the present system is. Compulsory voting and the representation of minorities are, to Canada, newer questions, which will require a long time for consideration. Mr. Blake is an advanced Liberal, ahead of his associates in many of his ideas. He recognizes this fact, and frankly says that he does not care to have his thoughts restricted by the responsibilities of official life, but prefers to remain "a private in the advanced guard of freedom"—free to express such ideas as seem to him to be right. It would be more pleasing to the country at large if he would take upon himself a share of the Ministerial labors, but even as "a private in the ranks" he can and will do good service to the Dominion.

KINGSTON NEWS (CONSERVATIVE).[1]

MR. BLAKE IN NORTH YORK—HIS POSITION.—The Hon. Edward Blake was present at the North York Reform demonstration, at Aurora, on Saturday, on which occasion he made a speech, characterized by that ability which marks all his special efforts. While we write, the full report of Mr. Blake's speech is not before us, but there is sufficient for our present purpose. It was but natural, of course, that Mr. Blake should refer in eulogistic terms to the men who were formerly his colleagues, both in the Ontario and Dominion Governments, and that he should speak in terms of praise of the Party with which, during his public career, he has been both intimately and prominently associated. After some local references, Mr. Blake deprecated the premature discussion of the draft of the Reciprocity Treaty, and then proceeded to discuss

the position of British Columbia to the Dominion in connection with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the conclusion which he arrived at being, that rather than carry out the terms under which that Province entered the Confederation it would be better to let her go. "If," said Mr. Blake, "under all the circumstances the Columbians were to say—'You must go on and finish this railway according to the terms or take the alternative of releasing us from Confederation,' I would—take the alternative!"—a statement, we are told, which was received with cheers.

But the portion of Mr. Blake's oration—for such indeed it was—which will attract most attention throughout the country was the next subject which he took up, namely, the relations of Canada to the Empire. "Matters," Mr. Blake said, "cannot drift much longer as they have drifted hitherto." * * * *

What, it may be asked, is the significance of these utterances of Mr. Blake regarding the development of a national spirit in Canada? Does he mean that a thoroughly British feeling does not already permeate the Dominion from Halifax to Vancouver? We can scarcely think that he insinuates that. Or is he about to cast in his lot with the suckling Canada First Party now in its babyhood—a Party whose platform is so vague and indefinite? Was Mr. Blake's speech at Aurora his valedictory in connection with the Reform Party—a hint at his coming departure? Without venturing to pronounce upon these questions, we are very much inclined to believe that Mr. Blake, the idol of the Reform Party, the brilliant star whose appearance in the political firmament was hailed with so much delight, whose progress has been watched with the greatest interest by the hundreds who have worshipped at his shrine, is about making a change in some form or other. It is rather a significant fact that when the most favorable opportunities presented themselves for Mr. Blake taking an active part in the Government of the country he refused to allow the cares of office to rest upon his shoulders, urging as an excuse the pressing demands of private business. Had Mr. Blake been fully in sympathy with Brown, Mackenzie & Co., there can be little doubt he would long ere this have accepted a responsible position in the Government of the country and played a statesman's part. This he has persistently declined to do, one reason alleged for it being, that he refuses to be driven in whatever way Mr. George Brown chooses to force the Party. Be that as it may, it seems almost conclusive from his latest speech that Mr. Blake contemplates a move from the Brownites.

It is not unworthy of notice that in its first issue after Mr. Blake's Aurora speech, on the day before it appeared in its columns, the *Globe* should devote a long article to the ridicule of the Canada First Party, making the laying of the foundation stone of their Club, several days previous, a pretence for the attack; but evidently prepared after the reception of the report of Mr. Blake's speech, and which was seemingly intended to kill it at the earliest possible moment. The future course of the member for South Bruce will be watched with more than ordinary interest.

SARNIA OBSERVER (REFORM).

PLEASED WITH LITTLE!—Mr. Blake's speech at Aurora has proved a god-send to the Opposition newspapers, The *Mail* is especially ecstatic over it, and professes to have discovered therein evidences of an approaching rupture in the Reform ranks. The manager of the chief Opposition organ (that influential oracle in its own eyes) cannot leave the speech alone. In the midst of his wailings over the result of his libel suit, he ever and anon recurs to that speech, apparently to seek relief from his misery. What the distant view of an oasis is to the desert weary traveller, Mr. Blake's recent utterances are to the sorely oppressed *Mail* man. The hope of better things lures him on. But we fear much it is only a *mirage* after all, and that there is nothing but blank disappointment in store for him. He puts himself to a great deal of unnecessary trouble to account for the deliverance of the speech then and there, and flatters himself he has made the discovery at last. Mr. Blake, it seems, was invited to lay the corner stone of a new Club House in Toronto, supposed to be intended for the nucleus of what has been called the "Canada First" Party, and had

prepared a speech for the occasion, which he had not the opportunity of delivering having re-considered the matter, and resolved not to preside at the ceremony. This speech, however, which had passed through the alembic of the orator's brain, add had been purified of its crudities in the process, would not keep. It was too good, and had cost too much labor to be consigned summarily to the desk or waste paper basket, and therefore Mr. Blake seized the opportunity afforded by the meeting at Aurora, of getting the burden off his mind, and deliberately separating himself from his political friends. Such is the *Mail's* reading of the riddle; but there is nothing in the speech itself to warrant the induction, or justify the conclusion. Mr. Blake spoke in the highest terms of the policy and acts of the Dominion and Provincial Governments; and in so doing could not well avoid reflecting severely on the Administrations of Sir John and John Sandfield. But this significant fact appears to have had no weight with the *Mail*. It is determined that the member for South Bruce shall kick over the traces, no matter what his language may be. That part of the speech which has surprised the Opposition organ, and which is considered ominous of discord, contains nothing absolutely new. Let us examine it.

Among the questions which Mr. Blake discusses, and which he deems desirable Reforms, were the following: 1. Federation of the Empire. 2. Re-organization of the Senate. 3. Compulsory voting. 4. Extension of the Franchise. 5. Representation of minorities. The first of these questions has been before the public for several years. Some time ago it was thoroughly discussed by the British press, and many favored the scheme, as tending to the stability and consolidation of the Empire. Many gentlemen of prominence in New Zealand and the Australian colonies, took a lively interest in the matter, and regarded it as a *panacea* for all their political ills. Recently, the question has been suffered to rest. The advantages and disadvantages of such an arrangement we do not propose to discuss. It would undoubtedly carry our politics to a higher place, and open a wider field of action to our ablest public men. The main drawbacks would be the additional cost of administration, and the possible conflict of Imperial and Colonial legislation. The re-organization of the Senate is certainly *not* a new question, and upon this Mr. Blake, (and not only Mr. Blake, but a good many other prominent Reformers, both in Parliament and out of it) is at issue with the *Globe* and its principal proprietor, so that we incline to think that Mr. Blake is on the popular side in this matter. The Senate, as at present constituted, is of little real value in legislation; and as Mr. David Mills once caustically remarked, is not unfrequently used as a "refuge for political prostitutes!" But then there is one satisfaction in contemplating this effete institution, if it does little or no good, it can do little harm, except to play the part of obstructionist now and then, and it has seldom ventured to exercise its privilege on this point. It is to be reprehended mainly on the ground that it imposes a very considerable additional burden on the country, without any adequate return. Compulsory voting is a question of another character. If it were feasible, it would be desirable; but as it is impossible to enforce the duty in every instance, the question may be dismissed without further enquiry. With regard to the extension of the Franchise, little may be said. By a recent Act the right of voting has been somewhat widely extended, and if another change is to be made, we might as well adopt at once the principle of universal suffrage. The representation of minorities is one of those theoretical questions in politics, the only objection to which is, that they are impracticable. Simply regarded in the abstract, they seem just enough, and proper enough, but when one seeks a practical solution of them, they evade him, like the *ignes fatui*. In propounding these views, which, though not novel, as we have shown, were presented to the audience at Aurora in a most skilful and admirable manner, Mr. Blake took care to distinguish his own position from that of a Cabinet Minister, whose duty it is to follow and not to lead popular opinion. As a private member of Parliament, the member for South Bruce found himself untrammelled, and at perfect liberty to speak his mind freely. Mr. Blake is usually extremely reticent, and one of the least effusive of Statesmen; nor does his remarkable speech reveal any latent purpose, such as the *Mail* professes

to have discovered. It is purely tentative in its character, but not in any mischievous sense. It is intended, probably, to excite thought in more sluggish minds, and elicit speculative views. Without setting forth any pretensions to clairvoyant powers, we believe the key to the intellectual casket, which Mr. Blake has presented to his Canadian countrymen, is to be found in the poetical extract, with which the speech fitly closes. The secret is, the distinguished member for South Bruce is disappointed with public life. It is not that he is tired of his political associates, or that the principles of the Reform Party, with which he has been familiar from Childhood, have become distasteful to him, but it is that political corruption against which he has set his face from the outset of his public life, is still rife in the land. To all generous and unselfish spirits, that must be a cause of deep and painful concern. In boyhood and youth he had, in all probability, never come in contact with with this shameful and abounding sin. A hard student, as Mr. Blake has been, generally lives apart from, and above contaminating influences. But one who has eyes and ears, cannot be long in public life, now-a-days, without finding innumerable evidences of the evil. But can we wonder at its existence when we know that it is, and long has been connived at by men otherwise reputable. Within the last twenty-five years, the whole system of our Government, from our primary Municipal Institutions up, has become tainted with corruption. Log-rolling and mutual aid, with mutual ends in view, have been everywhere employed and offered. It is a game of "chisel and grab" all round. And whom have we to thank for this condition of things, but Sir Francis Hinks and Sir John Macdonald, and the miserable crew that hung around them for years. The whole body politic had become putrid, and had been kept putrid, in order that our State physicians might remain in office and pocket their salaries; and so keep up that system of political ostracism for which the party has long been notorious. The sores are not all healed yet. Mr. Blake and others may have grave doubts if they ever will be; and it should not be a matter of surprise if they should grow weary of the struggle, and retire to a purer air and a more healthy climate politically; but certainly never into the be-fouled camp of the Tories.

Ontario (Oshawa) Reformer (Reform).

The Honorable Edward Blake's Speech.—The honorable Edward Blake has delivered another of those great speeches which has placed him at the head of the Liberal Party in Canada. We do not hesitate to say that Mr. Blake has more intellectual power than any other man in the Dominion. We have unlimited confidence in his integrity and patriotism. We believe he can have a larger following than any other single man in the country if he proves to be as wise as he is mentally strong, but Mr. Blake cannot afford to make many serious mistakes even with his unquestioned ability, and undoubted integrity of purpose. We heartily endorse the greater part of his truly masterly speech. He always sets forth his ideas in a clear and forcible manner, never at tempting to mislead any one as to his real position. When a master mind speaks forth its honest convictions every candid man will receive and consider them with that care and attention which they deserve. For this reason Mr. Blake's speech will receive close attention from the thoughtful portion of the public.

Mr. Blake is too great a man to afford to express any opinions he does not hold, or to express his views without giving his statements full consideration. We conclude, therefore, that he means what he says. The theory of a great Federal Empire is hardly praticable and will never be carried into operation. There will be great difficulty in compelling men to vote, and a law that cannot be enforced had better not be enacted. The question of the representation of minorities is one that deserves, and is receiving much attention and study, but we think it will be a long time before we shall so change the basis of our political policy as to give representation in our legislative bodies to minorities to such an extent as to satisfy them. We must and shall continue to let the majority rule. Now political ideas are nearly always advanced by minorities. If they are sound, in due time they are accepted by the majority and pass into the legislation of the country. If minorities had power to compel action in

favor of their views we should be constantly deluged with crude legislation. No theory should be allowed to take the form of law until it has at least been accepted by a majority of the people. No law can be enforced that does not command the approval of a majority. None of these questions, however need affect our actions for the present, none of them are really practical questions for the present hour. In a national sense we are yet in our teens. When we shall have come to our majority it will be time enough to discuss our right to a voice in the Government of the Empire. Until that time comes, let us devote ourselves to the strengthening of the ties and interests that unite us under one flag, to the development of our great natural resources, to the building up of our manufacturing interests, to securing our full share of the carrying trade of the world, and to the better education of the people. When we have shown that we have the internal strength to hold together, or protect and preserve our national organization, then we may with some show of reason talk of a separate national existence, or of having a voice in the Government of the empire. The Tory party are most anxious to read the Hon. Mr. Blake out of the Reform party, but that they cannot do. THERE IS NOTHING IN MR. BLAKE'S POSITION TO PREVENT HIS ACTING IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST IN PERFECT SYMPATHY WITH THE REFORM PARTY OF TODAY. There is nothing in his speech to GIVE AID OR COMFORT TO THE EMACIATED DISJOINTED POLITICAL SKELETON CALLED THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY. He endorses the Pacific Railway policy of the Government and the proposed Treaty with the United States, the two most important Government measures. He does not find one word of fault with any act or measure of the present Government, or even hint that he is not in perfect accord with the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's policy. On the contrary, he condemns in strong terms the policy and measures of the late Government, which he did so much to overthrow. The Tory party will have his determined opposition in the future as in the past, and the Reform party his powerful support. The new ideas which he expressed are more as suggestions than as matters demanding our immediate attention. The Hon. Mr. Blake has taken his place in the front ranks of the GREAT REFORM PARTY—THE TRULY NATIONAL PARTY; and we repeat that the whole country has confidence in his great ability, his mental power, his integrity of purpose and his patriotism. He fully appreciates the great difficulties before us in our struggle for national life and he is not afraid to meet them honestly and endeavor to overcome them, and by so doing unite this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific in one great and noble free Government. He does not propose to do it by diplomacy, but by the creation of a proper national spirit, and by the development in the hearts of all citizens of Canada, of a sincere love of country, such a love as places country before everything but God—or, in other words, the spirit of patriotism. Sectional jealousy, must give place to this spirit. Then shall we see clearly to legislate for the best interest of all, and in such a way as will secure the building up on this continent of another great free power to bless mankind.

BORCAYGEON INDEPENDENT (INDEPENDENT.)

MR. BLAKE PRONOUNCES.—The position held by Mr. Blake is most anomalous, and his relations to the present Government are such as to deprive the actual Premier of any dignity he might otherwise possess. Whilst Mr. Mackenzie is labouring with commendable industry * * * to Mr. Blake is left the task of supplying the party with political principles, and the Government with a policy. It is needless to say that Mr. Blake performs his task admirably, and his recent speech at Aurora is one of the most able and statesmanlike addresses that have ever been delivered in this country. In that speech Mr. Blake clearly and precisely lays down the platform that he and his friends intend to occupy, and on which Mr. Mackenzie, by the force of circumtances, will be compelled to perform, no matter how great his reluctance. In fact Mr. Blake, as at Aurora, will furnish the platform, and will play the pipe and tabor, and Mr. Mackenzie will do the dancing. It is impossible for either Premiers or bears, under such circumstances, to dance with dignity. But the existing connection betwen Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake is of little moment, as Mr. Blake in a quiet and unobtrusive manner repudiates

alike both Reformers and Grits, and speaks only of the "Liberals." What the country has to consider is—whether it will endorse the policy chalked out by Mr. Blake. That policy favours a Federation of the Empire, and the acceptance by Canada of a share in the Imperial responsibilities; the construction of the Pacific Railway as means will permit, and the utilization in the meantime of the internal navigation; the substitution of a Senate consisting of Senators appointed by the Provincial Legislatures for a term of years, in place of one in which the Senators are appointed for life by the Dominion administration; the maintenance of a connection with Great Britain in preference to annexation to the states; a Reciprocity Treaty if it can be obtained under suitable terms, and in the meantime a postponement of public discussion of the topic; and some other matters of less importance. In another column will be found some extracts from Mr. Blake's speech. We do not think it possible for any unprejudiced Canadian to rise from a persual of that masterly address without in some form giving expression to the idea that Mr. Blake must, ere long, assume the responsibility of guiding the energies and directing the destiny of the Dominion. Nor do we think that many will fail to recognize the reasons why Mr. Blake declines to take the post that the whole country, in the secret depths of its bosom, desires him to assume. Mr. Blake is a man of noble aspirations, of chivalric sentiments, and of stern, inflexible, and sensitive honour. He is essentially a gentleman, and being such he naturally shrinks from the companionship, or even the contact, of the utterly unprincipled faction who, under the appellation of Grits, form the slimy tail of the Reform party. With many of the eminent men of the party of which Mr. Blake is the real, though uncommissioned captain, he could associate with dignity to himself and advantage to the country: he could, too, carry with him into his cabinet, at least some of those more wise, moderate, and thoughtful members of the Opposition, who regretting the scandals of the past, aspire in the future to lead the country through purer paths to higher destinies; and he could thus form a Government the strongest ever known in Canada, but in which the Grit element would have no place, nor the *Globe* any undue influence. With these combinations looming up he would manifestly be untrue to himself and to the country if he connected himself with Mr. Mackenzie and his present associates. Day by day the people are becoming more and more wearied of the senseless contention, not of political principles, but of party chiefs, and day by day we draw nearer to the auspicious moment when the country will demand for its leader a man who, ignoring the miserable squabbles of the past, will elaborate out of the abundant, but incongruous materials around him, a broad and national policy;—who will unite all good and wise men in an effort to carry that policy into execution;—and who will thus breathe into the Confederation a spirit that will give it a true and living nationality. When that demand is made, and made it certainly will be, Mr. Blake will take his right place in the Councils of the State, and Canada, accepting its fair share of responsability, will become an integral portion of the British Empire.

