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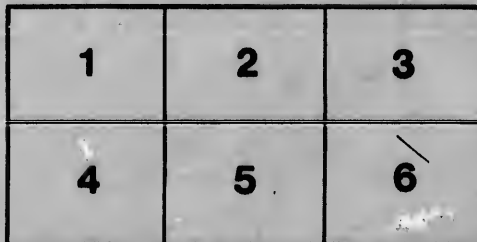
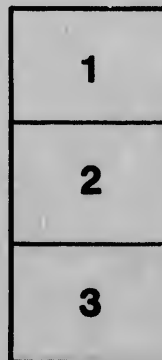
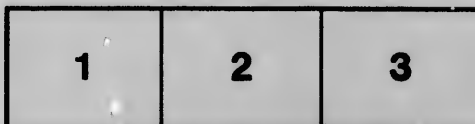
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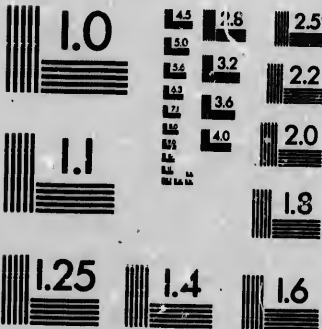
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SPEECH
OF
MR. MULLOCK
IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON FEBRUARY 13th., 1890,

ON THE QUESTION OF

THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN THE NORTH-WEST.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. McCarthy for the second reading of the Bill (No. 10) An Act to further amend the Revised Statutes of Canada, chapter fifty, respecting the North-West Territories; the motion of Mr. Davin in amendment thereto, and the motion of Mr. Beausoleil in amendment to the said amendment.

Mr. MULOCK. Mr. Speaker, in considering the proposition embraced in the Bill of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), I feel that it is impossible to limit the discussion to the mere matter involved in that Bill. If the proposition before the House was, from beginning to end, the question whether or not the French language should be discontinued as an official language in the North-West, the discussion would be reduced to narrow limits, and I fancy a rather satisfactory conclusion would be arrived at. But when we consider the utterances of the hon. mover of this Bill, both without the House and within it, I feel it is impossible to consider the question in that narrow light, but we must bear in mind the object the hon. gentleman has in view and all its consequences, far-reaching as they may be, and consider whether or not it would be wise to meet his view as presented by this Bill. I find that in a speech delivered by the hon. gentleman in the village of Stayner, on 12th July last, that the hon. gentleman, before an admiring and appreciative audience, dealt with the general question of the French language in Canada; and quoting from the *Empire* of 15th July, I find the following words attributed to him:

"To-day thousands of dollars worth of French literature has been printed for which there is no use; but the Lower French-Canadian has got what he wants. He has got it in the law that there should be two languages, and he has made a blow at the new Province. When the dual language is

The French Language in the North-West.

abolished in the North-West, there is plenty more to be done by-and-bye. Let us deal with the question of the dual language in the North-West, and let the people deal with French in the schools of the English Provinces; and when these two questions have been dealt with, we will have accomplished something, and paved the way for the future."

And further, in his peroration, in order to convince his admiring friends that he meant business on that occasion, he used this closing expression:

"Now is the time when the ballot box will decide this great question before the people; and if that does not supply the remedy in this generation, bayonets will supply it in the next."

Again, we were favored with an expression of the views of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) on 12th December last. On that occasion he delivered an address in Ottawa, and a printed copy of that speech has been distributed pretty generally, and I have been favored with a copy. In that address I find that the hon. gentleman referred to the report of Lord Durham in 1840, and quoted from it with appreciation. Referring to Lord Durham's report, he quoted:

"First, and above all things, then, he held that the French language must be stamped out."

Then the hon. gentleman goes on to declare what the vested rights of the French Canadian are in respect to their language, and returning again to Lord Durham's report, he quoted from it, substantially as follows:

"Lord Durham realized that so long as they were permitted to be educated in their schools in the French language, to be instructed in the literature of France instead of in the literature of England, they would remain French in feeling, and no matter what they might call themselves, they would be French to all intents and purposes."

Those words I have read are, I presume, quotations by the hon. gentleman from the report of Lord Durham, and then he goes on to comment on them himself, saying:

"Is there any shadow of doubt that Lord Durham was right?"

