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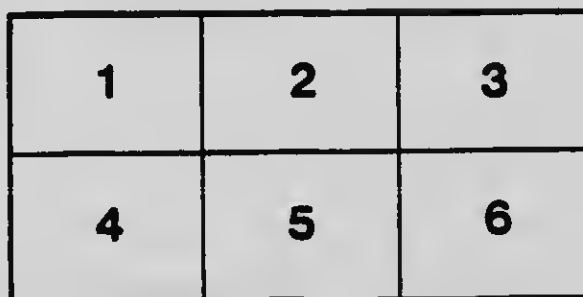
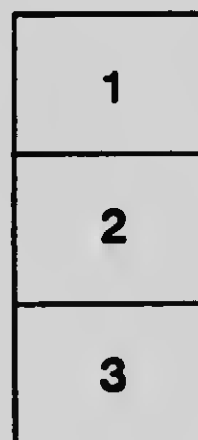
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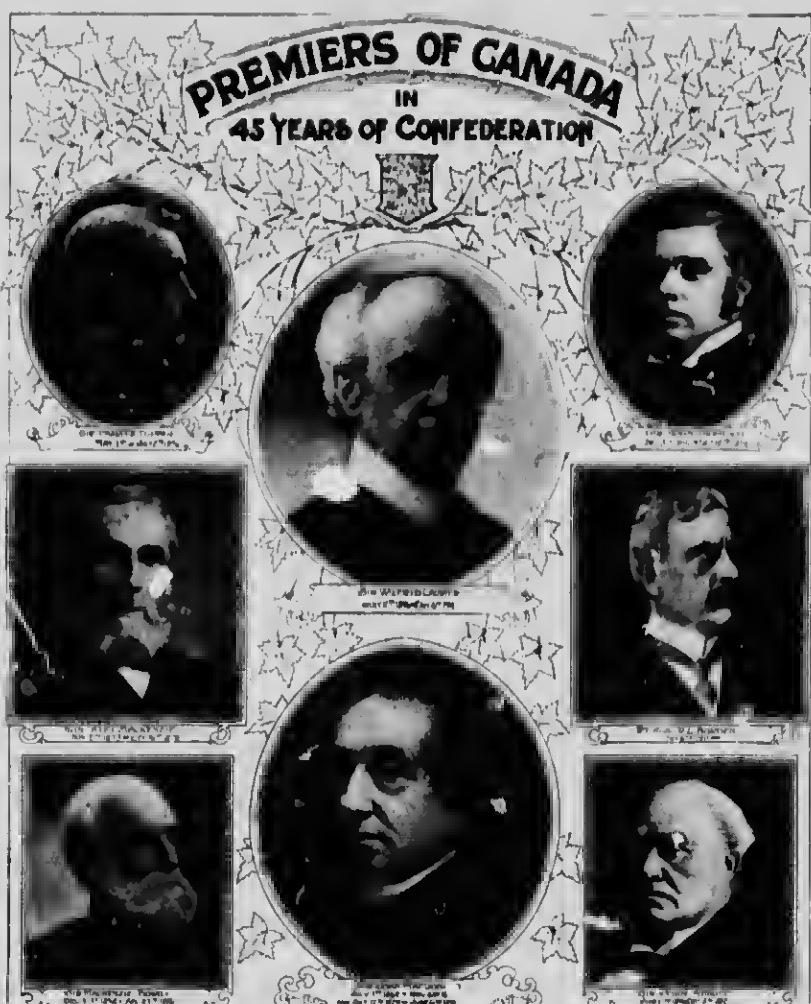


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THE STATES AND PEOPLE OF THE CANADIAN CONFEDERACY

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A HISTORY

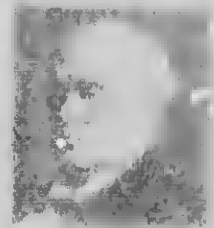
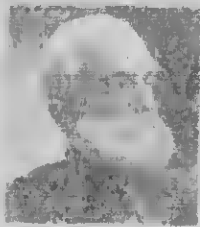
of the Struggle which followed the
entry of North America into the

CONFEDERACY

BY JAMES YOUNG

MES VOL II

PREMIER OF CANADA
1984



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**PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC
LIFE IN CANADA**

THE STORY OF THE CANADIAN CONFEDERACY

BEING

RECOLLECTICNS OF PARLIAMENT
AND THE PRESS

AND EMBRACING

A Succinct Account of the Stirring Events which followed the
Confederation of British North America into the

DOMINION OF CANADA

BY

HON. JAMES YOUNG

Late Member of the Dominion and Ontario Parliaments, Provincial Treasurer
of Ontario, and Author of "History of Galt and Dum'ries," Essays
on the "Reciprocity Treaty," "Imperial Federation,"
"Commercial Union," etc.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. II.

TORONTO
WILLIAM BRIGGS
1912

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"It may be doubted if the inhabitants of the Dominion themselves are yet fully awake to the magnificent destiny in store for them or have altogether realized the promise of their young and virile nationality. Like a virgin goddess in a primeval world, Canada walks in unconscious beauty among her golden woods and the margin of her trackless streams, catching hut broken glances of her radiant majesty as mirrored on their surface, and scarcely recks as yet the glories awaiting her in the Olympus of nations."—*Lord Dufferin, on leaving Ireland to become Governor-General of Canada.*



Preface

WHILST it has not been deemed necessary to have a preface of length to this edition of this work it has been thought advisable by the Author to put his readers on their guard as to dates. My first volume was written ten years before the present volume (1912), and unless some care is taken in comparing the numerous dates, they might, in a rare case, lead to some confusion on the part of the reader.

Another point is in my judgment most important. Some of the press seem to have the idea that these two volumes are practically on the same subject. This is an error. Volume I. gives my connection with Public Men and Public Life in Canada as a public journalist; Volume II. gives my connection as a member of the first Parliament with all the leading men of Confederation during the first twenty years of Confederation.

The two volumes are entirely different, but in the two combined I have endeavored to give the story of the Canadian Confederacy in an accurate but, at the same time, in an interesting manner, which will, it is hoped, be acceptable to the reading public of every part of this already great Canadian Confederacy.

JAMES YOUNG.

GALT, October 15th, 1912.



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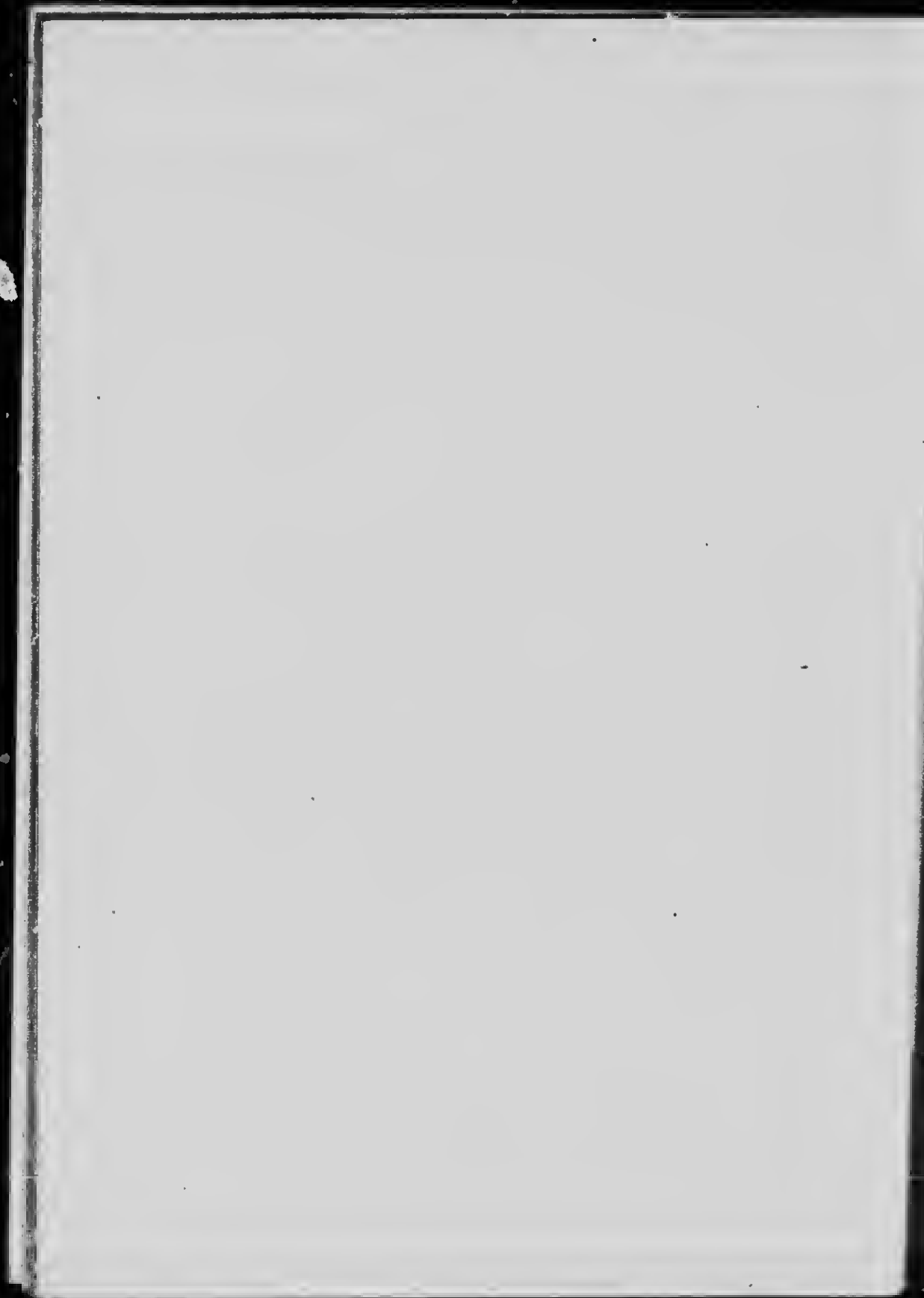
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		HON. DAVID MILLS



PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

CHAPTER I.

THE DOMINION BEGINS TO UNRAVEL ITS DESTINY.

WITH the Confederation of the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, on July 1st, 1867, the Dominion of Canada began to unravel its destiny, not altogether free from solicitude, but with bright hopes for the future.

The fluttering of flags, the booming of cannon and the strains of music, not to speak of the patriotic orations and poems which distinguished the first Dominion Day, helped to prolong the political excitement which had so long existed. But when the inaugural rejoicings were over and the responsibilities of the new system of government became more apparent, a slight reaction very gradually set in. This was distinctly felt even in Ontario, enthusiastic for Confederation though it was and continued to be, and it spread more or less over all the Provinces.

This passing cloud, however, speedily disappeared, as the people generally, rising to the importance of the occasion, perceived more clearly the grand work which had been accomplished, and the immense nat-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

ural resources and brilliant prospects of the sturdy young nation whose inauguration had begun under such peaceful and auspicious circumstances.

Though legally united by the British North America Act, the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces were not altogether homogeneous. They were isolated geographically, or, to speak more exactly, an immense tract of wild, unsettled country divided them, and there was no direct way of communication except by the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence. This want was immediately and pressingly felt.

Then, Nova Scotia was the cause of serious alarm. Under the spell of the Honourable Joseph Howe's eloquence, aided by the Honourable William Annand and other Anti-Unionists, the Province had been worked into a state of intense indignation and bitterness on the alleged ground, chiefly, that it had been forced into Confederation by the Tupper Government against the people's will. Although it had not been treated differently from the other Provinces, there were, unfortunately, sufficient grains of truth in this charge to enable the Anti-Unionists to "set the heather on fire," and they soon produced an agitation for the secession of Nova Scotia from the Union, of a very inflammatory character. Before it culminated, hints and even threats of rebellion were occasionally heard, and it was feared for a time that the ferment might extend into New Brunswick, the sister Province.

The Federal Administration, the most conspicuous members of which were the Prime Minister, Sir

FIRST LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS APPOINTED

John Macdonald, and the Honourable Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Macdougall and Tilley, grappled with the duties devolving upon the newly-fledged Dominion with energy and zeal. Among their first duties was the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors for the four Provinces under their charge, and the setting of the wheels of the new Provincial Governments in motion.

The first Lieutenant-Governors appointed were: Major-General H. W. Stisted for Ontario, Sir N. F. Bellefleur for Quebec, Lieutenant-General W. F. Williams for Nova Scotia, and Major-General Hastings Doyle for New Brunswick; but three of these gentlemen were Imperial officers, and their appointments were only temporary. The longest of their terms barely exceeded twelve months, and they were superseded by the following civilians: the Honourable William P. Howland, C.B., for Ontario, Sir Edward Kenny, Kt., for Nova Scotia, and the Honourable L. A. Wilmot for New Brunswick, Sir N. F. Bellefleur being continued for Quebec. These gentlemen were the first permanent Lieutenant-Governors appointed, and the precedent of selecting these high officials from leading public men of the Province they were to preside over has been seldom departed from since.

The first Provincial Government of Nova Scotia was under the leadership of the Honourable Hiram Blanchard and the Honourable P. C. Hill, and that of New Brunswick had the Honourable A. R. Wetmore and the Honourable J. A. Beckwith for its

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

chiefs. In Quebec, a strictly Conservative ministry was formed. The Honourable J. P. O. Chauveau was first Prime Minister, and his colleagues were the Honourable Messrs. Dunkin, Ouimet, Irvine, Beaubien and De Boucherville. In Ontario a different course was pursued. For many years the Conservative party had been in a minority in this Province, and the skilful hand of the Conservative leader was soon manifest in a carefully devised plan to form its first Cabinet on a Coalition basis like that of the Dominion Administration, and thus further divide and weaken his opponents.