Bobcaygeon Independent—Second Article.

Representation of minorities.—Mr. Blake's speech at Aurora has been studied by the people with more attention than any other speech delivered during the past few years. There is much in it that appeals at once to their common sense, and this appeal has been answered in a way most gratifying to the speaker, but there are other portions of the speech which have not by any means been accepted by the people, chiefly by reason that they do not clearly understand them. This is particularly the case in that portion relating to the representation of minorities. Mr. Blake, like the late Prince Albert, holds the opinion that representative institutions are on their trial. He frankly expresses his belief that the existing Parliamentary system is not only not perfect, but that it needs considerable modification, and to the great bewilderment of all the old fogys of the country, both Conservative and Reform, he boldly proclaims his opinion that the majority ought not to possess the power to decide. He claims for minorities a fair share in the representation, and not even the

greatest stickler for the present system can deny that in justice the population should have representation in the Legislature equivalent to its strength at the polls. Thus, if the population of the country is composed of one third Liberals and two-thirds Conservatives, then the Legislatures should contain members in the same proportion. But under the present system this result could not be obtained, for if two thirds of the population consisted of Conservatives, there would not be a single Liberal member in the Parliament, and the minority would be without any share whatever in the representation. No system of representation can be perfect until the Legislature exactly represents the polls, the polls being themselves the representatives of the sentiments and opinions of the country. Mr. Blake illustrates his argument by the election of 1867, in which the united vote of the Province would have given a slight majority for the Liberal party over the Government, or, discarding fractions, each side would have had 41 members. The Government, however, carried 49 seats to 33, and so the Liberal party did not obtain a fair or just share in the representation, and the Parliament to that extent was an untrue and unjust representation of popular opinion. The question of the representation of minorities has been frequently discussed of late years, Lord John Russell, some twenty years since, having brought it before the British Parliament, and since then it has made great progress in public consideration. At first the principle was scoffed at, and its advocates jeered, but its innate justice has at length been recognised and it is now in use in various places. There have been several plans suggested to remedy the existing evils. That which is most favoured is called the cumulative system, and has been adopted by the State of Illinois and by some of the English Institutions. By this system the voter has as many votes as there are members to be elected, and he can either give the whole of his votes to one candidate or can divide them as he pleases. In large constituencies, where two or more members are returned, this is an admirable system, and fully provides for the representation of the minority and would make the Legislature a representative of the polls, but in Canada, where constituencies are small and possess only one seat each, the system cannot be utilized. Another plan is that know as the Hare system, by which each voter may vote for any one he pleases, and give his vote, should it not be required for his first choice, to second, third, or fourth candidates, in the order of his preference. This is the plan favored by Mr. Blake, but with such modifications as fit it to the requirements of Canadian constituencies.

MONTREAL "LE BIEN PUBLIC" (LIBERAL.)

M. BLAKE.—M. GOLDWIN SMITH.—LA FÉDÉRATION.—L'INDÉPENDANCE.—M. Blake n'est pas un homme ordinaire et ne dit pas des choses ordinaires. C'est un homme à grandes idées, qui aime à s'élever au-dessus des discussions de partis pour prendre son vol vers les hautes régions de la politique. Il ne se contente pas de regarder le présent, mais il plonge son regard dans l'avenir pour y découvrir le rôle que le Canada doit y jouer, la place qu'il doit occuper au banquet des nations.

Comme tous les hommes d'Etat à larges vues, il a l'ambition de contribuer à préparer au pays l'avenir qui lui est réservé, d'attacher son nom à ses destinées.

Comme on est convaincu qu'il veut arriver avec une grande idée, asseoir sa carrière politique sur une plateforme nouvelle, on cherche à découvrir ce qu'il veut, à connaître le but qu'il poursuit. On avait bien déjà remarqué dans ses discours ses sympathies pour une fédération, c'est-à-dire pour une union intime avec la Grande-Bretagne de tous les pays qui vivent sous sa dépendance On savait que d'après ce projet toutes les colonies devaient se faire représenter à Londres dans un parlement qui aurait pour mission de faire des lois pour tous les peuples appelés à former partie de cette grande fédération. Mais on ignorait jusqu'à quel point il était décidé à poursuivre la réalisation de ce vaste projet, et on croyait que la conduite de l'Angleterre, dans le traité de Washington, avait considérablement modifié ses vues. Ce traité a fait voir à M. Blake, plus qu'à tout autre peut-être, les inconvénients de la position que nous fait notre état de colonie en nous obligeant, dans l'intérêt britannique, de

faire des sacrifices trop considérables pour règler des difficultés dont nous ne sommes en aucune manière responsables. Il avait plus d'une fois montré qu'il avait ressenti l'injure faite à notre dignité et à nos intérêts matériels par une politique semblable. Il vient de montrer, dans le célèbre discours qu'il a prononcé à Aurora, que le désir d'arracher le Canada à cette situation anormale et de le mettre en état de conduire ses affaires à sa guise, va, à l'avenir, inspirer ses actes et ses paroles. Nous sommes d'opinion qu'au fond, ce programme, c'est l'indépendance ; cet esprit national qu'il veut développer ne peut être que l'esprit d'un peuple indépendant. Il est vrai que M. Blake a parlé encore de la fédération comme devant être l'état politique auquel nous devions aspirer, mais il ne nous dit pas comment le fédération nous donnera le contrôle de nos affaires et cette indépendance véritable qu'il désire.

Il nous semble que la conséquence logique de l'esprit national qu'il désire, sera la séparation complète de nos intérêts politiques d'avec ceux de l'Angleterre au moyen de l'indépendance canadienne.

Les confédérations ne doivent exister qu'entre pays ayant des intérêts communs : or quels intérêts communs au point de vue commercial comme au point de vue politique avons-nous avec l'Angleterre et ses autres colonies ? Nos intérêts sont ici en Amérique et notre avenir politique et commercial dépendra moins de nos rapports avec l'Angleterre que de nos relations avec les Etats-Unis. M. Blake, il est vrai, croit peut-être que la fédération nous suffirait, vû que nous aurions au moins voix délibératives dans la discussion des questions qui nous intéresseraient et que l'Angleterre ne pourrait plus sacrifier nos intérêts à ceux de l'empire sans nous entendre.

" Nous aurions notre part dans les bénéfices comme dans les charges de l'Empire, " dit M. Blake. Les charges oui, mais les bénéfices nous ne les voyons pas, nous pourrions prendre part au sacrifice de nos intérêts mais nous ne pourrions guère l'empêcher.

Nous ne savons trop ce que nous irions faire dans ce grand parlement où nous serions une poignée contre toutes les forces de l'empire.

Nous serions exposés à voir nos intérêts commerciaux et industriels sacrifiés en temps de paix et notre pays servir de champ de bataille aux armées de l'Angleterre et des Etats-Unis en temps de guerre.

Le parti national du Haut-Canada ou du *Canada First* a accepté le programme de M. Blake ; cela nous étonne, car dans la fédération on ne dirait pas, *Canada First* mais *Canada After*. Le parti national croit peut être comme nous que la conséquence logique des idées de M. Blake sera l'indépendance et non pas la fédération. Et ce qui nous porte à croire qu'il voit les choses de cette manière, c'est qu'il vient d'applaudir un discours fait par M. Goldwin Smith en faveur de l'indépendance, au banquet d'inauguration du club national dont il est le président.

Il est évident que les membres du parti national trouvent moyen de concilier les idées de M. Blake, qu'ils veulent avoir pour chef, avec celles de M. Goldwin Smith en faveur de l'indépendance.

Dans tous les cas, M. Blake vient de soulever des questions de la plus grande importance, puisque les destinées du Canada y sont en jeu. I est bon que la discussion de ces questions parte du Haut-Canada le foyer de la loyauté. On aurait soupçonné les motifs et les intentions de tout canadien-français qui oserait dire ce que MM. Blake et Smith viennent de proclamer si énergiquement.

Quand à nous, nous applaudissons de tout cœur à cette partie du programme de M. Blake et du parti national du Haut-Canada, dont le but est de développer au sein du peuple canadien cet esprit national et ces sentiments d'indépendance qui devront un jour lui permettre de prendre sa place parmi lestgrandes nations.

Nous espérons que, grâce au développement de cet esprit national, on ne verra plus nos hommes publics sacrifier le intérêts les plus chers du pays à un vague sentiment de loyauté, et que dans l'examen de toutes les questions qui peuvent intéresser l'avenir politique, commercial et industriel du Canada, on consultera l'intérêt canadien avant tout : *Canada First*.

Laissons ces principes et ces idées porter leurs fruits, il amèneront naturellement l'état politique qui conviendra le mieux au aspirations de ceux qui cherchent la grandeur et la prospérité de leur pays.

GALT REFORMER (REFORM).

We can only say of the speech what may be said of all others from the same source, that it displayed a depth of thought, a breadth and liberality of view, and a choice and elegance of expression which few other men in this country can command so readily or weild so powerfully as Mr. Blake. We might here stop without further comment did not an extra interest, so to speak, cluster around that Aurora address, from the view taken of it by leading Tory journals. It was the old fossil *Leader*, we think, that first led off on Tuesday with the cry that "Mr. Blake had addressed his valedictory to the Reform party," and on the day following the *Mail* took up the tocsin in a leader headed "The Blake Bombshell." The fry are since duly and faithfully chiming the echoes. Now we have read Mr. Blake's speech with some care. We have also read closely the peculiar comments made upon it, and we find that on three several points he is arraigned by the Tories with having deserted his party. Let us examine these points, and first as to the Pacific Railway. In speaking of this question, Mr. Blake, after a wilting criticism on the absurdly impossible policy to which Sir John had committed the country, went on to show the most sensible and reasonable plan offered by the Government of Mr. Mackenzie, and in the course of his remarks, spoke as follows:—"If, under all the circumstances, the Columbians were to say, 'You must go on and finish this railway according to the terms or take the alternative of releasing us from the Confederation,' I would say—take the alternative." In this statement the *Mail* sees Mr. Blake's departure from the ranks of Reformers! For our part we can see nothing at all in the statement but a logically brief way of expressing a point. Mr. Blake has simply said here in a few words what Tories, during Tory rule, never could summon the courage to say upon any qestion whatever. We do not at all wonder that his prompt facing of a question staggers Conservatives. That is not their style at all. They would take months to reach it, and use all kinds of manœuvering in the interval to mislead: *vide*, Sir John's dealings with Riel.

The second point which 'separates Mr. Blake' (say they) from Reformers is the view he expressed with reference to the relations existing between Canada and the Empire. Mr. Blake in brief favors a reorganization of the Empire upon a Federal basis, as he did four years ago. Now, this question is, comparatively speaking, a new one. It has never yet been either advocated or repudiated openly by any distinctive and recognized political party in Canada, and Mr. Blake in alluding to it and expressing his opinion upon it, simply exercised his right as a patriot and a statesman. He did not say the change should take place now. He did not say the country was ripe for it at present, nor yet that it would be ripe for it during the present generation or even century. But he did say—what no one of intelligence can shut his eyes to—that this country and its people are gradually assuming more and more of a national character, and developing more and more of a national spirit, which must, in time, bring about even still closer relations with the mother country, and then he went on to state his own opinion as to the new relation that should be formed when the change did come. Does this separate him from the Reform party? Are Reformers forsooth not to think or speak of any new subject? Verily that would be Toryism with a vengeance.

But the third point is, we presume, the one wherein the organs imagine they see the widest breach between Mr. Blake and his party. In speaking of the Dominion Senate, Mr. Blake said: "I do not believe it is consistent with the true notion of popular government that we should have a Senate selected by the Administration of the day, and holding their seats for life." In this assertion, too, the *Mail* reads a valedictory. We regard it as quite the reverse. The very names 'Reform' and 'popular rights' be it observed, are synonymous terms. Whatever tends to invest the people with a larger share or a greater voice in the administration of their own affairs,

is essentially Reform or Liberal in principle. Now, Mr. Blake, whilst disbelieving in our present method of appointing Senators, is favorable to the elective system, and therefore instead of diverging from the principles of Reform, becomes more liberal than ever. On two different occasions during the last session of Parliament, popular measures passed in the Lower House by a majority of the people's representatives were vetoed and annulled in the Senate to the intense disgust of the country. Who can call Senators to account for conduct like that? Who should call them to account but the people who suffer the consequences? Under the present system Senators are secure for life no matter what they do. Under an elective system the popular majority in the Commons would as a rule be proportionately strong in the Senate and legislation instead of being too much prolonged and sometimes checked altogether, would be expedited according to the popular will. Mr. Blake will find a very large number of both parties who agree with him on the Senate question.

These, then, are the points on which Mr. Blake, say the Tories, has ridden out of the Reform ranks. We commend them to our readers and ask them at the same time to deal lightly and mercifully with Tory conclusions. The Progs are weak, very weak just now. Their imbecility is such that they have lost even their straw hold and are grasping at hairs.

AURORA BANNER (REFORM).

The speech of the Hon. Mr. Blake was perhaps one of the most brilliant and eloquent which he ever made, and it exhibited a power of mental ability and research which is seldom equalled by the statesmen of any country. Mr. Blake is an honor as a statesman to his country, and is a man of whom every Canadian should feel proud. He expressed every confidence in the Dominion Government and his unqualified adherence to the party with whom he has identified himself. Mr. Blake advanced some ideas which Reformers as a party have not adopted, and which were advanced as a subject of thoughtful consideration. This shows that the party does not bind its adherents to observe a certain line of thought and action, but that its supporters are at liberty to exercise their own judgment in regard to the reforms likely to be conducive to the best interests of the country.

BRACEBRIDGE ADVOCATE (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE.)

HON. MR. BLAKE.—At a political meeting recently held at Aurora, the Hon. Mr. Blake created some sensation by a speech which contained some extraordinary statements, considering the position which that gentlemen has held with the Grit Party. The courage he displayed in declaring his new sentiments, which are at variance with the code laid down by the *Globe*, is somewhat remarkable, and would lead to the inference that his connection with the party had ceased. If such be the case, his will not be a loss easily filled up by Mr. Mackenzie, for although not holding a portfolio, it has been understood that his abilities as a statesman were very essential to aid the present leader of the Dominion Government. There is little doubt, should his secession from the Grit ranks become an accomplished fact, he will be hailed as leader by the intermediate party now endeavoring to make itself known as the "Canada First Party," for several of his enunciations on the occasion are in accord with the platform laid down by its members, and decidedly antagonistic to the policy of George Brown; so must so, that the party who acknowledge allegiance to the *Globe* and its managing director, must now look upon him as one of their leaders.

