

# Tories Always Favored Reciprocity with United States

Sir Richard Cartwright in Able Speech Reviews the History of Question--All Great Statesmen in the Past Fifty Years Have Agreed that Reciprocity Would Benefit Canada--Foster Referred to as a Blatant Demagogue--"Blind Fools and Blind Leaders of Fools."

Toronto, Aug. 31--Sir Richard Cartwright knight errant of free trade came into his own again last night. The veteran Liberal, who has consistently advocated the removal of unnecessary trade restrictions and who as Minister of Trade and Commerce in the Laurier Cabinet has seen and added the country's wonderful expansion, broke a long silence of trade issues and spoke vigorously for the reciprocity agreement, now pending. Years have not lessened the vigor nor dimmed the intellectual force of the apostle of reciprocity, and it was with evident satisfaction that he appealed to the people on an issue paramount but as a dream years ago, now with every chance of becoming a reality. Historical Sir Richard's speech was largely in its recounting of the efforts to bring about reciprocity, but it was punctuated frequently with references almost acrid in vigor to the speaker's old-time and present opponents in Parliament.

## SIR RICHARD'S SPEECH

When Sir Richard rose to speak there was a spontaneous demonstration of welcome and cheers as the veteran Liberal began by congratulating the Reform party in Toronto for the gallant fight they were putting up. He referred to the small representation the city had in the House of Commons and stated that the "senseless folly" of the Opposition is forcing dissolution had cut short a scheme he had been working on to give Toronto a fairer representation. "It is a scandal and a shame and reflects no credit upon our system of representative government that for 33 years two-fifths of the citizens of Toronto--and those I am sure the more intelligent two-fifths--(laughter and applause)--have been practically disfranchised and unable to have their views represented in the Legislature of the country."

Sir Richard said he proposed to deal mainly with the question which would form the staple issue of all the contests throughout Canada. There is no doubt the results would be felt long and far.

## A FAR-REACHING PROJECT

"Far the project itself, permit me to say," said Sir Richard, "that I never have seen a project of such importance brought forward in such a modest guise as this. I doubt whether any subject of equal importance has been presented which is so likely to benefit so large a number of people and so swiftly as this and I am quite sure that no project has ever been proposed in which greater care has been taken not to interfere unnecessarily with the interests of any class or party or any scheme more just and fair to both parties than the scheme we are now presenting to you. (Applause) Sir, under ordinary circumstances, knowing what I do of the past history of the question of reciprocity, I might well have anticipated that his scheme would have been greeted with universal approval and pass without debate. On the contrary I have never known a project meet with such clamor, such calumny, such misrepresentation as the project which we lately submitted to Parliament."

## GOOD THING FOR CANADA

Sir Richard said he had discussed this question for fifty years with statesmen of the highest rank of Great Britain, the United States and Canada, of all kinds, and had never met a single man but who said that reciprocity in natural products between Canada and the United States must be greatly to the advantage of Canada. (Applause.) There were two things he desired to point out. One was the remarkable admission by their opponents that the country was prosperous under Liberal rule. (Applause.) Equally significant was the fact that for the first time in all his experience certain gentlemen well-known to his hearers had come to the Government, not pleading for an increase of the tariff, but only asking them to let the tariff they now enjoyed alone. (Applause.)

## A HIDDEN MOTIVE

There must be some hidden motive inciting the forces of the opposition. Dr. Kerr, a famous Scotch divine, preaching before Queen Victoria, once declared that the majority of men were actuated by hidden motives which they did not understand. It reminded him of an experience of his own many years ago when he was driving along the shores of the Bay of Fundy in New Brunswick. He heard a great grunting and alloping and turned to see a herd of swine. His driver explained that the pigs had been rooting along the seashore when instinctively they felt the tide coming in and fled. (Applause.) The



SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT

metaphor was not original, for it had been employed by Sir John Macdonald addressing a gathering of eminent philanthropists in this city on a very similar subject. (Laughter and applause.)

"On that occasion Sir John likened himself to a boy up a tree who was shaking down acorns for the benefit of the animals below, and he explained to his audience that there was reciprocity in the pigs and that the time had come when the boy ought to be considered. I need not tell you that there was no delay in signing that reciprocity pact, as I discovered to my cost in the general election which followed shortly after."

