

Part III.—Enumeration of the measures passed by the Governments of which Mr. Macdonald has been a member.

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CLERGY RESERVES.

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Mr. Macdonald spoke of the settlement of the Clergy Reserves at a number of places. The first extract is from a speech delivered at St. Thomas :

“ We have called the attention of the legislature to, and have succeeded in passing many measures, and I am happy to say that the greatest proof of the value of our measures is this, that even those who were most strongly opposed to us, who were most fierce in their attacks on the government, their motives and their course, while the measures were before the House of Assembly, have acquiesced in those measures since they became law, so that all our legislation has received the general sanction of the people and of the Opposition themselves, and not a single one of those great measures that the government has introduced and carried into operation, has any one ever attempted to repeal. [Applause.] I may take the measure of the Clergy Reserves, of which you have spoken, which was most strenuously opposed while it was passing through parliament. I may take the Seigniorial Tenure question, that of Law Reform, and if leisure would permit, I could go over a long list of our acts, not one of which has ever been assailed by the papers even of our opponents, but all of which have been accepted as laws which were proper and right. [Applause.] It is said, sir, that that country is the happiest which has no history. It may be exciting and pleasing for the reader to read of great wars and great conquerors, but that history, so exciting to the reader, tells of misery and destruction to the country concerned. Those wars, though they may have brought out the great talents of great minds, have been ruinous to thousands of people. And so it is with administrations. That government which is satisfied with being useful—with doing its duty to the people who placed it in power—which, when it finds a practical evil, sets itself to work to reduce it in a practical way, is not a government about which you can get up much enthusiasm. I am happy to say, however, that the administrations of which I have formed part have been of this kind. They have been contented with

being useful in their day and generation, and whenever any thing has been pointed out that was necessary for the reform of law, or for the protection of the liberty of the subject, they have met it, and instead of making it a matter of party agitation, or getting up before it a cry at the hustings, they have remedied the evil, calmly and quietly, and they have their reward. [Cheers.] I say we have our reward. [Loud cheers.] I shall be quite satisfied, after present dispute are forgotten, long after this Government has ceased to be, to have it engraved upon my tombstone that I was concerned in the settlement of the clergy reserve question. [Hear.] But while I claim that for myself and those who acted with me, I must bring it as a distinct charge against those who were politically opposed to us, that although they had agitated this question from the beginning, although they upbraided us with trying to raise up a State church and a dominant religion, yet, when we came down with a bill to finally to settle that question, it met with the most uncompromising hostility from all of them. From the moment I introduced the bill, until it received the royal sanction, it was opposed by those who had agitated the country, but were not sincere in their expressed desire to settle it. [Hear, hear.] They wanted to use it still as a political lever, on the hustings and on the stump. They were regardless of the evils caused by that civil and social and religious quarrel so long as they could use it, and say "we go for a settlement, but these old Tories are trying to rule over you, to destroy the equality between man and man, religion and religion, and won't hear of it." This country has a right to complain of the partizan and unparliamentary opposition which took place on that occasion. [Applause.]—Thank heaven, however, the measure became law at last, and now we have peace, and quiet, and prosperity! Every possible objection was taken to the bill, but the greatest was, that there was a certain sum taken by way of commutation, and given to the English, Scotch and Roman Catholic Clergy, which, by the action of previous governments, had been a charge upon that fund. You must remember that we can't have all we want, and we must endeavor to get as nealy what we want as possible. The Clergy Reserves were settled by an Imperial act of Parliament in 1840.—That act gave certain preferences to certain churches, but notwithstanding this, Mr. Baldwin, the head of the Reform party, said in the House of Assembly, that the man would be an enemy to his country who should re-open the question. It was, however, agitated, and we had to appeal to the Imperial Parliament again to give us power to alter the former settlement of 1840, which we ourselves should have been happy not to have disturbed, had not the country been again convulsed about it. We received that power, but there was a proviso in the act, that we should not affect the position of these individuals who had stipends charged upon the fund, to whom the British government considered the faith of the Queen was pledged.—We had, therefore, either to pass a

bill, preserving these rights, or we could have no bill at all. We did pass the bill, and, instead of paying out to each clergyman his annual salary, and keeping the body as pensioners upon the public purse, we calculated its value to him on principles well known to actuaries, and paid the amount to each clergyman entitled to receive it. The clergy were, indeed, enormous losers by the transaction, for, by the law, as it stood, they had a fair claim to one-half of the Clergy Reserves. But they felt that they were ministers of peace, and for the sake of peace they accepted our settlement. If there is any thing which, more than another, has exalted the clerical profession in my eyes, it is that act. The clergy were paid their very moderate allowance of £100, £150 and £200 a year, and the whole of the balance of the fund, consisting of an enormous sum of money, £1,000,000, or so, was ready to be devoted to the municipalities of Upper Canada, among which it was divided, and which have the privilege of applying it to the making of roads, to the furtherance of education, or any other purpose they please. [Applause.] There is one great advantage which we secured by this mode of settlement. The Opposition contended that the original reservation of the clergy reserves was a fraud on the people of Canada—that it should be abolished, annulled, made void, and that the whole of the clergy reserves should be placed on the same footing as the crown lands. What would have been the consequence? As the public lands are sold, the proceeds are put into the public chest, and Lower Canada gets her half, or, as the *Globe* says, her three-fourths of that revenue. If we had carried out the views of the Opposition in settling the clergy reserves, the clergy lands would have become a part of the public domain, and Lower Canada would have her share of their proceeds, of which she does not now get one six pence. [Hear.] I may call the attention of the meeting to this, because you have heard it very strongly urged and repeated until perhaps you have begun to believe it, that there has been on our part a subserviency to Lower Canada interests—to Lower Canada domination. While in Upper Canada the municipalities have divided the whole of the proceeds of the clergy reserves among themselves, the case in Lower Canada has been very different. In Lower Canada, ever since it was made a French colony by the French Kings, the expenses of the administration of justice, of the erection of jails, and institutions of that kind, were charged on the public funds; but my colleague, Mr. Cartier, the premier, who has been so much assailed for being altogether a Lower Canadian in spirit, and attempting to injure Upper Canada, he it was who introduced the new system.—He has taken the clergy reserves of Lower Canada, which ought to have been divided among the municipalities, if the same plan had been followed as in Upper Canada, and applied them to the building of prisons and the administration of justice, so that instead of these being a charge upon public funds, Upper Canada might not be called upon to pay any thing. [Cheers.]

At Brantford, the *Leader* reports the hon. gentleman to have said :

“ Before the election of 1854 there was a solemn meeting of the Conservative leaders, who came to the unanimous conclusion that if the people of Upper Canada decided at the polls to re-open the Clergy Reserve question, they would not oppose it. They were a small party of nineteen, and went to their constituents expressing their desire of abiding the decision of the people of Upper Canada upon the question, they had not the remotest expectation of entering office, but had shaped their course for the purpose of giving peace to the country. When the present Administration was formed, they settled that question, although opposed by Mr. Brown, who from first to last voted against the bill. And why? Because the Government went for justice—and scant justice it was—to the clergymen of this country who had gone into the wilds of Canada upon the faith of the British Government, who promised them an adequate subsistence. But the people of the country, who fought for a principle, and not for the sake of the money said the confiscation of the lands would add to the treasury, stood by the Government, and when the bill was introduced they supported it, quite satisfied that those clergymen should not be turned into the streets to beg their bread. He was proud to say that the course taken by the clergy was highly creditable to them. They said “ We know our lands were valuable and in a few years will be a source of great wealth ; yet secure us only against want for the remainder of our lives, and we will give the property up for the sake of having peace in the country, and that we who are the ministers of peace and kindness, may not be the means of unhappiness and discord.” The consequence was that brother was no longer arrayed against brother, religion against religion, the question was settled forever and the country was at peace. He then alluded to the argument of those opposed to the government on the question, that the Reserve should become Crown lands. If the course advocated by the opposition had been carried out, the revenue arising from the sale of the lands would have gone into the public chest, and the people of Lower Canada would have had the same right to the money as they had to that accruing from other Crown lands ; whereas, by the provisions of the government measure, the people of Upper Canada, after settling with the clergy, had a million of money to distribute among the municipalities. If the other plan had been adopted Lower Canada would have had one half, and according to Mr. Brown, two-thirds of this sum.”