* * * * * * *

Whether Mr. Blake will be successful in his new political *role* remains to be seen. But should he inaugurate a system by which he would annihilate the present bitter sectional spirit which prevails and rules all political contests in the country—a spirit which was created by his late leader, and fostered by the acrimonious writings in the *Globe*—he will confer no small benefit upon Canada. The present party lines are too strongly marked to be easily obliterated, and however desirous a new order of things

may be, Mr. Blake and his adopted party will find it a herculean task they have undertaken—to clear away old prejudices, and purify the political atmosphere.

HURON SIGNAL (REFORM.)

MR. BLAKE AT AURORA.—Mr. Blake's brilliant speech at Aurora has given occasion for a remarkable unity of feeling amongst the members of all parties—'Canada First' is pleased to accept him as one of their disciples; Conservatism executes a hornpipe over the approaching dismemberment of the Reform party, whilst the latter rejoices that it has so liberal and intelligent an exponent. Of course the ecstacy of the two former parties is premature; but they have no occasion to feel disappointed at Mr. Blake's refusal to alienate himself from his party, since the principles he expounds are pleasing to them in their liberality and efficacy. This speech has expressed to a certain extent the feelings of the majority, although its enunciation places Mr. Blake in advance of his party—not, however, in a position antagonistic to the government, as has been said—and marks him an independent exponent of every principle within the province of the party of Reform and Progress. He is free from official responsibility and free to advance views which the Government has not yet endorsed, without affecting his party connection; and it is for the party and the country to adopt such principles so far as they may meet their views.

In the course of his speech Mr. Blake suggested such reforms as—

Federation of the Empire,
Reorganization of the Senate,
Compulsory voting,
Extension of the franchise,
Representation of minorities.

A rather startling array of sweeping reforms, and, as Mr. Blake said, he made a "disturbing speech." Yet on candid consideration, these theories are perfectly reasonable and will be legislated upon at no distant date. That they will be entirely sustained is not likely; although the suggestions made will be acted upon and be a standard by which to frame the reforms of the future. There are some features, particularly those of compulsory voting and the extension of the franchise, which will more exclusively occupy the public attention, and in these matters great improvement can be made. In future issues the various subjects mentioned will receive editorial notice, so far as their importance demands.

GALT REPORTER [LIBERAL CONSERATIVE].

SYSTEM OF ASSESSING.—In the speech delivered by the Hon. Edward Blake, at Aurora, we find the following, which we think worthy the careful perusal of all parties. Of the truth of the extract we give there cannot be a doubt, and it has often been made the subject of comment that an Assessor in a Township—for they are the chief sinners—should systematically, year after year, set his oath aside, and knowingly under-assess the lands and buildings in the township he is assessing, and that then a court of revision should sit, and fully understanding that the law had not been carried out, go through the farce of listening to appeals. Towns and villages are differently dealt with. Local improvements compel an expenditure which necessitates the raising of an amount greatly exceeding that required by a township, and the consequence is, that in order to keep the rate in the dollar down to as low a figure as possible the property in such town or village is rated at as high a figure as the law will allow. We do not altogether hold the assessor responsible for the wrong doing. Almost every property-holder considers himself fully justified in beating him down in his valuations, but the two are differently situated, the one being responsible as an honest man, owing a duty to his fellow property-holders in the municipality in which he lives, while the other swears in his oath of office that he will make a just and equitable assessment in proportion to the actual cash value of the property he is assessing, and knows in every case where he undervalues, that he violates his oath.

Mr. Blake's remarks are as follows:— * * * * *

LINDSAY POST (REFORM).

MR. BLAKE.—At the North York Reform demonstration Mr. Blake made a masterly speech, in which after warmly supporting the present Ontario and Dominion Governments he went on to discuss several questions in a bold, free spirit that the Tories consider "a new departure." He advocated a Senate elective by the legislatures for a term of years; the adoption of a system that would secure the representation of minorities, and favored the formation of an Imperial confederation. Mr. Blakes' was the speech of a Reformer and Statesman, and his views—to which we cannot this week refer at length—will, we believe, command popular approval, and in due time become "crystallized in Acts of Parliament."

NORFOLK REFORMER (REFORM)

MR. BLAKE AT AURORA.—The honorable gentleman who forms the subject of this article delivered a very remarkale speech at the Reform gathering which recently took place at the Village of Aurora, in the North Riding of the County of York. The Tories are jubilant at the idea of Mr. Blake seceding from Reform allegiance. His words are distorted with a view of endorsing a supposition which has no foundation in fact; with the Tories the wish is "father to the thought." Nothing would please them better than that Mr. Blake would separate himself from his Reform friends. He has, however, no idea of the kind. On the contrary, his arguments against Tory Rule were even more strongly expressed at Aurora than when speaking in his place in the House. In adverting to the corruption (?) which unseated many of his Reform friends, he stated that it was trivial in the extreme in comparison to the corruption that previously prevailed, and that their Tory opponents would not dare to put themselves forward as free from the contamination with which they have hitherto been always tainted. No; they acted vexatiously, spitefully and meanly. They have demeaned themselves like dogs in a manger. They cannot eat the hay themselves, nor will they allow those who can. In this respect, Mr. Blake arrived at a just conclusion. The result would be the same, he said, if the practices complained of, and for which they lost their seats, had not been indulged in, and it is likely, he averred, that the Tories were as deep, if not deeper, in the mire than his Reform friends.

The *Mail* asserts that Mr. Blake condemns confederation and favors the federation of the Empire. This is not true. He never uttered a syllable that could be distorted into a condemnation of a system that hos produced so much good in this country. In favoring the federation of the Empire upon some practicable scheme that would give the colonies some control in Imperial measures, he agrees in opinion with some of the leading statesmen of the age. We would be glad if some such system were adopted. Is the question, however, practicable? Would the Imperial British Parliament consent to play second fiddle to such a federal parliament. We have on more than one occasion advocated the system of federation in the British Islands in preference to the legislative system which was tried in Canada and resulted in the "dead lock" It has been tried in the British Islands for the last three quarters of a century, and has resulted in the tyranny of a stupid, prejudiced majority that opposes with senseless clamor and bull-necked stubbornness every argument for the discountenance of a system introduced by bribery and corruption of the deepest dye.

Mr. Blake is in perfect accord with Mr. Mackenzie's Government, and with the great body of the Reformers, in respect to the Canadian Pacific Railway. He is of opinion that the engineering difficulties, which prevent the building of a feasible railway through British Columbia, are of such a nature that in his private opinion, should the Columbians decide on demanding as an alternative their secession from the Confederation, he would give them the alternative rather than be compelled to fulfil the corrupt and impracticable compact of the former Government. Of course he speaks as a private individual, one no longer a member of the Government. The Tories, however, pretend to derive great comfort from this outspoken expression of

one who commands and supports the general policy of both Reform Governments, although as a private individual he propounds schemes and descants upon themes not as yet comprehended in any of the great liberal measures shadowed forth by Reformers.

He has a perfect right to his opinions. The free land in which we live should afford every man full scope to express his views upon all questions whether social or governmental. If these views are not sound they can be controverted by argument—not by *argumentum ad bacutinum.*

The Hon. Edward Blake served, advocated and upheld the cause of Reform in its dark hour of need. Now in the acme of its success his approving voice is heard. Shall any eccentricities with regard to Minorities or Canada First weaken our gratitude for the orator who dissipated the cobweb sophistries of Sir John and his many adherents? Shall his opinions respecting the existence or constitution of the Senate debar us from expressing our admiration for the gifted rhetorician who stood shoulder to shoulder in anxious and protracted debate with our most tried and advanced Reformers, and who outshone and defeated the most eloquent of the Tory leaders in every accomplishment that constitutes a debater and an enlightened statesman? The honorable gentleman has our gratitude for all he has done in the cause of Reform, and should he direct his herculean talents in advocating the principles of "Canada First," he will throw round them a halo which no other Canadian leader could so well effect—a halo which, if not crowned with success, would at least make the cause respectable. We do not, however, believe that the honorable gentleman would tarnish his laurels with such an advocacy.

NEWMARKET COURIER (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE.)

MR. BLAKE'S RECENT UTTERANCES.—The recent speech made by the Hon. Edward Blake at Aurora has furnished a topic for discussion in the press throughout the Province since its utterance. It was remarkable in its character, inasmuch as the sentiments uttered astonished even those of his own or the party he has been attached to, being of such an advanced kind that the public were scarcely prepared for them. The following changes in our present system were advocated: Federation of the Empire; an Elected Senate; Compulsory Voting; Extension of the Franchise; and Representation of Minorities. Most of these are planks in the platform of the "Canada First" Party, of which Mr. Blake will undoubtedly some day, not far distant, assume the leadership. It is pleasant to view the fact that this able representative of the people has had the hardihood to step out from beneath the power of the Grit Dictator and advance views of a Reform character not in accord with the great *Globe*, which, in commenting upon Mr. Blake's remarks, uses language somewhat temperate, but derides the Canada First Party, and goes for Goldwin Smith, the nominal leader. This is policy, as it is afraid to use its old time arguments—abuse and misrepresentation—in expressing opinions different from those of Mr. Blake, hoping thereby not to alienate him entirely from the ranks of the Grit Party. Notwithstanding all that the Grit organ may say, we feel assured that the new National Party of Canada will continue to increase in power and influence until the land will feel its existence. It claims to advance the interests of the country, first in preference to party, and while honestly endeavoring to do so, the "Canada Firsts" will gain the good will of all honest politicians. From Mr. Blake's remarks we can scarcely draw the conclusion that he has withdrawn from the Grit Party, but rejoice that he has ignored the existance of the dictation which has for years past swayed the Reform element of Ontario.

OSHAWA VINDICATOR (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE).

The speech has attracted attention beyond its mere merit. It might, at first sight, be thought to have been an effort on the part of Mr. Blake to get out of the monotonous history of the errors of the Tories of days gone by and the eulogies of the perfect virtues of Reformers from the days of Baldwin down, which is the staple ora-

tory of these prosy gatherings. Circumstances, however, have given it a special signification and confirmed the rumor that the speech was a public avowal of his intention to ally himself with the Canada First Party. We do not presume that Mr. Blake intends at once to cut himself loose from the party with which he has acted, much less to openly oppose it, but his support will be an independent one. How long he will be in accord with its leaders it is impossible to say. The views he assumed at Aurora he holds strongly, and he will speedily take steps to carry them into effect. The *Globe* has already pronounced against them in very gentle language, it is true, but which will revert into the forcible expressions more in keeping with its character when Mr. Blake shall attempt to give his theories effect.

Even as an independent supporter, Mr. Blake will be a serious embarrassment to the Mackenzie Ministry. He stands head and shoulders above any man in the Administration in point of ability, and he is the only man in the whole party in Ontario who has a standing in the country not given him by the *Globe*. In order that an Administration like Mr. Mackenzie's and a supporter with the force, weight and originality of Mr. Blake shall work in harmony, one of two things must be done—either he must consent to give way to the Government, or else the Government must be controlled by him. The former he is little likely to do; the latter the Hon. Geo. Brown will not permit. No man can serve two masters, and of the two there is little doubt that Mr. Mackenzie will continue to bow down to the *Globe*. The breeze between Messrs. Blake and Brown last week was a summer zephyr for gentleness, but it was the preliminary of a [illegible] which, if these men retain their positions, their lives and vigor will roar through the Dominion.

OWEN SOUND ADVERISER (REFORM).

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—Hon. Edward Blake has been electrifying the world at Aurora. The Tory prints from the *Mail* down are in ecstacies, because they think that now Mr. Blake has broken loose from the Reform Party. Not that he has joined them; but that they think his utterances at Aurora separate him entirely from the Reform Party. In this case, as in so many others, the wish is father to the thought. Mr. Blake has undoubtedly gone farther than many Reformers; but it does not follow that he will not act with them so far as they go. He has nothing in him in common with the Tories, and he can and does sympathize with the Reformers in all their principles, the only difference being that he goes further than they. Indeed the difference between him and them is not so very great after all. In the cultivation of a national spirit they are at one. All see that is essential to our growth as a people. The difficulty in so doing is in the fact that whilst a spirit of dependance on England exists, a truly national spirit cannot be successfully cultivated. But if we do not take on ourselves the duties and share the expenses of an Imperial Government, we need not look for this independence. It is all very well to be protected and defended, but if we conclude to remain so, we do not and cannot cultivate a national spirit. What then is the remedy Mr. Blake suggests. A share in the Imperial Council, a voice in the Imperial Parliament, a deeper interest and community of interest in all that concerns the Empire. This is no new idea. It has been more or less brought before the people of Engand for the last century, dying out and being revived again. It has been also brought before the people of Canada by several Reform papers. We had two articles on it some years ago. We then said, if an Imperial Senate is constituted and Canada has a share in the Imperial Government, she must make up her mind also to share in the duties and labours and burdens which fall so heavily on the people of Britain and are borne by them alone. In that respect then we agree with Mr. Blake, and there are many more in Canada at one with him. It is not a question of independence with a view to annexation. That question will not be entertained by the people of Canada. And we agree with Mr. Blake that there is little chance of it being now entertained by the thinking men of the States. But it is a spirit of independence which will enable us to say to England; we are willing to share your burdens, your trials, your duties, but

we claim our share in your deliberations in all that concerns the well being of the Empire in which we have a common interest with yourself. This would give us an enlarged idea of our own importance and a more vigorous conception of our duties, and thus would lift us out of the present school-boy practice of quarrelling about trifles and distracting the public attention by references to paltry pictures and couches and so forth. How this Imperial Federation is to be brought about we do not presume to say; but there are surely in Britain and in Canada and the other colonies of of Britain statesmen sufficiently gifted to devise some scheme by which this result might be attained. One at least we know—Hon. E. Blake. We cannot conceive anything more calculated to secure the peace of the whole world than some such scheme. The mighty Empire of Britain would then be the arbitrator of peace and war and her influence would be exerted in favor of peace.

The present state of affairs is an anomalous one. Modification after modification of the relations between the Colonial Office and the Colonies has taken place from time to time. But though the modifications have mitigated they have not done away with the anomaly. Even now there has been since last Session a bill reserved for Imperial sanction since the last Parliament. This sanction, there seems scarcely any doubt, is withheld in the interest of a monopoly in Britain and the United States. We refer to Mr. Blake's Telegraph monopoly Bill. This and the Treaty making power, the declaration of war referred to in his speech, we have to submit to, because we do not assume the burdens and therefore cannot assume the tone of Britain, but must submit to be ruled as the Colonial Office decides.

St. Thomas Despatch (Liberal Conservative).

Mr. Blake's great speech at Aurora.—We call this a great speech, for it occupies six closely printed columns of small type in the *Globe*, but we do not discover in it, as some of our leading journals have done, evidences of the abandonment of the party of which he has been so long the eloquent mouth-piece: for Mr. Blake throughout his speech refers to the proceedings of the Liberal party since their accession to power with great zest. Of the Reciprocity Treaty it is true, he expresses no very decided opinion, but leaves it, as we have done, to be discussed in the Parliament of Canada and in the Senate of the United States. The extracts we are about to make will show that on the great questions of the day Mr. Blake is in accord with the present Dominion Government * * * * * but the field of Mr. Blake's great speech is too extensive for us to travel over in our columns? Suffice it to say, that it affords no indication of conversion to Conservatism, or that he can ever become a useful practical statesman.

Fergus News Record (Reform).