He appears to take the position that the French Canadian should not be permitted to be educated in French, or indulge in French literature, or in French at all. Such was the report of Lord Durham, such was the utterance of the hon. gentleman. He proceeded to say:

"Is there any shadow of doubt that between these two races, of all races in the world, if they are ever to be united, it must be by the obliteration of one of these languages, and by the teaching in one of these tongues?"

There we have the hon. gentleman for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) taking the ground, clearly and unmistakably, that

THERE MUST BE AN OBLITERATION

of the language, either of the French-Canadian or the English-speaking people of Canada. He took that ground on the 12th of December, he took it on the 12th of July, and he took it in this

House in introducing this measure, comparatively harmless in itself, to deal with the question of the French language in the North-West Territories. In view, therefore, of his utterances, I feel we cannot discuss this question in the limited sense of its having reference to the North-West Territories only, but in regard to the broad proposition of my hon. friend that in order to secure the unity of a country and the development of a proper national spirit in our land, he demands

THAT WE MUST OBLITERATE THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

and literature and all that is dear to the French-Canadian people of Canada. That I understand to be the hon. gentleman's proposition; the hon. gentleman endeavors to justify his position by laying down a proposition. In his address to the House, in introducing this Bill, the proposition he submitted was substantially this: That

THERE MUST BE UNITY IN LANGUAGE

in order to have unity in a nation, and, that in order that a nation may realize all its possibilities there must be but one language. Let me say that the hon. gentleman rested that proposition entirely on a misapprehension, as was pointed out last night by the hon. member from Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), of the meaning of Professor Freeman's article from which he quoted. Professor Freeman on that occasion stated most distinctly and positively that for all political purposes

UNITY OF LANGUAGE WAS NOT NECESSARY.

He was the only respectable authority the hon. gentleman gave; the others were anonymous; with the exception of Professor Max Muller, who cannot be considered as having dealt with this subject politically. Professor Freeman, the only authority on whom the hon. gentleman depends, proves nothing at all in support of his proposition. But even if Professor Freeman did take that view, I will offer to the House some facts of history as against the opinions either of Professor Freeman or of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). I will lay down a proposition and endeavor

TO PROVE IT BY FACTS NOT OPINIONS.

I think the facts of history will justify one in making this assertion—that, as a rule,

EVERY NATION OF ANY NOTE

has at its earlier or later periods been composed of races speaking two or more languages. I think I can further assert with confidence that history does not disclose the case of any great nation, which has acquired enduring greatness, and in which there is, or has been, but one language spoken. I will first address myself to arguments in support of the first part of my proposition. Suppose we unfold before the mind's eye a map of Europe, and see what is

the condition of affairs in the great nations of Europe to-day. If the object of the hon. member (Mr. McCarthy) is the development of this country, if his object is the good of this country, if it can be made manifest that countries have been great, and can be great, and that

THE GREATEST COUNTRIES ON THE EARTH

to-day are those in which more than one tongue is spoken, surely there is no necessity for the advanced views of the hon. member of North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). During the debate yesterday, there seemed to be some reference made and some distinction drawn as to whether certain languages in different countries were used officially or by toleration. Whilst there is quite a difference, yet, so far as the attitude of the member for North Simcoe is concerned, that distinction does not enter into the question, because he proposes to obliterate a language, not to have it tolerated, and his efforts seem to be directed to prevent us from even thinking in a foreign tongue. Although I think there is little difference in treating the question as a matter of philology or politics, I will mention a few of the great nations in Europe in which, as a matter of permission, various languages are freely tolerated and exist according to law. First of all, we have Spain, In Spain there are two languages tolerated, the Spanish and the Basque. In Sweden there are four languages, the Swedish, the German, the Finnic and the Latin. In Switzerland, there are four languages, French, German, Italian and Roumansche. In France, the French, Italian, Breton and Basque; and in the Netherlands, the Flemish, Dutch, French; and in Great Britain, although the different languages have largely disappeared, yet still there are traces of those that have been tolerated there. We have in the Channel Islands the French language, and in the Isle of Man the Manx language. The remains of the Erse language, I am glad to see, is being revived in Old Ireland; and the Gaelic, in Scotland, was until recently the only language spoken in some parts of the north and north-west. We have these languages in addition to the dominant Anglo-Saxon in Great Britain. For the purposes of this illustration I think we can fairly draw on the history of our own land, and prove from our own experience that a common language is not absolutely necessary to a nation's greatness.

