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CANADIAN POLITICAL ORATORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: I

SOME OF THE best writing that Canadian literature of the nineteenth century has to offer is to be found in its political oratory. An unkind critic might observe that not only does this remark stretch the meaning of "literature" unduly, but also it argues the poverty of the other genres in our literature of that period. He would be right, of course, but still we should be well advised to glean whatever we can, and these are rich gleanings. With the elephantine pratfalls of McGee and Blake, the charming roguery of Macdonald, the noble eloquence of Brown, and the astounding virtuosity of Howe, what else could they be?

All that remains of these speeches is, admittedly, the written record—a record that varies in accuracy and that has lost the voice and gestures that were meant to accompany the words. It is a record, moreover, that is usually devoid of the atmosphere surrounding the hustings, the banquet table, and the legislature seat. But still, from the many interjected questions and cries of "Hear! Hear!" preserved in the record, much of that atmosphere can be recreated, and in the best of the speeches the rhythm and tone live on, to remind us of a day when our political orators were something more than megaphones for advertising copywriters.

I. Common Characteristics

Our Victorian orators had a few characteristics in common. They all, of course, sought to persuade, but, what may be surprising in the present day, they usually sought to persuade by presenting logical argument rather than mere emotional stimulus—though, of course, that stimulus was still present. This predominance of logical argument—along with preceptorial exhortation—may well have resulted from the classical tradition in oratory which, it is said, prevailed throughout the United States until about 1870,¹ and which may have prevailed in Canada to an even later date. Since this classical tradition emphasized the study of the best oratory in ancient Greece and Rome, it may also account for the otherwise surprising

care for form discernible in our political oratory. Even the classical forensic oration formed the basis for the structure of many—if not the most—of the major political addresses, and our Canadian politicians carefully ordered their thoughts into the *exordium*, the *narration*, the *proposition*, even the somewhat pedantic *partition*, the *confirmation*, the *confutation*, often the *digression* (no wonder), and the *peroration*. There may also have been a school of elocution among Canadian orators, as there was among American (Sandford, pp. 183 & 191); and if there were, and if Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Edward Blake belonged to it, its highly systematized set of pauses, emphases, tones, and gestures, may have been the reason for the exalted reputation enjoyed by those two orators—a reputation which the printed record simply does not sustain.

In the details of presentation almost every one of our orators suffered—in varying degrees—from political cant, triteness of expression, and the bad use of metaphor. They may well have attempted metaphor because they were influenced by Emerson, who said that if a speaker could “condense some daily experience into a glowing symbol,” his audience would be “electrified,” feeling that they “possessed some new right and power over a fact which they [could] detach, and so completely master in thought,” and taking away with them an image that would never be lost.² But the symbols our orators used are seldom “glowing,” and their metaphors and similes—almost always trite—they often piled up on top of one another, entirely oblivious of their ludicrously mixed character. In fact, these mixed metaphors will provide much of the fun in what follows, as we turn now to an examination of the individual orators.

II. Devaluation

Thomas D'Arcy McGee

Paradoxically, and perhaps perversely, I should like to begin by examining two orators who, as mentioned, have enjoyed an unwarrantedly exalted reputation—Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Edward Blake. The first of these was a patriot and what might be called a professional orator. Standing aloof from party conflict and assuming a tone of high seriousness, he sought to be a leader of men, showing them the way and teaching them as well as persuading. Consequently he often tried for the grand style and often instead tumbled straight into bathos.

In diction he followed the fashion and Latinized his vocabulary, but sometimes did so to an extreme, as in the phrase “latent salutary efficacy.”³ Like the other orators, he sometimes tried for fresh expressions, but often instead seized on the merely startling. Not only did he refer to “the pregnant ashes of Washington,”

but he also called the American South "the Africanized States" and a "pagan Republic," because its oligarchy was founded on slavery (*Speeches*, pp. 13 & 20).