Our Relations to the Empire.—Mr. Blake in his late speech at the North York demonstration at Aurora drew the attention of his audience to this as one of the questions of the future. Some of our contemporaries seem to make little of this part of his speech, and to look at this as a matter not likely to become a practical question of the day for never so long a time. We differ, however, from them as to that, for our relations to the Empire have been changing all the time, and while the changes in the past have taken place almost imperceptibly, we think the changes in the future will not admit of so quiet and imperceptible an arrangement. With respect to the past, the granting of responsible government certainly made a very great change in the relations of the colonies to the mother country. But it was a change that only affected ourselves and the Downing Street authorities, and so it was effected without almost being perceived by the mother country. Confederation certainly has materially altered our relations to the Empire, and while it has not excited so little attention in the mother country as the other, yet it has been a change that we may say has scarcely been perceptible to them. So we may say the withdrawal of the troops from the colonies effected a great change, but one not of a very disturbing nature. Again the joint expedition to settle the North-West disturbances was

an indication of our changed relations to the empire. These few remarks will make it plain that changes in our relations to the empire are no new thing, but what has been constantly going on in the past, and what we may be continually looking for in the future. These changes have been the outgrowth of changes in our circumstances and have been effected with comparatively little disturbance or danger, except in the case of the conceding of responsible government, when there was no little danger of a rupture of our connection with the mother country. Well, we are growing still rapidly in population and influence. We are now a people of four millions. We expect the acquisition and opening up of the North West is to make us increase in numbers and importance with much greater rapidity than in the past. Is it out of the range of probability that at the census of 1881 we should be six millions? We think it quite possible we may then be eight millions, and that at the census of 1891 we may be sixteen millions. Now will any one imagine we can remain in the same state of dependance to the mother country as at present? We don't. We are firmly convinced that we must take our stand at her side as a full grown daughter, and must assume the responsibilities belonging to such a state. Our old mother, we imagine, will require this of us. Our commerce will then have become so important that our foreign relations must be greatly altered. Our influence in the world will be so enormously increased that we shall not be able to keep ourselves in the back ground as now. Men of the Cobden school have been grumbling already at our not contributing directly to imperial necessities. There can be little doubt, that, when we attain to the importance we have indicated, they will not be content with grumbling, but will *insist* on our shouldering a share of the imperial burdens, if we are to share in the benefits resulting from our connection with the mother country. We cannot but look foward to having then to contribute in some way to the maintenance of the army and navy and to the support of the diplomatic service. Who can doubt, we again say, that these changes are fast looming up, and must be met in the near future? These are not changes that will right themselves in the same natural imperceptible way as those in the past have done. They are changes that will require much mutual discussion and prudence on the part of the mother country and the Dominion. They are changes that unless we have large minded and patriotic statesmen among ourselves as well as in the mother country it may be impossible to arrange amicably. We are therefore inclined to think that it is none too soon for our leading men to occupy their minds with them. We hope that these changes may arrange themselves in the same natural easy way as most of the changes in the past have done; and we are sure they will be the more likely to do so that they have been foreseen and carefully considered in advance of their becoming questions of the day. It will be unfortunate for our future prospects if our affairs shall then be in the hands of another Sir John, whose only care shall be how to maintain himself in office from day to day, never forseeing anything, never providing for any emergency unless to prevent by unscrupulous corruptions a defeat at the polls.

PETERBOROUGH REVIEW (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE).

WHAT DO THEY MEAN?—What do they mean is a question which we think the people of Canada have a right to put to Mr. Blake and the "Canada First" party at the present time, when they are propounding theories of Government which are not only inconsistent with each other, but, we very much fear, inconsistent with our present relations to the Empire.

Possibly, had the advocacy of the "Canada First" platform been left in the hands of its inaugurators it might not have been worthy of much notice, but now, when it has been practically, if not directly, taken up and advocated by a man in the position of Mr. Edward Blake, as it was the other day at Aurora, it becomes the loyal citizens of Canada to give no uncertain sound with regard to doctrines which, if they lead to anything, must lead to independence or—perhaps we would not be far wrong if we said—*and* annexation.

While, with that portion of the Canada First platform which advocates the repre-

sentation of minorities as well as majorities we feel disposed to agree, believing that a system of election based upon the same principles as that now in vogue in England for the election of School Boards would be attended with advantage in this country, we can heartly join hands with the Toronto *Globe*, *Mail*, and most of our confreres in denouncing the cultivation of a "national sentiment," which we presume means a *Canadian* national sentiment, as distinct from that of the Empire, and the cultivation of which is, in our humble opinion, opposed to the Federation of the Empire—another plank in this wonderful platform.

If a Federation of the Empire mean anything, it must mean a closer union between the mother country and the colonies; so as to render them not only one country in name, sentiment and citizenship, as we contend in Canada, at least, *we are now*, but give each and all a voice in the management of Imperial concerns and a share in the burden of Imperial taxation; while the cultivation of a "national sentiment" a *Canadian* national sentiment, which, if it mean anything, must be a sentiment, looking to Canada, not as a portion of a great Empire upon which the sun never sets, whose interests are our interests, whose wars are our wars, whose honor and glory is our honor and glory, and whose misfortunes are our misfortunes, but as standing *alone*, apart, by ourselves, must ultimately lead to separation from the parent stem, and hurry us on to Independence or Annexation, not Federation.

But why this restlessness—this constant desire for change? Are we not well enough as we are in our relations with the Empire? What disadvantages are we laboring under that would be remedied by a Federation of the Empire? Were we Federated to-morrow would we be one wit more Britons or less Canadians than we are to-day? Can we not be Canadians and Britons at one and the same time, as Scotchmen, Englishmen and Irishmen are none the less Britons because they happen to be any one of the other three? Had we been Federated would we have had as much to say in the Washington Treaty matters as we did? Were we Federated would we be negociating a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, and discussing it from, not an Imperial but a Canadian standpoint as we are to-day? Or what about our Tariff? Would it be framed in the interests of Canada or in the interests of the Empire? Can any sane man give any but one answer to these questions? And yet Mr. Edward Blake, to give us more control over such matters as these—and particularly the Treaty making power—professes to advocate the Federation of the Empire—we say professes, because whatever the ordinary members of the Canada First party may think, Mr. Blake has quite too much shrewdness not to perceive that Federation, instead of giving us extended freedom as a country must curtail that which we now possess.

So much for Federation. But what of Independence, which to our mind seems not only to be the legitimate sequence of most of the planks in their platform, but was openly advocated by Mr. Goldwin Smith—the high priest of the Party—the other day in an address delivered under the auspices of the same "Canada First" party? If Independence is their panacea for the ills of the Canadian body politic by all means let them say so, instead of endeavouring to inculcate Independence doctrines under the cloak of a Federated Empire. If these gentlemen really believe that "Independence" would be good for us, they have a right to their opinions, and are justified in advocating them, only let them do so openly. Where is the fact, as some seem to think that we cannot remain as we are now, then we would have no hesitation in declaring for a Federation of the Empire, with its disadvantages and difficulties, as against Independence—Annexation, but so long as there is no necessity for a change, as we believe there is none to-day, we are decidedly Conservative, or old Tory enough, if you will, to say, "let well enough alone."

WOODSTOCK REVIEW, (REFORM).

POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT.—* * * In bygone times partizanship demanded of so-called statesmen an unlimited abuse of those who opposed them. To say a good word for an opponent was heresy, and to approve any measure he might intro-

duce treason, no matter how beneficial an effect it might be calculated to have upon the common weal. In this respect both sides were sinners. Partizanship reigned supreme in the camp of both Grits and Tories—so called. But we have changed all that. Public opinion has set its face against the tyranny of party, and to-day in the Liberal ranks at least, and we believe in the ranks of Conservatives also, are to be found men "who speak the thing they will." No blind fealty to men, no cast iron rules of party now dwarf opinions of public men. The healthy sentiment of political freedom abounds, and Reformer or Conservative may differ from his leader on particular questions without being condemned for apostacy. A simoon of political independence has swept over the land, and to-day we have sturdy Liberals discussing measures on their merits apart altogether from consideration of their paternity. This is indeed encouraging. It betokens enlarged view, increased intelligence, heightened conception of responsibility to the State. A few more such years of advancement and Canadians may plume themselves indeed upon their political institutions. And though in the words of the foremost man in all the land they are "four millions of freemen who are not free," they are at least freer than they were five years ago, and perchance nearly as free in the direction alluded to by Edward Blake as they may for some time wish to become. But though Canada as a free State—as a powerful independent nation can only be dimly discerned in the vista of the future, there is no reason why her people should not be free in thought—at liberty to express that which they will. That Edward Blake yearns for Federation of the Empire or Goldwin Smith sighs for the freedom of separation is no reason why either should be tabooed. We may not agree with either of them; we may believe the idea of the first impracticable and the other ill-timed, but we can nevertheless honor them both for their sincere love of the land in which they live and their devotion to its weal. Their "disturbing" speeches are but the disturbance of intellectual activity, and intellectual activity will work no permanent ill. Let us have more of such men. It is the common lot of mortal to be sometimes astray; but able men such as these we have mentioned with no selfish purpose to subserve, no personal ambition to gratify, will discredit no country, injure no State.

Collingwood Enterprise (Liberal Conservative.)

"Canada First".—Mr. Blake, as a leader of the "Canada First' party, as a whole is causing a good deal of uneasiness to the Grits. The *Globe* in particular, although at first inclined to deal gingerly with the party, deeming that one article sufficiently plain to show that it would not do for them to approve, while at the same time they did not like to censure, would be sufficiet to check the leaders, are gradually throwing off the cloak and are becoming more outspoken, and to-day rather plainly intimates its intention of putting down the "agitation." Should the "Canada First" party survive the threatened shock the controversy will increase in bitterness as they grow in importance, and probably they will within the next year or two learn what vituperative journalism really is in Ontario, led on by the *Globe*. The avowed policy of the leaders of the movement up to the present time is to nurture what they are pleased to call a national sentiment, and for improving the tone of political discussion. Once, however, the battle waxes warm and the *Globe* begins to hurl its anathemas at the heads of the new apostles of polite newspaper literature, followed by the whole Grit press, we shall then see whether they will be able to preserve their patience under numerated accusations any more than others have done in times past.

The question now arises, will this movement last, and increase in vigor, or will the *Globe* and its satellites succeed in killing the germ and thus effectually wiping it out. From a careful consideration of the subject we are inclined to the opinion that it wi[illegible], and if the leaders are only possessed of sufficient ability and energy, there is no [illegible]bt but the movement will progress. What we have now to look for from the party is an assurance of its sincerity and its patriotism, and these should secure it tolerance both legally and socially, and when this is given the discussion of what they propose will assist to bring the public mind to a critical examination of important

questions, and lead to an unfolding of the truth with regard to them, whether that tells for or against the views of the "Canada First" party. The truth will be beneficial to the country and the people as a whole will receive the advantage.

OWEN SOUND TIMES (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE).

MR. BLAKE AND THE CANADA FIRST PARTY.—Blake's Speech at Aurora still continues to be the prominent topic of discussion in political quarters, and that it has severed him from the Grit party is now pretty generally admitted. The *Globe*, at all events, seems to recognize the fact, and hardly a day has passed since the delivery of the speech that it does not devote an article to controverting Mr. Blake's views, or pitching into the Canada First party, with whom he is now said to be in sympathy. That the Canada First party claim Mr. Blake is evident from the jubilation with which they received his Aurora speech, and their comments on it since, while the following language used by Goldwin Smith, President of the National Club, at the recent dinner in Toronto, is too significant to be misunderstood:—

"There is no use in being prematurely anxious about organization. A principle, if it is sound, a sentiment, if it is genuine and strong, will in due time find an organization, and, if necessary, a leader too. Perhaps the voice of a leader has already been heard. A voice has been heard at all events, which is not everywhere welcome, which is disturbing, and which, nevertheless, it is deemed necessary to treat with respect."

On one point Mr. Blake differs as yet from the Canada First party—while they go for independence pure and simple, he advocates a federation of the empire. It can hardly have escaped such acute thinkers as Goldwin Smith, however, that notwithstanding this difference in the ultimate object avowed, Mr. Blake, by his actions and "disturbing speech," as he himself calls it, is really playing into the hands of the new party. Both are laboring to build up what they call a "national sentiment," both are striving to make Canadians dissatisfied with their present position, the natural result of success in which would be to bring about a change, and the only question between them is what that change should be. Here we think the Canada Firsts have got the start of Mr. Blake; for his hobby of a federated empire requires the conciliation of so many and conflicting interests as to put its accomplishment, if not amongst the impossibilities, at least amongst the dreams of the future, while their scheme of independence would be plain sailing if they once got Canadian sentiment ripe for it. We do not object to Mr. Blake's hobby if we saw a chance of its fulfilment, but we most decidedly object to the method he takes of attempting its accomplishment. Is it worth while creating dissatisfaction as to their colonial position amongst Canadians on the slim chance of bringing about such a change. If Mr. Blake should succeed in making any considerable proportion of our citizens dissatisfied with their present connection with the mother country, (which we do not think he can) could he whistle them back to loyal contentment on finding that his federated empire could not be accomplished? Would not their dissatisfaction, failing this remedy, take the more practicable form of independence, even if himself did not lead the way, which is probable.

For once we heartily agree with the *Globe* in condemning both the sentiments of Mr. Blake and of the Canada First party. Its utterances on this subject have the true ring. But we cannot help thinking that, even on this question, it is willing to subordinate the interests of the country to those of party; for although it condemns the Canada Firsts, who have openly left the fold, and even reproves Mr. Blake, it has not one word in condemnation of Mr. Fraser, Commissioner of Public Works, who boldly declared at Mount Forest, that "As soon as the Dominion is sufficiently strong to start out for herself she should do so. Just so sure as we went into Confederation in 1867, so sure shall we start out as a distinct nation at no distant day." We can only account for the difference in treatment on the ground that while the former have left the Grit party, and no amount of winking at their independence notions will win them back again, Mr. Fraser is willing to cast in his influence with the Grits while they keep him in office, and the *Globe* is willing to accept his influence for the party,

even at the expense of overlooking his disloyal sentiments, and retaining him where he can give official weight to them. But the people of Ontario are not prepared to hear a member of the Government advocate independence, and no matter how much the *Globe* may screen him, they will show at the approaching elections that a government retaining such a member does not possess their confidence.

BELLEVILLE ONTARIO (REFORM).

Mr. BLAKE a REFORMER.—When Mr. Blake said, at the close of his famous Aurora speech, that he was aware of its "disturbing" character, he left no room for doubt as to the consideration he had given the matter touched upon. It is doubtful whether his unquestioned reputation for candor and studied thoughtfulness, without this expression appropriately thrown out, would have saved him from the charge of entering "green fields and pastures new" with less than his accustomed caution. But there is now scarcely room for doubt, and the country will be grateful not alone for the speech and the suggestions made, but for the assurance that Mr. Blake—no less an authority—assumed the responsibility for what he said, and gave particular warning that he had nothing to recant. The speech was very remarkable in many respects. It was in truth a disturbing speech; but in a higher view it lacked all the elements of disturbance and contained germs of hope and reliance in which there may in the future be found rest from many of the distractions that now forecast an unsettled future. Government by the people has long been on trial; but in Europe it has been hedged about and circumscribed in a way to destroy its autonomy and prevent its development. In the United States its growth has been prevented by other means that need not be referred to here beyond saying that it was started wrong. Instead of being a Republic in the purest sense, the system prevailing among our neighbors is better described as hybrid, the union of a Theocrasy in the sense of being non-responsible and of a Democracy wherein is the greatest license. In making this allusion, however, we travel somewhat out of our record. What we want to say is that Government by the people—as a science—has yet a large field to grow in, and we entirely agree with Mr. Blake that nowhere in Christendom are circumstances so favorable for its development as in Canada. We have nothing of feudalism to warp our progress in this respect, and little of unlicensed or unwieldly democracy. We have started right. What elements of Republicanism we possess are the simplest and best assured. We have the protection of a Constitutional Monarchy, itself a Republic in all but name, that is not jealous of our temporal or political advancement, and we have a law-abiding, industrious, frugal, intelligent people—whose highest aspirations are towards the brighest and best. If then there are faults in our franchise system we may correct them without disturbing the *entente cordiale* existing between Canada, and the Mother Country. If the Second Chamber in our Legislative machinery is defective, we may see to it and apply a remedy. If minority representation commends itself to our judgment there exists no reason why we may not adopt an enactment for its application. Our system is a supple system and may be tempered down, if not by precedent to precedent, because precedents may not extend where we may think it wise to enter, then by experiment after experiment commended to the thoughtful consideration of our cool-headed and constitutionally Conservative statesmen. This is the legitimate field of the Reformer, and Mr. Blake, by the policy he has foreshadowed, has proved himself a Reformer of Reformers—ready to advance and prove, to adopt and annul, to quicken into new life and inspire with enterprise; but never to stand still, much less to go backwards or linger on the borders of doubt and uncertainty when a fair field of conquest lies before him.