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The next and last extract relating to the Clergy Reserves is from a speech delivered at London :

“ I may again mention, though I have alluded to it before, that prominent question of the Clergy Reserves. You all know how the country was agitated about that. In 1836 it was the cause of a

rebellion. In 1854 it assumed almost the same formidable dimensions. The government of the day took up that question, resolved that it should no more be a question of strife, setting man against man, and family against family, and the settlement was made in a manner to which the whole country has acceded, so that there is no longer a feeling that one church is dominant, or that one man has ecclesiastically any superiority over another. The Clergy Reserve bill, which I had the honor to introduce, declared that henceforth there should be a severance of the connection between Church and State, and that every man should worship God as he chose. In settling this, we were surrounded with difficulties, but the chief difficulty was caused by agitators who had kept the question afloat for use at public meetings, as a means of working against the party who were supposed to support things as they were—None were more disappointed than those persons when the government measure was introduced; and, if we had not known them, we should have been surprised at their persistent opposition to a bill calculated to remove all difficulties in a practical way—[Hear, hear.] Now, gentlemen, as this is the first great measure we introduced; one too, on which we staked our reputation and existence, I may repeat what I have said on previous occasions on the subject. [Hear.] You know that in 1840, there was an Act of Parliament passed by the Imperial Legislature which alone had the power of dealing with the question, making a certain settlement of the Clergy Reserves. An agitation, however, arose in the country against that measure, and there was a strong feeling that the settlement should be altered, although it had been adopted as final by the Reform and Conservative parties; and, although Mr. Baldwin, [whose patriotism, now that he is in his grave, no body doubts, or his sincere desire, according to his light and conscience, to act for the benefit of the country.] stated in my presence, that the man who should attempt to disturb the settlement of 1840, would be an enemy of his country. However, it was again agitated, and to remove that occasion of sectional strife, we were obliged to apply to the Imperial Parliament to allow us to legislate upon it. That leave was granted, provided we preserved the faith of the British Crown, which was considered pledged to the clergymen whose stipends were paid out of the reserve funds. We knew that we could not get the royal assent to any measure which did not preserve the rights of these clergymen, and we introduced a clause for the purpose of settling that forever, providing that instead of being paid their incomes from year to year, until the last clergyman should have died, there should be a commutation of these stipends, on commercial principles, that each man should have his life valued, and the value of his salary capitalized and invested for the good of the church. This clause we had great difficulty in carrying, and one source of attack was, that we were giving a large sum of money to favored churches, that we were showing undue favor to the dominant Church of England, and the established Church of

Scotland, and were making a special grant to Roman Catholicism, which had the small sum of £500 a year charged upon the fund. You must remember that every clergyman who had £150 or £200 a year charged upon the fund had by law a mortgage on the whole of the clergy reserves, and we could not devote a farthing of their proceeds to any purpose so long as one such clergyman remained alive. Under our plan, however, we paid them the fair value of their incomes, and were thus enabled to apply the whole of the enormous balance to the local purposes of Upper Canada. To the credit of the churches concerned, and of their clergy be it said, that, great as was their loss, and enormous their sacrifice—for they had a claim on the full half of the proceeds—they acquiesced in the settlement we proposed, because they felt that they ought not to be the cause of strife, and would not be placed in a false position, and have it said that they looked more after temporal than spiritual things. Though the pittances paid were small, I am happy to have personally received assurances from the clergy of these churches—from their bishops downwards—that they are happy our legislation succeeded. [Hear, hear.] You may recollect that we took a different view altogether from the Opposition on that question. The Opposition contended that the original reservation of one-seventh of the lands of Upper and Lower Canada was a fraud upon the people—that it was made against their will, and was against their interests. It was therefore said that the reservation should be wiped out, and the Clergy Reserves considered as being a portion of the public lands of Canada, and dealt with like the other Crown Lands. What would have been the consequences if that even had been carried out? As fast as the Clergy Reserve Lands were sold, the proceeds would have gone into the public treasury, Lower Canada would have got her share, and if the *Globe* is to be believed, by far the larger share. What is now the fact? We have settled the cause of strife, satisfied the Clergy, and appropriated more than a million of money to the Municipalities of Upper Canada, to be expended for Upper Canada purposes alone, in making roads and bridges, for paying their debt, or for other useful objects. [Loud cheers.] ”

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#### CROWN LANDS MANAGEMENT.

In reference to the course pursued by the Government regarding Crown Lands, Mr. Macdonald, at Milbrook, thus spoke of the action taken by the Government :

“ The system adopted by Mr. Vankoughnet, which that hon. gentleman had fully explained at a dinner in the West, he (Mr. Macdonald) was happy to say had been very successful. That system was attacked strongly by the Chairman of Mr. Brown’s meeting at Lon-

don. It was denounced as injurious to the country; that it was similar to the old Canada Company's system, and that it allowed large portions of land to be bought by rich men for the purpose of keeping out the poor man and actual settler. How unjust these objections were they would see when he stated what the plan of the government was, which in a new country like this he thought was the best that could be adopted. One of the chief obstructions to the opening of the back country was the enormous expense of the surveys. In order to encourage immediate settlement and save this great expense the government laid out the external boundaries of the townships, but did not survey them into lots. They put these townships into the market, and any one might become a purchaser. But no one was allowed to take the land for speculative purposes. The purchaser was obliged to survey the whole of the township into lots within six months after the purchase, and then to settle the land before he could procure a patent; and every lot that was not actually settled within a certain period reverted to the Crown. And not only was this the case; but in order to prevent any thing like a monopoly of the land—the purchaser, like the Canada Company, holding it until the industry of the surrounding farmers had made it valuable—every second township only was sold. By retaining one township in this manner, if at any time the party owning land asked too high a price for it from the settler, all the latter had to do was to step into the next township and get it at 4s. an acre. [Cheers.] By the system adopted by the Government they had saved the great expense of the surveys of the townships; they procured their survey within six months after sale, and their settlement within two years; and the settler was secured against any loss by speculators. The gentlemen who had purchased lands from the Government on these conditions had done so, not as had been charged to make profit for themselves, but with a view of sending on agricultural men from England to settle upon them. The plan did not, however, prevent emigrants coming to Canada on their own account, but formed an additional and valuable aid to the settlement of the whole country. But, it was charged, the Government sold land to the rich in order that they should benefit at the expense of the poor man. Instead of that being the case, the Government made the rich men who bought, the agents for the improvement of the wild lands of the country. [Loud cheers.] He made this explanation, knowing the people of Cavan and of the country to be deeply interested in the question of settling the country, and to place the policy of the Government in its true light before them.”

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## SEIGNORIAL TENURE.

At the Brantford dinner, Mr. Macdonald referred as follows to the Seignorial Tenure question and its settlement :

“ The Government had appropriated £30,000 a year for the purpose of wiping out the obstruction to enterprise and advancement which the feudal tenure presented. This seemed a large sum, but they had been in the habit of expending much larger amounts for the purpose of making roads in Upper Canada, and opening the country to settlers. And if they had done so, were they not justified in expending the amount for the purpose of opening up one of the most beautiful countries under the sun to British enterprise and British skill, for an Englishman would never think of settling in Lower Canada, when the Seignorial Tenure existed. When the Government of Brown, Dorion and McGee was formed, it was the first stipulation that this question should be immediately settled and the money paid to Seigniors. There was this difference, however, in the modes proposed—that whereas the present Government were taking out £30,000 out of the public revenue to pay the Seigniors, the Brown-Dorion Administration had made an arrangement whereby they would take out £500,000 in one lump from the Municipal Loan Fund. [Cheers.] While the present Government were willing to pay for their dinner a shilling a day, the Brown-Dorion Cabinet agreed to run in debt for their “ grub ” for a whole year. [Laughter and cheers.] “ But ” said Mr. Brown, “ we were to pay out of local funds in Lower Canada.” Why, already every penny of local funds had been appropriated for the purpose, and there was not a farthing left. Crown dues, marriage license fees and every other available fund had been set aside ; and when it was stated that £500,000 was to be taken out of local funds, something was stated which was impossible. On this point Mr. Brown had been contradicted by his own Attorney General, Hon. J. S. Macdonald, who declared that the money was to have been paid out of the revenue of the Province, and was not to be paid back. Not a single member from Upper Canada dare get up and endorse Mr. Brown’s statement, because they well knew that it was not correct. [Cheers.] And because the Government had settled that question, because they had introduced into Lower Canada precisely the same peace as in Upper Canada—because they had opened the door for enterprise and industry—they were attacked and abused by the Opposition, who had they the power would have settled it on terms far more disadvantageous to Upper Canada. [Applause.] ”