Mr. TROW. Do not forget the Welsh.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. member for North Perth (Mr. Trow) reminds me not to forget the Welsh. I am glad he reminded me, for the Welsh is a language which is not only tolerated, but which is also the official language of Wales up to the present day. Then, we come to Austria. While German is the dominant tongue in Austria, she tolerates a vast number of languages other than the dominant one—for instance, the Hungarian, the Bohemian, the Czech, and others. In fact, next to Russia, there are a greater number of different languages and dialects spoken and tolerated according to law, in Austria, than in any other country in Europe.

Let us take Germany, which has undergone many changes philologically. Although the dominant tongue to-day is German, there are many dialects of the old Slavonic, the Polish and other languages. Russia permits, according to law, about 100 languages—among others, the Finnish, the Caucasian and the Slavonic. So, we therefore see that those nations of Europe which I have mentioned are nations in which

AT NO TIME

has there been a common language as a matter of law or custom. If my hon. friend's proposition is right, and if he is correct in his contention, then

THESE NATIONS HAVE ALL BEEN FAILURES,

and not one of them is working out its own destiny properly. I will now state to the House those nations of Europe which may be said to have a homogeneous language. They are but four—Italy and the three comparatively insignificant countries: Portugal, Denmark and Greece. These are the only nations in Europe to-day in which we may say there is but one language. I am giving part of my case away when I admit that these four countries are homogeneous in regard to language. Whilst I may say that Italy has been homogeneous in language for 1,200 years, many tongues have come and gone, but the Italian is a sort of a compromise which has come to be the dominant tongue. But

THERE WAS NO ITALIAN UNITY

because of the uniformity of the Italian language. Italian unity is but yet in its infancy, and if the unity of language is destined to develop a nation, as my hon. friend says, how comes it that

FOR 1,200 YEARS

unity of language in Italy entirely failed to develop such a result. I have given these facts from a philological standpoint, and now I will address myself to the subject from a political point of view. More than one official language is tolerated in the following countries: Switzerland has the French and German, and Spain the Spanish and Basque. The latter is spoken in several provinces in the north of Spain and the south of the Pyrenees. The Basques are a hardy race, and even in Spain, which is so far behind us in political advancement, they allow the Basques to maintain their own separate Parliament, and conduct their own deliberations in the Basque tongue, which is unintelligible to the ordinary Spaniard. In Austria the official language is German. In Hungary, politically, a part of Austria, the official language is Magyar, in Bohemia, which is politically a part of Austria Czech is the official language. In Great Britain the official languages are French in the Channel Islands, and Manx in the Isle of Man,—not forgetting, of course, the dominant tongue. In the Isle of Man, to this very day, it is the law that all the official proceedings of their small Parliament, the Tynwald, shall be published in the

English and Manx languages ; and at the close of the Parliament,

IN ORDER THAT THE PEOPLE SHALL KNOW

the decrees of Parliament, it is the duty of the Governor, accompanied by the high dignitaries and the people, to go out to a neighboring hill, to read the decrees in the two languages, that all men may know the laws that are to bind them. Further, in Great Britain, if we presume to be official languages those which are tolerated in the schools, we have the Welsh language recognized in the Government schools in Wales, and, recently, the Irish language taught in certain of the public schools of Ireland. So much for the history of language so far as Europe is concerned, which I think sufficiently sustains the proposition I have laid down, that

UNITY OF LANGUAGE IS NOT ESSENTIAL

to national greatness. I go a step further, and I say that unity of language

DOES NOT NECESSARILY PRODUCE

national unity or national greatness. In support of that proposition I will call attention to the state of Greece. Greece is a country which, I think, will specially illustrate the proposition of my hon. friend (Mr. McCarthy), if such a proposition as his can be established at all. Greece is composed of many little provinces, but at all times the people spoke some Greek dialect, and Greek was substantially the language of Greece for all time. But yet, Sir, there was no unity of national spirit in Greece at any time. Greece from time to time was welded together by outside influences ; but there was no cohesion in Greece itself by reason of language or anything else ; and whenever the strong influence from without was withdrawn, the Greeks fell to destroying each other. Did you ever hear of a Greek boasting that he was a Greek ? The boast of a Greek was that he was a Thessalonian, a Spartan, or an Athenian ; not a Greek ; but if they had been influenced only by community or language, we should ever come across the phrase in Grecian literature, I am a Greek, in preference to, I am an Athenian. Take another prominent instance : take the case of Germany at a period when she may be considered to have been homogeneous in language. Germany has undergone many philological changes ; I speak of the old Roman Empire, founded by Charlemagne in the eighth century.