In the light of present experience it is quite possible to see the workings of the great statesman's mind. We take it that he is in favor of party Government, yet not without embarrassment in the absence of distinctive party issues. We assume that he feels the great want of this country to be self-reliance—individuality—without which no man or thing can be great in itself. Still he would not estrange the heart of our young country from the fostering care of a wise parent. He tells

as plainly that ours in an imperfect system and he points the remedy. He has strong love for his native land and abundant assurance in its future, and he would hasten its advancement in all the things wherein nations become great—in purity of administration and perfection of laws. He would foster its resources and quicken its enterprises and widen its area of agricultural and commercial pursuits. He does not find excuse for the halt a progressive party has come to and remained at so long. His motto is Excelsior, and we can only hope the day is not far distant when corruption, as practiced in the constituencies especially, will be no more,—when Statesmen will work for the State, when, if it be possible to improve our election system, it will be improved. Then may we expect a happier political existence and a more contented, because a more moral and intelligent people.

BELLEVILLE ONTARIO (Second Article.)

THE "GLOBE" AND MR. BLAKE.—Goldwin Smith, the President of the National Club, delivered a speech at a meeting of the Club a few days ago which the *Globe* detects to be running over with "independence" dogmas, meaning the severance of the tie between Canada and the British Empire. We have the speech; but have not read it and are not now particularly concerned as to what it contains; for we are afraid of speeches or individual opinions. On the contrary we are rather fond of speech makers who have anything to say, and not very capricious whether they teach a doxy that comports with our ideas on the subject treated of or the doxy of our neighbor which we are in no way bound to accept or quarrel with. Such speeches generally afford food for thought, and on the principle of attrition so highly popular at the present time, crucial developments often result through which evils are shunned or benefits are evolved. It is not our purpose to find fault with Goldwin Smith's speech, even though it contains the theories of doubtful utility alleged; but we do take exception to the course of the *Globe* in mixing up with Mr. Smith's alleged political cosmetics the manly and statesmanlike utterances of Mr. Blake in his Aurora speech. Indeed we see no possible relevancy between the two speeches. Mr. Blake, as we all know, and to some extent at least appreciate as the *Globe* itself does, advocates a Federal union between this Dominion and the mother country Mr. Blake has not been charged with going beyond this to seek a better state of political existence for this country. The *Globe* does not believe him in favor of independence, and yet we find in the criticism on Prof. Smith's speech such an allusion as the following:—"He (Prof. Smith) has no faith in the complete Federation of the Em-" pire; no faith in the English House of Commons giving up the absolute control of " the Imperial foreign policy; no faith, in short, in any expedient short of cutting " British connection altogether; and therefore he goes decidedly for this last. That " we can continue as we are is held by Mr. Blake and Mr. Smith as an impossibility. " This we deny. If any feasible plan for the Federation of the Empire, can be de-" vised and carried through, we have long said that we shall go heartily for that plan. " But in the absence of this, what then? Mr. Blake has not told us, but we are sure " that he would reject separation from Britain under all circumstances. Mr. Smith " laughs at the idea of Federation." What we complain of is the dragging of Mr. Blake's name into this connection. If, as the *Globe* says, Prof. Smith has no faith in Mr. Blake's favorite scheme, and Mr. Blake has no kind of sympathy with Prof. Smith's hobby, why are the names associated in that way? No one knows better than the *Globe* that associations as well as comparisons are sometimes odious. The *Globe* agrees with Mr. Blake and disagrees with Prof. Smith, why then is Mr. Blake thrust into company that the *Globe* refuses to have its name associated with. The public cannot fail to ask this point, and the *Globe* will, we think, be troubled to make a satisfactory reply without admitting what has long been alleged by the *Mail* that a misunderstanding exists between Mr. Blake and the managers of that organ which could not be to the interests of the Reform party. It is true the *Globe* assumes Mr. Blake committed to the opinion that some change in the political relations of this country must take place ere long without adopting the great orator's view; but is that suffi-

cient excuse? It does not seem so to us. Of course we can understand a difference be opinion of that kind without a serious misunderstanding; but so much has been said first and last about the dogmatic character of the great newspaper (from which charge we have always felt it our duty to defend the *Globe*), and the thorough independence of Mr. Blake, that we are naturally jealous of every appearance of want of accord. The *Globe* can scarcely find fault with us for this, and especially as it can hardly be denied that the association above referred to is unfortunate. When the *Globe* and Mr. Blake take different sides on vital issues the Reform party will suffer. We do not apprehend a calamity of this kind We believe it impossible because the policy of each is grounded on principles that are identical; but will the public take this view? We fear not and especially since we find quotations from Mr. Blake's Aurora's speech, this for instance: "four millions of freemen who are not free" interpolated with quotations from Mr. Smith's lecture as though ingeniously introduced for effect We pray that our fears in this connection are groundless.

HAMILTON TIMES (REFORM).

The Opposition press has for the space of two days been happy in the professed belief that the Hon. Mr. Blake had on Saturday delivered a speech in North York that severed him forever from the "Grit" Party; that the speech was so antagonistic to the views of the men in power that it was being suppressed by the *Globe* until its probable effects could be neutralized beforehand; and that it was doubtful if it would appear at all in the *Globe* as originally spoken.

It will possibly surprise them to find that their anticipations have all come to naught; that the speech is being given in full in the *Globe*; that the only reason for delay in its publication has been to give it in as complete a shape as possible, and last, but not least, that it is in no sense an enunciation of views that separates Mr. Blake from the political party with which he has hitherto worked. If it is still claimed as being hostile to the Government, it is to be hoped that the Conservative press will show that they really entertain that belief by giving it to their readers in as complete a form as it is given in the *Globe*.

We so far agree with the Conservative comments on it—though those comments, by the way, were made before the writers of them knew the text of the speech itself—that we believe it will be read with profound interest by the people of Canada from Halifax to Vancouver, and will probably give rise to a fuller discussion than any political speech that has been delivered in Canada for years. Utterly devoid of personalities, broad and comprehensive in its treatment of the questions of the day, advanced and liberal in its treatment of the questions of the future, it is, though in appearance an approach to a new political programme, yet in fact only a fuller development of views long held. For it will be found on careful examination that the latter is what Mr. Blake's speech is. In no point inconsistent with any view he has put forward in the past, it brings out more clearly his matured opinions on matters on which he has not before spoken with equal distinctness, though when he has spoken of them it has been in the same spirit.

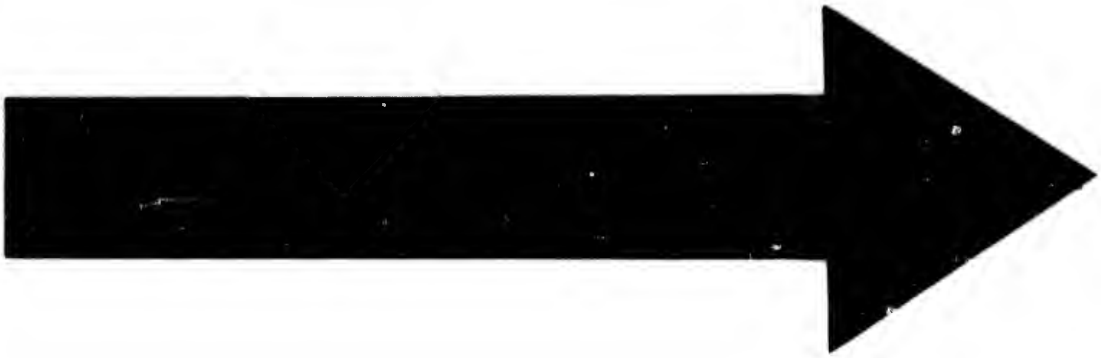
Never before have plainer words been spoken in Canada on the terms of union with British Columbia as they affect the construction of the Pacific Railway, but they are words that we are convinced will meet with the approval of the people of Canada. When he says, plainly and boldly: "If, under all the circumstances the British Columbians were to say: 'You must go on and finish this Railway according to the terms, or take the alternative of releasing us from the Confederation,' I would—take the alternative,"—he says what is in the hearts of most of the people of Canada, though it has not often found its way to their lips—in public, at least. There has long been a strong undercurrent of feeling to the effect that the original terms of union with British Columbia improperly extended as they were by an order in council of the late Government, are simply impossible of fulfilment at any price that Canada can pay in justice to its present resources or its future solvency. The bargain

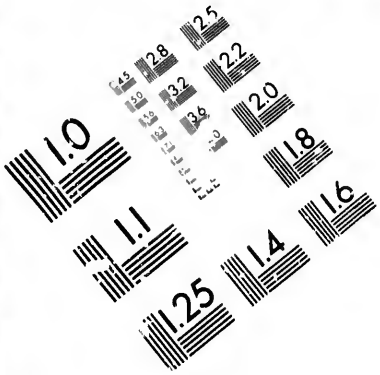
originally entered into was made rashly, and in one of its elements—that of time—there is probably not a man either in Canada proper or in British Columbia, who now believes that by any possible expenditure of money it could be carried out. Indeed, as to the time assigned for the actual commencement of the work, the terms have already been broken beyond the possibility of repair. The time limit for the completion of the work it is equally beyond our power to observe. Unless we should rush into the work without any definite knowledge of its nature, extent and cost, there could not be even an attempt to complete it within the time specified, and to make such an attempt would be a rash, fool-hardy policy that would of itself turn from us the foreign capitalists who alone could furnish the necessary means for the undertaking. And even if we were to take that rash step, and found capitalists rash enough to back us, we would be all the worse off, for it would be a fatal success that thus plunged us blindly into an undertaking of unknown dimensions and cost, with terrible facilities for errors in route and construction that would add enormously to the enormous cost that, under the most favorable circumstances, the Pacific Railway will entail. It is right and proper that we should make every reasonable effort to carry out the terms entered into with British Columbia; but it is not right and proper that, by such a policy as that, we should commit suicide as a whole, in order to afford a temporary gain to a part.

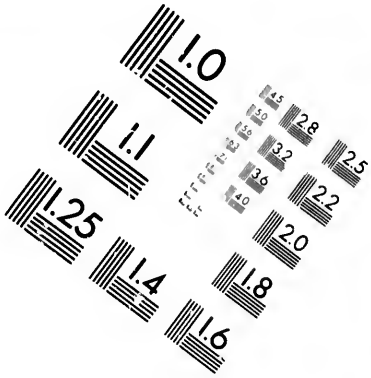
We do not understand Mr. Blake to hold that the construction of the Pacific Railway as a part of the policy of the country should be abandoned, but that we shall only attempt its construction in that way which will be of the greatest good at the least cost to us as a whole. It may seem a harsh thing to say, but it is undoubtedly true, that the part of Canada east of British Columbia can thrive and prosper even if British Columbia is separated from us, and it is monstrous to hold that in order to satisfy the unreasonable demands of the few thousands of that Province the whole Dominion must be placed under the weight of an intolerable burden of taxation and debt. We have had the Toronto Board of Trade declaring that the equivalents offered by Canada for Reciprocity are too great. Assuredly the equivalents offered in the immediate construction of the Pacific Railway as the price of British Columbia's accession to the Union are too great, when it is held that we of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward are to be weighted with heavy burdens in our prosperous career, so that it may enjoy the temporary advantage of an enormous expenditure of money. As Mr. Blake shows in his speech, Canada has no desire to spare herself any reasonable cost in the matter. Already our people are taxed one-sixth more than before, partly in order to fulfil as far as is practicable our bargain with that Province. The same earnestness will continue to be shown to do what reasonably can be done to fulfil the terms of union in spirit, if not in letter, and if British Columbia insists on more; if it is determined to have its sectional advantages no matter how the whole Dominion might have to suffer in granting them, it will only prove that British Columbia is anything but a desirable member for our Confederation. A Province that comes to us in the spirit of grasping all it can, and displaying neither generosity nor forbearance in return; that would play Shylock in holding us to our bond and demanding its pound of flesh at no matter what cost to our national life and prosperity, is not a Province whose adhesion we could warmly welcome, or whose secession we could deeply regret.

But we do not fear that any such result as that of secession would follow the announcement that as the Dominion must sacrifice something for British Columbia the latter must sacrifice something for the Dominion; that while Canada will fulfil the terms as fully as it can British Columbia must concede where fulfilment is either impossible or only possible at too great a price. It is true she has been urged by so prominent a man as Sir John Macdonald to play the game of secession, and threaten the break up of the union if she cannot have impossibilities. In January last that venerable party chief—after he himself had been the first to violate the written terms—spoke in Kingston as follows:

"Mr Mackenzie's Pacific railway policy was a breach of a solemn compact







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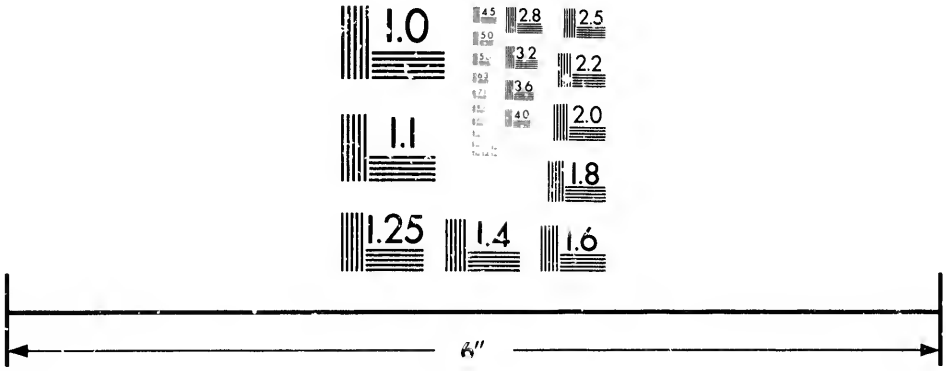

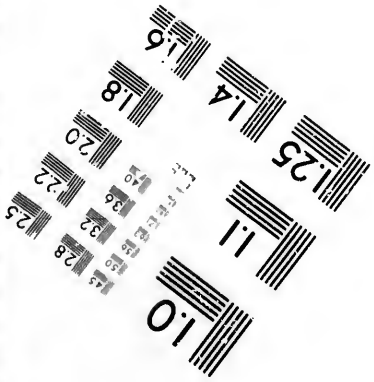

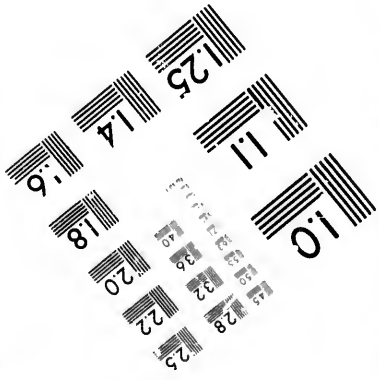

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entered into with British Columbia and the Imperial Government. In this Mr. Mackenzie commits for the first time in Canada a breach of the public faith. * * For this breach of faith British Columbia has a RIGHT TO SECEDE. * * They (the Government) would have to give up the policy or give up British Columbia and the endorsement of England."

That first and easy lesson in secession and union breaking reached British Columbia, and has had the desired effect of inducing some of the local politicians there to refuse the fairest offers and do all in their power to embarrass the Government. But there are no signs that they carry the good wishes of the people with them; while there are signs that the people are hostile to their selfish outcry and willing to accept from Canada such terms, as being for the good of the whole, cannot but be for the good of each part, rather than insist on action that by weakening the heart of the country could not fail to paralyze its extremities as well.

That because we decline to do more than we reasonably and justly can, British Columbia will secede to stand alone as a British Province we do not believe, because, at the worst, union with Canada with the terms of union only partially fulfilled, would be infinitely better for her than isolation. That she will secede in order to join the United States is so gross an imputation of disloyalty against her people, so direct an insinuation that they only measure their allegiance by dollars and cents, and value the national flag by its market value, that we will only believe them capable of such baseness when we see them guilty of it—and when we see that, we shall thank Heaven that they are gone and pray that all like-minded may go with them, and leave the name Canadian to those whose patriotism is of purer and less selfish make.

HAMILTON TIMES (Second Article.)