It was quite a surprise to the people of Ontario, however, when they learned that the Honourable John Sandfield Macdonald, of Cornwall, had been asked and had consented to form this new Ministry. That gentleman had opposed Confederation from first to last, had been a steady opponent of Sir John Macdonald during his whole public career, and their personal relations had often been of an unusually bitter nature. So much was this the case, that when Sir John had requested Sandfield to accept office in his Administration some years before, the curt telegram "No go!" was the only answer vouchsafed to the graciously written invitation. Nothing could better illustrate what a master opportunist the Conservative leader was when he had a political object to gain, than this offer of the Premiership of Ontario to one of his foremost, life-long opponents. But on this occasion his advances met no rebuff and were graciously received and promptly accepted.

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HON. E. B. WOOD.

HON. J. SANDERSON.

HON. M. C. CAMERON.

HON. S. B. RICHARDS.

MACDONALD.

HON. JOHN CARLING.

ONTARIO'S FIRST (COALITION) CABINET.



ONTARIO'S FIRST PREMIER

The compact between the Dominion and Ontario Premiers evidently was, that the latter Cabinet was to consist of two Conservatives and two Reformers, with Mr. Sandfield Macdonald himself presiding. In consequence of the strong feeling against coalition existing throughout Ontario, some refusals of office by influential Reformers were met with, but in a few days Mr. Stephen B. Richards, of Niagara, and Mr. E. B. Wood, of Brantford, accepted portfolios in the new Cabinet, the members of which were as follows:—

Premier and Attorney-General, Hon. J. S. Macdonald; Provincial Treasurer, Edmund B. Wood; Commissioner Crown Lands, Stephen B. Richards; Provincial Secretary, Matthew Crooks Cameron; Minister of Agriculture, John Carling.

Ontario's first Prime Minister was at this time slightly past middle life, but exceedingly active and energetic. In person he was tall and erect, quick in his movements, with pleasing grey eyes and finely-cut features, ready and able rather than tactful and brilliant in debate, but with such natural intrepidity and independence of character that friends or opponents could little influence him. He was naturally a Liberal with a strong prejudice against Toryism, especially of the Family Compact type, and which he had never been slow to express. Although temporarily allied with the Conservative leader, he resented any imputation that he had become a Tory, jokingly said his Administration was a "Patent Combination"—by which name it became generally

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

known—and that the two Conservatives he had taken into his Cabinet, Messrs. Cameron and Carling, he hoped to turn out good Reformers in a few years!

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was a man of much force of character, who had decided opinions of his own and seldom failed to follow them. Before forming his Cabinet, the Honourable George Brown waited upon him and offered to pledge him the hearty support of the Liberal party and himself if he would form a party instead of a Coalition Government. The formation of his "Patent Combination," however, had doubtless been arranged with the Dominion Leader some weeks before. Apart from the severance of his relations with his life-long political friends—about which opinions naturally differed—Mr. Macdonald was well qualified to act as the first Premier of Ontario and to start the new Government on a sound and economical basis.

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CHAPTER II.

SETTING THE WHEELS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN MOTION—THE FIRST FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS.

THE Dominion and Provincial Governments all fully manned, the judges, magistrates, and other officials duly sworn in, and all the high officers of state at their posts, the din of preparation for the first General Elections soon overspread the land.

That all classes of the people were deeply stirred was only natural. They had to give their verdict on the first Governments chosen for them; to elect scores of new legislators to the several Parliaments; and hundreds of new public offices would be in the gift of those successful at the polls. Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that the new Dominion was profoundly stirred to its most distant parts.

As in earlier days, the two most conspicuous combatants continued to be Sir John Macdonald and the Honourable George Brown, although another great man, the Honourable Joseph Howe, had recently become prominent by hoisting the standard of Repeal in Nova Scotia. The Liberal and Conservative leaders were still vigorous men. Their fine faculties of mind and body were still unimpaired, and strikingly characteristic were the posi-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

tions taken up by them in their appeals to the electorate.

The First Minister took the ground that the work of founding the Confederation was not yet fully accomplished, and that the men who had taken the principal part in carrying the measure through Parliament should be continued at their posts until it was put into full operation. Old party lines and old party issues, he claimed, had been obliterated by the new Confederation, and "there were now no issues to divide political parties." "All that is now required," he said in one of his speeches, "is to have in the Government the men who are best adapted to set the new machinery in motion, and I desire to ask those to join me who have the confidence and represent the majorities in the various sections, who were in favour of this system of government, and who wish to see it successfully carried out."

The platform of the Liberal party had been settled by the large and influential Convention* held in Toronto on June 27th. It consisted of fourteen resolutions, the principal one of which strongly affirmed the evils of Coalition Governments for ordinary administrative purposes. Thus endorsed by his party, the Honorable George Brown commenced an aggressive campaign against the new Dominion and Ontario Cabinets. He assailed them (1), as a breach of the agreement made by Sir John

* For particulars of this great political gathering see Volume I., Chapter xxvi. and Appendix VI.

A BLAZE OF POLITICAL EXCITEMENT

Macdonald with him in 1864, that the coalition of the Reform and Conservative parties was only to be temporary and would terminate as soon as Confederation was carried; (2), that past experience had abundantly proven, to use the words of the Convention itself, "that coalitions of opposing political parties for ordinary administrative purposes inevitably result in the abandonment of principle by one or both of the parties to the compact, the lowering of public morality, lavish public expenditure and widespread corruption"; and (3), that being unable to form a Conservative Cabinet with any hope of success, the leader of that party was seeking to maintain his hold upon office by extending into the new Dominion the vicious system of coalition which the people had hoped the new Federal system would forever obliterate.

The Dominion elections came on first, and the Government made the writs returnable at varying dates—as the law then permitted—but the polling in most of the ridings was appointed to take place in the first half of September. Preparations for the contest, however, became general by the middle of July, and before August closed, all Canada was in a blaze of political excitement.

Early in the campaign, the Liberal Ministers in the Dominion Coalition, Messrs. Howland, Macdougall and Blair, called a meeting of the Liberal members from Ontario, who had supported them in the late Parliament, and urged them to sustain the new Federal Coalition with themselves as Reform

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representatives therein. Not the least powerful argument of the Ministers was, that no Conservative candidate would be brought out against those who agreed to give the new Government "a fair trial," the Conservative leader having pledged this so far as his influence went.

Nearly all of those who attended this caucus, however, declined to support the coalition system any longer now that Confederation was accomplished, and some of the few who did consent to do so—notably in the famous South Waterloo contest*—failed to secure re-election even with the aid of the Conservative vote.

The course which the Hon. Messrs. Macdougall, Howland and Blair chose to take at this time, as well as Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, Mr. S. B. Richards and Mr. E. B. Wood, was not in harmony with the views of the great body of the Liberal party which they professed to represent. Their taking part as

* The question of Party Government *vs.* Coalitions was straightly fought out during the Waterloo contest. The much-respected member of Parliament at that time, Mr. James Cowan, of Clochmohr, at first accepted the Liberal party nomination, but at the Macdougall, Howland and Blair meeting he was induced to promise the new Ottawa Coalition "a fair trial." When the Liberal Convention reassembled, they immediately rescinded Mr. Cowan's nomination, and selected in his place Mr. James Young, who, much against his wish at the time, accepted the nomination after a week's consideration. A straight fight ensued on Party *vs.* Coalition lines. The Hon. Messrs. Macdougall, Howland and Sandfield Macdonald were all in the riding at one time. Mr. Cowan was supported by the Conservatives and Coalition Liberals, and Mr. Young by the great body of the Liberal party. Many considered this contest the most strenuous and exciting of the whole Dominion elections. When counted, the vote stood thus: Young 1324, Cowan 958.

FIRST DOMINION ELECTIONS

Liberals in the new Coalition Cabinets, however, had considerable effect upon the result of the elections. It strengthened the position of the Conservative leader, tended to widen any divisions existing in the Liberal ranks, and influenced many uncertain voters towards the Government side.

The action of these gentlemen at the same time greatly stimulated the zeal and exertions of the Liberal party, and their leader, Mr. Brown, seemed to double his exertions, and his power and influence—particularly among the masses—were seldom or never more manifest. This was made signally apparent in the acceptance of the overtures which he made to an influential convention of 250 Roman Catholics held in Ontario about this period. The then Mayor of London—afterwards Sir Frank Smith—was its chairman, and its object was to secure the reunion to the Liberal party of the members of that faith who had temporarily withdrawn on account of the Separate School agitation. This proved a successful political move, and doubtless cheered the veteran Liberal amidst political labours which would have overwhelmed a man of less powerful physique and abstemious habits.

These first Dominion elections were also conspicuous on account of the large number of young Canadians of both political parties who were induced to take their dip in the murky waters of politics for the first time. Prominent among the new Liberal aspirants were Messrs. Edward Blake, Thomas Moss, David Mills, Adam Crooks, Timothy Pardee.

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Chris. F. Fraser, James D. Edgar, J. Lorn McDougall and M. C. Cameron, all of whom sooner or later secured seats in one or other of the new Parliaments, and several of whom were destined to take leading positions in the future administration of public affairs.

The Liberal party fought this battle with much unity and enthusiasm, and with the exception of rashly accepting nomination against so strong an opponent as Mr. T. N. Gibbs, of South Ontario, when his duties as leader prevented his proper canvass of the riding, and which led to his defeat,* the remarkable powers of the Honourable George Brown as a party orator and organizer never appeared more conspicuously, and were never more prodigally and disinterestedly used to achieve his party's success.

His laborious efforts, however, were met with equal ability, and in some respects with more adroitness and tact, by his old-time rival, Sir John Macdonald. That gentleman took a strong position in filling his first Cabinet with those who had been prominent in carrying Confederation, and in claiming from the electors "a fair trial" until at least the machinery of the British North America Act was fully set in motion.

Looking backwards, it is now quite evident that from the beginning of these elections the tide ran in favour of the Federal Government and its Pro-

* It was afterwards proven that money was largely used at this election, especially during the polling on the second day.

COALITIONISTS WIN VICTORY

vincial allies. It could hardly have been otherwise. The people were agitated by the elections, but at heart they were a little tired of political strife. They wanted a rest. The new Governments, too, were closely banded together, and had immense public patronage at their command. The coalition system was generally disliked, but the clever appeal to the country for "a fair trial," backed up as it soon was by the cry of "The union in danger"—the result of Howe's violent Repeal agitation—appealed to not a few electors for whom even "the loaves and fishes" were no temptation.

The battle continued to rage to the 13th, 14th and 15th September, when it became apparent the Coalitionists had won a decisive victory. They carried forty-seven out of eighty-three seats in Ontario, forty-five out of sixty-five in Quebec, seven out of fifteen in New Brunswick and one out of nineteen in Nova Scotia, the only Unionist returned in the latter Province being the Honourable Charles Tupper, who made a gallant and patriotic fight against the Anti-Unionists, but was left, like the last rose of summer, blooming alone!

Counting the Honourable Joseph Howe and all his followers against them, the Dominion Government still had triumphed by a good working majority, and they were not to have the Parliamentary opposition of the Honourable George Brown, who by a combined effort of the Conservatives and seceding Liberals was defeated by sixty-nine in

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

South Ontario. Much to the regret of thousands of his personal and political friends, Mr. Brown took an early opportunity to declare that he availed himself of the opportunity of his defeat to resign the leadership of the Liberal party and retire into private life.

CHAPTER III.

OPENING OF THE FIRST DOMINION PARLIAMENT— IMPOSING CEREMONIES—LORD MONCK DECLARES CANADA TO BE "A NEW NATIONALITY."

THE first Dominion Parliament was called to meet promptly after the elections. The official proclamation named November 6th for the opening of the session.

The capital of Canada, Ottawa City, was in 1867 an antiquated, half French, half English place of about 20,000 inhabitants. Its appearance was unattractive, if we except the new Parliamentary, Departmental and Library buildings overlooking the Ottawa, and the immense modern lumber mills driven by its rushing waters. The magnificent Government structures, their grandeur and beauty enhanced by their location on the bold and picturesque bluffs overlooking the Chaudiere Falls and the river, appeared like a group of brilliant planets in a sombre sky, but there was at that time little else about the capital which gave promise that it would soon develop into the "Washington of the North," which it already and not unreasonably aspires to become.

As the opening of Parliament drew near, the city began to manifest some signs of bustle and

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

excitement. Up to the day before the opening, however, most of the new legislators were still on their travels. It was in fact no easy matter at that time to reach Ottawa from Western Ontario, let alone the Maritime Provinces. A rough, uncomfortable branch railway from Prescott, and one or two second-class steamboats on the Ottawa River, were about the only means of finally reaching there from either East or West. When the senators and members of the House of Commons had mostly arrived, the hotels and boarding-houses were found to be crammed, and their accommodations uncomfortably limited.

At Toronto, *en route* to Ottawa, a few of the Western Liberal members held an impromptu meeting at the residence of the Honourable George Brown. That gentleman's determination to retire remained firm, but he continued to take a warm interest in political affairs, and took this means of bringing some of the new legislators together for the first time. The gathering, which took place in the evening, was quite informal, but naturally led to some discussion of the political situation and the best course for the Opposition to pursue during the coming session. Beside Mr. Brown, Mr. Alex. Mackenzie and Mr. Edward Blake were among the more prominent gentlemen present.

This was the first occasion on which I remember having met Mr. Blake, and as he quietly, almost demurely, walked into the parlour, the first glance occasioned a slight feeling of surprise. He was

BLAKE'S FORCE OF CHARACTER

quite different in appearance and manner from what fancy had pictured him.

Dressed in a plain tweed suit and a black slouched hat, with an almost total absence of those peculiarities which so frequently distinguish the legal profession, he might easily have been taken for some stalwart young Canadian farmer instead of the great lawyer which only a few years at the bar had proved him to be. His massive head and well-cut features, however, indicated much force of character, and as the conversation proceeded, his full and accurate knowledge of the questions which arose shone out conspicuously, though always modestly and unostentatiously expressed.

