

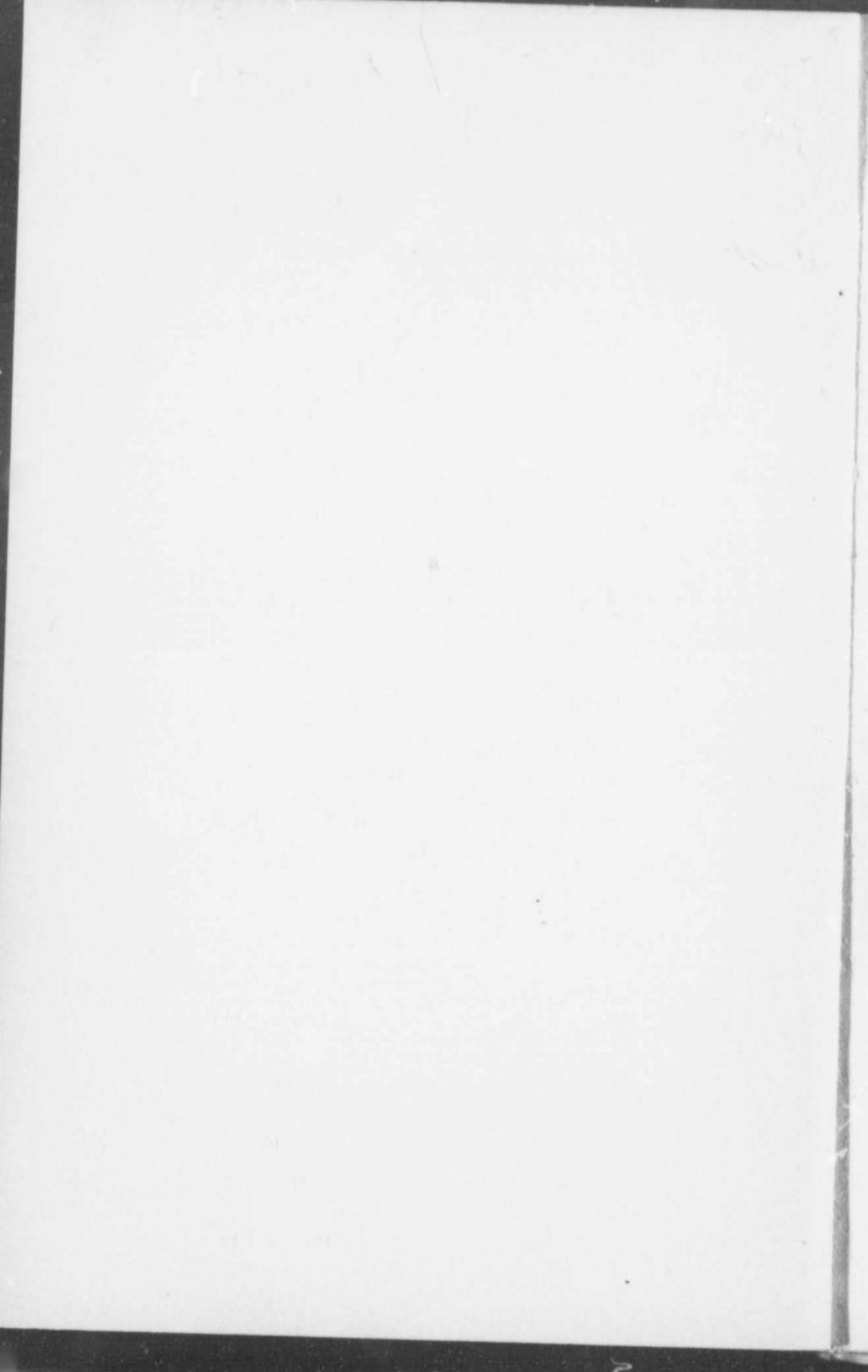
GETTING INTO PARLIAMENT
AND AFTER

GEORGE W. ROSS.

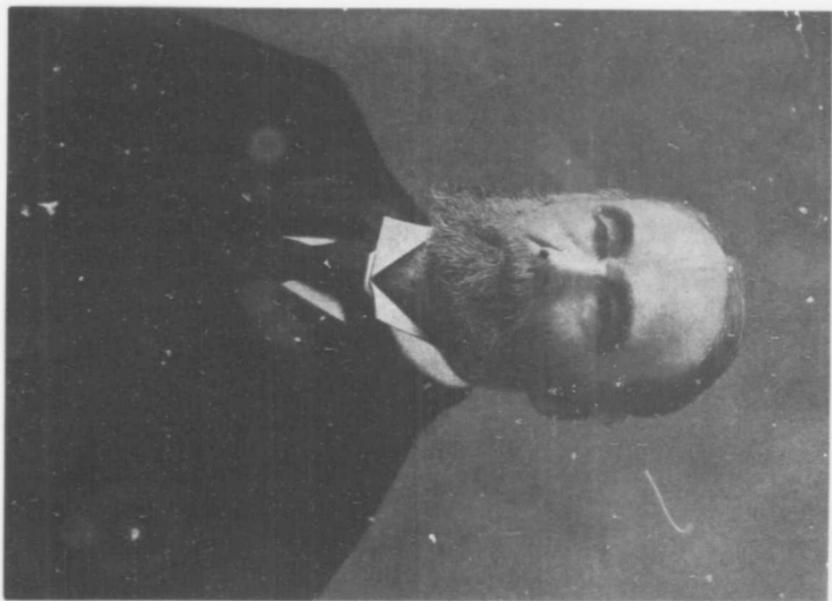
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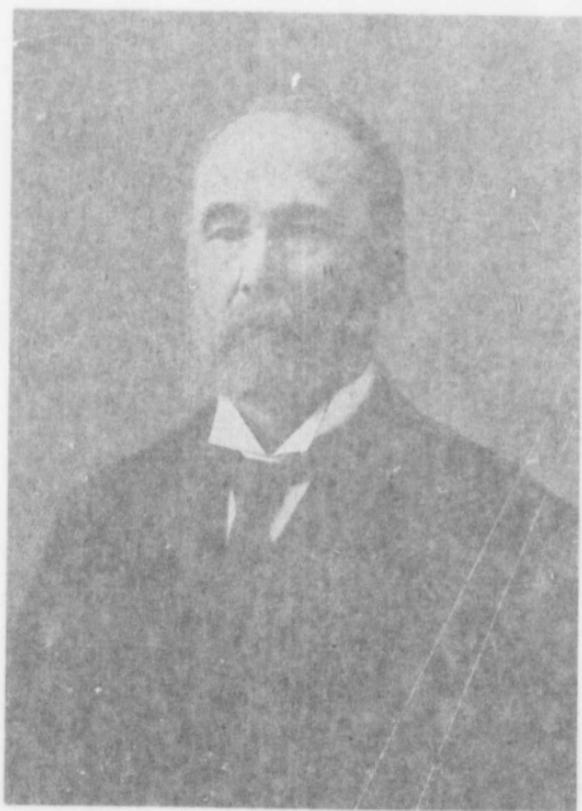
Geo. W. B. J.

Getting Into Parliament and After

BY

THE HONOURABLE
SIR GEORGE W. ROSS, Kt., LL.D.

TORONTO
WILLIAM BRIGGS
1913



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Ross, G

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TO
The Electors of West Middlesex

BY WHOSE
SUPPORT AND CONFIDENCE
I WAS HONOURED FOR THIRTY-FIVE YEARS

This Volume

IS

DEDICATED

"The bridegroom may forget the bride
Was made his wedded wife yestreen;
The monarch may forget the crown
That on his head an hour has been.
The mither may forget the bairn
That smiles so sweetly on her knee;
But I'll remember thee, Glencairn,
And a' that thou hast done for me."
—Burns.

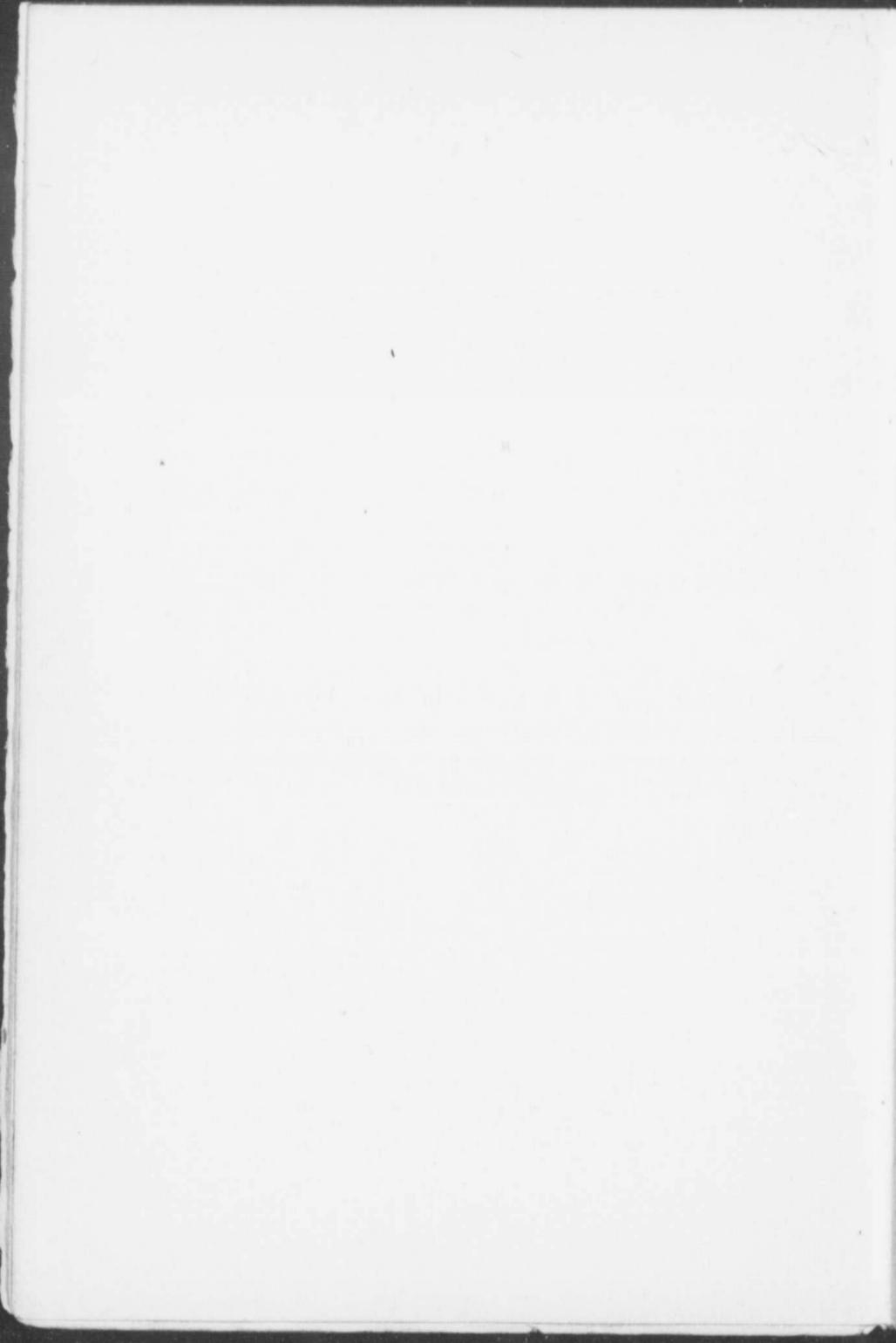


PREFACE

THIS book was written during the Parliamentary recess of 1911, but owing to the writer's illness its publication was unavoidably delayed. Chapters XVI and XXI have been added, but no substantial change has been made in the original text of the other chapters. My readers will kindly observe that I have not followed the course of party politics in the House of Commons beyond my retirement in 1883, except so far as was necessary to complete a character sketch of the leaders on the stage at that time, or of their probable successors. My references to Provincial politics, for obvious reasons, close with the change of Government in 1905.

G. W. R.

3 Elmsley Place,
Toronto, 1913.



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1875

Geo. W. P.

Getting Into Parliament and After

CHAPTER I.

POLITICS IN THE GERM.

My interest in Canadian politics was first awakened by the stirring events which preceded the Rebellion of 1837. During the ten years preceding that epoch in our history I was engaged in teaching a public school in my native town of Madocan. In the isolation of the little school-house, the teacher is comparatively free from the intrusions of the great world outside. His is a little world, with its throbbing hearts and pulsing arteries, adding hands, fills up pretty fully the figured orbit of his life. And as to politics he is apt to say with Hamlet, "What is Hecuba to me, what am I to Hecuba?" Besides, the district in which my lot was cast was not the camping-ground of the political spellbinder. The electors were so decidedly Liberal that a Tory missionary would make no converts and a Liberal missionary would find nobody to convert. The political persons and backsliders were negligible quantities. It was the case of $a-x=0$.

Up to 1867 I heard but three political speeches. The first was in 1857 by the late Mr. Archibald McKeelzie (he was not the Honourable then) in



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CHAPTER I.

POLITICS IN THE GERM.

My interest in Canadian politics was first awakened by the stirring events which preceded the Federal Act of 1867. During the ten years preceding that notable epoch in our history I was engaged in teaching a public school in my native county of Middlesex. In the isolation of the little red schoolhouse the teacher is comparatively free from the intrusion of the great world outside. His own little world, with its throbbing hearts and, peradventure, aching hands, fills up pretty fully the limited orbit of his life. And as to politics he is apt to say with Hamlet, "What is Hecuba to me and what am I to Hecuba?" Besides, the district in which my lot was cast was not the camping-ground of the political spellbinder. The electors were so decidedly Liberal that a Tory missionary could make no converts and a Liberal missionary would find nobody to convert. The political pervert and backslider were negligible quantities. It was a case of $a-x=0$.

Up to 1867 I heard but three political speeches. The first was in 1857 by the late Mr. Archibald McKellar (he was not the Honourable then) in

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which he scored the Tories for their extravagance, corruption and maladministration and their subserviency to the bigoted French-Canadians. The speech was received with great applause, for reasons which I did not quite perceive, so meagre was my knowledge of Canadian politics. I remember well the sprightly, humorous manner of the happy-looking rotund orator and the fervid appeal which he made to the electors to smite the enemy "hip and thigh" at the approaching election.

The second speech I heard was in 1862. It was delivered by Mr. John Wilson, of London, afterwards Judge Wilson. The occasion was an election to the Legislative Council of the old Parliament of Canada—a body corresponding to the Senate of the Dominion. The contest was between Alex. Vidal, the Conservative candidate, and F. W. Davis, Liberal, both from the town of Sarnia. It was the first election for the Legislative Council for the district after the elective system was substituted for the nominative for the Upper House. Mr. Wilson was a speaker of excellent address, manly in his appearance, and very genial and respectful to his audience. He discussed the advantages of popular election to the Upper House, and the necessity, under responsible government, of direct control by the electors over their representatives in both Houses of Parliament. I remember the address as being exceedingly moderate in tone, without any appeal to party prejudices or any attempt to disparage political opponents.

The third political address, or rather the third address on public issues, was by the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee in the City Hall in London in 1865.

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His subject was "The Future of British North America." Confederation was then in the air. I had not grasped fully what it signified, but my interest was aroused enough to borrow a horse and saddle from a neighbour. After a ride of fifteen miles on a summer evening I found myself in front of one of the great orators of the day. I had never heard or seen Mr. McGee before that day—or since. I am not sure that I had even read any of his speeches, unless it might have been in the condensed reports of the debates in Parliament. I had no preconception of oratory as a fine art or what were its essential elements. I had a vague idea, however, that there was something in it beyond the reach of ordinary mortals, which, if not exactly supernatural, had a spark of divine power or a sanctity peculiarly the gift of the gods. But whatever it was, I was there to see and learn for myself. My first reflection as McGee rose to speak was that oratory was not necessarily associated with personal attractiveness. Mr. McGee, I observed, was not a handsome man. His face was flat and heavy—a face which no one would turn around to look at a second time. My second reflection was that physical action in oratory was not essential for effect. During the whole course of his two hours' address he stood fixed to one spot on the platform, with his hands clasped behind his back. Only once did he unlock them, and that was when, carried away by the enthusiasm of a quotation from Tennyson's "Brook," he repeated in thrilling tones the words, "Men may come and men may go, but I go on forever." This he applied to the British Empire. It was a glorious climax

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to his argument, felt and remembered to this day. The mellow richness of Mr. McGee's voice, and the rhythm and cadence of the Queen's English as it flowed from his lips, greatly impressed me. I noted also the finish of his sentences, coupled with a poetical glow which awakened emotions and feelings never before touched by the human voice. Of course argument and fact and history were there, all beautifully blended. But it was not by these I was affected so much as by the white heat of the mental crucible from which they issued, and the cadence—never monotonous—of the lofty rhetoric with which they were adorned. It was a noble speech, I thought—the product of an exalted being—a revelation of the power of articulate language and passion and poetry all combined. Next morning as I returned to deliver the horse, whose contribution to my enjoyment was greatly appreciated, I reflected upon the unlimited power of the human mind when aided by the gift of genius. I never heard McGee again, but in reading his speeches even now I see him as in a mirage, standing before me, rolling out his beautiful sentences with the same grace and affluence of language and voice as he did in the "leafy month of June," A.D. 1865, in the City Hall at London. Three years later, as proprietor of a newspaper, it was my painful duty to announce by an "extra" his assassination in the city of Ottawa as he was entering his lodgings after a late sitting of Parliament.

Although not a pupil of the political platform, I was nevertheless a regular reader of the political press. Every Saturday's mail brought me the *Weekly Globe*, the *Montreal Witness*, and the Lon-

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don *Advertiser*. From these I derived all, or nearly all, my knowledge of public affairs. In the school-room we had a textbook on Canadian history from which myself and pupils gathered certain knowledge as to the discovery of Canada, the names of its Governors from the days of Champlain, its constitutional changes, etc., but these facts to me had no connection with the politics of the day. It seemed easy to understand why the Clergy Reserves were abolished and why we had entered into a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, but why the press was editorially a slaughter-house of personal and political opponents, for resisting this or that public measure, was something I did not then understand. Like old Kaspar,

"But what they killed each other for
I could not well make out."

I said my political teachers were the weekly newspapers; dailies then were a luxury beyond the reach of a schoolmaster on a salary of \$300 per annum. The *Montreal Witness* was the most moderate in its criticisms of political opponents. The *Globe* had all the intensity of its great editor, George Brown, and its perusal was a "liberal education" in the double sense of the term. The news of the world, the doings in Great Britain, speeches in the House of Commons, in the Congress at Washington, the progress of the Civil War in the United States, the massive and melancholy figure of Abraham Lincoln seen through the smoke of battle at Antietam and Gettysburg, his manumission of four millions of Africans from the brand and bondage of slavery, his assassination and the nation's sor-

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row, all came before me in the intervals of pedagogic activity, and I gradually became an interested citizen of the world's great forces, whose control was as mysterious to me as the shimmering of the stars. The power of the press is said to consist in its influence in shaping public opinion on questions of statecraft and theology beyond the personal touch of the platform and the pulpit. This view is doubtless correct as far as it goes, but its service in giving its readers a wider outlook of the world, in correcting misconceptions regarding forms of government, in destroying the egotism of national and religious preconceptions, in its simple and uncriticized statements of general events, in its collection of what might broadly be called "unvarnished news," is quite as educative as its editorial thunder or its political diatribes.

But, whether right or wrong in its criticism of men and events, who in those early days of credulous adolescence could doubt the journalist? What the papers said must be true. It was no hearsay. There it was in cold print. To doubt would be treason; and so the newspaper was all but infallible as an exponent of politics, education and religion, and the "noncontents" were a band of prejudiced and ill-informed citizens who had no standing-room in a well-regulated community. To be fed on such weekly rations of food, often highly seasoned and perhaps more stimulating than nutritious, had but one effect—to make me a Liberal with strong prejudices and a certain "cocksureness" that Liberal doctrines were as sound as the theorems of Euclid, *Q. E. D.*

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Moreover, my personal associations in the school district were largely Liberal. My trustees were Liberals, and they were "noble Romans," all of them. The religious element, whether Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian (there were no Anglicans or Roman Catholics in the district) was also Liberal. What a paradise for the young recruit! How could he make a mistake if he joined a procession in which everybody marched one way without misgivings as to route or destination? I was fed from the master's table; how could I question the quality of the cuisine?

And here I may be allowed a brief digression. As an incident of my vocation, I associated myself with a division of the "Sons of Temperance," which held weekly meetings for propagating temperance principles and wresting, if possible, the victims of alcoholic stimulants from the bondage of strong drink. The membership of the division covered a larger area than my school district, and so brought me into a larger constituency. The business of the division was conducted according to well-defined rules of procedure and debate, which gave it an air of dignity and self-restraint not unlike a parliament in miniature. The ceremony of initiation, the reports of committees, the prescribed duties of different officers, the deference to the presiding officer, and the usual incidents of a self-governing brotherhood, were all instructive, and to a teacher, whose word was law in his own sphere, suggestive of mutual rights which teachers too often overlooked. As a member, it became my privilege to share in the honours of the organization and to work side by side with

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men many years my senior. Moreover, it gave me an opportunity of studying character and no little training in business which greatly modified the crystallizing tendencies of the schoolroom. But perhaps its greatest advantage, apart from the pledge of total abstinence, was the practice of addressing my fellow members on matters arising in the ordinary course of business. Then occasionally there was a field-night "for the good of the Order," which meant a debate on some prearranged topic, with essays and speeches on temperance or other non-political subjects. In these field-nights the schoolmaster, as the highest authority on all literary and polemical questions, was by virtue of his office a designated exponent. So from necessity, more frequently than from choice, I was obliged to wrestle, not always logically, I fear, with the protagonist of every proposition on which it was possible for opposites to contend.

In addition to my practice in speaking before my fellow members of the Temperance Society, I acquired some reputation for public speaking at the school picnics of my fellow teachers, and so when the first general election under the British North America Act was about to take place some of my too ardent friends proposed to put me in nomination for a seat in the House of Commons. Why should I continue to blush unseen? This was early in 1867. The thought was appalling. What did an obscure teacher know about politics? How could he discuss great questions of state before men old enough to be his grandfather, and without any convictions except those obtained by proxy? How could he wrestle against men who had fought the

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beasts at Ephesus, and who carried the scars of victory as proudly as royalty wears its crown? "But why should I not run for Parliament?" my friends said. Young men were wanted. Old men had their day. And even if I would not run, I might attend the Liberal convention about to be held in North Middlesex, address the electors, and try my luck at political roulette. If not nominated, I would at least be advertised as a "coming man," and that was an important consideration. All I had to do was to prepare a speech that would "astonish the natives," and my future was assured. Well, I yielded so far as to promise to attend the convention. And then began a searching of books and papers for pointers. What could I say to qualify even for a decent advertisement? I had read that Disraeli, in his first contest for a seat in the British House of Commons, after his opponent had declared the platform on which he sought the support of the electors, was asked, "And now we want to know what you stand on, Mr. Disraeli." His answer, quick as thought, was, "I stand upon my head, sir!" Good enough in his case, but alas! for my empty head and its vacant cells. I had no experience of public life, no wealthy patron to vouch for me, no fortune to place at the disposal of the electors, and if my head failed me then I was undone. Although I had prepared diligently for the ordeal, it was with feelings of the utmost dread and trepidation that I entered the public hall where the delegates were assembled. There they were, about one hundred and fifty sturdy old yeomen, who had voted in many elections before I was born, and among the younger were many of my

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old schoolmates, who looked upon my aspiration for a seat in Parliament as the outcome of a disordered brain combined with a sublime conceit not warranted by their knowledge of my attainments as a fellow-pupil.

Presently the convention was organized, with an old friend of my family (Squire Wells) in the chair. After some routine business was transacted, the nomination of candidates for Parliament was called for. The sitting member (as the one last occupying the place is usually called), Mr. Thomas Scatcherd, a lawyer from London, was first nominated, and his name received with great applause. He opposed Confederation, but was nevertheless personally popular, and had several years' experience in the Parliament of Canada before the Union. Then my name was presented as "a fit and proper person" to represent the yeomanry of North Middlesex. How fit, and why proper, were the questions which I knew were being excogitated by the delegates present. "Any other nominations?" asked the chairman. There was no response. "Then I declare the nominations closed." Immediately the audience called "Scatcherd! Scatcherd!" and from a secluded part of the hall a man emerged in response to this call, proceeded to the platform, and in a very businesslike and modest way began to give an account of his stewardship and to ask for the support of the convention. Strange to say, in his address he took up nearly every topic on which I had prepared myself, and before he was through I sat in a cold sweat, half dazed with the embarrassment of the situation. A prisoner waiting for the sheriff, with the

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gallows in sight, could hardly feel worse than I did. Mr. Scatcherd's speech was well received, and the applause which followed the close of it only added to my wretchedness. Then the chairman, in a few kind words, called me to the platform. Great Cæsar! what an audience, and how menacing everyone looked! For a few moments there was an uproar, and it seemed as if I would not be heard, when a stalwart—one Sandy Hutson—shouted "Order!" and demanded that the young man be heard. Then there was silence more terrible than the uproar, and every delegate as well as myself "held his breath for a time." With true maiden-like modesty I apologized for my appearance before the convention. I said I could not prevent my friends from nominating me. If the convention preferred Mr. Scatcherd, that settled the matter, and I would heartily accept its decision. I then told the convention how I had prepared a speech, but Mr. Scatcherd, lawyer-like, had appropriated the greater part of it, even without power of attorney. This remark was received with a round of sympathetic applause, and with that I found myself and adapted the fragments of the speech I had prepared as best I could for the occasion. My speech was moderately successful, but the vote of the convention was ten to one for Scatcherd, just as it ought to have been. How could I expect to reap where I had not sowed? But if little was gained I felt that nothing was lost. I was "advertised" as an aspirant for Parliamentary honours. For the first time I became known to the leaders of political opinion in a great constituency, all of which might be of service some

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day. On the whole it was a strange experience. It was my first encounter with that curious abstraction called the "public," which was a force to be reckoned with. What was the secret of its power? Could it be placated, coaxed, wheedled, bullied, or brow-beaten? Had it human sympathies to win or affections to cultivate? Was it a roaring lion or a sucking dove? What were its likes and dislikes? These were questions which I asked of myself for many days after, as I was trying to cast the horoscope of the future and decide whether "the cobbler should stick to his last" or seek some other occupation with a wider outlook and more promising expectations. I had caught the infection of publicity, for which the remedy seemed to be more publicity—*similia similibus curantur*. Why not try journalism? I said to myself. That will fill the aching void. Who so conspicuous as an editor? Who will dare question his right to be heard? Who can steal his thunder? With one dash of his editorial pen he can make havoc in the enemy's ranks and at the same time win the admiration of a confiding public. That's the golden fleece to be sought at once. Therein lies the way to the heavenly heights from which Ambition beckons with smiling countenance, and it may also be the remedy for an attack of *Bacillus Parliamentum*, with which I was evidently infected.

While tortured with these thoughts I was unexpectedly offered the proprietorship of the *Strathroy Age*, a paper founded about a year previously by W. F. Luxton, afterwards founder of the *Winnipeg Free Press*. It was a small four-page weekly with a circulation of about three hundred and fifty,

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and valued—presses, type and equipment—at \$600. Cheap as it appeared to be, its price was quite up to the limit of my finances; and so, finding a substitute for my school, I took possession, on the 14th day of June, 1867, of this comprehensive printing plant and waited for the obeisance and applause of the vast multitude, to whom an editor was, or ought to be, the object of profound reverence and respect. Well, I waited—that is all that need be said.

At the time that I assumed the control of the *Age*, the first elections under the Confederation Act were in full swing. I took no part in platform work, but attended many meetings in the three ridings of Middlesex for the benefit of my great "Weekly." My more immediate concern was for the election of the Liberal candidate in West Middlesex, where my weekly was printed and published and read, of course. The candidates were Dr. George Billington, Liberal, and A. P. McDonald, Conservative—my opponent in 1872. Dr. Billington was of English origin, a splendid speaker, but without any of the accomplishments of Vivian Grey. Mr. McDonald was of Scottish origin, a poor speaker, but exceedingly affable in manner, and personally a great favourite. The Duke of Wellington once said "that he had no small talk and Peel had no manners." Dr. Billington had manners but no small talk, and small talk, like small coin, often serves a useful purpose. Mr. McDonald had small talk and coin large and small, and in spite of the great forensic ability of his opponent, won the seat by nineteen of a majority. The Liberals were beaten, the great weekly was

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beaten, and the intelligence of the electors was graded accordingly. Journalists must not be too sensitive. Even the *London Times* has been found in the minority.

The character of the weekly newspaper has greatly changed since my first connection with the press in 1867. Then it aimed at directing public opinion with the same wide outlook as the daily newspaper of to-day. Its patrons, in most instances, had no other source of information on public questions. There were only a few who supplemented the local papers with the larger metropolitan dailies. The editor of the weekly was, therefore, "a guide, philosopher and friend," as well as the medium of news within the orbit of his subscription lists. And so he had editorials on matters of public policy, on politics national and municipal, and on the many questions of wider interest than the minutes of the town council or the proper location of the town pump. It might be invidious to name the weeklies of those days whose editorials on public affairs would do credit to many of the dailies of to-day. Some still fortify their editorial columns with opinions well expressed on public questions, but the majority aim simply at collecting news of their town and vicinity, leaving the larger field of politics to the daily journal and the magazine. For this evolution of the weekly there are many good reasons. In this age of activity and quick communication who could wait a week without knowing what was going on in Britain and Japan? Besides, the daily has been greatly cheapened in price. In fact, many dailies are cheaper

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now than weeklies were forty years ago. Moreover, the great dailies are the exponents of the political principles of the two militant parties of the country, and every loyal party man wants to drink from original sources of supply. But while this relieves the editor of a weekly from much labour and responsibility, he is, nevertheless, in other respects a great factor in the education of the public. Locally the weeklies are a sort of vigilance committee, and many a municipal councillor and school trustee act and vote with an eye to the paragraphs in the weekly paper which his conduct may suggest. On the other hand, a word of praise for any form of public service wisely rendered is just as much appreciated and as helpful as ever. While the editor cannot be directly quoted for his opinion on such questions as the Hague Conference or the election of Senators by popular vote, he has opportunities to keep the moral atmosphere of the community in which he lives sweet and to make the trifler and the knave and the meddler ashamed of himself. Even the lighter society gossip of the town, the arrivals and departures, the home visits of old citizens and the gayety of the young brides passing out into the world, have about them human touches which appeal to everybody and which relieve the monotony of shop and office and fireside. The weekly has still its place in the newspaper economy of the world, and to use it for the highest good is an ambition not unworthy of the altruist and the educationist.

My journalistic experience was comparatively brief, not exceeding three years, and embraced some service in every department of newspaper

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work. I wrote editorials, reported political meetings and all other kinds of meetings, collected society notes, solicited advertisements, pulled at the old-fashioned hand-press on which William Lyon Mackenzie had printed his most violent denunciations of the Family Compact, made out accounts, canvassed for subscriptions, addressed the mailing list, and so on, in all its variations and permutations, and as a *multum in parvo* sort of an editor did many things in a little way. In spite of these multitudinous duties rolled in one for the sake of economy, the income little more than balanced the expenditure, and so I parted at a small profit with my exacting charge, took a partnership in the Seaforth *Expositor*, parted with that after a short time, and in 1871 became Inspector of Public Schools for the Eastern Division of the County of Lambton.

Vale, journalism! *vale!* Agreeable in all your associations, profitable by a new experience in business and a larger acquaintance with the activities of life, and useful in the wider range of knowledge to which you compelled attention. *Vale!*

CHAPTER II.

FIRST ELECTION UNDER CONFEDERATION.

I HAVE already stated that I entered on my journalistic career in 1867. This was the year of the first general election for the Dominion Parliament and the Provincial Legislatures under the British North America Act, and so the political atmosphere was doubly charged with excitement. As the campaign for both Houses was conducted simultaneously, we had a *compôte* of Dominion and local issues—both very indefinite, and more speculative than real. Sir John Macdonald had been called to form a Government for the Dominion and the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald to form a Government for the Province of Ontario, and both appealed to the country with the declaration that Confederation had dissolved the old parties, that there were no political issues before the country, and that they had a right under the circumstances to a "fair trial." Neither of them promulgated a new policy or party platform. As the Hon. Wm. Macdougall said, they were beginning with a *tabula rasa*, and were entitled to public confidence till proven unworthy. From this view the Liberal party, through its leader, the Hon. George Brown, dissented, claiming that although the two great parties coalesced for bringing Confederation into effect, this accomplished, they automatically

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resumed their former positions, and therefore the elections should be conducted on the party record of pre-Confederation days. The answer to this from the Conservative party was that the coalition formed to effect Confederation still existed, as the Hon. William Macdougall and the Hon. W. H. Howland, two Liberals, were still members of the new Dominion Government, and that Sandfield Macdonald, an old Liberal, had formed a Government for Ontario composed of three Liberals and two Conservatives—what better proof than this could be afforded that old issues were dead, and that Canada had entered on a new career, where the voice of the partisan would be stifled and the patriotic fervour of the new-born citizens would substitute for effete party cries the broader spirit of a new nationality? The new political shibboleth was well chosen. The party rancour which prevailed during the ten years preceding Confederation “had overleaped itself,” and many of the moderate men who usually followed their party as a matter of loyalty, responded to the call for a “fair trial.”

The Hon. George Brown refused to accept the declaration of his quondam political opponents. Sir John Macdonald, he argued, was simply playing his old game of personal and political aggrandizement—the Ethiopian could not change his skin, no matter how he attempted to conceal its real colour amid Liberal colleagues. Place him in power and he would be a Tory as of old, in spite of all declarations to the contrary. Even the selection of Sandfield Macdonald as Premier of Ontario did not placate the Liberal leader—his appointment

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was of sinister origin; his Tory companions, like the fly in the ointment, gave his Government a bad odour; there must be no alliance with the enemies of "Rep. by Pop." and non-sectarian schools. So with characteristic force and energy he appealed to the Liberal party to repudiate both coalitions as dangerous and unreliable.

To arouse his followers to give battle as of yore, Mr. Brown called a convention of the Liberals of the Province, to meet in Toronto on June 27th, there and then to consider what should be done to prevent the success of Sir John Macdonald's new party tactics. About six hundred responded to the call, and for three days the temperature of the old Music Hall on Church Street would not be considered a comfortable average for a summer resort.

As the editor of a Liberal newspaper, I was a qualified delegate to the convention, to which I looked forward with unusual interest. Now it was not the "red schoolhouse," with its rules and regulations, its restless occupants glad to escape from its restraint (the teacher often no less than the pupils), but the political stage, with some of Canada's greatest men behind the footlights. What would they look like? I had never even seen their portraits. This was before the days of photo-gravures and other devices for encroaching on the privacy of life. Were they as intelligent-looking as the readers of my great weekly, or the patrons of my miniature job office? Well, I must know for myself, and accordingly I resolved to attend the convention.

I will not attempt to recount the proceedings of the convention in detail. Suffice it to say that

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attention was mainly directed to the debasing tendency of coalitions generally, and particularly of those formed by the two Macdonalds, Sir John and Sandfield. The convention could in no sense be called a deliberative body, as no one appeared to be deliberating. The atmosphere was so surcharged with passion and the fiery spirit of its great leader that deliberation was impossible. There was no necessity for argument—the jury were already acquainted with the case and were prepared to give their verdict. The Demosthenes of the convention was undoubtedly George Brown. I remember well his tall form and intense earnestness as he paced the platform, emphasizing with long arms and swinging gestures the torrent of his invective. His manner was so intense, because of its flaming earnestness, as to overshadow the cogency and force of his arguments. Every sentence had the ring of the triphammer. Every climax smelt of volcanic fire—sulphurous, scorching, startling—and the response was equally torrid—"We will fight against Phillip; we will conquer or die!" While George Brown was a great power on the platform and in Parliament, because of his "moral earnestness," as was said of Gladstone, his leadership at this convention reminded me of the words of Macbeth, "Lay on, Macduff; and damn'd be him that first cries, 'Hold, enough!'" and sad to say, as in the great drama, Macduff prevailed.

In contrast to George Brown was his former ally and colleague, now charged with treachery to the Liberal party—the Honourable William Macdougall. When the coalition of 1864 was formed to carry out Confederation, Messrs. Macdougall

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and Howland, along with George Brown, represented the Liberal wing of that famous compact. In 1865 George Brown retired from the coalition because he felt he was ignored by Sir John Macdonald in matters of public policy on which he believed he should have been consulted. Messrs. Macdougall and Howland declined to follow their leader, arguing that as a coalition was necessary to the accomplishment of Confederation, so only by a coalition could the new *régime* be successfully inaugurated, and the united Provinces properly launched on their new career.

To square himself with the Liberal party, Macdougall had asked to be allowed to address the convention. His request was granted, and seats were reserved for him and Mr. Howland on the platform. It was really a case of Daniel in the lions' den—large, angry lions at that. They were more than hostile, they were furious, but as restrained as could be expected under the circumstances. Mr. Macdougall, tall and strongly built, rose in solemn silence, if we except a few suppressed growls from the back of the hall. His face bore no expression of fear, in fact no particular expression of any kind. He was calm, dignified and resolute, and without preface or apology gave his reasons for refusing to leave the coalition Government. "Though Confederation is an accomplished fact constitutionally," he said, "there is much to be done to get the new machinery in motion. As it was brought about by the two great political parties of Canada, is it not reasonable that both parties should continue for a time to guard the cradle of their own offspring? Why

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should the Liberals withdraw their help in such a crisis?" and so on. Occasionally his remarks provoked dissent, but, nothing daunted, he proceeded steadily and calmly until he had stated his case, and with an appeal for support on patriotic and non-party grounds he took his seat. His colleague, Mr. Howland, spoke in a similar strain, but with less force and power.

And now the tournament was really opened. The coalitionists had been heard, and it was for the convention to hear the other side—evidently a work of supererogation, for they knew it, or thought they did, already. George Brown was called to reply to the two culprits who had offended against Liberal canons. He was in splendid form, although somewhat overwrought by the excitement of the occasion. This accentuated a hesitating tendency of speech which affected him more or less on all occasions. It could hardly be called stammering. It seemed more like the rush of a mighty flood too great for the channel through which it was passing. And a flood it was—a flood of argument and invective and incrimination and censure. In effect, his speech was a declaration that coalitions were dangerous, if not worse, and justified only when all other means of preserving the state had failed; this one was particularly bad, as it served no public purpose except to keep Tories in office, and Macdougall and Howland had sold themselves to Sir John Macdonald for that consideration. And so the flood rolled on and on over the applauding six hundred delegates, who were clearly convinced that Monteith, who betrayed Sir William Wallace, or Benedict Arnold, who offered

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to sell his country for British gold, were angelic beings compared with Macdougall and Howland. Call Mr. Brown's speech torrential eloquence or call it what you like, it was the speech of a man with strong convictions and great intellectual power—a man dangerous to meet anywhere, but particularly with admiring friends at his back; a man who could command an audience with the forcefulness of his manner and make his argument effective by intensity of presentation. Needless to say, the coalitionists were condemned without benefit of clergy—which I cordially approved. Many others took part in the convention; among the more noted I shall simply mention Alexander Mackenzie and Edward Blake.

The convention was pronounced a success, although as a political movement it failed to influence the election to any appreciable extent. The two Macdonalds achieved their purpose. Macdougall and Howland remained in the Government; George Brown was defeated in South Ontario, and I received my first course of instruction in party politics. Was Mr. Gladstone far wrong when he said that "a convention is a noun of multitude signifying many but not much"?

Here let me tarry a little while over Macdougall and his future career. Mr. Macdougall, as he appeared to me then and on several occasions since, was a man of many gifts. As a speaker he was dignified, frank and deferential to his audience. He had none of the sledgehammer methods of George Brown, not even the incisive energy of Alexander Mackenzie. His language was well chosen, his sentences well balanced and his voice

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full, resonant and agreeable. He was a debater more after the model of the English Parliamentarians than the Canadian. I have seen him in the House of Commons follow the arguments of an opponent for an hour or longer without reference to a single note—sometimes quoting a statement almost verbatim and then dissecting it with the coolness of a German surgeon. Like D'Arcy McGee he was sparing of gesture; he was never known to attempt oratorical aviation; his temperament forbade emotion and passion; but for clarity of statement and logic unadorned he had no superior in the House of Commons. Once I encountered him on the political platform. It was in the winter of 1876, when the late Dalton McCarthy was a candidate for the riding of Cardwell. As the meeting was called by the Liberals, I led in the debate, on behalf of the Liberal candidate, Mr. Bolton. Mr. Macdougall followed, and treated me with the greatest courtesy, while of course endeavouring to refute my arguments. My reply, I am sorry to say, was more stormy declamation than argument, and was so far personal as to charge Mr. Macdougall with treason to the Liberal party, in terms similar to those used by George Brown at the Toronto convention. Mr. Macdougall asked to be allowed to reply, but this I declined, as it was my privilege, according to the rules of debate, to close the meeting. I expected he would on the first opportunity resent my rudeness, but, far from so doing, he treated me in the House and out of it with more than conventional courtesy. During his illness I visited him fre-

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quently at his home in Ottawa, and was always accorded a kindly welcome.

Mr. Macdougall did not attain in public estimation the position to which his great ability entitled him. As a member of the Government he discharged his public duties honestly and efficiently. He was never accused of profiting pecuniarily by his ministerial opportunities. Why he failed as a political force after Confederation I am quite unable to say. It has been said that as a Minister he was *persona ingrata* with his chief, Sir John Macdonald, and that he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba in 1869 as an easy way to secure his removal from the Cabinet. It is even said that Sir John intrigued against him, but this could hardly be conceived in view of the danger to party interests from the unsettled condition of Manitoba. With his failure to reach Winnipeg on account of the Riel rebellion, his political star never afterwards shone with its former lustre. Neither in the House of Commons nor the Legislature of Ontario, where he sat for a few years, did he ever regain the public ear. Liberals gave him the cold shoulder and the Conservatives treated him as one whose usefulness was gone. I believe both parties are open to the charge of ingratitude. In the fifties and early sixties, when the Liberals of Upper Canada were fighting for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves and justice to all religious denominations, Mr. Macdougall, in the press and on the platform, was one of their most doughty champions; and in the general election of 1867, and afterwards in 1878, when the National Policy was the main political issue, he

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never spared himself to advance the interests of the Conservative party. Yet from neither party in his later years did he receive the slightest token of appreciation.

"The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

A good story was told me by the late Alexander Mackenzie of Mr. Macdougall's application for admission to the Law Society of Upper Canada. He was a member of the Government at the time, and trusted to the courtesy of the Law Society for admission to the bar without the usual examination prescribed for an ordinary law student. On the receipt of his application his case was referred to the Treasurer of the Society, the Honourable John Hillyard Cameron, for examination and report. Mr. Cameron invited Mr. Macdougall to dine with him, intending, after dinner, to examine the new candidate for legal honours. Accordingly, as both were seated in front of a comfortable fire enjoying their after-dinner cigar, Mr. Cameron disclosed the purpose of his social courtesy, stating that he had been appointed by the Law Society to examine Mr. Macdougall as to his qualifications for call to the bar, in order to report as directed. "And now, Mr. Macdougall," he said, "perhaps you will tell me what you know of law." "Not a damned thing!" was the startling reply. "That will do, Mr. Macdougall, that will do," said Mr. Cameron, and the conversation was turned to other subjects. At the next meeting of the Law Society Mr. Cameron presented his report, to the following effect: "As directed by your honourable body I

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examined Mr. Macdougall as to his knowledge of law, and found his answers quite satisfactory and correct." On this report, it is said, Mr. Macdougall became a barrister in good standing, and possibly a striking exception to some who were admitted in a more formal manner.

Another story is told of his experience in the county of Lambton in the general election of 1867. The contest was between Alexander Vidal, afterwards Senator, and Alexander Mackenzie, afterwards Premier of Canada. Mackenzie was one of the rising Liberals in the old Parliament of Canada, and his defeat would be a great political victory, as he opposed Sir John Macdonald and all his works. Mr. Macdougall was a member of Sir John's "Fair Trial" Government, and was sent to Lambton to check Mackenzie's career. According to the custom of those days, a political campaign was a series of platform duels between the candidates or their representatives. The excitement ran high at every meeting. It is said the Gael dearly loves a fight, and Mackenzie was, like many of his countrymen, "a bonnie fechter." Mackenzie was in his prime, belligerent, aggressive and caustic as potash; Macdougall was dignified, argumentative and sometimes cynical. The battle between the two raged fiercely several days. The climax was reached in the village of Arkona towards the close of the campaign. Macdougall had made a slashing attack on Mackenzie for his disloyalty in opposing the Queen's Government at such a crisis in the history of Canada—"Did he want the new Dominion to crumble into its original atoms and become a prey for the United States," and so on. The charge

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of disloyalty was intended as a solar plexus blow, and was cheered by the Tory section of the meeting as a final settlement of Mackenzie's political career. Nothing daunted, however, Mackenzie rose to reply. "Mr. Macdougall," he said in unmistakable Doric, "calls me disloyal. Me disloyal! Do I not wear the Queen's uniform? Have I not camped with my fellow citizens on the border to repel the Fenian invaders who would trample under foot the British flag? Can Mr. Macdougall quote a word of mine either in Parliament or out reflecting upon the Queen or the British monarchy? Let me tell him to his face that he is mistaken. Loyalty to the Queen is a noble sentiment in which all true Liberals share, but loyalty to the Queen does not require a man to bow down to her manservant, her maidservant, her ox or her ass." And with the last word of the quotation he turned somewhat significantly towards Mr. Macdougall. The blow was fierce as the stroke of a Lochaber axe, and after that night Macdougall left the electors to their own devices. At the close of the polls the Doric exponent of loyalty was elected by a majority of over six hundred votes.

CHAPTER III.

WITH ALEXANDER MACKENZIE IN WEST MIDDLESEX.

DURING the interval between my retirement from journalism and my appointment as Inspector of Public Schools, the first Parliament of the Province of Ontario expired, and the election for the second Parliament took place. The election was fixed for March 21st, 1871, and Sandfield Macdonald's Government was on trial before the electors. Sandfield Macdonald had held office four years, and claimed support on two grounds: first, that he had managed the business of the Province so economically that, after paying for administration and all other expenses, he had a surplus of over two millions; and, second, that his policy was progressive in regard to every vital Provincial interest. Both claims were fairly well founded. He built asylums for the insane, for the deaf and dumb, and for the blind, all of which were sorely needed. He projected the College of Agriculture and took a large vote for railway development. He provided for the prompt trial of criminal offences by summary conviction, and erected the Central Prison for the confinement and employment of prisoners of a certain grade. He limited elections to one day, and passed legislation for the trial of controverted elections before the High Court Judges instead of before Committees of the House.

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His four years of office were years of great activity in every department of the public service, and he had every reason to suppose that the country would approve of his record. There were several features of his administration, however, which gave the Opposition, led by Mr. Edward Blake, the groundwork for attack. He deliberately stated that public institutions were located in recognition of political support. In the case of a deputation for some special favour for the town of Strathroy he went so far as to ask, "What the hell has Strathroy done for me?" meaning that Strathroy had no political claims upon him. These statements had a sinister ring, and were regarded as a political bribe which should be resented. In his appropriation of \$1,500,000 for railway aid he refused to designate the roads to be aided. This was also considered a form of coercion, as the electors of any constituency looking for a subsidy were led to believe that to vote against the Government was not the best way to win its favour.

But what made this campaign of particular interest to me was the nomination of Alexander Mackenzie, member of the House of Commons, as the Liberal candidate for West Middlesex. The sitting member, Mr. Nathaniel Currie, was considered exceptionally strong, and it was believed no local Liberal could defeat him. Mr. Mackenzie, with Scottish caution, refused to run unless it were shown that the electors preferred him to a local man. This was soon settled by a requisition very numerously signed, and so he was formally nominated and the race was on. Mr. Mackenzie could only give a small portion of his time to the

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campaign on account of his engagements at Ottawa, the House of Commons being in session. As I had some time at my disposal I was asked to address several meetings on his behalf. The meetings were small, and, as Mr. Currie was not represented at any of them, it was plain sailing. Mr. Mackenzie was a complete stranger in the riding personally, but well known through the press as one of the strong men of the Liberal party. I had heard him speak at the great Liberal convention in Toronto already referred to, but beyond that I had formed no opinion as to his power on the platform. As his time was limited, he held two meetings a day, and so bad were the roads that the saddle was the only means of quick transportation. It was a whirlwind campaign, and Mr. Currie's friends were completely stampeded. When the votes were counted, Mackenzie had a majority of 410. It was a glorious victory, and even "the ranks of Tuscany could scarce forbear to cheer." To me the campaign was an educator in two ways—I gained some experience in platform work, and I had an opportunity of studying the platform methods of an acknowledged champion of debate.

Mackenzie was *sui generis* a debater. He had more than the average pugnacity of his race, and reminded one of a fellow countryman of his who was asked on his deathbed if he would not like the friends present to join in singing a hymn or two to comfort him. "Hymns!" said the dying man. "Na, na, I want to argy (argue)." Mackenzie had a clear-cut face, distinctly angular, and without any surplus tissue to round it off at any point.

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His voice was not musical, but carried well and had as decided a Scottish "burr" as that of Souter Johnny or Tam O'Shanter. He had a marvellous memory, which never failed him, and a command of simple, expressive English that would do credit to a university professor. His grammar was faultless, and he was one of the very few who could be reported verbatim. He was never stagy, never aimed at effect. His primary object seemed to be to unhorse his opponent if he were present, or if not present, to make his audience believe that he could do so very easily. Very few men possessed his directness in debate. There was no circumlocution, no dallying with an opponent. His business was to shoot to kill, and he rarely failed in his purpose. He could be caustic or cynical at will, and his humorous sallies blistered like a blast from a flaming smelter. Not only did he leave his opponents mangled and bleeding at his feet, but he shot into them barbs which, like the quills of a porcupine, festered wherever they struck.

As an example of his readiness in repartee, I might cite an incident connected with his election in West Middlesex. He was making a strong appeal to the audience on behalf of the Liberal party as the exponent of unswerving loyalty to principles of public policy in the interest of the country. "On all questions of principle the party is not only Liberal," he said, "but clear grit in the real sense of the word." On mention of the words "clear grit," Mr. C. H. McIntosh, editor of the *Strathroy Despatch*, called from the audience, "Will you explain what you mean by 'clear

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grit'?" to which Mackenzie instantly replied, with his usual Doric accent, "'Clear grit' is pure sand without a particle of dirt in it."

Mr. Mackenzie was in great demand in bye-elections. I have heard him relate his experiences with D'Arcy McGee, Michael H. Foley and Sir John Macdonald. He was not given to boasting, but I could see that no Irishman at Donnybrook got more pleasure out of his adventures than he did out of these hand-to-hand fights. I had the pleasure of hearing him in an outdoor debate with Sir Charles Tupper in my election of 1878. Sir Charles was no ordinary antagonist, but he had neither the agility nor the incisiveness of Mackenzie, and the general verdict was that Mackenzie was the better man. I believe he delighted to cross swords with Tupper as much as with any man. Tupper's self-confidence incited him to his best, and he no doubt meant what he said of him once in St. Catharines, that he was like Milton's Lucifer, "He would rather reign in hell than serve in heaven."

Mackenzie's election to the Legislature spelled trouble for the Sandfield Macdonald Government. He was a good second to the Opposition leader, Edward Blake, and their joint attack required more than ordinary skill and courage to repel. With an extraordinary want of foresight Sandfield opened the way for his own defeat. During the recess, under his own Act to try controverted elections before the Judges of the High Court, the seats of eight of his supporters were vacated, and, as no writ could be issued for a new election, as the law then stood, until the House had met and elected a Speaker, Sandfield was obliged to sum-

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mon the Legislature. Without any difficulty or even opposition, his nominee, Mr. R. W. Scott, of Ottawa (now Sir Richard Scott), was elected Speaker. The Lieutenant-Governor, in his Speech from the Throne, outlined the business for the session, and the Government evidently intended to proceed as if it had nothing to fear from its crippled condition. Had Sandfield asked for an adjournment of the House until the bye-elections were held to fill the vacant seats, the House would probably have supported him; but instead of this, he proceeded with the debate on the Address, and afforded Mr. Blake, with all the skill and force of which he was capable, an opportunity to assail him. Motions of want of confidence followed each other in rapid succession, and in eleven days after the opening of Parliament his slender majority dwindled away, and his "Patent Combination," as he called the coalition which he had formed, was dissolved. A new Government was formed under Blake, in which Mackenzie held the portfolio of Provincial Treasurer. Had the electors of West Middlesex rejected Mackenzie at the general election, Sandfield Macdonald's defeat might have been indefinitely postponed. So much often hinges on winning or losing a single seat.

To me, personally, a different result might have been very inconvenient. In June, 1871, as stated, I was appointed Inspector of Public Schools, and in March, 1872, I was nominated to contest West Middlesex for the House of Commons. Doctor Ryerson, then Chief Superintendent of Education, consulted Mackenzie as to the propriety of an officer of the Education Department, which I was

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practically, being allowed to enter the political field, and proposed that my resignation should be asked for. Mackenzie, while not expressing any opinion on the political aspect of the question, suggested that the matter stand over until after the election—if I were defeated there would be no necessity for further action; if elected, then the question might be taken up. And there the matter rested from that day forward during my term of office.

By an Act of the Dominion Parliament passed in 1872, members of a Provincial Legislature were disqualified from sitting in the House of Commons. Both Mackenzie and Blake, accordingly, resigned their seats in the Legislature, and that led to the reorganization of the Government of Ontario, with Oliver Mowat as Premier. But more of that later.

CHAPTER IV.

MY FIRST ELECTION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

EARLY in 1872 the first Parliament of Canada completed its full term of five years, and the two great parties began immediately to marshal their forces for a death-struggle at the polls. In West Middlesex, the Conservative party had nominated the sitting member, A. P. McDonald, whose course in Parliament was eminently satisfactory to his party followers. With the Liberals a choice was not so easily made. On account of McDonald's well known election methods, it was thought that success depended upon finding a candidate who could meet him on his own ground, and no local Liberal appeared able to fulfil this condition. Accordingly, the nomination was offered to Mr. Daniel McFie of London, a retired merchant of excellent character and ample means. Mr. McFie took the offer into consideration, looked over the riding, and concluded that the odds against him on many grounds were too great, and so he declined the proffered honour. Another convention was called, and by a unanimous and enthusiastic vote I was offered the nomination. It was said that I was fairly well known in the riding from my work in the Mackenzie campaign the previous year; that I was a resident of the riding, effective in debate, and that I stood a fair chance to carry the election.