THAT EMPIRE BECAME PRACTICALLY GERMAN

in the thirteenth century, in consequence of the influence of the Teutonic knights. For a period they succeeded, by great force of character, in establishing the German language and displacing the Slavonic. Thereafter, from the fourteenth century to the Peace of Westphalia, three hundred years afterwards, Germany was considered as illustrating that which my hon. friend depends on : it was a country homogeneous in language, and

should have been a united and powerful land, bound together by that strong national spirit, to be developed, according to my hon. friend, only by community of language; but what does history tell us? Can my hon. friend point to a nation in ancient or modern times that, for three hundred years, was more torn by internal dissensions—by wars, rebellions and fratricidal disturbances—than that Empire. Why, Sir,

GOVERNMENT BECAME AN ABSOLUTE IMPOSSIBILITY

in that country. If community of language would accomplish anything, there was its opportunity. But what did it accomplish? It accomplished the Treaty of Westphalia. The Germans, speaking German as they did, could not live together, and they dissolved the partnership, Prussia taking one section of the empire, and Austria taking the southern portion. If national unity of spirit or greatness were to be secured and placed on an enduring basis by community of language, there of all cases was one, even in comparatively modern times, that should have had the result boasted of by the hon. member for North Simcoe. They have not since been able to agree, though speaking the same language, and in our own time we have found those two German-speaking peoples falling upon each other, until at last Prussia expelled Austria, her sister country, from the German Confederacy as the result of the war which ended with the battle of Sadowa, in the last third of a century. Now, suppose we adopt the policy of the hon. gentleman, and go in for an obliteration of the French language. That is the proposition we are face to face with. The hon. gentleman has thrown down the gage of battle to the French Canadian people. This Bill is but a commencement,

A SKIRMISH BEFORE THE GREAT BATTLE

that is to go on all along the line later on. But suppose that attempt, absurd as it is, should succeed, do you not think that before making it, we might well turn up the pages of history again, and see with what results such attempts have been followed? In the consideration of this question it might probably be instructive to remind the House that when the French and Anglo-Saxons first came together, and an attempt was made to make one language prevail over the other—I refer to the period succeeding the Norman Conquest—for 300 years French was the language of the royal family, the courts, the schools, and, as much as possible, the churches.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. And the nobility.

Mr. MULOCK. And the nobility. Every effort was made to impose the French language on the Anglo-Saxon people. The result at the end of 300 years, at the time of Edward the Third, was that the French and the Anglo-Saxons

HAD BECOME STRANGERS TO EACH OTHER.

The lawyers in the courts were not understood by the witnesses, the jurors drawn from the Anglo-Saxons could not understand the

witnesses. At last, it became absolutely impossible to carry on business. The Anglo-Saxon language at that time was in a far greater danger of extinction than it is to-day, because at that time the subjection of the Anglo-Saxons in Great Britain was most complete. The Normans were a strong and powerful race, and, of course, the times were more barbarous than the times in which we live, although my hon. friend would have us go back to those times. The relative position of the dominant and the subject classes was far more dangerous to the predominance of Anglo-Saxon institutions than can possibly be said to be the cases of to-day; but under the most discouraging circumstances one force prevented the extinction of the Anglo-Saxon language. The people had that vitality in themselves that enabled them to resist the threatened danger, and at last the French language had to be withdrawn as an official language, and in less than half a century it almost ceased to be spoken—

Mr. McCARTHY. Hear, hear.