The opening of Parliament on Wednesday, November 6th, was a great day in Ottawa. The Governor-General, Lord Monck, as well as his Dominion advisers, desired to make the ceremonies attendant on the opening as elaborate, grand and brilliant as possible. From an early hour thousands were astir in the streets. That magnificent pile of Gothic architecture, the Houses of Parliament, and the beautiful East and West Departmental Buildings, as well as many city, business and private buildings, were gay with flags and bunting, and the city generally was decked in holiday attire.

The Senate and House of Commons assembled at three o'clock, and the booming of cannon announced that Her Majesty's representative, Lord Monck, had left Rideau Hall and was on his way to take part in the opening ceremonies. His

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Excellency was attended by a numerous staff, and was received on Parliament Hill by several companies of regulars, volunteers and Civil Service men, who, in their scarlet and other brilliant uniforms, and accompanied by bands of music, made an imposing military display which greatly pleased the thousands who lined the beautiful square.

When the Viceregal party entered the Senate Chamber, the scene was grand and imposing, but as the House of Commons had not yet elected their Speaker, the proceedings were exceedingly brief and formal. After Black Rod had summoned the members of the Commons, and a pell-mell rush of the people's representatives had taken place to the Bar of the Senate, nothing was done but making the usual official announcement "that until the House of Commons had elected their Speaker, His Excellency would not declare his reasons for calling them together." And with this brief ceremony, to the evident surprise and disappointment of many, the proceedings in the Senate were over for the day.

On the return of the Commoners to their own Chamber, Sir John Macdonald, the leader of the Government, proposed that the Honourable James Cockburn, member for the west riding of Northumberland, be elected the first Speaker of the House of Commons. The only objector was the veteran French-Canadian, Mr. Joseph Dufresne, who complained that Mr. Cockburn could not speak the

OPENING OF THE HOUSE

French language. With this exception, Mr. Cockburn was elected unanimously.

The ceremonies on the following day, Thursday, when the Speech from the Throne was delivered, were more elaborate and memorable. The stately Senate Chamber never presented a more magnificent spectacle than on this occasion. Promptly at three o'clock His Excellency Lord Monck took his seat on the Viceregal throne, and was naturally the central figure of the occasion.

The members of the House of Commons, headed by the Honourable James Cockburn, their Speaker, stood at the Bar of the Senate, and crowded all the space to the doors. On the right and left of the Governor-General were distinguished Imperial and volunteer officers in gorgeous uniforms; Sir John Macdonald, the first Prime Minister; Sir George Cartier, Sir W. P. Howland, Sir Leonard Tilley, Honourable William Macdougall and other Ministers of State, several of them in Windsor uniforms; whilst in the body of the Chamber were Lady Monck and a grand galaxy of ladies in full dress, gay plumes and sparkling gems. Behind them most of the Senators politely stood, while the spacious galleries of the splendid Chamber were crowded with ladies and gentlemen, and hundreds filled the corridors out to the streets, unable to gain admission.

To this grand assemblage of Canadians and their representatives, Lord Monck delivered the Speech from the Throne with much dignity and grace, reading it first in English and then in French amidst

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

profound silence and intense interest. It was a carefully prepared State paper, and as it throws some light on the circumstances and hopes with which "the great Confederation," as His Lordship called it, started out upon its national career, a brief reference to its principal contents will be found useful and interesting.

After expressing Lord Monck's gratification that it had been his official duty to assist at every step taken in the creation of the new Confederation, the Speech declared that the Imperial Act of Union had laid the foundation of "a new nationality," and expressed the belief that it would ere long extend its bounds from the Atlantic to the Pacific!

Numerous measures were then foreshadowed for the amendment and assimilation of the laws of the several Provinces, to make provision for Western "Territorial Extension," and for the immediate construction of the Intercolonial Railway under the terms of the Union Act, and of which it was said, "This great work will add a practical and physical connection to the legislative bond which now unites the Provinces comprising the Dominion."

"Your new nationality," His Excellency said in concluding, "enters upon its course backed by the moral support, material aid and most ardent good wishes of the mother country. Within your borders peace, security and prosperity prevail, and I fervently pray that your aspirations may be directed to such high and patriotic objects, and that you may be inspired with such a spirit of moderation and wisdom, as will cause you to render the great

LORD MONCK SHOWS FEELING

work of the Union which has been achieved a blessing to yourselves and your posterity, and a fresh starting-point in the moral, political and material advancement of the people of Canada."

As His Lordship proceeded with the delivery of the speech it became quite evident how deeply he felt the importance of the work of Confederation in which he had taken so active a part, and as he twice declared it to be the founding of "a new nationality," there was a slight tremor in his voice at these points which suggested that he foresaw how great and powerful Canada must become when all British North America was embraced within its bounds and its immense natural resources had attracted population from all parts of the world. The closing words of Lord Monck and the inspiration of the scene were infectious, and at their termination the long pent-up excitement of the large assemblage found vent in generous applause.

The first Viceregal Drawing-room took place on Friday evening, and was one of the largest and most pleasing of the opening ceremonies. It was held in the Parliament Buildings by Lord and Lady Monck, and over one thousand Senators, Commoners, officials and citizens were presented to their Excellencies, and made up a gay and brilliant scene.

For the first time men from Ontario and Quebec, Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers, mingled socially at the capital as citizens of a common country! Most of them were strangers to each other, and the query "Who's who?" was naturally

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

heard on all sides. "John A.," as the Bluenoses already called him, from his position and reputation naturally attracted general attention. So did the plucky, peppery little Frenchman, Cartier. "Which is Tupper?" was a frequent query, and not a few attributed the Honourable Leonard Tilley's fresh looks to his temperance principles. The leaders of the Opposition were also in great request. Many of the Marame members, in particular, were eager to see the Honourable George Brown—who was not present—the Honourable A. A. Dorion, the Honourable L. H. Holton, Mr. Edward Blake and Mr. Alex. Mackenzie, whose reputations already stood high throughout the Dominion, and who were expected to play important parts in the future. Nor were the Honourable L. S. Huntingdon, the Honourable M. Joly, and the Honourable Peter Mitchell overlooked. "Howe of Nova Scotia" was inquired for on all sides, and conspicuous among many other celebrities present and absent, which space prevents being mentioned, were Ontario's first Prime Minister, the Honourable Sandfield Macdonald, the courtly Sir A. T. Galt, and the eloquent D'Arcy McGee, who afterwards became the martyr of Confederation.

The Viceregal Drawing-room, although many distinguished persons met for the first time, made an exceedingly interesting and successful termination of the ceremonies marking the opening of the first Dominion Parliament, and it was followed by a round of public and private festivities which added further *éclat* to the memorable occasion.

CHAPTER IV.

EVENTS OF THE FIRST SESSION—THE HOWE-TUPPER DUEL IN PARLIAMENT—MAIDEN SPEECH OF EDWARD BLAKE—MCGEE'S BRILLIANT ORATION.

DURING the fall and winter of 1867-8, political excitement visihly declined except in Nova Scotia, where the Repeal agitation still raged. The outlook of the Dominion as a whole was fairly satisfactory. The difficulties in Nova Scotia, unfortunately, were aggravated by a partial failure of its fisheries. This caused considerable suffering among its seafaring people, but the jst manner in which the Legislatures, cities and towns of the more westerly Provinces contributed to their assistance, afforded pleasing proof that the ties of citizenship which now united them were of more than a sentimental character.

The world was at this period comparatively peaceful. The Franco-German war, it is true, was looming up in the distance, but neither Napoleon nor Bismarck was ready, and so the arts of diplomacy staved off for a few months longer the bloody arbitrament of the sword.

In Canada public interest was chiefly centred on the Senate and House of Commons, then in their first session. The Parliament was an exceedingly

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

able one. Nearly all the leading statesmen were members of either one House or the other, and the facility with which they assumed their respective duties as Ministerialists and Oppositionists, indicated thorough acquaintance with the principles of constitutional government. The Prime Minister almost solely wielded the Conservative baton, and the Liberals were chiefly under the leadership of Mr. Dorion, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Holton and Mr. Blake.

The debate on the Address furnished the first oratorical display. After the speeches of Hon. Mr. Fisher, of New Brunswick, and Mr. Desaulnier, of Quebec, in moving it, and Sir John Macdonald had explained the resignations from his Cabinet of Messrs. Archibald and Galt—the latter having been Finance Minister—the House received a momentary surprise, one, in fact, which produced a thrill of interest all over the Chamber.

The Honourable Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, the Apostle of Repeal, had left his desk and stepped into the centre of the Chamber almost directly in front of the Speaker. This action was unusual, and instantly every eye was turned upon him, and every ear strained to catch his opening words. The veteran statesman presented a striking figure. His leonine appearance, his fame as the hero of a hundred political battles, his graceful oratory, and his hostility to Confederation, all united to make his first speech in the Federal Parliament a thrilling occasion.

MR. HOWE AND CONFEDERATION .

After defining the position of himself and colleagues as Independents, Mr. Howe said the people of Nova Scotia could not join in the congratulations of His Excellency about Confederation, but would read his speech in sorrow and humiliation. He then elaborated the principal arguments used against the Union, and warmly denounced the way in which it had been carried through the Nova Scotia Legislature and the people denied an opportunity to vote upon it. All kinds of difficulties and dangers which he foresaw in the way of the new Dominion were depicted at length, and instead of "a new nationality extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific," as foreseen by His Excellency, "he could only see in the Union a source of weakness, a want of material indispensable to a great nation." The financial basis of the Union was particularly objected to. An army and navy would have to be provided for; taxation would have to be increased, and "all the revenues of his Province," he complained "are to be taken up by the general Government, and all they were to get back was eighty cents per head, the price of a Nova Scotian as well as a sheepskin!" This comparison created some laughter, after which Mr. Howe became more discursive and referred to almost every paragraph in the Address. He concluded by announcing that, although in a helpless minority, he would move an amendment regretting that Confederation had not been submitted to a vote of the people of Nova Scotia before being passed.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

It was expected the Honourable Charles Tupper, the doughty antagonist of Mr. Howe in many a Nova Scotia encounter, would reply to his speech; and as he rose in his seat to proceed, the reception he met with very clearly indicated which was the popular side of the question in that body. His speech was effective, and was delivered with even more than his customary force and volubility. It consisted chiefly in a glowing picture of the benefits which the Union would confer on Nova Scotia and all the Provinces; a defence of the manner in which the measure had been carried in Nova Scotia, which was by vote of the Legislature, the same as in all the other Provinces; and by the successful quotation of numerous extracts from the past speeches and writings of Mr. Howe, warmly advocating a union of the British North American Provinces such as he was now opposing.

The House enjoyed this rhetorical duel between the two famous Nova Scotians, but the occasion was evidently a trying one for Mr. Howe. He had a great and well merited reputation for ability and eloquence to maintain. One year before, I had heard his great oration before the famous Detroit Commercial Convention. He completely captured that immense gathering of wealthy and distinguished Americans, and a more brilliant and eloquent platform address was seldom ever uttered.

On this occasion, however, the conditions were entirely different. Mr. Howe was in an awkward, even inconsistent, position. Confederation was an

MR. BLAKE'S MAIDEN SPEECH

accomplished fact and could hardly be undone. His audience, too, with a few exceptions, were entirely unsympathetic. Demosthenes could not have been successful under such dispiriting circumstances, and that on this occasion Nova Scotia's "Old Man Eloquent" failed to impress Parliament, or even rise equal to his reputation, was not at all surprising.

When this episode closed, the interest of the debate was revived by Mr. Edward Blake rising to make his maiden Parliamentary speech. The press on both sides described it as a brilliant success, and it raised him at a bound to the front Parliamentary rank. The next day, Mr. Alex. Mackenzie followed with a rousing attack upon Coalition Governments in general, and those at Ottawa and Toronto in particular. He made a strong argument in favour of a return to Party Government after the British model.

The Government did not immediately reply. Secure in their large majority, they had evidently resolved on an unaggressive policy, and Messrs. Cartwright (Lennox), Morris (South Lanark), and Harrison (Toronto), who spoke from the Ministerial benches, did not so much defend the Administration as uphold Confederation and point out our changed relations to Great Britain and to each other.

The best defence of Confederation during this interesting debate was made by that brilliant Irishman, the Honourable Thomas D'Arcy McGee. Although pained by an injured limb, which he rested

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

alternately with a chair and a cane, his impassioned oratory charmed the whole House, which listened with almost breathless attention except when cheers interrupted the speaker. This has frequently been declared to be Mr. McGee's most brilliant speech in the Canadian Parliament, and if it could be compressed into a single sentence might be described as an eloquent refutation of Mr. Howe's attack, and a dazzling picture of Canada and its future possibilities.

Nearly all the Nova Scotians spoke, and that in a bitterly Anti-Union strain, and towards the close of the debate considerable interest was revived by the speeches of the Hon. Messrs. Smith and Anglin, of New Brunswick, followed by the reply of the Minister of Finance, the Honourable S. L. Tilley. Mr. Anglin, in particular, strongly denounced the unconstitutional manner in which the Smith-Anglin Ministry had been dismissed by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Union measure carried in that Province, but both gentlemen finally announced their acceptance of Confederation now that it had become law. After a week of oratory the Address passed without a division.

The Hon. Mr. Holton, who was generally recognized as an expert on constitutional and Parliamentary practice, soon afterwards raised a very important question of privilege. He declared that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald and his Ontario colleagues, and Premier Chauveau and his Quebec colleagues, were sitting and voting in the House of

PURCHASE OF THE NORTH-WEST

Commons illegally. Being Provincial Ministers and regular salaried officers under the Crown, he contended they were ineligible to seats in the Federal Parliament, and were liable to a large penalty for every day they sat therein. The point seemed well taken, and excitement began to run high, when Sir John Macdonald managed to get the disturbing question shunted to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. David Mills brought the subject up again by introducing a Bill to do away with dual representation. The Government opposed the measure, and it was withdrawn for the session, but it soon afterwards became the law of the land.

