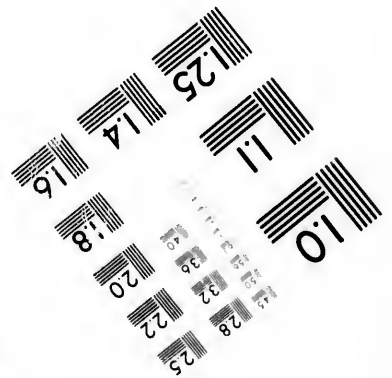
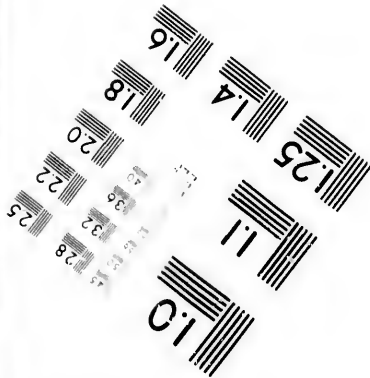
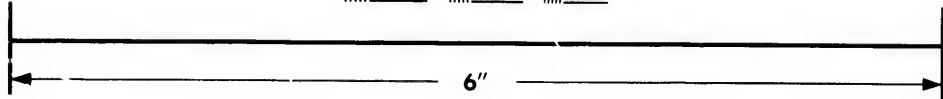
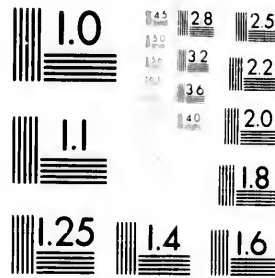


**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

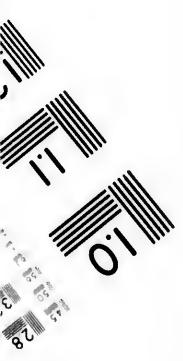


**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques



© 1981

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

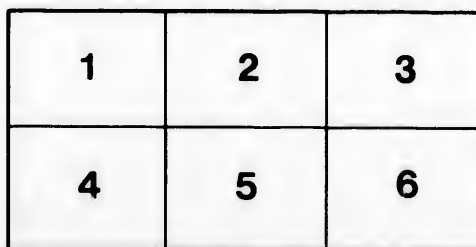
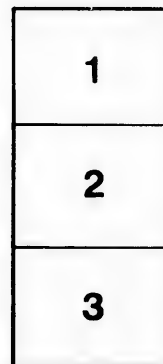
National Library of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

errata
to

pelure,
on à



fu
w
ti
M
w
C
o
th
is
t
w
a
li
t
t
a
a
a
l
s
a
h
o
v
o
s
h
o
a
s
h

September 1886 -

THE EVOLUTION OF CANADIAN PARTIES

If Mr. Carrick had read "The Consolidation of Canada" more carefully, he would not have charged me with misrepresentation of facts. To whom Canada is most indebted for Confederation is a much disputed question, but the names of Sir John Macdonald, George Brown, Alexander Mackenzie, and Thomas D'Arcy McGee will always be intimately associated with that event. My article did not deal with the events that preceded Confederation. No reference was made to the part taken by the politicians of either party in bringing about Confederation. Mr. Carrick's account of the part taken by Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie in furthering the project is substantially correct, but it does not alter the fact that after Confederation "most of the Dominionists allied themselves with the Conservatives, while the Provincialists joined the Reformers." With Confederation Canada entered upon a new phase of existence, and all the conditions of public life were changed. The old names were retained, but it was inevitable that important changes should occur in the personnel and policy of the two parties. The first prominent politician to change sides was Mr. Richard Cartwright, now Sir Richard Cartwright. He had always been a Tory, and was elected in 1867 as a supporter of Sir John Macdonald, but shortly afterward went over to the Reformers. Since then other Conservatives have followed his example, while many Reformers have joined the Conservatives. The change in policy came about gradually. The Conservatives before long decided that with altered conditions a new policy must be adopted. Confederation was accomplished, but consolidation was not complete. It was a paper union, and would remain so unless the Provinces were brought into closer communication and made to trade with each other. The conditions of life in Canada and the United States were very similar, and wishing to profit by the experience of others, the Conservatives began to study the public policy of the Americans, feeling sure that much could be learned from an enlightened and progressive people whose country adjoined the new Dominion from ocean to ocean. Out of this grew in time what is known in Canada as the "National Policy," derisively abbreviated by the Reformers to "N. P." Mr. George Brown and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie were patriotic, honest men, but they were British to the heart's core and strongly opposed to the introduction of American methods and American measures. The Conservatives said that their change of policy