## PURELY PUERILE--PURELY SELFISH

In taking up the arguments of those opposed to reciprocity, Sir Richard divided them into two classes--purely puerile and purely selfish. Under the first heading he placed the loyalty cry. The annexation argument, he said, reminded him of Dr. Johnson's definition of patriotism.

"In his obituary," said Sir Richard "he defined patriotism as the last refuge of scoundrels. Therefore I commend Dr. Johnson's definition to you. In my experience of Canadian politicians I have found that loyalty is the last refuge of scoundrels."

"Do not in the slightest way misunderstand me," he continued. "I hold patriotism to be a noble virtue. But just so much as I despise those PARTIES WHO TRADE UPON IT AND ENDEAVOR TO DUPE THEIR NEIGHBORS BY FALSE PROFESSIONS OF LOYALTY."

He declared there could be no question of the loyalty of the farmers of Ontario, since they were the descendants of men who had risked their lives and come to Canada, not for material reasons, but because they refused to give up their allegiance to the British Crown and the British flag.

Sir Richard took up the opposition charge of unconstitutional action in negotiating a reciprocity treaty without a mandate from the people.

"We have had a mandate from the people of Canada for the last fifteen years," he declared. "We got the first one in 1896. We were given another in 1900. That mandate was endorsed in 1904, and re-endorsed in 1908; and I can tell these gentlemen that it will be much more than re-endorsed on September 21." The big audience cheered its approval of the sentiment.

## A TWO-FOLD MANDATE

"Our mandate," he added, "and applause," "was two-fold in character. First IT WAS TO TURN THE RASCALS OUT, AND SECONDLY, TO GOVERN CANADA TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY. AND WE HAVE TO A REASONABLE EXTENT ACCOMPLISHED BOTH."

Sir Richard pointed out to his hearers that Confederation had been brought about by the Government of Sir John Macdonald without any appeal to the people for a mandate.

The veteran speaker then applied himself to another Tory allegation--namely, that the Reform party had changed its policy on the question of reciprocity. He reminded the audience that in Mackenzie's time George Brown was sent to Washington to arrange a treaty.

In 1888 he (Sir Richard) had moved a resolution in the House in favor of reciprocity. In 1891 the Liberal party had carried Ontario on reciprocity, and in 1893 reciprocity in natural products was part of the Liberal platform. In 1899, when the joint commission was in session in Washington, the question was brought up, and when the United States refused to entertain suggestions in that direction, Sir Wilfrid Laurier had declared that it was the last time Canada

would go to Washington. Now the United States had come to Canada. "It is an utter absurdity," declared Sir Richard, "to say there has been any change in the policy of our party. I defy any man to point to a single speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier or any other Liberal leader in which it was said that if the United States chose to make overtures they would not consider them and endeavor to obtain reciprocity on reasonable terms."

## FACING BOTH WAYS.

Sir Richard poked fun at Mr. R. L. Borden for his contradictory arguments upon the effect of the agreement. In the west the Conservative leader had told the farmers they would gain nothing and were, in fact, in danger of lower prices. Yet when he came to the city he warned the consumer that he would have to pay higher prices.

"It is gratifying to me," he observed, with fine irony, "TO FIND THAT THESE GENTLEMEN HAVE COME TO A CONVICTION THAT THERE IS SUCH A THING AS A CANADIAN CONSUMER WHOSE INTERESTS SHOULD BE REGARDED. IT IS THE FIRST SIGN OF GRACE FOR MANY A LONG DAY ON THAT QUESTION."

## AID PRODUCER, AID CONSUMER.

"In the first place the great bulk of the consumers have their interests largely bound up with those of the producers. ANYTHING THAT MAKES THE FARMER, THE FISHERMAN, THE LUMBERMAN, MORE PROSPEROUS WILL AID AND INCREASE THE PROSPERITY OF THE GREAT MASS OF THE COMMUNITY."

"I make these gentlemen a standing offer; if they really do desire to benefit the mass of the people, if they are right in saying, contrary to my belief and expectation, that this agreement will hurt the Canadian consumer, even in a trifling degree, let them help to reduce the taxes on the Canadian consumer. (Cheers.) LET THEM REDUCE THE BRITISH PREFERENCE A LITTLE, AND IN THAT WAY MAKE THINGS SQUARE FOR THE CANADIAN CONSUMER."