It was well on in December before the two principal measures of the Government were submitted. They were introduced by two sets of resolutions, one authorizing them to obtain from Great Britain Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories by purchase of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company thereto, and the other to authorize the issue of £4,000,000 of Dominion bonds—£3,000,000 of which were to have the British guarantee—to commence the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. These resolutions in effect gave the Government *carte blanche* to spend whatever sums they deemed necessary to carry out both projects, and, when the ordinary Supply Bill came up, it was found that the Government asked that "the supplies should be voted for nine months *en bloc*," in other words, without any particulars.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

The Opposition approved of the measures, but sharply criticised the Government's departure from wise principles of constitutional usage in asking votes of public money in that way. Mr. Dorion and Mr. Holton moved motions protesting against their action, but the House sustained the Administration by large majorities. Being near Christmas, the session was then adjourned to the 12th of March, 1868, many of the measures being held over to that time.

CHAPTER V.

SEWARD'S SURPRISE—ONTARIO'S SINGLE CHAMBER
MEETS—ITS SUCCESS—"THE NINE MARTYRS"—
SANDFIELD MACDONALD HOLDS THE FORT—
LIBERAL BANQUET.

THERE were still some clouds, it must be confessed, hovering in the Dominion sky at this time, but the people of Canada never lost faith that all British America would ultimately be included within its bounds. The difficulties in Nova Scotia, however, although more political than real, had a baleful effect in at least two other Provinces, Prince Edward Island for a time holding back, and Newfoundland being driven off from the Union to this day.

Then, the Honourable William H. Seward, the U. S. Secretary of State, surprised the world by purchasing ice-bound Alaska from Russia for \$7,000,000, a narrow strip of which, from eight to thirty-five miles wide, called the Penhandle, makes the coastline southwards for 536 miles and thus shuts out a large tract of Canadian territory from direct access to the Pacific Ocean. In his poetic way, the Honourable Joseph Howe described Alaska as "overshadowing us as a winter cloud from the North," and Mr. Seward's purchase of it was doubtless expected to prove a hindrance, if not a check, to our proposed Western extension.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Nevertheless, faith in the star of Canada never waned. It was well known that the Imperial Government stood firmly at the back of the Dominion, and that, good faith being shown to the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, they were prepared to incorporate the immense North-West Territories and Rupert's Land with the existing Confederation. This would enlarge Canadian territory to 3,500,000 square miles, an area large enough and with resources manifold enough to make three or four large nations.

With the possible exception, too, of a few half-breeds and trappers following a wild, nomadic life, the population so long under Hudson's Bay rule favoured union with the new Dominion, and in British Columbia all classes may be said to have united in sending delegates to Ottawa in 1870 to secure admission, almost the only condition at first asked by them being the modest one that Canada should bind itself to make a wagon-road over the mountains to connect the two countries together!

What would the patriotic British Columbians who took part in this movement for union with Canada have said and thought if some genie could have arisen at that moment in their midst and, unrolling the book of time to the year 1911, had shown them not only the immense Canadian Pacific Railway—with 10,000 miles of track, its unsurpassed steamship lines to Europe and Asia, and gross annual earnings of over \$104,000,000—stretching across Canada from the Atlantic to the

FIRST SESSION ONTARIO LEGISLATURE

Pacific—but two other great transcontinental railroads, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern Pacific, in course of construction as fast as men and capital can complete them?

After the New Year's holidays of 1868 public interest was quickly aroused by the first session of the Provincial Legislatures. This was particularly the case in Ontario, for the people took a very deep interest therein, retaining as they did painful memories of the long and bitter struggles during the legislative union with Lower Canada, through differences of race, language and religion, and had always considered the grandest feature of the new Federal system would be, that Ontario would have a Legislature of its own with full control over all its own local affairs.

At the opening session on December 27th, the usual ceremonies were observed. His Honour, Lieutenant-Governor Stisted, attended by a large military staff, drove down in a carriage and four, and was received at the entrance of the old Front Street Parliament buildings—for decades the arena of so many fierce party conflicts—by a guard of honour, composed of several companies of the Queen's Own, Tenth Royals and a Grand Trunk battalion. Two military bands played, and an artillery company fired a salute of eighteen guns, so it will be seen there was punctilious observance of those famous old British ceremonies which some people consider absolutely essential to good legislation.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

When Lieutenant-Governor Stisted, in uniform and cocked hat, entered and took his seat in the official chair, the historic old Chamber, glittering with new paint and decorations, was crowded with prominent ladies, venerated clergymen, eminent judges, distinguished officers, and citizens of all classes.

According to precedent, the Royal Speech could not be delivered until the House elected its Speaker, and the Honourable M. C. Cameron, Provincial Secretary, having announced this in the usual form, His Honour withdrew, and Mr. John Stevenson, member for Lennox, was unanimously elected to fill the position.



LIEUT.-GOVERNOR STISTED.

When Lieutenant-Governor Stisted delivered the Speech the next day, it proved to be a sensible, cautiously-worded document. Not much legislation was promised. A Homestead Law and free grants of land to encourage immigration and the settlement of our new townships, were the most important. But there was a great deal of business requiring to be done and His Honour sagely pointed out that, there being only one House, "unaided and unchecked by the supervisory control of another Chamber," it remained for its members, by "wisdom, moderation and forethought," to justify

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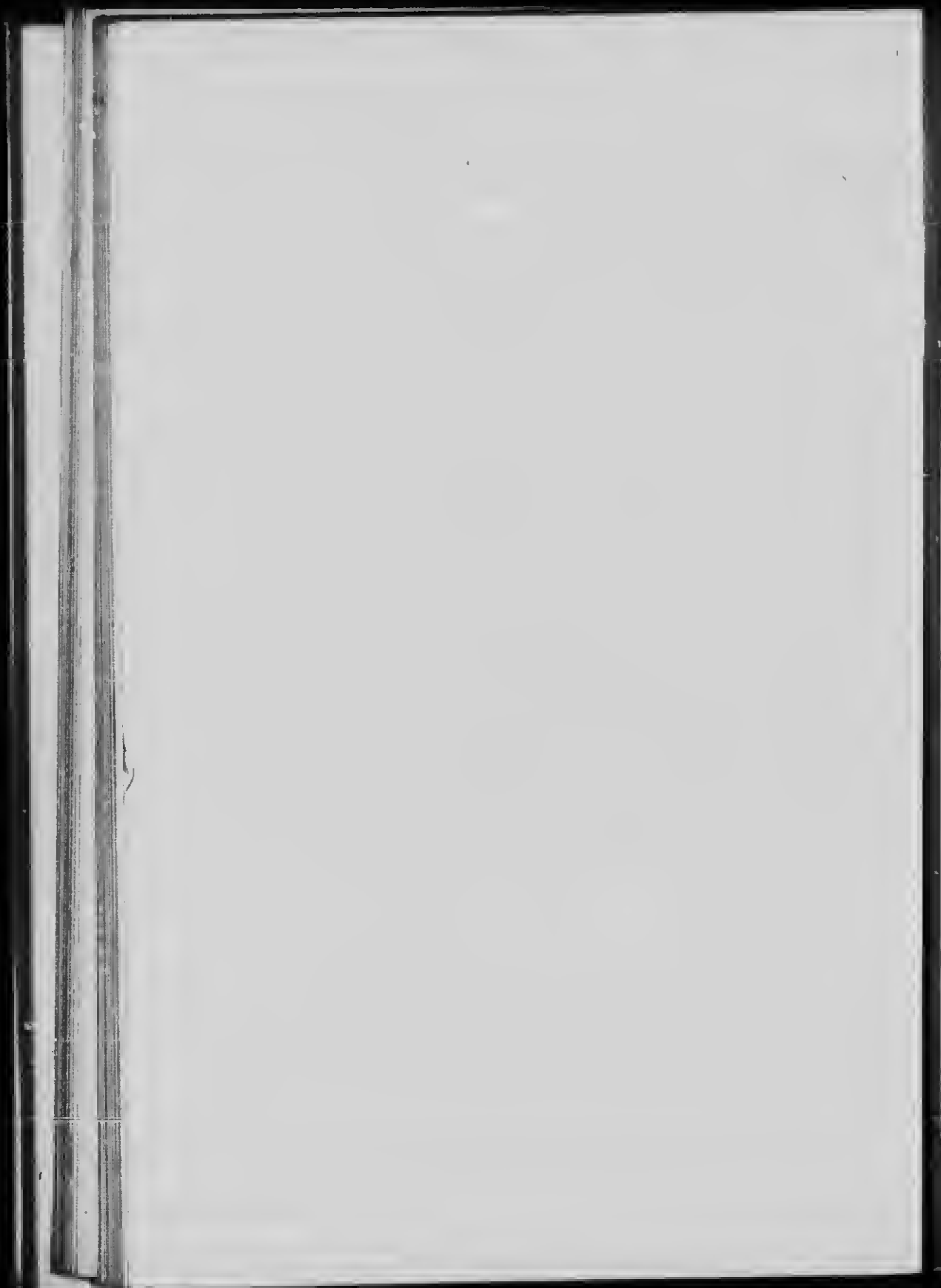
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THE OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, TORONTO.



ABLE MEN IN THE HOUSE

their peculiar and exceptional privileges. The buoyant feeling both in the Legislature and the country was well expressed in the following paragraph:

"This day is the commencement of a new and important era in our political annals. We are met together under the authority of the British Crown to enter upon a more extended application than we have hitherto enjoyed of the principle of local self-government. For years past it has been the aim and effort of Upper Canada to secure a more direct and unlimited control over her own local affairs than was attainable whilst in legislative alliance with another Province . . . This object we have now attained through the beneficent interposition of the Mother Country."

When the two political parties confronted each other on the floor of the House, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald and his Coalition colleagues and supporters on the one side, and Messrs. Archibald McKellar, Edward Blake, John McMurrich, Timothy Pardee and their Liberal supporters on the other, it became quite apparent that the first Ontario Legislature contained not a few able men, and many others well qualified to discharge their duties creditably. And from the start the proceedings of the session proved it to be an energetic, efficient and practical body.

The address in reply to His Honour's Speech was discussed warmly, but by mutual arrangement it was closed in one day and an adjournment made over the holidays. On reassembling on January 8th, the business was promptly taken up. There

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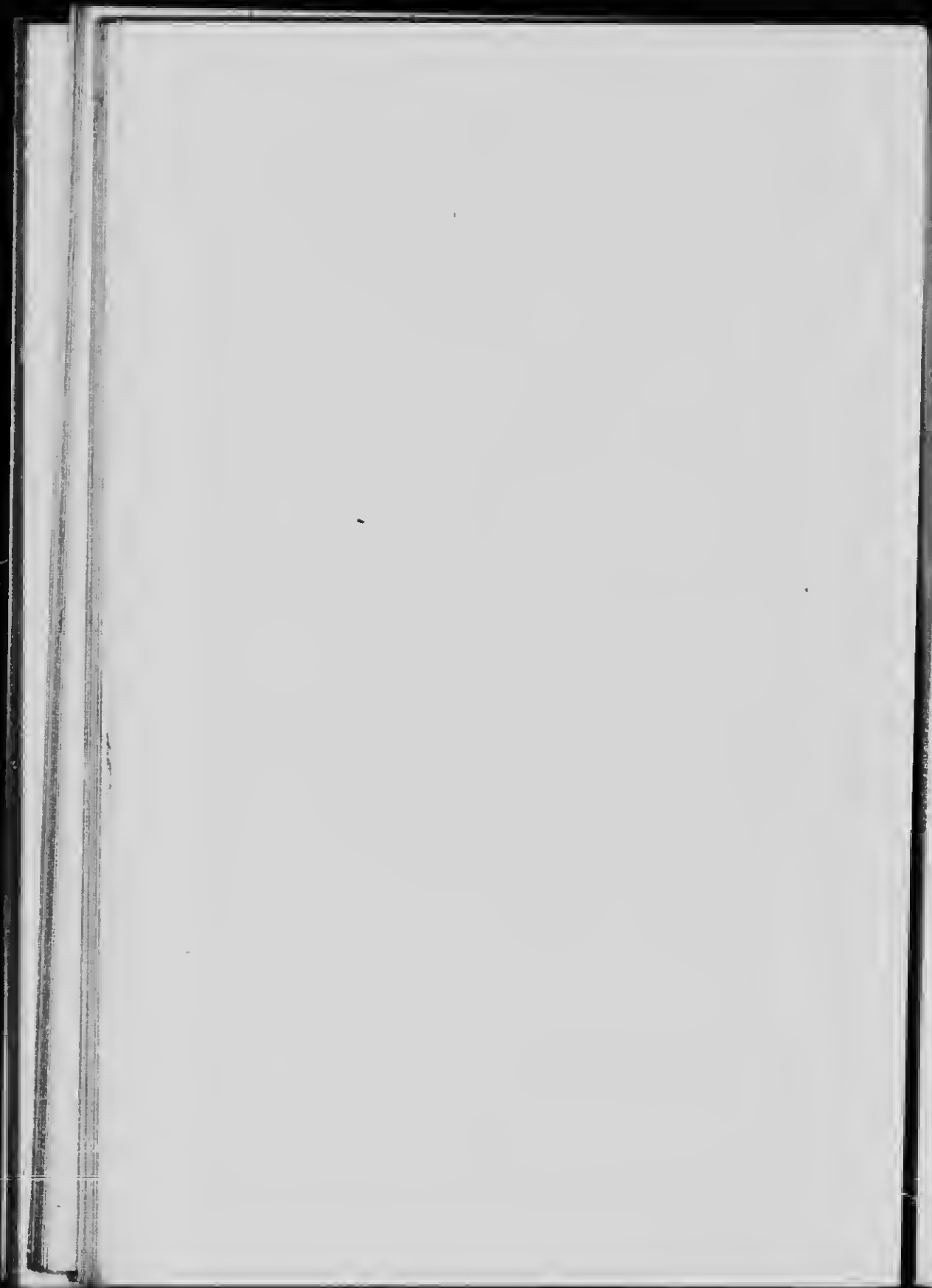
was little of what is known as "filibustering," although the political situation was by no means certain. Out of eighty-two members composing the House, forty-six were nominally Liberals and thirty-six Conservatives; nine of the Liberals, however, who afterwards became known as "The Nine Martyrs," supported Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, thus giving him about eight majority on a strict non-confidence vote. On other questions, however, the temper of the House was decidedly Liberal, and this led to occasional complications.

