

been returned for any one of half a dozen constituencies, but he no doubt chose South Ontario rather as a test of the fate which awaited the two political parties at the polls; he did not care to carry one constituency for himself unless he could carry with it a majority of the rest for his supporters. In this view, his contesting South Ontario becomes intelligible; in any other light, it would be as indefensible as his electing to sit for Toronto ten years before—for both decisions led to the ousting from Parliament of the principal leader of the party.

When Mr. Brown entered Parliament in the session of 1852, he ranged himself in opposition to the Reform Government of the day. The two years and a half which elapsed before the next general election widened the breach between old political friends, and tended to the formation of new alliances. The extreme wing of the Reform party, designated "Clear Grits" by the *Globe*, had issued a radical programme in 1850; and the malcontents of later date naturally gravitated towards its ranks. By the summer of 1854 Mr. Brown had virtually become the leader of the Reform opposition, and during the general election of that summer the Ministerialists found themselves opposed both by the Conservatives and the "Clear Grits." The union of these two parties at the polls had the desired result, and the ministry was beaten. Then came the Macnab-Morin coalition, against which the Anti-Ministerial Reformers issued a "round robin," having the names of nineteen members of the Legislative Assembly from Upper Canada attached. From that time the party under the leadership of Mr. Brown formed a compact body of uncompromising Oppositionists. The "broad Protestant principles" which the *Globe* had espoused, and which, no doubt, had been rendered all the more popular by the reaction upon Canada of the English "Papal Aggression" excitement of '50-'51, were incorporated in the party platform. The persistent demands of the Roman Catholics for greater privileges in the establishment and management of separate schools made "non-sectarian education" a prominent plank, while "representation by population," to put an end to Lower Canada "domination," was an essential feature in the party programme. The old issues of Clergy Reserves, Seigneurial Tenure, Elective Legislative Council, &c., disposed of in the sessions of '54, '55, and '56, were thus replaced by other questions no less irritating and vexatious, while they were still more difficult to deal with. Mr. Brown battled vigorously for these new issues; he struck everywhere and always against the Government; its every fresh measure was paraded as a grosser injustice to Upper Canada than the last; the excitement in the country rose to fever heat; and the party which he led grew stronger session after session, till its strength culminated at the general election in 1857 by carrying some 25 out of 65 constituencies, and driving into retirement many prominent Ministerialists. The political excitement, embittered by religious rancour, for these were the days of the "no-papery cry," led to several strong personal antagonisms, some of which are probably not yet either forgotten or altogether forgiven. The doctrines proclaimed throughout Upper Canada to the advantage of the Opposition, reacted upon Lower Canada in favour of the Ministry, thus widening the sectional breach, while leaving the Government rather stronger in the whole House. This result, without bringing about an immediate calm in the public mind, shewed the folly of attempting to govern the two Provinces on principles which, however correct in theory, were essentially sectional in their application. Popular enthusiasm began to flag; a long, weary session of personal wrangling did not raise either party in the affections of its supporters; and on the 29th of July 1858, a vote, expressing want of confidence in the Queen's selection of Ottawa as the seat of Government, was carried by a majority of 14 in amendment to going into Committee of Supply. The Macdonald-Cartier Cabinet resigned; and Mr. Brown was called upon to form a Government. He took the post of Finance Minister for himself, and selected M. Dorion as Lower Canada leader. The Cabinet was completed, announced to the House, and gazetted in due form. Writs were issued for the re-election of the new ministers; the basis of a policy indicated, and—a vote of want of confidence carried against the new Cabinet by a large majority, in the absence of its members, and before they had been more than three days in office. The Premier, Mr. Brown, is said to have relied upon the constitutional privilege of advising a dissolution and appealing to the country, but this Sir Edmund Head, then Governor-General, refused; and the ministry, instead of attempting to go on without the confidence of the House, resigned on the 6th, having taken office on the 2nd of August. In re-appearing before his constituents under such irritating circumstances, Mr. Brown had the further annoyance of a hard contest thrust upon him by the candidature of the Hon. J. H. Cameron against him. He was, however, re-elected by a good majority, the circumstances of what was at the time called "the Double

Shuffle," having so much of the appearance of unfair treatment that personal sympathy, in some cases, took the place of political conviction. This incident had the effect of still further cooling the partizan ardour of the people; and a misunderstanding between Mr. Brown and some of his late colleagues as to what was really the policy of the Brown-Dorion Government, subsequently arising, and becoming the subject of acrimonious newspaper discussion, materially relaxed his hitherto strictly enforced discipline over the party. A convention held at Toronto in 1859, called the "Temperance Street Convention," at which "two or more local governments with some joint authority" for the government of Canada was recommended, led to other breaches in the ranks, though Mr. Brown vigorously supported the programme agreed upon.