"They might as well tell us the real reason why they are opposing this natural desire to have reciprocity with the United States. I don't believe that any of them seriously believes there is likely to be any serious disturbance to our trade or any danger to our continued prosperity. I think they are perfectly aware that this agreement is indeed likely to benefit the whole people of Canada, and is not likely to injure any class of the community. I strongly suspect that their opposition arises largely from their concern for the way it is likely to affect certain sacred privileges which some of them enjoy. They fear what the result may be from the farmers saying that they at any rate are not receiving any benefit from the present protection."

## A PRECEDENT.

"I notice that these gentlemen are great upon precedents. Well, I will give them one. Two thousand years or so ago there lived a certain advanced Liberal-Conservative of the name of Demetrius. No man can have a greater respect for genuine Conservatives than I have. But the advanced Liberal-Conservative of today may be defined as having no fixed principles, and as not knowing what to do with them if he had them. He possesses instincts to make up for lack of principles. One of his instincts is to feather his nest by any means, fair or foul. Another is to beat the Grits anyhow."

"This advanced Liberal-Conservative-Protectionist of olden days was told that a certain preacher named Paul was coming to Ephesus. Whereupon Demetrius called the craftsmen of his guild together, and told them that this man was preaching salvation to the people, and that their craft would be in danger. And Demetrius said, 'Let us accuse Paul of being a disloyal man and a blasphemer.'"

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## HOWLED ALL THE SAME.

"Well, they held their mass meeting, and it is on record that, though most of them didn't know what it was about, they howled all the same. And within a year of the mass meeting at Ephesus there was established a Christian Church, and soon two-thirds of the people were professing Christians, whilst the other third would had they dared."

"I say to you, sir, that if reciprocity becomes law I have no doubt that in a year or so the Duke of Connaught will be writing to his royal nephew, SAYING THAT RECIPROCITY HAS RESULTED IN GREAT BENEFIT TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA, THAT THEY ARE MORE PROSPEROUS THAN EVER, THAT THE COUNTRY'S TRADE IS GREATER, AND THAT HIS MAJESTY HAS NO MORE LOYAL SUBJECTS IN HIS DOMINION."

The Maritime Provinces, Sir Richard predicted, would soon be as one man in favor of reciprocity, the Northwest was solid, and the majority of the people in Quebec and Ontario would follow. He argued that whilst it was true Canada as a whole was greatly prosperous, all was not well with the masses.

"There are many who are not sharing in the general prosperity," he said, "MANY TO WHOM THE COST OF LIVING IS FAR TOO HIGH. TO THOSE THIS PROJECT OF FREE TRADE IN NATURAL PRODUCTS MEANS SALVATION."

## THE BRITISH PREFERENCE.

The crowning absurdity of all was the opposition's fear that the agreement would damage the British preference.

"It reminds me," he said, "that about thirty-three years ago, when Mr. Mackenzie and myself were pointing out that their policy was likely to injure our connection with the British Empire, they had the impudence to tell us that if the National Policy was had for British connection SO MUCH THE WORSE FOR BRITISH CONNECTION."

"I am the last man to advocate Socialist doctrines," went on the veteran statesman, "to set poor against rich, but I say that the experience of all ages has been that the accumulation of the wealth of a country in a few hands is a peril and a danger to that country."

SIR RICHARD THEN PROCEEDED TO TAKE A FALL OUT OF THE FLAG-WAVING OPPONENTS OF RECIPROCITY. THEY WERE SHOUTING "CANADA FOR THE CANADIANS" AND WERE MAKING THEIR DUPES BELIEVE THAT THE COLLECTIVE WEALTH OF THE PEOPLE COULD BE INCREASED BY GREATER TAXATION, AND THAT TAXES WERE NOT TAXES BECAUSE THEY GO INTO THEIR POCKETS."

## BLIND FOOLS AND BLIND LEADERS.

"They are blind fools and blind leaders of fools," he declared, "and if they knew what was their real interest they would have accepted this proposition with gladness and have been thankful that it went no farther. Even yet if they are wise they will take this course. Supposing that it is defeated, if they succeed in turning the tide back the result will simply be that it will rise higher and sweep them and their privileges into the sea."