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This offer came to me quite unexpectedly, and was more or less embarrassing. When I accepted the Inspectorship of Lambton I intended to prepare myself for entering the legal profession by devoting all the time I could spare from my inspectoral duties to Blackstone. It was soon enough, I thought, to take up politics when I had a profession to fall back upon. Moreover, I felt that McDonald was in some respects a formidable opponent. He had many years of experience in Parliament, he was much better acquainted with the electors than I was, he knew all the arts of electioneering; and for a young man inexperienced and without the sinews of war to hope to defeat him was tempting the fates. The Liberals, however, were very urgent, and pledged themselves to support me with every means in their power. At length I consented to run, and with the betting heavily against me accepted the nomination. According to the custom of those days, candidates for Parliamentary honours always issued an address to the "free and independent electors" (as if some electors were not free), declaring their views on the questions before the country and asking for their "vote and influence." My address, as it now appears to me, was quite a pretentious document. I certainly had exalted ideas as to what a member of Parliament ought to do. Had I been the leader of the party I could not have promised more, such are the presumption and the optimism of youthful inexperience. It is gratifying to notice, however, that the legislation then advocated has since been passed, and that the general policy outlined in my address is still considered of para-

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mount importance to Canada. For a Liberal to declare himself in favour of "Canada for the Canadians" in 1872 was to anticipate one feature of the National Policy, which I by no means intended when I used the phrase. Here is the precious document:

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE WEST RIDING OF MIDDLESEX.

Gentlemen,—When I addressed you, immediately after the convention held at Mount Brydges, on the 8th of March last, I promised a fuller exposition of my views on questions of public policy; I now submit a few of the more important measures bearing upon the prosperity of the country which will receive my hearty support.

1. An Election Law for the Dominion similar in its general principles to that adopted by the Legislature of Ontario, including the trial of controverted elections before the Judges.
2. The independence of both Chambers of the Legislature, and the enactment of a law by which Senators could not hold any office under the Crown, except that of a Privy Councillor.
3. The abolition of Dual Representation in the House of Commons.
4. Economy in the payment of salaries and in the management of all the Executive Departments of the Government.
5. The reduction of tariffs and customs, so far as compatible with the faithful discharge of our financial obligations.
6. The encouragement of immigration, and the speedy settlement of the vast territory now under the control of the Dominion.
7. The protection of territorial rights against any and every aggressor.
8. The opening up of the best markets for Canadian produce, and the cultivation of commercial interchange with countries whose produce we require.
9. The undertaking of such Public Works as would be productive without being burdensome.
10. The development of our mineral resources, the renewal of Reciprocity with the United States, the improvement of

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our Insolvency Laws and the maintenance of Parliamentary independence.

11. The removal from power, at the first opportunity, of the present administration, whose actions in connection with the Intercolonial Railway, the North-West, British Columbia, the Washington Treaty, the Pacific Railway, the Redistribution Bill, etc., render them no longer worthy of the confidence of the electors of this Dominion.

These and similar measures, no matter where they originate, will receive my hearty support. Canada for the Canadians made prosperous by good Government, honesty, industry, and public morality, will be the aim both of my life and my legislation. Trusting that this declaration of principles, sustained by consistency and integrity, will command your approbation, and receive from you such evidences of acceptance as will put me in a position to advocate them on the floor of the Canadian House of Commons,

I remain,

Faithfully yours,

GEO. W. ROSS.

Strathroy, July 1st, 1872.

Mr. McDonald, confident in his strength and confident also that he would easily expose my unfitness for Parliamentary honours, announced a series of meetings, to which, according to the old Saxon method of "trial by ordeal," I was invited. In the meantime he had prevailed upon Dr. Billington, whom he defeated in 1867, to announce himself as an independent Liberal, and he too was invited to be present. "Now certainly," I thought, "the clouds are thickening and my doom is sealed. To divide the Liberal party would in itself mean certain defeat, but to confront two candidates at one time and escape with my political life would be a miracle." But I had no choice. To refuse the invitation would be to wear the brand of cowardice.

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"Possibly I can harass the enemy," I thought, "even if I cannot turn the battle into a rout. The captain must fight at the head of his men if he is to retain their confidence. Defeat is not necessarily a disgrace—cowardice is." At length the much-dreaded encounter took place, and after the first round my friends assured me that I more than held my own. I attacked McDonald with all the energy of despair, and declared that I would attend all his meetings and let the electors know how shamelessly he had misrepresented them in Parliament. The third candidate proved to be harmless. On election day he polled only seven votes.

The difficulties of conducting an election forty years ago were in some respects much greater than at present. Public halls were few in number and limited in accommodation, and so it was necessary to hold numerous meetings to fully instruct the electors. Newspaper readers were comparatively few, and it was only by personal canvass, or through meetings in schoolhouses and elsewhere, that the electors could be reached. In my first campaign I addressed thirty-five meetings. The want of political literature was also a great disadvantage to a candidate without inside knowledge of the doings of Parliament. It is true the *Toronto Globe* gave from day to day much information regarding the questions discussed and the votes cast in Parliament against measures proposed by the Liberal Opposition. But the *Globe* could not be quoted as an authority—it was a party organ, and its statements as well as its opinions would be received in a public meeting with jeers. Such an authority as the Journals of the House were

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only available to the few who had friends in the public offices from which they were supplied. There were no yearbooks with official statistics, no Hansards with official reports, and unless an opponent's speech were quoted from his own party organ it would instantly be repudiated as a false report intended to do him an injury. This leads me to narrate two circumstances illustrative of what I have already stated.

My platform campaign was mainly directed to show that my opponent's votes in Parliament were not in the interest of his constituents and did not entitle him to a renewal of their confidence. For instance, in adjusting the tariff after Confederation for revenue purposes, among other things a small duty, I think not more than ten per cent., was imposed on Bibles, prayer books and hymn books. This was opposed by the Liberal party, and in the division that took place McDonald voted with the Government, at whose instance the duty was proposed. This vote was noticed in the Liberal press, and I of course seized upon it as one of the grounds on which McDonald should be condemned. I was unable to procure a copy of the Journals of the House containing the division list, and could only cite the *Globe* in proof of my charge. McDonald denied the charge point blank, and declared it was made by the *Globe* while knowing it to be false, and challenged me to the proof. What could I do? I was convinced the charge was true, and if proven by documentary evidence I felt that electors of strong religious convictions might possibly resent it. As a last resort I wrote to the Collector of Customs in the city of London, and

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received a reply to the effect that duties were imposed on Bibles and hymn books in 1867 but repealed in 1869. Now I felt armed for a renewal of my charge, and the opportunity soon came in the Town Hall in Strathroy. As usual a joint meeting for political slugging drew a crowd. I renewed my charge and expressed my deep regret that McDonald forgot what was due to the moral and religious interests of his country and outraged all sense of propriety by voting for a tax upon Bibles. They were sent to the heathen, I said, free of cost, but McDonald refused to treat Canadians as well as the heathens were treated—was there ever anything so base? And to confirm the charge I read, very regretfully, the letter of an officer of the Government that McDonald supported, whose word was not open to question, at least by the Conservatives. McDonald was still game, and in his reply reiterated his denial, refused to accept the statement of the Collector of Customs and declared that I was wilfully and maliciously misrepresenting him, and in proof he drew from his wallet with an air of bravado what he alleged was the Official Blue Book published by the Dominion Government, in which it was stated that Bibles, prayer books, etc., were free, shook the book in my face and asked the audience to condemn me as a prevaricator and slanderer. My position was for a moment or two very embarrassing. There it was, apparently what he represented it to be, an Official Blue Book. Was it possible that the Collector of Customs had made a mistake? I must see this Blue Book for myself, and so I jumped to my feet and asked McDonald to let me look at it. “No, no,

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there it is!" was the reply, and speaking with more than his former vigour he went on to brand me as most unworthy of respect. So strongly did I feel that if I could but examine his alleged Blue Book it would relieve me from the intolerable position in which I was placed, that I reached up and snatched it out of his hands, and in an instant perceived that his authority was not a Blue Book at all—and holding it up to the audience I read from the cover "Maclear's Almanac, 1869," and threw it down on the table before him. It was enough. His friends were dumbfounded and my triumph was complete. That McDonald deliberately intended to mislead his audience and discredit my statement was beyond question. To make the Almanac appear like a Blue Book, he had turned the cover back, thus exposing the fly-leaf, which was blue. To the audience and to those on the platform it appeared to be exactly what he represented, and but for my discourteous pertinacity I would have been branded as a knave. In the subsequent course of the campaign he heard from me a good many times, and was asked to produce his Almanac whenever he was in a tight place.

My next dilemma for the want of official evidence was somewhat similar, and ended greatly to McDonald's disadvantage. The Tariff Bill already referred to proposed a small duty on imported live stock of every description; the Liberals moved to exempt live stock when imported for breeding purposes. Macdonald voted against the Liberal proposition, and I asked the farmers if they could approve of this vote. McDonald, as in the case of the duty on Bibles, denied having given such a vote,

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and said I was misrepresenting him knowingly and wilfully. As in the former case my only authority was the *Toronto Globe*, and that would not be accepted by McDonald or his friends. So I determined I must get the Journals of the House if at all possible and nail him down once for all. I wrote to Mr. Mackenzie at Sarnia for the much-needed document, and fortunately he had a spare copy which he sent and which I received on the morning of the official nomination, one week before election day. In those days nominations were held in the open air, and a platform, called the hustings, was erected for the use of the election officials and the candidates and their friends. The electors were massed in front to hear the candidates and any others who might be present to address them. McDonald as the sitting member was first nominated and made the usual address. I followed, and among other things repeated the charge that he had voted against the free importation of live stock for breeding purposes. "Prove it! Prove it!" called McDonald. I at once responded and read from the Journals of the House the resolution on the subject and McDonald's vote from the division list. At this McDonald became greatly enraged, still denying his vote. I then took up the Journals, and turning to him said, "If you think my statement not correct read it and be convinced that I am not misrepresenting you." Taking the book from my hands he shouted "Read it yourself!" and, raising it, was about throwing it at my head when one of his friends intervened. The excitement of the electors was intense, and I was not sure for a second or two what part I might be required

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to play to vindicate my good name. It was the last exciting episode of the campaign. A week later the votes were polled and I was elected by a majority of 56. Thus was verified the means by which a noted Scotchman declared success could be achieved—"Audacity, Audacity, Audacity"; or as Danton said in the French Assembly, "Dare, and again I say Dare and Dare."

CHAPTER V.

INITIATION DAY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE Second Parliament of Canada was called for the despatch of business on March 5th, 1873. The Liberals did not carry the country, although they reduced the majority against them in the House. I was summoned in the name of the Queen, as others were, to appear at "Our City of Ottawa," all excuses being laid aside, for the despatch of business to "treat, do, act and conclude upon those things which in Our said Parliament of Canada by the common council of Our Dominion may by the favour of God be ordained." Accordingly, I arranged my work as Inspector of Public Schools so that nothing would suffer by my absence, and with free transportation by the courtesy of the railways, I took a train that I was assured, if I changed often enough, would in the course of time bring me to Ottawa. Forty years ago railway travel was not as luxurious as it is to-day, and many were the jolts which are now avoided by the substitution of the Miller coupling and the airbrake for the link and bolt and struggling brakesman of those early days. Pullman cars we had for the night, with dusky porters and frowzy blankets and oil lamps—all amazingly grand as comfort was then understood. There were no "through" cars or trains as we now have,

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so I had to change at London, twenty-two miles from home, and wait indefinitely (for schedule time was then a misnomer), then change at Hamilton and wait still more indefinitely, change at Toronto and refresh at the railway restaurant and wait; and after jolting along two hundred and twenty miles, more or less, change again at Prescott, at five o'clock in the morning, or earlier, and wait some more; until in the course of about twenty-four hours I found myself, jaded and tired, in Ottawa somewhere on Sussex Street, but exactly where I did not know. It was the end of the journey and I was still alive.

Hailing a French-Canadian cabby wrapped in a buffalo overcoat which proved to be strongly saturated with tobacco, I was assured that I would be taken safely to any part of the city for the modest fee of twenty-five cents. Ottawa, at daylight, in those days, was not much of a sight, nor was I disposed to give its straggling appearance due credit for future possibilities. "To No. — Albert Street," were the orders given to the driver, for I had taken my lodgings in advance. "Off again," as Finnigan would say, and I found the speed of my buffalo-robed driver was fully equal to that of the train I had just left, and with fewer jolts and shocks—no street cars to bedevil the streets, no *cahots* to double you up against an empty stomach. On we went, over the canal and around corners, regardless of the skidding propensities of my chariot on runners. It was cheap transportation, and I got full value for my money. As I crossed the canal I got a glimpse of the Parliament Buildings; but sight-seeing was not my

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object. Visions of clean towels and a refreshing toilet, to be followed by a generous breakfast, had obscured all other objects, and the quicker these visions became a reality the better I would like it.

No. — was a large boarding-house kept by one Mrs. Brown. There was a Mr. Brown in the partnership, but he was not the working member of the firm. Mr. Brown was a civil servant whose duties precluded all other service, and so he simply lent his name to the firm to give the partnership a legal status. Besides, Mrs. Brown required no assistance, and would doubtless have resented it if offered. She was nevertheless a kindly landlady, well matured (her age not known even to the census-taker), attentive and anxious to make her guests feel at home.

At the breakfast table I found myself in a goodly company—Edward Blake, Alexander Mackenzie, David Mills, George E. Casey (West Elgin), Wm. Harvey (East Elgin), and James Findlay (North Renfrew). Not bad associates, I thought, as politicians go; and the number was suggestive—"We are seven." Breakfast over, then what? To the Parliament Buildings, of course; where else could I "treat, do, act and conclude," as required by Her Majesty's writ? So up Elgin Street I went on a slippery sidewalk; around by the old *Free Press* office; then along Wellington Street to the iron gate opening into the grounds; up the main walk, then an inclined plane, with a frozen fountain midway around which the path made a detour; under the main arch; through swinging doors of heavy oak, that clanged against the jambs as I passed in; then up some steps to the

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left, past the post office, past a porter in uniform, to the lobby on the north side, where I found a locker with "Ross—Middlesex" on the door, to distinguish me from other clansmen of the same name (there were six of us). Here coat and cap and overshoes were deposited, that I might be disencumbered for the duties of the day. Alas! for the vacant receptacle intended for my umbrella. Alas! that umbrella, purchased, not borrowed or otherwise procured for the occasion (good silk and ivory handle at that), and paid for in good coin of the realm, was now in Montreal, to become the ward of anyone who would assume its guardianship. It was resting comfortably when I last saw it in a rack overhead, and without any look of regret parted company with me at Prescott while I waited, and I have never been able to this day to resume its acquaintance. I fear after forty years of separation I would not recognize it, even if its ivory handle were presented for my friendly grasp.

Now I am within the sacred precincts of the Parliament Buildings, located at what Goldwin Smith called an "Arctic village," selected on the advice of Her Majesty the Queen as being less likely to be blown up or looted in the case of an invasion by the dreaded Yankee. No doubt, in choosing this city, then so "splendidly isolated," Her Majesty had in mind the destruction of the Capitol at Washington by a namesake of mine in the War of 1812, and she wished to make reprisals as difficult as possible. My first care was to be sworn in, and as I had no such scruple as Mr. Bradlaugh of English fame I kissed the book, signed the roll and was qualified to take my seat at the hour

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appointed. Some twenty or thirty who wished to qualify for a similar privilege jostled each other at the clerk's table at the same time, and all as cheerfully consented as I did "to bear true allegiance to Her Majesty."

This done, I must needs look around and get some idea of the geography of this extensive pile. Though not quite labyrinthine in its many halls and lobbies, it nevertheless required some care to keep one's bearings; so back I went to my wardrobe as a starting-point, thence easterly to a door marked "Speaker's Office—Private," thence south-erly to the smoking-room and library—one delight-fully fragrant, the other oppressive with the gar-nered wisdom of all the ages—thence westerly past a multitude of wardrobes bearing names famous or to be famous in the history of Canada, and thence northerly through the main lobby to the place of beginning. Was this circuit of the building to be an epitome of my Parliamentary career—starting from myself, back to myself and nothing more? Had I not heard of such cases?

But there were other parts of the internal geography yet to be explored. Off I went alone as before, like a modern Columbus to find unknown worlds. This time it was through the main lobby southward for a sunnier climate and more shel-tered retreat from the cold winds that blew down the Ottawa valley than prevailed in the quadrangle to which my oath of allegiance bound me. South-ward I went, down steps, then on the level about eighty feet, then up steps again (what steps and steep a politician has to climb compared with the easy levels of life!) and now I am in a lovely and

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spacious lobby carpeted in crimson, with uniformed officers variously stationed. What a discovery! Surely this is the vestibule of a Beulah Land where philosophers in constitutional law and statecraft can find repose from the distracting cares to which common humanity is exposed. I was right in my surmise—it was the main lobby of the Senate Chamber; and looking through a glass panel I saw a spacious room, with crimson hangings and carpets and roomy chairs upholstered in crimson, and what appeared like a miniature throne with a single chair, finely carved, surmounted by a crown in purple and gold. It was only a look, for I felt so rebuked at my presumption in encroaching upon a place so completely hedged by trappings befitting a king, that I retraced my steps, and, meeting my fellow-lodger Casey, wandered to Room Number Nine, where he told me the “boys” had a sort of private rendezvous, in which they foregathered without intrusion from the cavaliers who haughtily occupied the Government benches. And so to Number Nine I went, for I dearly wanted to see the “boys” and learn something of the private life of a member of Parliament when not under the discipline of the Speaker’s eye. Number Nine, though somewhat obscured by tobacco smoke, was humming with life. Probably twenty members were there, in little groups, recounting their campaign experiences and telling of forced marches, of encounters with the sons of Anak, of battles fought in country schoolhouses by the flickering light of tallow candles, of clever devices by which doubtful voters were taken and held in durance till the polls were

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closed, of torchlight processions and throbbing drums and waving handkerchiefs from windows filled with admiring suffragettes, and so on. Now this, I said to myself, is life without its carking cares, and its dread of offended and exacting constituents. Mr. Casey with brotherly kindness introduced me to several members then present. "Rymal," he said, turning to a gentleman of large girth and genial countenance, "this is George Ross—I suppose I should say, as there are so many of his tribe here—Ross of Middlesex; allow me to introduce him. He is a new member like myself." "George," said Rymal, "I am glad to meet you. You are a daisy. You defeated that old rascal A. P. McDonald, didn't you? I knew him well. He was here too long." And with a grip which signified unmistakably that he was personally and politically glad, I found a chair and as many acquaintances as the room contained. Time was no consideration with the occupants of Number Nine. They seemed a company of lotus-eaters who had enough of action and believed that "all life should not labour be." Here the member wandered who wished to smoke his pipe, hear the gossip of the day, read the daily papers or evade Parliamentary bores—a happy shelter, but not fitted for meditation; tempting too because of its Bohemian abandon and freedom from convention and the cordial relations which prevailed among its occupants. No club or brotherhood could be more sympathetic. Every member was of equal standing. There were no officers to obey. The door was never tiled. Leave of absence was never

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required. All was merry as a political procession of the winning party on election day.

"Three o'clock, gentlemen, Parliament is to be opened. Every man to his place," and we all looked at our watches. So it was; and knocking the ashes out of their pipes, the occupants of Number Nine and all others, the Queen's "trusty commoners," directed their way to the Chamber to await orders. My seat was to the left of the Speaker (or rather to the left of his chair, for there was as yet no Speaker), and about the middle of the fourth tier of seats. Who designated me to this particular part of the Chamber I do not know. I answered to the label on my desk. It was the same as that of my wardrobe locker, "Ross—Middlesex." My seat was well situated for observation, and, comfortable though it was, I felt myself in strange surroundings—strangers to the left of me, strangers to the right of me, strangers in front of me, shuffled and chattered. But many were old acquaintances by reputation, good, bad and indifferent; all told, there would be exactly two hundred.

Mr. Patrick, Clerk of the House, is sitting at the head of the table, looking towards the main entrance as if expecting somebody. To the right of him and in the front row sit the "Old Guard" of the majority.

First in precedence, although not first in the row, is Sir John Macdonald. I looked him over with more than ordinary curiosity. It was my first look at him, as it was at his colleagues and at all but the few members I had met in Number Nine. Is that the "John A." of whom I had read in the *Weekly Globe* in my rural retreat as a

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teacher, and whom I had "scored" in the editorials of my great weekly and later held up as the *bête noir* of Canadian politics on the public platform? If he only knew all I said about him what a reception I would get from him later! Yes, it is the "John A." whose name garnished every editorial in my great weekly—now Sir John, but the same man notwithstanding the prefix. I looked him over critically. "Is my reading of his physiognomy correct?" I reflected. Did that gentle-looking man threaten the life of George Brown one dark night in the winter of 1865, and so cause him to flee from the Capital like Christian from the City of Destruction? Surely not, he does not look like an Italian assassin. Did he betray the Liberal party when he formed the coalition of 1867? Well, so I was told, but his countenance does not confirm the charge. He is not even aggressive-looking, although he has pushed his way from the Division Court room to the Premiership of Canada. Oh, but he is a cunning old fox—no mistake about it! His eye is furtive. He looks around, but thinks straight ahead. He is a winner. He has a smile for everybody that loves him, and they appear to be in the majority; an air of confidence that he can play the game, particularly if allowed to deal the cards. There's the rub—to deal the cards! At any rate, he is the central figure on the first row, and prepared to fight for it, I suppose, if his claims are questioned.

The next to him is a somewhat shrivelled old man, with sharp features, stooped shoulders and a countenance indicating irritability and nervous tension. My plan of the House shows him to be

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Sir Francis Hincks, Minister of Finance. He was, I know, once Premier in the old Parliament of Canada, and hyphenated with Mr. Morin as the Hincks-Morin Government; a quondam journalist, like myself; a financier, author of the twenty-five cent paper currency, and so forth. He was called "The Hyena" for his fierceness in debate.

Then there is Charles Tupper—plain Doctor Tupper, broad-shouldered, self-contained, vigorous-looking as Wellington's charger "Copenhagen." He was the champion of Confederation in Nova Scotia, and all honour to him for it. In repose, even, he looks as if he had a blizzard secreted somewhere about his person. My weekly said he was a dangerous man, and shall I for one moment now question its accuracy?

Then further on in the same group of notables, Honourable Hector Langevin, afterwards more notable; Honourable John Henry Pope, the Diogenes of the group; and Honourable Joseph Howe, the shadow of a great figure in Nova Scotia politics—a great man whose intellectual windows are frosted. How sad that old age comes at all to some men.

On the back benches there was a variegated assortment of men from the east, the west, the north and the south, too numerous to mention or to describe; all tried and true, according to their own political standards, the best hand-picked fruit in the local orchard, and loyal servants of the Queen for an indemnity of six hundred dollars plus travelling expenses and spoils (if any).

The figures on the left of the Speaker's chair were subalterns, but some of them with a marshal's

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baton in their knapsack. In the first row, sitting bolt upright, as was his wont, with features as firmly set as if chiselled in granite, was Alexander Mackenzie, the national motto of Scotland written in his face—"Nemo me impune lacessit"; then Edward Blake, the greatest advocate of his day, strong of frame, with a reserve force, apparently, which his opponents would do well not to call into play; then the Honourable Luther H. Holton, Montreal, ex-Finance Minister of George Brown's Government of 1858, which found its grave in the "double shuffle." There was the genial Henri Joly de Lotbinière—a Huguenot, a gentleman in aspect and in fact; one might mistake him for a courtier of the days of the Grand Monarque. There was Timothy Warren Anglin, Speaker of the third Parliament, versatile, brainy and fair-minded. There was James Young of Galt, strong in debate and genial as the sunshine in May. Here and there around me and in front of me were Parliamentarians *in posse* who came up to possess the land, if they could only drive out the Philistines who occupied the Government benches. Taken all in all, it was a goodly Parliament, barring its Tory majority of over thirty.

Looking over the list of members that assembled that day on both sides of the Speaker's chair, I find that the second Parliament produced no less than four Premiers—Sir Charles Tupper, Sir J. J. C. Abbott, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and Alexander Mackenzie. Of Provincial Premiers it contained three, of future Cabinet Ministers twenty-seven, of Lieutenant-Governors eleven, of Senators

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eleven, and many others distinguished in the public service.

But I had hardly finished the mental sketch of my associates when my attention was arrested by three loud taps on the main door—now something was going to happen. The Sergeant-at-Arms went to the door to ascertain if it was Poe's Raven that was the cause of this tapping at our Chamber, or some other bird of ill omen. On opening the door there entered a small man, not a bird, who, I afterwards learned, was the gentleman usher of the Black Rod, Rene Edward Kimber, His Excellency's messenger, who with three obeisances gracefully performed approached the Clerk's table and informed us if we would go to the Senate Chamber we would get some useful information. Having said this in English and French (he was no common bird), he backed out, less gracefully, I thought, than he had entered. But he got out, and this was the important thing, for our curiosity was aroused to hear this bottled information. So to the Senate Chamber we went, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms with the mace. There we were told that if we would be good enough to elect a Speaker and come back next day, His Excellency would make us a speech. Coming from a Governor-General who had been only a few months in Canada, we did not wonder that he hesitated about making our acquaintance rashly. And so, as soon as we returned, up rose Sir John Macdonald (to whom the Clerk pointed with his finger as if we had not noticed him), and with a short preface moved that the Honourable James Cockburn, member-elect for the East Riding of Northumberland, be appointed

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Speaker of the House for the present Parliamentary term. This motion was seconded by Mr. Langevin and carried; on which, Sir John and his seconder sought the Speaker-elect, whom they found, not, like Saul, "hidden among the stuff," but at his desk, and each taking an arm, led him to the steps by which his chair was approached, assuming of course that he could find his way undirected after that. Immediately the mace, that had modestly concealed itself under the table, was lifted with due dignity to its cushioned bed above the table, and the Speaker said he was pleased and honoured and then lost himself in his official oaken chair. At any rate, we had done as commanded by His Excellency; and as I was waiting for the next order of business, the Speaker and the mace disappeared by a secret door and the House adjourned "till three o'clock to-morrow afternoon." The time given to business on this first day had been eight minutes, the indemnity was six dollars—a full week's wages for a teacher. What extravagance! Do you wonder that I preached economy in my great weekly? "And the evening and the morning were the first day."

CHAPTER VI.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—1873.

It is March 6th, and the Canadian ensign is floating from the top of the flagstaff on the main tower, resplendent in its red folds, with the Union Jack just where it ought to be, on top, and where members of Parliament have sworn to keep it. Frock coats and smart ties are in demand to-day, for the Governor-General is coming down in state to open the House at three o'clock, as promised, if we would elect a Speaker, which we did.

As three o'clock approached, coachmen in all sorts of liveries were busy depositing valuable parcels of millinery in motion (not moving pictures but the real thing) at the official entrance of the Senate Chamber, and ushers inside were busy locating the parcels aforesaid according to the precedence of the owners thereof. The crimson-carpeted chamber that I looked in upon yesterday was completely transformed and was refulgent with all the colours of the rainbow. The desks used for business were removed (the day was a day for pleasure, not business) and senatorial chairs were filled with gowns, beautiful gowns from Paris, London, New York, and who knows where. Beautiful they were beyond compare. I looked in just before His Excellency arrived and thought surely that "Belgium's capital had gathered there her beauty and her chivalry." From the middle aisle,

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rising right and left to the utmost limit of the chamber, row above row, were seated the wives of Senators and of members of the House of Commons, and their sisters and their daughters and their cousins and their aunts. In addition were the wives of citizens of Ottawa and other cities and of the more prominent officers of the Civil Service, all becomingly decorated for the occasion. There were coiffures *à la mode* and others in various modes known to the portrait painter. There were necklaces of pearls and diamonds which far outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind, and there were smiling faces as one and another reflected how good it was to be inside before the doors were shut.

Bang! What is that noise? A shiver of silk and a flutter of Parisian fans. Bang! More fluttering. I know; it is a royal salute from the guns on Major Hill in honour of the Governor-General on his way to open Parliament. I went to a window to see if the pageant was in sight. There it was—the state carriage with four horses, postilions in uniform, outriders, a military guard of honour, a brass band. What more need a Governor-General require to impress the country members of Parliament with his official importance? To the dweller among his herds and flocks, to the owner of lands and forests where civilization trembled for the future, to the doctor who with saddle-bags in front of him cantered over country roads to relieve the suffering, to the merchant who bartered his goods for the products of the farm and did his own freighting both ways, to the editors of great weeklies, and others unused to viceregal grandeur and

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the roar of artillery, the day was an epoch in their lives. Another relic, I thought, of mediævalism—just following British precedents. Let it go.

Up the highway they come, caparisoned, as I have said, to give us something to look at; now under the main archway to the right; through the crimson doors of the Senate, which open to receive them; through the double file of living millinery—Governor-General and aides-de-camp and military officers in scarlet and gold, swords clanking, spurs glistening, march in dignified leisure towards the canopied chair called the throne, where His Excellency sits for further consideration of the duties of the day. The rustling millinery is hushed. The Speaker of the Senate, by order of His Excellency, sends his messenger, Rene Edward Kimber, black rod in hand, to tell the Commons to appear forthwith in the Senate Chamber. Three taps again, three exquisite bows forward and backward, and the orders are carried out. The Speaker of the Commons, preceded by the messenger and the Sergeant-at-Arms, mace carried shoulder-high, march to the Senate and stand outside the bar to hear what His Excellency has to say. I shall not reproduce this speech. Is it not written in the chronicles of the House of Commons of the thirty-sixth year of Her Majesty's reign? What more is wanted?

His Excellency, who is he? Thus reads his pedigree: "The Right Honourable Sir Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, Viscount, Baron Clandeboye of Clandeboye, in the County of Down, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Baron Dufferin and Clandeboye of Ballyleidy and Killeleagh in the County of Down in the Peerage of Ireland,"

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and so on, and so on. Well, it was the first time I had seen a live Earl, and it was not long till I was convinced that he was greater than his pedigree, noble though it was.

"'Tis only noble to be good,
Kind hearts are more than coronets
And simple faith than Norman blood."

But this was Irish blood—what better? Lord Dufferin, for that is the name by which he endeared himself to Canadians, had the blood of the great Sheridan in his veins, and somewhat of Sheridan's eloquence on his tongue, as witnesses his speech in the House of Lords on the death of Prince Albert. He was at the beginning of his career when he entered in state the Senate Chamber on that sixth day of March, 1873, and what a distinguished career was then begun. No man ever filled more responsible positions in the diplomatic services than he did in the Chancelleries of Europe. At St. Petersburg he was able to circumvent the tortuous diplomacy of the Czar of all the Russias. At Constantinople he taught the Sultan to respect the public opinion of his contemporaries and refrain from repeating the cruelties of his predecessors. At Rome he aided in the unification of the Italian States. At Paris he taught a higher morality in international relations than the uncertain Talleyrand. But it was in India that he reaped his greatest honours—"When shall his glory fade?" To Canada he gave the first real impulse towards nationhood. He saw the crude materials out of which we were endeavouring to form a nation, possibilities not seen by any of his predecessors, and

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gave us courage to build on. Hear his inspiring words: "Nestling at the feet of her majestic mother, Canada will with confidence dream her dream of the perpetuation for all time upon this continent of that temperate and well balanced system of government which combines in one mighty whole as the eternal possession of all Britons the brilliant history and traditions of the past with the freest and most untrammelled liberty of action in the future." And that dream is to-day the inspiration of every true Canadian. Yes, simple faith is more than Norman blood.

But the pageant is over. His Excellency doffs his hat to the Senators, to the Commoners, to the favoured guests. Swords clank again, ushers clear the way, the military swing into line and again the procession is in motion, this time towards Rideau Hall. The Speaker resumes his chair in the House of Commons, and tells us that he has a copy of His Excellency's speech which will be placed upon the journals for consideration later, and again Speaker and mace disappear—time, forty-five minutes.

But members of the Liberal party had duties of a private nature to discharge for which neither Speaker nor mace was required, namely, to elect a leader in the House of Commons. Since Confederation—then nearly six years past—the leadership of the Liberal party was in commission. Sometimes Alexander Mackenzie assumed that responsibility, at other times Edward Blake or A. A. Dorion. All was agreeable enough, but the time had come for placing the reins, with the approval of the party, in the hands of one man who would

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speak for the party in the House and on the party platform. And so the word was passed, and the faithful assembled in Room Number Nine about seventy strong, with the Honourable John Young of Montreal in the chair. There were two men in the Liberal ranks above all others qualified for the post—Blake and Mackenzie. Neither would dispute the other's claim. There was no rivalry, no jealousy. A committee was appointed to consider the matter. The committee agreed upon Mr. Blake, but he declined, alleging that Mackenzie's claims were stronger on party grounds and length of service. The post was then offered to Mackenzie with the utmost cordiality and accepted in a modest speech, at the same time regretting that the first nominee had declined. Personally I would have been content to serve under either of them. Mackenzie, however, was fully entitled to the honour by faithful service to the party and was heartily congratulated on his appointment.

As the days passed, I was getting accustomed to the routine and acquainted with my fellow members. Time never hung heavily on my hands, for the library was a constant source of delight, and there my mornings were usually spent. Alpheus Todd was chief librarian, a prodigy of knowledge on all conceivable questions, and the most obliging of officers. How he had stowed away in his small head all he knew was a constant wonder to me. With his aid I became familiar enough with the library to know where to look for any book I wanted, and many were the pleasant snatches of time spent with Mr. Todd in a retired alcove discussing the most useful books for a young member

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of Parliament to read. In these visits I met almost daily David Mills of Bothwell, the best-read public man within my experience. He could almost say with Dr. Jowett of Balliol College, "What I don't know isn't knowledge." His most favoured subjects were history and constitutional law, and so great was his knowledge of these subjects that Sir John Macdonald often deferred to his judgment. He was also fond of theology, and could quote the Fathers and the leaders of theological opinion from Calvin to the latest exponent of theosophy and other modern cults with a familiarity quite bewildering. Perhaps he lived too much with his books. He got the reputation of being a doctrinaire, rather than a practical legislator. However, I often thought that a few doctrinaires of his calibre would neutralize the wild fancies of the so-called practical man, greatly to the advantage of legislation.

In the third week of the session startling rumours were pervading the lobbies that a political earthquake was materializing and that some men in the highest places in the land would perish in the shock. What it was no member outside a favoured few could tell, but it was something terrible. The political sky would be darkened, yawning chasms would open at our very feet; the most courageous would flee for security anywhere, if peradventure they could save themselves from destruction. Who had the earthquake in charge was eagerly asked, and also who was to perish when the fatal day arrived. We knew somebody could tell if they would, but the oracle was dumb; we must bide our time—and it came. Four weeks from the day the

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Speaker was elected, on Wednesday, April 2nd, 1873, Lucius Seth Huntingdon, member-elect for the county of Shefford in the Province of Quebec, charged Sir John Macdonald with receiving from Sir Hugh Allan, who was anxious to get control of the construction of the Pacific Railway, money to be used for corrupting the electors. We know this charge better by its familiar name "The Pacific Scandal." Now the secret is out, and Parliament has a first-class sensation. Mr. Huntingdon took the responsibility of making his charge against the Government as a member of Parliament. This practically meant if he could not prove it, or give good reason for believing it to be well founded, that he would forfeit his seat as a member of the House. A great silence fell upon the chamber when he had proceeded far enough to indicate the object of his motion. He made no speech. He could not do so without disclosing some of the evidence in his possession. He simply made his statement and then asked for a Committee. Sir John made no reply; "Call in the members," was his only answer. It was a vote of want of confidence and must be rejected, and so it was by 107 to 79. Now we were an angry lot—Number Nine was greatly excited. Was there ever such procedure in a free Parliament? No denial, no explanation—simply, "We will not investigate. It is nobody's business if Sir Hugh Allan did help us in the elections. We are in power and control the House. Call in the members—that will be answer enough; stamp us out." Rymal filled his pipe and swore some. Stirton said, "It is like John A. He is a scoundrel and ought to have been

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hanged long ago"; to which we all assented. Young, of Galt, and Charlton and Paterson and M. C. Cameron declared the country would not stand it. John A. must go. And there was a chorus of approval. In fact, Number Nine that afternoon would approve of almost anything, short of lynching, that would rid the country of "the greatest corruptionist," to use Mr. Rymal's words, "that America had produced."

Next day, however, we were somewhat relieved when Sir John gave notice that he would ask the House to appoint a Committee to do the very thing he refused the previous day; and on the 8th of April a Committee was named. But now for all sorts of surprises, each of which deepened the interest of Number Nine in the proceedings of Parliament. First, the Committee had no power to examine witnesses under oath. "Pass a Bill, then," said Mackenzie, "and give them the power." But Sir John said, "I do not think we have power to pass such a Bill without an amendment of the British North America Act, and only the British Parliament can amend the British North America Act. However, to settle the matter I will bring in a Bill, put it through the House in double quick time and get the opinion of the law officers of the Crown as to our jurisdiction." "Sparring for wind," said Number Nine; "this Bill will go to England—that will take time; the law officers will examine it leisurely—more time; and then the session will be at an end and a Committee cannot sit after prorogation." And so it happened. The Act was disallowed, and Number Nine said, "Didn't we tell you so? You can't catch the old fox that

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way." To enable the Committee, however, to go on with the investigation Parliament was not prorogued but simply adjourned on the 23rd of May to meet on the 13th of August to hear the report. Bless the luck! The Liberals on the Committee declined to act as they were unable to examine witnesses under oath. The law officers had so reported on the 27th of June—a month after adjournment. On the 13th of August we met as ordered by Parliament, and Number Nine was again in a ferment. The temperature was tropical—what it would be in the shade nobody could tell, for there was no shade. Ninety-four members of the House petitioned His Excellency to fire the whole wretched crew and end this trifling. "I can't do that," said Dufferin. "It is the privilege of a British subject to be considered innocent till proven guilty. I will give you a Royal Commission and promise to call Parliament in eight or ten weeks to receive its report. That is the best I can do." Number Nine did not want a Commission. So we all foregathered in the Railway Committee Room, appointed a Chairman, and resolved that Parliament was ignored, slapped in the face, kicked out of doors, by Sir John and the Governor-General, supported by the cringing, fawning, purchased followers of the Government on the back benches. In the evening we went again to the Tower Room—more resolutions and much hot stuff. I said nothing—too young and too hot. Well, home we went. Number Nine was closed for the holidays. A Commission was appointed, as the Governor-General had promised, and on the 23rd of October Parliament was called to receive the report of the Commission and

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for other business. Now comes the tug-of-war. The report of the Commission confirmed the charges made by Huntingdon. What would Sir John Macdonald do? Would he resign or would he fight it out?

The battle is on. Mackenzie, now leader of the Opposition, is on his feet and submits a motion to the effect that "His Excellency's advisers have merited the severe censure of this House." We all cheered him. His speech was hot shot with a Scottish accent, and we cheered the accent. We expected Sir John to reply, but Sir Charles Tupper, who never quailed before a foe, took the floor and in a long speech courageously endeavoured to vindicate his leader. Many were the remarkable speeches made as the debate proceeded. As might be expected, they were declamatory and impassioned, and dealt with the report of the Commission in the strongest terms permissible by the rules of the House. Among the most notable was the speech of the Hon. E. B. Wood, formerly Treasurer under the Sandfield Macdonald Government. Mr. Wood was a strong debater of leonine appearance, and with a voice so resonant and far-reaching as to secure for him the appellation of "Big Thunder." He proceeded step by step to show that the Government had no escape from public condemnation—that the evidence of the leader alone was a confession of guilt, and that like Lucifer they had fallen, as they deserved, never to hope again. "But we shall rise again," interjected Sir Charles Tupper from across the House. "Rise again," retorted Mr. Wood, "but that resurrection shall not be until the last trump shall sound—when the graves

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shall give up their dead and death and hell shall give up the dead that are in them."

As the debate went on, it became quite evident that the Government forces were disintegrating. Some weakness was known to exist among a few of the stalwarts from Ontario, although carefully concealed. A canvass of the members showed that out of a House of 206 members, the Opposition could count with reasonable certainty on 101 votes. Since the charges were made, however, Prince Edward Island had been admitted to Confederation, and the question was, What would the Islanders do? Which side would they take? They were six in number. Their leader, the Honourable David Laird, was a Liberal of good standing in his own Province. Would he have any leanings towards the Government because negotiations for the admission of the Island into Confederation were conducted by Sir John? Mr. Laird was regarded as a man of high character, and the Opposition could only hope that no consideration of personal or Provincial interest would sway his judgment.

But the climax is approaching. The fire of the Opposition is taking effect. The leader of the Government can no longer sit silent, and the word goes around the lobbies that Sir John is up, and immediately the restaurant is emptied and every chair in the chamber filled. What will Sir John say? Will he deny the charge, will he announce his resignation—or what? Hear him. And so we did, in a speech lasting between four and five hours—a speech of great power, in which he denied that he made a corrupt bargain with Sir Hugh Allan

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for the purchase of the Pacific Railway charter, but admitted receiving money from Sir Hugh Allan for election purposes. Why should he not? The payment of this money, he said, had no effect upon the terms of the bargain. It was a payment from a great financier who was interested in the prosperity of the country and who believed that that prosperity could be attained only through the Conservative party. Large contributions were made in England for political purposes through the Carlton Club, without offence. Why should not Sir Hugh Allan do as he liked with his own? And then followed a strong appeal to his supporters for continued confidence on the ground of long service. His closing words were: "I can see past the decision of this House either for or against me. I know—and it is no vain boast for me to say so, for even my enemies will admit I am no boaster—that there does not exist in this country a man who has given more of his time, more of his heart, more of his wealth, more of his intellect and power, such as they may be, for the good of this Dominion of Canada."

At two o'clock in the morning Mr. Blake rose to reply, and was received with the most enthusiastic cheers. We all expected his forensic powers would show to the best advantage, and so they did. It was a great effort, worthy of the speaker and the occasion. But the end was approaching. Mr. Laird of Prince Edward Island was about to make his maiden speech. Was there ever a maiden speech so fraught with doom? With great calmness and in a moderate tone he declared his opposition to the Government, and the Opposition

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benches rang with cheers. And now for the climax. On the seventh day of the battle Mr. Donald A. Smith, of Manitoba (now Lord Strathcona), took the floor. He had preserved during the whole exciting debate a sphinxlike silence. He was known as a staunch supporter of the Government, and his silence was construed into loyalty to his chief. He assured the House he had but little to say, and all waited anxiously—both sides apparently equally intent upon hearing that little. His opening remarks were complimentary to Sir John and his great service to Canada, and with that the faces of the Opposition lengthened. But Mr. Smith had not finished. "With respect to the transaction between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan he did not consider that the first minister took the money with any corrupt motive. He felt that the leader of the Government was incapable of taking money from Sir Hugh Allan for corrupt purposes." And now we thought we were done for. But wait a moment. "He would be most willing to vote confidence in the Government (loud cheers from the Government side) could he do so conscientiously." (Great Opposition cheers.) "Conscientiously"—it was a bolt from the blue to the Government side of the House. To the Opposition it was a song of deliverance, and we all concluded that a Scottish conscience was a good thing to keep on hand.

It was great news for Number Nine—"We will catch the old fox yet," said Rymal. He was caught. Donald Smith was used to trapping foxes in Labrador and the North-West—his speech did the trick. At half past one o'clock on Wednesday,

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November 5th, the House adjourned, and Mackenzie was sent for to consult with His Excellency. The end had come, and Number Nine vibrated with cheers. "The greatest scandal in history is now to be punished," said Stirton; "Sir John is dead and gone forever," said Casey, as he lilted a line from an old negro melody. It was a great night in the lobbies, in the restaurant downstairs, in various nooks and corners throughout the building. The vanquished were good-natured and resigned to their fate, the conquerors happy and respectful to their fallen foes. I went to my hotel, and slept soundly; though only a deck hand, I had helped the "boys." Why should I not sleep soundly? Sir John, whom I so severely castigated in my great weekly, was now scrap-iron. In the words of Curran, the great Irish orator, speaking of the emancipation of the slave who touched British soil, "We were redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the genius of universal liberty."

CHAPTER VII.

TO THE RIGHT OF THE SPEAKER.

A NEW Premier, a new Cabinet, the end of the old *régime*, and a fresh start with a new broom to sweep down the cobwebs from the walls and make things sweet and clean! St. George had slain the dragon, now we would have peace. It was with these thoughts that I returned home after the fall of the Macdonald Government to resume my duties as Inspector and enjoy the political millennium upon which I was confident we had just entered. But I found the millennium had not yet arrived. In two months after my return the House was dissolved, and back to our constituents we had to go. Should I run again for West Middlesex or stick to my bailiwick as School Inspector? "Run, of course," said the Liberal convention, which was summoned on short notice, and out on the warpath for scalps I went. But there was no scalping to be done—I was elected by acclamation. My purse, flabby by the experience of the previous year, was more than happy, and I was happy too. Perhaps the millennium had come after all.

Another trip to Ottawa the same as before, minus my silk umbrella—the same waiting and jolting, but not the same lodgings at the end of the journey. This time I was to abide at a hotel on Sparks Street known as the "British Lion," Mr. Champness, landlord. Some of the "old hands"

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had selected the place and had arranged for a suite of rooms, consisting of a private parlour and dining-room and separate bedrooms for each guest. There were twelve of us, and a happy family we were, free from the intrusion of the transient guests of the hotel. Everything served at our table was of the best, and we had the first choice. At the head sat Joseph Rymal—a good carver and a generous one; at the foot David Stirton, just as good; at the centre, on one side sat Adam Gordon of North Ontario, chaplain, and opposite to him John Charlton; while the rest of us, junior members of the family, took the places appointed for us. Our hostess superintended the proceedings, and with a goodly number of waiters completed the outfit. Who were we? Besides the four mentioned, there were James Trow (South Perth), afterwards party whip; Thomas Bain (North Wentworth), for a short time Speaker of the House of Commons; rare Tom Bain—bachelor then, farmer, Liberal—too modest to make the most of himself; David Thomson (Haldimand), large-hearted and kindly as a brother; Thomas Oliver (North Oxford), my desk-mate, not to be forgotten—everybody loved Tom Oliver, for his Scotch heart had warmth as well as blood; John Gillies, a stalwart from the county of Bruce; William McGregor of South Essex, who loved and told a good story; Daniel Galbraith (North Lanark), an elderly young man of seventy odd years; Thomas McKay (Colchester), now a Senator, unobtrusive, gentlemanly; and myself, the youngest of the party. For three sessions the “British Lion” welcomed us hospitably, and we parted from him with regret,

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for our hostess died and the "Lion" went out of business.

In the new House there were many strange faces. In Ontario, alone, fifteen Conservative saddles had been emptied in the last election. Still, the majority of Sir John's fighting men were returned—Tupper and Pope and Peter Mitchell and Mackenzie Bowell and Abbott and Haggart and Kirkpatrick, and a number of others quick to learn the art of obstruction and criticism. On the Treasury benches there was a complete change, of course. At the head sat Alexander Mackenzie, alert as ever; then A. A. Dorion, a model of courtesy, not aggressive, but tenacious in debate; Richard J. Cartwright, of whom more later; Burpee, Ross of Halifax, Albert J. Smith, Laird, Blake (without portfolio), and others; and on the back benches Wilfrid Laurier with his marshal's baton in his knapsack; David Mills, to be Minister of the Interior, then of Justice, then a Judge of the Supreme Court; William Paterson, who could bend the bow of Ulysses either on the platform or on the floor of Parliament; Thomas Moss, a Judge of the High Court, and a good one; E. B. Wood, late of Sandfield Macdonald's Government, to be Chief Justice of Manitoba by and by; M. C. Cameron, to be Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories; John Lorn McDougall, to be the first Auditor-General; James McLennan, to be Judge of the High Court; James Young, of Galt, whose retirement from Parliament was a public loss; Donald A. Smith, of Manitoba, to be Lord Strathcona, and others without a baton or any other talisman in their knapsacks.

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Parliament was opened with the usual formalities. There were on exhibition the same lustrous millinery and jewels, the same official equipage, state carriage, soldiers, brass band, and so forth. His Excellency sent the same Black Rod with his three taps to tell us to meet him in the Senate, which we did, where we were told to go back to our own chamber and elect a Speaker, and if we would return the next day at three o'clock he would tell us why he called us to "Our city of Ottawa to treat," all of which orders we, as loving subjects of Her Majesty, obeyed. On the third day we met, Speaker Anglin in the chair, to consider His Excellency's gracious speech, which, by the way, we knew had been prepared for him, but for which we were bound by ancient usage to thank him all the same. The speech contained the programme for the session. We were told to pass a Bill for vote by ballot, for the establishment of a Supreme Court, for trying controverted elections before a Judge, for the construction of the Pacific Railway, and several other matters of more or less importance. According to the rules of Parliament at that time, we had to offer thanks for each separate item in the speech, much as if the head of a family were to offer thanks for each separate course at a family dinner. Now the practice is to say grace *en bloc*.

Mr. Moss, member for West Toronto, by arrangement moved the thanksgivings of the House, and Wilfrid Laurier in fluent French seconded the motion. Mr. Moss was in the prime of life, rubicund, healthy and vivacious. His address was dignified, his language well chosen, and his whole

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manner such as would win for him applause before any audience. He remained far too short a time in Parliament for his country's good. His speech in 1875 on the reorganization of the Senate was the only speech ever made in Parliament in which the true basis of Senate Reform was fairly argued, namely, that the constitution of the Senate was a matter of treaty with the Provinces entering Confederation, and should not be altered without their consent. Wilfrid Laurier spoke in French, but not knowing the language I was unable to form an opinion as to the matter of his speech. His manner was, however, polished and graceful, and the applause with which it was received by his French compatriots was evidence enough that he was speaking to some purpose. After a short speech from Sir John Macdonald, who hinted that the address was inspired by George Brown, and that it was the same "Brown stuff" as appeared in the *Globe*, the motion of thanksgiving was adopted and the House adjourned till "three o'clock to-morrow afternoon," mace and Speaker disappearing as before.

I had not been many days in the House till I began to feel that to change sides was to change my political axis. In Opposition I was a free lance, although I had not then learned to use my privilege. If I could not in Opposition assist the Government with any useful suggestion, I could at least criticize their want of wisdom, their indiscretions, their extravagance, their conservative tendencies, and become indignant at their general incapacity—none of which I did the year I sat in Opposition. But the field was open, and it was

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my privilege to enter the ring. Now I was on the Government back benches, and a great privilege I thought it was to sit near the Treasury with all that it implied, and to have under my control offices of emolument and sweet morsels of patronage for the faithful electors of West Middlesex. Besides, I would share in the honour and glory of my party, and obtain the applause of all good men for the legislation which was to emanate from the Government, of course with my assistance.

I had not, however, been long on the sunny side of the House till I had learned that "free lances" were not required there, and that one of the first duties of a supporter of the Government was to preserve a discreet silence on all public questions till after some responsible member of the Government had spoken. I might have opinions—that was all right and quite harmless, whether they were right or wrong, so long as I did not turn them loose on the House. Of course, if my opinions were in harmony with the Government, all was well, providing the Government wanted to hear them. If not, it was purely a work of supererogation to give them, and so I had better govern myself accordingly. If I was silent the first session, when the sport was easy, I now felt that I must take a full session to study the game under new conditions, before I took up my position on the field. I was on a few committees, which would save me from complete obscurity, and that was enough for the present.

I have already said that there were many new faces in the House, but the last I expected to see was that of the first man on the Opposition side—

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Sir John Macdonald. "Could it be possible," I thought, "that the electors of Kingston had so little regard for public morality as to forgive him for the discredit he had brought upon his party and his country and for which his Government was compelled to resign a few months before?" Yet there he was, not simply a private member, but the first man on the Opposition benches and still leader of his party—was there anything more wonderful in the political history of any country? Indeed, I was informed by Mr. Alonzo Wright, Conservative member for Ottawa County, Quebec, that the very day after his defeat he was chosen leader, and that the party had the utmost confidence in his ability to bring them back to power within five years. "Well," I thought, "if that expectation is realized, it will be a greater miracle than the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, on dry land, four thousand years ago."

Having decided to take no part in the debates during the session, I had plenty of time to study the House and its moods and tenses. Two hundred and six members of Parliament with seats inside the Chamber and only forty or fifty present—what did that mean? Well, every day is not a working day; why should they not enjoy the fresh air or the relaxation of a stroll through the lobbies? I thought it my duty, however, to remain constantly in the House—would I take Parliamentary life less seriously later on? Even when it was a working day how few attended to the work in hand. Some would be reading the evening papers, others busy with their correspondence or carrying on a subdued conversation with their deskmates, while ten

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or fifteen members near the front would be settling the terms of an important Bill or voting millions for the public service. Is that the proper way to "treat, do, act and conclude," as we were commanded on coming to "our city of Ottawa"? Then suddenly the House might be in an uproar—somebody had struck an opponent below the belt, and due reparation must be made. Everyone would be attention. The rules must be observed. We are all honourable men. What a lesson in good manners!

In 1880, on a visit to Washington while Congress was in session, I remember spending a most interesting night in the gallery of the Senate. It was a fighting sitting. The Democrats were filibustering to defeat a Bill that was obnoxious. There was heat in the atmosphere as well as in the debate, and every speaker aimed at drawing blood. Senator Roscoe Conkling was then an important personage—he was of robust frame, and his figure and countenance seemed a replica of our own Doctor Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education. He was in a fighting mood, and somebody was going to be hurt. La Marr of Mississippi had roused his fiery temperament and must be punished. "If I were outside this Chamber," Conkling said in measured and deliberate tones, "I would characterize the Senator from Mississippi as a liar, a scoundrel and a villain, but I know I cannot apply to him these terms in this Chamber, and do not use them in my capacity as a member of the Senate; but they are my sentiments nevertheless, and the honourable Senator can make the most of them." "Order! order!" was called from

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all parts of the Chamber; but Conkling said no more. By the subterfuge of simply declaring that his remarks were not intended for the Senate, he apparently evaded the rules of the House, and La Marr returned his furious attack with an indifferent smile. There was no such violence of language in the House of Commons in my early experience, but there were occasional assaults which relieved the monotony of debate, and I reflected that human nature is not always changed by its environment.

Then I observed that some members seemed to consider that no subject brought before the House was properly disposed of till illuminated by their superior wisdom. Their lamps were not always well trimmed, and it required a prolonged effort to satisfy even themselves that they were not of the best design. Sometimes their efforts were renewed, but still the oil burnt low, till the exhausted members cried "Time!" or indulged in noises significant of their disgust. Among the most active in their resentment against the Parliamentary bore was Mr. Joseph Cauchon, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. Mr. Cauchon owned a Jewsharp of generous proportions, and, secreting himself behind the back row of seats, he would produce the most distracting sounds from it that ever fell on human ears. Although his music had no charms to "soothe the savage breast," it sometimes had the effect of curtailing an irrelevant speech; and so I thought I would study brevity rather than be silenced by a maddening Jewsharp.