Mr. MULOCK—and to-day we have nothing left from that invasion except some advantages to our literature and our vocabulary. My hon. friend says "hear, hear," and I suppose he would draw the conclusion that that ought to take place here if we ceased to permit the French language to be official. But that conclusion cannot be drawn, because there was no compulsion put upon the people to abandon the use of French; the matter was left to the voluntary action of the people. The only legislation on the subject was that the law was changed to the extent of making the Anglo-Saxon language the language of the courts, and shortly afterwards it was taught in the schools; and

NOT BY COERCION, BUT BY TOLERATION,

the Anglo-Saxon assumed its pre-eminent position and has maintained it ever since. Well, Mr. Speaker, let me remind the hon. gentleman of another case, namely, the case of Poland. Russia made every possible attempt to persecute the language of the Poles out of existence; and, without being tedious, I may say that the pages of history disclose that the persecution to which the Polish language was subjected made that language

MORE DEAR TO THE POLISH PEOPLE

and more studied, and has added more to its dissemination and permanence than any thing else could have done. And the same can be said of the Bohemian language; and as a singularity of the tenacity of language under coercion, I may point to the case of a small race or tribe called the Wenders who live in the vicinity of the mouth of the Elbe, who are Prussians politically, surrounded on all sides by Germans. An attempt was made to obliterate their language. Their population consists of but a few villages, surrounded on all sides by people speaking the German language, and yet the result of the attempts to destroy their language—I am speaking now of comparatively modern times—

was, as set forth in a letter from their pastor to the king, that the pastor could no longer understand his flock, nor the flock the pastor. They did not give up their language; they simply ceased to attend the schools; they ceased to learn in German, which was an unknown tongue to them; and nothing was accomplished except to keep them in ignorance and to develop a bad feeling. Now, does the hon. gentleman suppose that by the methods he is advocating,

METHODS OF FORCE AND COERCION,

he can accomplish what he has in view? Let me remind him of the consequences, politically, of such attempts. Schleswig-Holstein at one time constituted two duchies of Denmark. The people spoke German. King Christian IX. attempted to

FORCE UPON THEM A CHANGE OF LANGUAGE.

What was the result? They became disaffected. They got encouragement from a foreign power, Prussia; they rose in rebellion;

THEY WERE LOST TO DENMARK

and became Prussian. Such was the natural consequence of interfering with one of the institutions of the people. Let me refer to another historical case of modern times, within the political life almost of the hon. gentleman—the case of Lombardo Venetia. That was once a part of Austria, and their language Italian. Austria, not profiting by the experience of Denmark and other experiences, endeavored to destroy the Italian language of Lombardo Venetia, and to impose upon the people the German language. What was the result? The people, just as in Schleswig-Holstein, rebelled, and they found sympathisers,

AS ALL DISAFFECTED COUNTRIES CAN,

from without. Italy and France came to the rescue, and the result was, instead of Austria accomplishing what she was aiming at, destroying the Italian language, she lost both those two great Provinces, which became, in 1859, and still are, part of the empire of Italy. Now, what has happened in the case of these two great countries which, under coercion, transferred their allegiance to another flag, will happen wherever the same attempt is prosecuted. Does not the hon. gentleman see that he is proceeding in the most direct way possible, in the light of the past—

WHICH IS THE ONLY GUIDE TO US TO-DAY

in these matters—

TO DESTROY CONFEDERATION

by causing our French Canadian subjects to become disaffected and to seek sympathisers outside, and to, perhaps, ultimately part company with the Canadian Confederacy. Does he desire that result? There can be nothing accomplished by force. Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council will not make men love one

another. We cannot change men's nature by Acts of Parliament or Orders in Council. If we could, I should change many things in the constitution of my hon. friend, the mover of this Bill. I would with both hands go in for making him a man of different opinions. Suppose, as a matter of experiment, we were to do to him what he is seeking to do to the French Canadians, only the converse—suppose we were to pass an Act of Parliament to make him a

FRENCH CANADIAN CATHOLIC,

would we succeed in making him one? He has gone back on his Celtic origin, and I am sure that no attempt by force would accomplish such result; and if he would be tenacious then of his own views, can he not picture to himself the effect of repression and coercion upon those to whom he seeks to have applied that treatment? Let me refer to a case briefly touched upon by the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) last night, the case of Alsace. Alsace, at one time, was a part of Germany, but became French, Alsace and Lorraine having been transferred to France by the Treaty of Westphalia. Alsace was German in language and race, but by being treated with kindness by the French people and not persecuted, came to love France which had conquered her; and during the Franco-Prussian war, when attempts were made to recover Alsace, as was stated eloquently last night, she was one of the most loyal supporters of France which had conquered her two centuries before; and to-day the Germans, in endeavoring to do what my hon. friend is seeking to accomplish—to repress the use of the French language in Alsace—have eliminated the sympathies of the Alsacians, many of whom have left the country, while those who remain are so disaffected that they can only be kept in subjection by the presence of a large standing army. Such is the effect of endeavors to change the language of a people by coercion. History shows that where attempts are made

TO DESTROY A LANGUAGE,
the people often construe those attempts as

ASSAULTS UPON THEIR RELIGION.