was not due to hostility to England, but that the conditions of life were so different on this continent that we must imitate the policy of our neighbors if we would compete with them. This view of the case commended itself to the great majority of Canadian electors, and the strength of the Conservative party was greatly increased. Up to this time the *Toronto Globe*, under the editorial control of Mr. George Brown and his brother, Mr. Gordon Brown, had dictated the policy of the Reform Party and exerted an extraordinary influence throughout the country, for the Browns were men of sterling integrity and great force of character. Mr. Mackenzie, the Reform leader, fully sympathized with their views, but a dissatisfied faction of the party who were opposed to what they called the Brown dictatorship, got the upper hand, and Mr. Mackenzie was deposed from the leadership to make place for Mr. Edward Blake. Shortly after this Mr. George Brown died, and his brother, Mr. Gordon Brown, long associated with him in the editorial control of the *Globe*, became managing editor. The *Globe* was founded by the Browns, and its success was entirely due to them, but they had found it necessary to form a joint-stock company, and at the time of Mr. George Brown's death did not control a majority of the shares. The new leaders wished to dictate the policy of the *Globe*, but Mr. Gordon Brown insisted that the paper must maintain an independent attitude consistent with its former policy. The anti-Brown faction obtained the ear of Mr. Nelson, the principal stockholder of the *Globe*, and Mr. Gordon Brown was forced to sever his connection with the paper which he and his brother had made a power in the land. Having deposed their old leaders, the Reformers completely reversed the policy of the party on many important questions. The *Globe* under the Browns was strongly British, and would not hear of independence or annexation, and, after his deposition from the leadership, Mr. Mackenzie said in a public speech that Canadians would gladly spend their last dollar and shed their last drop of blood in support of British connection. Under the new management, the *Globe* began to toy with the questions of independence and annexation with a view to testing public opinion, and in its issue of June 12, 1886, under the heading, "The Destiny of Canada," it went so far as to say: "The situation is tolerated by the multitudes who wish to substitute a better one merely from consideration for the sentimentalists who cling to the old form of the old connection. The flag is merely a picture of battle, and the throne nothing more than a gilded chair with a canopy, and the crown simply a bauble stuck over with jewels, to tens and hundreds of thousands in the Dominion. The British and we are aliens from each other by force of geography." Some of the Reform papers,

notably the Kingston *Whig* and the Ottawa *Free Press*, do not follow the *Globe* in regard to independence. Under the Browns, the *Globe* strongly opposed an elective senate, and it was largely due to the arguments of George Brown in Parliament that a nominative senate was decided upon. In his speech, February 8, 1865, he said: "I have always been opposed to a second elective chamber and am so still. I voted, almost alone, against the change when the council was made elective, but I have lived to see a vast majority of those who did the deed wish it had not been done. What we propose is that the upper House shall be appointed from the best men of the country by those holding the confidence of the representatives of the people in this chamber. It is proposed that the government of the day, which only lives by the approval of this chamber, shall make the appointments, and be responsible to the people for the selections they shall make." But, the *Globe* and the whole Reform Party demand that the senate be either abolished or made elective. The *Globe* and the Reform Party under the old leadership were bitterly hostile to the Roman Catholics and the French Canadians. Now the *Globe*, Edward Blake and his lieutenants are making extraordinary efforts to gain the friendship of the French Canadians and secure the Roman Catholic vote. The framers of the Canadian constitution, both Conservatives and Reformers, were very strongly opposed to the doctrine of State sovereignty. They believed that the American civil war was due to this doctrine, and they took particular pains to have it understood from the first that the Dominion was to be the unit and the provinces the factors. The American constitution reserves to the States jurisdiction in all matters not delegated to the National Government. The Canadian constitution expressly reserves to the Dominion Government jurisdiction in all matters not delegated to the provinces. The Confederation Act also provides that any act passed by the local legislatures shall be subject to disallowance by the governor-general in council within one year of the passing thereof. This was intended to prevent sectional legislation injurious to the Dominion at large, and to provide for the representation of minorities, so that, although the Dominion cannot dictate legislation for the provinces, it can refuse to sanction a provincial measure, and in the event of unjust legislation, the minority can appeal to it. This clause was agreed to during the debates on confederation, and Mr. Brown speaking in support of it said: "By vesting the appointment of the lieutenant-governors in the general government and giving a veto for all local measures we have secured that no injustice shall be done without appeal in local legislation." Mr. Mackenzie said: "The veto power is necessary in order that the general government may have a control over