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In my repose from active duty I had the opportunity also of considering various styles of Parliamentary oratory, or, more properly speaking, of debate, for of British oratory there was none, as I understood the term. If oratory there was (but not knowing the language I could not decide), it was in the sole possession of the French members of the House. Their vocal vivacity was a revelation of the unlimited powers of human speech; but their speeches were more than mere articulation. They were conveyed, or rather interpreted, by the hands, shoulders and face, and accentuated by the gyrations of the body and the ceaseless vibration of the head. The French speaker spoke all over himself and everybody else—now swift and forcible, then emphatic and defiant. I never heard a Frenchman supplicate, or appeal to the grace of the party from whom he wanted a favour. His plea was for justice, which must not be denied. To refuse him was to wrong him—why should he be refused? There would come a day of reckoning sooner or later. And so with the spirit of the Marseillaise vibrating in every argument, he demanded recognition, and with an air of confidence in the early fulfilment of his demands, he left his case to the judgment of the House.

To this perfervid style of speaking there were several notable exceptions, even among the French members. Wilfrid Laurier, who had seconded the address, was by no means wanting in earnestness, but he never flamed up like Prevost, nor even like Mercier, whose temperature though warm never reached the melting point. But even cooler than Wilfrid Laurier was A. A. Dorion, Minister of

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Justice. He always appeared to be stating a case before a bench of Judges, where light and not heat counted. His candid manner and deferential attitude towards the House were more effective than inarticulate gesticulation. Only for his accent, and that was not very pronounced, he might be taken for an English professor of law speaking up to the level of what was best in his audience and himself.

Another characteristic of the French speakers was their freedom from hesitancy. There was no lapse in the continuity of their thoughts, no casting about for language in which to clothe them. Might it be that the French language, with its fine idioms, lends itself better to expression of thought than the less refined Saxon on which I was nourished, or was it the Norman temperament that burned with such internal heat that the mind became a red-hot crucible, changing into a flux every idea which came within its reach? I could not tell, but it was a quality of speech which I admired.

A third characteristic of French speakers which struck me less favourably was their rapidity of utterance. It was a fault of my own, one which to this day I have not been able to overcome, but I was only as a post-chaise to a limited express compared with my French colleagues in the House. Of course there were exceptions to this general characteristic. Mr. Laurier and Mr. Langevin took breath between their sentences, and that afforded relief to themselves and to those who were listening to them.

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The English speakers were not orators; they never declaimed; they might not argue better than the French, but they did it in their own deliberate and often hesitating way. If they lacked for a word, they jerked their heads or kept on repeating the last word they had corralled until they could lasso another. Sometimes, acting under some unseen cerebral impulse, they flamed like an arc light, when all of a sudden the current went off, and then came a pause. Even some of the best thinkers were subject to these intermissions of thought, and filled up the vacant spaces with a provoking "er—er—" like the buzzing of a disordered telephone. Was this also temperament or want of concentration? I think, judging by my own experience, it is the latter. If the cerebral current fails to drive the mental machinery to its full capacity the speaker hesitates, of course—"Er—er—er— buzz!" then another start, and so on till exhausted nature or an exhausted current compels him to sit down. Concentration is a great power.

But hesitation, bad as it is, was not so great a fault with the English speakers as rapidity of utterance. While never attaining the rate of their French rivals, ninety per cent. of them impaired the value of their speaking by excessive speed. This may be a national weakness, perhaps a temperamental one, but a weakness it is nevertheless. The great British speakers have a restfulness in their best efforts. Lord Dufferin was very deliberate, we would even call him slow; but every word was in its place and every sentence as finished as a minted coin. Balfour and Chamberlain were never rapid of utterance, although not so deliber-

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ate as Lord Dufferin. Gladstone was not a fast speaker according to Canadian standards; but occasionally when the fountains of the great deep within him were broken up, then let the reporters stay by their pencils—it was a giant refreshed with new wine that was now before them, and his strides did not belie his gianthood.

And so the session passed with observation of the methods of business, much reading in the library or at my seat in the House, delightful *tête-à-têtes* with my fellow members and an occasional longing to say something to make my location in the House more than a mere “geographical expression”—to be known simply when I stood up to vote had become a little monotonous. But for some mysterious reason I had the utmost dread of rising to my feet, and often while waiting for an opportunity, some other member would perhaps rise and appropriate the few ideas I had collected. After much indecision and resolves and re-resolves, however, I concluded that I could not learn to swim without getting into the water, and even if I were to drown I would make the attempt. My maiden efforts consisted first of a speech on immigration of about ten minutes, next of a speech on the necessity of restricting the sale of intoxicating liquors of about forty-five minutes and a speech on the Pacific Railway of about twenty-five minutes.

I spoke from notes, as was my habit before I entered the House, but such was my state of nervous excitement that I dreaded a moment's pause to look at them. My knees trembled as if alarmed at my presumption in addressing the House. To prevent my attention being distracted by the gen-

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eral restlessness of the members present, I fixed my eye upon the Speaker, who seemed to be the only person who took any interest in what I had to say, and poured into his ears with reckless rapidity the arguments that I intended for the House. I never lost entirely the thread of my subject, although more than once I wandered from my premeditated course. A few members, who I fear had not listened to me very attentively, congratulated me on my maiden effort. To myself the effort was far from satisfactory. I pitched my voice several points too high and I galloped along from start to finish like Tam O'Shanter when pursued by the witches of Auld Kirk Alloway. I thought my experience on the platform and in all sorts of forensic combats would have so hardened me for the ordeal that I could face the House of Commons without a quiver. Vain delusion! The House bore no resemblance to any audience I had ever addressed. It was as stolid as the Sphinx and as unimpressionable as an obelisk. A few days later in reading Mr. Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay* I came across the following passage in which he described the British House of Commons and the fate of some of its most brilliant men:—

“The House of Commons is one of the most peculiar audiences in the world. I should say that a man's being a good writer, a good orator at the bar or a good orator in a debating club, was rather a reason for expecting him to fail than for expecting him to succeed in the House of Commons. A place where Walpole succeeded and Addison failed, where Dundas succeeded and Burke failed, where Peel now succeeds and McIntosh fails, where

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Erskine and Scarlett were dinner bells, where Lawrence and Jeykell, the two wittiest men, or nearly so, of their time, were bores, is surely a very strange place."

"The most peculiar audience in the world"—the Canadian House of Commons was just like its British prototype when I first tried to make its acquaintance and gain its confidence. But trying and discouraging as my experience was, I would say to the young member, "Begin, and do not postpone too long your beginning. The longer it is put off, like the day of grace, the greater the danger, till in the course of a year or two you look upon yourself as a seat warmer, whose chief duty is to respond to the division bell. At all hazards, unless convinced that you are constitutionally disqualified, begin; you may not find it an easy task, not even after you have made several efforts—but begin. How to express your thoughts with clearness requires practice. Sentences in spite of your best efforts may become entangled in each other, and some sentences will not crystallize at all—your intended points are pointless, the barbed arrow falls short of the mark. What misery! The applause that you anticipated is stillborn, and you are about resolving that if you survive this effort, you will never venture another. Remember Disraeli's failure in his first effort in the House of Commons, and his challenge to the derision of his hearers: 'The time will come when you will be glad to hear me!' It is only through great tribulation that you can be enrolled among the list of first-class speakers."

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The young member of Parliament should also remember that a good platform style is a bad Parliamentary style. This may be rather an extreme way of putting the case, but it is in the main true. A platform admits of exhortation, of the assumption of knowledge superior to your audience, of a little schoolmastering, but Parliament never. Again, a platform admits of rhapsody, of rhetorical fireworks, but Parliament never, at least not nowadays. A platform admits the dramatic, the emotional, and will even allow a little judicious and dignified burlesque; Parliament has no place for such weaknesses. In Parliament the speaker must be of all other things persuasive. He may be as earnest as he chooses, but he must expound rather than appear to instruct. He is talking to his equals, and so he must be deferential. The business before the House is of some importance, therefore he must be serious, calm, judicial; his voice must correspond to his theme and to the normal temper of the House. His message is to be received voluntarily, not forced upon the House. To dogmatize is to provoke opposition; to lecture the House is to be considered impertinent; to speak often and long is to be a bore. The beginner must so adapt himself to the conditions of Parliamentary speaking that he will not offend against its canons of debate, or its unwritten rules of persuasive oratory. Peel, it was said, could play on the House of Commons as on an old fiddle. How many Parliamentarians are qualifying themselves for Peel's place?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT.

THE Mackenzie administration was from its very inception confronted with many difficulties. Some of them were legacies from its predecessor, others grew out of commercial conditions for which nobody in particular was responsible. Mackenzie's first trouble was in dealing with Louis Riel, who fomented the Manitoba Rebellion of 1869-70 and who had the sympathy of his compatriots in Quebec. Riel led the malcontents of Manitoba in resisting the control which the Dominion proposed exercising over the lands held by the Metis of the North-West, under their title by occupation from the Hudson Bay Company. During his leadership of the rebels, one Thomas Scott, who resisted him, was murdered. When the rebellion was suppressed Riel was indicted for murder and fled to the United States. In the meantime he was elected to the House of Commons by the French constituency of Provencher, Manitoba, and, returning secretly to Canada, proceeded to Ottawa on the opening of the session and was sworn in as member of Parliament in the Clerk's office, and then vanished from the scene. Efforts were made to arrest him, but to no avail. He was a fugitive from justice, and therefore should be expelled from the House. A motion to that effect was made by Mackenzie Bowell on April 15th, and carried by a vote of 124 to 68. The suggestive thing about this vote was

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that it divided the members of the House mainly on racial lines. Not a single French-Canadian, as I read the names, voted for the expulsion of Riel. Several of the English-speaking members from the Province of Quebec also opposed the motion. What did that mean? Plainly, that the French-Canadians sympathized strongly with their compatriots of Manitoba, and that they were not prepared to condemn Riel for leading a rebellion in defence of the rights of the French settlers of Manitoba, as they understood them. To Mackenzie this vote signified trouble. His strength, at no time great in Quebec, was weakened by his support of Bowell's motion, and now the electors of Quebec looked upon him as the enemy of their race and creed. The fact that nearly all the Conservative members of the House (Sir John Macdonald and Tupper being of the number) also voted the same way, did not save him. He was head of the Government, and could, with his majority, have protected Riel from the disgrace of expulsion from Parliament.

Mackenzie's next difficulty was over the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. By the terms under which British Columbia entered Confederation the Dominion Government bound itself to connect British Columbia with the railway system of Ontario by a transcontinental line within ten years. To make the necessary surveys for the location of the road would alone exhaust the time limit, and so Mackenzie found himself under an obligation imposed by the previous Government which it was physically impossible to carry out. Mackenzie claimed that to finance such an undertaking would tax the country beyond endurance,

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and accordingly an effort was made to secure the assent of British Columbia to a modification of the terms on which it had entered Confederation. Mr. James Edgar was sent as a special ambassador to secure such a modification, but accomplished nothing. The Governor-General undertook an official visit to British Columbia to exercise his well-known diplomatic powers to the same end, and although he handled the question with great tact, his mission had very little effect. A reference was then made to Lord Carnarvon of the Colonial Office in the capacity of quasi-arbitrator between the Columbians and the Dominion, but even his proposals were not satisfactory; and so Mackenzie had no alternative but to proceed with surveys and construction as quickly as practicable, in the hope that an honest effort to keep faith as far as possible with British Columbia would be accepted in lieu of the literal fulfilment of the agreement.

To avoid the overwhelming expense of the immediate construction of an all-rail route, which, he told the electors of Lambton in his address, would necessitate borrowing \$100,000,000, he proposed that advantage should be taken of the intervening "water stretches," as he called them, to save the immediate construction of over one thousand miles of railway. His plan was to extend the railways of Ontario to the Georgian Bay; this would lead to the upper lakes; thence navigation could be continued by way of Pigeon River, Rainy Lake and Rainy River through the Lake of the Woods and the Winnipeg River into the Province of Manitoba and thence by rail across the prairies and the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast. This would

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afford a summer route across the continent. For winter travel he proposed to connect Manitoba with the American railways running north from St. Paul to Pembina. To this plan the Opposition took objection. First, an "amphibious route," as they called it, would involve several transshipments of freight and would be slow and expensive; and, second, to transport emigrants through the United States would permit the agents of American railways and land companies to cajole them to settle in the United States, and but few, if any, would ever reach Manitoba. However, the House gave Mackenzie the power he asked for, and as soon as the surveys were completed he called for tenders for the construction of the road as promised, and before he retired from office the connection with American railways was completed to Winnipeg and a great part of the Rocky Mountain section was under way, as also the section between Fort William and Manitoba.

The route which he had chosen across the prairies did not suit the representatives from Manitoba any better than the general scheme suited the Columbians. The chief settlements in Manitoba were in the neighbourhood of Winnipeg, or Fort Garry, as it was formerly called, and westerly towards Portage la Prairie. The Mackenzie route would place the railway twenty-five miles north of Winnipeg, and would be of no immediate advantage to the great bulk of the population. Moreover, it was proposed to cross the Rockies by the Yellowhead Pass, and this, it was alleged, was too far north to promote the best interests of the railway or the population of the West. In the

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selection of this route Mackenzie was not influenced by local considerations. What he kept in view was, first, the shortest commercial route; second, the route that would be most likely to develop the West; and, third, the route that offered the fewest engineering difficulties. It is needless at this late day to point out that no better proof of the soundness of his judgment in all these respects is necessary than the construction by the Government of Canada of the Grand Trunk Pacific along the greater part of the route which he proposed over thirty years ago. The selection of Fort William as the Lake Superior terminal, though condemned by his opponents at the time, is now admitted to have been in the best interests of the country.

As might be expected, the representatives from the West, but particularly those from British Columbia, were loud in their complaints against delay, and also against the use of the "water stretches" in lieu of an all-rail route. Among the most active and aggressive were Amor de Cosmos, Arthur Bunster and Edgar Dewdney. De Cosmos was the head of the Provincial Executive of British Columbia, and claimed to speak for the Province with more than ordinary authority. He was originally from the Province of New Brunswick, and on his westward migration tarried a few years in the State of Minnesota. He brought to that state the plain name of William Smith, all too plain to give him the distinction to which he thought his talents entitled him. Accordingly he applied to the State Legislature by private bill to substitute for the plebeian cognomen of William Smith the higher-sounding name of "Amor de Cosmos." The

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Bill according to routine went to the usual committee, where a humorous legislator moved that the word "Cosmos" be struck out and "Muggins" inserted in lieu thereof. This was defeated by a majority of one, and so when he arrived in British Columbia his obscurity was entirely hidden in the Spanish resonance of the name to which he became entitled by the grace of the Minnesota Legislature.

Bunster was a brewer of beer in Columbia and a brewer of trouble in Ottawa. He was short-set, with enormous whiskers, always belligerent, and in language fierce and defiant he attacked the Government. He contracted a great dislike to Blake, and berated him fiercely for his reference to Columbia as "a sea of mountains." On one occasion, when his feelings were more overwrought than usual, he drew from his pocket a buckskin glove, threw it on the floor in front of Blake and dared him to take it up. What would have happened if Blake had accepted his challenge no one can tell.

Dewdney was an engineer, of milder temper, but equally persistent with his colleagues. As might be expected, these malcontents were encouraged by the Opposition to wage daily war upon the Government, all of which they did *con amore*. It was said of Canning that he "could not bear fools gladly." Mackenzie was similarly constituted, and resented with great force and spirit their unreasonable attacks, while at the same time labouring heroically to fulfil the "bond" with the West.

Mackenzie's third difficulty was to provide for such an increase of revenue as would meet the ordinary expenditure of the Government. Although the utmost economy was practised, such was the

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commercial condition of the country, that imports were falling off—having dropped from \$78,000,000 in 1875 to \$60,000,000 in 1876 and still lower the next three years. There was also a loss in revenue from customs of about \$3,000,000. For this condition there appeared to be no remedy except an increase of the tariff.

As the loss of revenue was intimately associated with the depression of business, the two questions were necessarily discussed together. Mackenzie was a free trader of the old school, and any increase of tariff could only be justified by the necessities of the Treasury. There were, however, in the Liberal ranks a few members who favoured a tariff for protection purposes, the most prominent of whom were Mr. A. T. Wood, of Hamilton, and his colleague, Mr. Æmilius Irving, and Mr. Thomas Workman of Montreal. The majority of Liberals, however, were free traders. On the Opposition side it was quite evident from the talk of the lobbies and from the reception given to the petitions of manufacturers for protection against the United States, that the feeling in favour of protection was growing fast. An attempt was made to parry any movement to that effect by the appointment of a Committee on the Depression of Trade, of which David Mills was chairman; but its investigations only served to fasten public attention on the unsatisfactory condition of Canadian trade. An attempt was also made to placate manufacturers by a sop to Cerberus in the form of an increase of the tariff from fifteen to seventeen and a half per cent. But this increase failed to give what the manufacturers claimed to be necessary relief, and so was valueless

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for political purposes. It was currently reported at the time that the Government was favourable to a flat tariff of twenty per cent., but on inquiry it was found that such an increase would meet with strong opposition from their supporters in the Maritime Provinces. As a tactical move to draw the fire of the Protectionists, I did not believe it would be of much service. What they wanted was a tariff framed distinctly for protection and not for revenue. And this brings me to the genesis of the National Policy.

Sir John Macdonald, with his usual astuteness, saw in the commercial depression of the country an opportunity for formulating a new tariff policy which would be acceptable to manufacturers and which at the same time could be defended for revenue purposes. The increase in the Mackenzie tariff stil left an annual deficit of two millions. By a judicious adjustment of the tariff it was urged the deficit could be overcome and the industries of the country protected from the unjust competition of the Americans. And so in 1876, the third session of the Mackenzie Government, he moved his first resolution by which he committed his party to the principles of protection, afterwards known as the National Policy. This resolution only applied to manufactured imports, but in 1877 it was further expanded to take in some natural products, and in 1878 it developed into protection as comprehensive and radical as its most ardent advocates could desire. In brief, Sir John proposed to readjust the tariff so as to foster agriculture, mining and manufacturing, restore prosperity to struggling industries, prevent Canadians from

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expatriating themselves to maintain their families, prevent Canada from being a sacrifice market and pave the way for reciprocity with the United States.

The means adopted to place this policy before the country in its most favourable light also showed the astuteness of its promoters. Its possible effect upon the consumers was carefully kept in the background, and the injustice to Canadian interests from unfair competition with foreign manufacturers and producers proclaimed from the house-tops. The press took up the question, monster picnics were held, addressed by Sir John and leading members of Parliament, and the strongest appeals were made to defend Canada from American rapacity. "Canada for the Canadians" was the slogan from far and near.

Although special attention was given to educating public opinion in favour of the National Policy, the Opposition lost no opportunity of baiting and harassing the Government in Parliament. They knew that Mackenzie had the confidence of the country for honesty of purpose and uprightness of character, and so it was necessary to minimize the practical value of his legislation and if possible to make it appear his administration was neither economical nor progressive. The estimates were criticized in detail, and scarcely an item allowed to pass without the charge of mismanagement or extravagance. To lead a Government in the face of an Opposition so active and aggressive was no easy task. Had the business of the country been more prosperous less attention would have been paid to party strife. Empty pockets always make the electors sensitive and critical.

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There were two exciting episodes during the session of 1878, in both of which Doctor Tupper was concerned. The first was between Tupper and A. G. Jones of Halifax, Minister of Militia. It was a battle royal between rivals for political supremacy in Nova Scotia. Tupper charged Jones with disloyalty, inasmuch as he opposed the acceptance of Confederation by the people of Nova Scotia and declared that "when the British flag was hauled down from the citadel at Halifax he would take off his hat and cheer." Such evidences of disloyalty, Tupper said, disqualified him from sitting in Parliament, and much more from holding the Portfolio of Minister of Militia. Mr. Jones explained that his reference to the flag did not mean that he wanted to separate Nova Scotia from her connection with the Empire. His words applied to her separation from the Dominion of Canada, and that was no more than Joseph Howe had said, who sat with Tupper in Parliament, and was a member of the Government for three years. He also pointed out that Tupper sat at the same council table with Sir George E. Cartier, who had taken up arms against the Crown in the Rebellion of 1837. Although the answer was more a *tu quoque* than a justification, the occasion caused considerable excitement, and was an example of a first-class Parliamentary duel between two powerful debaters.

The second episode occurred at the close of the last session and while Black Rod was on his way to ask the Commons to meet His Excellency for prorogation. It appears that Donald A. Smith (now Lord Strathcona) took offence at certain

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allusions made to him in the Conservative press, and notably to those made by Mr. Tupper in a speech at Orangeville to the effect that the withdrawal of his support from the Government during the Pacific Scandal was not purely disinterested. Mr. Smith rose to a question of privilege as the House was waiting for Black Rod and cited various instances where Tupper and even Sir John Macdonald endeavoured to restrain him from following his convictions, and challenged them both to produce any evidence of his having profited personally or politically through his position as a member of Parliament. Tupper was greatly enraged, and charged Smith with cowardice in taking advantage of the last moments of the session, when reply was impossible. Mr. Smith, however, persisted in his attack and was met with cries of "Order!" from the members and cries of "Coward! coward! mean, treacherous coward!" from Tupper, and the remark from Sir John Macdonald, "That fellow Smith is the greatest liar I ever met!" In the meantime Black Rod entered, the Speaker left the chair to meet His Excellency, and there the Hansard report ends. Neither Sir John nor Smith, however, followed the Speaker; both met in the lobby, when Sir John, apparently greatly excited, moved towards Smith in a menacing attitude, declaring that he "could lick him quicker than hell could scorch a feather." A. H. Dymond, who was standing near and who told the story afterwards, interposed, and the last round in a session militant beyond its predecessors closed.

Mackenzie's five years of office were particularly laborious. Beside his varied duties as Premier he

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had charge of the Department of Public Works, which at that time included railways and canals. The Intercolonial Railway was under construction when he took office, and its early completion was urgent. The Welland Canal was being enlarged and deepened, and there were millions to spend or to save on that enterprise. The route for the Canadian Pacific was being surveyed, and all the details incident to such a tremendous undertaking had to be considered. Added to this there was the deepening of the St. Lawrence, the erection of public buildings and the improvement of the harbours from Halifax to Vancouver, for which the members particularly concerned were clamouring. As the Departments were then arranged, Mackenzie was doing the work now done by two Ministers and that of Premier in addition. No wonder he kept long hours and taxed himself far beyond his strength.

During the sessions of Parliament Mackenzie was also required to do more than a fair share of the work of the House. Mr. Cartwright was his only working colleague in the Cabinet; Mr. Dorion left him at the end of the first session to take the Chief Justiceship of Quebec, and his successors in the Department, with the exception of Mr. Blake, who was Minister for only two years, were not strong men in the House, though capable enough professionally. Huntingdon did not take charge of a Department till the beginning of the second session, and Mills became Minister of the Interior at the beginning of the fourth session. Thus out of thirteen portfolios held at different times by twenty-three Ministers, there were only four Min-

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isters beside himself who could defend their Departments properly against the attacks of the Opposition, namely, Cartwright, Mills, Blake and Huntingdon. The Militia Department under A. G. Jones and the Inland Revenue under Laurier were ably manned during the last year of Mackenzie's administration, but relief came too late to redeem the past from its record of incompetence. The consequence of this was that the Premier had to assist more than half his Ministers in legislation, and also to help them through with their departmental estimates. On every large question that involved prolonged discussion, the official debates show that the burden of sessional work, except for the two years Blake was Minister of Justice, fell upon Mackenzie and his Minister of Finance.

During the five years that I sat behind the Ministers I had ample opportunity of studying the game of politics. Two things impressed me—first, that legislation no matter how excellent, and a record for administrative ability no matter how good, may be minimized by persistent criticism or overshadowed by the presentation of some great issue that affects the whole body politic. There is no doubt that the attacks upon Mackenzie's railway policy practically neutralized the favourable impression which otherwise it would have made upon the country, and although under existing financial conditions he was perhaps justified in utilizing the water stretches to save expense, he would have done better for himself politically had he grappled with the scheme in its entirety regardless of cost. There is a charm about courage, even if it borders sometimes upon recklessness. Lloyd

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George's Budget would have been a failure had it been less extensive in its application to landed interests of every kind. Mackenzie's Pacific Railway scheme was at best a half measure, and it was quite clear, before his term expired, that he could make no political capital out of it. It alienated British Columbia and Manitoba; Ontario and Quebec, whose interests were only second to those of the West, were comparatively indifferent; the Maritime Provinces were so remotely affected that they looked on the whole scheme as one of very trifling advantage to them.

The position of the two parties as they entered on the campaign which closed on September 17th, 1878, was now becoming clear. Mackenzie would go to the country with a record for economy and administrative ability which could not be successfully challenged. He had no scandals to answer for, although an attempt was made to discredit his Government for the premature purchase of a large consignment of steel rails for the Pacific Railway. There was no extravagance, as the Government actually reduced expenditure during its term of office. The legislation was progressive and useful. The Government gave the country the ballot, the trial of controverted elections before the judges, a Supreme Court Act, a Military College, and a very generous prohibitory Liquor Act subject to local referendum. The Pacific Railway was under construction, and trains were actually running into Manitoba by way of the American railways. And conspicuous from Halifax to Vancouver as the insignia of its fiscal policy, the Free Trade flag, nailed to the top of the mast, floated to the breeze.

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What better record could a Government have had? If that record failed to carry it through, then honesty and efficiency were no longer passports to success.

Opposed to Mackenzie's claims for the support of the country the Conservatives placed first and foremost the National Policy—a glorified panacea for every ill affecting the body politic, to be taken whether well shaken or not. Were the farmers suffering from low prices? Here was the remedy; more money for all the produce of the farm, dairy, garden and orchard—what a happy prospect! No wonder that at the thought of it the farmer wrapped the drapery of his couch about him and lay down to pleasant dreams of a new couch and better drapery. Was the manufacturer suffering from pernicious business anæmia, languid during the day and disquieted by insomnia at night? Here was the remedy that would fill his veins with red corpuscles and his vaults with yellow gold. Away with all dread of insolvency and smokeless chimneys and scrap-iron! Was the workingman about to bid adieu to the home of his childhood, where no longer he could find daily bread for himself and family? He was told there was still balm in Gilead. If so, why should he expatriate himself? And the patriotic Canadian, the man who placed his country before party—the Savonarola of Canadian politics rubbed his massive brow and asked, solemnly, “Does the National Policy really mean ‘Canada for the Canadians’? If so, then party predilections to the winds! Free Trade is a theory no longer applicable to our conditions. Begone with theories and parties, let us have none

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of them!" Nothing could have been more insidious or effective. To conjure by free trade was a confession of weakness, for had we not had Free Trade for the past generation? You cannot drive machinery by exhausted steam. And the country listened. This was a constructive policy. It was new, alluring, fascinating.

Against Mackenzie's policy for the construction of the Pacific Railway, Sir John placed his preference for an all-rail route. Mackenzie's "amphibious" route was a mere makeshift. There were doubts as to its practicability. It would make the transportation of goods expensive owing to many transshipments from cars to boats, and *vice versa*; the route to the north of Winnipeg was unfair to the settlers in the south—it was a road for buffaloes, not for immigrants; it was dependent on the United States in the winter; it would place immigrants to the West at the mercy of American land agents; it did not keep faith with British Columbia. On the general record of the Government there was little said—it was a "Grit" Government, and the electors were told, with a suggestive leer, not to expect much from the Grit party.

The next phase of the game was the manner in which it presented itself to the different Provinces. It was apparent that Mackenzie had nothing to hope for from the West. There his Pacific Railway policy superseded all other questions, and to that policy the West was opposed. In Ontario, the National Policy was uppermost—therein was danger. Quebec had its recollections of the expulsion of Riel from the House, and was disquieted. In

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the Maritime Provinces it was assumed, as they were always in favour of a low tariff, that the National Policy would be fatal to the Conservative party.

The third factor in the game was the leadership in the different Provinces. In the West there was no strong leader in command on either side, and with its small representation in Parliament its attitude was not considered important. In Ontario the combatants were well matched. Mackenzie himself was more than the equal of any opponent on the platform, and Cartwright never turned his back upon a foe. Both met the electors in different parts of the Province, and were well received. The Conservative forces were equally active, and Sir John gave his personal attention to the campaign in all its phases. The electors had ample opportunity of judging between the policy of the two parties and the character of the leaders on both sides. In Quebec Mackenzie's difficulties were partly historical. He had been so closely allied with George Brown, the *bête noir* of the French-Canadians, that he was placed at a disadvantage from the start. Laurier, though a member of the Government, had not acquired the full status of a leader. Huntingdon, another member of his Government, represented the English-speaking element chiefly, and so could not appeal to the racial spirit of the French-Canadians. It was therefore doubtful if Quebec would hold its own. In the Maritime Provinces Tupper was in charge, and that meant a great deal. Summing up the situation as it appeared to me then, Mackenzie stood to lose the West and Quebec, with Ontario and the Maritime

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Provinces pretty safe. The National Policy would surely not be accepted, I thought, by Ontario, with its Free Trade predilections and its strong British sentiments. Then would the French *habitant* revenge the expulsion of Riel from Parliament, Mackenzie voting with the majority? And as the Maritime Provinces opposed duties of all kinds except for purely revenue purposes, and were even reluctant to go that far, there should be no doubt as to their final decision. In a conversation with Mackenzie five days before the election, he gave me practically this forecast of the result. It seemed a reasonable one then, and judging by precedents seems reasonable now. But politics is an indeterminate equation. In any other calling $a + b$ means something certain; in politics $a + b$ may mean y or z or any other quantity.

My own election in West Middlesex was contested with unusual keenness. The electors could not get enough of platform talk. Meetings were large and sympathetic, and yet I felt when my arguments appeared to be convincing that there was an undertow which might cost me the election. Was I being deceived? Did I trust too much to the abstract as against the practical? And so, though trusting to the platform for the general exposition of the Liberal policy, I found it necessary to meet personally all who were reputed to be unsettled in their political creed. I escaped shipwreck, but how I can hardly tell. No doubt my knowledge of the subject and my persistence both on the platform and in personal canvass had something to do with my success. In all elections votes are jewels, and the loss of one jewel may

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decide whether you or your opponent shall wear the coronet of victory.

The two parties met at the polls on September 17th. It was the first election by ballot, and the secrecy which the ballot afforded was used by many to conceal their intentions on polling day. In all the Provinces there was the same common ruin of the party. In Ontario, considered so safe, some of the strongest men in the Liberal ranks went down to defeat, among them Blake, Cartwright and Young. In Nova Scotia, Jones, who led the ranks against Tupper, and his colleague Thomas Coffin, lost their seats. Free Trade, once so popular down by the sea, was consigned to the limbo of exploded political theories. It was really a *dies irae* for the Liberal party.

Mackenzie felt his defeat very keenly, and no leader ever fell for whom his followers had greater sympathy; but regrets are unavailing. Let the dead past bury its dead. Ring down the curtain. A great man is passing out through the greenroom to the streets. The footlights behind which he appeared so often and amid the greatest applause are turned down; other actors are about to appear in a new play. They had many rehearsals, and some of them are old performers. Hark! The musicians are tuning their instruments—the pit and galleries are fast filling up. Let me to the open air—I feel depressed.

"All the world's a stage
And all the men and women merely players;
They have their exits and their entrances."

CHAPTER IX.

FIVE YEARS IN OPPOSITION.

THE new actors are on the stage. The curtain is up. I am back at the left of the Speaker, where I first surveyed the stage six years ago. The chief performers are also back in their old places. Sir John Macdonald, Tilley, Tupper and Langevin have still the most important parts of the play; Bowell now appears for the first time, and minor parts are assigned to the less experienced. It is a new Parliament, with many aspirants for fame. It contained fourteen members who became Ministers of the Crown, eight who became Lieutenant-Governors, three who became Judges, two Speakers, two Provincial Premiers, three Premiers of Canada, and one a member of the House of Lords.

In the Opposition benches Mackenzie confronted the victorious ranks with the same stern, unyielding front he presented as leader of the Government, with Laurier and Huntingdon and Holton and Mills close by. Blake was defeated in South Bruce, and did not appear till a seat was found for him in West Durham some time later. On the back benches I was glad to find so many of my old friends—Paterson and Charlton and Oliver and M. C. Cameron and Casey and Bain and Trow, with others. I cannot say that we felt particularly happy. We had nobody to blame but ourselves, for we were unanimous in opposing the

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National Policy, and now we were reduced to a little band of about fifty. On the first division of the House, for the dismissal of Letellier, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, we stood 51 to 136, and in the next division, on the National Policy, 53 to 136; or just about the converse of our numbers respectively in the previous Parliament.

This being a new Parliament, our first duty was to elect a Speaker. The choice of the House fell upon Joseph Goderic Blanchet, better known as Doctor Blanchet; of whose qualifications for the position nobody appeared to have any doubt. In due time we were ordered to attend in the Senate Chamber for the opening speech by the Governor-General, and obeyed accordingly. Earl Dufferin, so much beloved, had left us to enter upon that career in which he won a first place among the diplomats of Europe. The throne was occupied by his successor, Sir John Douglas Sutherland Campbell (commonly called the Marquis of Lorne), "Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Thistle, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor-General of Canada." "Now," I thought, "my Scottish prejudices are being considered, and the prosperity of Canada is assured."

The Marquis of Lorne was of noble stock. When and how the title which he bore and the dukedom to which he was heir was founded is lost to the antiquarian; Ossian might have known, but he has not told us. This we know, that the Campbells were an ancient clan capable of wielding the claymore and the pike, and untamed as the eagles that nested in Ben Nevis. The Argylls played an

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important part in the history of Scotland for centuries; two of them paid for their loyalty to the Scottish line of kings with their lives on the scaffold. One of the most striking pictures in the lobby of the British House of Commons is a painting of one of these martyrs as he appeared on the eve of his execution.

His Excellency read his speech, strange to say, without Scottish accent. How he avoided the burr of his native hills was a mystery. Exceptions only prove the rule; he could have read it in Gaelic as well as in English and French. But Gaelic is not authorized by the British North America Act, much to the discredit of those by whom it was drafted. The Scottish race rarely gets its rights.

I have already shown that Lord Dufferin struck a high note of national patriotism when Canadian nationalism was at a low ebb. The Marquis of Lorne was equally exemplary. Hear him as he spoke at Winnipeg in 1881—thirty years ago—after travelling from east to west and seeing for himself the material wealth of Canada: "Of one thing you may be sure, that the country you call Canada and which your sons and your children's children shall be proud to call by that name, will be a land of power among the nations. Affording the best and safest highway between Asia and Europe, she will see traffic from both directed to her coasts; with a hand upon either ocean she will gather for the benefit of her hardy millions a large share of the commerce of the world. To the east and to the west she will pour forth of her abundance, her treasures of food and the riches of her mines and of her forests, demanded of her by the

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less fortunate of mankind. For me, I feel that I can be ambitious of no higher title than to be known as one who administered its Government in thorough sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of its founders and in perfect consonance with the will of its free Parliament." Well said, and prophetic in foresight!

The Marquis of Lorne and his consort of royal blood made themselves familiar with Canada in all its business and educational activities. The Governor-General spoke with the dignity and weight which attached to his position, and since his retirement, now thirty years ago, his interest in Canada has never failed. On every occasion on which I have met him since, his first enquiry has been, "Well, how is dear young Canada getting along?" His successors, too, have been equally helpful, both during their term of office and afterwards, in encouraging our young nation to be worthy of her great opportunities.

The two questions that excited the greatest interest during the first session of the new Parliament were the dismissal of Letellier St. Just from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Quebec and the Tariff Bill introduced by Leonard Tilley to carry out the terms of the National Policy. The first was a constitutional question, and should have been decided on constitutional grounds. Largely through the political animosity of the Quebec members, however, it resolved itself into a political question. Letellier took offence at the treatment accorded him by his Councillors as Lieutenant-Governor. He claimed that he had a right to be consulted about the legislation proposed by his Government before

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it was introduced, and that he should not be asked to approve of Bills without having been advised of their purpose. He accordingly dismissed his Ministers and called upon Mr. Joly to form a new Government. Mr. Joly accepted the invitation of the Lieutenant-Governor, thus assuming full responsibility for all his acts, and appealed to the country. He was sustained by a small majority. It was claimed that this was constitutionally a complete vindication of Letellier's course. Had Mr. Joly been defeated in the country Letellier would of course have been bound to resign. Nevertheless it was argued that Letellier's conduct was arbitrary and unwarranted, that his grounds for dismissing his Government were not sufficient, and that in the words of Sir John's recommendation to Council "his usefulness was gone." The debate lasted three days, and was conducted with great bitterness by Letellier's enemies in Quebec, and resulted in a vote of censure which was made the excuse for dismissing Letellier shortly after.

Early in the session Mr. Tilley, Minister of Finance, introduced the resolutions which, according to Parliamentary usage, precede a Bill for fixing the tariff on dutiable goods. The Opposition regarded them as a complete surrender to the advocates of protection, and protested strongly, as might be expected. After the lapse of so many years it might be interesting to recall the attitude of the Liberal party on a protective policy, and so I quote the resolution which Mackenzie, who was acting as leader, submitted to the House: "That while the House is prepared to make ample provision for the requirements of the public service and

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the maintenance of the public credit, it regards the scheme now under consideration as calculated to distribute unequally and therefore unjustly the burdens of taxation, to divert capital from its natural and most profitable employment, to benefit special classes at the expense of the whole community, and as tending towards rendering futile the costly and persistent efforts of the country to secure a share of the immense and growing trade of the continent and towards creating an antagonism against the commercial policy of the Empire that might lead to consequences deeply to be deplored."

For this resolution we voted 53 strong, but against us was the solid phalanx of 136 cast-iron National Policyists. We were beaten, and so the National Policy had its first Parliamentary victory, and has been in evidence ever since, under aliases and other illusory terms, but *semper idem* in its fundamental principles.

Mr. Tilley defended his resolutions in all their stages with much tact. He fully mastered his subject, and his attitude towards the House was receptive as well as conciliatory. I felt during the discussions that it was more difficult for him to restrain the high protectionists of his own party from driving him to extremes, than to frame a tariff for revenue purposes simply. However, after a debate extending from the 14th of March to the 15th of April the first river was crossed, and with very few objections to details the National Policy became statute law under the title "An Act to alter the Entries of Customs and Excise" on May 15th, 1879, or in a little more than three years after

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Sir John Macdonald moved his first resolution in its favour as leader of the Opposition.

An amusing encounter between two New Brunswickers occurred in the debate on the tariff policy of the Government. Arthur H. Gilmour, member for Charlotte County, New Brunswick, was replying to some observations made by Colonel Domville in support of protection. Gilmour was a Free Trade stalwart, and as uncompromising as Cobden. He was not a frequent speaker, but incisive, pungent and ready-witted. Domville did not quite relish Gilmour's criticisms of his speech, but to show his courage under fire, he moved from his own side of the House to a seat immediately in front of Gilmour. Domville had a nose of Wellingtonian proportions, and as he sat he looked up into his assailant's face. Gilmour ridiculed Domville's knowledge of trade matters, and proceeded to freely quote the lines, "I gaze, and as I gaze the wonder grows, how one—" then he hesitated a moment, "how one small face can carry so much nose." It was a witty, harmless sally and greatly delighted the House.

In 1880 Mr. Blake resumed his place in the House, and we on the back benches looked forward to great Parliamentary tournaments in which our rivals were sure to be worsted. Mackenzie's health had suffered from his excessive labours in Parliament, particularly while Premier; and although his resolute nature kept him in his place early and late, it was evident to his friends and conceded by himself that he could not discharge the duties of leader much longer. On April 28th, ten days before prorogation, he announced to the

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House his retirement, and his supporters returned home saddened by the thought that a great force in the politics of Canada had become exhausted.

Mr. Blake was unanimously chosen to succeed him, and the Liberal party betook itself with renewed energy to the task of emptying the saddles and spiking the guns of the occupants of the treasury benches.

During the recess of 1880 the Government entered into an agreement for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a private corporation, with George Stephens of Montreal at its head, and the House was summoned on December 9th to give its approval. Under the Mackenzie Government the work of construction had begun, and the Macdonald Government carried it on pending the formation of a company to take it over. Negotiations with the new company were conducted principally through Tupper, the Minister of Public Works. The company was given extraordinary concessions, and the Government, before submitting the Bill to Parliament, considered it expedient to call a caucus of the party for its consideration. I was told by a member of the caucus, whose word could not be doubted, that on its first presentation, the caucus was so shocked and overwhelmed at the enormous concessions made by the Government that not a single member of the party expressed approval. The caucus was then adjourned to the following day. With his usual forcefulness, Tupper persuaded his supporters that the terms were reasonable and that the construction of the railway as proposed would give the party such *éclat* throughout Canada as would

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render it invincible in the next election. On the second day of the session the agreement was laid on the table of the House, and the Opposition thought now that "vaulting ambition had overleapt itself" surely, and the country could be easily convinced that to carry it out would be ruinous beyond question. Mackenzie immediately moved for all letters and papers concerning the construction of the railway, and copies of any offers received from other companies; this was refused. Mr. Blake asked that the action of the House be delayed till the scheme could be fully considered; this was refused; but notwithstanding the evident determination of the Government to push the scheme through the House, the holidays intervened, and this gave us on the Opposition benches time to catch our breath. We thought if we had the opportunity of rousing the people through the press and by public meetings, that we could persuade the Government to modify the scheme, at least in some of its most objectionable features; and so we left Ottawa to spend our holidays in this patriotic task. Blake addressed large meetings at London, Hamilton and Toronto, and was followed by Tupper an evening or two later. Nearly all the Liberals held meetings in their own constituencies, and a few beside the leader addressed outside meetings. I spoke in the town of St. Marys, but beyond that my missionary labours did not extend. I cannot say that the public response to our efforts was very encouraging.

The House reassembled on January 4th, and the debate was resumed with the greatest vigour on the part of the Opposition. Twenty-four different

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amendments were moved, each dealing with some objectionable phase of the Bill. Mr. Blake's amendment was unique both as to matter and extent. It covered three and a half pages of the Journals and raised fifty-three distinct objections to the proposed legislation. The discussion was continued without interruption, except by routine, from December 10th to January 28th, and fills many pages of Hansard. It was an earnest debate, every speaker evidently being impressed with the obligations which the country was asked to assume. My own speech occupied four hours and three-quarters in delivery, a feat I have never attempted since. We attacked the Bill from every conceivable standpoint. We asked for time, for tenders, for a reference to the people before the ratification of the contract; we declared the company was allowed too much land and money, that the lands should not be exempted from taxation, that conditions of settlement should be required, that the company's stations should be taxable, that running power should be allowed to other railways over it, that the standard of construction was too low, and so on. Many of the objections taken to the Bill have been justified by experience. But the Government was immovable. With them it was "the Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill," and so it passed on a vote of 46 to 108; and with it the Canadian Pacific Railway Company entered upon a career the greatest of any railway corporation in the world. It is possible the same result could have been achieved at less cost; but the risk was great and the rewards must needs be proportionately great. There are very few who now contend

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that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has not given good value for its princely endowments.

During the remainder of the session the Opposition kept up a steady fight against every measure of the Government. I was becoming more talkative, and spoke on a variety of topics, but not at such unpardonable length as on the Pacific Railway Bill.

The chief interest in the session of 1882 centred around the Bill to adjust the representation of the electoral districts of the Province of Ontario, better known as the Gerrymander Bill. Under the constitution the representation of the different Provinces must be adjusted decennially, Quebec alone remaining constant. After the census of 1881 it was found that Ontario was entitled to four additional representatives in the House of Commons, and this furnished the Government with a pretext for changing the boundaries of fifty ridings. It was quite evident, however, that the object of the Bill was not so much to equalize the population of the constituencies as it was to obtain political advantage by "hiving the Grits," as Sir John facetiously admitted, and to make doubtful seats safe for the Government. Sir John Macdonald introduced the Bill on April 28th, or within three weeks of the close of the session, and the excitement on the Opposition benches was intense. Nearly all its active members were affected by the changes proposed. It was evidently the intention of the Government to hold its majority by brute force, otherwise why change county boundaries and shift municipalities like pawns on a chess board, regardless of symmetry or public conveni-

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ence? Nothing more unfair could have been devised, and the debate was accordingly warm and aggressive. Blake led off in a speech of much power, and was replied to by Mackenzie Bowell, said to be chairman of the committee that arranged the gerrymander. The debate was kept up with great spirit from the Opposition benches, with no attempt at a defence or justification by the Government. Instead of seriously arguing the question on public and constitutional grounds I thought a travesty of the Bill exposing its weaknesses would be an effective way of holding it up to the ridicule of the House and the country. Accordingly I presented what I called an Alternative Bill in part as follows:

Whereas by the census of the year of our Lord 1881 and in accordance with the British North America Act of 1867 the Province of Ontario is entitled to four additional members in the House of Commons, and

Whereas it is desirable to secure if possible the defeat of the Liberal party of Canada and the return to power for the next five years of the present Government,

Therefore Sir John Macdonald, by and with the advice of party wire-pullers and Tory deputations from the Province of Ontario and with the connivance of the Tories from the other Provinces, enacts as follows:

1. The House of Commons shall consist of 211 members, a majority of whom shall belong to the Conservative party.
2. That as several members of Parliament during the last four years have loyally supported the present Government at a great sacrifice to their conscious conviction of duty and at the peril of their political lives, and as it is alleged by the members aforesaid, to wit, the members representing the electoral districts of (here follows about a dozen constituencies) that their constituents are very much dissatisfied with many of the votes given by the members aforesaid, therefore it is expedient so to readjust

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the constituencies of said members as to prevent their being driven from public life and their vote and influence lost to the Conservative party,

and so on. In this strain the purpose of the gerrymander was worked out in some detail. My Bill was not even read a first time. As was expected, the Government Bill was passed, but not until twenty-seven amendments proposed by the Opposition were voted down.

An interesting episode occurred by which I was personally affected while the draft Bill was under consideration. My opponent in West Middlesex, in order to make sure that the constituency would not be overlooked in the general shuffle, visited Ottawa and called upon Sir John. After showing Sir John how, by certain transfers and additions to West Middlesex as it then stood, his election would be perfectly sure, Sir John looked at him rather doubtfully and remarked, "You may put this township in West Middlesex and you may take that one off, or you may make any shuffle you please, but that little devil Ross will beat you in spite of what you do!" My opponent told me of this interview a few months after his defeat, as an instance of Sir John's political sagacity, and without any feeling of disappointment.

In proroguing the House the Governor-General announced an early dissolution and gave his reasons. He said: "I heartily congratulate you on the rapid and successful development of our manufacturing, agricultural, and other industries. I am, however, advised that their progress would have been still greater were it not that capitalists hesitate to embark their means in undertakings

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which would be injured, if not destroyed, by a change in the trade and fiscal policy adopted by you in 1879. In order, therefore, to give the people without further delay an opportunity of expressing their deliberate opinion on this policy and at the same time to bring into operation the measure for the readjustment of the representation in the House of Commons, it is my intention to cause this Parliament to be dissolved at an early day."

It was evident that the Government felt that their position in the country was strengthened by three years' experience of the National Policy, and that the prospect of increasing that prosperity by the acquisition of additional capital would at least retain the support given them in the previous election. They had also made friends in the West by their Pacific Railway policy. They had strengthened their position in Ontario by a wholesale gerrymander. In Quebec and the Maritime Provinces the condition of parties had shown little change since last election.

The Opposition did not admit that the National Policy was any benefit to Canada, and they said so. They condemned the Pacific Railway policy "root and branch," and charged the Government with extravagance, and above all with the grossest abuse of power, as shown by the Gerrymander Act. It was a constructive policy on one side against criticism able and destructive on the other. It was Sir John with the promise of increased prosperity and the development of Canada through the Pacific Railway against Blake with a lofty defence of the sacred character of the Constitution and a denunciation of extravagant expenditure. The

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people wanted prosperity. They might listen to Mr. Blake some other time.

My seat in West Middlesex, not too safe at the best, was rendered still more doubtful by the gerrymander; and so I entered upon my third contest under conditions by no means encouraging. The open and infamous attempt to defeat me by Act of Parliament secured for me much sympathy, and also the votes, which were very welcome, of not a few Conservatives who would not subscribe to the policy of their leader. When the polls closed I had a majority of forty-eight—no ordinary victory. The Government was, however, sustained, and the National Policy for the second time proved to be a very present help to the Conservative party in time of need. As a party shibboleth it would have been sufficient of itself to win the day, but when it was supplemented by the Gerrymander Act the Liberals were powerless against their doubly-armed opponents.

CHAPTER X.

POLITICAL LEADERS.

POLITICAL leadership in England first became distinctly marked with the Premiership of Robert Walpole. There were, no doubt, great leaders before his time, but with few exceptions their leadership was rather military than political. Oliver Cromwell, masterly in all things, had his hand always on the hilt of his sword, and retained his ascendancy by the memories of Marston Moor and the invincible Ironsides. Walpole's leadership was tainted with corruption, but was nevertheless powerful in its combination of adroitness and courage. Chatham was a great leader, but greater in directing armies than in controlling the turbulence of factions in the "piping times of peace."

The apparent indifference with which British public opinion treats its great leaders is one of the peculiarities of politics. Lord John Russell was twice Premier of Great Britain. What were the causes of his downfall after the popularity he acquired as the champion of the Reform Bill of 1832? Was it a tactical blunder on his part that his first Administration was defeated on its financial policy after six years in office, and his second Administration in nine months on a Bill for the representation of the people? Sir Robert Peel was also twice Premier. He was strong enough to force upon his Tory colleagues the Bill

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for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, although on the very day on which it passed the House of Lords he was defeated on a Bill affecting Ireland. Earl Derby was three times Premier and leader of the dominant party, first for a period of about ten months, then for sixteen months, lastly for eighteen months. Why was he unable to hold the sceptre which his strong hand had wrested from his opponents? Palmerston and Disraeli were twice placed in power, and Gladstone had the marvellous record of surviving three defeats and holding the Premiership on four different occasions. The common conclusion when a party fails to carry the country is that the leader is at fault, and that he is wanting in tactical skill or in sympathy with public opinion. If intellectual strength alone could command success neither Peel nor Russell nor Disraeli nor Gladstone could have been beaten. Is it because public opinion is unstable or capricious? Then why did such great leaders as I have named not adapt themselves to this condition of the public mind and steer through the breakers without making shipwreck or failure? And stranger still is the fact that leaders who were not strong enough or astute enough to save themselves from defeat were strong enough in the course of time to turn defeat into victory, and that not once but many times. Is there not some truth in what Cardinal de Retz has said, "You need greater qualities to be a good party leader than to be Emperor of the universe"?

And now the question arises, is it possible to make such an analysis of the qualities of leadership that one can say with reasonable certainty that such and such a person is destined to become

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a great leader, because of this or that element of his character or because of a combination of elements not possessed by his fellows? I think not. It is said a leader must be magnetic. Peel was cold, reserved, and, as Wellington said of him, he had no manners, and yet he was twice Premier. Salisbury was similarly constituted, though in a less degree, and he held his party in the hollow of his hand. Is it necessary that a leader should be eloquent of speech and attract the multitude by the fascination of his flowing rhetoric? Burke was grandly eloquent, and so was Fox; but neither of them held a first place as leader. Melbourne was slow of speech, commonplace, hesitating and dull; Palmerston never made but one great speech in his life—his Don Pacifico Speech, as it is called—and yet both had a most enthusiastic following. Disraeli and Gladstone were great speakers, yet both were driven from office more than once. Rosebery, the most eloquent of living Englishmen, has no place among the political leaders of the day.

Then is publicity an essential element of successful leadership? Pitt never addressed a public meeting during his whole career; all his speeches were made in Parliament. Peel was almost as reticent. Palmerston and Salisbury spoke barely once a year outside of Parliament. A leader may have great intellectual power, he may be scholarly, profound, eloquent, forceful, courageous, aggressive, energetic, and watchful; and yet either because he fails to "take occasion by the hand" or because he "lags superfluous on the stage" or does not "give tongue" to his followers, he is set aside.

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No doubt conditions purely factitious or even transitory contribute to the success or failure of leadership. "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." Happy the leader who launches his bark on such a tide. Was it by any prescience on a politician's part that the tide was flowing just when he wanted to launch out? Lincoln became President on a tide of public opinion running against slavery, and sailed with the tide. McKinley became President on a tide of high protection. Laurier came into power on a tide of public opinion in favour of public education without sectarian coercion. Henry Campbell Bannerman came into power on a tide of public opinion against the conduct of the Boer War.

On the other hand, leaders often create the conditions by which success is achieved—they first make public opinion and then claim their reward. Gladstone did this on Irish Home Rule; Sir John Macdonald did this with the National Policy; Sir Oliver Mowat did the same with Provincial Rights. As Napoleon said of himself, "I do not bend to circumstances, but I bend circumstances to suit my purpose." Looking over the record of successful leaders, I find so many different grades of talent, such varied types of character—great weakness interfused with great force, courage combined with apparent timidity, stubbornness with flexibility—that I am forced to the conclusion that successful leadership is not necessarily a personal matter. Environment, the psychological equation, the fortuitous concurrence of circumstance, the receptivity of the public mind, all contribute to a success

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which even the leader himself would not claim as the result of his foresight or his sagacity.

How far these observations apply to political leadership in Canada I must leave to the judgment of my readers. If the ability to hold the confidence of the people for a prolonged period is an indication of capable leadership, Canada loses nothing by comparison with the political leaders of Great Britain. With the exception of Lord Liverpool, only once in the last century has any British Premier held office for more than a full parliamentary term of seven years. Salisbury's third Premiership continued from 1895 to 1902, and might have continued longer were it not for ill-health. Palmerston, Gladstone and Disraeli, all strong men, succumbed to a hostile electorate before the end of the Parliament for which they were elected. Sir John Macdonald's first Government lasted six years and his second eighteen years. Sir Mackenzie Bowell's Government lasted from December 21st, 1894, to April 27th, 1896. Sir Charles Tupper's tenure of the Premiership was from April 27th, 1896, to July 5th, 1896, or seventy days; while Sir Wilfrid Laurier has entered on his sixteenth year of office.

In the United States the leadership changes with every Presidential election except when the President is elected for a second term. In any case, under the traditions of the Constitution, personal leadership cannot extend beyond two terms.

During the eleven years of my membership of the House of Commons I had the opportunity of studying at close range the two leaders at the head of their respective parties—Sir John Macdonald

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and Alexander Mackenzie. I saw them in opposition and in power, and in both spheres their methods were dissimilar. Of the two, Mackenzie was the more aggressive in opposition, as well as the more thorough. He was equally aggressive in small matters as in large, and his arraignment of the Government for the expenditure of a few dollars on some unimportant public work was as persistent and forceful as if the expenditure imperilled the credit of the country. He applied the square and plummet of his vocation as stonemason to every act of the Government, and no variation from these tests of ministerial workmanship escaped his criticism. When transferred to the leadership of the Government he still retained to an unfortunate extent the same critical attitude towards his opponents, and thus instead of strengthening his own defences and extending his breastworks, his orders were as of old, "Up, Guards, and at them!" and this whether the enemy appeared in units or in battalions.