For example, a movement is going on at present by which Canada is profiting. We have coming to Canada the Mennonites and Lutherans from the Baltic. Why are they coming here? Because Russia has been endeavoring to cause them to give up their own language, the German, and to adopt the Russian, and these Mennonites and Lutherans have conceived the idea that this is an attempt to coerce them into joining the Greek Church. They construe it as an assault upon their religion; and there are many instances in history where similar attempts have been similarly construed. We cannot, therefore, blame the French Canadians if they, too, should come to the conclusion that this movement is an assault on their religion. However much men may protest to the

depends on: it was a country homogeneous

contrary, if the French Canadians get this idea into their heads, we cannot blame them, in the light of precedents which justified such conclusions in the past. I wonder that hon. gentleman has not discovered that he cannot rule

THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE BY FORCE.

If you desire them to abandon any of their institutions, you must leave it to them to do so voluntarily. Does not *Æsop's* fable of the traveller and his coat assist us in this question? The more violently the wind blew upon him, the more closely he wrapped his coat about him, and only threw it off under the benign, loving and beneficent rays of the sun.

WHAT ARE THE DUTIES

of a parental Government with regard to its subject? Is it not the duty of the Government to publish its decrees in a language known to all who may be bound by them? Clearly, there can be no more self-evident proposition than that, and this is a proposition which ought not to be required to be made good by argument in the present day.

EVEN THE BARBARIANS

admitted the soundness of it; and we have numerous instances in history where the barbarians, up to the time of the Christian era, and since, published their decrees, their laws, and their history, in the languages of all the people, in order that all the people might know them. It might assist my hon. friend if I gave him a still higher authority. Even if the authority of the barbarian does not bind him, let me quote from Holy Writ one verse in reference to the history of King Ahasuerus. We find that:

"He sent letters into all the King's provinces, into every Province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language, that every man should bear rule in his own house, and that it should be published according to the language of every people."

I am only quoting those authorities of which there is actual evidence to-day. I am sure my hon. friend will not question the tradition of this book, but I will not quote the ordinary historians, though I may refer him to the reign of King Ptolemy V. of Egypt, who, though a powerful Greek ruler, distributed his laws amongst his people in different languages, and had them inscribed upon stone; and these laws, which were inscribed upon stone, are in existence to-day in the various languages of the people. Tracing the practice of nations, barbarian nations and those of later date, you find an invariable practice to make known to the people in their own language the laws which were to be binding upon them. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McCarthy) has been born too late. He should have been born

LONG PRIOR TO THE BARBARIAN PERIOD.

An hon. MEMBER. Before the Flood.

Mr. MULOCK. Before the Flood. What does he ask us to do

now? He asks us to dispose of this question without any knowledge of the conditions of the people of the North-West. We do not know whether they will understand English or not. It may be that nine-tenths of them do understand English; but suppose there is a proportion who do not understand English, what then? The hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison) said last night that a great number of them speak Cree, and therefore the laws of the North-West should be printed in Cree; and the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien) said it was only a local question which should be settled in the North-West. I ask if it ought not to be settled

AFTER HEARING THE FACTS OF THE CASE,

and settled by those who are most competent to judge? Should we be called upon in this court to deliver judgment

BEFORE WE HEAR THE EVIDENCE?

The hon. gentleman would not ask such a decision from an ordinary court of the land. Then, why should he ask it from this, the

HIGHEST COURT AND TRIBUNAL IN THE LAND?

If this is to be settled according to the views of the people, the proper tribunal must be the North-West representatives or some other tribunal, after learning the facts of the case. But the hon. gentleman went further. He intimated that no man could be a loyal citizen practically unless he spoke the dominant tongue of the country. In making that statement he has, no doubt inadvertently cast a slur upon many of the loyal citizens of the British Empire. Would he accuse of disloyalty.

