

contested the election when the dissolution took place to close the proceedings. From the Hincks-Taché we bound to the Hincks-Morin Administration, and in 1854, public opinion pronouncing itself against their policy, an election again took place. Mr. Brown was then in full vigour on the *Globe*, and many of his diatribes against the improper influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood took a form which was unwise, and was particularly hurtful to the Liberals of Quebec. It provided a weapon of assault against them to their least scrupulous opponents. M. Letellier was a man with sincere religious convictions. Bred in the Roman Catholic faith, its ceremonies, its identification with ordinary life, its family discipline, its universality, commended themselves to his sentiment and intelligence; but he was desirous that the priest should be limited to his religious duties, and that what influence he could obtain should be moral, and not be damaging and aggressive. But the politicians who trade upon Church influence never fail to alarm the consciences and the susceptibilities of the clergy—with few exceptions invariably open to such impressions. M. Letellier became then one to be defamed as an atheist and a communist. It was this influence which lost him his election in 1854. He complained to the Bishop on this treatment, and the *Curé* was called upon to make public retraction. He did so, stating the fact that he had assailed M. Letellier, and that he had been called upon to make reparation; as he put it, a proof that the truth could not always be told. The elections for the Legislative Council followed in 1860. The division of Grandville embraced the counties of Temiscouata, Kamouraska, and L'Islet. M. Chapais, his old opponent, still stood face to face against him. There was the old religious cry against M. Letellier, "He was a *Rouge*," "Heaven was blue, hell was red." M. Letellier was elected. He was now in the safe waters of the Upper House. In 1862 the Government which Sir J. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier had held together for five years, since 1857, had lost public confidence. The premier was really Sir J. Macdonald, but the theories of Lower Canada exacted that it should have a compound title. After some political complications, Mr. John Sandfield-Macdonald with Mr. Dorion, assumed the Government. M. Letellier accepted the post of Minister of Agriculture.

We have no space to enter into a history of the events which led to Confederation. M. Letellier opposed the mode in which the question was taken up, and it was a view widely entertained that such a change in the constitution should not be carried in the arbitrary mode in which it was enforced. We were in a deadlock in politics, and this measure of Federation was looked upon as the means of settling the complications. The avowed principle of Federation was to destroy the antagonism which had grown up between Upper and Lower Canada. The leaders of the movement possibly foresaw that the only chance of its success was to force it through with as little hindrance as possible. In 1867 the law came into force. The old Parliament of Canada expired 15th August, 1866.

A Government of compromise had been formed nominally under Sir Narcisse Belleau on the death of Sir Etienne Taché; and on the establishment of Federation Sir John Macdonald was named Premier. It was a Cabinet of Conservatives and Liberals, the latter being represented by Mr. Aiken, Mr. Howland, and Mr. Macdougall. Mr. Howland was subsequently appointed Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, and Mr. Macdougall, of the Hudson's Bay Territory, and in a short time the Administration became peculiarly Conservative. In accordance with the provisions of the Federation Act, M. Letellier became a member of the Senate, and acted in opposition to the Government. Then came the Allan Canada-Pacific disgrace, and the Government was banished from office as a punishment for its ill-doing. Mr. Mackenzie took office, and, naturally enough, M. Letellier became a member of the Cabinet. He entered it as Minister of Agriculture. Such, in a few words, was the career of M. Letellier until 1873, the date when Mr. Mackenzie was called upon to form a Cabinet. The death of M. Caron in 1876 made the Lieutenant-Governorship of Quebec vacant. There were many circumstances which led the offer to be made to M. Letellier. M. Cauchon, who had strangely obtained admission into the Mackenzie Government, claimed it, M. Casgrain tells us; and he was not wont in any matter to be very delicate in urging his demand. It would have been an unpopular appointment. M. Letellier had everything to fit him for the position—personal appearance, good manners, and sympathy with art and literature, a generous sense of hospitality. He accepted the position, and his absence from the Senate was undoubtedly a great loss to Mr. Mackenzie.