But McGee's most distinctive characteristic was his addiction to the use of rhetorical figures. He used so many, in fact, that I can only hint at their number and variety. Inversions were frequent—"Question of constitutional or conventional right there is none" (p. 16), and literary references and allusions, especially to the Bible, were scattered profusely throughout his speeches. *Synecdoche*, or the putting of a part for the whole, appeared in such phrases as the Congo and Senegal for the Slave Coast, Liverpool for England, and New York for the thirteen colonies. *Antonomasia*, or the designating of a class by a proper name, appeared in his use of "Mr. Shoddy" (typically unimaginative) to represent the mushroom aristocracy of wartime profiteers. Sometimes he used *synonymia*, the figure in which several words or phrases of similar meaning follow one another, as when he said:

I cannot comprehend—I cannot imagine—how any rational being could approach such a subject in a light, or flippant, or gratified spirit. I cannot conceive the perversity of nature (p. 13)

A somewhat similar figure, *hysteron proteron*, or the inversion of a few words so that what should come first is put last, accounts for the curious reversal of temporal order in each of the italicized phrases in this sentence:

There cannot . . . be a doubt . . . that . . . those of the Fathers who declared that the African slave trade should be adjudged piracy after 1808, looked upon "the peculiar institution" as a baleful tree, to be girdled and finally cut down, rather than to be *propagated and fostered*, and, like the sacred tree of Abyssinia, *invoked and idolized*. (p. 15)

The number and variety of such figures in McGee's speeches—and often the strange use to which he put them—can be best seen by examining one or two rather lengthy passages. The first passage is the opening of the introduction to his speech entitled "Canada's Interest in the American Civil War," which he delivered at the Agricultural Exhibition at London, Canada West, on September 26, 1861 (pp. 12-13). He began baldly enough:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—Many of you have been kind enough, through my much esteemed friend near me, to invite me to speak to you on the subject of "Canada's Interest in the American Civil War."

But instantly one can practically hear him change gears, as shifting immediately into high he introduced *anaphora* (the repetition of a word, here "though"—*four times*, at the beginning of successive clauses), added *tricola* (the arrangement of similar

clauses by threes), and varied it all—a sentence of 109 words—with a touch of *litotes* (the making of a statement by the negation of its opposite):

Though you come together from all parts of the Province with a very different object—though you have dedicated this week to compare notes and statistics with each other—though you have been occupied inspecting the plentiful fruits with which an all-gracious Providence has crowned the year—though your imaginations have been busy with the wheat field, the meadow, and the orchard—it was thought that we might spend an evening not unprofitably in considering how far we are likely to be affected in our peaceful progress, our domestic industry, and our external relations, by the stirring events which are taking place on the soil of Virginia and Missouri.

After this concluding flourish of *synecdoche*, McGee was well into his stride, and consequently in one sentence swept on through *commentum* (a passing comment on what he has just said), another instance of *anaphora*, *ecloge* (in description the selection of the most striking circumstances—here “the triple cross”), another kind of *antonomasia* (in which individuals are designated by some circumstance connected with them, instead of their proper name), and another touch of *litotes*:

Our friends were of opinion—and I fully agree with them—that while cultivating our own fields in peace, under the broad banner of the triple cross—that while cherishing with a natural preference our own institutions, copied in general after the model furnished by our Island ancestors, we still cannot be insensible to the revolution attempted to the south of those great lakes, upon which a portion of Upper Canadians dwell and depend, and from which we in Lower Canada derive most of our freights and exchanges.

“Freights and exchanges” may sound a little hard and materialistic after the “triple cross,” but this did not bother McGee. He rushed on to a gloriously mixed naval *metaphor*, a trite use, in his quotation, of *synoeceosis* (the contrasting of things of an opposite nature), a vague *personification* of “intelligence,” and finally another mixed *metaphor* concerning parrots and organs:

Standing as we do to the north of the North, riding safely by the firm anchorage of a system of self-government, the most liberal that metropolis ever conceded to colony, since the emigrating ages of the Greeks—bound up with the fortunes of a great empire by “links light as air, yet strong as iron,” we conceive that the public intelligence of Canada is sufficiently centred in itself, sufficiently calm, unbiased, and comprehensive, to form opinions for ourselves, neither parroted after the organs of the North, nor echoed after the orators of the South.

In the peroration to the same speech, McGee again started slowly but quickly warmed up (pp. 30-32). By the third sentence he was into *parison* (a series of anti-

thetical clauses of similar construction) and elaborate biblical phraseology: "Our littleness is not to rebuke their littleness; we are not to answer railing with railing, nor to heap up wrath against the day of wrath." In the next sentence he quoted from Longfellow (how appropriate) the passage beginning, "Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!" And then he let himself go. *Anaphora* and *explanatio* appear first:

We do not—to continue the poet's image—while the ship is driving on the rocks, her signal gun pealing for aid above the din of the tempest—we do not lurk along the shore, gloating over her danger, in hope of enriching ourselves by the wreck.