THE HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND,

the Welsh, the people of the Channel Islands, and here in this country the Scotch population of Cape Breton, Cornwall and Glengary, and the Germans? We have found that

EVEN THE INDIANS

were to be trusted in the hour of need, that they were true to our institutions, and we can point with pride to the pages of Canadian history to obtain facts to disprove the assertion of the hon. gentleman. We have records in our history which are dear to Canadian people. Who does not recollect Tecumseh and Tyendinaga, whose remains lie in a chapel in the constituency represented by my hon. friend from South Brant (Mr. Patterson). Those men represented the loyalty even of the savage tribes of Canada in our early troubles, and though not speaking our tongue, were loyal to Great Britain. If all the other citizens of the Empire who do not speak the Anglo-Saxon language have been true, as they have been, what is there to be found in the pages of history since the French Canadian people became citizens of Canada to make my hon. friend

DOUBT THEIR LOYALTY

to British institutions? Their loyalty was sorely tried. Shortly after 1759, the date so frequently referred to by my hon. friend as that of the conquest of the French Canadian people, within twenty years from that every effort was made to cause them to change their allegiance from Canada, and with what result? I cannot conceive the loyalty of a people being subjected to greater strains than that to which the French Canadian people were subject to during the events which immediately succeeded the Treaty of Paris. What were the events which were going on across the border at that time? The thirteen colonies were in revolt, and were anxious

TO DESTROY BRITISH RULE IN AMERICA,

and to get the French Canadians to throw in their lot with them. At that time, General Washington issued a proclamation appealing to all the passions, the fears, the cupidity and the prejudices of the French Canadian people to throw off their allegiance to Great Britain and

TO JOIN THE UNION.

That appeal was made accompanied by threats of invasion; the invasion followed, and the war continued for a length of time; and who were the strongest to help to sustain the British arms and British institutions during that period?

WHERE DID THE FRENCH CANADIANS

make default or prove themselves unworthy of citizens of Great Britain during that time? The records of the attitude of the French Canadian people under those trials ought to be sufficient to save them from the insults which are now heaped upon them. Let me read some of the appeals which were made by General Washington to the fears, the passions and the prejudices of the French Canadians at that time to induce them to throw off their allegiance to Great Britain:

"We rejoice," said General Washington, "that our enemies have been deceived with regard to you; they have persuaded themselves—they have even dared to say—that the Canadians were not capable of distinguishing between the blessings of liberty and the wretchedness of slavery; that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the people of Canada. By such artifices they hoped to bend you to their views, but they have been deceived. * * * Come, then, my brethren, unite with us in an indissoluble union; let us run together to the same goal. * * * Incited by these motives, and encouraged by the advice of many friends of liberty among you, the grand American Congress have sent an army into your province, under the command of General Schuyler—not to plunder, but to protect you—to animate and bring forth into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To co-operate with this design, and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes, which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children, I have despatched Colonel

Arnold into your country, with a part of the army under my command. I have enjoined upon him, and I am certain that he will consider himself and act as in the country of his patrons and best friends. Necessaries and accommodations of every kind which you may furnish he will thankfully receive and render the full value. I invite you, therefore, as friends and brethren, to provide him with such supplies as your country affords, and I pledge myself not only for your safety and security, but for ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation—let no one flee as before an enemy. The cause of America and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous American citizen, whatever may be his religion or descent. The united colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption and arbitrary domination may create. Come, then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty—against which all force of artifice and tyranny will never be able to prevail."

This proclamation was circulated broadcast among the people of the Province. In every household, in every hamlet,

THIS INSIDIOUS DOCUMENT

found its way, to induce them to throw off their allegiance. But they resisted—they resisted

AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET,

which is to be their fate in the next generation, according to the threat of the hon. gentleman for Simcoe. As though that was not trial enough for their loyalty, we find old France itself sending out an emissary to beseech them in the name of France, in the name of the land they came from, in the name of the literature which, he says, makes them unworthy citizens, in the name of all that is dear to them; the King of France beseeches the people to throw in their allegiance to the American colonies. They did not do so, but they drove the invaders from the country, with the help of the English people. For some twenty years, until 1812, they continued quietly to enjoy the blessings of peace under the British flag; and if ever their loyalty was tested it was in 1812. On that occasion the peculiarities of the situation were marked. England was engaged in a European war and a war upon the Continent, in each case one of her opponents being France itself. There was England on the one side and France and the United States upon the other.

