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# CANADIAN

head of the Canadian Government to be sent to England, there to represent the Canadian people at the festivities of the jubilee. I have had a long and interesting conversation with the British people. I told them that we had a preference which we intended to give them, and that we were not to be deterred by the obstacles, and I asked them to help us to have those treaties re-stated. I did it in these words: "Either England must advance or Canada must recede." These words were quoted the following day in all the press of Great Britain. They were repeated day after day and week after week, and the consequence was that some two months afterwards the British Government, denouncing the British Government. (Applause.) Sir, if there had been, as I told you a moment ago, a session when we launched our preference, there would have been another session, not in Great Britain, but all over the continent of Europe. There was a session in France, in Italy, in Belgium, in Germany, all over the continent, and the young men of Canada whom nobody had ever heard of, who was that Canada who had compelled the British Government to take a step which it had up to that time refused to take? From that moment the name of Canada had been before the world, in Europe especially. But that was not all our difficulty.

**The German Surrender.**  
The treaties which had been negotiated by Great Britain with Germany and Belgium were useful to Great Britain, and Great Britain entered into negotiations with Germany to renew the treaty. The treaty was renewed, but at the same time the obnoxious clause was removed. There was another session which gave the favors to Canada which she was willing to extend to Britain, and as to that we had no cause of complaint. If Germany would do us no favor we had no fault to find. But not only Germany but also France, Belgium, and Italy gave the favors to Canada which she was willing to extend to Britain, and as to that we had no cause of complaint. If Germany would do us no favor we had no fault to find. But not only Germany but also France, Belgium, and Italy gave the favors to Canada which she was willing to extend to Britain, and as to that we had no cause of complaint.

**The National Transcontinental.**  
But, sir, that is not all. There is another measure which has been undertaken by the Canadian Government, and which has caused the admiration of the world is not too strong—not only of every right-thinking citizen of Europe, and it is that we have undertaken to grapple with the new transportation problem which confronts us, and to build a railway from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean on the other side of the continent. (Applause.)

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**Mistakes of Predecessors.**  
It is to a large extent to rectify the mistakes made by preceding Governments which have failed to grapple with sufficient boldness with the difficulties which have confronted them that we are active in this railway. It is a recognized necessity owing to our geographical position, and even if it were not a necessity because of that, it would have been and it is now a necessity of our predecessors. It is now fifty years, perhaps a little more, since the first link of the great system now known as the Grand Trunk Railway was commenced. That link was between Montreal and Toronto. The railway between Montreal and Toronto, if it is

compared to the measure before us to-day, does not seem much, but at that time it was and it meant a great deal to the people. It proved of great benefit to the people of Upper Canada, providing an outlet for their products at Montreal. But, as you know, the harbor of Montreal is ice-bound for five months of the year. What was to be done under such circumstances? The harbor was closed for five months. How were the people of Ontario—Upper Canada it was then—to get their products to the sea? The railway had to be built under such circumstances. The harbor was closed for five months. How were the people of Ontario—Upper Canada it was then—to get their products to the sea? The railway had to be built under such circumstances.

**The Circuitous Intercolonial.**  
Another mistake was made at Confederation. It was recognized then that there must be connection between the Maritime Provinces and the other parts of the country. The Intercolonial Railway was not a commercial railway, and if you look at a map of that road from Montreal to St. Lawrence you will find that the railway almost describes a complete semicircle.

**C.P.R. and Intercolonial.**  
There was a second mistake. Then we had the C. P. R. That was a great undertaking. The Liberal party never approved of the terms which were granted to the C. P. R., but as to the scheme itself we always approved of it. It was an article in the programme of Mr. Mackenzie. The railway in 1853 had been completed from Vancouver on the Pacific to Montreal, but at that time the C. P. R. found itself precisely in the same difficulty which the Grand Trunk Railway found itself some years before. They were at Montreal, but for five months in the year they were shut out of communication with the Atlantic. They had to find a harbor on the Atlantic. Public opinion, I am glad to say, had advanced during the twenty years which had elapsed between the building of the Grand Trunk and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Public opinion in 1853 had sanctioned the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway to Portland on foreign territory. In the year 1853 public opinion would not ratify an extension of the C. P. R. to an American harbor. There was the Intercolonial. The C. P. R. might have taken advantage of the Intercolonial Railway, but as I told you a moment ago, the Intercolonial Railway was not a commercial railway, and the C. P. R. directorate, which was composed of business men, would have none of it. What was to be done? Therefore, a new railway had to be built from Montreal to St. John and Halifax.