By the time when the general election of 1861 was to take place, the popular excitement had very much subsided. More party men were in less demand, and some prominent members of the Opposition offered themselves as independent candidates. Several strong partisans on both sides were unceremoniously rejected for men of more moderate views, and Mr. Brown himself, defeated in Toronto, declined the offers of his friends to make way for him in other constituencies. In May, 1862, the Reformers came into power under the leadership of the Hon. J. S. Macdonald; and when Mr. Brown returned from Scotland in the fall of that year, the tone of the *Globe*, which had never been very cordial in support of the new government, became much more decided against it. When, the following spring he again took his seat in Parliament he was alleged to have set to work to remodel the Cabinet and change its policy, to make it more in consonance with his own views. Undoubtedly changes, both in *personnel* and programme, took place, which received his approval; but on the re-assembling of Parliament after the general election of 1863, the Ministry was weaker than before—with no new friends, and some old ones turned foes. It went out in March, '64, and the old Coalition returned to power. Meantime Mr. Brown obtained a committee on the Constitutional difficulty; and that committee reported in favour of some scheme of Confederation as an escape from the deadlock evidenced by the even balance of parties and the growing sectional antagonism. Only a week after this the Taché-Macdonald Government was defeated (June, 1864); and negotiations were opened, through Mr. Morris, between the Ministers and the Hon. George Brown, the result of which was the adoption of Confederation and the formation of the second Coalition Government. Mr. Brown offered to give Ministers an outside support on this question; but consented, on the unanimous vote of his party, to enter the Cabinet, which he did as President of the Council, taking with him Messrs. Mowat and McTougal, the former as Postmaster-General, and the latter as Provincial Secretary. At the Charlottetown and Quebec Conventions, at the great gatherings in honour of the Lower Province delegates, and on other suitable public occasions, Mr. Brown supported Confederation with great energy and eloquence. On some points, dear to his political feelings, he fought hard before surrendering; but in all these transactions, up to the closing of the last session of the Legislature of old Canada, he proved his unflinching fidelity to the policy agreed upon at Quebec. He had the satisfaction of securing the gratification of his preference for a nominated over an elective Senate for the Dominion, and his still more warmly cherished preference for no Upper House at all for the Province of Ontario. In 1865, he in company with other Ministers visited England on public affairs, among which the acquisition of the North-West formed a prominent topic. In December of that year he disagreed with his colleagues as to the measures which ought to be taken for the renewal of reciprocity. The course favoured by Mr. Galt, which, however, led to no practical result, does not appear to have been formally adopted by the Government, nevertheless Mr. Brown tendered his resignation, and, after some delay, it was accepted. The ministerial explanations made at Ottawa in June, 1866, threw very little light upon the matter beyond the evidence it furnished of still slumbering animosities which subsequent events have rather tended to rekindle than extinguish. At that session Mr. Brown secured a special charter incorporating the "Globe Printing and Publishing Co.," of which concern he occupies the position of Managing Director.

Mr. Brown is one of the most remarkable public men of the country; he stands alone in his almost uninterrupted career of opposition and in his unequalled list of political and personal antagonisms, having "fallen out by the way," at one time or another, with nearly every man who has prominently figured in politics for the past twenty-five years; his personal influence among the people in times of excitement is matchless, but in calmer seasons when there is nothing to enkindle enthusiasm, his strong, forcible and fervid oratory falls upon unprofitable soil.