Why such human scavengers should have to "lurk" along the shore he does not bother saying, but instead explodes with an *epiphonema*, a grave reflection consequent upon statements that have preceded, and continues:

No, God forbid! Such is not the feeling of the people of Canada. On the contrary, so far as their public opinion can be heard throughout the British Empire or the United States, their wish would be that the Republic, as it was twelve months ago, might live to celebrate in concord, in 1876, the centenary of its Independence.

McGee's final sentence is so jammed with figures that I shall have to break it in three. He began with *antithesis* and his favourite device of *anaphora*:

We prefer our own institutions to theirs; but our preference is rational, not rancorous; we may think, and we do think, it would have been well for them to have retained more than they did retain of the long-trying wisdom of their ancestors; we may think, and we do think, that their overthrow of ancient precedents and venerable safeguards was too sweeping in 1776—

The middle portion follows, with an insidiously false opposition between the words "constitutional" and "lawless":

but as between natural right and oligarchical oppression; as between the constitutional majority and the lawless minority; as between free intercourse and armed frontiers; as between negro emancipation and a revival of the slave trade; as between the golden rule and the cotton crop of 1861; as between the revealed unity of the race and the heartless heresy of African bestiality; as between the North and the South in this deplorable contest—

This middle passage illustrates *parison* well—too well, for the series of antithetical clauses is stretched out to a staggering degree. Yet this degree appears deliberate, for it exemplifies the figure of *epexergasia*, or amplification of a proposition by the deliberately superabundant accumulation of examples. Not only that: McGee was not content with thus mixing two similar figures; he had also to crowd into their midst a third—*exergasia*, or the employment in succession of different phrases con-

veying the same meaning, which accounts for the series of "negro emancipation," "golden rule," and "revealed unity of the race" and the contrasting series of virtually identical terms. He then concluded his sentence with *diexodus*, or the enumeration of successive particulars in a parallel order, and, of course, a use of *climax*:

I rest firmly in the belief that all that is most liberal, most intelligent, and most magnanimous in Canada and the Empire, are for continental peace, for constitutional arbitrament, for universal, if gradual emancipation, for free intercourse, for justice, mercy, civilization, and the North.

For "peace," "arbitrament," "emancipation," "free intercourse," and "justice, mercy, civilisation"—that climax climbs nicely, increasing steadily in magnitude and importance; and then—"the North."

By now the reader will agree, I trust, that if he were to take a Victorian manual of rhetoric in one hand and with the other leaf through the speeches of McGee, he would probably find in those speeches all the possible figures of rhetoric studiously applied, but applied, nonetheless, without taste and often without even an awareness of the ridiculous effects being created.

If the reader will next glance back over the smaller type in which McGee's sentences and paragraphs are reproduced, he will be reminded of a fact which probably impressed him on first reading: there is far too much matter in practically every one of McGee's sentences, and generally the matter is extraneous. The same fault is to be found in the larger sections of his speeches and in each speech as a whole. He constantly stuffed in gobs and gobs of extraneous material, with the result that in progress he was wandering, and in total effect blurred and diffuse. Even in his most important speech, the one on the Confederation resolutions, he introduced much extraneous material (*Speeches*, pp. 261-308). Instead of resting content with his main argument that British North America should unite in order to defend itself against the military threat from the United States, he dragged in many minor reasons that, along with digressions to compliment various people and a general diffuseness of style, weakened the impact of his speech and dissipated its energy. Especially since there were many other supporters of the resolutions who spoke on the other reasons for adopting them, McGee had no excuse whatever for not confining himself to the aspect of defence. If he had done so, his speech would have been much more forceful and persuasive. As it was, even in the peroration, the place where one would most have expected him to concentrate on his major theme, he dragged in such side issues as immigration, resources, and prosperity.