**C.P.R. Line Through Maine.**  
Then, sir, another mistake was made, an irreparable mistake, and one for which I have always blamed the Government of that day. Instead of compelling the C. P. R. to build from Montreal to St. John upon purely Canadian soil—that should have been built entirely on Canadian soil, every inch of it—they allowed the C. P. R. to send their railway across American territory through the State of Maine. Sir, in doing this there was another mistake made, and it was for this reason, among others, we have to build this railway, to have a railway absolutely of our own, upon Canadian territory, on Canadian soil. It is true it has been asked the House of Commons, "What is the use of this new railway? You have open communication over the C. P. R. and over American territory." Yes, and this is one of the very reasons why I want this new railway. Our relations with our American neighbors are good at the present time, but they are not for the future. I make no hesitation in saying that I am an admirer of the American people. I admire their energy, I admire their enterprise and many qualities, but I have learned in the short eight years that I had been in office that if you want to keep the best possible relations with our neighbors the best way is to be independent of them at every point. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) It is possible to do that a train of merchandise leaving Montreal for St. John, N. B., may be stopped at the frontier of the State of Maine. You see, it is not probable at this moment, but there was a moment eight years ago when it was intensely probable. There was a moment eight years ago when the President of that day, Mr. Cleveland, threatened to take away from us the bonding privileges, and if it had taken place, what position would we have been in? It was to prevent a possibility of such an occurrence that we wanted to take every precaution against it, and to assert not only to the world, but especially to our American neighbors, that we are independent and free in our communications at both ends of the continent. (Cheers.)

**Mr. Borden's Variations.**  
But, sir, what is the use? Perhaps it is of no use to discuss this question at the present time; perhaps there is no necessity whatever. There was last year. There was this year, a few months ago. There was perhaps a few

weeks ago, but at the moment there is no necessity for it. What is the reason? The reason is that the Conservative party, as represented by its leader, Mr. Borden, have come to several conclusions. First, they opposed the railway, the very idea of it. But they were convinced against themselves, and they were forced to admit the necessity of the railway, and gradually they came back to it. And now they do not assert that the necessity of this road does not exist, but that they do it simply to attack, not the road itself, but the method by which we intend to construct and to build it. Well, sir, it is true, it took a long time for the Conservative party to come to a conclusion upon it. They made many and many soundings before they at last found their moorings. They wobbled, and they wobbled, and they wobbled. (Laughter and loud cheers.) In the session of 1903, when we first proposed our scheme, we were met by the party, speaking through the voice of the leader, Mr. Borden, my friend Mr. Borden—we are on good terms, thank heaven; we know how to preserve the amenities of public life—but sir, why do I say that Mr. Borden fought us very bitterly upon the scheme, and what did he propose? Did he propose what he now proposes, this scheme which I shall lay before you in a few minutes? No, Mr. Borden had a very different proposal. He proposed this: Not to build the railway, but to build a railway from Jacques Cartier Junction in Montreal to Coteau, then to utilize the Canada Atlantic from Coteau to Georgian Bay, then to build a railway from Georgian Bay to the line of the C. P. R. from North Bay to Fort William, then to assist and improve the C. P. R., then to assist the Canadian Northern to improve their line from Fort William to Winnipeg, and finally to build the Intercolonial Railway, which, when it was supposed to be finished in 1875, had then some 700 miles of railway. We have extended it since, and it has now 1,200 miles of line. The accounting of it after we have extended the length of the railway, and, mind you, the capital account has not yet closed, has reached more than \$70,000,000. We have \$70,000,000 that we have paid out of the pockets of the Canadian taxpayers for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and I want to ask my friend Mr. Borden how much of that \$70,000,000 he has received for the Intercolonial Railway, which we all the while have extended to the length of 1,200 miles of railway. We have extended it since, and it has now 1,200 miles of line. The accounting of it after we have extended the length of the railway, and, mind you, the capital account has not yet closed, has reached more than \$70,000,000. We have \$70,000,000 that we have paid out of the pockets of the Canadian taxpayers for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and I want to ask my friend Mr. Borden how much of that \$70,000,000 he has received for the Intercolonial Railway, which we all the while have extended to the length of 1,200 miles of railway.

**Experience of Intercolonial.**  
Let me now examine the plan of Mr. Borden, who wants to have this road built as operated by the Government. (Loud cheers.) So far so good. Now, before that gentleman who shouts "hear, hear" shall give another shout, let me place this fact before him. (Loud cheers.) We have another Government railway, which we call the Intercolonial Railway, which, when it was supposed to be finished in 1875, had then some 700 miles of railway. We have extended it since, and it has now 1,200 miles of line. The accounting of it after we have extended the length of the railway, and, mind you, the capital account has not yet closed, has reached more than \$70,000,000. We have \$70,000,000 that we have paid out of the pockets of the Canadian taxpayers for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and I want to ask my friend Mr. Borden how much of that \$70,000,000 he has received for the Intercolonial Railway, which we all the while have extended to the length of 1,200 miles of railway.