Sir John Macdonald, while critical and persistent, never allowed himself to be diverted from showing, or attempting to show, that his views on public questions were sounder, safer and more practical than those of the Government. The Government might not be altogether wrong, but he had something better to offer, and would allow the country to decide between them. This was specially his line of argument with regard to the National Policy. While avowing his belief in Free Trade theoretically, he declared the National Policy was not the abnegation of Free Trade, but rather its adaptation to the industrial conditions

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of the country. He never attempted to discredit Free Trade as an economic principle. In view of the commercial stagnation which then prevailed Free Trade was a side issue. One thing only was needful, that was prosperity, and the National Policy was the only thing that would produce it. Mackenzie, while bold and strong in criticism, overlooked the important fact that criticism, like a bushman's fire, should only be used for clearing the ground for the harvest. To neglect to make the cleared ground the seedbed for the propagation of public opinion, was to lose the reward of all his labours. Sir John Macdonald, on the other hand, aimed from his seat in Parliament to draw public opinion towards himself, as a great sower who went forth daily with good seed (at least he said it was good), from which he expected a harvest, some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold.

Mackenzie's leadership of the House was a peculiar admixture of strength and weakness. No man could have kept a firmer grasp of the public business of the House than he did. He knew his Order paper as perfectly as a churchman knows his creed. He was prompt in all matters for which he was personally responsible, and was not very indulgent towards any member who failed to be ready with his Bills and resolutions when called. He worked the House very hard. Capable of indefinite exertion himself, he never allowed an early adjournment if there was any business to fill up the time. His powers of endurance were marvellous, and at two o'clock in the morning he was as keen in debate as at the opening of the House.

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No leader was ever more alert in watching every movement of an opponent or in intercepting him if he tried to escape from an untenable position by evasion or subterfuge. His replies were usually brief and incisive. Nicholas Flood Davin said that he was the only member of Parliament whose speeches could not be improved by abbreviation. His chief strength was his knowledge of the business of Parliament and his downright ability in defending himself against attack and in repelling the assaults of his opponents. In sheer force of will, in courage and aptness in debate, the Parliament of Canada never had a stronger leader.

His weaknesses were many. He had no gift of conciliation, no "sunny way," no faculty for compromising even in trifling matters. It was usually a blow for a blow, and the more his opponents winced the more was the sport enjoyed. He took a strange delight in making his opponents feel that he was their master. This characteristic often led him into trouble. I remember on one occasion his refusing the postponement of a certain resolution in which the late Dalton McCarthy was interested. This refusal led to a personal wrangle, and McCarthy and his friends retaliated by obstructing business, and forcing the House to sit all night. On another occasion during the question hour he replied to several members of the Opposition so curtly and cynically as to arouse a general spirit of resentment on both sides of the House. My deskmate, Thomas Oliver, felt so strongly that Mackenzie acted unwisely that he took a sheet of foolscap, wrote on it in large letters, "A pint of molasses will catch more flies than a hog'shead of

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vinegar," and, folding it up, sent it by a page to Mackenzie. We both watched him as he unfolded it and with a snap of his jaw tore it into fragments and threw it on the floor. I would not like to say that Oliver's cryptic message had any permanent effect.

His attitude towards deputations was not always considerate. He seemed to regard a deputation as a band of marauders who were meditating a raid upon the treasury, or who had come to instruct him on matters which they did not understand quite as well as he did, and often they left his presence in a very unhappy frame of mind. It was said that Sir John could refuse the request of a deputation with better grace than Mackenzie could grant what was asked. Even in his intercourse with his supporters he appeared to be under restraint, and a business call at his office left the impression that only under the most urgent circumstances should the call be repeated. His official austerity was in striking contrast to the geniality and warmth of his character in private life. His home was always open to his friends, where a cordial welcome awaited, no matter how heavily he was pressed by the cares of state.

Mackenzie suffered much from the unreasonableness of party criticism. He was a man of far larger conceptions of the influence of a Government upon the future of the country than his opponents would concede. He fell upon times unfavourable to his administration financially and commercially. The empty pockets of the electors made them restless, and he suffered more from scanty harvests and commercial depression than

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he did from his own shortcomings. His sterling honesty is a great heritage, and will keep his memory green to all future generations. The language applied to Lord Randolph Churchill by his biographer applies in Mackenzie's case—"A politician's character and position are measured in his day by party standards; when he is dead, all that he achieved in the name of party is at an end. The eulogies and censures of partisans are powerless to affect his ultimate reputation; the scales wherein he was weighed are broken. The years to come bring weights and measures of their own." With feelings of affection I commit his ashes to history's golden urn.

But let me now look towards the Opposition benches, where sat Sir John Macdonald. It was interesting to notice the movements of one so skilled in Parliamentary tactics and ready in debate—he evidently believed that the duty of an Opposition was to oppose. When Lord Randolph Churchill led what was called the Fourth Party in the House of Commons, his biographer recorded that he was governed by three principles: "(1) Obtain the victory, know how to follow it up and leave the wholesomeness or the unwholesomeness to critics; (2) take office only where it suits you best; put the Government in a minority whenever you decently can; (3) whenever by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances an Opposition is compelled to support the Government, the support should be given with a kick and not with a caress, and should be withdrawn at the first advisable moment." Sir John never, so far as I can recall, gave his unequivocal support to any measure pro-

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posed by the Government. He always found some ground for objection, even when he did not think it necessary to divide the House. It might be only a passing criticism, or an objection to some clause of a Bill, or a simple protest against the expenditure of money in the way proposed by the Government, but he always left himself open to take stronger ground at a later stage, or to denounce the Government if their plans failed or turned out to be unpopular.

As a debater Sir John Macdonald was exceedingly adroit in repelling attack and in taking cover when assailed. He was hardly ever driven into a corner. Even Cartwright's assaults, though ever so direct, were repelled by his alertness in finding some plausible answer which, though not a complete reply, left him comparatively unhurt. His speeches were a rare combination of argument, irony and sarcasm. No man could use ridicule to better advantage. When occasion called for it he could be severe and denunciatory, but his usual rôle was to expose his opponent's weaknesses without excessive heat or temper, and if possible make him appear ridiculous to himself as well as to others. He never attempted to play the orator, and seldom raised his voice in passion. His speeches in Parliament were a sort of monologue, clear and coherent, notwithstanding frequent pauses as if waiting for a thought to crystallize, or to find the right word for his purpose. His speech on Confederation in the old Parliament of Canada and his speech in defence of his relations with Sir Hugh Allan were among the ablest efforts of his life.

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But it was not to his adroitness in debate that Sir John owed success as a leader. He was always looking out for men who were capable of serving him. Nor did he necessarily confine his researches to his own party. He was ready to receive recruits from any quarter, and once within his camp they were there to stay. His alliance with Howland and Macdougall and Joseph Howe showed his power in this respect. It is true these recruits were not always required to serve for nought; but whether for love or gain, they served with a loyalty that amounted to devotion. His attitude to his supporters in the House was equally remarkable. Whenever a member from the back benches addressed the House, no matter how weak his effort or how halting his speech, he was sure of his leader's attention. I have seen him turn his chair around and face a struggling fledgling in his vain attempt to rise from earth, and interject an encouraging "Hear! hear!" to the merest platitude, when everybody else was waiting impatiently for his last words. What signified the impatience of the House? His leader was listening, and that was audience enough.

I remember on one occasion Mr. A. McQuade, member for South Victoria, had occupied the attention of the House late at night for a considerable time, discussing the resolution outlining the National Policy. He had said nothing new, nor was what he said in good form either as to language or arrangement. Immediately on the close of his speech the House rose, and members pressed close on each other as they were leaving

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the chamber through the door behind the Speaker's chair, myself among them. In this movement Mr. McQuade was passing out immediately in front of Sir John, and on noticing the latest champion of his policy, Sir John passed his arm around the old gentleman's neck, giving him a friendly embrace, and spoke in his ear loud enough to be heard: "McQuade, you spoke like an angel. I am proud of you." Whether Sir John felt sincerely proud or not I do not like to say, but I am sure McQuade did.

Sir John Macdonald also had the faculty of adapting himself to conditions which, if not irreconcilable, were apparently incompatible. He could proclaim himself a free trader and yet inaugurate a protective tariff. He could demand that Riel be brought to trial for his offences and yet arrange for his exile from Canada. He could be a friend of the Orange Party in Ontario and of their French antagonists in Quebec. He could oppose the federation of the British Provinces of North America and afterwards outstrip its most ardent advocates in his zeal for its accomplishment. He could resist Ontario for her demands for Provincial autonomy without losing a single supporter. Madame de Stael's description of Talleyrand aptly describes his character—"He possessed a most happy flexibility, a most agile capacity for transition; he can be all things to all men."

Personally I seldom came in contact with Sir John Macdonald. Incidentally, I met him in the lobby my first session, and without the formality

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of an introduction he shook hands, quoting the lines from Pope:

“Who taught that heaven-directed spire to rise?
‘The man of Ross,’ each lisping babe replies.”

On another occasion, during the session of 1883, in discussing the Estimates I got into a rather hot dispute with Woodworth of Nova Scotia. Woodworth was capable of using forcible language, and I was in the mood to reply to him with both heat and force. The discussion grew, and extended to the back benches on both sides. Sir John appeared to be watching it with considerable interest. About midnight I went downstairs to the restaurant, and called for a cup of tea and bread and butter. A few moments later Sir John came down, and sitting opposite to me at the table, ordered some whiskey and sherry. After a few moments pleasantly spent in conversation he left me, and as he was passing out remarked to the occupants of an adjoining table loud enough for me to hear, “Come, boys, hurry up; Dug Woodworth and Ross have been into a devil of a row for the last hour, and I am going up to take a hand in the sport.” I followed him up to take my flogging as coolly as I could. In a minute he got the floor, and greatly delighted his followers by the half-humorous, half-cynical castigation which he administered.

I never considered Sir John as effective on the platform as on the floor of Parliament. He had however a fund of quaint humour which was often more telling than tables of statistics or quotations from authorities in economics or constitutional law; and though he sometimes used more mortar

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than brick, he always left his audience under the conviction that he was a master mechanic of great skill and capable of competing successfully with any rival.

For eight years after I left the House of Commons Sir John Macdonald was the most commanding figure in Canadian politics. Although not able to hold the majority in Parliament which secured his return to power in 1878, his right to the Premiership was not disputed. In Ontario his majority was reduced from fifty-nine seats in 1878 to forty-eight in 1891 and in Quebec from forty-five to thirty. His opposition to Provincial Rights was his chief weakness in Ontario, and the want of Sir George E. Cartier's strong hand no doubt lost him a few seats in Quebec. But notwithstanding all the mutations in the voting strength of his supporters, there appeared to be no change in the admiration of his followers for his political genius and marvellous leadership. Even to the last he devoted his energies with a degree of self-sacrifice unprecedented to the interests of his party, and in 1891, in his seventy-sixth year, he plunged into the campaign with all the energy of an ambitious candidate for the honours of knightly spurs. The strain was too great for his years. On June 6th, just a few months after the general election, the end came after a short illness, and one of the chief founders of the Dominion, the destiny of which he had guided for nearly a quarter of a century, passed away.

I shall not attempt a review of his political career, nor question the motives which actuated him as a party leader. I had the honour of being

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invited to speak at the unveiling of a monument to his memory at Queen's Park, Toronto, and also in the city of Kingston, two years after his death, and shall close this sketch with a quotation from the speech delivered before thousands of his fellow citizens in the city which had honoured him with its confidence so long:

“Whatever our political differences may have been, however much we may have questioned his policy on many matters of state, it is sufficient for us to remember in the presence of this proof of the affection and respect of his fellow citizens, that he, on whose grave in Cataraqui the maple is at this moment showering its emblematic leaves, gave to his country amid the ravings of faction and the temptations of political strife the offerings of a loyalty that never faltered; that in spite of difficulties that might have baffled a weaker man he was successful in welding, with the assistance of other great men, into a distinct, solid, and I trust an enduring nationality, the people whom fortune or destiny had sent to our shores; that he had large conceptions and fervid hopes as to the great possibilities of the land in which we dwell, and that he left to us an unbroken record of fealty to that gracious sovereign under whose beneficent sway we have enjoyed in the fullest sense every privilege which citizenship has a right to demand and which a free constitution is calculated to bestow.”

CHAPTER XI.

MR. BLAKE AND THE OLD BRIGADE.

DURING the last three years of my membership in the House of Commons, Mr. Blake was leader of the Liberal party and devoted himself with herculean energy to the task of displacing his opponents. His constant attendance in his seat showed how conscientiously he devoted himself to the public service. He seemed to make a special study of every Bill, no matter how unimportant, that was laid before Parliament. It is said that Daniel O'Connell, when he first ran for the county of Clare, promised the electors that he would read every Bill brought down by the Government or by any member of the House of Commons. It is not recorded that he kept his promise. So far as I know, Mr. Blake was the only member of the House who appeared to be under such an obligation. In fact, the back benches felt that he bestowed far too much labour upon the ordinary legislation of the House, and instead of allowing the responsibility for legislation to rest upon the Ministers with whom it originated, he often helped them out of difficulties, for which he received no thanks and which must have cost him great thought and study. As the first lawyer of the House he could not apparently refrain from clarifying what appeared obscure or eliminating what appeared contradictory. No doubt theoretically he was right, for in

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a certain sense no member of Parliament can divest himself of responsibility for legislation to which he gives his assent, whether it emanates from the Government benches or from a private member.

Mr. Blake had wonderful skill in framing amendments to Government measures which exposed their inherent weakness. In fact, his amendments were almost a *précis* of the arguments required to controvert the policy of the Government, and in looking over some of them after a lapse of thirty years I can recall the substance of the debate to which they gave rise. As I have already shown, his amendment to the Pacific Railway Bill was an epitome of all its objectionable features, and the basis of all the criticisms in the House and press for years afterwards. In this respect his practice differed entirely from British Parliamentarians. With the exception of Mr. Gladstone's resolution on the disestablishment of the Irish Church, resolutions involving a vote of want of confidence are usually set forth in one or two sentences. Among these might be cited the famous resolution of Mr. Dunning on which he based a censure of the Government—"The influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." For purposes of discussion Mr. Blake's amendments were exceedingly useful, but many were so overloaded with details as to destroy their effect upon the public.

Mr. Blake as a debater was, beyond question, the most exhaustive that ever sat in the Canadian Parliament. He appeared to leave nothing further to be said on his side when he sat down. I remember on the introduction of the Gerrymander Bill

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of 1882 being called to his room, along with M. C. Cameron, John Charlton and Wm. Paterson. Mr. Blake went briefly over the main features of the Bill, indicating what line he proposed to take in opening the debate and assigning to each of us certain phases of the question which would help to fill up the discussion so as to cover fully the whole Bill. We went to work on our respective assignments as directed, with the intention of not encroaching on the ground which Mr. Blake had reserved for himself or which he had assigned to each of us. What was our dismay, however, when Blake closed his speech a week afterwards, to find that he had not only covered his own ground but had almost completely exhausted our respective assignments—for which M. C. Cameron berated him immediately after in language more forcible than elegant. This propensity arose, however, not from any desire to monopolize a debate, but because of the comprehensive character of his mind. He not only saw a subject in its general bearings but also in detail, and from long legal practice he could not rid himself of the assumption that the final verdict might turn on what to other minds appeared a trifling matter. As a consequence nearly all his speeches were overloaded. Not only were they long, but they contained more matter than even the House of Commons could assimilate, and to that extent his labour was lost.

In the preparation and arrangement of his speeches no man could be more painstaking. Nothing was taken for granted. Every statement had to be verified by reference to original documents where possible. Nothing seemed to be dreaded

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more than the making of an incorrect assertion. It was my privilege for the last two years of my association with him in the House of Commons to be his "jackal." I read for him in the library constitutional authorities, old journals, newspaper files, volumes of statistics and generally as directed made notes or placed markers in the books to which he wished to refer, and never in my experience did I feel that he could not have digested twice as much material as I was able to furnish him. By one glance at a passage he was able to decide if it would be of any use to him, and if my citations were not apropos he did not always conceal his disappointment. Though my labours were not quite congenial, it was excellent training. Besides, to be called to make bricks for such a master builder was no small honour.

Mr. Blake had a distinguished presence on the public platform. Large of frame, erect and commanding, an audience could not help but be prepossessed in his favour. His voice was soft, but clear and resonant, and when raised above its ordinary register was exceedingly powerful. He never appeared to think it necessary to ingratiate himself with an audience by any by-play. He was there to discuss public questions, and there was no time to be lost in compliments; instantanly he set out, as in the House of Commons, to prove his thesis and to elaborate it from the fullness of a mind saturated with every particular. But the very abundance of his knowledge was his weakness; evidence that would have been sufficient to his audience was not conclusive to his mind, and so he piled Ossa upon Pelion and threw Parnassus

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above them both, till everyone became dizzy scaling the heights to which he was being lifted. I have often watched from a public platform the dazed look of many of his hearers. They were attentive enough, but at the same time appeared to be wandering in a maze from which they were unable to extricate themselves, while the object of their admiration was moving apparently with the greatest confidence. Notwithstanding this Mr. Blake was very impressive. No one could doubt his sincerity and honesty. His object was not so much to entangle his opponents as to keep himself right with his audience. If he made his own position impregnable, there could be no doubt in his own mind as to the final result. His object was not to win applause but to carry conviction. If he had only added a few touches of illuminating humour to his arguments I often thought he would have been much more effective. He could wield the hammer of Thor, but never the lighter weapon of Comus. The altitude from which he spoke would not admit of levity, even when ridicule would be more effective than logic. If he could not dominate by cold, unimpassioned reason, his cause was lost, and the fault must be with the hearers and not with the speaker.

As a leader Mr. Blake had the unbounded confidence of his followers. They knew, whether he failed or not in a division of the House, that he never failed in leaving his opponents helpless at his feet except to vote against him. But powerful as he was in debate, whether in opening a subject or in replying to the opposite side, he was not equal to Mackenzie in a political *mêlée*. I do not

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think he was wanting in courage, but he seemed to be lacking in the skirmishing qualities of his predecessor. Mackenzie would break in upon his opponents when the battle was at its hottest, and by a few well directed blows drive them from the field. If any of his colleagues were being pushed hard he always came to their rescue; Mr. Blake seldom took up the cudgels in such cases. If his friends could not fight their own battles, let them be more prudent in the future. Neither did he cultivate to any extent the personal regard of his followers. He was often morose, and apparently depressed and discouraged, as if he thought the game was not worth the candle. He never appeared to rise above the serious side of life, or to be playful in manner or speech amid the companionship of his supporters. He enjoyed a good story, but never "swapped" with anybody. He could not make himself "one of the boys." He was always on his good behaviour.

As the Opposition was engaged principally in criticizing the Estimates and the legislation proposed by the Government, I suggested to Mr. Blake that it might be profitable, from a party point of view, if we brought before the House some questions of general public interest, to show that we had some power of initiative as well. After a review of several suitable topics it was agreed that I should give notice to reopen the question of Reciprocity with the United States in the form of a motion asking for correspondence between the Governments of Canada and the United States bearing upon the subject. As the question was a comprehensive one, and might

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involve an expression of the policy of the Liberal party, it was agreed that I should submit an outline of my speech for Mr. Blake's approval, which I did. In the course of a couple of weeks my motion was reached, and I rose to deliver myself of a speech which I had carefully prepared, and which I felt confident would be a reasonably creditable presentation of my case. I spoke for about three-quarters of an hour, and was listened to with fair attention by both sides of the House. The Hon. Mr. White replied to my arguments, and with one or two other short speeches the debate closed. Though not particularly impressed with my effort to instruct the House, I ventured to say to Mr. Blake a few hours afterwards, "Well, I have done my best for Reciprocity. How did you like my speech?" "My dear boy," he said, "I did not hear a word of it. I slept the whole time you were speaking." Whether to take his repose as a mark of perfect confidence in my ability to do justice to the subject, or as showing a lack of interest in anything I might say, was my dilemma. It was, however, the last speech about which I asked his opinion, either before or after delivery.

Mr. Blake will be remembered by those who served under him as a model of Parliamentary courtesy and dignity. The High Court of Parliament was to him a forum demanding the exercise of the highest gifts; to trifle with its traditions or its ideals was a crime. The forces which it controlled reached to all time. To direct these forces for the good of his country was his great ambition. To degrade that forum by baseness or dishonesty

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was the terror of his soul. I was severed from him in 1883 when I retired from the House of Commons, but the memory of his great talents and his devotion to duty are still fresh and green as on the day of my separation.

As a public speaker, Sir Richard Cartwright possessed many striking characteristics well worthy of imitation. He had the faculty of condensation and clearness in a remarkable degree. The matter of his speeches was well arranged, and with a logical sequence that vastly facilitated his hearers in following his argument from start to finish. Moreover, his sentences were never involved, never overloaded with qualifications and digressions, but followed each other in crisp, transparent terms, the meaning of which was unmistakable. As a master of good English, free from slang and the language of the street, he had no superior in public life in my time.

Sir Richard was one of the very few who could be reported verbatim. No one would pronounce him an orator, notwithstanding his purity of diction and felicity of expression. His addresses never appealed to the emotions of his audience, and it is there that oratory is most effectual and real. He might appeal in a rhetorical manner to the higher sentiments of his audience, but it was Addisonian rather than Gladstonian. It lacked in passion, in cadence, in verve; it was distinctly intellectual and might carry conviction, but was not such oratory as "would move the stones of Rome to mutiny." Seldom did Sir Richard indulge in the soothing phrases of the forensic platform. He appeared to delight more in the war-songs of

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the Vikings than in the pipes of Pan. And yet to those who knew him intimately he had all the gentleness and warmth of an English gentleman of the good old stock. His somewhat aristocratic manner was no doubt constitutional, but it did not in the slightest degree detract from the warmth of his friendship or his geniality as a host.

To the Liberal party Sir Richard gave of his best. In the dark days of the early nineties his voice was heard on many a battlefield, encouraging the party to "push the battle to the gate." No leader ever shared more fully in all the fatigue and labour of political campaigns than did Sir Richard. Many a citadel that would have capitulated to the enemy was held by the inspiration of his courage and perseverance. Forty-eight years of service found him at his best in breadth of view, in sympathy with Canadian sentiment, and in capacity to meet the growing demands of the progressive forces of public opinion.

Next to Sir Richard Cartwright stood the Hon. David Mills in point of Parliamentary efficiency. Mr. Mills was a good bookman. He studied politics under Gibbon and Burke and Macaulay and John Stuart Mill. He studied the system of federal government under Marshall and Story and Cooley; and no member of the House, not even Mr. Blake, had a better knowledge of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution and its limitations under the federal system. He was quite as familiar with the judgments of the Supreme Court of the United States in constitutional questions as with the judgments of Her Majesty's Privy Council. His speech on the true boundaries of Ontario

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delivered against Sir John's evasive arguments showed that he had mastered the question in its historical and constitutional aspects. In fact, all his speeches on the legislative jurisdiction of the Dominion and its statutory limitations anticipated the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council after argument by learned counsel on both sides. As a debater Mr. Mills always broke new ground. Whether early or late in a discussion, he was able to marshal new facts or to cite some eminent authorities to clarify his contentions. The sophistries of the empiric were empty eggshells which crumbled in his hands. He sometimes expended more labour and research in exposing the weakness of an argument than seemed necessary, but his object was not simply to paralyze the enemy for the time being but to render him forever after incapable of renewing his attacks. Mr. Mills had a great faculty for tracing every political question back to what he called "first principles." What was the origin of the franchise? Why were the prerogatives of the Crown limited by law? Why should Ministers be jointly responsible for every act of Government? These and kindred questions gave full scope to the philosophical tendencies of his mind. And for this Sir John called him the philosopher of Bothwell, partly in derision and partly as a compliment. I have alluded elsewhere to his hesitancy of speech. It was unquestionably a drawback on the platform, where fluency and volubility are often glorified at the expense of solidity and logic. But notwithstanding his normal hesitancy, Mr. Mills generally commanded the attention of his audience by his clearness of

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exposition and the overflowing fullness of his knowledge of the subject under discussion. I have spoken from the same platform with him on many occasions, and although the applause of his audience was somewhat subdued, he never failed to obtain the most respectful attention. In some respects he was more useful in furnishing arguments for other speakers than in using them himself—he was a great miner, but seldom smelted all the ore which he produced. His elevation to the Supreme Court left him without a successor as an encyclopædia of constitutional law and Parliamentary practice.

There were two other colleagues of the leaders named to whom the Liberal party owed much during my stay at Ottawa—John Charlton and William Paterson. Mr. Charlton was *par excellence* a student. He conducted his own researches, made his own analysis, and by dint of labour and solid ability impressed himself upon Parliament and the country. He always faced an opponent squarely and boldly, and by intimate knowledge of public affairs usually covered him with confusion. He enjoyed the “heckler,” and generally used him to good purpose. The harder he was pressed the more defiant he became. For instance, in his first election he was confronted at a large meeting by a letter which he had written privately to a friend on the relations between Canada and the United States. The letter contained some observations which were evidently damaging politically. He was asked if it was genuine. In reply to that question he asked the holder of the letter to let him see it, that he might be sure it was in

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his handwriting. The letter was handed to him. "You say this is my letter. If so, it is my property, and if my property, I have a right to do as I like with it," and with these words he tore it into fragments in front of the audience. His opponent, being unable to prove exactly what the letter contained, very soon after dropped all reference to it. Mr. Charlton had a fine sense of humour and generally relieved the tension of his audience by pithy anecdotes illustrative of his argument.

Mr. Paterson was less a student than Mr. Charlton, but eminently practical in debate. He had a voice of great compass, which he generally used with little restraint. He appeared himself to be quite unconscious of its power. His fellow members sometimes exaggerated its forcefulness for their own amusement. It is said that the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie while strolling around the grounds met a friend from the city, and after some general conversation about political matters Mackenzie asked him if he had heard Mr. Paterson's speech on the Budget the day before. His friend replied that he had not. "Then," said Mackenzie, "you must have been out of the city." Mr. Paterson was a most effective platform speaker, largely because of his earnestness and his practical methods of presenting his case. He never discussed principles, he proved them by concrete illustrations. A capital story is told of his reply to the offensive remarks of a fellow member during a high tariff debate some years after I left the House. It seems that Mr. Paterson was showing that a tariff for revenue purposes was best for the revenue and best for the consumers of imported goods. His

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interrupter, who by the way was somewhat irresponsible for his rudeness, frequently exclaimed "Rot!" as one argument after another was unfolded. After many repetitions of the word "rot" Mr. Paterson paused, looked at the sodden gentleman sternly and said, "If the honourable gentleman thinks it is rot, why does he take so much of it?"

How can I close this chapter without referring to the names of James McMullen and M. C. Cameron? No words of mine are needed to prolong their memory. Mr. McMullen—now a Senator—was the terror of his opponents, the stormy petrel of the House and of political meetings. With indignation as real as the fires of a volcano, he might be heard saying "This Government is the most corrupt, the most extravagant and the most incapable that ever cursed any country!" "Did they not build the Pacific Railway?" someone shouts from the audience. "Yes, and they built the Pacific Scandal, too, and made millionaires of their friends at the expense of the country!" "Did they not give us the National Policy?" another asks. "The National Policy! Legalized robbery, skinning the consumers for the benefit of the red parlour and the whole pack of hungry office-seekers that prey upon the Treasury!" and with his index finger pointing to his interrupter and his words coming swift and deadly as a mitrailleuse, he swept the field as with a besom of destruction.

M. C. Cameron was of Highland descent; he had a somewhat stern expression, but underneath was a substratum of friendship for those he loved as warm as eiderdown. He loved the flail and the

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threshing-floor and the winnowing of the chaff from the wheat, and woe to the opponent whose sheaves were blighted with an east wind! He always seemed to speak to the "March of the Cameron Men."

Of others dear to memory, such as Mulock, Landerkin, Fisher, Trow and Davis, I would fain write, but space forbids. They were a noble band, about fifty strong, of the olden, golden days of 1879 to 1883. They were the Light Brigade who went down to battle as to a festival, nothing daunted, because they knew that by and by the sound of hissing bullets would soon be changed to shouts of victory.

"When can their glory fade?
O the wild charge they made!
All the world wonder'd.
Honour the charge they made!
Honour the *Old* Brigade,
Noble *half* hundred!"

CHAPTER XII.

HOW AND WHERE LEADERS ARE MADE.

* It does not often fall to the lot of a member of Parliament during a single decade to observe the conditions under which members on the back benches gradually move forward to a more conspicuous position, till ultimately they sit in the Premier's chair. As a rule such movements are the result of many years of hard work in committees, or of strenuous efforts in debate. Every time a young member presents himself before the House, he is before a jury of his peers, who are making an appraisal of his equipment for Parliamentary honours. His style of speech may not exactly suit their taste; he may be too aggressive, or too timid. He may be pretentious beyond his experience in public life; but if he knows his case, if he marshals his facts and shows resourcefulness in argument and repartee, he is mentally registered among the "coming men," and it rests with himself to establish, as time goes on, his claim to be transferred to the assorted list of "arrivals" when the ship is docked for repairs, or when the exigencies of the case require that she shall be manned by a fresh crew.

By a further process of elimination, often slow and disappointing, deck hands become officers of different grades, and then some one more fortunate, but usually more capable, than his fellow

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officers, mounts the bridge amid the cheers of all on board. Three such navigators were on duty with me while I tossed to and fro for eleven years on H.M.S.S. *Ottawa*, under Captains Mackenzie and Macdonald. They were Bowell, Tupper and Laurier. (Being only deck hands at the time, their subsequent titles are reserved.)

Between the death of Sir John Macdonald in 1891 and the autumn of 1896 the Premiership of Canada was changed five times, in the following order: Sir John Abbott, Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. With the first two I had no acquaintance, and therefore they are not included in this sketch. With the other three I was intimately acquainted, and had ample opportunity of watching their progress from the ranks to the highest political post in His Majesty's Government in Canada.

How did these men appear to me as I rubbed shoulders with them during the eleven years of my sojourn at Ottawa? Sir Mackenzie Bowell entered the House of Commons at the first general election after Confederation. He is of English origin, of excellent constitution, and with all the dogged determination of the Saxon race. He began life on coming to Canada when a boy as a printer's devil, and in the course of time graduated into a journalist of good repute and considerable local influence. When I entered Parliament in 1873 Mr. Bowell was comfortably seated on the Government side of the House and evidently enjoyed the full confidence of his leader, Sir John Macdonald. On the acceptance of office by Alex-

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ander Mackenzie he at once assumed a very aggressive attitude towards the Government, and no member on his side of the House was more persistent in his attacks. His first speech during my time was on the North-West Rebellion and the public scandal of allowing Riel, the leader in that rebellion, to sit in Parliament. No doubt he was right in his contention, but it was felt that he was largely influenced in the course he pursued by his connection with the Orange Order and his desire to revenge the death of Thomas Scott, an Orangeman, at the hands of Louis Riel.

Mr. Bowell was a most industrious member of the House and of all committees on which he was appointed to serve. He never spoke without a full knowledge of his subject, and appeared to delight in directing his attacks upon the Government in such a way as invariably to call for a reply. His manner was quizzical and nagging. He seldom sweetened his language with compliments and, although not offensive, there was something in the tone of his voice which aroused resentment even when his words did not betray any bitterness. This quality of the voice is one of the psychological peculiarities of many public speakers. We have the dry voice, such as that of Mackenzie, without resonance, metallic like a javelin; we have the conversational voice, like that of Sir John Macdonald, limited in its scope but trickling on and on, with its quips and occasional sharp sallies, but on the whole soft and agreeable; we have the full volume of Tupper's voice, with something of the roar of the tempest; we have Cartwright's voice, on a higher register even when not loud, with a classical

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precision of articulation and a reserve power quite unmistakable; we have Paterson's, a full diapason, powerful as Niagara and yet never harsh or grating; and we had the voice of M. C. Cameron of Huron and of James McMullen of Wellington, which went to the very ganglia of your nerve centres like the touch of a live wire, never to be forgotten. No member could put in words the irritating qualities which these two speakers could put in their voice—an application of cantharides to the tenderest cuticle would be balm compared to their blistering effect. Mr. Bowell's voice was not soothing nor was his manner calculated to draw out the better feelings of an opponent; nor did he seem to care—he intended to draw blood, and generally succeeded.

Mr. Bowell was decidedly frank and open in debate. He appeared to have nothing to conceal, never laid a trap for an opponent, but openly pushed him to the wall if he could. He would never accept a half statement in reply, but insisted upon explanation in full, even to the smallest detail. Tenacity rather than force was the leading characteristic of his style, but it was a tenacity that never failed in its purpose. I never heard him on a public platform, and have no idea of his power over a mixed audience. I assume, however, that his frankness and directness would carry him through with reasonable success, although he was lacking in that freedom of speech and elasticity of thought which are necessary to stir an audience to any great expression of enthusiasm. As an administrator I saw something of him for the five years I remained in Parliament after his party

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came into power, and it is here that his character so strongly contrasted with that of his colleague, Mr. Tupper. The irritating voice was softened, the belligerent manner was lost in the obliging, conciliatory Minister. He was in the Government to serve the House, and the member of Parliament who regards a Minister of the Crown as a dignitary to be approached with bated breath was received with the same condescension as the member who believes that "all men are born free and equal."

Sir Mackenzie Bowell was called to the Premiership on December 21st, 1894, and remained in office till April 27th, 1896. His career was cut short by a variety of causes, for some of which at least he could not be held responsible. For several years before he assumed the Premiership the Conservative party was losing its hold on the electors. In 1878 Sir John Macdonald carried the country by a majority of sixty-eight, and in 1882, when the National Policy was still a powerful party cry, he carried the country by sixty-seven. It must be remembered, however, that 1882 was the year of the great gerrymander which gave him probably from fifteen to twenty seats which otherwise he would not have obtained. In 1887 the Conservative majority was reduced to forty-one, and in 1891 to thirty-one. These figures plainly show that, notwithstanding Sir John's personal popularity and his great prestige as a leader, the Conservative party had passed its meridian and was actually in the shadow of its final eclipse. Sir John Abbott, whose term of office was very brief, did nothing to arrest its decline. It is very doubtful if his successor, Sir John Thompson, had he lived

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to face an election would have saved the party from defeat, although he was a much stronger man. He was embarrassed by a multitude of political scandals which reflected upon the honour of some of his ministers and greatly shocked the *morale* of his own party. He also became involved in religious controversies arising out of the Jesuits Estates Bill and the Manitoba School Act, which alienated not a few of his party followers. And so when Sir Mackenzie Bowell assumed office he became the legatee of an accumulation of troubles which might well baffle the strongest and most sagacious leader. Besides he was the victim of what he called "a nest of traitors" within his own Cabinet, which greatly hampered his efforts and helped to bring about his final overthrow. And as if all this were not enough, he undertook the vain and hopeless task of restoring to Manitoba the Separate School System which the Provincial Legislature had abolished in 1890. In submitting a measure for this purpose to Parliament I believe Mr. Bowell was actuated by the conviction that where a Province had interfered with the rights and privileges of Separate Schools it was the duty of the Dominion Parliament, as authorized by the B. N. A. Act, to provide remedial legislation. He seemed to overlook the fact, however, that the legislation which he proposed directly interfered with the constitutional rights of the Province of Manitoba in regard to Education. Moreover, as Separate Schools were considered a peculiar privilege enjoyed by Roman Catholics and not by the people of any other creed, the Remedial Bill aroused religious prejudices which were daily making breaches in the ranks of

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his party. Under these circumstances Sir Mackenzie Bowell accepted the inevitable and resigned the Premiership.

Looking over the situation as it existed during his short term of office, I do not think it would be fair to accuse him of incapacity or want of strength as a party leader. It was no fault of his that through long continuance in office the party had begun to disintegrate. Time is a great destroyer of parties as well as of all things mortal. By a peculiar process it devitalizes party organization and weakens party enthusiasm. Sometimes the strong men who ushered a Government into existence and secured for it public confidence retire from choice or necessity, leaving vacant places to be filled by men of inferior strength; and thus the initiative which characterized their advent to office fails in meeting new emergencies. It may be, also, that a party nurtures a false confidence in its prolonged tenure of office, believing that any adverse agitation will yield to its authority and official influence. Public opinion is still an abstraction, as it was when I first encountered it forty years ago.

Sir Charles Tupper succeeded to the Premiership on May 1st, 1896, on the resignation of Sir Mackenzie Bowell. He was in a certain sense an emergency Premier, although by that I do not mean to question his qualifications. He was selected as a big policeman would be to enter an unruly household and restore peace in the family. As a private member of Parliament as well as a Minister of the Crown, Sir Charles Tupper impressed me as the most fearless combatant that ever sat in the Parliament of Canada. He was

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the "Cœur de Lion" of the House. Whether the House was engaged in a full dress debate or in a scrimmage in committee he was always ready to enter the field and fight his way through. No doubt it was this quality that earned for him the title of "The Cumberland Warhorse"—Cumberland in Nova Scotia being the name of his constituency. He never wanted for language. His vocabulary was copious but not varied, and was more torrential than judicial. It was more forceful than elegant in literary form. It was said, while engaged in a forensic duel with Joseph Howe on a warm night, that he spoke with great volubility and at the same time consumed an enormous quantity of water. Howe's first remark on rising to reply was "that in all his experience he never before saw a windmill driven by water." But voluble as Tupper was he was by no means a windmill. His knowledge of public questions was extensive. He had an excellent memory and could marshal arguments and facts with the greatest facility. He was always serious; I never knew him to perpetrate a joke, not even to interpolate a humorous remark. He was equally impervious to the sallies of an opponent. He took his remarks seriously, and no amount of by-play or levity in the House would lighten the intense fervour of his speech. He always spoke from a full chest and with a splendid volume of voice and wrestled with his subject as a strong man would wrestle in the amphitheatre with an antagonist. To dominate was the uppermost note, the evident purpose of his speech. He never played with an opponent; he fought boldly and often fiercely and appeared to

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have no scruples as to the extent of the damage inflicted. His manner was not, however, offensive. He never treated an opponent contemptuously nor belittled his standing, nor stung him with "flouts and gibes." To be master of the field was his only object, and for that his strong right arm—and every blow from the shoulder—served his purpose. But with all his dogmatism and strength his political "assaults at arms" seldom or ever degenerated into personal animosity. When the fight was over he would as readily shake hands with an antagonist when the last blow was struck as when the battle began. I never crossed swords with him except in a by-election in the county of Cardwell in 1876. I was asked to address a few meetings in the interests of the Liberal candidate, Mr. Boulton, who contested the constituency against Dalton McCarthy. Tupper met me two nights in the riding, and with his usual force repelled my attacks upon the Conservative party, and left me wondering if I really had any definite opinions on public questions or was even remotely qualified to be a party politician.

During the whole term of the Mackenzie administration Tupper was one of its most destructive assailants. He directed his attacks mainly against the Departments of Finance and Public Works, and many were his encounters with the Minister of Finance and the Premier during the five years he occupied the Opposition side of the House.

On the return of the Conservatives to power in 1878 Tupper was appointed Minister of Public Works, and at different times held the Portfolios of Railways and Canals and Finance. As a Min-

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ister Tupper carried to the Treasury benches the same forceful and resolute spirit which he maintained in opposition. It usually happens that official responsibility softens the manner of a Minister towards the Opposition benches. This was not true of Tupper. To him opposition was as objectionable on one side of the House as on the other, and he laboured as hard to demolish the humblest member who opposed him as he did when himself in opposition to demolish the strongest member of the Cabinet.

In 1884 he was appointed High Commissioner for Canada in London, but owing to party exigencies he returned to Canada for a short time and entered the Government as Minister of Finance. He resumed his former position in London in 1888, which he held until 1896, when he again entered Parliament, no doubt with the understanding that Sir Mackenzie Bowell would retire from office—thus clearing the way for him to the Premiership. Owing to his force of character and long experience it was confidently expected that he would save the party from impending doom. But it was all in vain. The die was cast long before he assumed office, and notwithstanding the tremendous energy with which he conducted the campaign his newly-formed Government was defeated after a brief existence of seventy-three days. For the next four years he led the Opposition, but failing to carry the country in 1900 he retired from public life, and so arose and fell the second candidate for Premiership with whose names I began this sketch.

Though Sir Charles Tupper failed to command the confidence of the electors of the Dominion he

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was nevertheless a conspicuous figure in the Parliament of Canada for nearly forty years and was credited in the inner circle of his party with devising the basis for constructing the C. P. R. under which it was finally completed. Members of his own party have admitted to me that the chief honour of this great enterprise belongs to Sir Charles Tupper rather than to Sir John Macdonald. Faults he had, no doubt, like other men, but no one will deny him the credit of being one of the earliest promoters of Confederation. It was largely through him that Nova Scotia was persuaded to enter the union in the first place, and afterwards when, under the leadership of Joseph Howe, the Province made repeated efforts to withdraw, Sir Charles Tupper's determination and force of character were instrumental in preventing the anti-unionists from accomplishing their purpose.

The third Premier in the germ to come within my sketch is Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He entered the House of Commons in 1874 with the reputation of being one of the most advanced Liberals from his Province. Quebec for nearly thirty-nine years was under the masterful leadership of Sir George E. Cartier, and at the time of my retirement from the House of Commons the Liberal contingent was weak numerically, and with two or three exceptions without any particular influence in the councils of the party. Public opinion had been running against it for some years. In the election of 1878 it was reduced from thirty-three to twenty, and in 1882 to seventeen—the lowest representation of the Liberal party since Confederation.

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The Dorions were gone; Geoffrion was disabled by illness; Holton and Huntingdon, who represented English Liberal sentiment, were dead; and the leadership of what remained of a strong and efficient element of the House of Commons devolved upon Wilfrid Laurier, aided by such men as Bechar, Rinfret, and Casgrain. Up to 1883 Mr. Laurier was seldom heard from more than two or three times during a session, but his speeches were always to the purpose and attracted the attention of the House and the galleries. His manner was graceful as well as sincere, his language (I only understood him in English) well chosen. He never wearied the House nor prolonged discussion when the subject of debate was practically exhausted. He possessed a personality peculiarly attractive, which seemed to fix attention in Parliament as well as on the platform. His voice was gentle as that of a cloistered student, and in debate he never posed as Sir Oracle even when expressing his strongest convictions on the subject under discussion. In the early eighties, when I parted from him, he might be described as a tall and handsome man, with a somewhat delicate frame unsuited to the strain of political life and without any special qualifications for leadership in Parliament or out of it. How the Laurier of the early eighties developed into the Laurier of the last two decades is one of the transformations for which I can offer no explanation. The retiring young lawyer had become a bold and aggressive leader of a great party, the delicate frame a marvel of endurance. The gentle voice, though still gentle in its diplomatic tones, had the ring of a marshal when the

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battle is on. The courtesy which bowed to reason and argument repelled with scorn the sophistries of an opponent, and the features so mild in repose hardened into an expression of firmness and force under the momentum of debate. Eloquent beyond his compeers, wary and tactful as Richelieu, inspiring as Gladstone, he ranks amongst the greatest of his party leaders under responsible government. The small contingent of seventeen from his own Province which followed him when I left Ottawa grew to twenty-nine in 1887, then to thirty-five in 1891, then to forty-nine in 1896, then to fifty-five in 1901, and in 1908 stood at fifty-three out of a total representation of sixty-five to which Quebec was entitled. His total following in 1887, when he assumed the leadership, was eighty-seven; in 1908 it numbered one hundred and thirty-four.

On the platform Sir Wilfrid has the grace, the pose and the charm of a man of great natural endowments, accentuated by culture and experience. His speeches are never weighted with the ponderous arguments of the dialectician; not that he does not argue a question, but his arguments are presented in such simple language as to make that appear self-evident which in a different form of speech would appear laboured. He has a happy choice of phrases, which freshen up what otherwise might be commonplace, and his French accent and quaint humour and piquancy idealize his treatment even of the greatest problems of government. He never drives his audience before him by the intensity of his manner or the force of his logic. He rather leads them as a mesmerist would lead

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the subjects of his art, or as a shepherd would his flock along the pathway he desired them to take.

Such are some of the characteristics of the third candidate for the Premiership who leaned upon his spear while I was shaping arrows in the Liberal camp. Laurier's pilgrimage from his place in the House in 1874 to his place in 1896 was more than a Sabbath day's journey. For the first four years on the Government benches he was no doubt radiant with hope. Then came the dark days of 1878, and for the next eighteen years, like the *coureur de bois* of the old French period, he tramped through the forest, forded rivers, paddled up rapids and camped with his fellow voyageurs under the twinkling stars in the hope that the dawn of day in a summer yet to come would bring him to the happy hunting ground which was his quest. In this long journey Mr. Laurier took his full share of the toil and burden of weary marches and midnight watches around the burning embers of his lonely camp.

On the retirement of Mr. Blake from the leadership in 1887 Mr. Laurier was, with the fullest confidence of the party, appointed his successor. And now the "back bencher" of 1874 is coming to his own. But not so easily. Let us look over the field to be conquered. He is a French-Canadian and a Roman Catholic. To English-speaking Provinces, I am sorry to say, that was no recommendation. Racial and religious prejudices, even in this age of toleration, whispered, "Can the new leader be trusted?" Will his racial and religious predilections overcome his sense of justice? Will he bow in the temple of Rimmon when he should

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serve the state? True, his public course so far was one of manly deference and respect towards all races and creeds. Now he was to be the exponent of Liberal principles where mere deference was not sufficient. He must declare himself by acts as well as words. The test was severe, but Mr. Laurier was equal to it. Amid the turmoil of debate in Parliament, as well as under the scrutiny of thousands of his fellow citizens, he struck the same lofty note of equality of privilege for all classes of His Majesty's subjects before the law. He was of French origin and proud of his race. He was British born and gloried in the liberty and protection which his fellow Canadians enjoyed. The more frequently he was heard the stronger he grew in the confidence of the people. Prejudices of race and creed were eclipsed by the frankness and sincerity with which the young seer from the valley of the St. Lawrence delivered his message. For nine years he faced the phalanx on the Government benches, exposing their weaknesses and denouncing in terms not easily misunderstood their incapacity and dishonesty. How could they conceal their neglect of duty when he was in the watch tower? And so as one leader after another laid down the weary burden of his high office, it was evident that the end was drawing nigh. Where Bowell failed Tupper could not succeed. Long before either of them had reached the Premiership public confidence in their party had been withdrawn, and so when the shock of battle came in 1896 the results showed that the new leader had done his work well. It was a personal as well as

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a party victory. The back bencher of 1874 now occupies the Premier's chair. *Saluto te.*

"We build the ladders by which we rise
From the lowliest earth to the vaulted skies,
And we mount to the summit round by round."

Under its new leader the Liberal party has held, without any loss of strength or prestige, the reins of government since 1896. It lost many able men in these years, but happily was able to replace them with others of unmistakable ability. The new Premier maintained without any fluctuation the unshaken confidence of his followers, and many acts of constructive statesmanship stand to his credit. Among the most conspicuous are the British Preference, Readjustment of the Tariff, the Transcontinental Railway, and the addition of two new Provinces to the Dominion. With such a record, vindicated four times by the people at the polls, what greater honour could be desired? Just one draught more from the Golden Chalice—Reciprocity with the United States. This phantom, which so allured his predecessors, suddenly appeared. It is no longer nebulous. It is flesh and blood. It invites him to banish his fears, for does it not bear in its hand an olive branch? Then why not listen to its message? He listened. Oh, the pity of it!

Early in 1911 the Government of Canada entered into an agreement with the Government of the United States for a reciprocal remission of duties, principally on natural products between the two countries. This agreement was strongly opposed

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by the Conservative party. The Laurier Government was so embarrassed by the prolonged debate which followed and the withholding of supplies that on July 29th, 1911, the House was dissolved. At the general election which took place on the 21st September following, the Government was defeated, and on the 6th October R. L. Borden (now the Right Honourable) was called upon to form a new Government.

CHAPTER XIII.

MY LAST SESSION AT OTTAWA.

THE election of 1882 is over and Sir John still reigns. Too bad! We thought we had sealed his fate by our speeches in the House and in the country. What had the National Policy done to command the confidence of the people? The farmer had to toil late and early as before, the manufacturer had still to face the competition of the United States, and the workingman had to work his ten hours per day to find bread for his family. Surely the National Policy could not have helped in the elections. Then the Pacific Railway was dragging its slow length along and not likely to be completed in many years, while the national debt was being piled up with alarming rapidity—surely the railway did not help the Government through. And then the gerrymander, that most infamous attempt to throttle the electors—surely there was no one so base as to support the Government on its account. And the fight of the Opposition, its exposures of extravagance and bad management and corruption—surely all that must have counted for something. Evidently not for much. Public opinion in 1882 was the same abstraction as it was in 1871, when it turned a deaf ear to my first political speech, and was still incapable of being coaxed, placated or bullied, at least by anything the Opposition could do. Sir John held 131 seats in the

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last Parliament, and now, in spite of hot shot and fierce assaults by day and night, in spite of Blake's heavy artillery and Cartwright's cavalry charges and Mills' philosophical disquisitions, and all that the Lauriers and the Charltons and the Patersons and the Rosses could do or say, Sir John, like a cherub, was still smiling from the first place on the treasury benches with 133 seats to his credit. He carried fifty-four seats in Ontario out of a total of ninety-two, forty-eight seats in Quebec out of a total of sixty-five, fifteen in Nova Scotia out of a total of twenty-one, ten in New Brunswick out of a total of sixteen, four in Prince Edward Island out of a total of six and two in Manitoba out of a total of five, and every seat in British Columbia, or a majority in every Province of the Dominion except Manitoba. What leader would not smile and even hold his sides lest his delight would be too conspicuous under such circumstances? We were beaten again by the National Policy and its incantations.

And now for the fourth term I was ordered by Her Majesty's writ to appear in Our city of Ottawa on the 9th of February "to treat, act, do and conclude," as before, and I reported accordingly, was "sworn in," was told by the same bowing Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to go to the Senate for further orders, cantered back to my place and looked on while George A. Kirkpatrick (afterwards Sir George and Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario) was escorted to the chair as the Speaker-elect for a new House of Commons.

As a survivor of the gerrymander it was my privilege to take stock in the list of survivors generally. What did I find? The Government benches

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are occupied as before the elections, with Sir John as jaunty as of old. Behind him a few deskholders, and more of them than in the previous Parliament. There is no accession of talent or of Cabinet timber from Ontario. Mr. George E. Foster appears for the first time as an Eastern representative. On the Liberal side the old guard are still to the fore. They escaped the legislative guillotine and now ask for no favours from the Jacobins on the treasury benches. Three new men from Ontario are noteworthy—Wm. Mulock, J. F. Lister and James Sutherland; they will be heard from later. There was no feeling of despondency in the Liberal ranks. We fought against odds and were beaten—that was all.

The session of 1883 was not very exciting. The only question of wide significance was a Bill to take the control of the liquor traffic away from the Provincial Legislatures and place it under the Dominion Government. Sir John Macdonald seemed to think that in Ontario, particularly, the Mowat Government owed its strength largely to the support of the licensed victuallers. In a speech delivered in Yorkville shortly before the election of 1882 he declared that he "would teach that little tyrant Mowat a few lessons in constitutional law which it was well for him to know, and that he would pass an Act to take over the licensing of the sale of intoxicating liquors, as he had a right to do under a recent decision of the Privy Council." The Bill of 1883 was the product of this threat. Our remonstrances that it was unconstitutional had no effect. The Bill was passed by the "mechanical majority" of the House, as Cart-

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wright was in the habit of saying. But it was a false move, and Sir John had to undergo the humiliation of its being declared *ultra vires* by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Opposition kept up the usual criticism of legislation and of the estimates and fully vindicated its right to the respectful attention of the Government and the country.

In looking back over the eleven years spent at Ottawa, supplemented by twenty-four years spent in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, there are a few features of Parliamentary life with which I have been impressed, and prominent above all others is the tendency to mental dissipation. Nowhere is the temptation greater to kill time. The routine of the House soon becomes uninteresting. After listening to a few speakers on any question one feels there is little more to be said. Why should you not in self-defence, if for no other reason, go to your room or take a stroll through the lobbies with some fellow member and avoid the *ennui* of a tedious debate—or, what may be preferable, go into the open air and recuperate your flagging energies? Then there is the freedom of Number Nine, where you can smoke your pipe or cigar and enjoy the good-fellowship of others who like yourself have been overcome with the tedious reiteration of arguments neither new nor forcible. Or you have some correspondence to attend to, or an interview from a friend with a grievance, or business with some Minister in his private room, or something to look up in the library. And so to keep your place in the House for a long sitting becomes irksome. Nothing but a full

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dress debate by the leaders commands your attention; all the rest is "vanity and vexation of spirit." As a consequence days and weeks are spent to very little purpose; you have added nothing materially to your knowledge of public questions, you have marked time, that is all. Now, to a young man, a few sessions spent in this way is fatal to his career. His brain becomes atrophied for the want of systematic exercise. His knowledge of the business of the session is fragmentary, and it may require no little ingenuity to conceal his ignorance from the more intelligent electors of his constituency. I have known many members of Parliament who drifted through a whole term with a very imperfect knowledge of the business transacted, except in the case of a strenuous controversy between the opposite sides of the House.

On the other hand, when a member determines to equip himself for his proper share of service there is nothing insuperable to his doing so. He watches the routine from day to day to get familiar with the rules of the House; he reads carefully the authorities on points of order—on the proper course to take in directing a Bill through the House, the limits of Parliamentary courtesy, the privileges of members in Committee—and when he speaks he has no fear of being told by the Chair that his speech is irrelevant either as to matter or time. Parnell was once asked how he came to know so well the rules of the British House of Commons. His answer was, "By breaking them." A much more comfortable way to the average member of keeping the rules is by knowing them.

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Then the young member should read carefully the Departmental Reports and all official papers laid on the table of the House. Disraeli's advice to a young member was to live, for the first three years at least, on blue books and biscuits. There are many members of Parliament, I fear, who never open a blue book unless it concerns some matter which they propose to bring before the House. This is a mistake. Unnecessarily voluminous as many of them are, and useless for public purposes as much of the information they contain may be, they show the transactions of the Government from year to year, and this knowledge may be required at any time. This is particularly true of all statistical reports, whether of trade or commerce or finance or railways.