When the Homestead and the Free Grant questions were reached, both parties were agreed on the principle, but there were exciting debates on Mr. Blake's bill to abolish dual representation, and on a motion made by Mr. McKellar to grant \$4,000 in aid of the widow of William Lyon Mackenzie, in recognition of her husband's long public services. A Ministerial amendment to postpone the Dual Bill to the next session was only carried by a majority of two, and the grant to Mrs. Mackenzie, although strongly opposed by the Conservatives, was carried by thirty-five to thirty-one.

The Coalition Ministry held the fort during the session, as in fact they did throughout the whole Parliamentary term of four years. When the House was prorogued on March 4th, public opinion was almost unanimous that the new single Chamber of the Province was a success, and time has since proven that, notwithstanding some mistakes, Sandfield Macdonald did a real service to Ontario by



FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO, 1867.



BANQUET AT QUEEN'S HOTEL

starting its new Government on a basis so economical as to be absolutely parsimonious.

The Opposition left no uncertainty as to their appreciation of the new Legislature. They boasted of its success. They pointed to the control which it gave to the Province over all its local affairs, with much justice claiming that Ontario owed this boon to the long years spent in the cool shades of Opposition by the Liberal party in advocating Representation by Population, and other constitutional reforms. They felt proud of their record and hopeful for the future, and closed their labours during the session with a well-attended banquet at the Queen's Hotel.

The Honourable John McMurrich occupied the chair, and the principal speeches were made by Messrs. Archibald McKellar and Edward Blake, the Honourable George Brown, Mr. Adam Crooks, Q.C., Mr. Timothy Pardee, Kenneth McKenzie, Q.C., and Mr. Thomas Moss, then rising into fame. Among other prominent gentlemen present were Messrs. Thomas Hodgins, James D. Edgar, Gordon Brown, George Laidlaw, John Leys, R. M. Wells, Thomas Oliver and Peter Gow, M.P.P.'s, and rather oddly, but significantly, Messrs. McGill, Lauder, Cockburn, Boyd and Beatty, who were among the "Nine Martyrs" supporting the Coalition, but who felt sufficiently Liberal to dine with their old political friends.

The toast of "Our Guests" was associated with the name of the Honourable George Brown, who

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received a great reception on rising to respond. His speech exhibited much of the old fire, its two principal features being a brief but masterly review of what the Liberal party had accomplished during the previous twenty-five years, and the conspicuous moderation with which he referred to political opponents and the various points discussed. This was one of the last speeches which fell from the eloquent lips of Mr. Brown, and he closed it amidst loud cheers with the following patriotic words:

“ I thank you heartily for the kind attention you have given my remarks. I have spoken without the slightest feeling against any of the public men who carry on the affairs of the country, either at Ottawa or Toronto; and, so far as I am concerned, everything I can do, no matter what Government is in power, shall be done to advance the interests of our country and to secure that harmony and good feeling among men of all parties, which is necessary to the good and successful working of our new constitution.”

Our second railroad era began at this time. The first move was made by Mr. George Laidlaw, of Toronto—a man of great energy and foresight—who advocated the Toronto and Nipissing and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce lines. Companies to construct these roads were soon incorporated, and afterwards the Credit Valley from Toronto through Galt to Woodstock (now part of the main line of the C. P. R.), and also other roads, were bonused and heartily supported by the public.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TUPPER MISSION—TROUBLE IN THE CABINET OVER ROYAL HONOURS—INTERVIEW WITH THE HONOURABLE D'ARCY MCGEE—HIS ASSASSINATION IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS.

THE Dominion Parliament reassembled on March 12th, 1868, to conclude its first session. Within six months the Cabinet had lost three of its members, Mr. A. J. Fergusson-Blair, President of the Council, having died, and the Honourable Messrs. Galt and Archibald having resigned. The Lower Chamber of the Nova Scotia Legislature had passed a vehement address to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, praying to be released from its union with Canada. The Honourable Joseph Howe, too, had been commissioned to visit London, and to press the British Government and Parliament to grant the repeal asked for. And on the morning of the day on which Parliament reassembled, a hastily called Cabinet Council met, and passed an Order-in-Council despatching the Honourable Charles Tupper to England to combat Mr. Howe and his Secessionist efforts.

When Speaker Cockburn took the Chair of the Commons at three o'clock, only seventy members out of one hundred and eighty-four were in attendance. But the House and the galleries were already quite

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excited over the unexpected news that Doctor Tupper had been appointed Canadian Commissioner to oppose Nova Scotia's demands, and had received his appointment, packed his trunk and left Ottawa for England, all within a few hours of the meeting of the people's representatives.

The Opposition promptly decided to challenge this appointment. The Honourable L. H. Holton moved for all papers on the subject, and a hot debate ensued. Messrs. Dorion, Mackenzie, Savary, and Ross (N. S.), Blake, Huntingdon, and others, warmly assailed the choice of Doctor Tupper as unwise and imprudent, in view of the bitter feeling then existing among Nova Scotians generally against that gentleman. The principal defence of the appointment was made by Sir John Macdonald, although the Honourable Mr. Cartier and Mr. Stewart Campbell (N.S.) spoke in a similar strain.

The Prime Minister particularly urged the following points: that Doctor Tupper was well qualified and better informed than any other person to fulfil this mission successfully; that he had no instructions except to supply information to the Colonial Secretary and keep him informed as to Canadian views; and that his colleagues and himself had desired that the Honourable Mr. Galt would accompany Dr. Tupper, but that gentleman had declined to go. He read Mr. Galt's letter to Mr. Cartier declining to accept this appointment, which contained this very frank and unmistakable statement: "I consider the selection of Dr. Tupper is calculated, in the

DR. TUPPER'S APPOINTMENT

present temper of Nova Scotia, so far to diminish the probability of success, that I do not myself believe I could be of any service."*

Another breeze over Dr. Tupper's appointment sprang up on April 6th. Dr. Parker, member for Centre Wellington, moved to recall from Britain that much-berated gentleman. As it might injure the Confederation, not a few Liberals did not approve of this motion, and it was ultimately withdrawn; but it provoked an acrimonious discussion, during which the standing and services of the "War-horse of Cumberland"—as Dr. Tupper was frequently called—was amply vindicated by several of his political friends, but by none more hotly than the member from Montreal West, the Honourable D'Arcy

* And thereby hangs a tale! This blunt refusal of Mr. Galt was among the first open avowals of what had been secretly known for some time, that his business affairs and connection with the defunct Commercial Bank had not been *all* his reasons for resigning his position as Finance Minister. It had become an open secret that not only Mr. Galt, but the most powerful Minister in the Cabinet, Mr. Cartier, had felt aggrieved, when the Royal honours were conferred on the members of the new Government at Confederation, that the First Minister was knighted and became Sir John Macdonald, whilst they had been allotted only C.B., an inferior position.

These gentlemen evidently believed the Prime Minister must have been consulted in the usual way by Lord Monck before Her Majesty allotted these honours. Sir John repudiated this, but, whatever the truth may have been, this unfortunate incident shattered the delicate links of mutual confidence which had so long bound these three influential statesmen together, and had made them such a power in the Government of Canada for so lengthened a period.

Both the Hon. Mr. Cartier and the Hon. Mr. Galt, when the honour of C.B. was tendered to them, respectfully declined to accept it, and that there was from that time a skeleton in the Cabinet, the latter gentleman at least now took no trouble to disguise.

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McGee. His speech, as usual, was of a high order, but he once or twice verged near bitterness as he denounced those throwing hindrances in the way of the bright pictures he delighted to draw of the Canadian Confederation that was to be.

Towards midnight, Macdonald and Mackenzie—the latter having become the recognized leader of the Opposition—got into a wrangle over this bitter debate, and as neither at the time would give way, there seemed every prospect of a very late if not an all-night sitting. I therefore went downstairs to the restaurant to get something to eat. One of the first men I observed at a distance was Mr. McGee. We had been for several years on very friendly terms. Shortly after he came to Canada I attended a public dinner given in his honour at London, and made an arrangement with him to come to Galt and give a public lecture on Burns and Moore, which was one of his favourite topics at that time. This meeting took place in the Town Hall before a very large and enthusiastic audience. He was at this time a very zealous Liberal, but even after he transferred his support to the Conservative party our early friendship continued.

Subsequent events which I am about to relate impressed certain circumstances which transpired in the restaurant and early the next morning very distinctly upon my mind, and they have never been publicly related before.

After being a few minutes in the room, seated and chatting with a friend, I saw Mr. McGee walk-

D'ARCY MCGEE'S MANY PARTS

ing across the floor towards us. He had been seriously ill during the first half of the session, but had recovered and seldom looked better than this evening, and although he had spoken on the Parker motion only two hours before, he was in unusual spirits and exceedingly bright and agreeable.

"And so, my *young* friend," he began, with a genial smile, putting strong emphasis on the word "young," "you undertook to go for me in your speech to-night!"

Circumstances had led to my having to follow the honourable gentleman in the debate, not the most desirable thing for a novice to do, and his allusion was to some remarks made in reply to his attack on Dr. Parker; I therefore jokingly endeavoured to parry his friendly thrust, pleading that "the shots fired had been on the defensive, and were very harmless anyway."

After continuing to rally me for a few minutes on "going for so old a friend," Mr. McGee's animation and geniality seemed about to find vent in delightful conversation. When at his best, he was a brilliant conversationalist, the realms of history, statesmanship, poetry and literature yielding him in abundance those flowers of rhetoric which so adorned everything this brilliant Irishman spoke and wrote.

Before he had proceeded far, however, to the surprise of everyone the division bells rang out shrilly through the Chambers, corridors, committee-rooms, restaurant and wherever any member could

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possibly be, and on hurrying upstairs to ascertain the cause, it was found that "John A." and "Mac," as the irreverent generally called them, had got over their tiff, and the House had immediately adjourned.

By the clock which illumines the lofty tower and graceful turrets of our magnificent Houses of Parliament, it was then between half-past twelve and one o'clock, and as the tired Ministers and members hurried through the corridors and out into the dark and cheerless night, O God! how little any of them dreamed of the atrocious and cruel tragedy which was within one single hour of enactment, and on the morrow filled all Canada with horror and lamentation!

Next morning at six o'clock I was aroused by a loud knock at my bedroom door. At that time a group of seven Liberal members occupied all the spare room in a hotel not far east of the Sappers' and Miners' bridges. Mr. David Thompson, M.P. for Haldimand, jokingly called us "The Levellers," and the other gentlemen composing the group were: Messrs. David Stirton, Joseph Rymal, Thomas Oliver, E. V. Bidwell, James Wells and Isaac Bowman—alas! all now gone save myself, but all well remembered for their long and honourable public services.

A second knock was accompanied by these startling words: "Get up, Young, D'Arcy McGee was shot last night!" There was no mistaking that voice. It was undoubtedly Mr. Rymal's, a man known in every corner of the Dominion as "honest Joe

ASSASSINATION OF MCGEE

Rymal," the humourist of Parliament, but not so widely known as possessing under a rough form and brusque manner a bright, independent, far-seeing mind, and many manly and generous qualities of head and heart.

Now, Mr. Rymal was quite fond of a little practical joke, and jumping to the conclusion (as I recalled having been in Mr. McGee's company only a short time before) that he was trying to trick me into getting up two hours ahead of time, I replied: "No, Joe, you can't fool me that way."

I was now wide awake, and noticed the saddened tone of his voice as he answered, "It is too true! He was shot dead soon after the House rose last night, and just as he was trying to put his key into the latch of his boarding-house door. Get up, and let us go and see him."

A few minutes later we were on our way up Sparks Street to Mrs. Trotter's, where Mr. McGee had lodged. It was then only a few minutes after six o'clock, and the daylight was still murky. But already a number of people were assembled around the door, and the dark pools of blood on the pavement, rendered more conspicuous by a slight sprinkle of snow, were all too painfully suggestive of the awful crime which had been committed. With a small but constantly increasing number of citizens, we passed upstairs to a moderate-sized chamber, and there on a bed, with his overcoat on, and muffled up as when he left the Parliament Buildings, his face fresh and natural as when in life, lay all that re-

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mained of the accomplished and brilliant D'Arcy McGee.

It was a heartrending sight. Tears filled the eyes of many who were coming and going, and with bated breath deep sympathy was expressed for his widow and orphans. I felt keenly the solemnity and sadness of this scene; in fact, I could hardly bring myself to realize that the gifted man who had swayed the House of Commons the previous night by his wisdom and eloquence, the friend who had been chatting and joking with me till after midnight, and whose brilliancy and geniality were seldom if ever more resplendent, had within a comparatively few minutes thereafter been hurled by a dastardly assassin named Whalen* across that infinite boundary over which no traveller ever returns.

The scene in Parliament when the Houses assembled at three o'clock was the most painful and affecting they ever experienced. Universal horror and regret were expressed at the terrible tragedy, and senators and commoners alike were pervaded, almost overwhelmed, with sorrow and sadness. When the Prime Minister and Mr. Mackenzie rose to propose and second the adjournment of the House, profound silence and solemnity pervaded the Chamber, and the speakers were at times so over-

* "No; the bullet which wantonly laid the master of oratory low was fired by a fellow-countryman (not by Whalen, who suffered for the crime, but by another Fenian), who thought, by getting rid of McGee, that he was advancing the cause of Ireland."—Dr. Henry Morgan, in a letter to the *Ottawa Journal*, January 21st, 1912.