ON WHICH SIDE

did the Lower Canadian people range themselves at that time? Did they then prove themselves unworthy subjects of Great Britain? No, Sir; but they arrayed themselves by the side of Great Britain, and by the side of Canada, against the institutions of France itself,

AGAINST THEIR MOTHER LAND;

they arrayed themselves in support of British institutions in Canada. Therefore, I say it is the duty of all who are true to history, who propose to give credit where it is due; it is the duty of all

who are not of French Canadian origin; it is our duty, in the name of our nationality, to repudiate these slurs upon the loyalty of French Canadians, and to say, that in their hands, as I believe, our institutions are as safe as in the hands of the hon. member for North Simcoe, or of the whole nation, if it were of his way of thinking. I find nothing in French Canadian history, since their union with Canada, to justify the charge that they cannot be considered loyal and worthy citizens of our country. On the contrary, I think their whole record is the most complete refutation that could be produced of a large part of the argument of my hon. friend. Now, Sir, languages will come and go, languages will die, and perhaps it may be

IN THE FLIGHT OF TIME,

that the French Canadian language will disappear from this country. But, if it is to disappear, let it disappear in a way that will be a source of strength and not a source of weakness, not as the outcome of force and violence, but as other languages in the past have disappeared. If time permitted I could read from the pages of history to show how nations, in the great struggles for supremacy, according to the spirit of their times, have extended their sway, and their language has, for the time being, accompanied their influence. We remember how the Greek States extended their sway from the Mediterranean to the confines of India, and carried with them the supremacy of the Greek language. We read how Rome extended her sway throughout western Europe, and the Latin language, for the time being, became the language of the people. But as their influence decayed, so their language decayed. Sir, the fact that the growth of language, the development of language, appears to be an incident to a nation's supremacy, to a nation's energy, proves to my mind, that its existence depends upon the people themselves, it does not depend upon coercive measures. Sir, I think the very fact that there is a diversity of language is not a danger, but it is a circumstance that must give value to the language itself, as an institution prized by a people. They must consider it a stimulus calculated to induce them to redouble their energies and their resources in all those directions that will make their country great, knowing that with the decline of their greatness their language must also decline. Therefore if languages have to go down, let them go down as they have done in the past—go down as nations have gone down. But let them remain as incentives to people and to races to develop their energies, and, in this light, I conceive that diversity of language, instead of being a source of weakness, may be made an occasion of

GREAT NATIONAL STRENGTH,

developing, to make an application of the theory, a spirit of emulation amongst our French Canadian people, amongst all our

people of different nationalities, so to promote their influence that their language may maintain its permanency. Entertaining these views I am not prepared to consent, as far as my voice goes, to any violence towards any of the institutions of this country that are

DEAR TO OUR PEOPLE,

and that are not contrary to the best interests of Canada. If the hon. gentleman, in introducing this measure had limited the whole case to the question involved in the enacting clause of the Bill, I think he would have done his cause infinitely more good than by the method he has adopted, and to a great extent he would have avoided much of the bitterness that has been imported into this country. If I may venture, even at this late hour, to read him a bit of advice, it would be that, if his motive is, as I am bound to assume that it is, the welfare of Canada, then, before this debate is closed, and before it is too late, let him make clear exactly where he stands upon this question, let him make clear any ambiguity as to his ulterior object, and deny that this is the commencement only of a war upon a race that is not entitled to be so treated, or admit that it is as he declares, and seems to say, an attempt to

OBLITERATE THE FRENCH

language and the French literature from Canada? If so, Mr. Speaker, there should be but one answer from the people's representatives here. We are sent here to

SAVE THE UNION, NOT TO DESTROY IT.

The hon. gentleman says—and I wish to give him credit for good faith—that he is in favor of making this a British colony. But he is adopting a course little calculated to make British institutions permanent in Canada. Such being my conclusion, I feel unable to agree with the hon. gentleman in the legislation he asks, and I shall, therefore, cast my vote in the direction I have indicated—to have this matter settled by the people's representatives in the North-West, who are best able to settle it, or by such other tribunal as may be suggested after they shall have the fullest opportunity of enquiring into all the conditions of the country; believing, as I do, that neither the North-West Council nor any other tribunal to which it might be relegated by this House, will betray the trust reposed in it, but will act justly towards all the people without fear, favor or affection.