Then when a Bill is introduced to amend a Statute, or to initiate some new mode of dealing with any matter of public interest, the new member should at once inform himself as to the effect of the change by comparing existing statutes with the amendments proposed. He should not even wait for the exposition of the Bill by its sponsor. The best time to criticize the principle of a Bill is on its second reading, and the only members capable of doing this effectively are those who anticipate the reasons that may be given for its introduction. In the same way, when any great question of public policy is foreshadowed, as it always is for many days before it is opened for debate, the young member should at once inform himself with regard to it. Was it ever discussed in a public assembly before? If so, let him read what has been said upon it. Has it been the subject of a

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magazine article, or the more exhaustive production of some author of repute? Consult him at once; be prepared for the debate. Many points will be raised requiring verification or further research. To the library, and learn for yourself—why should you take opinions at second-hand?

It would help greatly in the career of the young Parliamentarian if he specialized his field of investigation and criticism. John Stuart Mill said the truly educated man was the one who knew something of everything and everything of something. A good specialist in medicine is usually fairly good all round professionally. But there are always some subjects which appeal to the taste and judgment of the average member of Parliament more than others. To such subjects let his attention be given particularly, so that in the course of time he may become an authority upon them among his fellow members. Plimsoll made the deck loading of ships a special study, and ultimately impressed his views on the House as no other member less familiar with the subject could have done. Parnell and Home Rule became almost interchangeable terms, and so did the words Cobden and Free Trade. Lord Shaftesbury made a special study of the tragedy of child labour, and rescued England from the disgrace of centuries. Wilberforce did the same with slavery and Gladstone with the injustice of the Irish Church as established by law. Cartwright long before he became a Minister was an authority on banking and finance, Mills one on constitutional law, Charlton on trade and commerce, and Holton on rules of order. It is easy to have at least as many specialists as there

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are Ministers; and to know one Department thoroughly is more profitable than to merely dip into the business of every Department.

The new member may raise an issue at any time by a substantive resolution containing some proposition, not yet ripe for legislation, on which he may desire to arouse public interest. Here he has the opportunity of presenting his views in all the fullness and freshness of original study. It was in this way that the Confederation of the British Provinces of North America was inaugurated, and also the National Policy, and Preferential Trade with Great Britain, and the extension of our privileges with respect to commercial treaties. Merely academic propositions are unprofitable and lead to no results. A substantive resolution should point to legislation, to a remedy for some wrong or to the adoption of a certain line of action that would redound to the public benefit.

The young member should make himself familiar with the constitutional history of the mother country. The British North America Act is based upon the principles of the British Constitution, and a rule interpreting the one interprets the other, save and except where varied by the federal principle of government. The political history of Great Britain is the greatest storehouse of practical politics in the world, and her great statesmen are the best models for the young man who wishes to write his name large on the scroll of Canadian history. To be as highminded as Peel, as resolute as Palmerston, as conciliatory as Salisbury, as progressive as Gladstone, or as self-sacrificing as Chamberlain, is to rank among the master builders of free Par-

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liamentary government. To know British statesmanship as represented by its services to the Empire notwithstanding occasional lapses, to be instructed by its manliness, its courage, its patience, its prescience, its patriotism, is to know the secret springs of British sovereignty and the forces which are still shaping the destiny of the Empire.

To be a student is the only safety of the young member. Time is the greatest asset of the Parliamentarian. By the proper use of his time he may become the best informed member of the House, he may shape legislation, he may direct public opinion, he may break down opposition, he may become a leader in some great movement for the public weal, he may win a marshal's baton. This may mean self-denial; so does the accumulation of wealth, so does professional success, so does a majority at the polls. "An ounce of brains with a pound of energy," said Professor Matthews, "will accomplish more than a pound of brains with an ounce of energy." Application is energy disciplined and regulated by judgment and discretion.

Then how many members of Parliament lose caste with their constituents because of mental torpidity. Their weakness at their first election was tolerated because of inexperience. In their next election it was excused as still capable of remedy, but beyond that it is almost certain to prove their ruin. Even when a member is not endowed with great gifts of speech, it is easily seen whether he has used his opportunities for increasing his usefulness. To be unable either to defend or expound the policy of his party is to proclaim his own

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unworthiness for a renewal of confidence, and he falls by the way as a weakling unfitted for further service. The "glad hand" has its charm, the generous benefactor has his friends; but the man of knowledge, of initiative, of strength in exposition and debate, commands an influence which even his opponents are bound to recognize; and in spite of all the weaknesses of human nature such a man, unless disqualified in other respects, will hold a constituency long after the "glad hand" has lost its grip.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ONTARIO LEGISLATURE.

TRANSLATED from Ottawa to Toronto by the grace of the election courts and the Liberals of West Middlesex! What a freak of fortune, and it came about in this way. My election for the House in 1882 was protested, and I was summoned by Her Majesty's writ to appear before the Honourable Mr. Justice Armour, Chief Justice of Ontario, to answer for sundry corrupt practices alleged to have been committed by myself and agents during the election, contrary to law and the statutes in that behalf. What could be more annoying! I had fought the severest battle of my life. A gerrymandered constituency, and the influence of a hostile Government, had to be overcome. It took me days and weeks to accomplish the task, and now I was to be dragged into court to answer for every irregularity that might have occurred with or without my knowledge during the campaign. But such were Her Majesty's orders, and I had no choice—I appeared. The Judge looked stern as was his wont. The court room was full of eager listeners—I was to be unseated and my political career brought to an abrupt close. Did not one J. M. Harper of the village of Wardsville corruptly pay one Joseph Sewell, a blacksmith, the sum of one dollar and fifty cents for the time spent by the said Sewell in going to

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the polls to vote for the respondent? To all of this the said Harper swore on the Holy Bible as being "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." The court declared that the said Harper had broken the law, and as he was acting on my behalf, though without my knowledge or consent, my seat was declared vacant, and I was no longer a member of Parliament. How true what Cowper says: "An earthquake may be made to spare the man that's strangled by a hair." I could stand a gerrymander and the shock of battle, but I could not stand Harper's consideration for the needs of a village blacksmith. By the avenging angel, under a similar process of law, the seat for the Legislative Assembly was also opened. Sir Oliver Mowat asked me to be his Minister of Education and take the vacant local seat. Not having any other I took it, by a regular *tour de force*, and that is how I became a Minister of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario.

The Parliament of Ontario was as strange to me as that of Ottawa on my first introduction in 1873. My duties as Minister of Education were so engrossing that I gave little thought to my legislative duties; they would keep till the Assembly was called. I had not long to wait. Parliament was called to meet on the 23rd day of January, about a month after my election. Obeying Her Majesty's summons as a loyal subject "to meet at Our city of Toronto," this time, "to treat, do, act and conclude upon those things which in our Legislature of the Province of Ontario may by the favour of God be ordained," I presented myself along with the other duly elected members to be sworn in and

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await the opening of the Assembly. Although well acquainted with Toronto and its public institutions, this was the first time I had ever looked upon the Parliament Buildings, and certainly they were not much to look at. They appeared to be a rambling, irregular pile of red brick, without any architectural beauty, purpose or design, except to enclose so much space within their walls. But as I was about to extend my mental criticisms I bethought myself, "These buildings should not be judged by the standards of to-day. They were begun fifty-five years ago (1829), when Toronto was a mere village, and the population of Ontario probably did not exceed 250,000 souls." Their estimated cost was \$40,000, slightly exceeded by changes in the plans, but certainly a very moderate sum according to present-day standards. Besides, this was the third building erected by the Parliament of Upper Canada for legislative purposes. The first, erected under Governor Simcoe on Parliament Street, was burned down during the War of 1812 by the Americans, and the mace and a British ensign carried away as trophies. The second building, on the corner of King and Berkeley Streets, was burned down accidentally in 1824, and then with its limited resources a third effort was made by the Province to accommodate its Legislature. I must not therefore be too exacting in the matter of architecture.

But as there is still half an hour to spare before His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor is to appear, let me look within. The Legislative Chamber is fast filling up; new members, like myself, are looking for their seats; a few ladies are seated in the

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front row (where else should they sit?) waiting for the arrival of His Honour. There is no display of millinery or jewels such as I have witnessed at Ottawa, as the opening ceremonies are too simple and unostentatious to attract the fashionable world of Toronto.

I sat at the desk assigned me, to the right of the Speaker's chair, and thought myself on historic ground. The Legislative Chamber, I observed, is no more attractive in its fittings and decorations than the building is architecturally. The throne has no crimson hangings or gilded ornaments, like the throne at Ottawa. The gallery is small and dingy-looking, the ceiling low and the walls discoloured. Simplicity and economy have joined hands in resisting the meretricious and extravagant. Upper Canada sixty years ago loved the simple life.

But these walls, so plain and sympathetic-looking, I thought, could a tale unfold of great interest if they became articulate. On that throne sat Sir Francis Bond Head, who saw the Rebellion of 1837 at close range; Lord Durham, whose classic report on the discontent in Canada paved the way for the union of the two Provinces in 1841—a forecast of the great federation of 1867; Lord Elgin, whom neither mobs nor threats of personal violence could intimidate in the discharge of his public duties; and Sir Edmund Head, who, if not directly a party to the "Double Shuffle" of 1858, refrained from using his prerogative in preventing it. What the thoughts of these distinguished occupants of that throne were as they looked upon the representatives of Upper Canada, many of them clad in homespun,

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assembled to "treat, act, do and conclude" for the good government of the Province, it is hard to say. Some of them have left a record on the Journals of the House which recalls the strife of debate or the higher purposes of legislation. There were the Boultons and the Sherwoods and the MacNabs and the Robinsons, representing the arrogance and the exclusiveness of the "Family Compact." There were the Baldwins and the Rolphs and the Bidwells and the Perrys, and lastly the most eruptive and aggressive of his race—William Lyon Mackenzie. As in a reverie I heard Mackenzie denounce the Family Compact as the enemy of responsible government, the mainstay of corruption and the shameless patron of nepotism. I saw his enemies, stung by his invective but unable to answer him, rise one after another and denounce him as a traitor to his country and a disgrace to the Assembly, and I heard the roll called as it was proposed to expel him from the House; vain wrath—it was *Athanasius contra mundum*. He was the herald of constitutional liberty, with the fiery cross in his hand, denouncing prescription and privilege and the insolence of office. And as in the case of other heralds of freedom, he had to bear the scorn of his enemies and suffer persecution while the chariot-wheels of freedom were being delayed.

"Does the road wind up hill all the way?
Yes, to the very end.
Will the day's journey take the whole long day?
From morn to night, my friend."

Again in my reverie I saw these seats being filled with a new race of legislators. Men with a wider

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outlook have come upon the scene, for it is the Parliament of Canada that is meeting, and not of Upper Canada as before. The representatives of two races are now within these walls. George E. Cartier and A. A. Dorion, Hector Langevin and other descendants of seigneur and cavalier and peasant from *La Belle France*, are jostling the Celts and Saxons of Upper Canada as they are looking for their appointed places. There looms up the tall form of George Brown, the champion of the rights of Upper Canada, with the much beloved A. A. Dorion at his side. John A. Macdonald, not yet starred and spurred, and George E. Cartier, are in the centre of a group of admiring friends. A. T. Galt and Sandfield Macdonald are exchanging courtesies; Rymal is whispering his latest joke into the ear of Langevin; D'Arcy McGee is hobnobbing with Archibald McKellar. It is a notable occasion, Greek meeting Greek, a gathering of gladiators ready to prove their love for Canada by slaying each other. I can hear these dingy walls echo with cheers as steel strikes steel and strong men fall in the fray.

But the booming of the cannon as the Lieutenant-Governor enters with his military staff breaks my reverie; the past shrinks back into history; the seats of the mighty have new occupants.

His Honour speaks, and everyone is attention. "Honourable Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly," he says—no Senate here—"It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to your legislative duties as members of a new Parliament convened for the first time since the general election of the past year"; and so on through many paragraphs.

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My duties as a member of the Government, omitting for the present the administration of the Education Department, were varied and often arduous. The short Parliamentary term of four years and the frequent recurrence of by-elections, forced me to the platform far too often for my comfort, and although the questions discussed had not the wide sweep of those claiming the attention of the House of Commons, they nevertheless afforded ample scope for the exercise of all the qualities of platform efficiency which anyone could desire. In the early eighties the Ontario Legislature raised issues fundamental to the success of Confederation. If the British North America Act was to serve the purpose intended by the "Fathers of Confederation," the Provinces that surrendered a large measure of their powers in accepting the Act must not be deprived of any part of their statutory autonomy. In championing the cause of Provincial Rights the Legislature of Ontario was not only defending its own rights as against the Dominion, but was also settling the constitutional limitations of the British North America Act for all time to come. And fortunate indeed it was that the Legislature had as its Attorney-General a man possessed of the keen intellect and sound knowledge of constitutional law of Sir Oliver Mowat. Sir John Macdonald's quarrels with Ontario over the question of Provincial Rights alienated many Conservatives, particularly in elections to the Assembly, where their votes did not affect his Government; while Sir Oliver Mowat's success in the courts of Canada, and particularly before the Privy Council, raised him greatly in the estimation of the

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whole people of Ontario. Were it not for these conflicts with the Dominion Government I doubt if Sir Oliver would have survived the general election of 1883.

The next movement against the Government was racial, religious and educational. It was said that too much indulgence was shown towards the use of the French language, particularly in the French schools of Eastern Ontario, and that the young generation of French-Canadians who desired to acquire a proper knowledge of the English language was greatly disadvantaged thereby. The ground was even taken that the French language should not be used in school for any purpose of instruction whatsoever. In conjunction with this complaint it was said that Separate Schools were favoured to the great detriment of popular education. Not only were they inefficient, but the time of the pupils was mainly occupied in receiving religious instruction, which developed religious bigotry and a religious and racial cleavage injurious to the best interests of the country. This charge against the Government supplied most interesting material for platform discussion. The Government stood for liberty, equality and fair play, for a generous treatment of races and creeds, and followed the policy of British statesmen in dealing with similar problems in every part of the Empire.

In the nineties, the conflict was with the Patrons of Industry, a farmers' organization, widespread and intense in its views on class legislation. So strong was its influence that in 1890 it sent seventeen members to the Assembly. Since many of

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these were Liberals as well as Patrons, they supported the Government except on questions concerning their own organization.

Besides these distinct lines of attack upon the Government there were many minor issues requiring discussion and explanation, such as textbooks, school examinations, the status of the Provincial University and high schools, municipal legislation, the cost of public institutions, grants for local improvements, railway subsidies, appointment of public officers, election laws, the extension of the franchise, and so on. Confronted as the Government was by an active and capable Opposition, there was no truce in political agitation or party warfare. Indeed, from my experience, I found it more difficult to keep informed on all the details likely to arise in Provincial than in Dominion politics. The reason is obvious. Provincial questions are largely domestic and local. They relate to educational, municipal or legal matters that affect the daily life of the electors. The expenditure of a few hundred dollars on a bridge, the grant of a few extra dollars to the public schools, or the change in a textbook is almost a personal matter and quite within the judgment of the most ordinary elector; whereas questions of tariff, transcontinental railways, foreign commerce, steamship subsidies and canals affect the elector only remotely, and he is disposed to follow—perhaps in wonder if not in admiration—the party having the courage to grapple with them. The comparatively narrow groove in which legislation moves in a Provincial Legislature and the limited area which it affects necessarily restricts the larger outlook which per-

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tains to Dominion politics. To be parochial in your attention to the wants of the electors, and national in your conception of the ultimate benefit you are conferring upon the whole country, is a difficult task—few persons are both near-sighted and far-sighted. For that reason I always held that the members of Provincial Assemblies should identify themselves actively with Dominion legislation, not necessarily for party purposes or even on party lines, but for its educational value to themselves.

Sir Oliver Mowat, who directed the policy of the Ontario Government from 1872 to 1896, was a happy combination physically, mentally and morally of the qualities which make for leadership. Though not quite of medium size, he was nevertheless of more than average bulk and had consequently great strength and endurance. He possessed unique powers of application, and in his office or in the House never seemed exhausted or fatigued. He rarely left his seat during the longest sittings, and I have on several occasions walked home with him as the street lights were being extinguished, without hearing him even complain of being tired. His splendid health enabled him to do a full day's work long after he was three score and ten.

Morally Sir Oliver certainly bore "the white flower of a blameless life." He had no youthful escapades to live down, no shady business transactions to explain or conceal; and no Canadian public man more fully deserved the title of "Christian statesman." His high character was one of the great assets of his party, as no one, not even those

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who differed from him, except in the frenzy of a campaign, ever charged him with dishonesty or political corruption.

As a leader he was patient with both friends and foes. If time was wanted for a full discussion of any measure, he was always ready to make his personal convenience a secondary matter. In debate he was argumentative and incisive. Mild though he might appear in repose, he was a Mameluke when roused, and struck his opponent with the full purpose and intent of disabling and disarming him. He was quick in repartee and was seldom checked by an interpolation. He was, however, courteous even to his severest critics, and only when it was apparent that the criticism was purely vindictive did he take his critics by the throat. In considering a Bill of which he had charge, he encouraged the fullest examination and listened with patience to the remarks of the most obscure member of the Assembly. On the platform he was not uniformly successful—I have heard him when his audience hung upon his lips and applauded him enthusiastically; and I have heard him speak with such hesitation and want of fire that all appeared pleased when he had finished. His voice was not adapted for public speaking; it had no vibrant tones, no reserved power, no glow of passion; it was evidently trained in the courtroom, and was much more effective before a small than before a large audience. As a leader he was exceedingly tactful, never allowing his rival to take him on the flank. He had an instinctive knowledge of what the man with an honest purpose would think of him, and he rested his case on his judgment, believing it

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would prevail with others less honestly disposed. His sagacity in judging how far he could advance on any question without alarming the public mind was remarkable. Naturally conservative, when the psychological moment arrived, however, he would cast his idols to the moles and bats and lead a procession of the most advanced radicals with all the enthusiasm of a new convert. Political science with him was not a set of rigid aphorisms or crystallized theories; it was rather a force to be used for this purpose or that when some object was to be accomplished, or a sort of storage battery whose latent forces were to be expressed in legislation when required in the public interest. Sir Oliver's attitude towards the public was always conciliatory. No matter how insignificant the appeal of a deputation, it was never met with a rebuff. The soothing effect of his promise to take a request "into his most serious consideration" became proverbial.

Sir Oliver Mowat had, when I took office under him, several colleagues of unquestioned ability. His *fidus Achates*, T. B. Pardee, possessed fully all the shrewdness of his leader. He was not a frequent speaker, but he always watched the game, and no one was better able to take advantage of a false move than he was. He had a great faculty for conciliating opponents and retaining the unbounded confidence of his friends. He usually kept his own counsel, but nobody could mistake the master touches of his skilful generalship in many of the actions of the Government.

Mr. C. F. Fraser was among the early accessions to Sir Oliver's Cabinet. He was the titular repre-

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sentative of the Roman Catholic minority, and no representative could have maintained the position with greater fairness or impartiality. While always ready to ask for his co-religionists what he believed they were entitled to, I never knew him to press for special privileges at variance with sound public policy. He laboured to make Separate Schools efficient, not on religious but on educational grounds, assuming that the Church would not neglect the religious factor, providing the state discharged its full duty educationally. He had no sympathy with that form of bigotry which would ostracize any creed that was tolerated by law, and never claimed more for his own people than he was willing to concede to all the rest of the community. He was without question in his best days the most powerful debater in the House. His logic was irresistible, and his irony corrosive as acid. The expression of his countenance when flaying an opponent was as withering as his words. He feared nobody, salaamed to nobody, but went his way strong in his own convictions of what was right and willing to defend them at the hazard of his political life. He was capable of much higher service than his position demanded, and it was evidence of his greatness of character that he was willing to serve wherever duty called him.

Hon. A. S. Hardy was a man of unique character. Among all my acquaintances in public life I have never met his double. He had little method or continuity of argument in debate, and yet no man was more destructive and few more dreaded. He was a master of irony and ridicule, and had a full and well-chosen vocabulary which flowed, now

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in a rush of stinging invective, then in short staccato sentences, which pricked and punctured and prodded an opponent till he doubted his own identity. No man could more easily provoke the ranks of Tuscany either to cheer or to howl. He delighted in the whirlwind and could command it at pleasure. He was a very capable administrator and legislator; though not over-sensitive to public opinion he was progressive, and true to all the traditions of the Liberal party. He was somewhat timid in council but was by no means wanting in sagacity and foresight.

Sir William Meredith, the leader of the Opposition, was a protagonist worthy of his party. He too had great power of application, and, like Mr. Blake, he applied himself to the improvement of the general current of legislation. His criticism of a Bill was illuminating, even when not concurred in, and although anxious to make legitimate capital out of the defects of a Government measure, he appeared to be more anxious to make the measure distinctly useful than politically profitable. Though a Conservative, he was more radical than the leader of the Government. His objection was seldom that a Bill went too far; had he his way, it would go much further. In debate he was forceful but somewhat turbulent. He never attained a good Parliamentary style, and always appeared to be speaking to his followers rather than to the whole Assembly. His sanguine temperament was not conducive to a judicial style of debate, and his temperament was master. On the public platform, which lends itself to animation even when occasionally superheated, he was always

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acceptable. He had the advantage of a fine presence and physique, and had he only been more deliberate he would have been much more effective. His greatest defect, however, was want of skill in the game of politics. More than once he allowed himself to be placed in a false attitude towards the public opinion of the Province. This was notably the case on the Boundary Award and on French and Separate Schools. In the former case he was no doubt influenced by his loyalty to Sir John Macdonald, and in the latter by the clamours of the Protestant Protective Association. He had the respect of the Government benches for his ability, and of his own followers for the personal sacrifices which for many years he made to serve them. He had a loyal following who co-operated ably with him both inside and outside the Assembly.

The Ontario Legislature is a good school for a preliminary course in politics, but it lacks the stimulus of the larger sphere at Ottawa. In my early days it was under the spell of Sandfield Macdonald's economic fatalism. To propose an increase of the estimates or an advance in the salary of a clerk in the Civil Service was a high crime and misdemeanor. Sandfield's surplus was a sacred legacy, and must not be reduced, no matter what interests starved or stagnated. If a motion were made for reducing an appropriation, members seemed to shiver at the calling of the "yeas" and "nays." It is true the income of the Province was fixed, and deficits were not desirable, but to make economy a scarecrow when a more liberal expenditure would yield an hundred-fold was tantalizing. So much for the power of a tradition.

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Then the Legislature, perhaps unconsciously, was inexcusably conservative. It nearly always made two bites of a cherry. To extend the franchise, except in the most begrudging manner, or to erect a public building until driven to it by the direst necessity, would mean a prolonged discussion or a vote of want of confidence. It is true progress was made, perhaps all the more substantial because gradual, but life is short and measured by decades—it is better to tempt the fates and “breast the blows of circumstance” than sit in the shadow of progress when another step would admit you into the sunlight. The aloe that is said to blossom only once in a hundred years may produce beautiful flowers, but I prefer the annuals of less rarity but of more frequent efflorescence.

Notwithstanding this chronic conservatism, the members of the Ontario Legislature were men above the average of their class in ability. As a rule they were conspicuous in their respective constituencies as members of County Councils, as agriculturists or as professional men of good standing who had acquired wealth and social position. Although not powerful debaters, or familiar with the procedure of Parliament, they were in the main men of excellent judgment and capable of expressing their views intelligently on every question that came before the House. The Ontario Legislature was not given to debating public measures to the same extent as the House of Commons. It was rather a deliberative body, not easily moved by party appeals and not easily diverted from its legislative duties. It followed its leaders with little of the partisan loyalty which usually divides

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political bodies, and, while not mistrusting them, it left the impression that leadership consisted in legislation for the public good, and administrative efficiency, rather than in following party platforms. I have been associated with six Parliaments, and during that time had the opportunity of ascertaining the viewpoint of perhaps over three hundred members, and except as to the objection already stated, were I making a choice myself, I am confident I could not select in the Province men to whom its interests might be more safely committed than to those with whom I associated from 1883 to 1905.

Another feature of the Ontario Legislative Assembly not to be overlooked was the high average (omitting the writer) of the members of the Government that directed its administration from Confederation down to 1905. (By this time limit I do not wish to be understood as reflecting upon the present administration.) Space will not permit of any reference to the great mass of legislation which passed through the hands of the different members of the Ontario Government during that time, nor to the many evidences left of their efficiency in the administration of the different Departments which they directed. To follow the career of those who served as Ministers in the Ontario Government since Confederation, and who by virtue of that service to a large extent were called to discharge important duties in other spheres of influence and responsibility, affords some evidence of their character. To wit: Two became Lieutenant-Governors of the Province—Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir John Gibson. One became

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Premier of Canada—Alexander Mackenzie. Five served as members of the Dominion Cabinet—Mackenzie, Blake, Carling, Mowat and Graham. One was appointed Chief Justice of Manitoba—E. B. Wood. Three others were appointed to the High Court of Ontario—Sir Matthew Crooks Cameron, F. L. Latchford and J. T. Garrow. Nine held at one time a seat in the House of Commons—Sandfield Macdonald, Mackenzie, Blake, Young, Wood, Stratton, Harty, Graham and Ross. Four were appointed to the Senate—Mowat, Carling, Scott and Ross. Seven were appointed to public positions of trust. Five were honoured by His Majesty with a special mark of distinction for public service. Of the remainder four withdrew from public life and proved successful in their various vocations.

I cannot close this chapter without bearing testimony to the efficiency of the public service of the Province during my connection with its administration. The Government was fortunate in being able to avail itself of professional men of great ability for the heads of the various public institutions and such other services as required special professional attainments. Both in the inside and outside service it would appear to be the desire as well as the ambition of every officer to retain the confidence of the Government and discharge his duties in such a manner as to satisfy the Legislative Assembly and the public.

CHAPTER XV.

MINISTER OF EDUCATION.

THE week following my election—that is, in December, 1883—I was in my place in St. James Square as Minister of Education. I knew the position was beset with many difficulties. I felt, however, that my ten years' experience as a teacher and sixteen as Inspector, nine of which I had also acted as Inspector of Model Schools, would be helpful. Was that experience sufficient, however, I asked myself, to enable me to grapple successfully with the many complicated questions which naturally arise under such a comprehensive system of education as had grown up in Ontario? When I was appointed Minister the Education Department was in a state of transition. It had been administered for about forty years by Doctor Ryerson as Chief Superintendent of Education. On the retirement of Doctor Ryerson it was considered expedient to constitute the Education Department a branch of the Executive Government, and so Doctor Ryerson's successor became a Minister of the Crown under the title of Minister of Education and with a seat in the Legislative Assembly. This change made me responsible to Parliament and to the electors of the Province in a very different sense from a Chief Superintendent. A Superintendent of Education had no political affiliations. He was a public servant appointed to

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discharge certain duties according to the best of his judgment and was vindicated or condemned on the merits of his administration. A Minister occupies a quasi-political position, and must expect his administration to be subjected to the criticism of the political arena. If a new textbook is authorized, or a change made in the courses of study, or a teacher's certificate suspended, or the school grant withheld for a violation of the School Act, or if a pupil or teacher failed to pass a departmental examination, some interested member of Parliament is likely to make it a matter of complaint on the floor of Parliament and perhaps stir up his constituents to avenge at the polls the wrong done. Notwithstanding this apparent disadvantage, however, there is no doubt as to the propriety, on constitutional grounds, of investing the head of a great department like that of Education with ministerial responsibility. The large amount of money at his disposal for educational purposes and the power which he exercises on a matter of such paramount importance as the education of the youth of the Province for future citizenship, are too great to be entrusted to any bureau, no matter how intelligent or impartial.

The many subjects which engaged my attention as Minister of Education I shall not attempt to review. Most of them are briefly tabulated in the Appendix. The position of the Provincial University as the keystone of our educational system was, however, so peculiar that a statement of the difficulties which surrounded it might be worthy of some account in detail. Although a university for the higher education of the youth of Upper

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Canada was foreshadowed by Sir John Colborne as far back as 1829, it was not till 1844 that the University of King's College (the original name for what is now the University of Toronto) was opened, practically on the foundation recommended by Sir John Colborne. Though ably and efficiently conducted according to the standards of the times, it would appear that the country did not appreciate the value of a University either intrinsically or as a factor in the development of a general system of popular education. It was said to be the rich man's school. The ordinary citizen could not hope to do more for his children than to give them a public or grammar school education. If its endowments were insufficient, let those who were benefited by it make up the difference. It is humiliating to think that such a narrow view could be taken of higher education at any time in Ontario, but I found it prevailed to a disappointing extent as late as the early years of my administration.

There was another difficulty quite as formidable to be overcome before any progress could be made in aiding the University through the public treasury. Colleges in the interest of different denominations were founded throughout the Province with the power of granting degrees, but without any endowments by the state. These colleges were dependent upon the beneficence of the denominations they represented, and were nearly always in a state of comparative destitution. For several years they received a small grant from the Government as a recognition of the value of the general educational service they rendered. These grants were withdrawn by Sandfield Macdonald's Govern-

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ment and thus their embarrassment was still further increased. They regarded with some jealousy the position of the University of Toronto, with its magnificent quarters in the Queen's Park and its generous endowments in which they were not permitted to share. They still claimed, although cut off from all state aid, that they were contributing to the general education of the Province entirely outside their theological courses, and while they ceased to hope for a renewal of state aid, they were not prepared to consent that any additional aid should be given to the favourite of the state. Members of the denominations on which they were dependent who had seats in the Assembly naturally shared the views of the college authorities. To aid the University, therefore, involved the removal of this feeling of denominational antagonism. A direct grant to the University as matters then stood was impossible. To bring the colleges into such relationship with the University that aid to one was practically aid to all was the problem to be solved.

Acting on the advice of Sir William Mulock, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Toronto, I invited Dr. Nelles, Chancellor of Victoria University, President MacVicar of McMaster Hall, and Sir Daniel Wilson, President of Toronto University, to meet me for conference as to the possibility of some sort of union for the benefit of all concerned. The conference was subsequently enlarged to include all the universities of Ontario.

The attitude of the conferees of the different universities towards a federal union varied with

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their traditions and financial needs. Queen's, Victoria and Trinity Universities felt that closer relation with the Provincial University would weaken their hold upon their respective denominations and their religious influence over the young members who looked forward to a professional career. Moreover, they claimed that to surrender the power they possessed of conferring degrees in Arts would be a loss of prestige which would redound to the advantage of the state university, for which the Province should recoup them by a substantial grant from the treasury.

The conference was also affected for some time by the unsympathetic attitude of Sir Daniel Wilson, President of Toronto University. Sir Daniel Wilson feared that the increased representation of the colleges on the Senate of the University, to which they would be entitled, might injuriously affect the non-sectarian character of university education and destroy, or at least impair, its character as a state university.

From the outset of the negotiations the Government refused to consider any form of federation which would involve direct financial aid to denominational education, as the Legislative Assembly was on record against all aid of this kind. If aid were needed to perfect or extend the courses of study in the state university, the Government would not hesitate to provide it. But under no circumstances could it be expected, either directly or indirectly, that aid would be granted for instruction in the theological courses of denominational colleges.

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Dr. Nelles, with whom negotiations began, apparently came to the conclusion that federation was impracticable, and so withdrew early from the deliberations of the conference. His place was taken by Dr. Burwash, who with great judgment and patience applied himself specially to the solution of the educational problems involved in federation. The scheme he proposed for this purpose, and which was practically accepted, was to subdivide the Arts course into two sections, retaining for all federating colleges certain subjects which would constitute a substantial part of an Arts curriculum, and leaving the remaining subjects to a staff of professors and instructors under the control of the state, to be known as the University of Toronto. The course of study assigned to the University was to be open to all the colleges free of charge and maintained by the Province, while the denominational colleges would maintain their portion of the Arts course at their own expense. Under this method the denominational colleges were under no restraint as to instruction in theology, or any other subject considered important in the religious education of their students. At the same time the University of Toronto preserved its non-sectarian character and provided instruction in the sciences for all federating colleges free of charge. This dual arrangement enabled the federating colleges to share in the endowment of the University, greatly to their relief, while at the same time maintaining their strictly denominational character. By surrendering their right of conferring degrees in Arts,

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their graduates enjoyed all the prestige which pertains to a university recognized by the state, and whose educational standing was universally acknowledged.

Conspicuous among those who gave much time and labour to the formation of public opinion for the proposed scheme, in educational and denominational circles, I should mention Dr. Burwash, Dr. Dewart, Dr. Potts and Dr. Briggs of the Methodist Church; Dr. Caven of Knox College. Dr. Grant, of Queen's University, though approving of the scheme theoretically, found such a strong public opinion in the city of Kingston against removal to Toronto, that he decided to maintain Queen's University upon its old foundation. The representatives of McMaster Hall had expectations of a large endowment from its founder, and this, together with the conscientious scruples of the Baptist denomination (from which it received its chief support) against any alliance with the state, turned the scale against federation. Trinity University also, for financial and other reasons, held aloof for a time.

Although the outlook was not very encouraging, the Government, to show its approval of the federation scheme, submitted to the Legislative Assembly in 1885 a Bill embodying the decision of the conference, leaving it with the denominational colleges to accept or reject its terms. In 1887 the Methodist Church, as the guardian of Victoria University, was the first to accept the terms of the Government Bill and to place itself in direct relation with the University of Toronto. In 1904

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Trinity University reconsidered its earlier decision and also came under the terms of the Federation Act.

It is not my purpose to discuss the effects of the Federation Act upon the University of Toronto or upon the federating colleges. Anyone who has observed the progress of higher education during the last twenty years cannot fail to have noticed its remarkable progress. When I took charge of the Education Department in 1883 the teaching staff of the University consisted of twenty-one persons. Sir Daniel Wilson, in addition to his duties as President, was also Professor of Ancient and Modern History, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature and Professor of Ethnology in the School of Science; D. R. Keys was lecturer in Professor Wilson's subjects and also lecturer in Italian. The Classics, including Latin and Greek, were under the sole charge of Professor Hutton, with Mr. Vines as Tutor, aided by two Fellows. Oriental Languages, including Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic, were in charge of J. M. Hirschfelder as Lecturer, who single-handed dealt with these abstruse languages. German and French were in charge of W. H. Vandersmissen and John Squair, with the rank of Lecturers. Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics were in charge of George Paxton Young, with the rank of Professor, assisted by A. S. Johnston as Fellow. Mathematics and Physics were in charge of Mr. James Loudon, now ex-President, with the rank of Professor, Alfred Baker as Tutor, W. J. Loudon as Demonstrator, and two Fellows. In Mineralogy and Geology Pro-

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fessor Chapman was sole instructor; in Zoology and Botany, Professor Ramsay Wright and one Fellow; in Chemistry, Professor Pike and one Fellow.

In 1903-4 the teaching staff had grown to 120, the undergraduates in Arts increased from 320 to 1,209. In 1903-4 the students in attendance at Toronto University and affiliated and federated colleges numbered 4,825.

CHAPTER XVI.

PREMIER OF ONTARIO.

IN 1896 Sir Oliver Mowat retired from the Premiership and entered the Liberal Government at Ottawa, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as Minister of Justice. He was succeeded by the Honourable A. S. Hardy. In October, 1899, Mr. Hardy retired on account of ill-health, and I was called by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to take his place. Although greatly honoured by the call, I felt my tenure of office according to all political precedents would not be long. The Liberal Party had already nearly doubled the ordinary span of political life. At the end of twenty-seven years symptoms of declining vitality might be expected. In the election of 1898 we carried the Province by the narrow majority of eleven. Judging by the results of the elections in the House of Commons, in which Party lines were strictly drawn, Ontario was evidently becoming more Conservative. The urban population was increasing more rapidly than the rural population, from which the Liberals derived their chief support. And even in the rural districts the agitation which gave the Patrons of Industry seventeen seats in 1894 had not entirely subsided. Then there were cross currents produced by the discussion respecting Separate Schools, by the advocates of Prohibition, and by various other influences, which, though not very violent, might at any time

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become strong enough to overcome the narrow majority in the House and country.

But dangerous as these cross currents were, other subtle influences not so apparent were weakening the party. There was the cumulative effect of disappointed expectations. There was the depressing influence of irregularities disclosed in the election courts. There was the insidious appeal that it was time for a change. And, more dangerous still, there was the feeling of perfect security in the possession of power so long maintained without any necessity for the usual activity to secure success.

As to the loyalty of the party in the main I had no doubt. I had a Cabinet* of undoubted ability and equally anxious with myself to maintain the record of past achievement. But we knew the political mill could not be run by the water that had already passed over the wheel, and so we asked ourselves where we could find spheres of operation which would satisfy the public that we had the courage and the initiative to maintain the record of our predecessors. In legislation there was little to do except to advance with the growing demands of each case. In education, municipal law, the jurisdiction of the courts, public institutions, agri-

* My first Government was composed of Hon. J. M. Gibson, Attorney-General; Hon. E. J. Davis, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. Richard Harcourt, Minister of Education; Hon. John Dryden, Minister of Agriculture; Hon. J. R. Stratton, Provincial Secretary; Hon. F. L. Latchford, Commissioner of Public Works, and Hon. J. T. Garrow and Hon. William Harty, without portfolio. In 1904 Gibson, Davis and Stratton retired; their places were filled as follows:—Hon. F. L. Latchford, Attorney-General; Hon. A. G. McKay, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. G. P. Graham, Provincial Secretary; Hon. W. A. Charlton, Commissioner of Public Works, and Hon. A. E. Evanturel, without portfolio.

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culture, there was a natural growth, arising out of changing conditions of society and local interests, which could be easily satisfied by ordinary prudence and forethought. Vital as many of these matters were, however, they did not appeal to the vivid conceptions of Government which attract the masses. They were but the daily routine of the political household, which, in the aggregate, though most important to the comfort and well being of the family, were not calculated to win either distinction or applause. There was only one field for enterprise, though not entirely new, which was likely to command public attention and benefit the Province, that was the development of the district between the Canadian Pacific Railway and Hudson Bay, now known as "New Ontario." Accordingly, in the first year of my administration, I directed the Commissioner of Crown Lands to fit out a party of sufficient strength to explore thoroughly the lands lying between the boundary of Quebec on the east, and Lake Nipigon on the west, with instructions to report upon the soil, the timber, the geological formation, waterways, etc. To carry out this scheme, ten parties were organized, each party consisting of a surveyor, a geologist, an expert on soil and all necessary help for portaging and canoeing. The party, after several months' exploration, reported, among other things, that they found a "Clay Belt" extending from near New Liskeard to Lake Nipigon, comprising an area of sixteen million acres of good arable land, and also that the district contained an almost unlimited quantity of the best spruce for the manufacture of pulp and paper.

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With such a storehouse of wealth lying at the door the duty of development was obvious, and so the following year (1902) we carried a Bill through the Legislature for the construction of a railway from North Bay northwards, to facilitate the settlement of the Clay Belt and adjoining lands, and to furnish an outlet for the timber and other forest products which they contained. Work on the railway, known as the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, was begun at once, and nearly one hundred miles completed before we retired from office. Although the original intention in building a railway was as above stated, upon the projection of the Trancontinental across New Ontario from east to west, it was decided to push the provincial railway still further north to connect the railway systems of Old Ontario with the Western Provinces, thus converting what was simply intended as a colonization railway into one of the great highways for the commerce of Canada. I hope it may soon become a highway to Hudson Bay.

As an incident of the construction of the T. & N. O. Railway, enormous discoveries of gold and silver have been made within or contiguous to the district through which it passes. The silver mines at Cobalt have already yielded over \$60,000,000 of silver, and the gold mines at Porcupine recently discovered are very promising.

The next most important undertaking of the Government was to endeavour to open a market for the electric power which was being generated at Niagara Falls. When Lord Dufferin was Governor-General of Canada he pressed upon the attention of the Government the desirability of establishing a

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public park at the Falls which would be a source of attraction to visitors and which, under proper supervision, would relieve travellers of many of the annoyances to which they were subjected by the importunity and rapacity of those who served as guides and carriers. To establish a park involved the expropriation of a large amount of property and the laying out and decoration of walks and lawns. To meet this expenditure and make the park self-sustaining the Government assigned the right of using the waters of the Niagara River for generating electrical power to three different companies at an annual rental based upon the amount of power produced. Early in my term of office the companies had completed their works, and were ready to meet the demand for power and light. And so in, 1903, we asked the Legislature to authorize the municipalities interested in securing electricity for industrial purposes, to form a Commission of representatives of their own choice to take such steps as they might deem expedient for the transmission of electricity from the Falls to any point where required—the municipalities concerned to be liable for all charges in so doing. The Commission made its first report just before the Government retired from office. On the change of Government a new Act was passed authorizing the Government to substitute a Commission of its own appointment in lieu of the Commission appointed by the municipalities known as the Hydro-Electric Commission. As a result of our pioneer work two things have been accomplished: (1) the development of electric energy at the Falls on a gigantic scale, under the Liberal Government, and (2) its

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transmission to the chief centres of industry within the power zone, under the new Commission.

The next enterprise in which we were concerned was the preservation of the industries established by F. H. Clergue, at Sault Ste. Marie. Acting in behalf of a number of capitalists in New York and Philadelphia, Mr. Clergue undertook the development of the water powers on the St. Mary's River, at the foot of Lake Superior, for the purpose of manufacturing pulp and paper. Finding that he had developed more power than was necessary for the pulp industry he conceived the idea of erecting rolling mills for the manufacture of steel rails and other products of steel. To supply his pulp mill with raw material the Government made him a large concession of forest land in the Algoma district, on the condition that he should build a railway to open up the country contiguous to his concession and also secure the settlement of the land within a specified time. He was also allowed certain mining rights in the ore which might be discovered on the land conceded as a basis for the iron and steel works which he proposed to establish. In carrying out this scheme, Mr. Clergue built thirty-five miles of railway and graded about sixty more. When he had expended about \$25,000,000 on the erection of the necessary buildings and plant for the projected rolling mills, and had made substantial progress in the development of the iron mines which he had acquired on the east end of Lake Superior, the capitalists in the United States on whom he depended for funds were overtaken by the financial panic of 1903, and the whole project brought to the verge of bankruptcy. To the Government such a

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prospect was discouraging. We expected the pulp mills to pay a royalty on the pulp wood manufactured. We expected to see the hidden wealth in the iron mines turned into a marketable product. We expected the steel plant to employ many thousands of skilled labourers and to supply a new market for the products of Old Ontario. Moreover, we were warned that the United Steel Trust would only be too glad to get control of the enterprise, as it was likely some day to become a dangerous rival in the manufacture of steel rails for Canadian railways.

In view of all these circumstances the Government agreed to assume the obligations of the Company to the extent of \$2,000,000, on the assurance that the development originally proposed would be carried out, and its liability in due time discharged. Happily all these assurances were fully implemented even beyond the most sanguine expectations. In recalling our anxiety in dealing with this matter I realize now perhaps more fully than I did at the time the risk we had taken and the precedent we were establishing. But on the other hand, I have the satisfaction of knowing that without loss or injury to the credit of the Province we accomplished our purpose and kept afloat a great enterprise which has since invested many additional millions in the development of Western Ontario.

Turning to the older settlements of the Province, the Government was impressed with the urgency of improving public highways, particularly those leading to county market towns. To stimulate as well as to assist counties in such improvements we appointed a Good Roads Commissioner and set

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apart a fund of \$1,000,000 to be paid out to County Councils in proportion to the amount raised by assessment for the betterment of leading highways, according to a standard fixed by the Government. Although there was some hesitation at first in accepting the offer, the necessity for better roads was becoming yearly more apparent and the Government proposal more acceptable. Already seventeen counties have taken advantage of the Highway Act, greatly to the comfort and profit of all concerned.

In order to give variety of employment and promote an industry that was found in other countries exceedingly profitable to the agriculturist, we set apart a fund of \$225,000, afterwards increased by \$150,000 for the encouragement of the manufacture of beetroot sugar. On account of the large amount of capital required for the necessary plant, only two factories have been established—one at Wallaceburg and one at Berlin, both of which now yield a handsome dividend to promoters and producers.

Needless to say that in projecting these schemes—all new and largely experimental—we encountered much opposition. This we expected. The best proof, however, that they were well considered and opportune is to be found in their success. Not one has failed in fulfilling the purpose intended. While feeling more than ordinary responsibility in venturing out of the beaten path, we had confidence that there was business enterprise enough in the country to cope with all of them. The outline was all we could give—the details were for the capitalist and the investor. Neither has failed. Let me briefly recapitulate results:—

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1. The exploration of New Ontario has greatly encouraged settlement and the investment of capital in the pulp and paper industries.

2. The Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway has led to the establishment of many prosperous towns and villages, and to the discovery of gold and silver mines of incalculable value, and has opened a new highway to the West.

3. The preservation of the Sault industries has secured for Ontario one of the largest enterprises of its kind on the continent.

4. The electrical energy developed at Niagara Falls has become one of the chief sources of light and power for nearly half the population of the Province.

5. The improvement of highways has added to the comfort of the agriculturist and to the value of the products of his labour.

6. The beetroot sugar factories have yielded a substantial dividend to promoter and producer.

While these are some of the larger measures projected by the Government during my Premiership, and for which I am far from claiming personally the credit, I may add that in regard to general legislation I know of nothing to which attention was called that we neglected. The five volumes of the Statutes of Ontario, containing 221 public and 389 private Acts, show reasonable activity by every member of the Government and in every Department of the public service. My only regret is that within the limits of a chapter and the patience of my readers, I cannot directly associate each of my Ministers with his respective share of service and legislation. The greater part of that legislation

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has been justified by experience—and very little repealed as ineffective.

Among the most perplexing subjects which engrossed the attention of the Government and its supporters during my term of office was the total prohibition of the liquor traffic. My personal views on the subject were well known, and I was fully aware that temperance advocates generally expected much from me. The Government under former Premiers had greatly improved the license laws, one result of which was the reduction of the number of hotels from over 6,000 to 3,000. It was urged that the time was ripe for the total abolition of the remaining licenses and for the closing of all shops and clubs in which intoxicating liquors were sold. So far, the Liberal party had not adopted prohibition as a plank of its party platform, although it was well known that many strong Liberals favoured such a policy. I had no mandate either from the party or the country to make it a political issue, as it would be, if I introduced a prohibitory liquor law for the sanction of Parliament. However, I was quite ready to take all the party and political risks involved, provided I obtained the sanction of my supporters in the House. Accordingly a caucus was called to consider the question, not so much as a party question, but to ascertain, if possible, whether public opinion in the constituencies represented by Liberal members would sustain such a measure. The caucus was very fully attended, and the question considered without prejudice or hostility. All admitted its importance and their respect for the various organizations engaged in its promotion. But out of the

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fifty-two members present only fourteen had any confidence that they would be supported by their constituencies if prohibition were made a political issue. Such an expression of opinion from men who believed in temperance and the reform of the license laws as strongly as myself, could not be ignored. And so instead of a Bill for prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors by direct legislation, I introduced a Bill to submit the question to a referendum with the proviso that if a majority of all the electors on the voters' lists for the Province voted "yea," the total prohibition of the liquor traffic would take effect in due time by Royal Proclamation. The condition required was, I think, most reasonable, as no Government could hope to enforce prohibition without the support of at least a majority of the voters of the Province. The vote polled under the referendum was not sufficient, however, to bring the Act into operation. My temperance friends were disappointed, and the Government severely censured for not attempting to pass a prohibitory liquor law by a minority in the House, and at the instance of an apparent minority of the electors of the Province.

I have already stated that I entered on my Premiership in 1899 with a majority of eleven on a straight party vote. In May, 1902, Parliament expired by efflux of time, and at the general election which followed the Liberal majority was further reduced to four. This did not look as if my Administration was very acceptable to the country. The idea of resigning, weak though we were, would not be entertained by party friends. Public opinion was fickle and might soon turn in our favour. In

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the meantime, the King's Government must go on, and no easy task it was to keep it going. The absence of one or two members through illness or on urgent business was embarrassing. On one occasion a debate had to be continued to an early hour in the morning till a member who had inadvertently left without a pair was brought from his home one hundred miles distant by special train. But all this anxiety had its compensation in the loyalty and unselfish devotion of my supporters. Never once did that valiant band quail before the enemy or threaten desertion, and never was party allegiance purchased by any favour or demand of a questionable character. What was done in every emergency was regarded as the best that could have been done under the circumstances, and there were no regrets as to party tactics or public policy.

For two years I grappled with my evil star. But in 1904, with the uncertainty of pending by-elections and the uncomfortable feeling that the Government did not represent a majority of the electorate I decided to dissolve the House. The 25th of January following was the day fixed for the election. When the polls closed there was no doubt as to the result. The time for a change so long predicted had come.

We had our day. For thirty-three years we stood in the limelight of public criticism. Beginning with 1872, when the Federal Constitution was largely an experiment, our work for many years was principally constructive. Ontario, for the first time in its history, had a free hand. We were no longer obliged to consult a partner with whom we could not always agree, and whom we, perhaps unjustly,

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regarded as a political encumbrance. We had to meet the expectations of a young, virile and progressive Province, that felt the pulsations of enterprise and development in all its industries, and to whom the future beckoned with a broadening smile. Old foundations had to be removed for the deeper and broader foundations of the new era on which we had entered. The swaddling clothes of childhood had to be cast aside, and the young giant fitted for an arena of larger activity in which he was to show his prowess. Transportation for the products of the farm and the lumbermen had to be provided. Asylums and hospitals and reformatories were required for suffering or degenerate humanity. The agriculturist called for scientific instruction in the management of farm and dairy; the educationist for the regeneration of our school system from the log school-house to the university; the lawyer for the removal of ancient forms which delayed justice and confused the court; the social reformer for the protection of the life and health of the toiler who earned his bread amid the dust and roar of smoking factories. These thirty long years of constructive legislation demanded the utmost vigilance and forethought. What we achieved is an open book, and he who runs may read. We had our full share of honour and many tokens of public confidence. We gave to the public years of service, most of which was gratefully appreciated. We attempted no spectacular flights in financial legislation. We made no pretence to personal superiority because we were the chosen leaders of the people. We neither considered ourselves indispensable as public servants nor more competent than many whose names were on the

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waiting-list. We had our day, and there was no sadness of farewell when we stepped back into the ranks of private citizenship. On the 5th of February, 1905, by appointment, we waited upon Sir Mortimer Clark, Lieutenant-Governor, at Government House, and were received with the cordiality which always characterized the attitude of His Honour towards his Ministers. It was a brief call, but long enough for the purpose.

THE ROUND TABLE IS DISSOLVED.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SENATE.

IN 1907 I graduated into the Senate of Canada to complete my political education. I had studied statecraft for eleven years in the House of Commons, and had twenty-four years' laboratory practice in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. If long training was a qualification for advancement I had a right to promotion *honoris causa*. I cannot say that it was a position to which I aspired. From temperament as well as from association I preferred the more public fields of politics to what I assumed was a modified activity in comparative retirement. In the Senate I would no longer be an exponent of party politics on the platform or from my seat in Parliament, for the Senate was by its constitution non-partisan. The joy of battle such as a debate across the floor of the House afforded was to be exchanged for the deferential criticism of a quasi-judicial forum. From an officer fully mounted and living in camp with his troops, I was merely to attend on review days and give my opinion as to how the staff officers in the service did their duty, and offer advice, when called upon, for improving their efficiency. *Per contra*, there would be much less stress and strain in the performance of this task than in the more strenuous duties of the camp, and I would still have a voice, though a less sonorous one, in directing His

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Majesty's forces how to fight the battles of their country. I accordingly tendered my resignation as member for West Middlesex, as dual representation had long since been abolished, and waited for His Majesty's commission to be sworn in as an honourable member of the Senate of Canada.

Parting with West Middlesex was a terrible wrench. It was there, in comparative boyhood, that I entered on my political career, and it was there I had formed friendships personal and political that could never be forgotten. There was scarcely an elector on the list on either side of politics that I had not seen and conversed with. In the fiercest contests of these thirty-five years, though there may have been moments of temporary estrangement in the heat of party warfare, there were no personal animosities to distress the memory. I had received the votes of three generations, and had rocked the cradles of some of my most active supporters. Then I was to part with the veterans of 1872, the men who trusted me as a young man, untried and inexperienced; with the stalwarts of 1878, noble men whom the National Policy could not seduce from their allegiance; with the avenging scouts of 1882, whose blood was stirred by the gerrymander specially directed against me; and with the serried battalions that stood by me during the twenty-four years I held a seat in the Legislative Assembly. What a tumult of associations rushed to my mind—meetings protracted till the stars could scarcely twinkle; debates in halls and schoolhouses, by dripping candles and smoky lamps, sometimes closed in darkness amid hootings and empty coats; long

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drives over highways of primitive design, and worse than Hannibal encountered in crossing the Alps; turnpikes, corduroys, muskegs, terrible in their variety and multiplicity. On the bright side the hospitable homes; the generous welcome of host and hostess; the abundance of those things for which we reverently asked the Lord to "make us truly thankful"; the shelter for the night, and the morning benediction as we parted, repeated for thirty-five years without fee or reward. How could I sever these silken cords, into which were twined the dearest memories of my life, without the most painful feelings of regret?

"Still o'er these scenes my memory wakes,
And fondly broods with miser care;
Time but the impression deeper makes,
As streams their channels deeper wear."

But the die is cast. Back to Ottawa, but not this time through the main tower to the left. I am now privileged to tread the crimson-carpeted vestibule which I had profaned with my shod feet thirty-four years ago, and to enter the crimson door through which I had looked like the Peri gazing into Paradise, to be sworn in that I might occupy by right and not by sufferance one of the crimson-covered chairs on which I fastened my ravished eyes, little dreaming then that my railway journeys to Ottawa would be rounded up at a senatorial terminal.

The Senate, the replica of the House of Lords, with its throne, its Speaker, its robed officers, its mace, its sergeant-at-arms, its gentleman usher of the Black Rod, its pages and messengers, its eighty-

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seven members, its decorum, its calm! Am I the victim of some phantasmagoria? Is it a case of the transmigration of souls and bodies too? Am I still the same person who listened to Lord Dufferin in 1873 as he doffed his cocked hat and addressed "Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate," and then, dropping his voice, "Gentlemen of the House of Commons," and told us "to treat, do, act and conclude" for the good of the realm? I looked at the label on my desk; yes, I am still the same person, by name at least, and there must be others of the tribe here as there were in the House of Commons in 1873. But we are now only three—then we were six—and one of the six had preceded me. But are these Senators strangers? Let me count over those I sat with in the Commons—one, two, three, . . . nineteen, twenty, twenty-one, myself twenty-two. What! So many transferred to this delightful chamber by Royal commission or by the grace of God! Surely wonders never cease; and my own transfer is as wonderful as any. I am glad I am not, as I was on my entrance to the Commons, entirely among strangers, although in a strange land.

Well, who are they, anyway, and have they any pedigree? How many with the blood of the proud Percys in their veins? How many can claim that their ancestors were ennobled by the great Tudor kings or queens, or sat among the swollen courtiers of Queen Anne or of the House of Hanover? How many with the thistle or the cross of St. Patrick on their escutcheon, or how many thronged the palace of Versailles when Louis XIV flung coronets at the feet of admiring courtiers? Not one!