CANADA DEEPLY STIRRED

come by their feelings that they could hardly proceed. Their grief was fully shared by the members generally, who sympathized with the eulogiums passed upon Mr. McGee, and whose sadness lifted not a little when it was announced that both political parties were agreed that the Dominion should make liberal provision for his widow and children.

The sad story and the liberal action of Parliament spread like wildfire over the Dominion and the world, and unless on the assassination of President Lincoln three years before, the people of Canada were never more deeply and painfully stirred. The immense State funeral which took place at Montreal, and the numerous public meetings held from Vancouver to Halifax, testified the universality of the national grief, as well as the exalted place to which Mr. McGee, statesman, poet, orator and *litterateur*, had risen in the estimation of the Canadian and British people during his later years.

The whole tragic circumstances brought vividly to mind the famous exclamation of the great Edmund Burke when speaking of the sudden death of his political opponent on the eve of the Bristol election: "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!"

When the business of the session could be resumed, the first Parliament proved itself to be quite an independent body, strongly in favour of economy and retrenchment. The principal business transacted may be thus briefly summarized: Nova Scotia Re-

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peal was voted down by one hundred and ten to sixteen. After a lively debate, the Governor-General's salary was reduced from \$50,000 to \$32,000, and other reductions made at Rideau Hall and elsewhere. The Senate created a genuine surprise by confirming these reductions by a vote of thirty-seven to seventeen! A Government Bill proposed to expend \$5,500,000 on fortifications, commencing at Montreal and extending here and there westwards along our boundary. It was very unpopular and warmly opposed. On account of some understanding in Britain, however, Sir George Cartier forced it through the Commons with whip and spur, but the whole absurd project was quickly dropped after the session amidst widespread public ridicule. The reduction of the Governor-General's salary, too, did not receive the sanction of the Crown, and the occupant of our Viceregal Throne has ever since continued to draw a salary of \$50,000 per annum without its ever being questioned.

The great services rendered by His Excellency, Lord Monck, to Canada and Confederation, were suitably acknowledged by addresses from both Houses of Parliament, and among his later services as Governor-General was the prorogation of the first session of the first Parliament on May 28th. Its members strongly desired that the new Dominion should be started economically. So strong was this feeling, that the Honourable John Rose, the new Finance Minister, openly declared that he aimed at

A TWELVE PER CENT. TARIFF

lowering the tariff to an average of about twelve per cent., and Conservatives and Liberals at this time alike agreed with his views, that the best way for us to meet United States competition was to make our tariff as low as possible, keep Canada a cheap country to live in, and thus attract population and capital to our shores.

CHAPTER VII.

NOVA SCOTIA'S STRUGGLE FOR REPEAL—HOWE AND TUPPER IN BRITAIN—DANGEROUS POSITION IN NOVA SCOTIA—HOWE FINALLY ACCEPTS OFFICE AND REPEAL IS CRUSHED.

THE first three years of Confederation were largely taken up with completing its organization and consolidation. The most important question then pressing for solution, however, was the Nova Scotia Repeal agitation.

Nova Scotia continued in a blaze of excitement over the Repeal movement, Howe and Tupper being then in London fighting it out before the Imperial Government and Parliament. The result, however, was never doubtful. Repeal was foredoomed to failure, and after his first interview with Mr. Howe, as early as April 9th, Dr. Tupper informed Sir John Macdonald that there were some signs of a favourable ending.

According to official letters and explanations, on reaching London Dr. Tupper lost no time in calling on Mr. Howe. He was out, but in a day or two returned the call, when the two life-long political antagonists discussed the whole Nova Scotia situation earnestly and at length.

Both gentlemen agreed that Mr. Howe was bound to do everything in his power to free his Province

HOWE AND TUPPER IN LONDON

from the Federation. But if he failed—as was almost certain—what then? Dr. Tupper pressed upon Mr. Howe that, under such circumstances, “if he went back to Nova Scotia and told them that before entering upon any other measures of antagonism, they had better give the union a fair trial, he would find the Government and Parliament of the Dominion not only ready to make any practicable concession to the interests of Nova Scotia, but to give the public sentiment of the people as expressed at the elections the tullest weight. That a seat in the Cabinet and the position declined by myself would afford the means of doing justice to the claims of the Nova Scotia party, and that I would unite my fortune with theirs and give them the most cordial support. Mr. Howe appeared deeply impressed by my statement and said a great many civil things, but expressed his fears that if he took that course his party would abandon him.”*

On the Monday following this interview both of these gentlemen and their wives were invited to spend a day or two with the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, at his residence, “Stowe House.” Mr. Howe, in a letter published in Nova Scotia, declared that Confederation was never mentioned on this occasion, but it is well known His Lordship made no secret of the view of the Government in regard to repeal. He is said to

* Extract from letter of the Honourable Dr. Tupper to Sir John Macdonald, dated London, April 9th, 1868; Pope's “Macdonald,” Vol. II., page 25.

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have frankly told Mr. Howe at their first interview that they regarded Confederation as a great measure of Imperial policy, and its reversal would be unwarranted, especially after all the other Provincial Legislatures had approved of it. Its repeal was therefore impracticable until at least the new system of government had been fairly tried and pronounced a failure.

The British Government listened with all respect and attention to the impassioned representations made to them by Messrs Howe, Annand, Smith and Troop, of Nova Scotia, and John Bright and others championed their cause in the House of Commons. But Repeal met with little favour. The official answer of the Government was given on June 4th in a despatch from the Colonial Secretary to the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Monck; this carefully-prepared document took somewhat similar grounds to those advanced by the Duke of Buckingham to Mr. Howe, and, whilst conciliatory in tone, must have extinguished the last hopes of the Nova Scotians for the success of their mission.

The Repeal delegates left England soon afterwards, Dr. Tupper accompanying them on the same vessel. Mr. Howe, as it afterwards appeared, returned to Nova Scotia with very mingled feelings. He was the leader for Repeal, but was now thoroughly convinced that it was impossible to obtain it, and his views upon the whole question were much modified, to say the least, as to the

WILKINS' TREASONABLE UTTERANCES

course towards Confederation which he ought to pursue on his return.

On their arrival at Halifax the Nova Scotians found the Anti-Union agitation more aggravated than ever, the failure of Repeal having, at least for the moment, added fuel to the flames. The Provincial Ministry, all elected as Anti-Unionists, were intensely bitter. The Attorney-General, the Honourable Martin I. Wilkins, was one of the most extreme. Although holding so influential an office under the Crown, he indulged in language so near to treason that Lieutenant-Governor Doyle sharply demanded explanations, and it was with difficulty his dismissal was prevented.*

A few of the more violent extremists openly professed to favour annexation! They were not among the influential Nova Scotians, but they made sufficient noise to induce old General Ben Butler, of New Orleans fame, to hasten from the New England States to the scene of agitation, ostensibly for his health, but really to spy out the land and size up the possibilities.

* The *Halifax Reporter* reported Mr. Wilkins as having used the following words in the House of Assembly on Sept. 3rd, 1868: "I give notice now to England and to Canada, and they will hear my voice, that if before the next session of this Assembly redress is not given, and the Constitution restored to the people, the people will no longer submit. You'll hear no more of constitution! and gentle means after that. We'll not be without a revenue. We'll pass a revenue law. We'll send for the Collector of Customs at Halifax, and bring him to the Bar of the House and order him to obey our laws. This will be done before next session. . . . If these means won't avail we'll appeal to another nation." The *Morning Chronicle's* report was somewhat different, but conveyed the same ideas. Mr. Wilkins, however, denied that he had been accurately reported.

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All eyes were now turned on the Honourable Joseph Howe. For a time he was reticent, and his position, from the first awkward, soon became embarrassing and trying. He knew that the movement for Repeal was dead—"a dead Indian," as he called it—and found himself face to face with a dilemma: either he must go with the extreme Anti-Unionists, who were threatening sedition, or he must separate from and oppose thousands of his lifelong political and personal friends.

For a statesman who had been the leader for Repeal and was the idol of the people as no other Nova Scotian ever was, this was a critical position. But Mr. Howe had doubtless considered his future course before leaving England, and whilst giving the agitation a little time to cool, made inquiries of the Dominion Government what better terms they were prepared to give his Province than those contained in the British North America Act.

This led to Sir John A. Macdonald, accompanied by Messrs. Cartier, Macdougall, Sandfield Macdonald and Tupper, visiting Nova Scotia's beautiful capital. The Prime Minister and the Honourable Joseph Howe had several interviews at Lieutenant-Governor Doyle's residence, and, to make a long story short, it was ultimately arranged by correspondence that the Honourable John Rose and Messrs. Howe and A. R. McLelan, M.P., should meet at the city of Portland, and decide what new financial terms could and should be offered to Nova Scotia.

MR. HOWE ACCEPTS CONFEDERATION

Under the Confederation Act, Nova Scotia was entitled to enter the Dominion with a public debt of \$8,000,000, to receive a special grant annually of \$60,000, and the eighty cents per head common to all the Provinces. Messrs. Rose, Howe and McLelan duly met at Portland as arranged, and agreed upon the following changes: that the amount of debt to be allowed to Nova Scotia should be increased by \$1,188,750; that the special annual grant should be increased to \$80,000 for the space of ten years and the grant of eighty cents per head of the population remain as before. There were a few minor changes, but these were the principal financial concessions agreed upon.

Even after this Portland Award, the Repeal settlement still hung fire. At the last moment Mr. Howe objected to enter the Dominion Cabinet. But as the "better terms" proposed to be given to Nova Scotia were conditioned on his acceptance of office, he was finally prevailed upon to give his assent and was sworn into office at Ottawa as President of the Council on January 30th, 1869.

Mr. Howe's final acceptance of Confederation had been anticipated for some time. But when he became a member of the Federal Government it naturally created a great sensation throughout Nova Scotia. It is almost needless to say the floodgates of Anti-Union vituperation were not only turned upon him, but the chief party orators from Cape Breton to Yarmouth were summoned to crush the grand old veteran in Hants when he appeared for re-election.

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April 20th was appointed the day of election, and the electors of Hants held for the time being the fate of Confederation and of their old champion—Joe Howe—in the hollow of their hands.

The contest proved unusually exciting, acrimonious and violent. The "Old Man Eloquent" must have felt the truth of one of his earlier witticisms: "The smaller the pit, the fiercer the rats fight." In fact, the long excitement he had passed through, and the bitter personal attacks made upon him, on the platform and in the press, by Mr. Annand and other personal friends of a lifetime, were so keenly felt by his proud and chivalrous spirit that his health temporarily broke down in the middle of the canvass.

For some time it looked as if Repeal must triumph. But a great change had come over the people of Nova Scotia. Their eyes had been opened to the dangers to which the Anti-Unionists were dragging them, and "Howe and better terms" finally triumphed by the handsome majority of 383.

Thus was the battle for Confederation in Nova Scotia finally won. So pronounced an acceptance by the electors of Hants of the "better terms" offered by the Dominion Government, proved a complete Waterloo to the Anti-Union cause, and the dark cloud which for two years had overhung the new Dominion quickly disappeared, leaving the way open for the union of the whole of British North America, with all its immediate blessings and future possibilities.

CHAPTER VIII.

DAWSON ROUTE TO RED RIVER—THE INTERCOLONIAL
RAILWAY—CABINET SPLIT CAUSES DELAY—
COALITION "COMPLICATIONS"—SIR
JOHN MACDONALD AS LEADER
PLAYS THE GAME OFF
HIS OWN BAT.

THE Government early acted on the authority of Parliament to open up means of communication and transportation throughout the Dominion, and to press negotiations for the acquirement of the North-West Territories.

The first work begun was the opening of a route from the head of Lake Superior to the Red River district. This was an absolute necessity, as one could not get to the North-West at that time except round by St. Paul in the United States. The distance from Port Arthur to Fort Garry was then given at 464 miles, 331 of which were water navigable for small craft, and 131 of dense forest, deep morasses and rocky plains. Mr. J. S. Dawson, a well-known Government engineer, was entrusted with this difficult work, and what became known as the Dawson Route, in due time gave the Dominion a fairly good mixed land and water route through our own territory.

The beginning of the Intercolonial Railway was delayed by a stiff quarrel in the Cabinet over the route. The Government engineers reported upon

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three routes: (1) the Northern, or Major Robinson line; (2) the Central route; and (3) the Southern. The first named had been in early days surveyed by the British Government as a military road, and circled northwards by the Bay of Chaleur. The Central and Southern lines were the most direct from the cities of Montreal and Quebec to St. John and Halifax, the cheapest to construct, and promised the most traffic, revenue and other commercial advantages. The Honourable George Cartier and many of his Quebec supporters, aided by the Honourable Peter Mitchell (N.B.), took a resolute stand in favour of the Northern line, whilst common report said that the Honourable Messrs. Macdougall, Howland and Tilley threatened to resign if either the Central or Southern route was not chosen.

The summer of 1868 found this split in the Cabinet still raging, but early in July it was announced that the Major Robinson line had been finally selected. This was largely due to the opinion of the Imperial Government, who in those early times seldom viewed Colonial questions except through military spectacles, but it naturally produced an outburst of hostile criticism in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces.

It was certainly a costly blunder, as the Intercolonial took \$60,000,000 to construct and equip, and for some forty years cost us annually from \$500,000 to \$750,000 to maintain it in good repair and keep its trains running! But it may be added, the Cabinet came through safely—no resignations ever took place!