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At St. Catharines, Mr. Macdonald gave the history of the attempts to settle the Seigniorial Question, and the *Constitutional* thus reports his language :

“ You have heard a good deal, probably, about the Seigniorial Tenure, and how it has been charged that we have wilfully applied the funds of Upper Canada to improve Lower Canada, and to remove its Seigniorial burdens. I wish particularly to make a few remarks on this subject, inasmuch as Mr. Brown, in a speech just published in the *Globe*, says more that is untrue than he has ever done in any one speech before. The Seigniorial Tenure was a great burden on Lower Canada. No man in the Seignories could be a freeholder, or could freely sell his lands to whom he pleased, but had to pay *rentes* to the landlord, and if he sold his farm had to pay the *Seigneur* one tenth of the purchase money, while if the landlord did not like his new tenant all he had to do was to say, “ I will give you ten per cent. more than the purchase money agreed upon, and take the farm myself.” The farmer had to draw his grist to the landlord’s mill, though it might be a bad one, and had to perform degrading duties, which were not always, though they might be, always enforced. [Cheers.] This, of course, kept the Seignories closed to British settlement and the employment of British capital. [Hear, hear.] Now, the fact is, that several bills were, from time to time, introduced to remedy this, and one charge made by Mr. Brown in his speech at London, reported in his newspaper to-day, is that, in 1852 or 1853, he says I introduced a Resolution into Parliament against the passing of a Seigniorial Act, under which the *Seigneurs* were to be paid out of the general revenue of the Province, and that I said it was a Lower Canada matter, to which we ought not to be called upon to contribute any portion. Now Mr. Brown knew that, although he was stating what might be literally true, it was altogether false in spirit. We opposed the Seigniorial bill of that day because its proposition was simply to lower the *rentes*, which were thought to be too high, and to compensate the *Seigneurs* out of the general revenue. “ This ” said I “ does not relieve Lower Canada from the seigniorial system. We were quite willing to remove that curse from Lower Canada, if you will sweep it away entirely.” My then leader, Sir Allan McNab, said he would go as far as any one to relieve Lower Canada from the degrading system under which she was suffering ; but that merely lowering the *rentes* was of no good to us in Upper Canada, that British people would still be prevented from going in to settle. We then pledged ourselves, however, that we would go for any rational measure which should make Lower Canada a country fit for freemen to live in, and, sir, we have faithfully carried out that pledge, while we have done equal justice to Upper and Lower Canada. (Hear). We first took all the local funds that could be appropriated, and we then thought the balance required would be £150,000,

so we provided that that amount should be taken out of the treasury, but at the same time we provided that whenever it was done, an equal amount should be taken to be expended in Upper Canada for Upper Canada purposes. We were obliged to form a commission to ascertain what the value of the rights of the *seigneurs* was. That commission has nearly finished its labors. It found that the appropriation would be insufficient, and we therefore provided that a sum of £30,000 a year should be paid out of the general revenue, to get rid of the tenure for ever. We can well afford that sum. We pay more than that every year for opening up roads in the back woods, and surely, if it is important that a new country should be developed, it is much more important that an old country should be, which lies between us and the sea. (Hear). When Mr. Brown came into power he had to make nearly the same arrangement, and although in his London speech he ventures to draw a distinction between our course and his, I think the advantage is altogether with us. I see he now admits that the Municipal Loan Fund for Lower Canada, which is a charge on the whole Province, was to have been used by him although he formerly said a local fund was to have been taken for the purpose. His proposition was to take £500,000 at once, and add it to our debt, to pay the seigneurs altogether. Ours simply takes the interest of that sum, annually, which we can pay without running into debt any deeper, and mortgaging for it our property and our children's welfare. [Cheers.] ”

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At St. Thomas, Mr. Macdonald spoke of the oppressive nature of the Feudal imposts, and shewed that their removal opened up Lower Canada to the enterprize and capital of Her Majesty's subjects. He is thus reported by the *Prototype* :

“ There is another question, sir, to which I will call you attention, because it has been much used against us. There has been much misapprehension in regard to it, and I venture to predict you have heard it at the hustings, and electoral contests. I mean the question of the seignorial tenure. I spoke about it at some length at Brantford, and was afterwards told by many gentlemen that they had been under a total misapprehension until then, as to its details. (Hear), It is well known that, in the old French settlements, the tenure of lands was altogether different from what it is in Upper Canada. Here, a man gets his estate in free and common soccage ; he is lord of the soil, and if his farm is paid for, he has the free and exclusive right to it, for himself, his family and friends while he lives, and for his heirs when he dies. In the seignories, the case was very different. The whole country is divided into seignories, as Upper Canada is into townships, and the *seigneur* was lord of the soil, while the *habitant* or farmer did not own the land, but paid 3d or 6d or in some cases more

per acre, as a yearly rent. In addition, he was obliged to perform a great many other duties to the landlord, degrading to himself, which left him a mere lessee, instead of being a freeholder. This retarded the whole material progress of the country, as you will perceive when I tell you, gentlemen, that a farmer could not go to the best grist mill in his neighborhood, but whether his landlord's was good or bad, though it was built on the old system, which was in vogue when the U. S. loyalists came in, though it might grind very bad flour indeed, he had to go there, though there might be a most magnificent building close by, furnished with all the latest improvements, owned by another man. More, if the holder sold a farm, he was obliged to give the landlord one-tenth of the price.—The *habitant* had to furnish a certain number of fowls or so many capons a-year to the *seigneur*; he had to perform *corvée* and other feudal services. (Marks of attention). If an Englishman, Irishman or Scotchman, wished to go in and buy—you will remember, in connection with this, that the great cry of Mr. Papineau was to keep the British out of the country—all the landlord had to say the French farmer who sold was, “I will give you ten per cent more than the price agreed upon, break off the bargain, and buy the farm myself.” (Hear). Now, such a system—the system of the dark ages—was ruinous to the interest of Lower Canada—no Englishman would settle there, no emigrant go in, so long as he could get lands in Upper Canada in free and common soccage. The whole country was kept bound, although Lower Canada ought to be prosperous like ourselves, for it lies between us and the sea, we being behind it, and just as much interested in its prosperity as Elgin is in that of Middlesex.—Now, other Governments besides that of which I am a member had felt the difficulty of the question, but we first undertook to settle it. The seigniorial tenure was like the clergy reserves in Upper Canada. There was a necessity that it should be settled; and we took it up as boldly as we did the other question here, and there, as here, the political mountebanks and agitators did not in reality desire its settlement. In the first place, we appropriated all the local or special funds that could be found in Lower Canada; there were very few of them, but we took them to compensate the seigniors. For the seigniors had deeds for their rights; they had the same claim to their rental and other rights as you have to your farms. They had to be compensated, and to do so, as I tell you, we took all the local funds, and provided, that if a further sum should be wanted, a small sum of £30,000 per annum should be taken from the public chest. The value of the claims of the seigniors was carefully examined by sworn arbitrators, who went from seignior to seignior, and found out what they were worth; and in our legislation we provided, that instead of paying them the capital, we should only pay them the yearly rental to which they were entitled. Now, £30,000 is not a very large sum; as I said at Brantford, we take every year larger sums from the public revenues to pay for the survey of new lands, for opening up new