Energy and vigour characterize his every movement, as they breathe through the lines of burning denunciation which flow so freely from his pen. But though as a popular leader he knows how to work up the feelings of the people, and as a patriot, when to hold personal considerations in abeyance, his uncompromising self-will and impatience of contradiction seem to disqualify him for the tedious and trying labours of statesmanship. When it was urged upon an English Premier that he should take the famous Dr. Johnson into the Government, he warily replied: "No sir! He has the strength of an elephant, it is true; but he is as likely to trample down his friend as his foes!" A consciousness of a similar disposition may have induced Mr. Brown to regard himself as a "governmental impossibility." At all events, he has declared that the eighteen months he spent in ministerial office were very unskesome and unpleasant; and that he retired in obedience to his own strong personal desire, at a time when he thought the great scheme of Confederation, for the sake of which he had taken office, had been so far advanced as to be safe from failure beyond peradventure. All parties regretted his retirement, but many of his own former supporters refused to follow him in his subsequent attempt to guide political warfare into the old party grooves. Though his nervous energy may have somewhat worn a vigorous and powerful physical constitution, Mr. Brown is not yet much past the prime of life, and should the new issue which has so often cropped up in the history of the country, and is to-day not without some slight show of vitality—that of severing the tie with the Mother Country—take such proportions as to seriously engage the attention of the people, Mr. Brown has unmistakably indicated that he will be found doing stout battle on the side of British connection.

CANADIAN PARLIAMENT

THE SENATE.

Thursday, April 22nd.—The following bills were read a second time:—Government Vessels Discipline Bill; Bill for removing restrictions on the issue of Bank notes in Nova Scotia; Ferry Regulation Bill; Bill to amend the Charter of the Halifax Merchants' Bank. The House then adjourned.

Monday, April 25.—Hon. Mr. McCarty presented the report of the committee appointed to enquire into the climate, resources, &c., of the North-West Territory. The House then went into committee on the Canadian Government Vessels Discipline Bill; and committee having risen and reported, the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 28th.—Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) moved a resolution declaring that the management of the Intercolonial Railway ought to be placed under the direct control of the Government. He maintained that intense dissatisfaction was manifested in Ontario with respect to the management, and contended that there would be no inconsistency in changing the act or policy. He criticized the manner in which the contracts had been let out and the school-boy character of the certificates given by commissioners to contractors. At the first year's rate the line would not be completed before 56 years, and the expenses had already amounted to seven millions. The motion was put and lost: Yeas, 44; Nays, 87. Mr. RYAN moved the adoption of the report of the committee appointed to enquire into the payment of \$20,000 to the late Sir Allan McNab. He accused the Government of wilfully neglecting their duty in the matter, and contended that it was the Government who were to blame, and not the officer, who, he was convinced, merely acted on an order from a Minister of the Crown. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD replied that the Government and the House would have been justified in refusing the appointment of the committee, as it was a charge against the Government of the late Province of Canada. But as he himself had been personally attacked, he had asked for the appointment of the committee, whose report had now completely exonerated him. Mr. MACKENZIE contended that this Parliament alone had a right to deal with the matter, as the present Government had been three days in office when the transaction was completed. The order in council for the payment of the money should not have been issued until the title to the property had been secured. After some remarks from Mr. SCARLETT, Hon. Mr. HOLMES said that the adoption of this report, which condemned the public officer, should be delayed until the evidence taken by the committee was printed and laid before the House. The motion was accordingly allowed to stand over. Two amendments by Hon. J. S. MACDONALD to the third reading of the Canada Central Railway Bill were lost. Hon. Mr. CHARVEAU moved another amendment and the debate was adjourned. The Bill respecting Perjury and the Bill to amend the Penitentiary Act were read a third time and passed. On motion to receive the report of the Committee on the Superannuation resolutions, Hon. Mr. BLANCHET moved in amendment that a uniform abatement of 2½ per cent. on all salaries be made. Sir FRANCIS HICKES said the Government would make no objection. Mr. GONN'S amendment, extending the superannuation principle to widows and orphans, was lost: Yeas, 40; Nays, 92. Mr. BLANCHET'S amendment was then put and lost. Mr. JOLY moved an amendment making the superannuation contribution non-compulsory on those whose lives were insured. The motion was lost: Yeas, 55; Nays, 58. The resolutions were then adopted, and a bill founded on them introduced and read a first time. The House then went again into Committee of Supply, and passed the following items:—Post Office \$18,000; maintenance and repairs of Public Works in Ontario and Quebec, \$370,400; Nova Scotia Railways, \$320,000; European and North American Railway and eastern extension working expenses, \$167,500; Salaries and contingencies of Canal Officers, \$27,530; Collection of slides and dues, \$12,172; Minor revenues, \$10,000; Subsidies to Provinces, \$2,597,362. The following item, left over, was passed: To meet possible amount for increases under the Civil Service Act, or for pos-