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The members of the Senate have no aristocratic pedigree. They were bred from pioneers whose armorial bearings were a crest of a log cabin and a pair of toilworn hands. No ancestral hall echoed to their footsteps; no servants in livery bowed sycophantishly before them; no gilded coaches waited on their pleasure. They toiled under God's clear sky by day and slept the sleep of the just at night. With stout hearts they made life one grand triumphal march through privation and toil to its heroic close, and "many blessings with them went to their little green tent, whose curtains are never drawn aside."

Years have passed away. The log cabin has become a tradition. The spirit of the pioneer hovers in the air. Their sons have broken invidious bars and have ennobled themselves in the service of the country. Who are those occupying these crimson chairs? One has been Premier of Canada, seven have been members of His Majesty's Privy Council, thirty-seven have been members of the House of Commons, two have been Premiers of Provincial Governments, seventeen have been members of a Provincial Legislature and one a Judge of the Superior Court. The others have been a dynamic force in the commerce and the industries of the land, or professional men of good repute. In the face of such men, let purple blood be poured into the sea. The Senate of Canada requires no other pedigree; it is its own college of heraldry.

"What would ennoble slaves or cowards?
Not all the blood of all the Howards."

But I must get the atmosphere of my new environment, for the Senate has its own traditions.

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First, I find that the Speaker is almost a negligible quantity except to direct routine. In the Commons it is the duty of the Speaker to call members to order if they are transgressing the rules of the House. In the Senate the Speaker had no such authority when I entered it, although under the new rules he is invested with the same authority as the Speaker of the Commons. Again, Senators never address the House through the Speaker; they speak directly to the honourable members of the Senate, the Speaker of course included, but not as Speaker. When a question is put from the chair, Senators who are in favour of the motion are asked to say "Content," and if opposed to say "Non-content," instead of yea and nay. All this sounded strange, but precedents must be followed.

Then I noticed when the Speaker left the chair he bowed first to the right, then to the left, then to the throne, and, preceded by Black Rod and the mace, he made a dignified exit. What a world of bows! And this, I learned, was also according to precedent. I found, too, that Senators were less formal and less rhetorical in debate than members of the Commons. Every question was treated as a practical business proposition. Having no constituents to call them to account, it was not necessary to adapt themselves to local conditions or to weigh their words so as not to give offence to any faction whose hostility might imperil their future career. While amenable to public opinion, they were not its slaves or flunkeys, and though they might err in judgment they could not err in declaring the whole truth on any question as they understood it.

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Then I brought to the Senate a few prejudices which must be removed if its deliberations are to be a source of pleasure. Does the Senate really perform any useful public service, or is it a mere recording office for the other chamber? On this point my prejudices were quickly settled. I found, both by its committees as well as by its frank and practical debates, that many amendments were made to Bills sent up from the Commons by which their usefulness was enhanced and sometimes public injury avoided. The promoter of a Bill in the House of Commons has often a purpose to serve of a local or a political character, and this local view of a measure often obscures its ultimate consequences. The Senate, I found, is less influenced, if influenced at all, by local considerations, and so becomes the guardian of all the interests concerned. In acting in this capacity it sometimes incurs the odium of the specialists. But the whole is greater than a part, and the broader the basis of legislation the more valuable to the country.

Another prejudice was that the Senate treated public questions in a perfunctory way, and took no pains to inform itself fully as to their merits. A few weeks' experience of its committees dispelled that prejudice also. In a long experience on committees on almost every conceivable public question, I never found anywhere a greater desire to consider every aspect of any proposition under consideration. No matter how influential its advocates, the other side was heard patiently, and final action taken only after the fullest deliberation. Its conclusions might be wrong, but its intentions seldom or never.

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During the first two sessions of my experience of the Senate, the Hon. R. Dandurand, of Montreal, presided over its deliberations. Before he entered the Senate he had established himself in the confidence of the people of his native Province, and as a presiding officer was dignified and capable. In the next two sessions the chair was filled by the Hon. J. W. Kerr, whose political record goes back to the days of George Brown and the political unrest of that transition period. In shaping public opinion for the successful working of our Federal Constitution he bore a prominent part, and the Speakership of the Senate was an honour well deserved.

Of my fellow Senators it would be impossible to speak at length. To say that they are men of mature judgment who feel the responsibility of their position would be a mere truism and without any special significance. That they always divest themselves absolutely of their political predilections in dealing with public questions is not to be expected, nor would it be reasonable to require that they should do so. While their duties are mainly judicial, they are responsible jointly with the House of Commons for the good government of the country, and that duty has necessarily its political aspects. Party government claims an equally lofty purpose, and the Senate should not be subject to censure if its views harmonized sometimes with the majority or even with the minority in the other Chamber. But to adopt or reject a measure solely on party grounds would be to degrade the functions of the Senate and to render it all but useless as a Court of Appeal from a

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forum where popular clamour or party exigencies may precipitate action whose main purpose is to give effect to legislation unwarranted by experience or the best usages of constitutional government.

The Senate for three years after I entered it was under the Leadership of the Hon. R. W. Scott, now Sir Richard W. Scott. Mr. Scott is the oldest Parliamentarian in public life in Canada. He entered the old Parliament of Canada in 1857, where he sat till 1863. In 1867 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, and in 1874 was called to the Senate. He has just completed his jubilee as a legislator, and is still constant in his attendance upon the Senate, although in his eighty-ninth year. In the old Parliament of Canada he laboured for the selection of Ottawa as the capital of the united Provinces, and its ultimate selection by Her Majesty may have been due to the means which he adopted to prove its fitness for the purpose. In 1863 he succeeded in passing through Parliament a Bill for establishing Roman Catholic schools on a working basis. This Bill is known as the "Separate Schools Act of 1863." It furnished material for sectarian discussions in many political contests for thirty years afterwards. For the first four years of his term in the Ontario Legislature he supported the Sandfield Macdonald Administration, and was appointed Speaker at the first session of Sandfield's second Parliament. On the defeat of the Sandfield Macdonald Government he became Commissioner of Crown Lands under Mr. Blake, and so continued until called to the Senate in 1874 by the Mackenzie

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Government. In 1878 he carried through the Senate a Bill known as the "Temperance Act, 1878," but better known as the "Scott Act," after the name of its author. I was a member of the House of Commons when this Bill was under consideration, and can testify to the sincerity and earnestness with which he laboured to make it a real instrument for the restriction of the liquor traffic. On the defeat of the Mackenzie Government in 1878, Sir Richard Scott served as Leader of the Opposition till the return of the Liberal party to power in 1896. Since 1896 the Leadership of the Senate has been held as follows: Sir O. Mowat, Hon. D. Mills, Sir Richard Scott, and Sir Richard Cartwright. In 1911, owing to the change of Government, the Hon. Mr. Lougheed became Leader of the Senate and Sir Richard Cartwright Leader of the Opposition.

The leadership of the Senate is beset with fewer difficulties than that of the Commons. Usually not more than one-fourth of the legislation of a session originates in the Senate. When Bills come up from the Commons, they require much less labour to perfect them, even when revision is necessary, than to consider them as originally drafted. And so the duties of a leader in this respect are comparatively light. As to Bills originating in the Senate, much greater labour is involved, and Mr. Scott never failed to give them the most careful attention. He was always a fair and reasonable critic, and when a Bill passed through his hands its passage by the Commons was comparatively easy. Mr. Scott always received the criticisms of his fellow Senators with courtesy. Occa-

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sionally, however, when pressed hard he would reply to his critics with warmth, but in no case with personal bitterness. His style of debate was easy and conversational. Even his prepared speeches indicated the business habits of his mind, and not a moment was wasted in sentiment or persiflage. When it is considered that he had to examine probably over one hundred and fifty Bills, many of them Government Bills of the first importance, it is easily seen that his position was no sinecure. In fact, he stood sponsor for the legislation of all his colleagues and had to meet the criticisms of an active and capable Opposition at every stage of the Bill.

Mr. Scott at no time in his career assumed the rôle of an active platform speaker, and yet his speeches were well arranged, full of information, and presented with clearness and in well-chosen language. He never appealed to sentiment or passion. His own convictions were of the head, not of the heart, and he considered that an appeal to the candid judgment of his audience was more effective than any appeal to their prejudices could be.

The leadership of the Senate Opposition is equally free from difficulties as the leadership of the Government. The Hon. James A. Lougheed had been appointed by his party friends to that position a few days before I entered the Senate. Mr. Lougheed is a lawyer of much more than ordinary ability, and his knowledge of law enabled him to criticize proposed legislation with effect. I have never known him to assume a distinctly party attitude towards any measure of the Government. His examination of public Bills was apparently more

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for the purpose of improving them than to make political capital out of them. Only when reviewing the course of the Government on any question of public policy or when discussing the Speech from the Throne did he disclose his political predilections. His criticisms in such cases were pointed and even severe, though always fortified by arguments or facts which from his standpoint warranted his invective. At public functions he is always interesting; he has a good vocabulary, a racy and quiet humour, and the faculty of appropriateness, which holds attention as well as wins applause. If he gave himself up to the political platform he would rank high among the speakers of his party.

By reason of the constitutional limitations of the Senate, some of the larger questions which fix the character of political parties are practically beyond its purview. It may criticize the financial management of the Government, but it cannot alter the Supply Bill to the extent of a single dollar, although it may reject the whole Bill. In the same way it cannot amend the tariff proposed by the Government, although it may discuss theories of taxation *ad libitum*. The Senate of the United States has greater latitude, both in regard to appropriations and rates of taxation, and consequently its discussions attract greater notice and its range of legislation is greatly widened. The Canadian Senate has, however, spheres of usefulness not yet cultivated to any great extent, which if entered upon would increase its influence and make it a more powerful factor in the body politic. The conservation of our natural resources, the

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improvement of the sanitary conditions of our cities, the development of our fisheries, the extension of our commerce with foreign countries, the cultivation of better international relations, and kindred subjects, are all within the purview of its constitutional functions and are worthy of the attention of all its members. To form public opinion is just as useful as to direct it.

My appointment to the Senate brought me into somewhat intimate relations with His Majesty's representative in Canada—the Governor-General. I had formed casually the acquaintance of every Governor-General since Confederation, but more particularly of the last three—Lord Minto, Earl Aberdeen and Earl Grey. Canada has been highly favoured in the distinguished statesmen that so far have held the post of Governor-General. All of them were men of experience in the service of the Crown, and scrupulously just and impartial as constitutional Governors. On no occasion have they come into conflict with public opinion, or attempted to usurp the authority of their responsible advisers. With the advent of Lord Elgin in 1847 Canada has enjoyed Responsible Government and all that it implies without interruption as fully as the mother country.

So long as Canada maintains her present relations with the British Empire the Governor-General must necessarily represent the opinion of the Imperial Government in Colonial affairs. While I am democratic enough to accept a Governor-General born and educated in a Canadian atmosphere, it is quite apparent that the appointment of a citizen of a colony as the representative of His

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Majesty would weaken the supremacy of the Imperial Government in Colonial affairs. That supremacy may be practically nominal, as in Canada, but whatever force it possesses is distinctly Imperial, and would lack in significance and effect if conveyed through a Colonial rather than an Imperial medium.

As an Imperial officer or representative the Governor-General is responsible only to the Imperial Government in the administration of his office. No matter how obnoxious he may be to the colony over which he presides, he is officially beyond its control. Any remonstrance against his conduct is subject to the judgment of the Colonial Office, and from that judgment there is no appeal except to the Parliament of Great Britain. If the Colonial Office objects to the action of the Governor-General, as it did in the case of Lord Durham, he is recalled. If public opinion in the colony is adverse, as it appeared to be for a time in the case of Lord Elgin, when the Parliament Buildings in Montreal were burned, the Governor-General has to rely upon the Colonial Office for support and for a vindication of his conduct.

But while the Governor-General is an Imperial officer in the sense above indicated, his administrative powers are exercised through such advisers as he has called to his assistance. He may reject their advice at his pleasure, which is equivalent to their dismissal, or he may suspend judgment until he consults the Colonial Office. This was the course taken by the Marquis of Lorne when his advisers recommended the dismissal of Letellier. In regard

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to Bills that have passed both Houses of Parliament the practice of reserving any of them for the approval of the Colonial Office has been abandoned—the Colonial Office, however, retaining its power of disallowance.

Speaking of the office of Governor-General Lord Elgin said: "Placed by his position above the strife of parties, holding office by a tenure less precarious than the Ministers who surrounded him, having no interests to serve but those of the community whose affairs he is appointed to administer, his opinion cannot fail, when all cause for suspicion or jealousy is removed, to have great weight in Colonial councils, while he is set at liberty to constitute himself in an especial manner the patron of those larger and higher interests—for example, as those of education and of moral and material progress in all its branches—which, unlike the contest of parties, united instead of dividing the members of the body politic."

Lord Lytton, once Secretary of State to the Colonies, thus writes of the duties of a Governor-General: "Remember that the first care of a Governor-General in a free colony is to shun the reproach of being a party man—give all parties and all the ministries formed the fairest play. After all, men are governed as much by the heart as by the head. Evident sympathy in the progress of the colony, traits of kindness, generosity, devoted energy where required for the public weal, a pure exercise of patronage, an utter absence of vindictiveness or spite, the fairness that belongs to magnanimity—these are the qualities that make Governors pow-

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erful, while men merely sharp and clever are detested."

The Governor-General is the only visible expression now remaining of the bond between Canada and the Empire. So long as Canada was a military station, with her Majesty's soldiers under orders in any part of the Dominion, we were conscious of the direct exercise of Imperial authority. The transfer of the citadel at Halifax and the naval offices at Esquimalt to Canada has removed the last vestige of Imperial authority by virtue of her military power. Theoretically the Governor-General is the only link now binding Canada to the Empire. His withdrawal is all that is necessary to constitute us an independent nation. Will this link ever be severed? It is for posterity to say.

The strictly constitutional duties of a Governor-General are very limited. Bagehot has said that "the Queen is the signet-ring of the British Constitution." This definition is correct as far as it goes. But the sovereign, whether king or queen, can without any violation of the constitution exercise a powerful influence in stimulating all the forces which contribute to the prosperity and glory of the nation. The "divinity which doth hedge a king" gives a sanctity to that influence not possessed by any other person and increases its power and efficiency. The Governor-General is also a "signet-ring," but, like the sovereign he represents, he is capable of widening his sphere of influence far beyond the four walls of the office where his official signature gives potency to the decisions of his advisers. Granted that he is a statesman of wide experience, that he has imbibed the spirit of

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British institutions, that he delights in the evolution of human liberty, that he has high conceptions of the ideals to which a nation should aspire, and who can place a limit upon the influence which he is capable of exerting in shaping public policy and in calling into play the best activities of the people over whom he presides? As the symbol of supreme authority, his presence suggests obedience to law; as a representative of the sovereign, he reflects the dignity which becomes his exalted position; as a statesman of experience, his counsel in matters of state may be of inestimable value; as a constitutional ruler, his respect for constitutional methods deprives the demagogue of influence and makes anarchy impossible. The fact that he is precluded from the strife of party and the intrigues of aspiring partisans adds to his influence. Outside the contentions of the caucus and the blatant nostrums of party platforms he has an almost unlimited sphere of influence. The ever-increasing importance of international comity, the stimulating influences of international commerce, the forces which make for ideal citizenship, the educational equipment for national service, the cultivation of a well-founded national optimism, the humanizing effect of national philanthropy, the priceless value of national self-respect, and kindred subjects, are peculiarly fitted for exposition from the exalted position held by the head of the Government.

The social influence of his family should also be considered as an incident of his usefulness. Their ideas of refinement, of the proprieties of social life, of the service which their position requires them

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to give to the public, of the courtesy to be extended to those with whom they associate officially or otherwise, have their effect in restraining vulgarity and in establishing higher standards of social life. I admit there is the danger that a servile imitation may be substituted for genuine refinement, that affectation may take the place of native-born dignity, that pride may usurp the seat of becoming modesty; but these are weaknesses which attach themselves to every sphere in life, and which we must accept as the universal tendency of the human race.

It is not my intention, nor am I able, to make an analysis of the special services of each of the occupants of Government House. I have quoted from the speeches of Lord Dufferin and the Marquis of Lorne to show their attitude towards the "Greater Canada" which was then appearing on the horizon. His Excellency Earl Grey, the late occupant of Government House, came to us when we had fully entered upon the young manhood of our national career. We had completed several of the schemes projected to give vitality to our commerce and the swing of power to our industries. The Canadian Pacific was a herald to the great prairies of the millions who would find them an Eldorado of wealth and a veritable Utopia of citizenship; our deepened canals brought directly to our own ports the commerce of the "seven seas"; our financial institutions had become strong from the industry and frugality of our people; and our manufacturers reached out to foreign lands for a share of the great markets of the world, where efficiency is the only basis of success. Moreover, we

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were obtaining recognition in the councils of the Empire, and being welcomed as the coadjutor of its greatest statesmen in promoting its unity and solidarity. Not only were we permitted to "treat, do, act and conclude at Our city of Ottawa" in regard to internal affairs, but we were permitted to negotiate with Europe and America for the exchange of commodities on our own terms. It was under these favourable circumstances that Earl Grey entered upon his career as Governor-General of Canada, and to which he brought his experience as an administrator in South Africa and the ripened statesmanship of many years in the British House of Commons.

From the very inception of his career Earl Grey identified himself actively with all the varied interests of Canadian life. He is probably as well acquainted with Canada geographically and topographically as any of its most active citizens, and would feel almost as much at home in Halifax or Vancouver as in Ottawa. His trip down the Nelson River to Hudson Bay and along the coast of Labrador gave him a knowledge of sub-Arctic Canada possessed by very few. A man of less energy and less interest in the resources of Canada would have indulged in the leisure and repose of Rideau Hall. An active life appears to be his native air.

Earl Grey has been seen and heard at all public functions of a national character which his official duties permitted him to attend. He was more than a guest by courtesy, he was welcome for the message which everybody knew he had to deliver; and few men could deliver a message with more grace and dignity. Although he does not possess the

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oratorical gifts of Lord Dufferin, he always speaks with clearness and from a mind well stored with his subject. The strong feature of his speeches is their practical good sense. He never flies kites or indulges in the full-chested gush of the promoter. He prefers to keep within easy range of his audience and to interest rather than to dazzle.

Earl Grey imbibed thoroughly the Canadian spirit—no Governor-General more so. To get the perspective of a people and their institutions is the only way to understand them. The politics of the day or its activities only partially represent the sentiment of the people. Sentiment has its historical associations; it is not sufficient to know its present-day aspects. To grasp its qualities and significance one must know how it was evolved and what are the sources from which it derives inspiration. These Earl Grey grasped early in his career. He learned that we are Canadians with a past as well as a future; that we are British not merely by heredity or devolution, but that we are British because we believe in British traditions and British institutions, and that it is impossible for us to have any other national creed. To build a new nation on a distinctly new foundation he found was not our object. We may have our preferences for certain details in national architecture—that is immaterial. But what we aimed at was to adapt British institutions to the conditions which a new environment rendered necessary. And our success in this respect will be the measure of our success in nation-building.

Earl Grey was also fully alive to the cleavage caused by duality of races. To admit that it is

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within the power of any Parliament by legislation or concession to eradicate national preferences, is to deny heredity and all that it implies. The French-Canadian may be as faithful in his allegiance to Great Britain as his fellow citizens of British origin; he may be as ready to fire the first gun as to fire the last gun in her defence; he may do so out of a sense of duty or for the preservation of her honour as well as for his own protection. He may entertain the highest respect for British institutions, for British statesmanship and for British civilization, and may to all intents and purposes be a true Canadian, whose honour or loyalty no one can impugn; but to expect that his loyalty would have the same sentimental qualities as that of his British fellow citizen would be to expect the unnatural and impossible. He cannot eliminate from his blood his racial instincts any more than his racial temperament. And why should he, if he could? To allow every citizen to indulge personal or national idiosyncrasies not incompatible with the public weal is liberty. Anything else would be mediæval tyranny.

The Tercentenary celebration of the founding of Quebec, which was inaugurated by Earl Grey, was a recognition of the honour due to the French race in laying the foundation of a greater Canada. No one questioned their loyalty to Britain as they assembled on the heights of Quebec or on the Plains of Abraham. And yet everybody knew that their thoughts were not upon Britain, but upon Brittany and the home of Champlain and Cartier and of the religious Orders which gave their lives to their self-exiled French compatriots. But did

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this renaissance of the Old Régime in speech and pageant affect their loyalty to Canada? Earl Grey did not think so. On the contrary, he evidently believed that to honour the heroic souls of their race, whose services history had embalmed, was not necessarily inconsistent with true loyalty to a common sovereign. A nationalism that would exclude the larger obligations of citizenship no one would deplore more than Earl Grey, but a nationalism that makes its traditions secondary and subordinate to the cultivation of a generous Canadian spirit is legitimate and wholesome.

Earl Grey greatly assisted in strengthening the relations between Canada and the Mother Country. He was charged in certain quarters with being too much of an Imperialist. What that means I cannot say. That he believes in a Colonial Empire, welded together by a community of interest and sentiment, no one who reads his speeches can for one moment doubt. His Imperialism, whether excessive or not, is not one-sided—a Colonial Empire to which the Mother Country dictated the terms of colonial relationship is not his ideal. Each colony to him was independent, self-governing, self-poised, but an integral part of the Empire. There could be no colonies without the Empire, and there could be no Empire without the colonies—they were independent as well as inter-dependent. The honour of one was the honour of all; an assault upon one was an assault upon all. As they rose together to a position of superior sovereignty, so they should stand together to maintain that sovereignty, and it was this voice of a great and still greater Britain that Canadians loved to hear.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ELECTIONEERING AS A FINE ART.

ELECTIONEERING is not recognized in the text-books as a fine art, but those who have been engaged in election campaigns and know how much labour and skill and tact are involved, will agree with me that genius of a very high order is necessary to conduct an election campaign successfully. I do not say this because I have passed through so many campaigns myself, or because I am pre-eminently qualified for electioneering purposes; but when one considers all the details of a campaign—the number of men who have to be consulted and seen and the subtle influences which interpose and neutralize one's best efforts; the reticence and indifference of the electors; the impulses by which they are moved for or against you, and all the contingencies, intrigue, misrepresentation, depreciation and falsehood which so often prevail—the candidate who in spite of all these sinister influences finds himself in the majority is either a lucky man or has the genius to circumvent every plan laid for his defeat. I count myself among the lucky ones rather than among those who have succeeded either by energy or foresight or superior intelligence. During the thirty-five years in which I represented West Middlesex I ran (to use the common expression) eleven elections. In one I was elected by acclamation, and a happy day it

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was. In five the contest was close and severe, and in the other five the opposition was weak and easily overcome.

When I entered the field in 1872 I had everything to learn in campaign work. I had never organized a committee or addressed a meeting on my own behalf for any public position, or solicited a vote, nor had I been initiated into campaign work by service in the ranks. I was therefore face to face with public opinion, which, as I found at the convention in North Middlesex in 1867, was something that had to be coaxed or persuaded or jollied into favour, and were it not for the larger experience of the leaders of the party, by which I was assisted and guided, I would have inevitably failed.

I have said that electioneering is a fine art. It has rules and methods peculiar to itself which it is difficult, if not impossible, to define. The artist may say that he follows certain principles in drawing and colour; but it is not by these alone, as commonly understood, that he achieves success. It is the indefinable element of genius that gives the vitality which time cannot destroy. In successful electioneering, personality is the indefinable element which no formula can express. It is the dynamic force which, like an electric current, may not be visible, and yet it moves everything it touches. It organizes committees, it controls public meetings, it stirs the indifferent and warms every hand it grasps. Let no candidate divert this vital current from the ganglion of the brain to the ganglion of the selfish propensities.

In successful electioneering the candidate has to consider the temperament and convictions, or want

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of convictions, of the electors with whom he has to deal. The greater number of these may be classified as follows: First, those whose sympathies are entirely with him; second, those whose votes are likely to be recorded but whose political opinions are not strong enough to make them active workers; third, those who are indifferent about voting at all; fourth, those who claim to be independent of all party affiliations; fifth, those who say they will vote when the time comes but who conceal their party inclinations; sixth, those who have personal objection to the party candidate; seventh, aliens and others who never voted at a previous election.

Now the problem before a candidate is how to reach and influence favourably these different classes of voters. To lose the support of any class may be fatal. Somebody with intelligence and tact must see them, and this is only possible through organization and the personal attention of the candidate; but seen they must be, and without delay. Unconsciously even to themselves they drift towards one side or the other. The old adage that "the early bird catcheth the worm" means a great deal in electioneering. To define all the details and intricate machinery of organization, its numerous committees and their duties, would be to furnish a guidebook to elections. This is not my purpose. Suffice it to say that complete organization, from the revision of the voters' list to the registration of the last available vote at the polling-booth, is of supreme importance. Every candidate should feel that a large share of the

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responsibility and the labour of such organization is sure to devolve upon himself personally.

Supplementary to the duties of organization, a candidate should consult the active party workers in the constituency on every opportunity, and through them ascertain where his personal attention to undecided voters could be given to the greatest advantage. In my own experience I found it exceedingly profitable to see the electors at their homes. Personally to solicit a vote, or even to call upon an elector incidentally, is accepted as a compliment. It often changes a "doubtful" into a supporter, even without direct solicitation. Where the friendly attitude of the elector would warrant pressing him for his vote, it would be well to get his promise of support. A promise often tells at the ballot box.

A personal canvass of the electors should not be left undone because it is laborious. It is really the most diverting part of a campaign, and, like trout fishing, requires great skill and patience. According to Isaak Walton it takes time to become a "compleat angler." The elector may be bluff and surly and disinclined to take any bait you offer, or he may swim around the hook, giving a gentle nibble and no more, or he may play with your fishing tackle so cunningly that you become discouraged and give up the game. Remember, however, that electors, like trout, have their moods and tenses. Renew the sport at an early opportunity. The trout is there and you may be sure somebody will catch him if you do not. Remember, too, that although Mr. Trout is not so easily caught, Mrs. Trout may like your bait and tackle and

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may prefer to see her husband in your silken net rather than to see him dangling at the end of your rival's hook and line.

But electioneering has its big drum, and the roar and excitement of the platform and the publicity of the press as well as its organization and its personal call and "glad hand." And in this department no more than in any other should anything be done at haphazard. As the primary object of a public meeting is to enable the candidate to present his views on public questions to the electors, and to persuade them if possible to think as he does, he should remember that he owes it to himself as well as to his audience not to abuse the privileges which it affords. It should never be used as a medium for scandal or for fomenting religious hatred, or for denouncing in violent and intemperate language political opponents. The public meeting was in old Saxon days the local Parliament of the shire, where the business of the shire was settled by discussion and deliberation, and as a candidate at a public meeting is the leader of discussion and deliberation, to excite the passions or prejudice of his audience is sure to react upon himself.

In my early days in West Middlesex the candidates almost invariably held joint meetings for the presentation of their views on public questions, and I cannot say that the result of these meetings was always satisfactory. There was no want of interest in the speakers, judging from the roar of the pit and the crowding of the aisles and platform. But the interest was not owing always so much to a desire for instruction as to applaud the

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fighting qualities of the candidates. They were a sort of cockpit around which the electors gathered more for sport than for edification, and not infrequently a small knot of mischief-makers would destroy all their value to both candidates. When, however, joint meetings are conducted with decorum, and the speakers and audience are both intent upon the same purpose, namely, to give and receive instruction, they become a form of trial by jury to which each side submits its case, and as in trial by jury the aim of counsel is to obtain a verdict on the evidence, they may be productive of the best results; and woe to the candidate who has not prepared himself for the fray.

A wise debater prepares his brief like a wise lawyer. He not only knows his own case and its weaknesses, if any, but he has studied the case from the viewpoint of his opponent. In a Marathon race muscle and endurance count; in a debate information counts. How easily an opponent is discomfited who "mixes and muddles." Turn on him the X-ray of superior knowledge for one moment and everybody will see that he is mentally impoverished, and disqualified for public service.

In a public debate official documents and incontrovertible evidence as to accuracy of statement are invaluable, and if questioned the candidate should be able to refer to them at a moment's notice. A speaker's *ipse dixit* carries little weight compared with the exact words slowly and deliberately read from the official text. "What says the bond?" It was the answer to that question which convicted Shylock, and not Portia's speech, great and sympathetic though it was.

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As an illustration of the value of documentary proof I might mention an episode in my first election. My opponent brought into the riding one A. W. Lauder, a somewhat active member of the Provincial Assembly, to speak for him. Mr. Lauder was a fair speaker, and as a stranger was received with special courtesy. He supported McDonald, my opponent, with the usual stock Conservative argument, and called upon the electors to vote for him as a follower of Sir John Macdonald. I saw at once if I could discredit Mr. Lauder politically his mission would be a failure. At a meeting in Delaware Village he was particularly ardent in his advocacy of Conservative principles, and so I took him to task for having changed his allegiance to the Liberal party and asked facetiously what brought about the change. He at once declared that he never was a Liberal, and so gave me the opportunity I wanted. I then stated that there were nine members of the Legislative Assembly who abandoned their Liberal principles in the election of 1867 and went over to the support of Sandfield Macdonald's Government, and he was one of the nine. On being attacked by the Liberal press for desertion of their party they published a protest over their signatures, which earned for them the title of the "Nine Martyrs." "Now," I said, "I have this protest in my hand, taken from the Tory press, and if the honourable gentleman does not object I will read a few lines of it." Of course he could not object. So I said to the audience: "You remember that Mr. Lauder said on this platform that he never was a Reformer. What does he say in this manifesto over his own signa-

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ture? These are the words: 'Though we were elected as Reformers we did not consider ourselves bound to oppose the Sandfield Government,' and so on. What are we to believe, the oral statement of the A. W. Lauder of to-day or the written statement of the A. W. Lauder who confessed that he was made a martyr for his change of party allegiance, and signed his name to his confession?" These three lines were more effective than three hours of argument would have been, and Mr. Lauder and I parted company for the rest of the campaign.

As the party challenged in a duel has the choice of weapons, so the speaker who opens a debate has the choice of the ground to be taken in the argument that is to follow. He may think it wise to present a defence of his own position, or he may open his batteries on his opponent's position. In the former case he is on the defensive—not the best position as a rule in debate. In the latter case his opponent is on the defensive. It is easier to thrust than to parry. It is not good form to say your opponent talked nonsense—your audience may think differently and is likely to prefer its own opinion to yours. Do not dismiss an argument by alleging that you have no time to answer it; this is tantamount to a confession of your inability to do so. If an argument can be refuted by quoting an official document, quote it. To discredit an opponent in two or three instances is to destroy confidence in every statement he has made whether answered or not, and that is just retribution for his ignorance or dishonesty, as the case may be. And it is here that aggressiveness is

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amply justified. Carry the war into Africa. Hannibal is in retreat—pursue him, smite him on the flank, and if well done the cheering audience will award you the laurel of debate. Above all things, never let the umpire rush you off the ground because of foul play or unsportsmanlike language or conduct.

It fell to my lot, why I can hardly say, to have my full share of the stress of platform debate. I have been overmatched more than once; I have been in a few debates that were inconclusive; but I know of no better training for a Parliamentary career than the "rough and tumble" of a joint debate. Scars you may get, and discolorments that may be embarrassing in polite society, but the practice gives nerve, strength and coolness, and that is full compensation for its uncertain honours. In all my elections (except that of 1874, when I was elected by acclamation) nomination day was a battle royal. To vanquish the enemy was thought to be a prelude to victory at the polls a week later. It was often what Aunt Chloe in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" called "clarring-up day." Any rumour considered injurious was exploded; any statement made by the opposing candidate that could be successfully controverted was denied point-blank before his face; any matters in which the electors were specially interested were duly emphasized, and a strong appeal made to rally to the polls for the sake of good government and the honour of the country.

And now the time for testing the efficiency of the electioneering methods adopted is at hand. The candidates are soon to see the results of organiza-

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tion and speechmaking. They have toiled night and day to impress themselves on the electors; they have called upon the "doubtfuls" to obtain a decision in their favour; they have met the "wavering," to establish them in the faith of their respective parties; they have made forced marches to rouse the "stalwarts" into greater activity; they have sweltered in crowded halls to prevent the enemy from sowing tares; they have seen the stars grow dim in the light of approaching day as they returned to their homes to snatch an hour of feverish repose. It has been a great campaign, with its commanders-in-chief, its field-marsals, generals and captains, its great camps for training, its reserves, its commissariat, its standards and its camp followers who love war, not for glory as much as for its spoils. Several thousand men have mobilized, some of them veterans of many fights, some of them raw recruits drilled and equipped for the first time. The forces have been kept in a state of great activity. To-day they assemble to meet the commander-in-chief or one of his staff officers for review or instruction; another day it is an order from the captain to muster for roll call or target practice. But, whatever the occasion, they must be "aye ready." Is the enemy crowding in upon them? Then out with the skirmishers and let him be driven back. Is he attempting to out-flank them? Out with the siege guns and the Maxims and let him know that his efforts will be fruitless. Is time required before the gauge of battle can be taken up? Then fall back on Torres Vedras till reinforcements have arrived. And so captains and lieutenants keep burnishing their

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arms and studying the plan of campaign and keeping the rank and file in good cheer. Is there any discontent with the rations? Then they must be improved in quantity and quality. Is any one inclined to desert to the enemy? Then he must be placed under guard and shown that the enemy has nothing to give which his own captain cannot supply. And so the preliminaries of a great battle are arranged. But this cannot go on indefinitely; the shock of arms must come sooner or later. Sooner, did I say? It has come now, for this is polling day. "Hark! it is—it is the cannon's opening roar!" Through street and highway all hasten to the company headquarters for final orders. Now they are ready for the fray, and steady as Wellington's squares at Waterloo. The captain's orders must be obeyed, and there is none "to ask the reason why." Out to the open plain they go—it is no Indian warfare sheltered by the forest. All day the battle rages. Now it is a raid upon the enemy's forces in the country; then it is an attack upon a village or upon a fortified town. Here and there a prisoner is taken into camp as a trophy of the war. There are no Sundays in war. Neither is there pause for refreshment at the canteen, even if it were open. It is an all-day battle, and the air resounds with cheers as a deserter is captured or some of the enemy's guns are spiked. But the roar of the musketry is gradually subsiding. The smoke is clearing away. At length the battle is over, and the vanquished retire to their tents, cover up the fires and discuss in tones of repressed rage the causes of their defeat. It was the captain's fault, some say; others say it was

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the fault of the commander-in-chief for not choosing a more favourable position, and then, "Oh, for a Rouget de Lisle with a new Marseillaise!"

The victors, however, stir up their campfires and spend the night in carnival and song. "What a famous victory! How we scattered them like chaff before the whirlwind! What a noble commander-in-chief! How well the battle-ground was chosen! Cheers for the field-marshal! And what a captain! He was in the thickest of the fight and escaped without a scar. Cheers for the captain, three times three and a tiger! Then how we scaled the walls and took prisoners right under the muzzles of the enemy's guns! Three cheers for the boys in khaki! They did it. More cheers. Out with the faggots prepared for the bonfire in view of victory! Out with them! Let them blaze to the highest heavens. Out with the torches! Let us march through the public streets. And the big drum, where is it? And the fireworks and the Union Jack and the admiring crowds!" Cheers and cheers again, till exhausted nature cries a halt, and the light of bonfire and torch has paled beneath the midnight stars and the streets are deserted and silent. "Something attempted, something done, has earned a night's repose."

What won the election? Organization—not a public meeting without complete arrangements for notifying the electors; not a polling subdivision without an active and competent committee; not a "doubtful" who was not visited by the candidate or some member of his committee; not a voter in the polling subdivision entitled to vote who was

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not brought to the polls; not a "suspect" who was not sworn; not a polling-booth without its complement of scrutineers.

What lost the election? Poor public meetings, no personal canvass, indifferent committee-men, apathetic electors, absentee voters, want of scrutineers, want of organization, dry rot, and what else deponent sayeth not.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE POLITICAL PLATFORM.

THE platform in English-speaking countries is a modern institution. A little more than a hundred years ago its power was first used for the abolition of slavery, and next in the agitation which culminated in the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. It was at the back of the Reform Bill of 1832, the Chartist Movement of 1837, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. In later years the platform has become almost a fifth estate of the realm, so powerfully does it influence public opinion on all the questions of the day.

The platform is the most democratic force in the state. It stands for anything and everything that attracts public attention—for every grievance no matter how humble the complainant, for every reform no matter how extreme or revolutionary. The secret of its power is its freedom from regulation. It debars no one from declaring his opinion in any form of speech which his hearers will receive. Neither Church nor State fixes any limitation to its courses of study. It is everybody's school, and anybody, male or female, may use it for teaching purposes. It is in session whenever required, and adjourns, *sine die*, as its purposes have been served.

Great teachers have used the platform for the moral elevation of their fellow men and for the

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safety of the state. Wilberforce used it to expose the horrors of negro slavery and to instruct the people of England in the comprehensiveness of human liberty—"There's a wideness in God's mercy like the wideness of the sea." Daniel O'Connell used it to proclaim religious toleration and liberty of conscience. Lord John Russell used it to broaden the basis of the British Constitution. John Bright and Cobden used it to destroy privilege and to sweeten the lives of those who toiled for their daily bread. Brougham used it to teach the masses that the companionship of books would give them strength and fitness for the duties of citizenship. Gladstone used it to destroy ancient prejudices and to show that a government not founded on morality was treason to the state. Webster used it to show that liberty and the union of the States were one and inseparable. George Brown used it to create a new nation in North America, which would attract the attention of the whole civilized world.

But time would fail to speak of its multitudinous teachers in Church and State whose disciples went forth to the uttermost parts of the earth as the torchbearers of a higher civilization, the first rudiments of which they acquired through the teaching of this great forum of human liberty.

Canadian platform oratory twenty-two carats fine has not yet been issued from the mint. The speeches of Joseph Howe are by far the finest in circulation. He had the imagination of Burke, but not his power of sustained eloquence. In some of his speeches he was more brilliant than Gladstone, but not so robust or intense. I heard him

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in the House of Commons in 1873, his last session; but the streams of his eloquence barely trickled. "The wheel was broken at the cistern"—what could he do? D'Arcy McGee was of Irish birth, and although Canada was the richer because of his wondrous gift, she could not claim him as her own.

But it is the glory of the platform that effective service can be rendered by the man of two talents as well as by the man of ten. There are great mountains that are not Himalayan in bulk or height, but are nevertheless crowned with the whitest snow. For the present it is my purpose not to consider the heights to which oratory has reached, but rather, in the light of every-day experience, to consider what "platform efficiency" means; and efficiency, after all, is the truest test of usefulness.

The questions for discussion on the political platform at any one time are usually few in number. In the last British election, one question, the veto of the Lords, superseded Home Rule and the Budget and all other questions. In every campaign there is usually one supreme question, and perhaps three or four minor questions, which engross public attention. The political speaker should consider in what order these should be presented and how much of his time should be given to each; but to address a meeting without dealing with the main question at issue would be as profitless as "ploughing the sands." In some localities, owing to the idiosyncrasies of the electors, their national traditions, or their sense of proportion, every topic constituting the *corpus delicti* of the election is not of equal interest. I made it a rule

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in my political itinerations to ascertain what subject was uppermost in the minds of the electors, or what part of the policy of the party I represented was most severely criticized. It is the sick that need the physician. It is where the enemy is directing his fire that the walls must be strengthened and guarded. There are two advantages in these tactics—time is saved to both speaker and audience, and the attention is more easily sustained when discussion is directed to subjects which everybody is thinking about.

A political speech should be an ascent in plan, in warmth of expression, in sentiment and in illustration. The mental horizon of the audience should be widened as the speaker proceeds, both by the expansion of his subject and the growing power of his personality. Bossuet said of Wilberforce that when he stood on a table to address a meeting he appeared like a shrimp because of his diminutive stature, but before he had concluded he looked like a whale. A speech that fails in making in some degree a similar transformation is inherently defective. The speaker must grow and glow with his subject, until he is the living embodiment of its purpose; and his audience, like the guests at the marriage feast, should be made to feel that the last draught is the best of all. Henry Ward Beecher said: "If you can't put fire into your speech you should put your speech into the fire."

The speaker should also consider the mental attitude to be assumed towards the audience. "Shall I be aggressive, or deferential and conciliatory? Shall I state my case as one that does not look for an answer, or shall I by an interrogative

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style call for the mental assent of the audience upon one topic before proceeding to the consideration of the next? How can I keep my audience interested? How much spice or humour will be required to quicken their perceptions and prevent mental stagnation? And if I have no gifts in that direction, what substitute shall I offer?" The one thing needful is *attention*; without it, the meeting will be profitless—again "ploughing the sands."

Now as to the speech: (1) It must, above all things, be instructive. It is possible that there may be a few in the audience who attend for pastime, but the majority go to hear what Mr. So-and-So has to say—that is, to learn something. But whatever may be the motive of your hearers, you have only one object—so to instruct them that they will think as you do, and believe as you do; and that is the surest way to get their votes. And here the speaker must consider how much his audience will absorb and retain—what detail can be omitted without weakening his case, what mouldering branches can be cut off without loss or injury to the tree. The Duke of Wellington advised a young peer, if he ever addressed the House of Lords, to say what he had to say without preface or apology, never to quote Latin, and when he was done to sit down. Short measure is safer than long measure. Excess of detail was Edward Blake's great weakness. His speeches were more of a treatise than a popular address, and were exhaustive of his subject and his audience. English Parliamentarians are models of conciseness and brevity. They prefer a balance sheet to an invoice,

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a financial or commercial summary to the details of a statistical year book, a dividend to the list of the transactions by which it was earned. Details may be held in reserve to be used if called for, and only then. At the close of every meeting the speaker should ask himself, "Was my statement clear, was it full enough, was it interesting, was it convincing?" And the answers to these questions should be the reflected impressions of his audience.

(2) A political speech must be positive. It will not do for a speaker to say that he believes so-and-so, but he must show that no other belief is consistent with the facts in the case. It is "guilty" or "not guilty," and not the Scottish verdict of "not proven," which suggests guilt. Positiveness, however, must mean more than the mere *ipse dixit* of the speaker, which is valueless without evidence. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, not one (and they must be disinterested), shall anything be confirmed. And herein consists the difference between discussing questions of policy and questions of fact. A question of fact rests upon an official document or some record of the transaction considered. A question of policy is to be defended or condemned by abstract reasoning, or by marshalling established facts to lead to a certain conclusion. If the Grits are "hived," and that is shown by the election records, the conclusion is that it was premeditated for some purpose. To establish this case the speaker must show how the constituencies stood before the hiving, how the hiving did not produce a better equilibrium of voters than previously, how the geographical contour of the constituencies was altered, not for the

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convenience of the electors or for the symmetry of the constituencies, and that the effect will be to the advantage of the opposite party. No need to give all the details of how the results were arrived at. There is the one indisputable fact that it was done. Do not let it slip. Nail it to the counter. It means wrong-doing, injustice, a moral revulsion and then votes.

(3) A political speaker must be fair and candid. Not all the virtues of the calendar or all the wisdom of the sages is to be found on one side. A speaker who rails at the opposite party for incapacity and dishonesty forgets that, no matter how partisan his audience may be, it will take extreme statements with more or less mental reservation. Until the day of judgment there is no final separation or even identification of the sheep and the goats. Besides, no party, no matter how pure and lofty its purpose, can claim absolute infallibility. The inherent weaknesses of human nature assert themselves in spite of party designations and party platforms. Mental strabismus may be caused by a mote or a beam, and who can say that he is absolutely free from either? Nor is it necessary, in order to show one's own fairness, to pronounce eulogies upon opponents. Such a course would only excite suspicion of insincerity and would be quite as objectionable as partisan rancour. The surest way to show your fairness to an opponent is to quote his words. While the memory may be trusted to do this accurately, the effect upon the audience is much greater if the words are read as reported in the press or in the official debates of Parliament. The chapter and verse method of the

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theologian is equally useful for the politician. In this way the speaker avoids the suspicion of gabbling, and his comments are more effective because resting on a foundation of fact. It will be his own fault if he weakens his position by unfair inferences or sinister comments.

The political platform has its own unwritten constitution, and whether the opposite party is personally present or not, depend upon it unfairness, if not openly resented, will be silently condemned. Among the fairest speakers (within the circle of my acquaintance), and one of the most influential in making votes, the Hon. T. B. Pardee, Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Mowat Government, deserves the highest place. Mr. Pardee had no needless compliments for his opponents, but he was equally free from needless gibes. If they failed to be convinced they had no occasion to be offended. There were no rankling words to embitter or to resent, no sweeping charges to intensify their party hostility, or to arouse a spirit of retaliation. At the same time Mr. Pardee, while courteous, was never apologetic. While he believed his viewpoint on public questions to be correct and beyond doubt, he was so fair to his opponents that they could not fail to revise their opinions, to see if they could be squared with his arguments. Such speeches make votes. On the other hand, I have known instances where a speech made a sensation because of its fiery denunciations of the utter worthlessness of the political opinions of an opponent and the moral degeneracy of all his practices. And yet such a speech did nothing more than arouse party feeling and trouble the waters with-

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out imparting to them any healing virtue. The chasm between the parties was widened, and, even if any were inclined to cross over, the difficulties were increased rather than diminished.

(4) A political speaker should be impersonal. I do not mean that an opponent should not be held strictly to account for all his public acts, and, if a member of Parliament, for all his votes. In such cases he should not be allowed to escape responsibility on party or on any other grounds. If he gave a vote in Parliament which you condemn, he and not the party is responsible. The rebuke of Nathan the prophet in such cases applies—"Thou art the man." But to belittle an opponent for his want of education or for some peculiarity of manner, or to hold him up to ridicule for personal defects, or to reflect upon his personal honour, is a mistake and sure to react upon the speaker. The party whose nominee he is will resent it, as they are his sponsors; and even party friends are more than likely to regard such attacks as foreign to debate and hard to justify.

Sometimes a personal attack reflects upon the speaker to his disadvantage. The Honourable Archibald McKellar related the following to me as his painful experience in one particular case. He had engaged to address a meeting of the electors of the county of Peel at the town of Brampton, and Mr. E. King Dodds was present as the representative of the opposite party. The meeting was composed largely of farmers from the surrounding townships, and Mr. McKellar thought that a running criticism of Mr. Dodds in advance would weaken his standing with the audience. Mr. Dodds

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was a man of good physique and invariably well dressed. He had all the personal distinction of a well-to-do city gentleman of leisure. Mr. McKellar, who, by the way, was a most effective platform speaker, referred to the meeting as composed of the solid yeomanry of Peel, who had come to hear public questions discussed by men in sympathy with their vocation and who had some experience of the toil and sweat of a farmer's life. He was a farmer himself and knew what demands a farmer's life made upon a man's energy and strength, and so could speak as one of themselves. "But whom have our opponents sent to address you? Not a farmer. Look at him and you can see by his soft hands and his fashionable attire that he never stood behind the plough or handled the scythe or rake. Did you ever know a farmer who adorned himself with jewellery as Mr. Dodds is adorned? What means that chain of shining gold that hangs around his neck, or that jewelled ring which he wears upon his hand? Can he be trusted to direct you, a community of farmers, how to vote in this election? His place is in the city, among the fashionable men who attend balls and public dinners," and so on. For the moment it seemed like an effective attack. Mr. Dodds was called upon to speak. He arose as if suffering from some painful feeling, and his voice was restrained. "Gentlemen," he said, "I am sorry that Mr. McKellar has not confined himself to public questions. They are far more important to you than a dissertation on my personal appearance or the jewellery that I wear. Why should I, because of these simple and to me sacred ornaments, be held

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up to ridicule? He has noticed the chain that hangs from my neck. Do you think I wear it from any sense of superiority or pride or from personal vanity? That chain, Mr. Chairman, is a family heirloom. It was given to me by my dead father, to be kept and worn in remembrance of him, as I bear his name. Why should I not wear it? Was I to disobey him and cast it away? And that ring to which Mr. McKellar referred was placed upon my hand (sobs) by my dying mother, with a request that I should wear it for her sake and as the last token of her affection. Now, why should I not do as I have done and why should my love and reverence for my parents be held up to ridicule?" and so on. Mr. McKellar frankly admitted that he had the worst of it, although he believed that Mr. Dodds' story was purely fictitious and made up to meet the emergency.

In my election in 1878 I nearly got into trouble by a personal remark which I was provoked to make in self-defence. My opponent, Mr. Currie, was a farmer, and insisted that as West Middlesex was a rural constituency it should be represented in Parliament by a farmer, which I was not. The farmers, he said, were the "bone and sinew" of the country and they should look to their own interests. These references to "bone and sinew" were repeated till I began to feel they had some effect. Accordingly in my reply I modestly admitted the claim of the farmer to due representation in Parliament, but it did not follow that another person not of their own profession could not properly represent them. And then I said: "If the farmers wanted to be represented by bone

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and sinew only, then I know of no person better fitted to be their choice than Mr. Currie." It was rather a vicious thrust at a hard fighter and worthy opponent, but the tongue is an unruly member and will sometimes misbehave itself.

Another instance of the danger of a personal attack is also from my own experience. There was a by-election in the county of Lennox, at which Mr. George Hawley and Mr. G. T. Blackstock, K.C., were candidates. It was in the summer months, and the speeches after the nomination were to be delivered in the Opera House. There was a good audience, and after the two candidates had addressed the meeting I was called upon, as a member of the Government, to speak on behalf of the Liberal candidate. Mr. Blackstock, instead of discussing Provincial politics, as he was well able to do, attacked the Government, particularly the Premier, Mr. Mowat, and Mr. Pardee, for their maladministration of Provincial affairs, but made no specific charge and did not attempt to show from individual cases wherein this maladministration consisted. His language was strong and somewhat irritating. In replying to him I took the ground that his conduct was not only unfair, but contrary to the practice of his profession. I said no person is put on his trial, much less condemned, without the offences for which he is indicted being specifically mentioned. "Now," I said to the audience, "such a charge is not simply unfair, it is cowardly. If Mr. Blackstock has charges to make let him make them, and I will give him his answer; but how can I answer blind charges that are intended to hurt, but which he has not the

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courage to formulate? I repeat, his conduct is cowardly, and no one but a coward would shelter himself behind general terms which admit of no answer." My language was strong and not quite Parliamentary in its directness, and in a twinkling Mr. Blackstock was on his feet, and, in a menacing attitude, challenged me to settle the personal affront out of doors. For a moment the situation was exciting. Mr. Blackstock, however, sat down immediately and I resumed my address as if nothing had happened. And there the matter ended, as I was not offered a second invitation and the previous one had expired by lapse of time.

(5) A political speaker should aim at being strictly accurate. I exclude from this the idea of being untruthful. Nowhere is a falsehood more dangerous than on the platform. Apart from the moral equation, it is sure to embarrass and, in the end, to defeat the purpose for which it is used. Even exaggeration of statement, though not the equivalent of an untruth, is a weakness. Sir Charles Tupper, who was a Rupert in debate, often weakened his case by highly-coloured phrases. Indeed, so much was this the case that his statements latterly were never taken at their face value, although it might not be shown that they were untrue. Exaggeration never strengthens an argument. Its want of proportion to the topic in hand is readily detected, and the habit of inflating every figure of speech till it loses its identity only makes the speaker ridiculous in the estimation of his hearers.

But assuming that the speaker aims at being truthful, he must nevertheless guard against

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inaccuracies. To have any of his statements controverted would cover him with deserved confusion and very probably lead to the charge of untruthfulness. His opponents are always ready to take advantage of any shortcomings, and not always charitable enough to give him the benefit of the doubt. He should carefully verify all his notes and figures before using them, and be able to refer to the sources of his information if challenged. I flatter myself that in forty years of active platform and Parliamentary life, the accuracy of my quotations or figures was never even questioned. My opponents might say I did not reflect their opinions precisely in the way they had intended, but they never charged me with attributing to them a meaning inconsistent with their evident construction. One feature of Sir Oliver Mowat's public career was his accuracy of statement, whether it was a legal opinion or a citation in confirmation of his argument.

(6) A political speaker should be aggressive. Aggressiveness should be free from temper. It is most destructive when most playful. It should be directed against your opponent's policy, not against himself personally. The traditions of the political platform demand fair play. Though its constitution is unwritten, it is as binding as the rules of Queensberry. To strike below the belt is unpardonable and sure to be resented. Play fair, play up and force the goal, but do it with a smile. Sir William Meredith, leader of the Opposition in the Ontario Assembly for many years, was a strong speaker and decidedly aggressive. He had a fine presence, at once prepossessing and attrac-

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tive; but, apparently without intending it, his voice had a rasping note which suggested irritation out of keeping with his argument. His manner was unmistakably belligerent and overwrought. He was always on "double quick" with fixed bayonet, whether the enemy was in sight or not, and he invariably left the impression upon an opponent that if he did not leave him a mangled corpse, to be carried to the morgue as a subject for a coroner's jury, it was a miscarriage of justice.

Aggressiveness does not consist in vociferation or in violent gestures or in thumping the furniture on the platform. Mackenzie and Cartwright were as destructive as a Maxim gun, but cool as the bullets which rain from its muzzle. The calmest speaker I ever knew, whose words burned like Greek fire, was Thomas Scatcherd, for many years member for North Middlesex. Mr. Scatcherd's voice was thin and far from robust, but it cut like a scimitar. He was never personal, never angry, but with the coolness of a stoic he carved up an opponent as deftly as an expert in a public abattoir. There was no malice in his manner, no sinister sting in his voice, and his opponent, though discomfited, never cherished feelings of personal revenge. He never kicked an opponent when he was down, but down he must go and assuredly did go.

(7) A political speaker should aim at clearness of expression. John Bright preferred simple Saxon English to Latinized English. Much time would be saved to both speaker and audience if statements were so clear as to render their repetition unnecessary. Indeed, much of the repetition

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which a speaker inflicts upon his audience arises from the consciousness that a statement is not clearly expressed and must be repeated in another form to be understood. This is a fault to be avoided. No better method for becoming tedious and for wearing out the patience of an audience could be adopted than by exasperating repetition. Douglas Jerrold said of the Bishop of Exeter: "What a brain he has for cobwebs! How he drags you along through sentence after sentence till your head swims!" Avoid cobwebs—they shut out the light. Daniel O'Connell said: "A speaker should always know what he is aiming at, for if he aims at nothing he is sure to hit it." Clearness is also aided by the use of short sentences. Use the period frequently in oral composition. You are running a local train, not a limited express. It relieves your audience to slow up occasionally. It is said that Pitt carefully considered his sentences before he uttered them, but that Fox threw himself into the middle of a sentence and left it to God Almighty to get him out again. Do not trust such help too much. Be independent and find your own way out.

But I am not writing a thesis on platform speaking. My own practice varied too often from the qualities of good speaking herein barely outlined. But let no one despair of making himself easily understood if he knows his subject. Let every speaker study his defects and limitations. The race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong.

CHAPTER XX.