roads through the wilderness, in order to allow the settlement of the country to go on. [Hear.] If we can afford to pay £30,000, to open up new country to immigration, how much more important is it to do the same in Lower Canada, and open up the whole Province to British capital, to British enterprise, to the British settler. [Applause.] The present Government carried their measure against a most bitter Opposition, they have since been bitterly assailed for taking the funds of the Province for a Lower Canadian purpose, and by none more bitterly than by Mr. Brown, who, in his most able and energetic style—and how energetic he is you are all aware—denounces us for appropriating all the local funds of Lower Canada, and then taking £30,000 a year more, to make Lower Canada like Upper Canada, a place fit for Britons to live in—[Hear]—and after all the misrepresentations, you will be surprised when I tell you that when Mr. Brown formed his junction with Mr. Dorion, he was of course obliged to assume the same position as we did—of course he had to settle that question—and the first stipulation made between him and his Lower Canada colleagues was, that the seigniors should be paid in full. [Hear, hear.] You hear very frequently that these sums were to have been paid by Mr. Brown out of the local funds, but that is a mere misrepresentation; there were no local funds in Lower Canada, every local fund that could by any possibility be used for the purpose of repaying the seigniors, had already been appropriated by law and set aside for that object, and £30,000 had to be taken from the general revenue to pay the balance. When the term “local funds” is used, you hear what could not in the nature of things exist, and besides, you learn from the statement of all Mr. Brown’s Lower Canada colleagues and from that of Mr. J. S. Macdonald, his Attorney General West and my successor, that the payment of the seigniors from public funds was the basis on which the administration was formed. [Hear.] Of course, when Mr. J. S. Macdonald stated that, we knew it was true, because we knew in the first place that no government could be formed with the assistance of Lower Canada unless on that basis, and in the second place we knew that there were no local funds. When we hear that local funds were to be used, the meaning is this: we had a municipal loan fund in Upper and Lower Canada, under which the municipalities borrowed money, and the Province superintended the payment. The Upper Canada fund had been expended by the municipalities; they had borrowed every farthing of it. In Lower Canada, they were more prudent, or not so enterprising, and the arrangement was, that out of that fund, which was a local fund in one sense, they were to have taken half a million of pounds. But although it was a local fund in one sense, the Province had to pay for it. [Hear.] The Province was responsible for it. Now, it was a distinct understanding between Mr. Brown and his colleagues that the £500,000 should be thus added to the already very large debt of Canada, instead of taking as we proposed £30,000

a year. That annual sum we can pay almost without feeling it, but they were to have taken half a million of money—two millions of dollars—and added it to the debt of Canada! When our measure was going through, we were surprised to find the opposition it encountered in the Upper House, but we soon found out the reason—the seigniors did not want to be obliged to receive merely the interest; they wanted the cash in hand, to lend it out at eight or ten per cent. We, however, said, “If you want the interest, you can have it, but if you want to settle your claim for ever, we will give you seventy-five per cent of it, three shillings and ninepence on the dollar—if you give us a distinct profit, we will pay you the cash, not otherwise.” [Applause.] Well, we settled the question, in a manner the least burdensome to the public chest, without diminishing our credit, and by appropriating £30,000 a year, as I am happy to feel we can do without any inconvenience, we opened up a great country to the enterprise of British subjects. [Loud cheers.]”

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The last extract relating to the subject which we shall offer is taken from a speech at Hamilton, as follows :

“I now pass on to the question relating to the Seigniorial Tenure. I have been subjected to a great deal of attack in connection with this; taunted with wilfully abandoning the rights of Upper Canada and allowing Lower Canada to pocket £30,000 a year from the public chest for a local purpose. You all know the nature of the seigniorial tenure; whereas, in Upper Canada, every immigrant who comes to this country buys a farm, whether with the capital he brings or the money he saves, and that farm belongs to him and his heirs for ever, the Lower Canada farmer was in a condition of the veriest slavery. He and his children were obliged to pay a rental for every acre of his farm, for all time, and by no possibility could he attain to be a freeholder. He was obliged to take his grist to his landlord’s mill, be it ever so poor and old-fashioned, and pay him toll. He could not sell the farm he had inherited from his fathers, except he paid over fully ten per cent of the purchase money to the *seigneur*, and this, though he had got the land in a wild state, and improved it in every possible way himself. Moreover, if the landlord did not like the new buyer, he could break up the sale by paying for the land 10 per cent above the price agreed upon, and he could thus, according to the cry that was raised in Papineau’s time, “Keep out the British.” Well, while Upper Canada was increasing in wealth and prosperity, Lower Canada was oppressed and depressed, British enterprise was kept out and immigration all driven up West, owing to these laws. And, as the prosperity of the two parts is as mutually dependent as is that of Wentworth and the adjoining county, we resolved to settle the question. The first thing we did was to appropriate every local fund

there was in Lower Canada to pay the *seigneurs*, for the courts had decided in favor of their claims, and it would have been confiscation and robbery to deprive them of their property. And as their funds did not seem sufficient to defray the whole amount, the Legislature set aside £150,000 from the public chest, and finally, after the Commissioners had visited every Seigniory, it was found that £500,000 might arrange for the whole thing, or that £30,000 a year would pay the value of the rentals, &c. We were surprised to find a strong resistance made to our bill by the Seigneurs in the Upper House, but at length we found they were trying to defeat it and the Administration together, because they expected a better bill from Mr. Brown, who would have paid them their claims in full, cash down, whereas we proposed to give them only the interest, or 75 per cent of the capital, if they choose. [Cheers and laughter.]—Mr. Brown admits that he was to have paid the £500,000 in full, but he says it was from local funds, whereas in fact there were no local funds, we having appropriated them all. The local fund was the Lower Canada Municipal Loan Fund, which is not a local one in the proper sense, because the united Province is responsible for its repayment. [Cheers.]”

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#### THE RECIPROCITY TREATY AND THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE TARIFF.

On the occasion of the dinner at Hamilton, Mr. Macdonald remarked :—

“ It is, as I have often said before, useless to discuss the abstract principles of Free Trade and Protection, but it is matter for consolation that the Tariff has been so adjusted as incidental to encouraging manufacturing industry here. I hope all will see the advantages of a home market. [Hear.] I cannot go the length of the Chairman [Mr. Buchanan] who has so long applied his mind to finance and questions of political economy, in stating that it would be well almost to increase our debt for the purpose of securing protection to our manufacturers, but I feel that whoever created this debt, the Governments of which I have been a member have the credit of commencing the system by which, through it, to raise up a home market, and give a double market to the farmer and the labourer. If we were altogether an agricultural country, we should be dependent for the value of our produce on the quantity of the harvest on the Baltic and Black Seas. As it is, when we have attained our full development, we shall not be so. Manufactories are springing up, East and West, and I hope this great commercial City will see the advantage of encouraging them. [Hear, hear.] If you go to Montreal and look at the enormous factories at work near the canal basin, you will realise what a source of wealth to a city and country they are. You have here no other source of wealth, save your commercial busi-

ness and intercourse with the back country. When I look at that, I think how, by the encouragement of manufactures, you might quadruple your population and relieve Hamilton from its present temporary state of depression, and I hope, then, we should have as strong supporters here as we have in every other part of the country where manufacturers are considered to be of value. [Applause.] I shall now make one other charge against Mr. Brown, of which, if he be guilty, he is deeply reprehensible. One great cause of the prosperity of the farmer in Upper Canada is the reciprocity treaty and the consequent interchange of agricultural commodities and raw materials: He has found a market where there was none at all before for him. Although that treaty has existed for 10 years, and is to exist for 10 years yet; although the faith of Great Britain and the United States is pledged to its continuance, although on no principle of international law can it be repealed, although its repeal would bring injury to Canada as well as the United States, it has been the aim of Mr. Brown to raise in the legislature of the United States a feeling against it, and the *Globe* has been constantly filled with articles calling on the Americans to complain of the injustice to them of our tariff. [Cries of "shame,"] What have we done save for the purpose of revenue, to put duties on manufactured articles? Now the treaty does not relate to manufactures at all! But because we choose to increase the duties on manufactured goods which do not come within the treaty, and although they have increased the duties on similar articles in the United States to an extent considerably larger than ours, so that more duty is payable on goods going from Canada to the United States, than on those coming from the United States into Canada Mr. Brown says we are doing the Americans injustice! If the Reciprocity Treaty is repealed, it will be due to such agitators as he. [Hear.] But hear what the *Constitution* says, the organ of Mr. Buchanan's administration :

“ CANADIAN SENTIMENTS ON THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.—In noticing the appointment of Mr. Hatch by the President to examine into the operation of the reciprocity treaty upon revenue and trade between Canada and the United States, the *Toronto Globe* admits that the Canadian tariff is in violation of the spirit and intent of the treaty, and operates injuriously to American interests. In consequence of this course of action, the *Globe* anticipates a partial or total abrogation of the treaty, although it was agreed that it should remain in force ten years. It is supposed that the United States will maintain that the ten years' clause may be rightfully set aside, upon the ground that the treaty has been broken by the imposition of higher duties than was contemplated by either party when the treaty was entered into.