MR. BLAKE'S SPEECH.—The Opposition press, headed by the *Mail*, contend that Mr. Blake's speech at Aurora—of which they speak truly when they say its delivery will be a marked event in our political history—removes him from the list of Reform leaders. We are so far from admitting that, that we hold it will make him, in a larger and broader sense than ever, a Reform leader. His opponents in their criticisms forgot one very important distinction; that is, that while Mr. Blake has enunciated views that the Reform party, as a whole, is not yet formally committed to, he enunciated no views antagonistic to what the Reform party is committed to. There is not a word in all he said at Aurora which will make it necessary for him to oppose the Government of the day, in any part of its policy, or alienate him from the Reform party; though he has announced views which Reformers, as a whole, may not at once be prepared to adopt. That leaves him in the position of being able to work hand in hand with the Government in the policy which, as a Government, it is pledged to carry out; while in other matters he advances views which, though not yet incorporated in the Government policy, are not necessarily antagonistic to it. Free from official responsibility, he is free to speak out all he thinks, whether it is in advance of the general policy of his party or not. It is for the party and the country, then, to say whether they will follow him or not.

Leaving out the question of the construction of the Pacific Railway as connected with the terms of Union with British Columbia, which we have already dealt with, we find that Mr. Blake suggests as desirable reforms:—

Federation of the Empire;
Reorganization of the Senate;
Compulsory voting;
Extension of the franchise;
Representation of minorities.

We shall give our readers in future issues all that Mr. Blake said on those subjects, so that they can judge for themselves, from his own words, how far he is committed to them, and how good a case he makes out. In the meantime we can say for ourselves that whether in all things we can enroll ourselves on his side or not, we

are prouder of Canada than ever before because such a speech has come from a Canadian statesman. Its enlarged views, earnestness of purpose, liberality, unpartizan tone, and patriotic spirit lead up to a higher plane of political discussion, and make us not less proud that we have such a leader among our Canadian statesmen than gratified that he is in his political views the product of the Reform party, one of its ablest advocates and most highly prized leaders.

London Advertiser (Reform).

Mr. Blake in North York.—In England some of the most important addresses on public matters are delivered during the parliamentary recess, which seems to be recognized as a favorable time for promulgating new or important views in politics, political economy or social science. A better hearing is obtained at such a season than is possible during the bustle and heat of parliamentary excitement We like the idea, and hope it may be introduced into Canada to a greater extent than has hitherto been the case.

Mr. Blake has been signalizing his abilities and furnishing food for thought by the delivery of a powerful and thoughtful address at Aurora, up in North York, on Saturday last, on the occasion of a numerously attended Reform gathering. Mr. Blake makes no really new departure in his powerful address; and he certainly advances few views to which the *Advertiser* feels disposed to take objection. On the contrary, we are gratified to find him assuming ground long maintained in these columns. We presume that until his entrance into public life Mr. Blake had not been—indeed his legal studies and engagements probably debarred him from becoming—a deep student of politics. His views in this domain of research may be said to have been for some years lately maturing, and what he now says can be regarded as the results of his careful thought and research. We are much mistaken if Mr. Blake's recent speech—speaking, as it does, in so decisive a manner on various topics—does not attract unusual attention throughout the land, the more so, as Mr. Blake stands confessedly the most influential private member of the Dominion Parliament.

Mr. Blake opened his observations with a reference to the conduct of affairs in Ontario, expressing his belief that the general course of administration and legislation in this Province has been such as to entitle Mr. Mowat's Government to "the respect, "the affection, and the continued support of the people of this Province." As even the *Mail* and the *Leader* seems disposed to attach great weight to Mr. Blake's utterances at Aurora, such a compliment from such a man should be regarded by Mr. Mowat and his coadjutors as gratifying and reassuring.

The speaker then passed on to touch briefly the Reciprocity Treaty. Mr. Blake does not regard the present as the time for a full discussion of the subject, though regarding it as one demanding at the proper time the most exhaustive consideration. The United States Senate meets in December to vote *pro* or *con* on the Treaty. As is well pointed out, the prominent bringing out at this time of the reasons why Canada should accept the Treaty, would be simply furnishing the United States Senate so many reasons why it should be rejected by our neighbors; while all the arguments against the Treaty, all the resolutions against the present draft adopted in Canada, are so many invitations to the Senate of the United States to pass the Treaty, and take that step, at any rate, towards the consummation Hamilton *Spectators* and Toronto *Mails* profess to deprecate.

Mr. Blake was equally happy in referring to the Reciprocity resolution adopted at the Toronto Tory convention. "It surprised me not a little," he says, "to see that "while their press earnestly denounced the supposition that it was to be made a "party measure on the Ministerial side, they should have been the first, in solemn "convention assembled, to take a party line on the other." Mr. Blake insists that the Canadian Parliament must be left entirely free to determine whether the ac-

ceptance of the Treaty is or is not in the interest of the country. Any attempt to reimpose the outside pressure put upon our Legislature to pass the Treaty of Washton would not be tolerated.

Mr. Blake strikes a decisive note in regard to British Columbia. The financially and physically impossible terms crazily and gratuitously proffered the British Columbians, presumably in a moment of temporary mental incapacity, are declared too monstrous to even talk of fulfilling. The people of the older Provinces would not be justified in ruining themselves by chasing after any such chimera as Sir John A. Macdonald's reckless scheme. Every ratepayer in Ontario who does not wish to see his taxes quadrupled in a few years will re-echo these words of Mr. Blake's:

"If under all the circumstances the Columbians were to say: 'You must go on and finish this railway according to the terms or take the alternative of releasing us from the Confederation,' I would—TAKE THE ALTERNATIVE."

This is the true tone to assume. The sooner the people of British Columbia—that is, the unreasonable section of our Far West brethren, for they are not all unreasonable—know that we are willing to do all in our power to construct the Pacific Railway as fast as the resources of the country will permit, but that we decline to attempt to grasp the infinite or perform the impossible, the sooner will the relations of British Columbia to the Dominion be brought into the region of common sense. Mr. Blake goes on to make some observations on the importance of developing the water-ways of the great Northwest. Grain can be carried by water at one-fifth of the cost by rail. "Not a bushel of wheat will ever go to England over an "all-rail route from the Saskatchewan to the sea board because it will not pay. We "must take it in the speediest and cheapest way to the head of Lake Superior, where "our splendid St. Lawrence route commences."

Mr. Blake next makes some highly significant references to the relations of Canada to the Empire. This is too large a subject to be advantageously referred to in a passing summary, and we accordingly defer its consideration.

We are glad to see that Mr. Blake strikes out boldly and vigorously with regard to the constitution of the Senate, and that his positions are synonymous with those long advocated in the *Advertiser*. He condemns the system of a life-appointed, Crown-nominated Upper House, but does not rush to the other extreme of desiring the creation of simply another and probably rival House of Commons. What we want is something somewhat analagous to the Senate of the United States. We give Mr. Blake's conclusions on this matter in his own words:

"My own opinion is that the Senate, &c. * * * * *

Readers of the *Advertiser* do not need to be told that we heartily endorse the views so tersely enunciated.

We will refer to the remainder of Mr. Blake's important address at another time.

MONTREAL GAZETTE (Second article)

CANADA OF THE FUTURE.—Following close upon the speech delivered a few days ago by Mr. Blake at Aurora, comes to us the report of one delivered by Mr. Goldwin Smith, at a recent dinner of the National Club, on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of the new Club House. Both these speeches are important, and both have already provoked hostile criticism from the same quarter. In one respect they are similar, that they claim for the public men of Canada, irrespective of their party allegiance, not only the right but the duty of departing, where they deem it necessary, from the beaten path of party controversy, to invite the attention of their fellow-countrymen to subjects of speculative politics which may in a few years become eminently practical. "I believe you realize," said Mr. Blake, addressing the farmers of North York, "the value, in the interests of true liberty, of a free "utterance before his fellow-countrymen of the distinctive opinions held by a public man." "There are subjects of national interest," said Mr. Smith, addressing the diners of the National Club, "to talk about, and we can talk about this, if we are "men of sense able to hold our different theories on a public question without

"bandying charges of disloyalty and treason. There is no greater treason than to "brand with that name fellow-citizens who are seeking in singleness of heart the "good of our common country. The most precious of all liberties, and the safeguard "of all the rest, is liberty of opinion." With both gentlemen on this point we are heartily in accord, and we feel that they have done good service to Canada in thus proclaiming a truth which, in the heat of our party battles, ran serious risk of being forgotten.

Upon another point both gentlemen are agreed, viz: that we are in a state of transition and on the eve of important national changes. Mr. Smith refers to it as "the state of transition in which almost all allow that we are;" while Mr. Blake dogmatically announces that "matters cannot drift much longer as they have drifted "hitherto." But having thus agreed that a change of some kind is absolutely necessary, the two gentlemen suggest not only different but opposite destinies for the Dominion, and they each suggest them as a means to the promotion of the same end, the cultivation of a national sentiment and the building up of a national patriotism. To our mind there is nothing in the condition of Canada, nothing in the questions which are the subject of daily discussion, nothing in the contingencies which present themselves as among the possibilities of the near future, to justify the statement that we cannot go on much longer as we have been doing. Mr. Blake contented himself with one illustration to prove his premises, that of the Washington Treaty. "The Treaty of Washington," he remarked, "produced a very profound impression "throughout this country. * * * * *."

Now we are convinced that Mr. Blake cannot have given to this portion of his speech the thoughtful care which we are justified in believing he devoted to the speech as a whole. A more unfortunate illustration could hardly have been selected. It is a curious fact that in that Treaty of Washington, with the one single exception of the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, every question in which Canada was specially interested was left to the free action of the Canadian Parliament for its acceptance or rejection. Nay, it may almost be said that the fate of the Treaty itself, in all its aspects, was placed in the hands of the Canadian people as represented in Parliament. If the navigation of the St. Lawrence be referred to as an exception, and the member for South Bruce has in the past shown that he attached great importance to this clause of that Treaty, it should be remembered that the concession was after all merely nominal, inasmuch as the navigation of the St. Lawrence is an impossibility without the use of the canals, and the control of that use was preserved to Canada. The control of Canada over its foreign relations was infinitely greater in the case of that Treaty, than it could possibly have been had the Canadian people simply had their representatives in an Imperial Federal Parliament, with all the other colonies, and with the people of three kingdoms represented as well. And it certainly does seem an extraordinary thing that Mr. Blake should have cited the first case in which the fate of an international treaty, in which were mixed up grave questions of Imperial concern, was placed in the hands of a colonial Parliament, to prove that we have no share in the relations, warlike or peaceful, financial or commercial, with foreign countries. At this moment we are discussing a commercial treaty with the United States, as freely as if we were an independent nation. If it be said that in that treaty we are debarred, by the fact of our position as a colony, from making a treaty which would enable us to give to the United States trade concessions which we deny to England, the answer is that the embarrassment, if it be an embarrassment, would be far more far-reaching under a system of Imperial Confederation, where we would be bound not simply by our relations to the parent state, but by our relations to the whole Colonial empire as well.

We confess to some difficulty in reconciling Mr. Blake's plea for a larger and more patriotic national spirit in Canada with his advocacy of Imperial Confederation. In our appreciation of the importance of such a sentiment, we are heartily in accord with him. But what we conceive to be wanting is a love of Canada for its own sake, as well as for the sake of the Empire with which it is connected. There has always

been national sentiment enough in Canada, if by that term we are to understand love of the Empire and of the flag which belongs to it. No more loyal people than the people of Canada are to be found on the face of the globe. No people are more easily roused to the wildest enthusiasm in favor of the national flag. That is not the want of Canadians. But what has been too much wanting in the past is a Canadian sentiment, a pride of Canada, of its vastness in territory and resources, and of the splendid future which lies before it. Such a pride as would make men labour earnestly and patriotically to work out the splendid destiny which, in the hands of honest sons, will in the future belong to this Dominion. Surely that sentiment cannot be evoked by making more intimate the connection with the Empire, and our sister colonies of the Empire. One of the dreams which the framers of Confederation dreamed, one of the results which the best friends of Canada hope from British American federal union, is that it will destroy Provincialism, and build up a Canadian opinion and sentiment. And yet as reasonable would it be for Prince Edward Island or British Columbia to join Canada in a federal compact, with the view of building up the Provincial as distinguished from the Dominion sentiment in either of them, as for Canada to join a federal empire, giving up in the doing of it substantial exclusive control over our domestic affairs for the sake of a nominal control over foreign relations, and to hope thereby to build up a Canadian national spirit.

If change must come, that foreshadowed, rather than distinctly advocated, by Mr. Smith, is infinitely the more reasonable destiny for Canada. We can understand and appreciate the argument that a national sentiment can be best cultivated by that national independence which removes from the people even the semblance of a divided allegiance. For ourselves, we are satisfied that no change is necessary, and that the best interests of Canada will be subserved by remaining as we are. That our connection with the Empire, as it at present exists, is inconsistent with the full growth of a hearty and vigorous Canadian sentiment, we do not believe. The growth of that sentiment, since 1867, is the best proof that Imperial connection and Canadian patriotism are not incompatible. Speculating as to what the future may have in store for us may well be left over the present. Our duty to-day is a plain and manifest one, viz: to prepare for any contingency that the future may develope, by steady and persevering work in the task of national development upon which we have entered. Let us, without wavering even in thought in our allegiance to the Mother Country, devote our best energies to making this one a model of rapid material development coupled with honest and enlightened government, and whatever may be the fate of the future we shall be all the better fitted to meet it.

MONTREAL HERALD (LIBERAL).

LIBERALS WITHIN THE LIBERAL PARTY.—In Upper Canada there have recently been two speeches delivered by able men, both liberals *defacto*, though one of them has declined to assume that name in Canada, as indicative of any party allegiance or even affinity. One of these gentlemen is Mr. Blake and the other Mr. Goldwin Smith. Both of them appear to have created a flurry among those whom Mr. W. Macdougall used to call with considerable aptitude of expression, the practical politicians of Ontario. Mr. Blake himself said of his own speech that it was a disturbing one, but to our minds it did nothing more in the way of disturbance than to agitate in a healthy manner minds which, but for such impulses, would be inclined to torpid brooding over ideas of to-day, or even of yesterday, with no thought of what is to happen in the future. Now, in public and in private affairs alike, the dreamer who permits his visions of the future to divert him from contemplating and acting on the facts of the present is, doubtless, one of the most dangerous men to whom the conduct of business can be entrusted. But, on the other hand, it is especially true in public affairs the want of forecast of a somewhat distant future is likely to lead to that kind of stolid Conservatism which at last brings all interests affected by it to miserable ruin. This must be especially the case in a young and rapidly growing country, for though many mistakes may be made as to the destiny of such a State,

one thing is almost certain—that the development of population, and with population of industry and wealth, must produce changes more or less considerable and more or less rapid. The form and name of political institutions even may remain, and yet the spirit of them may be completely altered. Therefore, we see no cause of objection to any speculation, as to the future of this country, providing it be kept within the fair bounds which its name implies. What is premature to-day, as we have all seen very often, becomes in a few years ripe for execution, with the assent of all parties, and often with the most ardent support of those who had most bitterly opposed it. We may take as an example of this the Confederation of the Provinces which was stoutly resisted by the leaders of both the great parties in the country, until the very eve of its accomplishment; so that while it is fair enough to resist attempts to associate a political party with measures for which public opinion is not ready either within or without the party, he is doing good service who prepares opinion by discussion to deal with the new circumstances which are likely to arise with lapse of time. Professor Smith has neither obligations nor responsibilities to any political party; for though the "Canada Firsts" have founded a newspaper, and more recently a club, in both cases under the name of the "Nation," they can hardly be looked upon as constituting an important element in the immediate political position. At any rate Mr. Smith's own view of the function he is performing, if we have rightly interpreted it, is that of instructing rather than prompting to action. And that must be also the function of the Canada Firsts, if they have any, since it is evident they have not yet sufficiently agreed upon a programme for any active political purpose. Mr. Howland, the President of the Association, has declared that the body does not look for independence, while Professor Goldwin Smith is undoubtedly disposed not to urge any measures to promote independence, but to regard that change of political base at all events without apprehension. Mr. Blake, on the other hand, desires apparently a great British Empire, constructed of all the Colonies and of the Mother Country, under a single Imperial Federal Parliament. And then he has thrown out a great many hints on a variety of public questions, some of which may be impracticable or otherwise, but all are in the direction of promoting honest and fair Government by and through the people. He does not greatly admire the present constitution of the Senate. He would like to introduce minority representation. He would give a vote to the sons of farmers remaining with their fathers on the land, and instead of having taxation levied by high rates upon a low valuation, he would insist upon a fair valuation and a lower rate upon it. None of these views seems very dreadful, nor at all calculated, as some of the Conservative papers at first gave out, to place him in opposition to his political friends. Indeed, though that was set up in the first place by these journalists, their later deliverances on the subject have been rather in the way of hints of their willingness to join the *Globe*, which is supposed to differ from Mr. Blake, in order to bring that gentleman's career to a close. It is needless to say that though the *Globe* may, as we do, look upon the Confederation of the Empire as a dream, yet that it is not likely to begin a crusade against one of the foremost and best beloved members of the Liberal party, or that if it did, it would most signally fail. Mr. Blake, as a Minister of the Crown, if he were one, might be held to the duty of speaking of Government measures. As it is, he is quite at liberty to discuss subjects certainly not of smaller, but of less proximate interest. It would be a poor thing, indeed, for the Liberal party if it were too illiberal to allow of such discussions, or even not to welcome them.