SPEECH-MAKING.

No doubt every speaker has his own way of preparing his speeches. If the mind is already stored with the information required on any subject, nothing remains to be done except to arrange it in logical order and with due regard to effect. Gladstone said that when his matter was in hand, he liked to plough a mental furrow through it, to aid his memory when the time came for using it. When the mind, however, is not already stored with the subject, no labour should be spared in collecting the material for its elucidation. As a preliminary to this task, there should first be a mental survey of the whole field which it is proposed to consider. "What material do I need for the purposes of my argument? What information is necessary to elucidate this or that point of my case? What are the facts requisite to strengthen it?"—and so on. Then, having laid out the plan of his speech as clearly as an architect prepares a plan for a house, he proceeds to gather the material necessary for the purpose. He betakes himself to the library, to official documents, to newspaper files. These are the quarry, the lumber yard, from which his building material is selected. And right carefully and with judgment must his work be done, for there are many qualities of lumber and stone. He takes abundant notes of what he finds

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—notes of historical facts, quotations from the authorities he has consulted, memoranda of required information—and then sits down to the work of classification and co-ordination, taking care to reject all irrelevant matter and assuring himself that every argument is fully strengthened by evidence which cannot be gainsaid. All this is done with his audience mentally before him. “Is this conclusive?” he asks, as he reviews each argument. “Is it clear? Will it need to be repeated to be understood? Would a wayfaring man, though a prejudiced partisan, understand it? Is it overloaded?” and so on. Robert Louis Stevenson’s rule in composition applies with equal force to speech-making—“Revise, recast, rewrite, reject.” Yes, revise many times. It is said that Lord Brougham wrote the peroration of his speech in defence of Queen Caroline fifteen times. Sir Oliver Mowat told me that Edward Blake, who had charge of the appeal in the St. Catharines Milling Co. before the Privy Council, admitted that he revised and rewrote his argument six times. That was preparation. Ian Maclaren, speaking of Dr. McClure, said that so great was the confidence of his patients in his medical skill that “the vera sight o’ him was victory.” Preparation means victory for a speaker as well as for a doctor.

As incidental to preparation it is legitimate and proper to consider what illustrations, if any, will be helpful in clinching an argument. An illustration may either be the cement to hold the brick and stone in place, or it may be a mullion or gargoye to give effect. For whatever purpose it is designed, it should form part of the plan and should be

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inserted in its proper place; otherwise it may be a deformity, and so weaken rather than strengthen the argument. Illustrative anecdotes should be used sparingly. They are often evidences of the poverty of argument—pure padding which hampers and diverts the current of thought and lowers the status of the speaker in the estimation of his audience. I remember hearing an address by Dr. De Witt Talmage which was reduced in quality from what might have been a first-class to a third-class speech because of superfluous and irrelevant anecdotes.

And now begins a very important part of preparation, too often overlooked. Lord Dufferin said that to make a good speech one must soak his brains in it. That is, he must "cogitate, cogitate, cogitate." It must be present in his thoughts on every convenient opportunity, must walk with him on the street, must converse with him on the train, must peradventure sleep with him if any bedfellow is to be allowed. A story is told of Disraeli's wife, that, as the footman closed the carriage in which she was accompanying her husband to the House of Commons where he was to deliver his first Budget speech, her finger was caught in the door of the carriage and badly bruised, but she made no complaint, as it might have diverted her husband's attention from the speech which was then simmering in his mind. "Simmering" is a good word, and many speeches would be greatly improved by passing through several stages of this culinary process.

When the speech is ready for delivery the memory should be tested as to its power to reproduce it

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with the fewest possible notes. It is bad taste for a speaker to be constantly adjusting his glasses to find out what next to say. Notes not too cumbersome, however, may be a source of strength, as they relieve the speaker from a certain nervous strain, and are reassuring that any important point which he has premeditated will not be forgotten. They also impress the auditors with the idea that the speech to which they are listening is the product of reflection and study. To memorize a political speech, even if it could be accomplished without any great effort, would rob it of its freshness, and would prevent the speaker from adaptations to the audience often necessary for effect.

And now as to delivery—and here I do not propose to give such instruction as will be found in the textbooks on elocution. Nor should it be assumed that I disparage such instruction. The gold dust of books is assayed from experience, and not to be despised because the bookbinder has put his stamp upon them. A public speaker should regard himself in a certain sense as the guest of his audience, and present himself looking his best. Any departure from good taste that would be unworthy of a guest in a private family is equally offensive on the platform. Rudeness has no charm even for Bohemia. No one should attempt the rôle of Doctor Johnson without Doctor Johnson's ability, and such men are very rare. An easy manner, without any assumption of superiority or any affectation, wears the best. There should neither be timidity nor bravado. You have a message which will speak for itself shortly. The message and the

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speaker should be worthy of attention, and shallow pretensions will not serve for either.

The speaker's voice should reach his audience without an apparent effort. If too loud it will have a distressing effect, if too low the message is lost. Nineteen out of twenty political speakers are extravagant of vocal energy. Shouting is not speaking. The full round tones of conversation are quite loud enough for an audience of several hundred, and much more restful to all parties concerned. Besides, the speaker must remember that the voice is one of his greatest assets if engaged in an extended campaign, and the utmost care should be taken to conserve its efficiency. To that end, it should never be strained beyond its normal register. If it is naturally weak, forcing it will soon disable it altogether. If it is strong, be not too prodigal of its powers.

But a speaker should be as careful to use his voice sparingly off the platform as well as on it. He should avoid speaking while riding on a train or driving in the open air. Unconsciously he is apt in such cases to speak in a high key, and before he is aware his vocal elasticity has departed. I remember an experience of mine in the campaign of 1890. I was billed to speak at Alvinston, and had to drive late in the afternoon a distance of eleven miles, after the arrival of the train at Watford. My driving mate was the candidate for the riding. He had no power of restraining what Sir John Macdonald called in John Hillyard Cameron "a fatal volubility of speech." What was I to do? I had many meetings still before me, and a cracked voice cannot be repaired in a day. I must not

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appear to be uncivil, but I must not be vocally ruined. I buttoned my overcoat under my chin, assumed a look of resignation and answered in monosyllables. I never repeated the words "No" and "Yes" as often in the same space of time before or since.

The greatest danger of vocal relaxation, however, is when the speaker emerges into the street after a meeting. Then he is brought into contact, particularly in winter, with a temperature perhaps fifty or sixty degrees lower than the temperature from which he has escaped. The only remedy is to keep the mouth shut—it has been open for two hours, perhaps. Give it a rest, and substitute some other means for purposes of respiration. But still more important is the change of underwear as soon after the meeting as possible. Half an hour spent in wet or even damp flannels may prove fatal to the voice, and equally dangerous in other respects. There should be no neglect of this precaution. In 1875 John B. Gough was my guest on the occasion of his lecturing in Strathroy. These were the days of lyceum lectures at high figures, and the "stars" had to take care of themselves. Mr. Gough retired to his room as soon as he arrived, and refused to be seen by anybody before the meeting. He even declined to come downstairs to dine with some gentlemen whom I had invited to meet him. He was simply saving his voice and his nervous energy for the public meeting. After it was over, however, he was willing to see anybody, and was as animated in conversation as could be desired. He also changed all his clothing, even to his shoes, on returning from the meeting, and

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no doubt had a good rub from "Mary," as he constantly addressed his wife, who was his constant attendant. Every public speaker, particularly in an extended campaign, should follow his example. Then it often happens in the life of a politician in the rural districts that he is obliged to take long drives after a meeting is over. Nothing is more dangerous unless due care is observed. On the public highway at night is the last place where a speaker should be found, and no precaution can fully obviate its dangers.

Now I may be asked what value I attach to the various elocutionary devices usually recommended for the platform. These devices I never studied and never practised consciously. I know what is meant by emphasis, gesture, inflection, and so forth. I believe the rules by which they are governed are sound, and there is no doubt as to their value. Ordinarily any speaker who is deliberate, calm, earnest and persuasive, will not fail to use all needed gestures and to be as emphatic as the subject requires. Gesture is a mere incident of speaking power, rather than a quality, and if not spontaneous is worse than useless. Practical, everyday political platform speaking is the easiest, simplest form of speaking. It requires no flowers of rhetoric or no special elegance of diction. If the man "behind the gun" knows his subject and expresses himself with reasonable accuracy and force, he will be effective. Call it homespun if you choose; but there may be more attractive goods in the market than those produced on the domestic loom that do not wear as well. Good plain speaking will never be a drug in the market.

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But it must be remembered that every grade of speaking has its own atmosphere, its vocality, its diction, its psychological interpretation. A speech in which sentiment largely prevails will be couched in language of its own and will have a note or ring or flavour entirely different from a speech of a business character. That is to say, the grade of the speech determines to a great extent its vocabulary, its rhythm; just as styles of poetic composition call for a different measure and a different form of thought. You could not put "Auld Lang Syne" into hexameter verse—the metre is not adapted to the sentiment. Do not let me be understood as saying that the higher qualities of speaking are unsuited for the political platform. Far from it. What I mean is that such platform speaking as every man of average attainments can succeed in is both easy and simple, just because it calls mainly for knowledge and articulation. Go higher, and you are met with other considerations. If a speaker can add to his knowledge sentiment, elegance of diction, grace of delivery and a refined rhetoric, then he goes beyond the range of the ordinary political platform and requires a greater variety of talents. The finest steel is not the smelted product of one mine; it is the product of many different qualities of ore, blended and refined and carbonized, till it emerges from the crucible—a fitting texture for a Damascus blade. But this brings us from the plains, where dwell the great multitude, to Olivet and Horeb, where only the prophets dwell.

What is oratory? Goldwin Smith has said "Oratory is the fusion of reason and passion."

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Good. Edmund Burke has said "Oratory is half poetry and half prose." Not so good. But what is it? You may as well ask what is lightning, or what is a storm at sea, or what is an English landscape, or what is a flower. Wordsworth has described poetry as

"A sense sublime

Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns and the round
ocean,
And the living air and the blue sky and in the mind of man."

Does any one know what poetry is from that definition? Poetry cannot be defined, neither can oratory. It must be heard and felt. Though you may shout with Archimedes "Eureka! Eureka!" you are still unable to convey to any other its full significance. I have heard nearly all the great speakers of my generation. Of Britain, I have heard Gladstone, Rosebery, Chamberlain, Sir Edward Grey, Balfour, Lord Salisbury, Bryce, the two Churchills (father and son), Dufferin, Lansdowne, Spurgeon, Doctor Parker. Of America, I have heard Henry Ward Beecher, Conkling, Chauncey Depew, Wendell Phillips, J. B. Gough, W. H. Evarts, De Witt Talmage, Robert Ingersoll, and many educationists besides. All were men of great platform power; but only two, Rosebery and Beecher, appealed to me as fully endowed with the gift of oratory. Both were possessed of a picturesque style; both had a lofty diction and a cadence like the waves of a mighty sea breaking on the shore—now lashed into foam as it beat against the rocks, then swelling over the beach

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higher and still higher with a power which nothing could restrain.

Happily there is, however, between the highest flights of the eagle and the earth much space wherein birds of weaker wing can fly. It is in these middle spaces that most speakers must be content to try their wings. For eagle flights greater gifts are required, and greater attention must be paid to language, to literary finish, and to preparation. Lord Chatham read Bailey's Dictionary twice to enlarge and perfect his command of English. John Bright said his practice was to write and commit to memory his exordium that he might prepossess his audience favourably. The body of the speech, he said, was mainly devoted to argument and instruction and not memorized. The peroration was always carefully prepared so as to polarize in a few sweeping sentences the substance of the speech, and send it sweeping over his audience with the power of the whirlwind.

Good speaking presupposes good reading and clear thinking. You cannot pump water out of a dry well. Even springs are fed from some hidden source. And so the mind of the speaker must be fertilized from many springs and with the purest literature. The great masters of oratory should be studied, if perchance their spirit still hovers near. History should be ransacked for illustrations and metaphor, and the poets should be daily companions. To be great like Cæsar you must feed at Cæsar's table. Burke has said that "a great Empire and little minds ill become each other." A great theme and a halting, vapid speech are as badly mated.

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The thoughts of a great speaker are gathered from near and far. Daniel Webster said that the passage in one of his speeches so often quoted, in which he spoke of the martial airs of England surrounding the whole world in one continuous and unbroken strain, was suggested to him on hearing a British regimental band playing on the ramparts of Quebec, and was lodged in his memory for twelve years before he used it. Tennyson made notes, as he travelled, of any object that impressed itself upon his mind, if peradventure it might be a garland for a poem. Disraeli made long quotations from speeches of other men that their ideas might become familiar to him, and in his eulogy on the death of Wellington unconsciously repeated the substance of an oration delivered in the French Assembly on the death of St. Cyr.

The student of oratory should read, as a miser makes money, to hoard it, or as bees store honey before the flowers have faded, that he may bring out of the treasure-house of memory "things new and old." The more rare and beautiful their form the more will they delight and edify. Nor should he trust to the inspiration of the moment. A modern author has said, "It is preparation that piles the wood and lays the sacrifice, and then perchance the celestial fire may descend." Edison has said that inspiration is ninety per cent. perspiration. Did Chantry's sleeping babes spring from the marble in the night or did the sculptor toil over them "with the unconquerable patience of the artist"? Did Landseer paint his great pictures as a reporter sketches the proceedings of the Police Court—a few pencil marks and it is done?

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The speaker must not only strike the iron when it is hot, but he must strike it hard enough and long enough to make it hot. Then see him shape it to his will. It is a dart, a javelin, an Excalibur, which in his hands will cleave the helmets of opposing knights in tournament or war.

A speaker should feel that while on his feet he is the leader of public opinion—not its echo. He should present to his audience only the highest motives of action. He should never crawl—God made him only a little lower than the angels. He should do honour to his origin. Whoever fails, he should not fail in taking high ground on all questions of public and private morality and on everything that concerns the honour of the race or the nation. To cringe or fawn or bully should be equally offensive to him. "Whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think (and speak) on these things." The honour of the platform is in his keeping for the time being. To be true to its best traditions requires the exercise of all that is best and noblest in human character. I know of no idol so dear to the heart of the populace as the man who can inspire and charm by his powers of speech. It is deep answering to deep. It is the thoughts of many thousands inarticulate until the interpreter appears. It is the still small voice containing a divine message never so clearly understood before, and which calls forth a response as joyous as an angelic song.

Do the public men of Canada realize what this power means for good, for the safety as well as

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the development of our institutions? "Oratory," said Morley, speaking of Gladstone's speech on Home Rule in 1886, "is action, not words; character, will, conviction, purpose, personality." And if it is true that like begets like, what a glorious progeny oratory should produce. "Action, character, personality"—think of it, ye young men who are to-day standing under the illuminated ceiling of the House of Commons. Is your oratory action rather than words? How much of it is conviction well reasoned and conclusive, and how much a conglomeration of bastard views whose paternity is unknown? How much of your own personality—of your own noble, manly, heaven-born self—is in your oratory, and how much of it is plausible untruth, gilded insincerity, craven surrender to prejudice and expediency? How much character does it contain—character tested in the crucible of public service, pitted against temptation and meanness and cunning and still unsmirched? Character that has stamped itself upon your conversation, your profession, your business—how much of these qualities pulsates in your speeches? I cannot answer. Time will tell.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FRENCH-CANADIAN IN POLITICS.

DESPITE the tolerant feeling which I desired to cultivate when I entered public life, I went to Ottawa with certain preconceptions of the French-Canadians which I have found on wider acquaintance and investigation to be neither complimentary nor just. These preconceptions were formed by the public press of the early sixties, when public opinion was agitated over Separate Schools and Representation by Population, and when political speeches were rounded off by a vehement denunciation of priestcraft and French domination. Was it not the religious fanaticism of the French-Canadian, I was told, that projected Separate Schools into our admirable system of education, and was it not his desire to dominate Parliament that led him to refuse to Upper Canada representation according to population? Intermingled with these denunciations, vague hints were given of racial inferiority, of servile submission to clerical influence, of mediæval ideas of life, of universal illiteracy, and, last and worst of all, of doubtful loyalty to British rule in Canada.

With these ideas it necessarily followed that I should look upon my fellow members of the French race with some degree of suspicion if not of distrust. They were to my mind different from the people with whom I had associated all my life.

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What these peculiarities were I would now be able to judge for myself. But to my great surprise I found that as a member of Parliament the French-Canadian was a gentleman of courteous demeanour, respectful in conversation, attentive to his duties, and in no sense different in dress or manner from his Saxon fellow members. When he entered the House he bowed to the Speaker with a courtly air; when he arose to speak he did so without any greater pretensions than other members of the House. He was amenable to the rules of debate, and though perhaps more inflammable than his colder-blooded colleagues of Saxon stock, he was seldom the object of censure from the chair or his fellow members. Outside the Chamber he was also like other men—he was fond of the smoking-room, he knew his way to the restaurant and was reasonably familiar with its contents; he cultivated the barber and the tailor, generally wore his hair black and cut short, never carried a cane, never swaggered, and never profaned in the English language. In stature he varied from the herculean proportions of Captain Fortin of Gaspé, who stood six feet three or four and would turn the scales at three hundred pounds, to men of my own medium stature, of good Scottish blood though I was.

But the modern, unassuming French-Canadian, as he appeared in Parliament, was surely not the French-Canadian of whom the press of my early days had spoken in such furious terms. In appearance he might be unobjectionable—Papineau, the great rebel, was a very handsome man, so his biographer says, and it might be possible that the

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ancestors of the men who sat around me were as inflammable as Papineau and as violent in their attacks upon British institutions. So I proposed to study his history and ascertain his true place as a factor in the politics of Canada. In this enquiry I passed over his attitude during the Revolutionary War and his loyal defence of his country during the War of 1812. This feature of his character is fully set forth in every textbook on Canadian history, and entitles him to a kindlier consideration than he has often received for his devotion to a Government which, by force of arms, separated him from the land of his forefathers.

It has often been asserted by the thoughtless critic that the French-Canadian allows his racial instincts and his partiality for his Church and language to dominate all his actions as a citizen and a legislator. And in this connection the Quebec Act of 1774 is recited as evidence that the French-Canadian wrested from the British Government concessions with regard to the Roman Catholic Church and the privileges and customs which he enjoyed under the French régime which are incompatible with the conditions of our more modern British institutions. But the Quebec Act is not the first instance in which racial predilections were recognized by the Parliament of Great Britain. We have only to look to the terms of the Act of Union between England and Scotland, passed in 1707, or nearly 70 years before the Quebec Act was passed, as an illustration of this peculiar form of racial jealousy. The Union Act shows that before Scotland parted with her own Parliament she carefully guarded her religious and educational interests, her

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courts, her laws as to inheritance, and numerous other matters of a national character, to a far greater extent than the Quebec Act guarded the privileges claimed by the French-Canadians. For instance, it was provided by the Union Act as follows:—

(1) That the Established Church of Scotland, its worship, discipline and government, should be unalterably secured in all succeeding generations according to the Confession of Faith and the standards of the Presbyterian Church. This clause simply anticipated the Quebec Act, which guaranteed to the Roman Catholics of Quebec the free exercise of all the rites of their Church.

(2) That the professors, principals, regents and masters, or others bearing office in any university, college or school within Scotland, in order to hold office should subscribe to the Confession of Faith and agree to conform to the government and discipline thereof as prescribed by the Presbyterian Church. There was no such obligation imposed upon the principals of the schools or colleges of Quebec.

(3) That the laws with regard to inheritance and the right of property which prevailed in Scotland at the time of Union should remain inviolate. This clause corresponds to the concession in the Quebec Act which permitted the French-Canadians to enjoy the privileges of citizenship which they possessed before the passing of the Quebec Act.

(4) That no appeals were to be allowed from the courts of Scotland to Westminster Hall. The Quebec Act placed no such restrictions upon the courts of Lower Canada.

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(5) That the Royal Boroughs were to remain intact for all time to come. No such protection was extended to the French seignories in Lower Canada.

(6) That citizens of Scotland were not required to take any oath of which their conscience did not approve. The French population of Quebec were relieved from the Act of Supremacy as a qualification for office because of its denunciation of the Roman Catholic religion.

Then what were the aspirations of the French-Canadian under his new charter of citizenship—the Quebec Act? As to his religion and his ancient privileges and customs it was acceptable, but in all matters of self-government he was helpless. Until 1791 he was obliged to submit to the decrees of a Council of State on which he was only partially represented. He had also to submit, in all judicial matters, to judges and officers of British training, who were unfamiliar with the practice of the old French courts to which he was accustomed, and who did not understand his modes of thought or his ideas of justice. No wonder that he protested against the authority of a Council in the appointment of which he had neither lot nor part. And so the Constitutional Act of 1791 was accepted joyfully as the dawn of better days. In a certain measure it gave him what he wanted—a Parliament composed of representatives of his own choice. It gave him the freeman's right of presenting his grievances at the foot of the throne, and so far as its powers permitted he was the master of his own political fortunes. He soon found, however, that the Constitution of 1791,

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though a great advance over the Council of State which it superseded, was too narrow for the full enjoyment of the political privileges to which he believed he was entitled. His complaints were: (1) That the popular branch was subject to the negative of the nominated branch of the Assembly; (2) that the taxes which he paid into the treasury were applied by the Executive as it saw fit without the consent of Parliament first had and obtained; (3) that he had no voice in the management of public services, such as the Post Office and the Customs; (4) that he was not consulted in the disposal of patronage; (5) that his race was discriminated against in appointments to office; (6) that the Executive Government was not responsible to Parliament.

It does not require very close scrutiny to perceive that these demands of the French-Canadian were the basis of popular government in Great Britain, and of every other country where the power of the Government was entrusted to the people; and it is no matter of surprise that the refusal of the Imperial Government to meet his wishes in this regard aroused all the democratic instincts of his nature and ultimately culminated in a rebellion so violent that the constitution which he ignored was suspended and a Council of State re-established until quiet could be restored.

If we pause to get a clear conspectus of the French-Canadian as a factor in politics during this period, what do we find? Is it that he is restless under legitimate authority? So were the people of Upper Canada at the same time. Is it that he demanded constitutional checks upon an arbitrary

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Executive? So did the people of Upper Canada; so did the people of Great Britain before the Revolution of 1688; so did the people of France when the present Republic was founded in 1871. Did he lose patience with the delay of the Imperial Government in redressing grievances and conceding to him political privileges enjoyed under Responsible Government? So did the people of Upper Canada; so did Hampden and Oliver Cromwell. Did endurance cease to be a virtue and did he resort to arms as the final court of appeal? So did the insurgents of Upper Canada, and so they would probably do again did they suffer similar wrongs and injustice. The history of this long period of eighty-two years from 1759 to 1841 shows that the French-Canadian, like all other advanced races, believed with Bolingbroke in government "by the people, for the people and through the people," and that in blazing his way towards that end he displayed no more impatience, no more unreasonableness and no more disregard of constitutional methods than other races. If to be democratic in his modes of government is an offence, then he belongs to a world-wide community of offenders.

The discontent arising from the limitations of the Constitutional Act of 1791 led to repeated conflicts between the Parliament and the Executive Government, and in 1837 culminated in open rebellion against the Government. As a similar condition existed in Upper Canada which threatened the relations of Canada with the mother country, the Imperial Government commissioned Lord Durham, an English statesman of great

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repute, to visit Canada and to make full enquiry into the causes of the discontent, to report thereon, and to make such recommendations as in his opinion would promote the future peace and harmony of the two Provinces. The Report submitted by Lord Durham is in some respects one of the ablest documents in the British archives. But coming from a man with his knowledge of the political history of his own country, and his experience in diplomacy, it is rather a surprise to find him attributing the troubles in Lower Canada to racial rather than political causes. He had only to look across the Ottawa River to Upper Canada and he would find troubles of precisely the same character where no racial jealousies or animosities existed, although possibly in Lower Canada political injustice was more acutely felt and resented because of racial differences. The truth is that the English-speaking people of Quebec were no less aroused than the French population, and that Doctor Nelson, who was the leader on the English side, was as much a party to unconstitutional methods of reform as Papineau or Cartier. It was not, as Lord Durham said, a war of two races within a nation but a war of two races against a nation, that is, against the stern hand of Great Britain, who looked for many years with apparent indifference upon wrongs which she only could redress.

For the troubles which Lord Durham discovered he proposed two remedies: first, the concession of Responsible Government as it was in Great Britain, the other the union of Upper and Lower Canada. The concession of Responsible Govern-

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ment and the union of the two Canadas were both statesmanlike propositions, and worthy of their author, but the reason given for this union, namely, the Anglicizing of the French race and the obliteration of every trace of the French language, French institutions and political traditions, displays unexpected want of political foresight. More, it was a menace at the very outset to the pacification of the two races, which it was intended to serve. All history shows that racial absorption is retarded rather than hastened by arbitrary measures, and I know of no instance in colonial history in which Great Britain adopted such a policy in the government of her colonies. The principality of Wales still maintains many of the traditions of the ancient Druids, and the Welsh language of those olden days is still the language of her people. Why has Wales not been Anglicized? The same may be said of the Highlands of Scotland and of the greater part of Ireland. Even Russia has not been able to assimilate the Poles, although exercising absolute control over their institutions.

In order that Lord Durham's recommendation may not be misunderstood, I submit the following extracts from his Report, annotated by Sir C. P. Lucas and issued by the Clarendon Press, 1912:

"It must henceforth be the first and steady purpose of the British Government to establish an English population with English laws and language in this Province, and to trust this government to none but a decidedly English Legislature."
—Page 228.

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"It is but a question of time and mode, it is but to determine whether the small number of French who now inhabit Lower Canada shall be made English under a Government which can protect them, or whether the process shall be delayed until a much larger number shall have to undergo at the rude hands of its uncontrolled rivals the extinction of a nationality strengthened and embittered by continuance."—Page 292.

"There can hardly be conceived a nationality more destitute of all that can invigorate and elevate a people than that which is exhibited by the descendants of the French in Lower Canada, owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners. They are a people with no history and no literature."—Page 294.

"In any plan which may be adopted for the future management of Lower Canada, the first object ought to be that of making it an English Province, and that with this end in view, the ascendancy should never again be placed in any hands but those of an English population. . . . Lower Canada must be governed now as it must be hereafter, by an English population."—Page 296.

"The only power that can be effectual at once in coercing the present disaffection, and hereafter obliterating the nationality of the French-Canadians, is that of a numerical majority of a loyal and English population."—Page 299.

When the contents of Lord Durham's report became known in Lower Canada, there was, as might have been expected, the greatest alarm felt. Under the Act of 1791 the French-Canadian felt

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that the English-speaking population, although comparatively few in number, treated him with scant deference. To bring him into a union with another Province where this condition would be aggravated was not a very promising outlook. But he had no alternative. The British Parliament was supreme and he was powerless to resist, and so the Union Act was accepted, and in obedience to the mandate of the Governor-General representatives were elected to the Union Parliament. No wonder that he entered with many misgivings upon a second period of his career as a French-Canadian into the uncertain field of Canadian politics.

Great, however, as were his fears, he was glad to find that the Union Act relieved him from nearly every political disability from which he suffered under the Act of 1791. It gave him Responsible Government, the control of the revenues, and opened up for him a career in a much wider arena than he previously occupied. His democratic aspirations were fully satisfied, and there was no menace contained in the Act against his race or religion that imperilled the one or the other. Only one section, (41), which discriminated against the French language in the publication of Parliamentary documents, could be objected to, and even that was capable, he believed, of friendly adjustment.

In spite of this reflection on his language he realized that his freedom had been greatly enlarged. He was no longer bound down by restrictions that harassed him at every turn. His political emancipation was assured, and so between hope and fear he accepted the responsibilities and duties imposed

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upon him by the Union Act and prepared to show that he was not deserving of the stigma cast upon his race and language by Lord Durham. Happily, too, he was not received by the representatives of Upper Canada as a political outcast. The discrimination contained in the Union Act against his language was repealed by the Imperial Government, but pending that repeal the French language was given the same status in the Parliament as the English language. It was used in debate at the option of the speaker, motions from the chair were by rule of the House read in both languages before being submitted to Parliament, and the French-Canadian could read a report of the proceedings and other Parliamentary documents from day to day in his own language, as he was accustomed to do before the union.

The question of racial discrimination having been disposed of, let me now enquire how the French-Canadian conducted himself in the larger sphere of politics in which he had now entered. To trace his hand in all the legislation that was passed during the existence of the Union Act would be a task too arduous, and even were it accomplished would have no real political significance. To agree or disagree with his new associates on ordinary matters of business, whether right or wrong, is inseparable from business relationship of every description. The important thing to consider is his attitude in the settlement of questions of policy involving principles of good government. True to his demands for constitutional government before the Union, we find him, under the leadership of Lafontaine, uniting with Baldwin to make the

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principle of Responsible Government effective, and from this attitude he never varied. He next appears as the coadjutor of the advocates of equality of religious privilege. By an Act of the Imperial Parliament, passed in 1793, one-seventh of the uncleared lands of Canada were set apart for the support of the Protestant Church. This at first was assumed to mean the Anglican Church, but it was afterwards held to include the Church of Scotland. The dissenting churches, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, complained that to deprive them of the benefits of this endowment was an invidious discrimination and a reflection upon the teachings of their church. The Anglican Church and the Church of Scotland were so closely allied with the ruling powers in Upper Canada that although numerically much inferior, they were able to control the Assembly. The Family Compact was their nestling, and that Compact was all-powerful within the walls of Parliament. The dissenting churches found, however, faithful allies in the French-Canadian representatives, and after obtaining authority from the Imperial Government to dispose of the lands known as the Clergy Reserves, a Bill was passed by which the proceeds of these Reserves were devoted to education and other secular purposes, while at the same time conserving existing vested rights. On the decisive vote on the Bill a majority of the French-Canadians voted in its favour.

In the case of Separate Schools the French-Canadian pursued a similar course, namely, that of equality of privilege. In Lower Canada, prior to the Union, Separate Schools had been conceded to

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the Protestant population. And although educational conditions in the two Provinces were not identical, he claimed that the privilege of Separate Schools conceded to the Protestant minority of Lower Canada should be also extended to the Catholic minority of Upper Canada. The precedent, though not without some force, was by no means conclusive, as in the case of Lower Canada the schools of the majority were religious and so barred against Protestants; in Upper Canada the schools were undenominational, and open to every race and creed without distinction. The people of Upper Canada were strongly in favour of their own system of education. They saw that if Separate Schools were established they would create a distinctive cleavage between Protestants and Catholics which might be detrimental to the future political harmony of the Province. As time went on, however, public opinion in Ontario veered in the direction of Separate Schools, and on the final motion for passing the Bill the vote stood seventy-four to thirty. An analysis of the vote shows that a majority of the representatives of Upper Canada who recorded their votes were against the Bill. Its final passage was, therefore, due to the votes of the French-Canadians, whose action in this regard furnished the occasion for a very copious vocabulary for the denunciation of French domination. The Bill, though considered as of doubtful merit at the time, has proved to be educationally efficient, notwithstanding the doubts and criticism of its opponents.

Another instance in which the principle of equality of privilege was involved was the demand

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made by a considerable number of the representatives from Ontario for representation by population, commonly known as "Rep. by Pop." Against this demand Lower Canada steadily set its face. At the date of the Union Act the two Provinces entered the Union with an equal number of representatives, although the population of Lower Canada was greater than that of Upper Canada by two hundred thousand. With the settlement of Upper Canada their relative positions were in time reversed, hence the demand. The answer of Lower Canada was that the fact of superiority in numbers was not considered when it entered the Union, therefore why should it be considered now? At the date of the Union, Lower Canada on the basis of population should have been allowed sixty seats in the Assembly instead of forty-two—the number fixed by the Act for each Province. As might be expected the demand of Upper Canada was vigorously opposed by Lower Canada, and so further accentuated the cry of French domination, and as I was more a student of the press than of political principles, I readily decided in my callow days that the French-Canadian was narrow-minded, and that his obliteration, as Lord Durham recommended, would be a substantial advantage to Canada.

The third period of Canadian history at which we arrive, namely, the Confederation of the British Provinces of North America, is of surpassing interest. Up to this point the French-Canadian was on an equality in the Legislature of Canada with the English-speaking representatives. To embark under a new constitution which effectually destroyed that equality would appear somewhat

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hazardous where class interests were concerned, and in my reading of the conflict between the two races I am more than surprised that the French of Quebec ever agreed to Confederation.

It was no doubt under the influence of this dread that the Hon. A. A. Dorion, the leader of the French Liberals in Quebec, denounced Confederation as a conspiracy to Anglicize the French-Canadians and place them at the mercy of a majority hostile to their religious and national interests. He argued that the provisions in the new Constitution whereby the representation of the English Provinces would be increased according to population, while Lower Canada was condemned to a stationary representation, would subject the French-Canadians to the rule of the majority that would forever increase, and sooner or later invite conflict which would destroy the political influence of the French element in Lower Canada. Mr. Joly, another French Liberal, said, "As a French-Canadian I appeal to my fellow countrymen against the Union." He reminded them of the precious inheritance confided to their keeping—an inheritance, he said, sanctified by the blood of their fathers and which it was their duty to hand down to their children as faultless as they received it.

Notwithstanding these pessimistic though not unnatural fears as to the future of the French-Canadian, Sir George E. Cartier, leader of the dominant political party of his Province, took strong grounds in favour of the Union. He argued that under the proposed federation Quebec had nothing to fear, as her Legislature was to be invested with control of all matters that affected

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her racial or religious privileges. In the larger matters of transportation and finance and tariffs, her interests were common with all other Provinces, and legislation that advanced their interests would necessarily advance the interests of Quebec. To take a racial or a religious view of such a large question, he claimed, was unworthy of the French race. So far the French-Canadian had borne his full share in the development of Canada, in the maintenance of British institutions, and in the defence of the country. Why, then, should not the French-Canadian share in the prospective glory of a great federation which would give Canada a place among the nations of the world? This appeal to his compatriots had a powerful effect, and so we find in every vote that was taken in the old Parliament of Canada with regard to Confederation, that a majority of the French-Canadians were in favour of the Union. The final vote was ninety-one for Confederation and thirty-three against. Had the French-Canadians responded to the appeal made to their race and their religion, and had they been more anxious for the preservation of the special privileges conceded by the Quebec Act of 1774 than for the consolidation of British North America, Confederation would have been a dream instead of the tremendous reality it is to-day.

The next step towards the expansion of the Dominion was taken at the first session of the Parliament of Canada, held in 1867-8, and consisted of a proposal for the acquisition of the North-West Territories. Here again, if the racial idea dominated the French-Canadian, one would expect not only the most resolute opposition to

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such a measure but a solid vote against it. What had the French-Canadian to gain from the acquisition of such a territory? He could not expect it to be peopled by immigrants of his own race, nor by any large number of the people of his own Province. If acquired and settled, it would still more reduce the relative influence of his Province in the councils of the Dominion, and add to the cost of administration, for which he would be bound to pay his share. The measure was, however, adopted after two divisions. In the first the vote stood 104 to 41, only 13 of the 41 being French-Canadians; and in the second division the vote was 121 to 15. The majority of the French-Canadians in both cases voted for adding practically an empire to the Dominion.

In 1871 it was proposed to extend the Dominion of Canada to the Pacific Ocean by the admission of British Columbia. Looking at the matter from a French-Canadian standpoint, one would expect the same objection to be raised in this case as might have been raised against the acquisition of the North-West Territories. The division, however, on the admission of British Columbia showed that the French-Canadian had no quarrel with the idea of expansion westward, as out of sixty-seven members who voted against the admission of British Columbia only fifteen were French-Canadians. What more could they have done in these three instances had they been of the same blood as the majority?

Happily questions of race and creed when they do arise are chiefly confined to the Provincial Legislatures. One striking instance, however, that

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stirred up racial feeling occurred in the House of Commons in 1874, on a motion by Mr. Bowell that Riel, who was the leader of the rebellion in Manitoba in 1869-70, should be expelled from Parliament. On that occasion every representative from Quebec, English as well as French, with two exceptions, voted against Mr. Bowell's motion. Though many reasons were urged, some of them with considerable effect, why Riel should not be expelled from the House, I always felt that racial sympathy had a good deal to do with the action of the French-Canadian on that vote.

But with this exception the severest critic cannot show that on any question on which Parliament has given a decision since Confederation, he has acted under less generous motives or with a narrower view of the interests of Canada than have his English-speaking fellow subjects. Even where religious questions were involved, as in the Jesuit Estates Bill, the Remedial Bill of 1896 and the granting of a Constitution to Alberta in 1905, his vote was divided, as was the vote of the English-speaking representatives.

If it be charged that he votes as a Roman Catholic because his church is interested, so it may be said of the Roman Catholics of other races, and so it could have been said more than once of Protestants in the history of Canada. In the Province of Ontario for the greater part of my lifetime religious questions have entered very largely into political contests, and with varying results. From 1845 to 1855 we fought over the secularization of the Clergy Reserves; from 1842 to 1863 we had the question of Separate Schools; from 1872 to 1896

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we had the Riel Rebellion, the Manitoba School question and the Remedial Bill, all of which affected more or less party alignments. Since 1908 we have been agitated over the Ne Temere decree. None of these to any extent disturbed the serenity of the French-Canadians.

It may be said that the French-Canadian is more impulsive than the Saxon, that he is more under the influence of the demagogue, and so affected by his emotions that he is easily swayed from one side of politics to the other. What is his record on this point? Referring to the Parliamentary Guide of 1912, page 272, I find a summary of the Dominion general elections since Confederation which gives the standing of both political parties in the different Provinces on each occasion. The tabulation shows the number of seats carried by Conservatives in Ontario and Quebec. To give the Liberal seats held is unnecessary, for the gain or loss in one case shows the gain or loss in the other.

	Ont.	Que.		Ont.	Que.
1867	46	45	1891	48	30
1872	38	38	1896	43	16
1874	24	32	1900	55	7
1878	59	45	1904	48	11
1882	54	48	1908	48	11
1887	52	33	1911	72	27

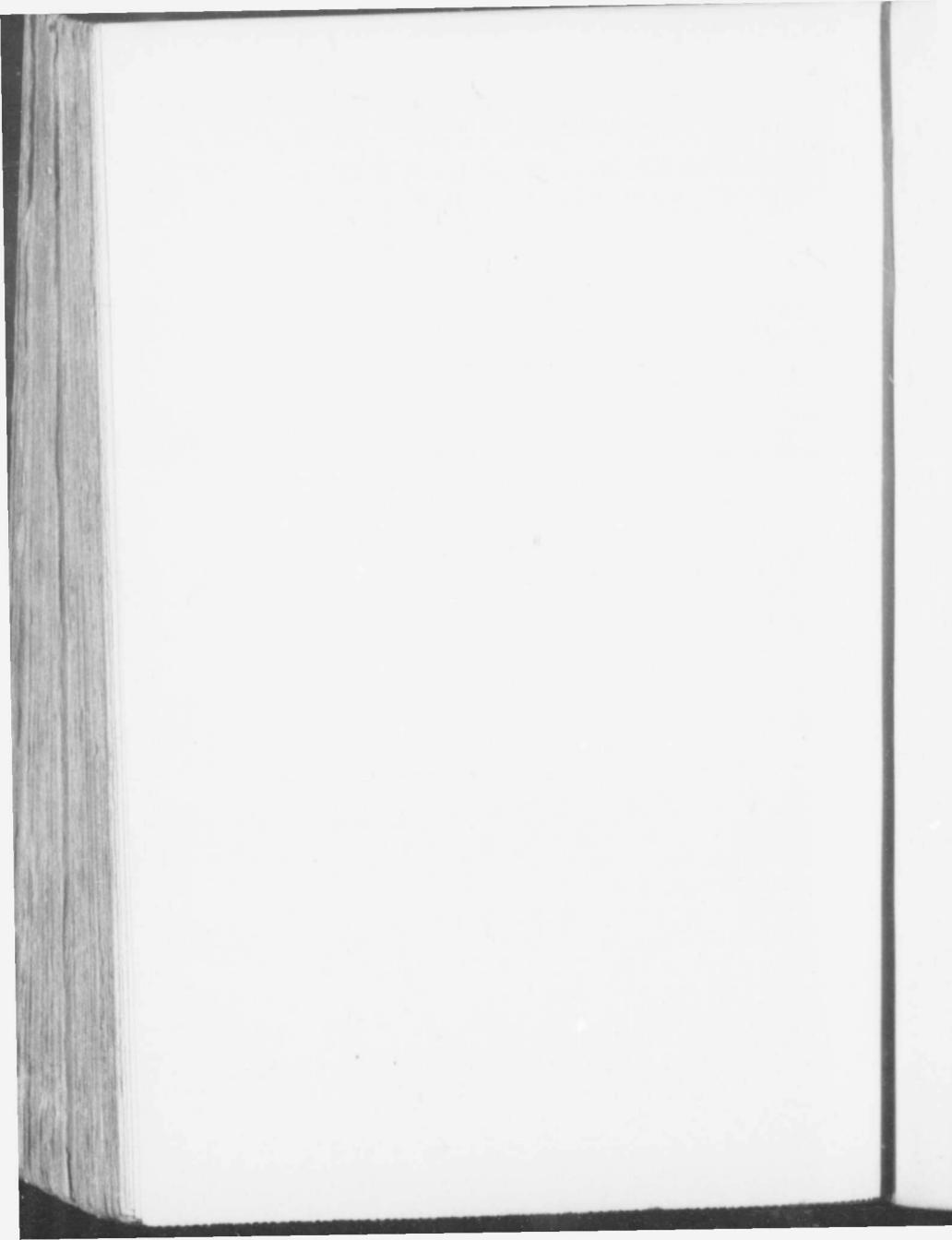
From the above table it will be seen that the Conservative vote in the Province of Quebec was almost as steady as in the Province of Ontario. It was only in 1896, under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that any decided change took place—

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a change that often takes place under constitutional government where no racial differences enter into the contest.

Has the French-Canadian proved his capacity for filling responsible positions under the Crown? Read the life of Lafontaine, of Morin, of Cartier, of Dorion, of Joly, of Laurier, as to the Dominion, and Chauveau, De Boucherville, Marchand and Sir Lomer Gouin in the Quebec Legislature, and the answer will not be disappointing. In the House of Commons, in the Senate, in the Speaker's chair of both Houses, in Spencerwood, in the Supreme Court, he has taken a place side by side with men of the Saxon race without any evidence of mental inequality or inferiority. In all these spheres I have seen him or have studied his record, and simply find that he is made of the same clay as other men, and with the ordinary infirmities of our common humanity. He may be subject to the temptations of office, and to an ambition not always glorified by achievement. He may even give preference at times to ecclesiastical interests over political obligations, but one thing is certain, that he is not opposed to the highest ideals of Canadian nationality, nor to the maintenance of responsible government and all that it involves as a fundamental principle of legislation. He may not represent all the virtues on the calendar, but his record for over 150 years, so far as I can discover, proves that he was not the menace to civil and religious liberty which he was declared to be by the Press of forty years ago.

APPENDICES.



APPENDIX I.

WORK ACCOMPLISHED BY THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

The following statements show what was accomplished by the Education Department during my term as Minister of Education from 1883 to 1899:

PUBLIC SCHOOLS—NEW FEATURES INTRODUCED.

1. Revised and consolidated the Acts and regulations respecting Public Schools.
2. Established Kindergartens as part of the Public and Separate School system.
3. Provided for instruction in Household Science and manual training.
4. Required Public Schools to be opened and closed with the reading of Scriptures and devotional exercises, and authorized the use of Scripture readings for this purpose.
5. Placed the study of Canadian history, drawing, temperance and hygiene on the list of obligatory subjects of Public School course.
6. Prepared and authorized a new series of textbooks in every subject on the Public School course.
7. Reduced the number of authorized textbooks used in Public Schools from sixty-five (the number authorized in 1883) to eleven in 1898, or one textbook on each subject.
8. Provided for the manufacture of all textbooks used in Public, Separate and High Schools in Canada. In 1883, out of a total of 184 textbooks in use in Ontario schools, 87 were imported from Great Britain or the United States. In 1904 only the printed sheets of one textbook were imported.
9. Secured the preparation of all textbooks by Canadian authors with only one exception. In 1883, out of a total of 184 textbooks, 135 were the product of American or British authors.
10. Enlarged the course of study for teachers' certificates.

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11. Raised the qualification of examiners for teachers' certificates and restricted appointments to the teaching profession.
12. Established Arbor Day and Empire Day.
13. Extended summer holidays to six weeks in rural schools and to two months in urban schools, and added Easter holidays.
14. Extended term of Model Schools from six weeks to three months.
15. Established County Model School Libraries.
16. Established District Model Schools.
17. Provided for libraries in Public Schools for the use of pupils.
18. Established libraries in teachers' institutes.
19. Changed Mechanic Institute Libraries to Public Libraries.
20. Established Art Schools.
21. Appointed historiographer to compile history of the school system of the Province.
22. Established continuation classes in Public Schools.
23. Appointed inspectors for schools of New Ontario.
24. Provided a fixed grant of \$100 for each school in the unorganized districts.
25. Arranged for the removal of Upper Canada College to a new site and for the transfer of the old site on King Street to the University.
26. Established a Technical School in Toronto, Brantford, Stratford, Hamilton, Berlin, etc.

	1883.	1904.
Number of Public Schools	5,252	5,758
Number of teachers	6,911	8,610
Number of kindergarten teachers .....	..	255
Number of kindergarten pupils .....	..	12,021
Number of first-class certificates	211	633
Number of second-class certificates	2,169	4,192
Number of teachers trained at Normal School	1,853	4,564
Number of teachers holding University degree .....	..	86

SEPARATE SCHOOLS—NEW FEATURES INTRODUCED.

1. Amended and consolidated the Separate Schools Act.
2. Appointed an additional inspector for Separate Schools.
3. Directed the preparation of a series of Readers for Separate Schools.
4. Established a Model School for training teachers of Bilingual Schools.
5. Directed the preparation of a series of Bilingual Readers.
6. Appointed an inspector for Bilingual Schools.

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	1883.	1904.
Number of Separate Schools	194	419
Number of teachers	397	944
Average attendance of pupils	13,705	29,920
Total expenditure	\$153,611	\$506,311

HIGH SCHOOLS—NEW FEATURES INTRODUCED.

1. Changed the Government grants to High Schools from a fixed sum to a grant based on equipment, salaries of teachers, conditions of premises, etc.
2. Established science courses in Physics, Botany and Biology.
3. Required Collegiate Institutes to provide specialists in certain departments of High School work.
4. Abolished Second Class Certificates as a qualification for High School masters.
5. Established reference libraries in High Schools and Collegiate Institutes.
6. Established gymnasiums and corps of military cadets in High Schools and Collegiate Institutes.
7. Authorized a new series of textbooks for High Schools.
8. Arranged a definite qualification for specialists on the basis of equivalents in all the universities of Canada.
9. Established a Normal College at Hamilton for the training of High School teachers.

HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGIATE INSTITUTES.

	1883.	1904.
Number of High Schools	88	96
Number of Collegiate Institutes	16	42
Number of teachers	347	661
Number of pupils	11,483	27,759
Continuation Classes .....	..	482
Number of pupils enrolled .....	..	5,349
Pupils passed Matriculation examination .	277	851
Pupils passed Entrance examination (1882)	4,371	14,632

NORMAL SCHOOLS—NEW FEATURES INTRODUCED.

1. Erected and opened an additional Normal School at London, making the number three instead of two, as in 1883. Cost, \$100,798.
2. Enlarged the Normal School in Toronto by the addition of a third storey to the main building, rebuilt the Model School and extended the Normal School proper for the better accommodation of the Department of Household Science and Manual Training, and other improvements. Cost, \$213,000.

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3. Enlarged Normal School at Ottawa by providing a new public hall and departments for Household Science and the Normal Kindergarten. Cost, \$110,000.

4. Extended the terms of the Normal School from four months to six. Subsequently extended under Mr. Harcourt to one year.

5. Established a department for the training of Kindergarten teachers in the three Normal Schools.

6. Established courses of instruction in Household Science and Manual Training in the Normal Schools. Subsequently enlarged under Mr. Harcourt.

7. Opened a gallery for the exhibition of the work of Canadian artists in the Departmental Buildings, Toronto.

8. Established the Department of Canadian Archæology and appointed Curator. The collection of Indian relics made by the Curator ranks among the best on the continent.

9. Founded the Ontario Historical Society, with headquarters at the Education Department.

10. Collected for the use of the Normal School students and others specimens of the flowers of Ontario.

11. A similar collection of the birds of Ontario scientifically classified and arranged.

12. Enlarged the Art Gallery of the Department, and added the busts of all the Governors-General of Canada, the Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario, the Chancellors of the Universities and the Chief Justices of the High Court.

SCHOOL OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE—1883-1904.

1. Enlarged the buildings of the School of Science, Toronto, at different times and added to the equipment. Total cost for these purposes, \$650,000.

2. Enlarged the staff and extended the courses of study.

3. Established summer classes at different points in New Ontario for short courses in Mining.

4. Established a reference library in School of Science for the use of students and staff.

5. Established a Mining School at Kingston, secured the erection of new buildings and made provision towards maintenance. Aid towards buildings over \$100,000 and for maintenance annually about \$20,000.

	1883.	1904.
Value of buildings and equipment	\$40,000	\$650,000
Number of professors, lecturers, etc.	2	27
Number of students	21	483

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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

1. Secured legislation for the federation of all the universities of Ontario.

2. Made provision for the establishment of a Medical Faculty in the University of Toronto and the federation of existing Medical Colleges. Toronto Medical School was federated in 1886 and Trinity Medical School in 1903-4.

3. Established the Department of Political Science and Psychology in the Provincial University.

4. Enlarged the staff of the Provincial University in all its Departments.

5. Secured the affiliation with Toronto University of the following colleges: Royal College of Dental Surgeons, School of Pharmacy, Agricultural College, Veterinary College, two Schools of Music, and several others.

6. Secured from the Legislature for the endowment of the University at different times the appropriation of Crown lands in New Ontario amounting to ten townships of 240,000 acres of Crown land.

7. Secured appropriation from the Legislature to meet the annual needs of the University in excess of its own annual income.

8. Co-operated with the trustees of the University in the erection of new buildings for (1) Biology, (2) Chemistry, (3) Students' Union and Gymnasium, (4) Convocation Hall, (5) Women's Residence, (6) University Library, (7) Physics Building, (8) Medical Buildings.

9. Recommended the grant of \$160,000 for the restoration of the University after the fire of 1890.

10. Gave assurance of a grant of \$100,000 for the new Medical Hospital in the interests of medical education.

	1882-3.	1903-4.
Number of students in Arts	320	1,209
Number of professors and instructors in Arts	21	120
Number of students in Medicine .....	..	652
Number of professors and instructors in Medicine .....	..	96
Number of federated or affiliated colleges	3	15
Number of students in colleges federated or affiliated with University*	650	3,157
Number of degrees granted in Arts	65	141
Other degrees	21	321
Cost of University staff and maintenance. \$66,285		\$213,720

* The affiliated colleges in 1882-3 were Trinity Medical School, Toronto Medical College, St. Michael's College and Knox College. The number of students in attendance would probably aggregate 650. Exact figures cannot be obtained.

APPENDIX II.

SHALL CANADA ALWAYS BE A DEPENDENCY OF THE EMPIRE ?

EXTENSION OF THE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE HON. GEORGE
W. ROSS, AT THE BANQUET TENDERED TO VISCOUNT
MILNER BY THE NATIONAL CLUB, OCTOBER 28TH, 1908.

The address which follows is an extension of the notes of the address which the Hon. Geo. W. Ross delivered in reply to the toast "The Empire," proposed by the Hon. Geo. E. Foster at the banquet tendered by the National Club to Viscount Milner, on the occasion of his visit to Toronto, October 28th, 1908. Col. Geo. T. Denison in the Chair. Mr. Ross referred in complimentary terms to Viscount Milner's speech and to the services he rendered the Empire in South Africa, and also to the lucid and statesmanlike manner in which he discussed the relations of the colonies to the Imperial Government.

The greatest example in the history of the world of a stable, progressive and efficient government, purely democratic in conception and operation, is furnished by the United States of America. And the greatest example in the history of the world of colonial government, federal in form and democratic to the verge of independence, is furnished by the Dominion of Canada. In the manner of their development, Canada and the United States are in many respects analogous. Both governments are based upon the federal principle. Both had well-defined constitutions and extensive powers of legislation before becoming a federal union. Both were a combination of widely-diversified interests and resources. Both felt the necessity of enlarging their boundaries by acquiring the title to adjoining territory—the United States by the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, and Canada by the purchase of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to Prince Rupert's Land in 1868. Both projected their great transportation systems from east to west. Both depended largely for the increase of population upon the overflow of European coun-

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tries, and both, under various forms and with traditional modifications, have admitted the masses of the people to a large share in government. The United States has demonstrated, contrary to the expectations, and it may be the wishes, of the monarchs of Europe, that democratic government is compatible with the security of life and property—with law and order in the community. Canada has shown that all the privileges of democracy are compatible with colonial self-government. No nation, no matter how broad-based its constitution, could, in practice, enjoy greater liberty than Canada enjoys 'n the internal and local administration of its affairs. It is only when we approach the zone of Imperial interests that we realize our limitations, and that, notwithstanding the liberality of our constitution, we are in fact not a nation, but a dependency, in the full sense of the term. Within that Imperial zone Imperial authority is supreme, and interests of the greatest moment to us may be disposed of without our will or consent. The Ashburton Treaty, the Oregon Treaty, the Washington Treaty and the Alaska boundary award amply establish this proposition. And although we have no quarrel with the Imperial Government, although, on the contrary, at no time in our history has the feeling of love, loyalty and devotion to the Empire been more sincere and substantial than now, yet without doing violence to those feelings in the slightest, or without arousing even a suspicion as to their sincerity, we may very properly ask ourselves, "Is it not possible to so adjust our relations to the mother country as to strengthen what Gladstone called 'the noble fabric of the British Empire,' and at the same time obtain a status of greater dignity and influence for ourselves than is possible under colonial conditions?" We are no longer infantile in years or in experience. We have shown our ability to grapple with all the political problems which have arisen in the last hundred years, and of settling them successfully and honourably. We have measured up to every call that commerce or democracy or public morality has made upon us. Why should we not, then, cast our horoscope anew? Surely the statesmanship of the twentieth century has not lost that vigour and prescience which, in a glorious past, raised the British Empire to the sovereignty of the world. And if the cultivation of the arts of peace and enterprise and loyalty is a qualification for a higher than a merely colonial status, Canada's promotion should not be long delayed. Said the Hon. Joseph Howe, in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, in 1854, when discussing the relations of the Provinces to the Empire, "The day is not far distant when our sons, standing in our places, trained in the enjoyment of public liberty by those who have gone before them, and compelled to be statesmen by the throbbing of their British blood and by the necessities of their position, will be heard across the Atlantic."