Lord Lyons, in a despatch to the Governor General, speaks of this as follows :

“ As the *Constitution* is the organ of President Buchanan's Administration, and is in fact the Official paper, I thought it right to express to General Cass and to the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Appleton, my surprise, that an article of such a character should have been allowed to appear in it. ”

I am sure, after reading the article, you will think Lord Lyons had a right to express such sentiments. [Applause.] This is an instance of the sound patriotism of the leader of the Opposition! He thought it would be a good rod to break our heads with, if he could get the United States to interfere in the matter of our tariff—and if they did, it would be an insolent interference—so that our farmers might be led to believe we were indeed their enemies. [Cheers.] And while on the one hand he thus endeavored to prejudice the agricultural interests of the country, the same gentleman acted in the same way when Canadian manufacturing interests came in contact with British. A representation was made by the Sheffield cuttlers against our scale of duties, and they protested, in language which we very properly resented, against our right to encourage manufactures in Canada. [Oh, oh!] I have in my hand a memorial, sent by the Chamber of Commerce, of Sheffield, in 1859, to the Duke of Newcastle, from which I shall read one or two pages, giving their so-called reasons for such a protest:

“ We now beg respectfully to restate the reasons why such enquiry is apprehended. These reasons may be said to be twofold,—First,—Those arising from a conviction that it is the deliberate policy of the Government of Canada to foster native manufactures by fiscal protection and every other means in their power; and, second,—Those arising from a consideration of the fact that there exists, close to the Canadian frontier, a body of competing United States manufacturers, to whom such contiguity more than counterbalances the fact that they have to pay the same duties as ourselves.

“ In proof that we are not mistaken about what the policy of the Canadian Government is, we would refer Your Grace to the tone of the whole Press of Canada, to the speeches of members of the Canadian Parliament, on both sides of the House, and especially to the steady increase of duties levied on Sheffield goods under every successive tariff. It will be sufficient to say on the last point, that within 18 years, or less, the duty levied on Sheffield goods has been steadily advanced from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. We would remind Your Grace, in the second place, that while there is a protection in favor of Canadian manufacturers against Sheffield of from 35 to 40 per cent, consisting of Land carriage, freight, insurance, commission, shipping expenses, duty, &c., that owing to the close contiguity of, and cheap transit from the competing seats of American industry, similar goods can be sent across the Canadian frontier by United States manufacturers at the cost of from  $22\frac{1}{2}$  to 25 per cent. It is therefore plain that the American manufacturer has actually an advantage over the Sheffield manufacturer of from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 15 per cent. As this is a natural protection, however, and consequently one which remains about the same, be the Canadian duty what it may, we only name it to show Your Grace how great the obstacles are, naturally, against which Sheffield has to struggle, and for the purpose of remarking as another objection to any increase of duty, that it is actually the interest of American manufacturers, that the Canadian duties should be raised, since any hindrance or confusion caused to Sheffield manufacturers can only tend to direct the demand towards markets easier of access, and with which intercourse is more quickly exchanged than with Sheffield. It is important, too, to remember that the American manufacturer has more than 1000 miles of unguarded frontier over which he can smuggle with impunity. The merchants-

and manufacturers of Sheffield have no wish to obtain special exception for themselves, and do not complain that they are called upon to pay the same duty as the American or the German, neither do they claim to have their goods admitted free of duty, all they ask is, that the policy of protection to native manufacturers in Canada should be distinctly discountenanced by Her Majesty's Government, as a system condemned by reason and experience, directly contrary to the policy solemnly adopted by the mother country, and calculated to breed disunion and distrust between Great Britain and her colonies. It cannot be regarded as less than indecent and a reproach that, while for fifteen years, the Government, the greatest statesmen, and the press of this country have been not only advocating but practising the principles of Free Trade; the Government of one of her most important colonies should have been advocating monopoly and protection. Under the artificial stimulus of this system, extensive and numerous hardware manufactories have sprung up both in Canada East and West, and the adoption of increasing duties has been the signal for more to be commenced. We are aware that the fiscal necessities of the Canadian Government are urged as the chief cause for passing the late Tariff Bill. This is not the whole truth; no one can read the papers of the Provinces and the speeches of the members of both Houses, and be deceived for an instant; but, even if that were the cause, we conceive that Her Majesty's Government has a right to demand that what revenue is needed shall be raised in some other way than that, which is opposed to the acknowledged commercial policy of the Imperial Government, and destructive of the interests of those manufacturing towns in Great Britain which trade with Canada."

Here is a direct statement that we have not the right to raise our revenue, except as they in Sheffield conceive it for their interests! [Oh, oh!] While we admire the policy of Great Britain and are quite willing to act with it as far as the interests of the country will allow, yet as ministers of Canada, dependent on her people, we should have been altogether wanting in our duty if we had not protested. [Loud Cheers.] We said we had the full right to raise our revenue in our own fashion, according to our own ideas. Yet what do we find? That this Chamber of Sheffield makes a long quotation from the *Globe*, just as the *Washington Constitution* did, to show that on Colonial principles, as well as Imperial, we ought to alter our policy! [Groans.] These are complaints that I think we have a right to make. [Hear, hear.]"

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Again---at the dinner at Caledonia, Mr. MACDONALD said :

"If there is one measure, of late date, which benefits the country more than another, it is the Reciprocity Treaty, negotiated, indeed, by the Hincks Government, but perfected under Sir Allan's. You know that whereas wheat used to pay 20 per cents a bushel to enter the frontiers of the United States, it now goes in free, and every farmer here is 20 cents a bushel richer for that measure. [Hear.] Instead of being kept out of the United States, and being obliged to go to Montreal to sell his produce, he has now the choice of two markets—he has two strings to his bow—no Collector of Customs

stands between him and the New England manufacturer, or between him and the British consumer. That treaty, which was secured since '54, is to last until '67 at all events : but I am sorry to say, and this is another of my complaints against the course of the Opposition, [although not so much against the Opposition as against Mr. Brown] that, by every means in their power, they have endeavored to agitate the American mind against this treaty, on the ground that we have increased our tariff on manufactures, as we have done for the purpose of keeping the faith of the Province and meeting our honest debts. You know that we have had a series of unproductive years and failing harvests. You know that a commercial crisis spread, not only over Canada, but the whole continent ; and it is not to be wondered at that our revenue arising from duties on manufactured goods brought into the country should have fallen off, for the farmer, having little wheat to sell, could not purchase manufactures largely. We therefore, were obliged to raise the tariff. Now, as you know, the Reciprocity Treaty merely deals with agricultural produce—it has no connection whatever with manufactured goods—and it was therefore absurd and unpatriotic—I will almost say wicked—of Mr. Brown to take the course he has done, and say we have virtually broken the treaty with the United States because we have increased the duties on manufactures. [Hear, hear.] Moreover, we place at this moment a tax on these articles considerably less than that which the Americans, themselves, impose, though it would be no more than fair and equal reciprocity, while both countries admit produce free, to have our tariff as high as that of the United States. [Hear.] It is therefore absurd to say that, either in spirit or letter, we have infringed the treaty ; and it is very wrong of Mr. Brown to say that we have done so, and acted prejudicially to the interests of the United States. [Applause.] Now, in making the re-adjustment of the tariff, we adopted this system : in the first place, we took off the duties on the necessaries of life which the poor man uses, as much as possible ; in the second place, we increased those on articles of luxury, which the rich man buys ; and, in the third, we raised the taxation of those goods which our own mechanics can manufacture, so as in a manner to give them incidental protection. Although this is an agricultural country, every man, you see, is not adapted for agricultural pursuits. There are many whose physical constitution unfits them for farming. We have opened up a means for giving these persons employment. In every part of the country, East and West, I am happy to say manufactories are springing up—we hear of woollen mills, aye, and of great cotton factories, too, being erected. Foundries, machine shops, tanneries, &c., are flourishing, and are giving employment to many, while they are creating a home market for the farmer. [Loud applause.]”