VICTORIA (LINDSAY) WARDER (LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE).

OMINOUS!—Mr. Blake's speech at Aurora is another nail in the coffin of Grittism, a proof that the days when that faction could claim to control the intelligence of even those who have hitherto been among its foremost sympathizers, are past and gone. There is very little, indeed, in what he said that can be accepted by Liberal Conservatives as sound political teaching; but at any rate it is a plain and straightforward declaration of his honest views, such as it is refreshing to read after listening to the

abject twaddle which is ordinarily spouted from "Reform" platforms. After all, it is a gain to us, and to the whole country, that among our political opponents there should be one man, even if only one, that is not afraid to speak and think for himself.

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It appears most reasonable to look at this speech of Mr. Blake's as the manifesto of a new political sect. The views which he expresses, are however, in some respects similar to those enunciated in the platform of the so-called "Canada First" party; while his appeal to the representative rights of minorities conveys a perception on his part that in this new departure which he has undertaken he is placing himself in a position of distinct antagonism towards both existing political parties.

fourth/ TORONTO NATION (~~Third~~ Article).

THE FRANCHISE FOR FARMERS' SONS.—Many of the questions raised in Mr. Blake's Aurora speech are not new; but there was one suggestion which we do not recollect to have seen before. He is, we think, the first to have suggested that the franchise be extended to the sons of farmers living with their fathers, without separate establishment or estate. The election trials have revealed the shifts sometimes resorted to for the purpose of manufacturing votes for this class. These expedients are certainly objectionable, because based on falsehood of one kind or another. Whether young men in this situation ought to have votes is another question. There is much to be said in favor of the proposal *per se*; but it is not so certain that it could be carried out without involving an extension of the franchise in other directions. And here would come whatever difficulty would be found in the way of a farmers' sons' franchise. The class is a very large one; and if it could be shown that, in this case, the franchise is unfairly withheld, the grievance would not be a light one. It is probably not an excessive estimate to assume that the new form of franchise would equal one-third of the electorate. If votes be improperly withheld from so large a body of men, the wrong could hardly be righted too soon. The refusal to confer it could not be defended on the ground of want of intelligence. The young generation is, in this respect, greatly in advance of the old. But it does not follow that it is better capable of making a judicious use of the franchise. It is wanting in practical experience and practical knowledge; but it is quite as capable of making as good use of the franchise as other classes by whom it is possessed. A young man whose labor is yearly adding to the family possessions cannot be said to be without a moral right to property; and if it is in the form of an undivided estate, of which the legal ownership is in the father, it cannot be doubtful that the moral right was capable of being converted into a legal right. It is only because there is a general agreement, whether tacit or expressed, to let the produce of the united family remain in this state that a division in some form has not taken place, with the yearly additions to the family fortune. We think that, in a progressive state of agriculture, where the annual increase in this form of wealth is very great, we are justified in assuming that the industrious sons of farmers are accumulating property, whether in their own names or in the names of their fathers. Want of property qualification, if property qualification be a proper basis of the franchise, cannot be urged against them. The property may not have assumed a separate form; but it has an actual existence none the less.

How far this class would vote under the pressure of paternal influence can hardly be a question, under the ballot. Deception and falsehood, which the ballot is sometimes charged with producing, would leave behind them greater evils in the family than outside of it. Each member of a family would indulge a natural curiosity to know how the rest voted; but he would have no right to know, since each would be responsible for the use he made of the franchise. The dependence of father and son is, in the farming class, mutual; and it is at least doubtful whether the influence of father over son is, in any class of Canadians, inordinate. But among independent voters there is no room for influence at all. The paternal right does not extend to

the coercion of the opinion of the son; and it is far from certain that the son might not nearly as often try to influence the father as the father to influence the son. The protection of the ballot is not the sort of protection one would care to invoke in such a relation; but the ballot exists and it might be used as a shield in some extreme cases which would be certain to arise. We have no doubt that, in most families, there would be perfect frankness as to the way each member voted or intended to vote; it is only fair to assume the existence of so much manhood as this implies in the class which really forms the back-bone of the country. There might be some families in which politics would become a forbidden topic, owing to diversity of views, strength of prejudice, impatience of opposition in the father, or impatience of whatever looked like abnormal control in the sons. But looking at some other classes on whom the franchise has been conferred, it does seem to us that the objectors to the extension of the franchise to farmers' sons would find themselves beset with great difficulties in attempting to prove their case.

But difficulties in the opposite direction will be found as soon as the practical stage of the question is approached. A class franchise, as such, could not be conferred. Some general rule would have to be found. A town franchise and a country franchise would probably be found too artificial for this country. We do not pretend to offer a scheme for the extension of the franchise in this direction; but if one were submitted to public criticism we should be ready to judge it on its merits. For ourselves, we do not at present quite see how the franchise could be put in the hands of farmers' sons without involving the proposal of manhood suffrage, at least in the rural districts; and we doubt whether one franchise for the town and another for the country would be accepted by the public.

THE CANADIAN MONTHLY (NATIONAL.)

It was natural that the National Club, or any young society desirous of commencing its life under the auspices of patriotism and honour, should invite Mr. Blake to lay the first stone of its dwelling. For, whether his opinions are right or wrong, it is certain that by his general conduct and bearing he has done much to lend dignity and interest to our politics, and to save public life among us from becoming, what in such communities as ours, it is to apt to become, a trade infested by low adventurers and shunned by the better class of men. But if the invitation was natural, the refusal was judicious. Acceptance, besides compromising Mr. Blake himself, would have created false expectations of political activity on the part of the Club, which at present can serve at most only as a centre of independent opinion. The first stone was laid privately; but the opportunity was not allowed to slip of healing any incipient division in the Liberal party by pouring a torrent of contumely upon people who at all events had so far assumed no attitude of hostility. It is something to possess any accomplishment in the highest perfection; but perhaps of all accomplishments the one least to be coveted by a political leader is that of converting with unparalleled rapidity, friends into neutrals, and neutrals into enemies.

It is possible that by his speech at Aurora Mr. Blake may have partly intended to counteract, in the interest of his party, the fatal talisman of its chief, and to show within the verge of Liberalism there was still room for some freedom of thought. In that case, it is a little ungrateful to sneer at his remarks on the value of a national spirit as "the chirrup of a self-constituted prophet," especially as similar remarks, when made by a person of quality, had been received with profound respect. But it is more likely that he was simply giving way to his natural tendency, as an independent leader of opinion, to cast aside the petty squabbles of the party fray, and give his views on some of the more important questions of the immediate future. Among those on which he touched, the reform of the Senate is perhaps the most likely to assume a practical shape. Nobody can doubt that a nominee Senate has proved a nullity for all good purposes, while there is in it a lurking possibility of mischief in case, after being packed by a party Minister during a long tenure of power, it should attempt to act in concert with him against the existing majority in

the other House, There is literally no limit to the capacity of mankind for being fooled by names: in the United States the slave-owning oligarchy long drew after it the populace of the Northern cities by calling itself Democratic. Yet it is hardly possible that any Canadian should be blind to the fact that the Crown has no more to do with the appointments to our Senate than the Grand Llama. They are absolutely in the hands of a party leader, and what use a party leader will make of them has been demonstrated by too conclusive experience. It is a further reason for change that we might thereby prolong the lives of some of the most respected of our citizens who in their venerable age are needlessly dragged to Ottawa to keep up their privilege of sitting among gilded furniture, which we would all gladly allow them to enjoy at home. Our own opinion, founded on the experience of Europe as to the Bicameral system in the case of ordinary legislatures, has already been expressed. But the example of the United States proves that, in the case of a Federal legislature, a Senate elected by the Assemblies several of the States may be invested with real authority. This is what Mr. Blake proposes, and it seems to us far better than any other method of election. There are only two things to be borne in mind; first, that when Conservatism is specially represented by an Upper House, the Lower House is apt to think itself licensed to be as reckless in its demagogism as it pleases; and secondly, that to form the Upper House, the best elements must inevitably be subtracted from the Lower. Were weat liberty to frame a constitution according to our own ideas, we should perhaps incline to a single Federal Assembly elected by the Provincial Legislatures, those Legislatures being themselves elected, under the most liberal system of suffrage, by the people. It appears to us that such institutions would be at once rationally Conservative and adequately expressive of the national will. But taking things as they are, we hope that the next session will see the commencement of a practical movement in the direction proposed by Mr. Blake.

The representation of minorities, which Mr. Blake also proposes, is much in vogue, and holds a place among the Conservative reforms which are being gradually adopted by the wisdom of the people in the United States. We confess that our observation of its working in England leaves our opinion at present in suspense. Among other consequences, probably unforeseen, the system has the effect of preventing contests, and to such an extent as to render it possible that the balance of opinion may completely change, and yet the minority not rouse itself to struggle for a second seat, while on the other hand the minority may dwindle to a shadow before the majority makes up its mind to face the risk and trouble of giving battle for the whole representation. The holder of a minority seat invariably tries to square the election. So that the representation of minorities might interfere with the perfect expression of national opinion, the end which compulsory voting—another of Mr. Blake's reforms—is intended to attain. It is also to be observed that the representative of a minority is nailed to his seat, which he cannot vacate, except at a general election, without handing it over to the majority In England he cannot take office or a peerage: he could not take office or a senatorship here.

On the other hand, it is possible that the representation of minorities, by conferring a nomination here and there upon some small but specially enlightened section of a constituency, might indirectly mitigate a malady incident to representative institutions which threatens seriously to impair the character of elective legislatures, and to unfit them for the higher work of legislation. We mean the malady of localism to which the constituencies in the United States have entirely succumbed, and of which we may expect to see an increasing development in our own Parliamentary elections, there being no question before the people at large great enough to neutralize local influences and prevent the representation from being engrossed by the personal ambition of local men. The effects of the system, carried to an extreme, as it is in the United States, are so calamitous, that no pains ought to be spared in endeavouring to preserve a national element in our representation. Some have proposed to substitute the national system of election altogether for the local. But this would divorce the legislature too much from the soil; and the plan requires on the part of the masses

an acquaintance with the merits of public men which they can hardly be expected to possess. It is easier to point out the evil and prove its magnitude than to devise a cure; but any palliation will be welcome.

That portion of Mr. Blake's speech in which he advocates the encouragement of a national spirit will be echoed by more hearts than lips. If four millions lack, as he says, British freedom in the management of their foreign affairs, they also, from what cause it would be difficult to say, lack someting of British sturdiness in the expression of individual opinion; and in the sentences to which we refer. Mr. Blake has not fashion on his side. He is told, indeed, that his exhortations are superfluous, the national sentiment being strong enough already; but that which is only superfluous does not scare people out of their courtesy and discretion. Those who took an active part in reducing the political authority of the Crown in the Colonies to a shadow are hardly at liberty to persecute others for proposing to introduce self-government into the diplomatic sphere.

We can understand the feelings of a good old Tory who pines for the Family Compact, and thinks that a colony ought to be just what it was in the reign of George III.; but it is not so easy to understand the attitude on this subject of some who call themselves Liberals.

Imperial Confederation, to which Mr. Blake seems to incline, is a subject on which we have said what we had to say, and now stand aside from the debate. We only desire to see the question brought to a practical issue by those who believe in the possibility of Confederation. But the great objection to the plan now is that, while it is advocated with earnestness, we might almost say with passion, and while very ignominious motives are sometimes imputed to those who do not see their way to its adoption, no human being has taken or seems inclined to take a single step towards its practical realization. A better opportunity than this for bringing the question forward in the British Parliament has never presented itself, nor is so good an opportunity likely to present itself again. In Europe reigns a peace which is probably a calm between two storms; all is harmony between the Mother Country and the Colonies; the party favorable to Imperial aggrandizement is in possession of power in England with a majority sufficient to carry any measure it may adopt. Mr. Disraeli, the great dealer in Imperial sentiment, is Prime Minister, the Duke of Manchester is in the Lords, and Mr. Jenkins, clothed with the additional authority of Canadian Ambassador, is in the Commons. Now is the time to move, if you really believe in your theory; and if you do not really believe in your theory, now is the time to say so, and let us try some other way of securing for ourselves "our full share in the privileges and responsibilities of Britons."

The fact is that British statesmen, as a rule, are at heart total disbelievers in the assumption on which Imperial Confederation or any plan implying that Canada is a self-sustaining power, and capable of compacts or alliances with another power, must rest. The secret creed of almost every one of them, with regard to this country, is that disclosed in Mr. Brodrick's letter to the London *Times*—Loyalty while it will last and afterwards Annexation. They are willing enough to prolong the period of Loyalty indefinitely, and in the meantime to gratify us with official sentiment to the top of our bent; but to talk of our independent existence in any form, whether as an associate of England in the powers of a United Empire, or as a separate nation, they at heart regard as absurd. If any one doubts that such is the real state of their minds, let him privately cross-examine them on the subject, and begin with the first of them that comes to hand.

The ruling class, however, in England, generally will at this moment be found by Imperial Confederations in the most propitious mood. Elated by its victory at home, the aristocracy begins once more to cherish the almost abandoned hope of propagating itself in the Colonies and making them outworks of Privilege instead of pioneers of Equality. A recent writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, under the title "Colonial Distinctions," gives expression to what we have no doubt is a prevailing sentiment by repeating the old dictum that the Americans would never have revolted if

they had been endowed with an aristocracy and an established church, and by proposing, in pursuance of the lesson taught by that experience, to institute a titled and privileged order in the Colonies. He says nothing definitely about an established church, but he would probably find that the author of the dictum about the Americans was in the right, and that it would be requisite to make the reign of Privilege complete by carrying it into the religious as well as the social and political sphere. A plan which he cites and seems to regard with complacency is that of a certain Mr. Wentworth, an Australian politician. The crown is to create a certain number of baronets, attaching to baronetcies seats in the Upper House of Parliament, and empowering them, if we understand the scheme rightly, thereafter to elect their own colleagues, so that they would form an entirely separate and exclusive order, with political privileges more invidious even than those of the English peerage, which is not self-elected, but nominated by a Minister who is himself supposed to represent the majority of the nation. The nominations are not to be intrusted to the Prime Minister of the Colony, because, it seems, he would be apt to be influenced by party motives, from which it is serenely assumed that British Prime Ministers are free, though about the first use which the present Conservative Premier made of his prerogative was to confer a baronetcy on the notorious electioneering agent of the party. Behind the proposal to put a privileged order over our heads, of course lies a project for the introduction of primogeniture and entail, without which hereditary aristocracy cannot exist, and for reducing the Canadian freeholder, on the land which his own hands has redeemed from the wilderness, to the servile condition of the English tenant-at-will.