Within his speeches McGee's organization of topics and his progress from one to the next were so plagued with digressions, returnings, wanderings, and expan-

sions that his argument must frequently have been lost sight of, and his listeners left only with individual phrases and the elocutionist's rant. His paragraphs were no better. Although they are not indicated typographically, it is clear enough that they usually consisted of a topic sentence followed by a gaggle of overstuffed ideas. From one to another of these McGee simply bobbed about, like a bloated balloon, until, reaching the last one, he drifted off to another set.

As diffuse and verbose as McGee was, however, the comic touchstone of his quality remains his use of metaphor. "Some . . . have contended," he said, "that we might have bridged the abyss with that Prussian pontoon called a Zollverein" (p. 277). It is tempting to think of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, henceforth, as a man who tried to float a pontoon-bridge on the bottomless gulf of nothing.

Edward Blake

The other Victorian orator of ours who has been grossly overrated is Edward Blake. A radical intellectual and the philosopher of his party, he usually spoke in a tone that was superior (without being condescending), and was often content simply to stimulate thought rather than move to action. Again unlike most of his fellow political orators, he was usually most scrupulous, so much so, in fact, that he would carefully qualify his statements, even to the point—most remarkable for politicians—of putting in "perhaps" here and there.

But unfortunately he resembled many other orators, especially McGee, in forever stuffing too much subject matter into his speeches. Even in his famous Aurora speech, he was not content with discussing the Reciprocity Treaty, the Pacific Railway, and the relations of Canada to the Empire. He went on to discuss topics that were even more controversial; and here he did not stop with calling for electoral purity in his own party and with telling people that they should spend more of their money on teachers and should keep their children in school longer. He went much further and urged the adoption of proportional representation, the reform of the Senate by having the Senators elected by the various Provinces, the extension of the franchise to something close to universal manhood suffrage, and—most explosive of all—the making of voting compulsory.⁴ As is readily seen, many of these were radical suggestions (as many of them still are), and with each additional suggestion he made, he further reduced the chances of having any one of them accepted. Not only did he commit McGee's error of blurring the whole effect of his speech by bloating it with too much material, but he also antagonized his listeners by shoving so many radical ideas at them at once. Since he discussed so many, he was unable to explain any one at sufficient length for his listeners to see the reasonableness of it.

Insofar as general election campaigning was concerned, a far wiser course would have been for him to discuss one topic only in one constituency, another topic in another constituency, and so on, and be content to let the accounts of his other speeches circulate by word of mouth or in party pamphlets. Insofar as his radical suggestions were concerned, it would have been better still, of course, for him to devote at least a year to the urging of each new idea, and not to go on to the next until the electorate had become accustomed to the current one. But in spite of his failure to have most of his ideas accepted, Blake went on dazing and antagonizing his listeners by shooting off all his fireworks in every speech.

Even in individual sentences Blake could cram in far too much material. In the following example see whether you can guess at what was supposed to be the principal thought:

But, with the very great advantages which we enjoy over that portion of our fellow-subjects living in England, by reason of our having come into a new country, having settled it for ourselves, and adapted our institutions to modern notions, by reason of our not being cumbered by the constitution of a legislative chamber on the hereditary principle, by reason of our not being cumbered with an aristocracy, or with the unfortunate principle of primogeniture and the aggregation of the land in very few hands, by reason of our not being cumbered with the difficulties which must always exist where a community is composed of classes differing from one another in worldly circumstances so widely as the classes in England differ, where you can go into a street of the City of London and find the extreme of wealth, and a mile or two away the very extreme of poverty; living, as we do, in a country where these difficulties do not exist, where we early freed ourselves from the incubus of a State Church, where we early provided for the educational needs of our people, under these happy circumstances, with these great privileges, there are corresponding responsibilities. ("Aurora Speech," p. 258.)

This sentence, running on for 198 words, was intended as a transition sentence. Its principal thought, and the only thought that should have been expressed, is that with the advantages and privileges which we enjoy over those of our fellow-subjects living in England, there are corresponding responsibilities.