## THE ABOLITION OF TOLLS ON THE CANALS.

At the dinner at St. Catharines, Mr. Macdonald said :

“ One of the charges brought against the Government is, that we have taken the tolls off the canals in the interest of Montreal and of Lower Canada. Now I thought the canals were made for the purpose of carrying down to the sea the produce of Upper Canada. Before they were made, the expense of getting grain to market was so great that some works of the kind were absolutely necessary to allow the farmer any profit at all. (Hear, and applause.) The tolls on the vessels and freights passing through the canals were not very large, they amounted to only about £25,000 a year, and as our shipping interest was depressed, and a well founded complaint was made that we had subsidized railways but done nothing for the water lines, we took off the tolls in certain cases, in order to give every opportunity for Upper Canada produce to get to market as cheaply and as quickly as possible. We expected to increase the value of our ships and of our crops in Upper Canada, and I am happy to tell you we have been successful. [Hear.] Notwithstanding, the great reduction of tolls, such has been the great increase in business in consequence of the abundant crop with which a gracious Providence has blessed us, that there will be no deficiency in the amount of tolls collected this year as compared with last. [Hear, hear, and cheers.] I call the attention of those who hear me to the very great importance of this measure, and to the great advantage to Upper Canada of our canals being as free as if they were the running waters of the St. Lawrence. You know perfectly well that many a vessel has been rotting at the wharves here because parties would not risk money to pay the tolls and go and seek freights. But what is the case now? If a man has a vessel, he risks nothing, and pays no toll for taking it down even as far as Gaspé, with the produce of Upper Canada. He can there exchange flour for fish, and bring what he gets up to Upper Canada, just as freely as if he were only going from Port Dalhousie to Kingston. And we shall find before long that in many a place in Upper Canada craft will be employed in summer running up and down, and thus conducting what is of far greater consequence to a country than foreign trade, I mean a successful and active home commerce. [Hear, hear.] ”

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## THE VALUE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE GRAND TRUNK RAILROAD AND THE CANADIAN LINE OF STEAMERS.

A dialogue on this subject occurred at the dinner at St. Thomas, which is thus reported in the London *Prototype* :

Mr. James Blackwood—Will the honorable gentleman explain, if the tolls are taken off our canals, and the Grand Trunk Railway does not pay, of what value are they to us?—

Hon. Mr. Macdonald—The value of the Grand Trunk Railway to Canada is simply this—it is the avenue by which the whole west is connected with the whole east. The whole produce of Canada, whether agricultural or not—wheat and goods of all kinds—was formerly locked up during the winter. Now, sir, we have the means of sending our produce from the extreme east to the extreme west, and *vice versâ*, at any moment, and at the *right* time, when prices are highest. [Hear.]

Mr. Blackwood—The value of these works is evinced by their dividends. [Hear, hear, and no, no.]

Hon. Mr. Macdonald—I fully agree with the gentleman that, as a commercial speculation, the value of the Grand Trunk Railway is evinced by its dividends. To the shareholders of that railway, the stock, if they get no dividend, is not worth much. I am sorry to say, for their sakes—however, it is their own affair—that it will be some years before their stock will have much commercial value in this country. It is, however, quite a different thing to say that the road is of no commercial value to the shareholders, and that it is of no commercial value to the country. If I have £5, and invest it in the saving's banks, so as to get interest, it gives me a commercial return. But if, instead, I make a path from my house to the road, it may not yield me a commercial return, but it enables me to get out to the street. [Applause.]

Mr. Blackwood—The argument holds good with respect to our own interest. But why should it apply to the carrying of goods from Chicago to Liverpool, and *vice versâ*, at a loss. I ask as a Conservative, I came here as a friend of the administration, and I don't want people to go away, or to go away myself, and report that this speech was a humbug, and that Mr. Macdonald's position won't stand the light of argument. I wish to have my mind earnestly and conscientiously made up. If this is for the good of Canada, let it be shown; but if we are carrying only for the profit of the 'cute Yankee, and if we are subsidizing a line of steamers which does not pay; if, indeed—and there is a feeling abroad to this purport—we are paying three prices for what we get done, let it be exposed. I should like to go back to my neighbors and say that ministers have been belied. [Hear, hear.]

Hon. Mr. Macdonald—I am exceedingly obliged to my friend who has addressed us, because my object in coming here was fairly to discuss all those different questions. I must say I agree with him on one point; if the Grand Trunk Railway has been carrying foreign grain across its lines at a loss, to the obstruction of our local traffic, the practice ought to be put an end to, and I have no doubt the wisdom of the legislature will put an end to it. [Applause.] The Grand Trunk Railway, you will see, is like other corporations or private companies. People have their capital invested in these concerns,

and are associated for the purpose of making money out of them. It would never do for the government to be directly concerned in making railways—this must be done through the instrumentality of private companies—The first duty of a railway is, however, in every case, towards the country through which it passes. It must perform that work fully and satisfactorily, before it ventures to take an ounce of foreign freight. It is only when the Grand Trunk has less local traffic to do than it can do, that it can be allowed in any way to enter into the general traffic of the west. [Applause.] There is another point in the remarks of the gentleman, in reference to steamships. We established a line of ocean steamers, for which we paid £40,000 subsidy. The line was fortnightly in summer, and monthly in winter. Without it our canals and railways were useless, for such were the supposed difficulties of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, such the expense of freight and insurance between Quebec or Montreal and Liverpool, that although we could carry from the West to Quebec cheaper than we could send through the United States to New York, and therefore ought to give the preference to our own route, especially for our own produce, still, freights from New York to Liverpool were so much cheaper, that our trade was finding its way through a foreign country. To prevent this we established our service, following in humble imitation of the British Government, who very wisely granted a subsidy to the Cunard Company in its infancy. But we found that a fortnightly line in summer, and a monthly line in winter, could not at all compete with a line going weekly from New York and Boston as certainly as the week came, so we established a weekly line too, giving it £2,000 a trip, or £104,000 a year as subsidy. I am happy to say the line has been a complete success, in consequence of the zeal and ability of my hon. friend, the Postmaster General, the Hon. Sydney Smith—I may praise him, for he is not here. In consequence of his exertions in Europe, he having visited Britain, France, Germany, &c., for that purpose, we have effected an arrangement with the United States and several European Governments to regard our line with equal favor to others. And notwithstanding that we have had to fight against two subsidies—one given to the Cunard line, and one to the Galway Company—great has been our success. For although the postal arrangements only went into effect in the middle of the summer, and our line is scarcely known as yet in the western States and in Europe, the foreign postage we shall receive will be upwards of £50,000, so that we shall actually pay no more for the weekly line this summer than we did before for the fortnightly one. [Cheers.] You must remember, too, that this is only a beginning. It takes a long time to break up old connections. A merchant who has got into the habit of writing his letters for the Wednesday's Cunard steamers will not change in a hurry. But I have no doubt whatever that the line will be self-sustaining, and that we shall virtually have

the communication with Europe for nothing, as the postage will pay the whole subsidy. [Cheers.] You must recollect, also, that although the line was established for carrying mails, the great object was to introduce steam power into the St. Lawrence, and to cheapen freights. This is rapidly being done. In a few years, with the influence of steam propellers, and the weekly example of this steamship coming and going, not only carrying mail bags, but laden with the produce of Canada, it will be fully accomplished. We are already beginning to enjoy the advantage of our railways and canals, and it will soon be shown that our route to Europe has the recommendation of being the most direct and cheapest too. I am much obliged to the gentleman for calling my attention to this subject, a very interesting one, which I should otherwise have entirely overlooked. I shall be happy to answer further questions, either to-night or during the short time I shall be among you to-morrow. [Loud and continued cheering, amidst which Mr. Macdonald resumed his seat.]

Mr. Blackwood was understood to express himself perfectly satisfied, and hoped the meeting would attribute his remarks to their proper motive; he desired to have misconception removed. [Hear, hear.]