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Now, what are our claims for the reconsideration of our Imperial relations? First, we have established our political ascendancy over the whole of British North America, that is, over one-fourth of the British Empire, containing a population of 7,000,000 souls. No monarch in Europe, save one, can claim jurisdiction over so vast a domain. In advancing this proposition I do not wish to forget what we owe to the example, the guidance and protection in the past, and even now, of the motherland. Nevertheless, I think it will be admitted that the enterprise and statesmanship which evolved Confederation, and which gave to Canada her ascendancy in British North America, was to the manner born—was Canadian, not Imperial. True there were times in our history when the withdrawal of the protecting arm of the mother country would have wrecked all our hopes, and perhaps have completely changed our destiny, and yet it is equally true that at other times the minds of British statesmen were moved, all too reluctantly, to grant privileges of citizenship, which, if finally denied, would have been equally fatal to our aspirations. And although occasionally there was a momentary hesitation in Canada as to whether her colonial connection was in her best interest, this hesitation was no more a pause in her career than the hesitation and doubt of British statesmen as to colonial connection from the standpoint of Imperial interest.

Many illustrations of this hesitation might be cited. In the debate in the British House of Commons on Canada, December 22nd, 1837, Disraeli said, "That our dominion in America should now be brought to a conclusion I sincerely desire, but I desire it should terminate in peace and friendship. Great would be the amicable separation of the two countries, and great would be the honour this country would reap in consenting to such a state."

Again, in writing to Earl Malmesbury in 1852, he said, "These wretched colonies will be all independent in a few years, and are a millstone around our necks."

John Bright, speaking at Birmingham in 1862 (after referring to the predicted dissolution of the American republic by the Civil War), said, "I have another and a far brighter vision before me. It may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation, stretching from the frozen north in unbroken lines to the glowing south, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main, and I see one people, and one language, and one law, and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom and the refuge of the oppressed of every race and every clime."

Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Manchester, 1864, said, "The colonies should pay their own way, and if the old dream of making their interests subservient to the mother country had passed away, it was just as little reason that the mother

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country should bear charges that rightly belonged to them, and all the more if the colonies set up against England the mischiefs of an exploded protection policy."

Mr. Richard Cobden, in 1865, said, "Nor must we forget that the only serious danger of a quarrel between these two countries (the United States and Canada) arises from the connection of Canada with this country. In my opinion it is for the interest of both that we should as speedily as possible sever the political thread by which we are as communities connected, and leave the individuals on both sides to cultivate the relations of commerce and friendly intercourse as with other nations. We have recognized the right of Canadians to control their own affairs, even to the point of asserting their independence whenever they think fit, and which we know to be only a question of time."

In the "Life of Lord Dufferin" there is the following, "It is quite true that after I had been appointed to Canada (1872) Bob Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke) came up to me in a club and said, 'Now you ought to make it your business to get rid of the Dominion.' To which I replied that I certainly did not intend to be handed down to history as the Governor-General who had lost Canada."

The political aspirations of Canada from her earliest days were towards those measures of civil and religious liberty which mark the progress of the last century. As far back as 1774 Canadians insisted that the disqualification of Roman Catholics from holding office on account of their religion should be removed, and removed it was by the Quebec Act of that year. The demand for this change originated not in the Colonial Office, but in Canada, and the fact that no harm came to the Government of Canada by the change was an incentive to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. Again, in 1791, Canadians appealed to the Imperial Parliament for a Legislative Assembly in which representatives elected by the people should legislate for the people, instead of a Council appointed by the Crown under the Quebec Act. Here again the change was the product of Canadian aspiration. Again, in 1841, when it was clear from Lord Durham's report that Canadians would be content with nothing less than the full measure of responsible government enjoyed by the mother country, the Imperial Government surrendered its control of the customs and postoffice and territorial revenues and civil appointments to a Canadian Parliament. Responsible government, as we have it in Canada, is a plant of our own growing. It was deeply rooted in the soil long before Lord Durham's visit to Canada, and has been recognized as worthy of preservation and protection by every Governor-General from Lord Elgin's time to the present day.

It is said that Britain discovered herself on the battlefields of South Africa. Canada discovered herself at the conference

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held in Quebec in 1864 to form a union with her sister colonies. She then discovered that by the adoption of the federal principle of Government she could possibly attain the ascendancy of British North America. Starting out with four Provinces, with an area of 500,000 square miles, and a population of 3,000,000, she began her onward march, each year giving fresh proof of her optimism and her vitality. Now it is the purchase of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, adding an empire to her dominion. Then it is the incorporation of British Columbia into the federation, giving her a frontier on the Pacific Ocean. Next it is the widening of her Atlantic frontier by the addition of Prince Edward Island. Scattered peoples are given territorial rights—then equality with the original members of the compact. Courts of justice are erected, officers to preserve law and order appointed, the franchise broadened, representation in Parliament conceded, till in the short period of forty years the original compact of four Provinces has become nine, the original area of 500,000 square miles has become 3,700,000 square miles, and the original population of 3,000,000 has become 7,000,000. Over all this vast area, and to its remotest corners, from Halifax to Vancouver, from the forty-ninth parallel to beyond the Arctic Circle, the authority of the Canadian Parliament is supreme, and the mandate of a Canadian Minister of Justice obeyed. With the exception only of such laws as a common sovereign deems necessary for the protection of Imperial interests, the ascendancy of Canada over British North America is as complete and undisputed as the ascendancy of Great Britain over the United Kingdom. In the ownership of this vast territory feudalism has no traditional monopoly. Upon forms of religious worship there is no restriction by the State. In the division of legislative power there is no hereditary privilege. In citizenship there is no ancestral distinction. The whole course of political ascendancy, from the military rule of General Murray to the present day, is the product of Canadian statesmanship, embodied in the statutes of a Canadian Parliament—the expression of the sovereign voice of Canadian public opinion.

Secondly, Canada has practically accomplished the physical ascendancy of British North America. When ancient Rome established a colony in any part of the world, she immediately connected it with the capital by means of highways built as only Rome knew how to build highways. This gave her physical access to her subjects in the colony and facilities for trade, as well as facilities for continued control.

On the application of steam to transportation, all the progressive nations of the world availed themselves of its advantages, and the measure of a nation's resources and enterprise was the extent to which it increased the efficiency of transportation by this means. In 1840 the United States had only 3,000 miles of railroad for a population of 17,000,000. In 1808

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the railroad mileage is 125,000 miles. In 1867 Canada had 3,000 miles of railroad for a population of 3,000,000. In 1908 the railroad mileage is 25,000 miles, or 3,500 miles for every million of its population, against 2,500 miles in the United States to a million. In 1886 the Canadian Pacific Railway spanned the continent, and before three years have passed another transcontinental railway will be completed, and a third will be well under way. The United States have six railways across the continent. Canada will soon have three. The outlets by railway along routes already projected, and ultimately by Hudson Bay, will be ample for the transportation of the west. What other country can furnish a more striking triumph over the physical difficulties of transportation?

By our canal system we have similarly shown our mastery of difficulties. From the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the western limit of Lake Superior, a distance of 2,240 miles, there is now unbroken water communication. As far as Montreal, ocean liners can find their way with safety—a distance of over eight hundred miles. Thence westward for 1,500 miles farther navigation is continuous for vessels of smaller, though considerable, capacity. Harbors have been deepened and dredged, elevators, the largest in the world, erected, and telephonic and postal communication established between the east and the west and north and south, so that the remotest part of the Dominion, vaster than the empire of the Caesars, can make its wants known at the capital every hour of the day. And, if this were not enough, the cables which touch our shores bring to us hourly tidings from every corner of the globe.

Thirdly, we have achieved the commercial ascendancy of British North America. We no longer export the great bulk of our natural products to be manufactured abroad. We are very largely our own manufacturers, and in some instances we supply foreign markets. Every year we are becoming less dependent upon the skilled labour of alien workshops; every year we consume more of the products of our own looms and factories. Canadian rolling mills furnish equipment for Canadian railways, send their surplus to India and South Africa, and Canadian shipyards stock our inland lakes. And even were the Canadian ports entirely closed against foreign manufacture, there is little that we need for the necessities and luxuries of life that we could not ourselves produce. The competition of the foreign artisan excites little or no alarm, and the recurring cycles of financial depression are every year becoming less disturbing. Our monetary institutions supply abundant capital for the wants of trade, and our credit is sufficient to meet all demands of the greatest national undertakings, on terms as favorable as can be obtained by any other nation in the world. To have attained to this position in our

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colonial tutelage is significant of the business capacity, enterprise and integrity of the merchants and traders of Canada.

Fourthly, we have accomplished the moral and intellectual ascendancy of Canada. There is no hamlet so remote and no citizen so isolated as to be beyond the reach of the missionary and the schoolmaster. And there is no Canadian, no matter what his social position, that is debarred from the benefits of elementary education. To those who aspire for a higher education, there are colleges and universities which have already proved themselves equal to all the requirements of the best natural talents. Illiteracy, like pauperism, hides its diminished and degraded countenance in the light of our Canadian educational facilities.

Assuming, then, what I have said to be true as to the achievements of Canada, is it not reasonable to expect that Canadians should look forward to a larger life and a broader outlook than they now enjoy? Would we be doing justice to ourselves—to our present status or to a certain future of great wealth and population, if we failed to aspire to a more independent and influential position in the councils of the Empire and the world?

And so the question arises, In what direction shall we look for that larger life and that greater influence to which our present status and future development appear to supply a reasonable claim? To this question there are but three conjectures—annexation to the United States, an independent Canadian commonwealth, or Imperial federation. The first of these, annexation to the United States, is unthinkable. It would mean the negation of one hundred and fifty years of Canadian loyalty to Great Britain. It would be on our part a confession of failure as the administrators of the great heritage committed to our keeping at the surrender of Quebec. It would be a rupture of those filial bands which in a thousand ways bind us to the "altars and the fires" of the motherland. It would simply be the last refuge of despair.

The second conjecture—an independent Canadian commonwealth—could be more easily entertained. The very term—"Canadian commonwealth" is euphonious and dignified, and tingles the lips in uttering it. A Canadian commonwealth—the companion of the Northern Star, as the Australian commonwealth on the other side of the globe is the companion of the Southern Cross, with half a continent as a heritage—free to "sail wherever ship could sail" under its own flag; with its ambassadors in all the courts of the world—with all the insignia and all the prerogatives of a nation—with a Parliament subject to no limitations and its acts subject to no veto. The very conjecture stirs the blood and fills the mind with visions of the future which words cannot express, and we involuntarily say with Tennyson:—

"Pray Heaven our greatness may not fall
Through craven fear of being great."

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The third conjecture—Imperial Federation—remains to be considered. What are its claims for favour?

(1) It would continue Imperial connection and all that it implies—connection with an Empire which, in the words of the Hon. Mr. Asquith, "is the greatest and the most fruitful experiment that the world has ever seen in the corporate union of free and self-governing communities," or, as described by Lord Rosebery, "the noblest example yet known of free, just and adaptable government."

To continue our relations with the British Empire is to preserve the continuity of our institutions, our models in statesmanship and in government; is to preserve all that has entered our thoughts and lives of the achievements of her statesmen, her soldiers and sailors, her leaders in religious thought, her great scholars and thinkers, her enterprise, her courage and her confidence in her own right arm in days of trial and amid the storm of dissolving nations, as when Pitt said of her at the close of the war with Napoleon, "she saved herself by her exertions and could be trusted to save Europe by her example." To continue our relations with an empire so renowned is a stimulus to all that is best in human nature which we cannot afford to forego.

(2) It would place Canada in a filial relation with the other colonies of the empire. The problem of colonial government is one of the most interesting in the history of modern civilization. Here and there upon lands discovered in different parts of the globe settlements were made amid the most unpromising surroundings by a few quiet and obscure emigrants from the British Isles or from France or Spain or Germany. How these settlers increased their numbers and established themselves amid hostile natives, and advanced stage by stage until they assumed in numbers and influence the status of a nation, is among one of the marvels of modern history. As active and successful colonizers the Anglo-Saxon race has had no superiors. And now that great colonies of that race exist on every continent, all sprung from the loins of the same world power, and all with kindred blood in their veins, it would appear to be a seemly thing, if for no other reason than one of filial duty, that they should unite as a common sisterhood in token of their common origin. Why should not Australia and South Africa and "his Majesty's dominions beyond the seas" be linked together and to the motherland by a union as between equals, each to reflect its greatness and the spirit of its institutions upon the other. "The strength of the wolf is the pack." The power of the American Republic does not consist in the autonomy of the different States of the Union, but in the Union itself. Forty-six republics, with their different motives for action and divergent views, would never coalesce as the American States now do where any great national purpose is to be served,

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nor would they ever have the same feeling towards each other they have now, if they were not correlated parts of one government. A common purpose united them in their early history, and how the world has gained by this union! And if the British Empire was similarly bound by one common impulse and the ties of a common federation, would not the civilization and freedom of the world gain even still more? True, the colonies are separated by many leagues of sea. The brave men and women by whom they were founded travelled far from the seat of empire and from the hearths of their childhood for a home, and only in their dreams "do they behold the Hebrides"; but filial affection is not necessarily chilled by distance, nor nature's ties sundered by parallels of latitude. How much greater would their affection be, and how much stronger the tie, if the strands which bound them to the empire also bound them to each other in one common bond of family affection and mutual good-will!

To lead a regiment into battle requires some knowledge of the art of war, but to command an army successfully is a much larger undertaking. Colonial governments have proved their ability in their respective spheres to command a regiment, and have won many decisive battles for local government and colonial advancement. In the larger sphere of a federated empire they would be partners in the conflicts of an empire, and its rivals for the laurels of world-competing Marathons. They would be called to bend the bow of Ulysses, as well as to carry his quiver. Where provincial boundaries now restrict their vision, they would be able from the greater altitude of the Imperial outlook to see the players in the world game of statecraft as it is played by the experts of every nation, and would learn to avoid the errors and to emulate the skill of those who carry off the prizes, whatever they may be. The victories of the empire would be their victories, and the glamour of its achievements would be reflected in every colonial field of action.

(3) It would be a source of strength to the empire. No patriotic colonist would desire federation at a loss to the empire, or at the expense of the empire. Even in her "splendid isolation," Britain can depend upon the assistance of her colonies, as was the case in the war in South Africa. How much more secure, however, would she be in all her conflicts if her colonies were indissolubly united with her? Moreover, the moral effect of such a union would have a deterrent effect upon her enemies, and if the gage of battle had to be taken up their assistance would render "assurance doubly sure." Britain, with a population of only forty millions, stands to-day "four square" against a militant Europe. Add to her population the twenty millions of self-governing colonies, and who would dare molest her? In every quarter of the globe she would have an ally of her own kith and kin, to whom her honour was dearer than

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life and to whom no sacrifice would be too great on her behalf. On the other hand, if by any obsession on her part, her colonies should drift away, then her isolation would be terrible indeed. The Duke of Wellington, referring to the troubles in Canada in 1837, urged the Colonial Office to bestir itself, saying, "If you lose Upper Canada, you will lose all your colonies, and if you lose them you may as well lose London." The very thought of the empire with all its colonies estranged is appalling. How her enemies across the Channel would rejoice at such an event! What a gathering there would be of the vultures of war, with whetted beaks, to swoop upon her the first moment she was off her guard! Old animosities would be revived as an occasion for attack. The courts of Europe would treat her wishes with indifference, if not disdain, and it would take another Trafalgar and Waterloo to re-establish her before the world.

And what of the colonies so estranged? Might it mean the reconquest of Canada by some foreign power? Would China or Japan find Australia an easy prey? Would South Africa sit at the feet of some conquering power? Would India and the islands of the sea continue to pay tribute to their royal master?

But to such a federation it may be objected that it would embroil the colonies in the intrigues of European courts and ultimately in European wars. In answer we may ask, Are the colonies now immune from foreign intrigue and from the consequences of Imperial wars? In 1812 Canada was in a state of siege because of Britain's quarrel with the United States, although she was in no sense a party to the quarrel, and history may repeat itself. Interference with British authority in any part of the globe might embroil the colonies, even if they performed the cowardly part of simple spectators, while in a federated union the colonies would have a voice in the councils of the empire, and that voice might be the means of reconciling differences and thus prevent the cruel arbitrament of war. European wars are in a certain sense hereditary. France has not forgotten Sedan. Austria has not forgotten Solferino. Russia has not forgotten Moscow. England has not forgotten the Spanish Armada. To place in the councils of the empire men who have no hereditary antipathies—men who were removed by generations from the jealousies and feuds of continental courts and cabinets, would in itself be a measurable guarantee for peace, just as to federate the empire would be a measurable restraint upon the belligerent disposition of unfriendly nations. We cannot, if we would, avoid all the consequences of British wars, whether in Europe or elsewhere. Why, then, should we shrink from a possible opportunity of preventing such wars by taking part in the councils of the empire or in fighting them to a finish if there was no other alternative?

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(4) It would greatly expedite the business of the British Parliament. On this point I may be permitted to quote Mr. Sydney Low, in his admirable work on "The Governance of England": "The House of Commons is not so much overworked as overwhelmed by merely the multiplicity of its duties. No other legislative body in the world—none of which history has given us an account—had to attend to so many things at once so weighty and so trivial. We are endeavoring to get our one Legislature to perform that which in Germany, in the United States, and even in Canada, is performed by many legislatures. There is no distinction between the great and the small, between subjects merely local and transient and those of Imperial and enduring importance. The same steam hammer is raised and lowered to break an egg or to pound an armour plate. An act to alter the succession to the throne or to legalize slavery would be performed by the same machinery, and it would go through the same steps as one empowering a district council to examine milk pails. The members of the House of Commons in their casual hours of comparative leisure are expected to discuss the policy of an empire greater than that of Alexander, Charlemagne and Napoleon Bonaparte taken together. From a famine in Asia to a campaign in Africa, to turn to a row with the police in Ireland or a squabble with the postoffice in London. The men who on Monday afternoon are holding in their hands the issues of peace and war and pondering a decision that may change the course of history may on Tuesday be discussing either tramways in Camberwell or the gas works in Gravesend."

The remedy he suggests is devolution, that is, "devolving internal business upon national or provincial councils. The Imperial Parliament should devote itself to those things which are really imperial, such as the army and navy, international trade, and the mutual relations of the various constituent States of the Empire. Purely local affairs should be delegated to purely local assemblies." This states admirably the outlines of a scheme for Imperial federation, which we now propose to consider somewhat in detail.

But I may be asked for a working plan of Imperial federation. Its advantages may be conceded, but how is it to be carried out? A working plan for a scheme so vast would require more initiative than I would think of claiming, and yet I may be permitted to offer a few practical suggestions. Imperial federation is a proposal to bind together under one central government the United Kingdom and the self-governing colonies. And as, in any federation, the parties to such a compact must stand upon equality, it would follow that under Imperial federation the powers and privileges of the Parliaments of the federating bodies would be on a parity. So far as the colonies are concerned, they could enter the federation without surrendering any of the rights of self-

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government which they now possess, or changing one line of their constitutions, but once federated they would have the same status in the central government as the United Kingdom. If then, the powers of the British Parliament as now constituted were reduced to those possessed by colonial governments, the status of all the federating bodies would be equal. The excess of the power now possessed by the British Parliament would then constitute the powers of the central government. Now, what is that excess? It consists mainly of four things: The maintenance and control of the defensive forces of the empire; the right to declare war; the right to make treaties, and the government of India and the Crown colonies and dependencies. All matters outside of these, as Mr. Low says, are purely local, and may be relegated to the Parliaments of the federated bodies. That is to say, the postal systems, the militia, education, State hospitals, banking, labour, the poor laws, liquor licenses, railways, tramways, municipal legislation, might be regarded as local, and left, as in Canada and Australia, with the Parliaments of the federated bodies.

Nor would it be necessary to withdraw from the federating bodies the power of taxation which they now possess. The United Kingdom would remain under free trade until its Parliament declared otherwise. And so the colonies would retain a protective tariff so long as their Parliaments authorized them so to do. Indeed, it may be assumed that the policy of protection, even if incidental to a revenue tariff, has become so fixed in the colonies that no self-governing colony would abandon it. And if not abandoned, a moment's reflection would show that it involves so many local considerations and details, and is so exceptional in its application and bearing, that no government, except one in touch with local conditions, could successfully deal with it. The tariff that suits Canada would not suit Australia, as the business interests of the two countries are entirely different. The proof of this is fully established by reference to the customs and excise duties of the two colonies. And if "tariff reform" should prevail in the United Kingdom, any departure from free trade will require to be adapted to the industries of the kingdom, possibly in a very different manner from the tariff that prevails in Canada or Australia. The principle of federation is local freedom, and this principle should apply to the tariff as it affects local industries and the interests of local labour. Even "preferential tariff" within the empire, desirable as it is, must be left to the federated bodies. While they would doubtless gladly accept a "preference," each in the markets of the other, it would be inconsistent with the principle of local self-government to allow the central government to fix the terms on which such preference should be conceded.

But it may be said that in the United States, in Canada, Australia, and all federated States and Provinces, the subject

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of tariffs belongs to the federal or central government. That is true, but we are not dealing with a federation of States contiguous to each other, between whom there must be the greatest freedom of intercourse, or else federation would be impossible. We are dealing with groups of States already federated and so far removed from each other geographically as to be distinct and separate communities. The relative position of Canada and Australia is very different from any two of the United States—say Maine and California, and still greater than between two contiguous States. And although by virtue of their right of taxation one group of colonies or States might engage in a war of tariffs upon another group of colonies or States (which they now can, but do not), the closer relation in which the colonies would be placed, if federated, would surely not be an exciting cause to be less friendly towards each other than they have shown themselves in their state of colonial separation.

What then would be the functions of the central government?

(1) It would be charged with the defence of the empire and the maintenance and control of the army and navy. The Secretary of State for War and the Lords of the Admiralty would be transferred, with all their duties and responsibilities, to the central government. Each member of the federation could, as now, but under the direction of the central government, deal locally with the training of its militia. The expense of the troops on regular service, as also the maintenance of the navy, would be borne by the central government.

(2) The central government would have the power to declare war. The right possessed by the British Cabinet to declare war without reference to Parliament is an undesirable centralization of power. In the United States the right to declare war is vested in Congress—a right which must exercise a wholesome restraint against hasty action by the President and executive government. For Ministers to declare war and then ask Parliament to furnish the money with which to carry it on is to commit the nation to a course from which Parliament might not be able with honour to withdraw. Let the power to declare war be decentralized, and let Ministers feel that they must exhaust all the resources of diplomacy before they take the last irretrievable step, and possibly wars would be less frequent than they have been.

(3) The central government should have the treaty-making power. Ministers might be allowed, as at present, to negotiate treaties, but their ratification should be subject to the central government. The colonies or outlying commonwealths would then be able to guard their interests as they have not been heretofore, from the want of representation.

(4) India and the Crown colonies should be under the central government. The Secretary of State for India, and the

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Colonial Secretary, would be transferred to the central government, retaining generally their respective powers.

In the report of the Imperial Council for 1907, certain matters are referred to as requiring the attention of the Imperial Government, such as "the encouragement of emigration from the United Kingdom to the colonies," "greater freedom and fuller commercial intercourse between the colonies," "preferential trade," "navigation and coasting laws," "uniformity in trade marks and patents," "statistics and company laws," "the development of communication within the empire by cable and the shortest routes by sea and land," "naturalization," and "the simplification and cheapening of appeals to the Privy Council." With the exception of the last two, all might await the natural course of friendly solution by the Legislatures of the federated commonwealths. The subject of naturalization, however, affects the status of a British subject, and the anomaly of requiring a naturalized British subject to become renaturalized every time he changes his domicile from one federated commonwealth to another should be immediately removed either by law or by courtesy.

The establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal for a federated empire is a matter of detail. The colonies should settle all legal questions arising within their own jurisdiction, including the Interpretation of their constitution, in their own courts. Should disputes arise between the federated colonies, a central court with powers somewhat similar to the Supreme Court of the United States might be necessary.

So also with questions of trade and commerce. A Board of Trade for the empire would no doubt serve a useful purpose. But trade and commerce have their local aspects, and might be entrusted to the direction of the Parliaments of the federated bodies. At the most an Imperial Board of Trade could have only advisory powers.

And now I may be asked, Into whose hands shall the powers to be withdrawn from the United Kingdom be placed, and who shall assume the responsibility of defending the empire and managing its dependencies. My answer is, A federal Parliament composed of representatives from the United Kingdom and the colonies, on the basis of population. By way of illustration, let a unit of representation of 200,000 be taken as a basis. This would give a Parliament of about 260 members, 200 for the United Kingdom, 35 for Canada, 20 for Australia, 4 for New Zealand, 1 for Newfoundland, and 10 for South Africa. Such a Parliament might be elected on the same franchise and through the same machinery as now exists in the bodies to be federated. The federating colonies might elect their representatives by States or Provinces, each State, as in elections to the Senate in Australia, being taken as one electoral district, with the proviso that any State or Province having a smaller population than the unit adopted should be allowed

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one representative. Only men who had a provincial standing in such case would be likely to secure their election. The United Kingdom could be divided into electoral districts on the same unit basis—each district to elect one member. A member of the House of Commons or Lords should be eligible for election to the central government, but should retire from the House he represented on being elected to the central government. There should be no dual representation. An Upper Chamber or House of Lords could be constituted from the peerage of England, Scotland and Ireland, by authorizing the peers to elect a fixed number of their own class to such a Chamber, as the peers of Scotland and Ireland now elect of their number to sit in the House of Lords. The other federated bodies could appoint their quota to the Upper House as State Legislatures appoint members of the United States Senate. The Ministry or Cabinet to be constituted would be responsible to the federated Parliament, and might consist of:

- (1) The First Minister and President of the Council.
- (2) The Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- (3) The Secretary of State for the Empire.
- (4) The Secretary of State for War.
- (5) The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
- (6) The Secretary of State for India.
- (7) The Secretary of State for the Crown Colonies.
- (8) The Lords of the Admiralty.

The duration of the Parliament of the federation, the indemnity to be paid to its members (if any), where Parliament should meet, and how often, are matters of detail, and require no consideration at the present stage. When constituted, the duties of such a Parliament would be purely Imperial in character—leaving to the Parliament of the United Kingdom sufficient of a local character to engross all its energies and in a position to give its undivided attention to matters of internal policy which, as at present constituted, have been too much neglected.

Next we come to consider a financial basis for the proposed federation. We have already said that existing systems of taxation are not to be disturbed, and that no power of taxation at present exercised by the Parliament of the United Kingdom is to be withdrawn or transferred to the central government. The proposed system of federation is based upon the "irreducible minimum" of change in existing conditions. How, then, is the Chancellor of the Exchequer to meet the financial requirements of the federation? There is but one source of supply—the resources of the federated bodies; and these could be reached by an annual apportionment of the sum necessary for federal purposes among all the

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parties to the federation, either on the basis of population or on the aggregate of their respective commerce or on the tonnage of the shipping entering or leaving their ports. The cost of maintaining the empire should be divided among the federated bodies, according to the interests to be protected. If it be assumed that the interests are purely personal, then the basis should be population, as a British subject in every part of the empire has equal rights for protection by the whole force of the empire. If the basis is to be the protection of the commerce of the empire, then the imports and exports, or the tonnage of the shipping by which such commerce is carried on, would supply a reasonable one. Whatever basis is taken, the federated bodies would be required to furnish their quota of the annual budget, as required by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It might be said that the central government, having to depend upon the federated bodies for its revenue, would not be sufficiently secure against financial contingencies. This is a danger so remote that it may be entirely dismissed. No federated body would repudiate a solemn obligation entered into for the honour and safety of the empire. Canada, under the British North America Act, pays annually to the Provinces a fixed charge based upon population. All the colonies have so far with commendable punctuality promptly met their loans on the money market of the world. Is it to be supposed that they would be less prompt in meeting financial obligations when their existence as well as their honour was concerned?

Now, what would be the apparent advantage and disadvantage of the proposed federation? To the colonies it would, as Sir John Macdonald said in a letter to Lord Knutsford in 1889, constitute each federating colony "an auxiliary kingdom" of the British Empire; it would relieve the colonies of all restraint upon their legislation from the Colonial Office; it would give them a voice in maintaining the peace of the world; it would give them the right to be heard in the negotiation of treaties within the empire; it would be a stimulus to the highest form of statesmanship; it would remove the "bar sinister" of colonial tutelage and dependence; it would give them a quasi-national rank among the nations of the world; it would unite them permanently with the empire; it would strengthen them against hostile invasion; it would increase inter-imperial trade; it would foster attachment to the empire; it would attract the overflow of population from the United Kingdom.

To the United Kingdom it would be a source of security in the numerical increase of the population from which its defences could be drawn; it would lighten the burden of maintaining the defence of the empire; it would make the United Kingdom a greater force in the councils of the world; it would vitalize her present conservative forces by the energy

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and optimism of the colonies; it would retain her surplus population to the empire; it would place the empire as a whole under one representative government; it would unify the defensive forces of the empire.

The only disadvantage of an Imperial federal Parliament would be the distance of the seat of government from the colonies. To the representatives of the United Kingdom there would be no geographical difficulty, as no doubt Westminster would continue to be the capital of the empire. To Canada the distance would be no obstacle. As a matter of fact, some of the representatives who attend the federal Parliament are now nearly as far from the capital as the majority of them would be from London. In the case of Australia and South Africa, the distance would be greater, and for a special meeting of the Imperial Parliament on short notice the attendance of their representatives might be impossible, but with a complete cable service between all parts of the empire it may be fairly assumed that no serious obstacle to the business of Parliament would intervene.

And now, at the close of my argument, I am confronted with three propositions: Firstly, Is the necessity for a reorganization of the empire so great as to command the attention of those concerned in its administration in the United Kingdom, and are the colonies sufficiently impressed with their obligations to the empire, and with the advantages of closer relations, to share the burden of its maintenance? So far Imperial federation has been regarded academically by the majority of Imperial statesmen. From a few there has been a more distinct pronouncement as to its importance, notably our guest, Viscount Milner, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. A certain portion of the British press has also declared in its favour. But still I fear it has hardly yet entered into the "practical politics" of the United Kingdom. John Bright has said that "foresight is one of the characteristics of the highest form of statesmanship." May we hope that many who have not yet expressed their views are not wanting in prevision on this great question. As to the colonies, Imperial federation is so far but a loyal aspiration—all the more expressive because it would add to colonial prestige. Secondly, the more serious question of assuming their share of the burdens of empire has yet to be considered. So long as the colonies are content with the ungenerous feeling that the empire is bound to protect them for its own sake, and without any charge to them, the growth of public opinion in favour of federation will be slow. Not that the colonies would not make sacrifices for the empire, or that they are wanting in genuine loyalty. Indeed, in emergencies, as I have already pointed out, they could be relied upon to fight its battles. But doles for emergencies are a form of out-door relief which may evince a kindly spirit, but are a poor substitute for permanent and efficient

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security against the incidents of attack upon the integrity of the empire. And the third proposition is, Will the Parliament of the United Kingdom agree to transfer its control of the defences of the empire and the administration of its vast concerns to any other corporate body, no matter what its claims to recognition may be? For nearly a thousand years the nations of the world have been obliged to consult the Parliament of the British Isles in regard to national boundaries and the fate of Emperors and Kings. Will that Parliament that fought for the honour of Great Britain, that directed the expansion of the empire in every clime, and that bore the burdens of a world sovereignty, hand over the sceptre of empire to another Parliament less intimately acquainted with the traditions of the past than it may very rightly claim to be? To effect the changes in opinion necessary to make Imperial federation an accomplished fact may take time. Nations are not born in a day. Great movements make their way painfully often, but always slowly, to a climax. "There is first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." May we trust that the blade has appeared, and that the harvest, when it comes, as come I trust it will, will be of the full-ripened corn of a loyal and well-informed public opinion, which will garner for the historian the story of a federation so complete and so comprehensive as to leave the story of Caesar and Alexander but a paltry page in the archives of the universe

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THE DAY AND A' WHA HONOR 'T.

SPEECH ON ST. ANDREW'S DAY, NOVEMBER 30TH, 1909.

"She taks or plays nae second pairt;
And Scotland has the best."

The toast was proposed by Sir William Mortimer Clark, and was well received.

Hon. Senator Ross, in responding, said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is not quite twelve, but it is getting very near it. I have spoken so often at banquets of the St. Andrew's Society and the Caledonian Society that unless I believed that St. Andrew had more sympathy with speakers in their affliction than any other saint I would scarcely trespass on your time at this late hour. As Sir Mortimer Clark has said, it has been an exceedingly pleasant night, and you know that where I spend a good deal of my time—in the sacred precincts of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa—things are usually very quiet. We have not quite the same routine that you have here. (Laughter.) The atmosphere is more calm, and we can reflect with greater safety upon our shortcomings, and we can look into the future with greater certainty, when we see our way clearly, than we can in a gathering like this. Nevertheless I am delighted with the change. It is somewhat refreshing. We have had an excellent dinner and an abundant appetite, and splendid music, and we have had speeches—that one of Colonel Denison with the clang of steel in it—(laughter)—and that of Sir Mortimer Clark, with a sort of wringing of the neck of the "Cock of the North." In fact, it has been what the Scotch would call "a gran' nicht." Sitting here, I thought of Tam-o-Shanter's experience with Souter Johnnie, when he said:—

—"but Tam was glorious,
O'er a' the ills of life victorious."

Now, of course, the object of these meetings is not to eat and drink and have a good time—not altogether; that would

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not be practical enough for Scotchmen. Is there any way by which, as Scotch ministers sometimes say, we could "improve the time"? What is there in the history and life and character of Scotchmen and Scottish men that we as Canadians might transfer to Canada? We are an eclectic people in this country. We get our wit and wisdom from every quarter, and we get ideas in business and trade wherever they can be found, and we adapt our forms of government to our own needs, but taking as much from the forms of other countries as we think will suit our case. To-night it is our business to consider whether there is anything in the history and life and character of Scotchmen that we might fairly transfer to Canada.

Let me say, firstly—for I think that is the orthodox way to proceed with a discourse—that we might very well imitate the love Scotchmen have to preserve their identity and individuality. (Hear, hear.) That is to say, in the great swirl of nations Canadians should not lose sight of themselves. You know you cannot obliterate the Scotch in a man once it is thoroughly ground into him. Dr. Johnson said you could do anything with a Scotchman if you caught him young. He has got to be caught very young before you can rub out of him all his Scotch peculiarities—that is, assuming that those are proper peculiarities. There is a law of chemistry that certain elements are insoluble—they are called primary elements. You know there are some things soluble in water, and some in spirits, and some otherwise. A Scotchman is not soluble in water; everybody knows that. (Laughter.) Spirits only help to preserve him—(laughter)—and as for heat, he has already in his career passed through the fiery furnace of Whig and Radical, and like the three Hebrew captives he came out without the smell of fire upon his garments. You cannot, then, destroy the characteristics of a Scotchman. In no position where he is placed are his Scotch feeling and Scotch spirit and Scottish instincts entirely obliterated. We see here how he preserves his identity in St. Andrew's Society, Caledonian Society, in Highland regiments with Highland kilt and feather, in Scottish song, in the bagpipes, in the orchestral suggestions of the Highlands, in the honor we paid to the haggis, and so forth. All these things may be indigenous to Scotland, but they may be found everywhere, as indicating that in some peculiar way, by a process I cannot understand and therefore cannot explain, the Scotchman never loses his identity. You may find him in the pulpit or you may find him in business, or you may find him where you please, and when you look him all over, some way or other you conclude he is not just exactly like other men. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Nor is that love of his, either, a matter of recent origin. It dates historically as far back as the battle of Bannockburn, when he preserved his identity against the

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Saxon, and the last gasp of his attempt to preserve that distinctive identity in matters of loyalty was in the fatal field of Culloden. Another remarkable circumstance is the history of Scotland in its relation to England. One would suppose—and it was really one objection held by the Scotch people to their union with England—that in doing so they might lose their identity; but with their natural foresight, with their characteristic foresight, they took good care to see that their identity would not be lost. That is to say, they provided by Act of Parliament that the Presbyterian Church, that was very dear to them, would be the legal and constitutional church of Scotland. (Hear, hear). They preserved to themselves their law courts, and the procedure of their law courts in civil and criminal matters. They preserved to themselves their system of land tenure. They preserved to themselves their marriage law. In that respect we have an illustration of a similar desire to preserve identity in the case of the French-Canadians. We in Ontario sometimes say the French-Canadian is narrow, that he should allow himself to be absorbed, assimilated with the rest of the people of Canada. He, by his treaty with Great Britain when Canada was surrendered, preserved his religion; he preserved his language; he preserved the French system of laws—it was not the Code Napoleon then, but it was the custom of Paris—and he preserved his system of land tenure. Now, we must be liberal. When we blame the French-Canadian for his rigidity and tenacity in regard to his own laws, we have a precedent in the people of Scotland, who preserved their individuality by Act of Parliament in a precisely similar way. This historical fact is worthy of consideration.

Now, what should Canadians do, having regard to what Scotland has done? Scotchmen have preserved their individuality the world over—(hear, hear)—and they have preserved their institutions; and they have treasured up in their hearts all the sentiment and heroism of their own people. Should not Canadians have a similar desire to create a Canadian individuality? To make it worth preserving? And to be, while associating, as we must, with each other, and while engaging in business and enterprises with other nations, let it be known that there is a standard of honor, and that there is a standard of manliness to be called Canadian which will be recognized as such the wide world over. (Hear, hear, and applause). We have precedent along that line to a great extent. Col. Denison referred to the battles we fought for the independence of Canada. What does that mean? It meant that Canada should preserve its identity in spite of opposition from the United States, as in 1776, and as in 1812, and as in 1866. Our battles for our independence may not have been as famous as that of Bannockburn, but they were to us the Bannockburn of Canada, which established that independence in spite of

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opposition. (Applause). Then in our legislation there has been a movement going on, extending over a hundred years, that Canada might assert her own individuality. We were under the rule of Downing Street until 60 years ago. Our legislation was affected by the will of the Colonial Secretary. What was our struggle for responsible government but a struggle for Canadian independence? Why did we hail Lord Elgin, that noted Scotchman, and speak so highly of him? For his independence in asserting—as it was done really for the first time in Canada—the true responsibility of the Canadian Parliament. We did so, because at that time we were allowed, as it were, to stand upon our own feet. For a certain time our customs duties were collected by officers appointed by the British Government. Our postoffice system was regulated by an Imperial officer. Our judges were appointed by the Government, acting for the Crown, without any responsibility to Parliament. In all respects we were in leading-strings practically until 1841, and as a result of that condition of humiliation we had an incipient rebellion—led, most naturally, by a resolute Scotchman of the name of William Lyon Mackenzie. (Hear, hear, and applause.) But later, again, in 1867, there was a reassertion of the individuality of Canadians, just as Australia has had it more recently, just as the South African States have had it, and just as England struggled for it in the days of the Stuarts, and that has been followed up by some further assurance in regard to that individuality. We are now consulted in regard to every treaty that is formed by Great Britain affecting Canada—a wonderful position for us to be in. (Applause.) In every treaty, in every matter of State in which Canada has been affected, a Canadian has been on that commission—sometimes two or three, and even four—in order that Canadian interests might be protected.

The climax of that individuality was shown last summer. When England felt the stress of danger from Germany and from her enemies abroad, there was a conference in the city of London, and at that table, surrounded by the Premier of Great Britain and the great officers of State and his Majesty's Privy Councillors, sat two Canadians to discuss in solemn conclave, as officers, practically, of the Empire, how the Empire could be best defended from her foes. The individuality of Canada, with her seven million people, in an Empire of three hundred millions, is now recognized as fully as was ever the individuality of Scotland in the Commonwealth of Great Britain. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Now, gentlemen, we have reached that position. Let us be worthy of it. We ought to feel that we have attained, as it were, to our majority, that we are no longer aliens in the Empire; that we are an integral part of the Empire, with standing in her councils, and so we ought to quit ourselves

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like men wherever the interests of the Empire are involved. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The second thing that I would ask to-night that we might remember, as something that we might learn from Scotchmen, is their adaptability. Sir Mortimer Clark used that word in the course of his remarks—their adaptability in every position into which they are put. Put a Scotchman into any position you please, and he seems to fit in—we cannot tell exactly how, at first. If he is a pioneer, he builds his shack or his house, and immediately the forest melts before him, and by-and-bye he has a better habitation, and he always seems to act on the Scriptural injunction that if he is faithful in small things he may become the lord of many. Put him in a line of business, in a bank, and he has his eye on the Presidency of that bank. (Laughter.) Make him a captain of soldiers, and by-and-bye, like Napoleon's soldiers, he is thinking of the baton that he is carrying in his knapsack, and hopes to be Marshal some day. Put him in any business, and he seems to adapt himself to that business so as to achieve success, perhaps not from any genius in other respects that he may possess, but he suits himself to circumstances, and, as old Napoleon says, then he makes circumstances suit him. (Laughter.) Now, there is that adaptability which is necessary to our success in any career of life. I think we have acquitted ourselves reasonably well in that respect. (Hear, hear.)

And there are greater problems before us. Canada was never confronted by such great problems as she is to-day, by such large questions that require the highest statesmanship and the greatest possible sagacity to solve wisely and well. (Hear, hear.) Take one or two of them.

About 1878 we were confronted with the difficulties which we had in matters of trade, and there grew up in Canada a party which was called the Protectionist party. We had then been practically the apostles of free trade. Free trade was good for Canada at one time—now don't say I am turned Protectionist—and free trade was good for Great Britain at one time, for she had the trade of the world when Cobden and Bright declared themselves the apostles of free trade, and what did she care for protected nations? For they could not compete with her in any way. Conditions have changed in England, and there are many who are in favor of tariff reform, as they call it. Conditions changed in Canada, and we could not afford to have our industries crushed by competition from abroad, and so we adopted some form of tariff—call it what you please—I must not call it by its proper name—(laughter)—by which we adapted ourselves to our conditions, to the great benefit of our industrial development. (Applause.) That was adapted with Scotch sagacity; it was adaptability, and no one could tell what happened. Now we have problems in regard to transportation. We have at our

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feet to-day the trade of the great Northwest. Montreal has beaten Buffalo and New York as to the monopoly of the carrying trade of our western prairies. (Hear, hear.) But that is not the trade we want. Our conditions are such, our highways are such, that with certain necessary and proper improvements we not only should have the trade of our Northwest, but of that tier of states lying under the forty-ninth parallel from Lake Michigan to the Pacific coast. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Are we going to adapt ourselves to these conditions? If we have the foresight necessary, we will see to it that the deepening of the Erie Canal from Buffalo to Albany will not deflect the tremendous trade for which the St. Lawrence was dug by Providence and placed under the control of Canadians. (Applause.)

Then we must adapt ourselves to other problems the Government has forced upon us. How are we going best to settle that great northwest territory? If the Scottish people are such a noble race, how are we going to get more of them into it? Or if England has a population to spare, can we get those? Or should there be in the great central nations of Europe, nations of people equal to our requirements, how are we going to bring them here? These prairies under prairie flowers are pleasant to behold, but a field of wheat is much more profitable and more adapted to the tastes of the Scottish character. (Laughter.) That problem must be solved. We got this possession practically through Prince Rupert, who was himself a Scotchman, and who founded the Hudson's Bay Company. There has come to us the problem of settling this territory with people, and giving them such facilities of transportation as they require. It is an expensive undertaking, and we must all inform ourselves. We built the Canadian Pacific Railway under trying circumstances. We are building now the Grand Trunk Pacific, and the Canadian Northern is building its own railway. How are we going to reach out and get greater facilities of transportation?

The same problems face us in regard to agriculture, and I need not go around the whole circle of problems to which we must apply ourselves.

Then there is the great problem raised to-night about the naval and military defence of Canada. We must not deal with that problem as the old Scotch minister used to do when he came to a difficult text in the Bible, when he would proceed to say:—"My brethren, this text has been differently translated by some translators, and some commentators think it means this thing, and others think it means that thing, and it presents great difficulties to us. I think the best thing we can do to-day, my brethren, is to look the difficulties straight in the face and pass on." (Laughter.) It won't do simply to look this difficulty straight in the face, for we cannot pass on. Now, how are we going to meet that difficulty? I am not here

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to solve it. I have no commission, but I do hope it will be solved in consistency with the dignity of Canada. (Hear, hear.) A trifling recompense for the protection of the British flag from 1759 to the present day would be unworthy of Canada. We must meet the emergency at any cost, and with that degree of liberality and generosity which will fit the situation. (Hear, hear.) The foes of England are our foes, whether on the North Sea or on the plains of Russia, or to the south of forty-nine. (Hear, hear.) They are our foes, and what is England's interest to defend is our interest, for the Empire is one, and we are part of that unit and should do our duty. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The adaptability of Canadians to this case is what is required.

We have solved great problems. I have no fear. I may be an optimist. Other great problems we have solved. We have solved Confederation—the first of the colonies of the British Empire that applied the principle of federal government to the principle of constitutional government. It was said it could not be done; we were four Provinces—that is all we would ever be. But behold the nine! We that were a little community east of Lake Superior in 1867, with only about 700,000 or 800,000 square miles, we had not been one year in Confederation until there were 350,000 added from British Columbia. Then we bought that great Northwest territory for \$1,500,000, out of which we carved the Province of Manitoba. Now we are nine Provinces. A few years ago we had 3,000,000 people; to-day we have 7,000,000. We have solved a problem in government that statesmen said we could not solve. Australia has taken it as an example, and South Africa, so recently torn by war, has confederated four of those opposition States into the United States of South Africa. (Hear, hear.) That was a great problem. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was another great problem which we have solved. And so, from time to time we have gone on dealing with problems that some thought far too gigantic for our strength and for our numbers. That should give us courage. Having settled so much under specially difficult circumstances, let us not fear the lion in the path now. Let us rather rejoice because we are more closely allied to the Empire than we ever were, that jointly—I do not say with the assistance of the Empire, but jointly with the Empire, and as part of it—we will assist the Old Motherland in maintaining still flying at the mast-head that flag which is the emblem of liberty and Christian civilization throughout the world. (Loud applause.)

There is just one other point in which I think Canadians may well consider the history of Scotland, and that is, that we should profit by the sentimental characteristics of the Scottish race. Now, I am very fond of what is called the sentimental characteristics of the Scottish race. (Hear, hear.)

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You know what Carlyle said about the "piece of bunting." "The piece of bunting is but a rag. Mark it with the red cross flag of England, and no man dare insult it." (Hear, hear.) Sentimentality is a characteristic of the Scottish race. They are said to be hard-headed. Someone said their characteristic is not at all sentimentality. I think it is in a very large degree. Combined with canniness, or what we may call the pawkiness, or what may be called the frugality of Scotchmen, lies somewhere about his personality that love of the beautiful, that love of poetry and song, that mysticism, that fondness for the supernatural, in a greater degree than perhaps with any other race whose history I have studied. All races have their characteristics. You know the Greeks were famous for sculpture, the Romans for their architectural genius, the French for their refinement and taste in matters of beauty, the English for their great colonizing power, the Americans, you would say, for their illustration of the sane-ness of an unbridled but well-governed democracy.

What is Canada going to be famous for? Scotland is famous for her sentimentality, for her love for poetry and song, for her love of poetry in its highest phases. We speak of Shakespeare as the greatest dramatist of the world. So I believe he was. We speak of Robert Burns as the greatest song-writer of the world, and of Scottish poets allied with him as almost equal in their powers of song and in the sweetness and beauty of that poetry. Just look at some departments in which Scottish song has embalmed itself—say, for instance, in the heroic. We have heard to-night "Scots Wha Hae," with kilts complete. It is said of Sir Robert Peel that whenever he had a great speech to make in the House of Commons which would call forth the highest sentiments which he possessed, he would retire into his private room and recite to himself, once or twice over:

"Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled!"

and his blood, a little phlegmatic, was fired, and the House of Commons caught the reflex of that supernal fire which blazes in every line of that song. (Hear, hear, and applause.) In the same way, when Edmund Burke had a great speech to write, being an Irishman, and not familiar with Robert Burns, he read a chapter from the prophecy of Isalah, full of eloquence and the greatest fire. But we have another song which will never be forgotten. We have "The Gathering of Macgregor"—

"While there are leaves in the forest or foam on the river,
Macgregor, despite them, shall flourish forever."

—(Hear, hear.) Then we have "The March of the Cameron Men":

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"We hear the pibroch sounding, sounding,
Loud through the forest and glen,
While light-springing footsteps are trampling the heath.
'Tis the march of the Cameron men."

—(Applause.) And to that tune and to the melody and to the force of those words who would not fight for Scottish right and Scottish might and Scottish hills forever? And then we have "A Man's a Man For a' That"—not so warlike, but equally heroic. Then when you come to the domestic, is there anything so sweet in poetry as such songs as "John Anderson, My Jo"?

"John Anderson, my jo, John,
When we were first acquaint,
Your locks were like the raven,
Your bonnie brow was brent;
But now your brow is bald, John—

—we all feel it—(laughter)—

"Your locks are like the snaw,

—I see them here. (Laughter.)

"But blessings on your frosty pow,
John Anderson, my jo."

Could any wife say anything sweeter than that? And then there is something quite as nice:—

"There's nae luck about the house
When oor guld-man's awa'."

How many ladies could sing that justly? (Laughter.) Some people think there is no luck about the house unless the good man is away, but not so with the Scottish, and, as Sir Mortimer Clark said, there is a strain of pathos and tenderness in the Scotch songs—"The Land o' the Leal," "Bonnie Doon." How sweet and pathetic is "Annie Laurie" sung in the trenches before Sebastopol! Then "The Soldier's Return" and "Bonnie Loch Lomond." A curious thing about Scottish songs is the frequent use of this word 'bonnie.' Do you know the full significance of it? I never can quite comprehend it. We have the English word "darling" but "bonnie" gets much nearer one's heart than "darling." (Hear, hear, and applause.) To a layman it embodies the spiritual meaning of darling. Then we have "The Banks and Braes o' Bonnie Doon," and then in "Annie Laurie" we have "bonnie Annie Laurie." No woman can be described with any other word that would give her such a spiritual love as "bonnie." Then you have it even in "Tam-o'-Shanter":—

"I wad gie the breeks frae aff my hurdies
For ane blink o' the bonnie burdies!"

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Then we have love songs, and no man that has experienced that emotion can read some of those love songs without having revived in him his youthful memories—"Jock o' Hazeldean," "Highland Mary," "Green Grow the Rushes, O," "The Lass o' Ballochmyle," "The Laird of Cockpen," and "Come under My Plaidie," "Duncan Gray Cam' Here to Woo."

"Come under my plaidie and sit down beside me,
Believe me, dear lassie, there's room for us twa."

Many of you have tried the experiment. (Laughter.)

"Duncan Gray cam' here to woo,
Ha, ha, the wooing o't!"

We have these lovely verses—I don't know anything in the English language like them—Burns to his Jean:

"I see her in the dewy flowers,
I see her sweet and fair;
I see her in the tunefu' birds,
I hear her charm the air:
There's not a bonnie flower that springs
By fountain, shaw or green;
There's not a bonnie bird that sings
But minds me o' my Jean."

You cannot beat that. Even the Psalms of David, forceful though they be, have scarcely touched a higher pitch in beauty and poetry and in spiritual meaning.

That is Scottish song. Who would not rejoice in Scottish blood, with such a legacy from the days of Ossian down to the present time of Scottish poetry and Scottish song, poured out on every musical instrument that human genius has devised to gladden the hearts and to make one feel that—

"—a man, though e'er so poor,
Is king of men for a' that."

(Applause.)

We should cultivate in Canada some of that refinement which lifts us up above sordid engagements, which lifts us up above even the pleasures of life, and which stirs a man with thoughts that will follow him in clouds or sunshine.

And lastly, that love of Scotland to which Sir Mortimer Clark has also referred—that love of country to which Sir Walter Scott refers in those well-known lines:

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,"

quoted by everybody when he speaks of his own lands. You have it in "The Emigrant's Lament":

"Oh, why left I my hame?
Why did I cross the deep?
Oh, why left I the land
Where my forefathers sleep?
I sigh for Scotia's shore—

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—so many of you have done that—

“And gaze across the sea,
But I cannot get a blink
Of my ain countree.”

Then you have it in that wonderful verse which one cannot repeat without being thrilled:—

“From the lone shieling of the misty island
Mountains divide us, and a waste of seas,
Yet still the blood is strong, the heart is Highland,
And we in dreams behold the Hebrides.”

Why, we fancy the Scotchman at some lone post in the Hudson's Bay, as Lord Strathcona was at one time, or farther north still, near the brim of the Arctic Circle, having mail from the Old Country but once a year, or perhaps in the back forests of Canada, in some of our northern counties, or in New Ontario, separated from home friends. In his dreams he beholds the Hebrides, and that is satisfaction enough to him for the time being.

That is the patriotic spirit which we should cultivate in Canada. Put Scotland side by side with Canada, and it is, as was once said of the Emperor of Russia when he called upon his secretary to bring him down the map of Europe and show him where England was. He held one side of the map while his secretary was holding the other, and he was looking for England, and could not find it. “Why,” says the Secretary, “your Majesty, your thumb is on it!” It was so small a space that it was covered by his thumb. Scotland is so small a place—58,000 square miles—while Ontario is four times as large, and Canada more than seventy times as large. If Scotland in her few heather hills can produce the race that she has produced, if Scotland has given laws to the world in many respects, and directed the commerce and the legislation of the world in some respects, surely we with our larger territory and our more favorable circumstances will be heard of yet in the councils of the world and in the progressive elements which constitute the higher civilization. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Whatever strength we may get to-night from gatherings like these ought to go to contribute to make this great Dominion what Scotland is in its identity, in its individuality, in its adaptability and its love for the beautiful, the true, the holy, the pure and the refined.

To-night the world is girdled with the songs of “Auld Lang Syne.” The Scotchman in Hong Kong clasps hands with the Scotchman in Peru, with the Scotchman in Australia, with the Scotchman in Ceylon, in India—the whole world clasps hands to-night, singing, “Should auld acquaintance be forgot?” No other nation can boast of that univer-

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salty of loyalty and devotion to their native land. Let us transfer that loyalty to Canada. For, great as Scotland was and is to me and to you—

"There is no Land like our Land,
Where, mistress of our own,
We lead the breed of Empire
To guard the ancient throne.
And the old land keeps a welcome
For her kin beyond the sea;
But this Land is our Land,
And Canada for me!

"There is no Land like our Land;
Our day is at the dawn;
Our waking stirs the nations;
We are no feeble spawn.
And the old Land keenly listens;
And the alien frowns to see;
But this Land is our Land;
And Canada is free!

"There is no Land like our Land;
God keep it ever so;
And heart-throbs shall be drum-beats,
When we find our country's foe.
Oh, this may love the Southland,
And that may cross the sea;
But this Land is our Land,
And Canada for me!"

(Loud and continued applause.)