The type of a colony which lurks in the mind of every true Briton, and colors all his ideas about us and his plans for our welfare is Botany Bay. He thinks that the presence of a British man of rank, as Governor, maintains among us some kind of order and decency, though on a very precarious footing and in a lamentably imperfect way. He would be much astonished, and probably not a little scandalized, if he were told that the foundations of social order are at least as strong, that property is at least as secure, that as much confidence is felt in the soundness of institutions, that the future is at least as unclouded by any fear of coming trouble in this country as it is in one where the dreadful extremes of wealth and poverty confront each other in a sullen attitude of mutual suspicion, and where a great standing army is a condition of political security, with the presence of which the ruling class could not venture to dispense for an hour. Under what image does the poet of aristocracy paint the social security which privilege bestows? Under that of a man asleep, with a lion all the time creeping to its prey.

"Blue for uniforms is absurd," said the British footman when he saw a French regiment without the familiar scarlet, "except in the Artillery and Horse Guards Blue." John Bull cannot imagine society being held together without Rouge-dragon and the Beefeaters. Talk to him of diffused possession of property, of the general interest of citizens in the stability of government and in the welfare of the country, of the influence of the great employers and organizers of labor, of that of the churches, the universities, the learned and scientific professions, of all those conservative forces the operation of which we feel every hour: he will admit, perhaps, that these things may mitigate anarchy or stave it off for a time; but anarchy he is persuaded there must be without Rouge-dragon and the Beefeaters. Moral, intellectual, commercial authority may be good things when nothing better is to be had; but they are not the best things; they are not the authority of "the tenth transmitter of a foolish face," squandering hereditary wealth at the gambling table, or on the race-course. Perhaps we ourselves contribute in some degree to the illusion, for we are rather apt to ascribe what is good in our own political condition to venerable relics, instead of ascribing it to the living forces to which it is really due, and learning to develop those forces to the utmost of our power.

If it is to improve our manners that an aristocracy is to be set over us, perhaps we are not the best judges of the extent to which such schooling is required. Probably, we have few persons among us qualified for the office of Master of the Ceremonies, or capable of performing the feat of walking backwards for a quarter of a mile before Royalty, which is said to have been performed by the Lord Chamberlain at the opening of the Exhibition of 1851. But, after all, the best manners are those which are the reflection, in the outward bearing, of an unselfish heart, and an habitual regard for the comfort and for the feelings of others; and if anybody thinks that a kindly Canadian farmer or mechanic is not, in this sense, as well-mannered as the British plutocrat with a handle to his name, especially the younger members of the caste, the experience of a day's journey on an English railway will probably be sufficient to modify his opinion. No doubt fustian is too apt to take its revenge on broadcloth here for kicks received in the old world. This is unpleasant, and naturally stimulates colonial toryism, which we take to be in great measure, not so much a theory of the public good as a personal desire of more observance and respect. But a wise man will pardon the rudeness which is really directed, not against him, but against the squire and parson over the water, and by steadfastly observing the rule of courtesy himself, do what in him lies to preach it to his generation. Courage! Even in manners we need not despair of arriving some day at the level of Lord Dundreary, and Lord Dundreary is by no means the lowest specimen of this caste.

If, again, the object is to raise the standard of honour among our public men, we will not say that improvement is needless, but we will say that we doubt whether the institution of a shoddy baronetage would effect it. Last year witnessed a very severe trial of the public morality of the Canadian people. Through that trial the nation fought its own way unschooled and unprompted, save by its own sense of right; it worked out its own salvation, without assistance from any aristocratic monitor, or from any quarter whatever. But the voice of aristocratic morality was heard. It was heard deriding the just indignation of our people, and preaching a political cynicism such as would scarcely be avowed by the lowest demagogue in the United States. It would be irreverent to suppose that the moral standard of baronets would be higher than that of a duke.

We do not much apprehend that a plan involving the introduction of primogeniture and entail, if not that of an established church, will ever be carried into effect But there is another proposal, which ludicrous as it sounds, is rather more feasible. It has been suggested that the young and more needy members of the English aristocracy should come out to the Colonies as social carpet-baggers, if we may be pardoned the bluntness of the expression. To wheedle a *jeunesse dorée* into exchanging its salons, clubs and race-courses for the dulness, discomfort and vulgarity of colonial existence would probably be no easy task, even if a promise of colonial heiresses without limit were added to that of social domination. Ouida, whose description of the class which she adores is not a very great exaggeration, paints one of her heroes, a Guardsman too, as taking a bath well dashed with eau de cologne to purify himself after a slight contact with the common people. But if the scheme did take effect, it is too probable that our untitled Canadian youth would have a bad time of it for at least one generation. In the days when the British officers constituted a sort of aristocracy here, the young native civilian found himself socially set aside, in favour, sometimes, of a soldier and a gentleman, and sometimes of one who was neither. Still more certainly would he be set aside in favour of a title, though its wearer might be a libertine or a Yahoo. To the power of Flunkeyism there are almost no bounds. Nor would the feelings of the slighted plebian be spared; for the insolence of the old aristocracy, being tempered by high breeding, was tolerable compared with that of the coronected soap-boiler of the present day. There would be no help for it. The young Canadian merchant would have to look lower for his society and for his bride. The Canadian statesman would find himself turned out of his seat in Parliament by a sprig of nobility. The social observer would stand aside, comforting himself with the reflection that fashions change, that even crinoline went out, and that our grandchildren might perhaps

become aware of the fact that the real successor of the old nobility of arms and law is the nobility of industry, science, character, and beneficence, not that of idleness and eau de cologne. "God fulfils Himself in many ways." So far as we can see, Providence has done with the genuine Normans, and has no need of the Brummagem counterfeits.

If any one accuses us of overrating the influence of factitious rank, we might refer him to an article in a professional journal which lies before us. There is a professional man in one of our cities (names are immaterial) whose scientific eminence and moral worth combined obtain for him, in unstinted measure, the only kind of homage which a man of sense desires. Nor is there the least reason for supposing that he himself wishes for anything more. But his friends think that their love and respect for him would be increased if he could only be made a knight. So they openly solicit for him a title which would lose all its value, if it had any, by being granted, not spontaneously, but in compliance with a petition. To any one accustomed to view these questions in the light of history, the tail of a Darwinian monkey would seem as suitable a decoration for a man of science as a military honor of the Middle Ages. The prayer of the professional writer is, however, warmly supported by a political journal, and one of the first rank, which in the course of its remarks, congratulates Canadians on having at length "forced themselves on the notice of their fellow-citizens in England." In common life, how stands the character of a man who forces himself on the notice of other people, and what is the value of the recognition which he receives? The journal to which we refer is Conservative; but it was in Liberal columns that we read some time ago a paragraph about some Canadian works of art, which are stated to be good in themselves, but to possess a *special* interest, as having attracted the attention of an English nobleman of the highest rank. Mr. Blake's exhortation to cultivate nationality was declared to be needless, because nationality was visible and had been read by the Governor-General on the countenances of our people and the aspect of our fields. We own that we shall feel more sure of its existence when Canadian eminence is satisfied with Canadian distinction.

VICTORIA (B. C.) STANDARD (LIBERAL.)

COMPULSORY VOTING.—The Hon. Edward Blake, in the course of his great speech at the Aurora Reform demonstration, said many things which we should be very sorry to endorse, as well as many things which we do endorse most heartily. Among the latter is what he gave expression to on the subject of compulsory voting at elections. The subject is not a new one, having frequently been discussed in the public prints, and been a theme upon which political economists have bestowed much careful thought and consideration. Various circumstances have of late conspired to force this subject upon the minds of thoughtful men, and more especially in our own Dominion of Canada. We are therefore not surprised to see a gentleman like Mr. Blake, of scholarly attainments and advanced ideas in reference to matters political, taking this subject in hand and giving the people of Canada the benefit of his enlightened judgment upon it. He very distinctly declares himself in favor of the principle of compulsory voting, and gives reasons therefor which must commend themselves to every thoughtful reader. It may be said by some that to compel a man to go to the pools on election day and cast his vote, would be an infringment upon the rights of the subjects, who should be at liberty to vote or let it alone, just as he may think proper; but we cannot see that to compel a man to vote is a whit more an infringement upon his right, than it is to compel him to serve on a jury, or do many other things that citizens are required to do in the general interests of society. If all who are legally entitled to vote were under a legal obligation to exercise the franchise, there would be less bribery and corruption at elections than has for some time years past brought shame and discredit upon the public men and institutions of our country. If men were compelled to vote, they would not wait for election touters and unscrupulous candidates to pay them for so doing, and thus make merchandize of what every man should esteem a sacred duty to discharge.

MONTREAL NATIONAL (Liberal.)

Il s'est tenu à Aurora, comté de North York, une grande assemblée de réformistes. La plupart des hommes influents de la province d'Ontario y ont pris part. Parmi les discours prononcés à cette occasion, celui qui pour nous a le plus d'importance est celui de l'honorable M. Blake.

Le mouvement de l'opinion publique dans une province qui occupe au centre de notre confédération un rang aussi considérable, que le fait Ontario, les idées d'un homme d'Etat, d'un penseur, d'un orateur, d'une réputation aussi élevée que celle dont jouit M. Blake chez tous les esprits sérieux, doivent exercer sur nos destinées une influence qu'il serait imprudent de méconnaître. Nous croyons, par conséquent, devoir fournir à nos lecteurs les passages de cette oraison qui se rapportent plus spécialement aux intérêts généraux du pays tout entier et à l'avenir de notre Puissance.

QUEBEC L'ÉVÉNEMENT (Liberal.)

DISCOURS DE M. BLAKE À AURORA.—A la grande démonstration libérale d'Aurora, comté d'York Nord, à laquelle assistait le premier ministre d'Ontario, M. Blake a prononcé un discours qui n'agrée guère au *Globe*, mais qui n'en est pas moins un maître discours. La forme en est admirable, et les vues qu'elle recouvre sont hardies autant que puissantes. M Blake pense et parle comme personne n'a encore pensé et parlé en Canada. Il ne peut être comparé à aucun autre orateur de notre pays ; et l'exclamation échappée à M. Dymond la première fois qu'il l'entendit : *Je croyais écouter M. Gladstone ;* exprime à merveille le sentiment que fait éprouver cette grande éloquence et les comparaisons que naturellement elle évoque.

Dans ce discours, la doctrine politique de M. Blake apparaît sous une forme, non pas nouvelle, mais plus nettement accusée. Il s'y montre ce qu'il est au fond, plus qu, un libéral, un radical.

On conçoit que cela ne plaît guère à M. Geo. Brown qui, sous des formes très-vives, qui, avec des allures parfois emportées, n'est en somme qu'un libéral de la vieille école, rétif aux innovations et restant enfermé dans un certain cercle d'idées. Mais le mécontentement bien naturel de M. Brown ne saurait pourtant se comparer au désappointement des conservateurs. On sait que depuis qu'ils voient Sir John A. Mac Donald décliner, les conservateurs, et en particulier les conservateurs, bas-canadiens, ont jeté les yeux sur M. Blake et comptent que plus tard il daignera accepter leur concours pour arriver au pouvoir. Que vont-ils dire de ce discours qui met à néant leurs illusions ? Ils croyaient entrevoir en M. Blake un libéral penchant vers les idées conservatrices ; c'est un radical qui leur apparaît ! Comment pourront-ils jamais songer à suivre un homme qui montre du doigt la porte de la Confédération à la Colombie ; qui traite le Sénat d'Hôtel des Invalides ; qui, à travers un projet évidemment transitoire, sinon tout à fait illusoire, d'une fédération avec l'Empire, veut en arriver à l'indépendance du pays ; qui désire rendre la loi électorale encore plus sévère et plus inexorable pour la corruption ; qui enfin pousse la passion du droit et le scrupule du juste jusqu'à vouloir que les minorités soient représentées comme les majorités ! Comment ce parti tombé dans les bas-fonds du Pacifique, pourrait-il s'élever à ces hauteurs où règne une liberté si forte et si pure ? Dernière illusion perdue ! Dernière planche du salut engloutie !

THE CANADIAN MONTHLY (Second Article.)

The series of attacks made about the time of our last issue, by the governing organ, ostensibly on the President of the National Club, were generally understood to be really directed, in some measure at least, against the Great Insubordinate of its own party ; and the articles seem to have suffered, in point of veracity, from the special exigencies of this oblique movement as well as from the general habits of the writer. We hear it said that the position which the *Globe* gave Mr. Blake, the *Globe* can

take away, and even that it could now exclude him from Parliament. The boast is too near the truth for the honour of the country; yet we do not believe that it is true. Mr. Blake's reputation is not founded on sand; it is not the mere gift of any political patron, or the artificial creation a of demagogue's arts. His position (to compare our small politics with the great politics of England) somewhat resembles that occupied by Chatham and afterwards by Chatham's son, when the heart of the nation turned to them for relief from a reign of jobbery and corruption, of small men and petty aims, of parties without principle and hypocritical combinations. It signifies little whether his particular views about Imperial Confederation, the Reform of the Senate, the Representation of Minorities, or any other subject, are sound and practicable or not; his general character, his courage, his disinterestedness, his loftiness of purpose, represent the better spirit and respond to the higher sentiments of the nation. He represents also the more vigorous life and the growing confidence in its own destinies, which the nation has begun to feel since Confederation, and which, if the authors of that measure did not foresee, they but ill understood the necessary effects of their own policy. To him Canada is not a log drifting blindly down the stream, it may be to be stranded in a swamp, it may be to be engulphed in a cataract; she is a nation endowed with life, with consciousness and with forecast, rejoicing in the hopes, and prepared cheerfully to solve the problems of the future, alive to her responsibilities and willing to accept them, knowing that greatness entails burdens, and yet desiring to be great. His Canada is not the Canada of those who mean to sell out, a thing to last for some twenty or thirty years, and which may then go to pieces as soon as it likes; it is the Canada of a Canadian, to be handed down as a noble heritage to our children's children. It is instinctively understood by the people that his partial divergence from his old associates is the inevitable result of a difference of political character and aim, not the policy of a self-isolating ambition. So long as he remains what he is now, and the popular feeling towards him continues unchanged, the thunderbolts of managing directors will be launched against him in vain. He evidently does not seek power, but when the country is thoroughly sick of the two old parties, power will be forced into his hands.

Through the mist of this controversy begin to loom the lineaments of a new Liberal party, which, though the organizations are at present in the hands of its opponents, will probably, if the party system is to continue, assume corporate consistency and form an organization of its own. Liberalism is not easily defined; but at all events it means faith in progress. It abjures finality, whether the attempt to fix a bound to the onward course of a nation be made by the regular advocates of a reactionary policy, by the apostasy of some sated demagogue, or by the decrepitude of an exhausted party. It may avoid precipitation, eschew anything tending to revolution, which is in truth almost invariably the wreck of progress, but it never can say, "rest and be thankful." The Tories (we must be allowed without any disrespect, to use a familiar and intelligible name) frankly avow themselves the party of Reaction. The Grits (we employ the term with the same qualification) have received from the master of their destinies the order to stand still. Progress therefore must find a new organ, and a new organ it will find. The two old parties alike desiring a stationary policy and a sealed future will be gradually drawn into a tacit, and ultimately into an actual alliance, of which indeed, in spite of the showers of stones and mud which they are still flinging at each other, the first symptoms have already appeared. In the end we shall have a scene between them like that between Sir Hugh Evans and Dr. Caius in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. The two doughty duellists will half embrace, then cuff each other again, then embrace without reserve and walk off together arm in arm. The lamentable memory of the Double Shuffle, which the *Globe* has so often bewailed like Philomel with its breast against a thorn, will be laid asleep forever, and the culprit of the Pacific Scandal will combine with its avenging Fury against the attempt of armed revolutionists to reform the Senate.

We have named the question on which the new line is likely to be for the first time drawn. In resistance to reform of the Senate the Grit leader has distinctly taken his stand by the side of the Tories, and his lieges will of course do the same. We need not now anticipate the discussion which is pretty certain to arise in the next Session of the Dominion Parliament. But the debate would be simple and brief if only the veil of plausible words could be taken away, and the people could be brought distinctly to see the fact that the nominations are not made by the Crown in the general interest, but by the minister in his own interest and in the interest of his party.

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INDEX TO NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.

ERRATA.

At Page 64, after Toronto *Globe*, add the word "third."

At Page 65, after Toronto *Globe*, add the word "fourth."

At Page 98, after Toronto *Nation*, substitute the word "fourth" for the word "third."

for the word