MR. HOWLAND'S APPOINTMENT

Warm competition occurred over who should be the first Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. The Honourable Mr. Howland was supposed to have strong claims, but others desired the honour. Prominent among these were the Honourable Sandfield Macdonald, Premier of the Province, and the Honourable John Hillyard Cameron, the head of the Ontario Bar. The Honourable Alexander Campbell, Postmaster-General, wanted Sir John Macdonald to accept it himself! But that gentleman wanted no inferior place to that of Prime Minister, and awarded the prize to Mr. Howland, doubtless chiefly on the ground—as subsequent events indicated—that that gentleman's retirement would open up the way for certain more important political changes which the great opportunist shrewdly foresaw, and in time hoped to carry out. Mr. William Macdougall was now the only Ontario Liberal left in the Coalition. There were two Liberal vacancies in the Cabinet—who were to be the new Ministers? Agitation immediately arose. Many supporters of the Government insisted that Conservatives should be appointed. Mr. Macdougall contended that the solemn compact entered into when the coalition was formed should be honourably adhered to, and that two Liberals were clearly entitled to the vacant portfolios.

Dexterous as Sir John Macdonald was, these circumstances placed him in a rather awkward position. If he did not appoint two Liberals he would break the Coalition compact upon which the elections had been carried less than a year before; if he appointed Conservatives, the Government would

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cease to be a coalition and become a straight party administration. The change to Conservatives was doubtless what their astute leader preferred. It was evidently the goal at which he aimed. But the plum was not ripe for pulling, and to crush the life out of the coalition so early would almost certainly drive off with cries of betrayal those Liberals who had given the Premier a solid majority in Ontario for the first time in his long political career. The Opposition, too, would point to it as complete proof of all they charged against the immorality of the coalition from its inception. The Gordian knot consequently remained untied. Sir John again resorted to his old policy of delay, left the two Public Departments vacant, and simply hung up the Cabinet difficulties until a more propitious opportunity occurred to carry out his plans.

Both the Presidency of the Council and the office of Minister of Public Works remained vacant for about a year and a half! This naturally caused much adverse criticism. George Brown and the Liberal Opposition denounced it as unprecedented, if not unconstitutional, and that the Dominion was being made to suffer from the want of two important Ministers of State simply to suit the exigencies of the Conservative party. Not a few Conservatives—some openly, some privately—also joined in the general outcry against these public offices remaining longer unfilled.

But Sir John Macdonald stood firm. One of his many peculiarities came to the front here, and is worthy of note. Paradoxical as it may appear, Sir

SIR JOHN A DUAL PERSONALITY

John personally and Sir John as the Conservative leader seemed like two different beings. Personally, he was nearly always bright, affable and obliging to his supporters, and pleasant with his opponents. But as the Conservative leader he was quite different. He considered himself supreme—his manner was in fact imperious. He had been chosen to lead his party, and he considered it was his duty to lead it in the fullest sense of the term. So far as party "tactics" were concerned he wanted no advice, and he scarcely disguised the fact that, to use a common phrase, he played the game as Conservative leader "entirely off his own bat." He, therefore, tolerated little or no interference by his lieutenants in matters of party strategy—always save and except when Sir George Cartier occasionally put his foot down—and he cared still less for the opinions of his opponents.

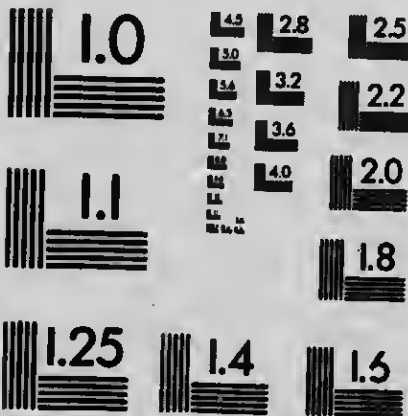
The friction in the Cabinet from the distribution of Imperial honours, alluded to in a previous chapter, was considerably allayed before this year closed. During the month of August it was announced that the doughty French-Canadian leader had become Sir George Cartier, Baronet—a title even a little higher than the Prime Minister's—and although Mr. Galt was again passed over, the Dominion Parliament at its next session made such public representations that he was knighted also a short time afterwards.

As Royal honours are the undoubted perquisites of the Crown, the action of the House of Commons in this matter cannot be commended as dignified or



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above criticism, but so far as Mr. Galt was personally concerned, it was a marked and deserved compliment. This unpleasant episode, however, was in this way smoothed over, but although they continued to act together as political colleagues, it was known to not a few, and the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie informed me of several private interviews at the request of the famous French leader which clearly established, that Sir John and Sir George were never again the bosom friends they had been before the unfortunate circumstances occurred.

Once more the truth of the brilliant *bon mot* attributed to Lord Chatham was exemplified: "Confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom—and, once broken, can never be restored."

CHAPTER IX.

PURCHASE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S RIGHTS —THE SETTLEMENT MADE—GEORGE BROWN THE FIRST STATESMAN TO FORESEE THEIR IM- MENSE VALUE TO CANADA—HIS REMARKABLE PREDICTION.

THE work of consolidating the Dominion was greatly promoted by the success of the negotiations between Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Imperial Government during the fall of this year.

The negotiations had already been long and tedious. As a Special Commissioner for the Dominion Government in 1864, the Honourable George Brown had done valuable work in England in advancing Canada's claims to the vast Territories. The following year the Canadian delegates who met in London to complete the Confederation Act, vigorously urged the Home Government to insist that the Hudson's Bay Company should no longer delay in coming to a settlement.

But it was not until innumerable difficulties had been overcome that Lord Granville, Colonial Secretary, Messrs. Cartier and Macdougall, the Canadian Commissioners, and Sir Stafford Northcote, and other chief officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, met in London and tackled the negotiations in earnest. The views of the contending parties were wide apart at first, but Lord Granville finally submitted

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the terms of settlement which the Imperial Government considered should be accepted by both parties.

It was the Imperial policy, he intimated, that all their North American possessions should be united in the Dominion of Canada, and the negotiations ended by the Hudson's Bay Company accepting the terms offered, to cede back to the Mother country whatever rights they possessed in Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. The principal conditions were in brief as follows :

“(a) That Canada should pay to the Hudson's Bay Company the sum of £300,000 in cash; (b) that the Company should retain for its own use one-twentieth of all lands in the fertile belt; and (c) that the Company should retain its trading-posts and the lands around them, not to exceed in all 45,000 acres.”

This was not an unreasonable settlement. Time has confirmed the belief that substantial justice was done to both sides, and, whilst the first impressions of some were that the concessions to the Company were unduly liberal, it should be remembered that this was a large transaction, embracing no less than one-third of the whole North American continent, and that these concessions cleared the way for its annexation to Canada for all time to come.

This immense addition to our territories, when consummated, more than quadrupled the area and resources of the Dominion when inaugurated two years before. Under the protecting folds of the British flag, it ensured the rapid growth of a virile

LACK OF FAITH IN NORTH-WEST

Canadian people on the northern part of the continent. This is universally seen and acknowledged to-day, but forty years ago there were very few persons, even among Canadians, who realized the vital importance of the union of these vast and valuable tracts of country to our new Dominion.

The Hudson's Bay Company had so closely guarded their secrets that the world had been led to believe that, except a mere narrow habitable fringe north of the forty-ninth parallel, all the rest of British America to the Arctic Ocean was nothing but a barren, trackless, ice-bound wilderness, through which only the wild Indian, the sturdy half-breed and the nomadic hunter and trapper could penetrate. Even the most eminent Canadians were deceived by these representations. For example, up to the time of Confederation, Sir George Cartier strongly opposed its acquisition by this country. The Prime Minister himself, at that time, had no idea of the value of the North-West from an agricultural, commercial or manufacturing point of view.

Mr. Joseph Pope, now C.M.G., in his authorized life of Sir John, very clearly proves this. In Vol. II., page 43, he quotes a letter to Sir Edward W. Watkin, of England, in which the First Minister says: "If Canada is to remain a country separate from the United States, it is of the greatest importance to her that they (the United States) should not get behind us by right or force, and intercept *the route to the Pacific.*" Mr. Pope then immediately adds: "But not even Sir John as late as 1865

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realized the value of that country otherwise than as a highway to the Pacific, for he (Sir John) continues in the Watkin letter as follows: 'But in any other point of view, it seems to me the country is of no present value to Canada. We have unoccupied land enough to absorb the immigration for many years, and the opening up of the Saskatchewan would do to Canada what the prairie lands are doing now—drain away our youth and strength.'"

It is only justice to say that the one Canadian statesman who from the first clearly perceived the immense resources and possibilities of the great territories over which the Hudson's Bay Company had held sway for nearly three hundred years—their charter being granted by Charles II. in 1670—as well as their incalculable value both to the Empire and Canada, was the Honourable George Brown. Soon after settling in Toronto, he learned from the lips of Mr. I. Isbister, an eminent and cultivated native of the Red River settlement, the real character of the North-West country. Investigation proved the correctness of Mr. Isbister's vivid descriptions of its immense wealth and importance, and, once convinced of this, Mr. Brown immediately advocated its acquisition by this country with characteristic energy and zeal.

For several years his advocacy of this was as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." The proposal was even ridiculed.* But he wavered not.

* Two striking instances of this are given in Lewis' "Life of George Brown," page 218. The *Niagara Mail* of January, 1857, said: "The *Toronto Globe* comes out with a new and remark-

BROWN'S OPTIMISM

He brought it forward in his maiden speech in Parliament in 1851, and made it one of the planks in the platform of the Reform party at the great Provincial Convention in 1857. He kept up the agitation, ably assisted for several years by the Honourable William Macdougall, until both political parties were at last awakened to the true character of the long-supposed northern wilderness and the momentous importance to Canada of securing possession of it.

What a broad, far-sighted, statesmanlike view Mr. Brown entertained of the future of British North America is well illustrated by the following brief extract from a speech he made in Belleville as far back as the general elections of January 13th, 1858. The occasion was a banquet in honour of Mr. Lewis Wallbridge, on his return as member of Parliament for the north riding of Hastings. In combating the then popular cry for dissolution of the Union with Lower Canada, Mr. Brown made use of the following remarkable words:

"Who can look at the map of this Continent and mark the vast portion of it acknowledging British

able platform, one of the planks of which is the annexation of the frozen regions of the Hudson's Bay territories to Canada. Lord have mercy on us! Canada already has a stiff reputation for cold in the world, but it is unfeeling in the *Globe* to want to make it deserve the reproach!"

"Another sceptic was the *Montreal Transcript*, which declared that the fertile spots in the territory were small and separated by immense distances. The Red River region was an oasis in the midst of a desert. The climate was unfavourable to the growth of grain. The summer, though warm enough, was too short in duration, so that even the few fertile spots could with difficulty mature a small potato or a cabbage!"

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sovereignty without feeling that union, not separation, ought to be the foremost principle with British statesmen? Who that examines the condition of the several Provinces which constitute British America can fail to feel that with the people of Canada must mainly rest *the noble task, at no distant date, of consolidating these Provinces, and of redeeming to civilization and peopling with new life the vast territories to our north, now so unworthily held by the Hudson's Bay Company?* Who cannot see that *Providence has entrusted to us the building up of a great Northern people, fit to cope with our neighbours of the United States, and to advance step by step with them in the march of civilization?* Sir, it is my fervent aspiration and belief that some here to-night may live to see the day when the British-American flag shall proudly wave from Labrador to Vancouver Island, and from our own Niagara to the shores of Hudson Bay."

This eloquent and remarkable prediction—now over half a century old—not only proves George Brown to have been the pioneer advocate* of the annexation and opening up to progress and civilization of "The Great Lone Land," but that, with a statesman's vision, he clearly foresaw all British

* The following extract from a speech made in Parliament during the session of 1875 by Sir John Macdonald is a pleasing recognition by an opponent of Mr. Brown's great services to Canada in this matter, and creditable alike to both of these eminent men: "From the first time he had entered Parliament, the people of Canada looked forward to a Western extension of territory, and from the first time he was a Minister in 1854, the question was brought up time and again and pressed with great ability and force by the Honourable George Brown, who was then a prominent man in opposition to the Government."

MACDONALD'S "BILL OF FARE"

North America united, and the grand part which Canada was destined to play in the future of the continent.

But even amidst the enthusiastic applause which greeted his glowing picture, the Liberal leader evidently little dreamed that he would himself live to see his prediction completely fulfilled, and that within ten short years from the festive night on which it was uttered.

Before closing this chapter, the second session of the Ontario Legislature deserves mention. It was opened by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Honourable William Pearce Howland, C.B., on November 3rd, 1868, and proved a very interesting one.

The political atmosphere had for some time been normal, but the Honourable Sandfield Macdonald's "bill of fare" proved quite a surprise. He tabled the following measures: to reduce the franchise, abolish all property qualification for members of the Legislature, establish one day of polling at elections, increase free grants of land to settlers from one hundred to two hundred acres, and to sweep away completely the old and pernicious system of legislative grants to sectarian institutions! Without mentioning other bills, this was a decidedly large and radical programme for a Government composed of two Conservative Ministers out of five, and which was mainly supported by Conservative members.

This heavy dose of Radicalism was evidently the work of Premier Macdonald, and proved rather a clever party move. The proposed measures helped to checkmate the active and hopeful Liberal Opposi-

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tion by settling several of the principal questions they had long been advocating, and settling them, too,—in the main—in accordance with public opinion. It was soon apparent that the programme was better liked by the Liberals than Premier Macdonald's Conservative supporters. The legislation, however, was mainly in line with what Ontario wanted, and despite the able manner in which Mr. Blac, Mr. McKellar and Mr. Pardee conducted the Opposition attacks upon the Coalition, its radical measures carried it through the session with flying colours.

† Excellency Lord Monck severed his long connection with Canada as Governor-General on November 13th. He had rendered valuable services during the Confederation period and had desired to be the first Governor-General of the new Dominion. The British Government not only granted him this distinction, but at the close of his services made him a peer, under the title of Baron Monck of Ballytramon, in the County of Wexford, Ireland.

CHAPTER X.

SECOND PARLIAMENTARY SESSION—BRILLIANT CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE—THE LAUGH ON SIR JOHN ROSE—REAPPEARANCE OF SIR FRANCIS HINCKS—BECOMES FINANCE MINISTER.

SIR JOHN YOUNG, an Irish baronet, and formerly member for Cavan, was appointed Governor-General of Canada, during the closing days of the Peaconsfield Administration, but was not sworn in till February 2nd, 1869.