**Men Who Managed the Intercolonial.**  
But Mr. Borden says: "We will change all this when we get in office. (Laughter.) We shall put a stop to the deficit of the Intercolonial Railway." However, there are other men than Mr. Borden who have tried their hand at that system. (A voice, "John Haggart.") Yes, and better men than Mr. Borden. The Intercolonial administration from 1875 to 1878 was as good as honest, and the management was ever had under Alexander Mackenzie himself. (Cheers.) After Mr. Mackenzie was administered by a man whose ability we acknowledge, though we have fought him, and have yearly since for long, Sir Charles Tupper. After Sir Charles Tupper it was administered for some time by a man whose name I did not mention to my Conservative friends, and I admire him, and have admired him, by Sir John Macdonald, so far as I know, never posed as an administrator, but he tried his hand at administering the Intercolonial. He was no better than the others, and after him it was administered by Mr. John Henry Pope, a man whose ability, and who, when Mr. Haggart, and after him Mr. Blair, an able man, if there is one, and after him we have Mr. Emmerson. The tale has always been the same—deficit year after year. "Put me in power and I will change all that." Where is Mr. Borden to find a better administrator than Mr. Mackenzie, or where is he to find in the ranks of his party a better administrator than Sir Charles Tupper or Mr. Blair? However, it is not the money that is the system which is vicious, and so long as the vicious system remains—and it is the vicious system which we have extended to the Pacific—we can expect nothing but deficit and deficit.

**Operation by Government.**  
Governments can build railways—I have no fault to find with that—but Governments cannot operate railways. (Cheers.) When we have been compelled to carry passengers and to carry freight, but it is an act of commerce, and I say to you, my fellow-countrymen, that Governments never were intended to go into business as honest men in commerce. It is the responsibility of the Government to do nothing of the kind. I am prepared to discuss whether or not telegraphs or telegrams should not be administered by the postoffice. The same reason why they should disseminate verbal intelligence. Railways are not the same thing. Compare the management of a railway by Government with private enterprise. Go into the office of any billiard manager on this continent, and ask whether Canadian Pacific Railway or Grand Trunk Railway, or any other railway. There you find the manager all the time, thinking, considering, planning, to reduce the expenditure and to increase the traffic. Every day he has a report of the road, every day he scans it to see what improvements can be made.

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if he finds that there is a section where there is no traffic and no trade because there is no agriculture, no mining, or lumbering, but that there is fine natural scenery, he would put up a big hotel and get traffic; he immediately plans to build it in order to bring traffic where he did not have it before. Or in another section there is a forest in which the settlers do not go; if he knows there is some enterprise or energy he sends for him, advances the money to put up a saw mill, and therefore business comes to the road. Or if there is in any part of the railway a mining camp where the freights were too heavy to ship the ore, he puts up a smelter, and then at the other end of the line, as has been done by the Canadian Pacific Railway, he will provide a flotilla of ships in order to distribute his merchandise all over the ocean. Therefore he is always considering, always thinking, always planning, how to bring traffic to his road. Do you think it would be possible for the Government to do the same thing? (Cries of no.) Suppose Mr. Borden had the road, and though there may be beautiful scenery in that part of the country, and there is, do you think it would be well if he proposed to erect a new hotel, or to build a smelter, or to provide a flotilla of steamers? Sir, the thing is preposterous, and you only have to consider the preposterousness of it to see that it is preposterous.

**Sir John Macdonald's Opinion.**  
But, sir, that is not all. I can give you chapter and book, especially to those of my Conservative friends who I know are here and there in this audience—glad am I to see them, glad am I to see you, my friends, but you will not be offended if I tell you frankly that whatever may be the pleasure I have at seeing you, it is not for you I have come here. I have come here to speak to you, just as it is the sinners I want to reach. (Laughter.) And I would try to do so by my own gospel, not the Grit gospel, not my own words, but the words of Sir John Macdonald. What shall they say, for instance, those who are in this audience and applaud the scheme of Mr. Borden for Government ownership and operation, what shall they say when I quote the words of Sir John Macdonald? Let them hear this opinion of Sir John Macdonald. (Loud cheers.) This is not the first time that we have had to deal with this question of Government ownership and operation. We have had to deal with it some twenty years ago, and at that time we proposed to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. Mr. Mackenzie commenced to build that railway as a Government road. Not that he approved of Government ownership or operation, but because he could not do otherwise. At the same time that he was building the line he advertised in the papers that he would give many thousands of acres of land and so much in money to any party who would undertake to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, they never came. Sir John Macdonald was a very lucky man. He formed a syndicate to which he gave enormous grants, but to build the railway as a private enterprise. We fought that contract—at that time I was a member of Parliament—and the Government was transferred from the Government to a company, but because the terms were extravagant. The opinion of Mr. Mackenzie was therefore against Government ownership or operation, but because he could not do otherwise. 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