On the 25th February, 1878, the crisis occurred which ultimately ended in M. Letellier's dismissal from the Lieut.-Governorship of Quebec. The Lieut.-Governor called upon the First Minister for the reasons which led the Executive Council to adopt measures to obtain payment of bonuses voted by municipalities towards the construction of the railway. He

complained that a bill enforcing new taxes had been proposed in the Legislature without having been previously submitted to him. A conversation took place with M. De Boucherville, in which he stated that he considered consent had been given. On the 1st March—in a lengthy communication—M. de Boucherville was informed by the Lieutenant-Governor that he could not be retained longer in his position, and the Ministry was dismissed. On the 2nd March M. Letellier called on Mr. Joly to form an Administration: the offer was accepted.

It is necessary to narrow this question, because the attempt has been made to set it on a false issue. M. Letellier was removed from office on the ground that his usefulness was gone. A party vote, sustained by all the special pleading of the side, was carried. M. Letellier has also been accused of intrigue. Never was a line of conduct so free from intrigue. It was straightforward and open to the last degree. He played on one side his own personal ease and dignity against the chance of winning nothing. He was the Lieutenant-Governor: to keep his place it was only necessary to be subservient to his Ministry, in order to be called His Excellency and to get additional allowances in any form he might ask. Nor is it necessary to ask, in the view of his dismissal, whether he was right or wrong as he determined to act. The question was, Did his prerogative of Lieutenant-Governor admit of his conduct? We will suppose that no one could have been found to accept the office of Minister; then the vote of the House, protesting against his proceedings, must have been accepted as his condemnation. He would have been removed, or been called upon to resign. Mr. Joly in parliamentary language made the policy his own. In accepting office he accepted the Lieutenant-Governor's policy. The votes of want of confidence in the Parliament of that day naturally followed. They can be held of no account. It is the vote of the new Parliament, summoned on the very issue, which passed an address sustaining the Governor, which was to be considered. It should have been held to be conclusive, so far as M. Letellier was concerned. It is true that four members sustaining Mr. Joly treacherously abandoned him, each of whom has since received the reward of his vote on that occasion. They will be remembered in the history of the Province of Quebec.

The elections following in 1878, Mr. Mackenzie's Government was defeated at the polls, and then came the whole weight of French-Canadian fury against M. Letellier. Every passion was appealed to, every pre- Ontario knew that M. Letellier was legally and constitutionally right: against him. Sir J. Macdonald saw here the chance he had of commanding the support of Quebec. With the good government of Mr. Joly, it slip from his control. It was indispensable to break down Mr. Joly. It was equally necessary to remove M. Letellier. He succeeded in the two efforts.

It is most important to bear in mind what took place in Mr. Mackenzie's time as Premier. Sir J. Macdonald moved a resolution censuring M. Letellier. The House of Commons by a large majority rejected the motion, thereby fully sustaining M. Letellier—a fact to cast greater dishonour on the majority of the next session, who followed Sir J. Macdonald in his unconstitutional and unjust vindictiveness.

Might is not right. From the earliest days the ruthless abuse of power has often gained its object for a time. The passions of men are excited in proportion as they are ignorant and without thought, and those hurried onward by passion did not stay to estimate the force of the blow they were dealing to the constitution of Canada in every form—especially at the autonomy of Quebec. The parliamentary vote of the majority of the Provincial Legislature convened on this special question was over-ridden, and a vote at Ottawa undertook to tell the children from Quebec, who cried to go. The memorable words of Mr. Mackenzie cannot be too often remembered. They were uttered on the 27th April, 1880, when Sir L. Tilley moved the House into a Committee of Supply; he had moved an amendment, condemning the removal of M. Letellier on the ground that "his usefulness was gone:" "If it be true that any man who accepts the position of Lieutenant-Governor can have his motives impugned, and be dismissed by this Parliament on account of his appearing to have been an opponent of the Government in his previous political views, then there is an end of all respectability in connection with our highest political circles, and an end to that independent relation between the Government and the Governments of the Provinces, contemplated in the Confederation Act."

We repeat that M. Casgrain has performed an act beneficial to the whole Dominion by the production of this work. We trust to see it translated into English, and recommend it to all who are capable of reading it in the language in which it is written.