Fortunately this was Blake's worst. Usually his sentences were better ordered. At the beginnings of his speeches, they were almost invariably complex, often with wheels within wheels, but as he proceeded, the sentences became shorter and simpler. In the following quotation, which was the opening paragraph of his speech on North-West Maladministration, he can be seen turning from polite thanks to launch immediately into complex rhetoric, complete with qualifications, an instance of *anaphora*, and an awkward repetition of the word "live":

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Reform Associations, whose addresses I have just been privileged to receive: I give you my best thanks for the language, all too kind, and the expressions, all too flattering, which you have been pleased to use towards me. I wish I could feel myself in any degree worthy of them. I can only claim for myself that, conscious of many imperfections and failings in my public career, it has, at any rate, been animated by an earnest desire to the best of my humble powers and to the limit of my poor ability, to do some little good to the country in which I was born, in which it is my happiness to live, and where I hope to die, and so to leave the corner of the world in which I live a little better for the life that I have lived in it.⁵

His shorter sentences could be marshalled rather effectively. If the following was delivered with a feeling of energetic indignation, it was undoubtedly moving:

It has been shown that it was the policy of the Government to coerce the Indians into such action as it thought right, by reducing them from rations to half-rations, and from that to quarter-rations, and I don't know how much lower, in order to starve them into removal. The Indian is very different from the white man in many respects. The habits of his life have led him to be improvident, and he gorges himself when he has a supply of food, and abstains very patiently when he can't get it. When you reflect that these half or quarter-rations are distributed weekly, or two or three times a week, to the head of the family, you can easily see, judging from the character of the Indian, what the result was likely to be. The starvation rations given out were eaten at once, and perhaps they were eaten by the buck, and the squaw and paposes were left absolutely to starve. This was done in some cases without any cause whatever. The food supplied was also unsuitable and produced disease and death. There were other courses pursued of immorality and wickedness, to which, before a mixed audience, I dislike to allude, but which were certain to produce the worst results. The whole story is humiliating. A national sin has received a retribution. The Indians were so misgoverned and mismanaged that they were ripe for revolt. And the Half-breeds, who should have been our influence for good, had also, as I have shown you, been alienated by neglect, delay, and mismanagement. It was under such circumstances that Riel came in, and under such circumstances that the Government remained inactive during 1884. (*Campaign of 1887*, pp. 42-43.)

Although in the form of these sentences there is no excitement to match the content, and although Blake has used "this" with sad ambiguity half-way through, there is still the scrupulous insertion of "perhaps" and, more importantly, a sense of direction in the progress of the whole passage.

Unfortunately Blake did not always possess such a sense of direction. In the midst of his Aurora speech, it is evident that a topic suddenly occurred to him, and in response to it he departed from an otherwise carefully prepared text. He introduced the subject and at once offered an argument in support of the elaboration he would then make:

Before passing from this subject I desire to speak of one of the truest tests of the right to the franchise—I mean the educational test. There is no doubt that our future will be largely affected by the course we take with regard to the extension of education throughout the land.

It would then appear that while thinking desperately of what next to say, it occurred to him to mention Mowat. He did so, but by this time he had thought of how to introduce his second argument; so he dropped Mowat without any elaboration at all:

I agree with many of the remarks of Mr. Mowat on that subject. I commend heartily the public spirit which has led the people of this country to expend such large sums on education; but my information leads me to believe that the people have not done all they ought to have done.

Although he had thus introduced the argument of money, he quickly dropped it for one of his pet subjects—attendance at school:

It is not only expenditure which is needed, but it is equally important to take care that when you have the schools you send your children to them for a proper portion of the year.

But then realizing that he had not made as much of the argument of money as he should have, he reverted to that, leaving the question of attendance dangling:

Then you cannot get good work without reasonable pay. You have improved considerably the rate of pay of your teachers in the last few years. Three or four years ago, after investigating that subject, I spoke to my own constituents upon it, and I say now again, that if you want to make all this expenditure effectual, it is a prime duty to consider how much is required in order to obtain a good teacher and to pay that sum, whatever it may be.

The reference to his speech three or four years before is entirely extraneous, of course, but it is not the last intrusion of the extraneous, for he soon inserted the election of trustees into the medley of ideas he offered in an effort to strengthen his argument about money:

Without that the whole system is ineffective. The teacher is the key. To what purpose do you build brick school-houses, elect trustees, and send your children to school, unless you have an efficient teacher to instruct them? And you cannot get good teachers at the present rate of pay, increased though it is.

At last, duty done, he returned to his favourite theme:

Another point is this. In old and well settled [counties] where the farms are cleared and men have become wealthy, where there is no reason, no necessity, for the

children being kept at home, how is it that the average period of attendance is so short? In some parts the shortness of the average attendance is positively alarming. I exhort my fellow-countrymen to see to these things. ("Aurora Speech," p. 266.)