the proceedings of the local legislatures to a certain extent. The want of this power was the great source of weakness in the United States, and it is a want that will be remedied by an amendment in their constitution very soon. If each province were able to enact such laws as it pleased everybody would be at the mercy of the local legislatures, and the general legislature would become of little importance." Mr. Mackenzie was of the same mind some years later, for during his administration of about five years twenty provincial acts were disallowed. Yet almost ever since the deposition of the old leaders the Reformers have denounced the Dominion Government for trenching on the reserved prerogatives of the legislatures in disallowing provincial acts. This change of policy was not induced by an undue exercise of the veto power. The "Provincial Rights" agitation was at its height in 1883. Between the years 1867 and 1882 six thousand two hundred and ninety-three acts were passed by all the provincial legislatures, and of these only thirty-two were disallowed, twenty during the Mackenzie administration of about five years, and twelve during the Macdonald administration of about ten years. I must not be understood to blame the Reform leaders for changing the policy of the party, nor do I wish to argue against either the reform of the senate or the ultimate independence of Canada. My purpose is merely to show that the personnel and policy of each party has greatly changed since Confederation, and that the old party names are no longer appropriate. In calling the Conservatives "Dominionists" and the Reformers "Provincialists," I did not intend to offend the Reformers, but thought they would rather like the new name as they have for several years made "Provincial Rights" their battle-cry, and claim, in the words of Mr. Carrick, that the several provinces are the units and the Dominion the multiple. There could not be a better time than the present for a change of names, for owing to the attitude of the Reform Party on the Riel question a number of French-Canadian Bleus, who had always associated the name "Reformers" with hostility to the French Canadians, are now anxious to follow the leadership of Mr. Edward Blake, while many Protestant Reformers are joining the Conservatives for the same reason, and will not wish to be called Conservatives after voting the Reform ticket for so many years. The Reformers of Nova Scotia certainly would not object to the name "Provincialists." I have already stated that the Reformers strongly opposed the speedy construction of an all-Canadian route to the Pacific, and that Mr. Blake said it would be better to let British Columbia secede than to undertake the stupendous work; it will not be denied that the Reformers tell the electors of each province that their natural market is not in the other provinces,

but in the neighboring States; and all will agree that the Conservatives have always been charged with centralization; but the most telling illustration of Reform provincialism has been furnished since the publication of my article on "The Consolidation of Canada." The Reform government of Nova Scotia went to the province with the cry of "repeal." The Reform newspapers of the province daily published articles bitterly hostile to the Dominion, and the leading local politicians of that party tried in every way to arouse feelings of hatred toward Canadians in general. The Conservative newspapers in Nova Scotia, on the other hand, were full of patriotic articles calling upon the people to sustain the union, and giving many columns of official statistics showing how greatly every branch of trade in the province has increased since Confederation and how trade would be ruined by secession. During the contest, the Reform papers in other parts of the Dominion, with one or two exceptions, said not a word in condemnation of the secession agitation, and when a repeal majority of about five per cent. of the votes was announced Reform papers throughout the Dominion claimed that it was a great Reform victory. I believe the only Reform dailies that emphatically pronounced against the principle of secession were the Kingston *Whig* and the Ottawa *Free Press*. The *Daily Times* of Hamilton, Ontario, one of the oldest Reform papers in the West, commenting on the victory, after expressing sympathy with the secessionists, said: "There is nothing sacred about Confederation. It is a human scheme devised by politicians a few years ago for the supposed benefit of the people inhabiting the several provinces, and if it turns out in practice to be an unprofitable scheme for any or all of the partners there is the same liberty to unmake it as there was to make it."