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At the Brantford dinner, Mr. Macdonald remarked on this subject :

“ Among the other arrangements of which I think the Government may justly boast, are the postal service and the present efficient ocean service. While the United States have been unable, with all their wealth, to maintain a line of ocean steamers, Canada has been able to support a successful line, and that too under the great disadvantage of the mother country subsidizing a line running against our own. The Canadian system has been so admirably managed, that while we have had to increase the annual subsidy for the purpose of securing weekly instead of fortnightly trips, the increase in postage is such that it amounts to half the subsidy, £50,000. [Cheers.] Thus, we do not pay more now for the weekly service than we paid for the fortnightly service two years before. [Loud cheers.] I have no doubt that before long, my friend, the Postmaster General, will have the pride and satisfaction of announcing that our service is self-supporting.” [Renewed cheering.]

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## THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF HOME MANUFACTURES.

In relation to the Encouragement of native industry, Mr. Macdonald said, at London ;

“ It is not necessary for the government to discuss the question of protection or free trade. In order that the Province might keep its faith with the public creditor, in order that Canada might be honest—and I am sure that every man here would be willing to make a sacrifice of his wealth, and his means to keep her credit—there has been an adjustment of the customs duties, from which our revenue for Provincial purposes is chiefly derived. While we keep up the taxation on luxuries, and on those articles which we can manufacture ourselves, there has been a diminution in taxation on those articles of prime necessity which our manufacturers can work up. The consequence is that in every part of the country, both in Upper and Lower Canada, there are manufactures springing up. We hear of hundreds of industrious mechanics and artisans combining together to establish woollen and cotton mills, &c., and it is quite certain—I am quite satisfied, and you must be so too—that the wants of the country, owing to its rapid material progress, will so press upon the treasury, that they will always be in advance of the revenue. The manufacturer can therefore safely commence to apply his capital to his business, without fear that by one stroke of the pen, all his enterprise will be destroyed, through the reduction of the duties. [Hear, hear.] Well though we have so adjusted the tariff, as to encourage every manufacturing interest in the country ; I wish it to be understood that we have not increased the taxation over the taxation of our predecessors. It is true we have put a higher duty on some articles, chiefly those we can manufacture ourselves, but the free list has been enormously increased. Goods that were heavily taxed in the days of our predecessors are free, and under the tariff as it now stands, after having been adjusted under the responsibility of the present government, the amount of taxation levied in Canada on each man does not equal what was levied in the time when Mr. Hincks was the financier of the country. [Hear, hear.”]

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Again, at St. Catharines, Mr. Macdonald remarked, by way of further illustration that taxation is not heavier now than during Mr. Hincks' administration.

“ It is said that we have increased the taxation of the country. Some of you will be surprised to hear that we have not raised the taxation higher than it was during the time of Mr. Hincks. We have, however, readjusted the Tariff, reducing the duties on articles of necessity and raw materials, and increasing those on what is required for home manufacturing—this being a direct encouragement to our artisans and

mechanics. It is as if formerly there had been half a dollar duty on a hat, and half a dollar on a silk neck-tie; whereas there are now three-quarters of a dollar on a hat, and one quarter on a silk neck-tie, thus protecting the maker of hats, which we can manufacture in this country, and letting the consumer have his silk neck-tie cheaper, which we cannot produce. [Hear.]”

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### THE ABOLITION OF IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

Mr. Macdonald said at the dinner at London :

“ I was very proud to hear my personal and political friend Mr. Carling, refer to the abolishment of imprisonment for debt, and when I this morning when through the Gaol of the County of Elgin, and found that there was not a single person confined for debt, I found how really beneficial that piece of our legislation was. Under the former law, any man was in the power of his creditors who might swear that he believed he was going away; now the creditor has to establish before a judge and to the judge's satisfaction, just as in a criminal charge before a magistrate, that the debtor is going to abscond. The effect of that alteration in the law has been practically to abolish imprisonment for debt. [Cheers.]”

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### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MILITIA.

In reply to a question from Col. Kingsmill, at the Hamilton dinner, Mr. Macdonald is reported by the *Spectator* to have made these remarks in reference to the organization of the Militia, which the Colonel desired to have placed on a more costly footing :

“ In 1854, when the MacNab Administration was formed, there were two opinions respecting the Militia of Canada. There was a respectable party who thought that an active force, an organized militia, was of little service; who objected to its expense and thought that by forming a militia here, we should do away with the practice on the part of Britain of sending British troops here. Then there was a party, to which I belonged, who thought we were bound, if we were worthy of being a free people, to be able to protect ourselves. I believe no country is worthy of liberty unless it is able to fight for it, and that not by hired hands only. No one respects the soldiers of England more than I do, and they cannot be considered mercenaries when in Canada, for they are as much in their Queen's dominions here as when they are in England. But when we see what England has done with her volunteers, we see that we have need of some such force too. There the people have risen in their

might at the first threat of war. Not satisfied with their magnificently organized army and navy, the moment there was a chance of England's position being endangered, they have rushed to arms; the merchant leaving his counter, the farmer his plough, the lawyer his desk—and by the same token they say the lawyers make the best of soldiers, because they are always so ready for the *charge*, [laughter]—and every member of society, who had time or money to spare, enrolled himself, so that England now stands at the head of the world, perhaps, in that respect. [Cheers.] Well, we too made provision for raising a militia, by the Act of 1854, an act upon the legal clauses of which I was of course consulted, but which was formed, I may state, by a professional commission, of which Sir Allan MacNab was a foremost member. [Hear.] That Act provided for both a sedentary militia and an active force of volunteers. Not one man was forced to leave his home, yet a body of 5,000 men was raised, and the means voted by the Legislature. It is true that the measure was strongly opposed by those who were in opposition to the government, but still it was carried, from a sense on the part of the representatives of the people, with whom I am sure the people will agree, that it was unworthy of us (while the Imperial Government came forward in the most generous and proper way, and stated that if we were attacked in any way by foreign foe, the whole force and wealth of the Empire should be exerted in our defence), to ask the hard-working laborer of England, the tax-paying people, to keep up a force in this country, and to have no force of civil soldiers of our own, who would keep the peace, prevent riots and public tumults, such as have existence in all countries, however highly civilized they may be. So when England informed us that she could no longer keep her soldiers here to occupy our chief places and act as police, we properly found that we could not and ought not to insist upon it; and in forming the active force, we formed a body that would be a nucleus round which the whole people of Canada would rally in case of necessity. [Applause.] But England did not ask us to effect this great change without giving us more compensation. In the most generous manner, she handed to us, for the use of the Province, a large amount of land and public buildings in the shape of stores, soldiers' barracks, officers' quarters, together with great military works of every description, to do with them whatever we choose, with but one reservation, that we should appropriate the funds, if we sold any of the property, to keeping up an active force in Canada. [Hear, hear.] Although at first the militia was a serious expense, because we could not at once dispose of those properties without a great sacrifice, yet they are yearly rising in value, some of them have been sold at considerable prices, others like those at Penetanguishene and Isle Aux Noix, have been assumed by the Province at fair rates and appropriated to public uses as reformatory institutions, so that in a few years we shall be able to dispose of them and form a fund equal or nearly equal to the sum required for

keeping up the active militia. [Cheers.] Of course the bill was only an experiment, though I may say it was a successful one, and the Parliament which allowed it to pass in 1854, therefore provided that it should simply remain in force for four years. It was my duty, after that, to draw up the bill to continue the system and make it perpetual. Sir, I had great difficulties to encounter in carrying that bill, and by speaking of them I shall reply to the objection of my gallant friend, Col. Kingsmill. At that time there was a deficiency in the revenue. There had been a series of bad crops, there was a great want of money in the public chest, and a great cry of distress from the suffering country. It was said, therefore—and I fully appreciated the force of the remark—that as we were retrenching in every way, we should retrench in the militia expenses as well, until the revenues of the Province were in a more flourishing condition. Well, in order to prevent the disembodiment of the whole militia of Canada by dropping the bill, or not carrying it, I was obliged to diminish very much the appropriation—the number of men employed in the active force, the number of days they were to be called upon of drill, &c.—and it was only by that means that I saved the measure as it is now. I believe that the value of the force is known, and the fund so rapidly increasing that the Government will be able to keep up that active force in its original strength, so that we may have 5,000 good soldiers, ready to meet the soldiers of any other nation, and those volunteers, not hirelings. [Applause.] Thus, I answer Col. Kingsmill's objection that we have allowed the militia system to be run down—there was no Militia Bill when we came in, and it is due to us that there is now any Militia Bill at all." [Loud cheers.]