"Things," indeed. Had Blake omitted his reference to Mowat, grouped together his remarks about money, and concluded with his observations about attendance, he would have been much more persuasive. But the floundering he actually fell into is significant in revealing the fact that his formal style of address was markedly different from his ordinary conversational style—that, in other words, his ideal for public address was rhetorical artifice, from which he lapsed only occasionally.

In diction, although he was usually free from much political cant, Blake was often tritely copious (as the reader has no doubt noticed), and frequently downright careless. With the worst of orators he could pile up metaphors in the most ludicrous manner. In this sample he makes daybreak sound rather noisy:

We have had a time of severe and arduous struggle; we have had a season of gloom and darkness; but I trust the day is breaking and the sounds of an aroused public spirit are becoming audible . . . (*Campaign of 1887*, p. 138.)

And if on reading this example you duck automatically, there is good reason:

The question, however, has advanced. It has assumed still larger proportions, and in its wider phase of today it now presses on our minds. (*Campaign*, p. 142.)

But probably the worst example of carelessness appears in the following sentence. Asking how the minority in a constituency are to be represented, Blake said:

Some will say that people a long way off elected, say, Mr. Cameron, of Cardwell, or Mr. Farrow, of North Huron, represent them. ("Aurora Speech", p. 269.)

It is only natural to take "elected" as a verb and "people" as its subject, with the result that the end of the sentence is baffling. If instead of using an ellipsis Blake had retained "who have been" after "people," we should have had a fighting chance. If he had put the phrase "a long way off" where it belonged, it would not have seemed to qualify "people"; and above all, if he had been precise in his diction and for "people" had said "Members of Parliament," "successful candidates," or even "representatives," the meaning would have been clear almost at once: "Some will say that Members of Parliament who have been elected a long way off—such, say, as Mr. Cameron of Cardwell or Mr. Farrow of North Huron—represent this minority."

Lest, however, I give the impression that Blake was as inept as McGee, let me conclude this section by quoting a passage in which he attacked Sir Charles Tupper. Like Blake's remarks on education, what he says here has a modern ring, but for

our purposes it is even more interesting in representing the two qualities that raised him above McGee's ineptitude—a half-developed sense of rhythm and a nascent sense of humour:

Sir Charles, in my hearing (at one of those times when he was persuading us to make some great grants for the railway), asked us whether the members of the House had considered what a hundred thousand farmers in [the North-West] would produce.

"I have considered it," said he, "I have made a calculation; I will give that calculation, and it will perhaps surprise some of you who have not taken the pains I have to find out the facts. The facts are that a hundred thousand farmers in that country will produce 640,000,000 bushels of wheat in a year!" (Loud laughter.) Yes, gentlemen, it is a fact that he said that; I heard it myself. How did he reach those figures? He assumed that each farmer would crop 320 acres of land, his whole homestead and pre-emption. (Laughter.) He was to live in a balloon, for Sir Charles didn't leave him any room to build a house; he was to have his barns and stables in the air, his cattle were to pasture in the clouds, he was to have no grass, he was to have no garden, he was to have no roots, he was to have no crop of any kind but wheat; there was to be no room for fences, no room for roads through his farm, no anything, but every inch of 320 acres was to be sowed to wheat; and then he estimated that every acre would produce twenty bushels, and so he made out that each farmer would produce 6,400 bushels, and a hundred thousand farmers would, of course, produce 640,000,000 bushels. (Loud and prolonged laughter.) (*Campaign*, p. 32.)

NOTES

1. W. P. Sandford, *English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828* (Ohio State University, [1931]), p. 167.
2. R. W. Emerson, *Complete Works* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1922), VII, 90. Essay on "Eloquence."
3. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *Speeches and Addresses* (London: Chapman, Hall, 1865), p. 24. Please note that throughout this study, when quoting from speeches, I have standardized both punctuation and spelling wherever necessary.
4. W. S. Wallace, ed., "Edward Blake's Aurora Speech, 1874," *Canadian Historical Review*, II (1921), 249-271.
5. Edward Blake, *Dominion Election: Campaign of 1887: Speeches* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1887), p. 29.