In reply to the greater part of Dr. Bender's article on Canada in the June number of this magazine it is only necessary to say: read my article in the April number again. But a few of his statements call for correction. He says that according to Mr. Brydges there were, in 1875, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven miles of railway in Canada. Well, the confederation did not take place in 1875 but in 1867. According to a report recently issued by the Dominion Department of Agriculture, there were in 1867 two thousand three hundred and eighty miles of railway within the territory which now comprises the Dominion of Canada. Dr. Bender says the great Welland canal was made so long ago as 1829. There was a small Welland canal before Confederation, but the great Welland canal has been constructed since. Between June 30, 1867, and June 30, 1885, \$14,117,823.-88 was expended on it. He says the debt of Canada is nearly \$300,000,000. The exact figures are \$264,808,520. With \$35,191,480, the difference

between the imaginary debt and the real debt, the Canadian Dominionists could build some substantial public works. It should be noted here that this debt includes the debts of all the provinces assumed by the Dominion. This provincial indebtedness amounted to \$106,311,392, and in making comparisons with the United States federal debt this must be taken into consideration. After stating the liabilities of the Dominion, it is only fair to say something about the assets. The Dominion Government has a sinking fund, banking accounts, provincial accounts, and other investments amounting in all to \$68,236,705, leaving a total net debt of \$196,571,785, or without the provincial indebtedness assumed, a net Dominion debt since Confederation of \$90,260,393. Besides, the country has the benefit of the railways, canals, and other public works upon which there has been a government expenditure of \$210,975,789. Although these public works cannot be used to pay off the national debt, they annually put into the pockets of the people much more than the interest on the public debt, and practically entirely relieve Canadians of taxation for federal purposes, for there is no direct taxation, and the increase in prices which would naturally result from customs and excise duties has been counterbalanced by the cheapness of home production induced by easier communication and lower rates for the transportation of freight. Moreover, the construction of railways has brought within the range of settlement millions of acres of crown lands, and whether these lands are sold or given free to settlers, they must in a few years greatly increase the revenue of the Dominion Government. In support of his statement that the value of real estate in Ontario fell \$30,000,000 last year, Dr. Bender says that Sir Richard Cartwright quoted the Ontario Bureau of Industries to that effect. I have in my hand a letter from Mr. A. Blue, Secretary of the Ontario Bureau of Industries, dated June 9, 1886, which states that the report for 1885 is not yet out of the printer's hands, which accords with my statement that no government statistics bearing on the value of real estate last year had been published. I have, however, obtained advanced sheets of the report for 1885, according to which the value of farm land in Ontario increased by \$943,318 last year, while \$9,090,980 worth of farm buildings were erected in the province. But perhaps Sir Richard referred to the report for 1884. According to the report for 1884, there was in that year a decrease of \$29,314,319 in the value of farm lands, but \$10,356,250 worth of farm buildings were erected during the year, and the value of farm implements increased \$4,308,180. The report for 1883 shows an increase of \$22,450,525 in the value of farm lands, an increase of \$30,319,100 in the value of farm buildings, and an increase of \$6,492,715 in the value of farm implements. Why did the value of farm lands decrease so greatly

in 1884, a year in which the farmers were able to erect over ten million dollars worth of new buildings and purchase over four million dollars worth of farm implements? I find the explanation in the Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries for 1883, which makes the following statement: "The table showing the value of farm property in the province has been compiled from the returns made by farmers. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures under this head so long as the fear exists that the inquiry is made with the object of levying taxes." So much for statistics of Sir Richard Cartwright, from whose speeches Dr. Bender takes his figures. Dr. Bender says: "Newfoundland's revenue this year has fallen short of the estimates accompanying an over-expenditure during the same period." Is it possible that Dr. Bender believes that Newfoundland is a province of the Canadian Dominion! It is quite probable that Newfoundland will eventually be annexed to the Dominion, but at present the Government at Ottawa is no more responsible for the condition of Newfoundland than the Government at Washington is for that of Cuba. I do not wish to convey the impression that the Dominion is enjoying extraordinary prosperity. There are very few millionaires, but the people in general are well-to-do. There is very little poverty, a great deal of comfort, and the country is making as great progress as can be expected when the difficulties to be surmounted are considered. It may seem strange, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the men in Canada who favor the disintegration of the Dominion and annexation to the United States have always opposed the adoption by Canada of measures and policies that have already been successfully tried by the Americans; and if the provinces ever do by any chance join fortunes with the States, no more patriotic citizens of the great republic will be found than the Canadian Dominionists. They are not men of narrow, sectional views. They believe that the whole is greater than its part. The unit now is the Dominion, and I think it always will be, but if annexation ever does come about, if they are forced to give up their hope of establishing a highly civilized northern democracy ranking as one of the world's great commercial nations, they will not be a drag on the progress of the United States as some of the Provincialists are upon that of the Dominion.

Watson Griffin

MONTREAL, *July 8th.*

VOL. XVI.—No. 3.—20