The veteran then dealt more fully with the historical aspect of the question. He told of the first reciprocity treaty of 1854--the Elgin treaty under which Canada prospered as never before, and of Sir John Macdonald's efforts to have that treaty renewed after it was terminated by the United States.

## AS "BLATANT DEMAGOGUE"

Sir Richard turned his guns on Hon. George Eulas Foster to the great delight of the audience.

"In 1891," he said, "a certain deputation was sent to Washington to negotiate a reciprocity treaty. Sir Charles Tupper was one. THE OTHERS WERE SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL, SIR JOHN THOMPSON, AND A CERTAIN GEORGE E. FOSTER, WHO WAS AT THAT TIME MINISTER OF FINANCE. PROBABLY FROM THE SIMILARITY OF NAMES THIS GEORGE E. FOSTER WAS SOME CONNECTION PERHAPS A REMOTE ANCESTOR, OF THE BLATANT DEMAGOGUE OF THAT NAME WHO IS NOW ACCUSING EVERYBODY WHO ATTEMPTS TO ENCOURAGE TRADE AS DISLOYAL."

Sir Richard told of the failure of that deputation to secure reciprocity and read from the statement of Hon. Mr. Foster made to the Secretary of State Blaine in which he reiterated his opinion as quoted in another column that a reciprocity treaty in natural products would be beneficial to both countries.

"I want to call your attention to a remarkable thing," he continued. "It is that through all these fifty-seven years not one single man of them all, Sir Alexander Galt, Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir John Thompson, Mr. Foster, or Sir Mackenzie Bowell, ever hinted at disloyalty concerning any proposition for interchange of natural products."

Sir Richard went on to contrast the fifteen years of Sir Wilfrid Laur-

ier's administration with the previous fifteen years of Conservative rule. He quoted the trade figures in those periods and said the meaning of them was that the increase was as much in one year of Liberal government as it was in the whole fifteen years under the Conservatives.

Before 1896 he said they had given away thirteen hundred homesteads, whilst from the last return, 1910, over 36,000 homesteads in the northwest had been opened up by the Liberals. The growth in population was another pregnant argument and the speaker predicted that the increase from 1901 to 1911 would be at least two millions.

The price of C.P.R. stock was another valuable object lesson. In 1896 Sir Richard could have bought as much as he liked of it--and he only wished he had--for fifty cents on the dollar, today it could hardly be bought at 228. The price of farms in Ontario then and now provided more argument for the present Government.

## A HEROIC REMEDY

Unrestricted reciprocity said Sir Richard referring to the Liberal policy of 1891, was "a heroic remedy for a desperate set of circumstances." IF THE CONSERVATIVES HAD POSSESSED ONE OUNCE OF COMMON PRUDENCE AND SAGACITY THERE WAS NO REASON WHAT-EVER THAT WHAT HAS BEEN ATTAINED IN THE NORTHWEST SINCE 1896 MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN ATTAINED IN THE FIFTEEN YEARS PRECEDING 1896.

It was a farce for the Conservatives to talk about the thirty years of prosperity enjoyed by Canada under Macdonald, when the only real prosperity the country has known was during the last fifteen years.

"Why should Canada," he said not want to exchange her products with the United States on the best terms possible? Canada is part of North America; her borders lie for 3,000 miles along those of the United States; south of the border is one of the richest markets in the world, and north there are no nearer neighbors than the Esquimaux. The geographical situation is such that Canada has the chance of practically dominating a large part of the United States market."

## CANADA'S SUPERIOR PRODUCE

Canada, Sir Richard said, occupying as it did the north half of the temperate zone, was suited to produce a vast number of articles of a much finer quality and superior texture to those in the other half. The opposition ought to know that. The people of Canada in general, and the people of Ontario in particular, need fear no competition from any section of the world. (Applause.)

"Now," said Sir Richard, "we know perfectly well that it is practically impossible for us to avoid doing a very large trade with the United States, but I doubt very much whether many even in this audience are aware how great the proportion of our trade is, even under existing restrictions, carried on with the United States. Our total trade and commerce last year was \$764,000,000. Of that we carried on with the people of the United States \$404,000,000. Our trade with them was greater than with all the rest of the world put together. Great Britain not excepted. (Applause.) These gentlemen tell us that the United States, forsooth is likely to take advantage of

(Continued on page three.)

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