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#### IMPROVEMENT OF THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM.

In his speech at London, Mr. Macdonald referred as follows to the assistance he had had from Dr. Ryerson in the improvement of the Common School system :

“ In the improvement of the Common School system, the Government had had the valuable assistance of Dr. Ryerson, the able and zealous founder of the system ; and he (Mr. Macdonald) would take the opportunity of expressing his admiration of the great zeal and with which Dr. Ryerson had managed educational affairs. He knew he had been attacked by the Opposition press and party ; but long years after his puny slanders would the name of Dr. Ryerson be remembered as the founder and promoter of a system of education more perfect, more complete and less burdensome than the system of any state in Europe or America. [Cheers.]

At Caledonia, Mr. Macdonald gave Dr. Ryerson's reason for not advising the repeal of the Separate School Clause, and stated his own opinion on that subject, thus :

“ I have called the attention of the people to the fact that the 19th clause of the Common School Act became law long long before I was in the Government at all ; so that the merit of it or the blame of it is not with me, but rests entirely with the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration, as it was brought in under the auspices of Mr. Baldwin particularly, that pure and honest man of whom I always love to speak, though we were opposed in politics.—[Cheers.] And if it be asked why we did not repeal it, I answer, *in the first place*, that it is one thing to give a right or a franchise, and another thing to deprive people of it ; and *in the second place*, we have the indisputable evidence of a disinterested witness—a man who cannot be suspected of any leaning towards Popery—I mean Rev. Dr. Ryerson, a Protestant clergyman himself, at the head of the Common School System—a person whose whole energies have been expended in the cause of education—who states deliberately to the people of Canada, that the Separate School clause does not retard the progress or the increase of Common Schools ; but that, on the contrary, it “ widens the basis of the Common School System.” [Cheers.] If I thought it injured that system, I must say that I would vote for its repeal to-morrow. [Applause.] You must remember also, that Lower Canada is decidedly a Roman Catholic country—that the Protestant population of Lower Canada is a small minority, and if Protestant schools were not allowed there, our Protestant brethren in Lower Canada would be obliged to send their children to be educated by Roman Catholic teachers. Now, I don't know how many Protestants or how many Roman Catholics I may be at this moment addressing, but I say that, as a Protestant, I should not be willing to send my son to a Roman Catholic school, while I think a Roman Catholic should not be compelled to send his to a Protestant one. [Hear.] In Lower Canada the teachers are generally the Roman Catholic clergy, and, of course, it is their duty to teach what they consider truth, and to guard their pupils against error. But the system in vogue there is more liberal than even ours, in that it not only permits the establishment of Protestant schools for Protestant children, but allows the whole municipal machinery to be employed to collect the rates to maintain them. [Applause.] In discussing this subject, I have always found that when it is fairly laid before the people, they always, by their applause, signify their approbation of the consistent course of the Government in regard to it. [Cheers.]”

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## THE INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT ACT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BOARD OF AUDIT.

At Brantford, Mr. Macdonald thus referred to the Independence of Parliament Act and the establishment of a Board of Audit :

“The present government have been charged with using their patronage and power for the purpose of securing the election of their friends and putting money into their pockets. But the present Speaker of the House, who had been a member of the Government, is the very person who introduced a bill which prevents any one sitting in Parliament who has a contract with the Government, receives money from them or is in any way pecuniarily connected with them. It is a consolidation and completion of all the laws that had ever been passed for the purpose of securing an independent Parliament and free from the possibility of influence by crown patronage. For fear that it might be said that the lawyers enjoyed the patronage of the Government, I myself introduced a clause into the bill depriving them even of the power of prosecuting cases on behalf of the Crown while occupying seats in Parliament. [Cheers.] Now it is said that there is a great deal of corruption in our books. Our Government has introduced a most thorough and perfect system of auditing the public accounts, and has appointed a man as Auditor General, Mr. Langton, whose character has been praised even by the Opposition. Many have in fact, lauded him to the skies because they thought his political tendencies were towards Reform rather than otherwise. His honesty and fitness for the office have been admitted by all parties in the House and country ; and not a single farthing of the public money is paid out without a voucher for it and passing through his hands, the Government being responsible for it to Parliament and to the country. [Cheers.]”

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## REGISTRATION OF VOTERS.

At St. Catherines, Mr. Macdonald remarked :

You may have heard a great deal of election frauds. The Government found that these frauds were practised alike by friends and foes ; that they were demoralizing to the country and destructive of the purity of election ; and they therefore introduced an admirable system of registration, by which a correct list of votes is made out from the assessment-rolls. You may all have seen or heard of cases in which bad votes were recorded ; but that has been completely done away with by the introduction of the registration system. [Cheers.]

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## OTHER MEASURES INTRODUCED.

Mr. Macdonald, at London, thus briefly enumerated some of the other measures introduced under the auspices of the Government of which he has been a member :

They had fostered and maintained, as far as their resources would permit, the agricultural societies of the country, and they had founded a noble institution for the encouragement of arts and manufactures. [Applause.] They had framed a measure for the proper inspection of railways and steamers, thus securing safety to the lives and property of the public. They had closed the Municipal Loan Fund of Upper Canada, which had threatened rapidly to increase the public debt. They had enabled every municipality in Upper Canada, with the exception of one or two, to meet their engagements and prevented that being charged to the public funds of the Province. They had reformed the law, and decentralized it by increasing the jurisdiction of the local courts. They had established an efficient system for the inspection of jails and prisons. They had legislated in such a manner that there could be no more fraudulent assignments. They had increased the exemption of property of unfortunate debtors liable to be sold for debt. The present Finance Minister had greatly decreased the burdens of the people, and by his judicious arrangement for the conversion of the public debt, the country received five per cent. interest on the Sinking Fund instead of three as formerly, thus effecting an enormous saving ; and besides they had got the British Government to receive £35,000 per annum instead of £75,000 for the sinking fund—thus distributing the burden over a series of years and making our children pay a portion of the cost of our public works, which were constructed for their benefit as well as our own. [Applause.]

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 LOWER CANADA LEGISLATION.

At St. Thomas, Mr. Macdonald took the opportunity of speaking in the following terms of Mr. Cartier and his Legislation with respect to Lower Canada :

I am proud to call the Hon. Mr. Cartier not only my political but my personal friend, and if you knew him as well as I do, you would see how worthy he is of esteem.—Until lately—indeed until he came in as minister of justice—the Lower Canadians were suffering very much from the French system of the concentration of the courts. There were courts only at Montreal and Quebec, and an inferior one in the district of St. Francis ; jurors and witnesses were obliged to go hundreds of miles to attend them, and often had to remain for six weeks away from their homes and families. Now fancy if, in Upper

Canada, a man from Sarnia had to go to attend a court in London—if indeed there were but three courts in the country, at London, Toronto, and Kingston—what our people would say. Would they stand that? [No, no.] Now Mr. Cartier introduced, in the first place, a municipal system, almost identical within our own, taking pattern by our municipal law, which, since its consolidation, is almost perfect, and adopting it for Lower Canada, with those slight changes which the different laws and institutions of the country required. In the second place, he introduced our county system in the matter of courts—establishing county courts and county jails, and county organizations, just as we have them. As I before said, he took the Clergy Reserves of Lower Canada for this—Lower Canada, too, having had one-seventh of its lands reserved, just as Upper Canada had—and he forced the municipalities to erect jails, like Upper Canadians. [Hear.] He introduced this system by degrees, and a plan is now in operation, by which, in Lower Canada, they pay their jurors as we do in Upper Canada, instead of out of the general fund, as they did before. [Cheers.] Again, in consequence of the expense of the administration of justice in Lower Canada, although Lower Canada has far less crime [I am sorry for Upper Canada to say it] and there is far less necessity for the paraphernalia of courts, the cost was far greater than in Upper Canada. But, I am happy to say, that in consequence of measures lately introduced, the expenses of the administration of justice are £35,000 less than they were in the time of the late Attorney General East, and although the system is only in its commencement, they are already rather less than in Upper Canada.

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