The Parliament of Canada met for its second session on April 15th. The Governor-General's Speech from the Throne promised legislation on the election laws, banking and currency, insolvency, the Governor-General's salary, and numerous matters of internal economy. The two great measures of the session were expected to be: (1) The Bill to confirm the bargain just made in London with the Hudson's Bay Company with regard to Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, and provide for their temporary government; and (2) the Bill to legalize the agreement made with the Honourable Joseph Howe for increasing Nova Scotia's subsidies and settling its aggravated difficulties.

The Hon. Messrs. Cartier and Macdougall returned from Britain shortly after Parliament assembled. They had been honoured shortly before sailing for Canada by being cordially received at

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Buckingham Palace by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and the results of their long mission were generally regarded as satisfactory.

As both Liberals and Conservatives were delighted that all British America was to be united, when the Bill relating to its acquirement of the immense North-West Territories came before the House it was passed with complete unanimity. But when the Bill for the settlement of the Nova Scotia difficulties—entitled “An Act Respecting Nova Scotia”—came up for discussion, the Opposition opened an attack upon it all along the line, declaring it to be, in short, not only unconstitutional but dangerous to the stability of the whole Federal Union.

The Honourable Edward Blake, who was already regarded as one of the highest constitutional and legal authorities in the House, contended that the Federal subsidies to the Provinces could only be constitutionally and legally altered by the passage of an Imperial Act, and that any mere Dominion Bill professing to effect that purpose would be as worthless as waste-paper.

After a very able speech, Mr. Blake moved the following amendment to the Government's resolution, to go into Committee on the third reading of their measure:

“That all the words after ‘that’ be left out, and the following added: ‘the British North America Act of 1867 has fixed and settled the mutual liabilities of Canada and of each Province in respect of the Public Debt, and the amount payable by Canada

A BRILLIANT DEBATE

to each Province for the support of its Government and Legislature; that the said Act does not empower the Parliament of Canada to change the basis of the Union thereby fixed and settled; that the unauthorized assumption of such power by the Parliament of Canada would injure the interests of the several Provinces, weaken the bond of union, and shake the stability of the Constitution; that the proposed Resolutions on the subject of Nova Scotia involve the assumption of such power, and that, therefore, this House, while ready to give its best consideration to any proposals to procure in a constitutional way any needed changes in the basis of union, deems it inexpedient to go into Committee on the said proposed Resolution."

Mr. Blake's amendment, it will be observed, did not oppose the settlement agreed upon by the Ministers and Mr. Howe. Everyone was tired of the subject and wanted it settled. But what was objected to was the way in which the Government proposed to carry out the settlement, which was claimed to be both unconstitutional and dangerous. This question gave rise to one of the grandest and most brilliant debates which ever took place within the Canadian House of Commons. Both political parties brought forward their ablest men. The Constitutional question was mainly discussed on its merits, and the debate was of an elevated character—highly creditable, indeed, to the ability and eloquence of our highest Parliamentary tribunal.

Mr. Blake's views were warmly supported by Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Dorion, Mr. Holton, Mr. A. J.

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Smith (N.B.), Mr. Mills, Mr. Young, Mr. Huntington, Mr. E. B. Wood, Treasurer of Ontario, Mr. Connell and Mr. Bolton (N.B.), Mr. Rymal, Mr. Oliver and others. The Ministerialists contended in reply, to use the words of Sir John Macdonald, "that as a Parliament they could do as they liked with their own," and that they were justified in increasing Nova Scotia's subsidy without an Imperial Act. Mr. Rose, Mr. Cartier, Mr. Dunkin, Dr. Tupper, Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, Mr. A. T. Galt, Colonel Gray (N.B.), Mr. Tilley and Mr. Howe were the principal speakers on the Government's behalf.

This discussion was prolonged and exciting, giving rise to several divisions. That on the Blake amendment was the most important, which was defeated by a party vote of ninety-six to fifty-seven, but taking the vote of the Ontario members alone, the amendment was sustained by thirty-seven to thirty-two. The debate was resumed on the afternoon of June 16th, and the Bill finally passed its third reading some time during the following morning. So disappeared the darksome Nova Scotia cloud!

What a lasting effect a great Parliamentary debate may have upon a free nation and its future has a remarkable illustration in this Canadian case. The Opposition failed to carry their Constitutional views on this question in Parliament, but it is both a remarkable and significant fact, having special relevancy to this great Constitutional debate, that never from the time it took place in 1869 to the year 1907

FEDERAL SUBSIDIES

—a period of no less than thirty-eight years—did Parliament ever sanction any other change in regard to the Federal subsidies allowed to the Provinces by the British North America Act! And it should be remembered also, that the changes agreed upon in 1907 were after a conference of the Premiers of all the Provinces, that they were made by an Imperial Act in reply to an Address to the Crown passed by the Dominion Parliament, and are regarded as a final and inalienable adjustment of the subsidies to be paid by the Dominion to the various Provinces.

Sir John Rose, the Finance Minister, was an able man, very gentlemanly and exceedingly good-natured. He had not had, however, much Parliamentary experience, and a little incident in which he figured during this session is worth relating, having caused considerable amusement at the time.

It occurred at midnight. The session was nearing its close. A long and tedious Parliamentary day had been taken up with the Estimates. There had been much talk and little done. Everyone was weary, many sleepy, but Sir John Rose held to his desk, hoping he might yet be able to run through a number of votes before the House adjourned.

Just at midnight's witching hour, when ghosts are supposed to wander, who should walk with stately tread through the main entrance to the Chamber but the Honourable John Mercer Johnston, M.P. for Northumberland, N.B., who took his seat on the front row of the Ministerial benches. This gentleman had been Attorney-General and Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick before the

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Union, and was one of the "Fathers of Confederation," having been a member of the Charlottetown, Quebec and London Conferences. He was one of the many remarkable men who attended the first Parliament of Canada, and although it was unfortunately blurred and dimmed by long-continued conviviality, he possessed a mind of wonderful power, brightness and wit—his faculty for punning being really extraordinary.

An audible smile passed over the sixty or seventy tired political veterans still battling over the Estimates for their respective parties. They took in the situation at a glance. They saw what was coming. It was well known to be Johnston's custom to walk into the Chamber on awakening from his after-dinner sleep—which was often at the midnight hour—and on the first opportunity after taking his seat to rise and make a rattling speech, during which there was sure to be wit and fun, and sometimes a display of intellectual fireworks so brilliant as to remind one of a cluster of rockets.

At the first chance Johnston was on his feet. He had hardly had time to learn the nature of the vote, but he immediately began to criticize it. Mr. Rose, usually so bland and courteous, turned a troubled glance upwards, which plainly showed he regarded the midnight irruption of Johnston as an unexpected calamity. Five minutes elapsed and the speaker was still thundering on when Mr. Rose called out in a slightly petulant tone, "Sir, what item are you at?" The reply came back instantly, as a bolt from the blue empyrean: "Sir," said Johnston, raising him-

HON. JOHNSTON'S WITTY RETORT

self on his tip-tocs, and stretching his arm in a dramatic manner towards the Finance Minister: "You, sir, are the item I am at!"

This unexpected and witty retort convulsed the House with laughter, in which Mr. Rose himself most heartily joined.*

The reconstruction of the first Dominion Cabinet became an absolute necessity as the fall months approached. The patience of friends and opponents was about exhausted by the procrastination of the Prime Minister in this matter; but the delays, it must be admitted, helped to promote Sir John's party schemes. The awkward coalition difficulty disappeared with the appointment, during September, of the Honourable William Macdougall to be the first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. This left the long-vacant offices of President of the Council and the Minister of Inland Revenue to fill, and also the more prominent department of Finance, which Sir John Rose had relinquished a few weeks previously to join an eminent firm of London bankers.

Sir A. T. Galt was asked by or on behalf of the Premier to resume the position of Finance Minister which he had so long occupied previously, but he

* His Honour Judge Savary of Annapolis Royal, N.S., who was one of the most distinguished Nova Scotia members sent to the first Parliament of Canada, kindly gave me some facts on September 10th, 1907, about the termination of poor Johnston's career. After the circumstances referred to, he went home by the St. Lawrence in company with Judge Savary and the Nova Scotia members. When the boat reached his town, Chatham, Miramichi, he was met at the wharf and seen safely off, but, alas! it was not over four weeks before his death was announced.

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declined to accept it. The Honourable J. H. Pope, Member of Parliament for Compton, and the Honourable Chris Dunkin, Member of Parliament for Brome, were both spoken of for the office, but there were difficulties in the way, and Sir John Macdonald seemed at a loss to find a suitable man for the place.

Just at this juncture there arrived on the scene a well-known acquaintance of Canada's earlier days. He had been absent for nearly fourteen years. During this time he had acted as Governor of three British Provinces—Barbadoes, the Windward Islands, and British Guiana—and his services had been approved by several marks of Royal favour. This was none other than Sir Francis Hincks, who had formerly played so long and prominent a part in Canadian public life, and his return to Canada, which was at first supposed to be only a temporary visit, led many of his old political and personal friends to honour him with public dinners at Ottawa, Toronto, Ingersoll, and several other places.

When Sir Francis Hincks reached Montreal, Sir John Macdonald met him there and accompanied him to Ottawa. The veil has not been lifted from the interview between these old-time antagonists, but the public were still discussing the unexpected advent of Sir Francis when they received a much greater surprise in learning that he had been offered and accepted the position of Finance Minister of Canada and would immediately enter upon the discharge of his duties!

This created a genuine sensation throughout the Dominion, and resurrected many old political quar-

CABINET NOW COMPLETE

rels and animosities in Ontario and Quebec which it was hoped had been forever buried. Not without some difficulty a seat was found for Sir Francis in North Renfrew, but experience soon proved that he was still an adept on financial questions and well qualified to discharge the duties entrusted to his care.

The Prime Minister then carried out his now well-understood purpose by making Mr. James Morris, Conservative member of Parliament for South Lanark, Minister of Inland Revenue, and Senator James Cox Aikens President of the Council, Mr. Howe becoming Secretary of State for the Provinces. The Cabinet was now complete, and Sir John publicly proclaimed his good faith to the Coalition Compact in having taken into his Cabinet Mr. Hincks and Mr. Aikens. These gentlemen had been connected with the Liberal party in earlier days, but the public did not take seriously the claim that the Government was still a Coalition and not a Conservative one, more especially as the number of Liberals had been reduced, and the Finance Ministership had been offered to Conservatives before Mr. Hincks was appointed.

Rideau Hall gained in reputation for hospitality and gaiety under Sir John and Lady Young. Her Ladyship was still a remarkably beautiful Englishwoman, accomplished in music and art, and her charming manner made her as popular a hostess at Rideau Hall as she had been at Phoenix Park, Dublin, and in New South Wales. During her Vice-

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regal reign, among the celebrities whom Lady Young entertained were Prince Arthur, now the Duke of Connaught, our present Governor-General. The Grand Duke Alexis of Russia was also a visitor at Rideau Hall, and among other distinguished visitors were Sir Stafford Northcote, afterwards Lord Iddesleigh, and one of his sons.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST RIEL, REBELLION—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
MACDOUGALL AND PARTY EXPELLED BY ARMED
HALFBREEDS—BRIEF DIARY OF EVENTS—
BISHOP TACHE'S RETURN—SIR GARNET
WOLSELEY'S EXPEDITION—COLLAPSE
OF THE REBELLION.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM MACDOUGALL, C.B., received his credentials as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories of Canada on September 28th, 1869. Besides himself and family, his party consisted of Mr. Albert Richards and Mr. J. N. Provencher, proposed members of his Cabinet, Captain Cameron and a few younger officials, with a number of employees. The same day they set out from Ottawa on their long journey to Fort Garry in the Red River Settlement, the seat of the new government.

The farthest point they could then go north of St. Paul, Minnesota, by railroad, was the village of Saint Cloud. There they had to embark into North-West carts, of which it took about thirty, and after a cold and dismal journey of twelve days over rough prairie, they reached the little straggling village of Pembina, near the boundary line between Minnesota and the North-West Territories.

They did not arrive there till October 30th, and were astounded to learn that one Louis Riel and

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about two hundred halfbreeds had erected a barricade across the public highway, near the junction of the River Salle and the Red River, a considerable distance below Fort Garry, and threatened to give armed resistance to the party entering Manitoba. This was the opening scene in the first Riel Rebellion, and it has been deemed advisable to carefully arrange and condense the exciting events into paragraphs as follows:



LOUIS RIEL.

(a) Lieutenant - Governor Macdougall and party pushed right on from Pembina to a Hudson's Bay fort about two and a half miles within British territory. The next day (Sunday) they rested there. But on Monday, a force of twenty armed halfbreeds arrived at

the fort, who by threats and force conveyed the whole Macdougall party back to Pembina.

(b) Mr. Macdougall immediately forwarded full despatches of this outrage to Ottawa, but, learning of the insurrection from the United States press, Sir John Macdonald cabled Sir John Rose not to pay over to the Hudson's Bay Company the £300,000 stipulated in the deed of surrender, and also cabled Earl Granville, the Colonial Secretary, that Canada would not take over the North-West until it could obtain peaceful possession.

(c) To give colour to his lawless proceedings, Riel called a convention to meet at Fort Garry, on

RIEL SEIZES FORT GARRY

November 16th. It spent several days over a so-called "Bill of Rights," but accomplished nothing beneficial.

(*d*) The halfbreed chief, Louis Riel, was a rather good-looking young French-Canadian, his dark, restless eyes being a conspicuous feature. He had been well educated in Quebec Province, and possessed some mental brightness of an erratic kind. He was carried away with conceit and desire for notoriety, and easily persuaded many of the halfbreeds that they would suffer if Lieutenant-Governor Macdougall and the Canadians were allowed to come in and take possession of the country.

(*e*) On November 20th the insurrectionists seized Fort Garry, where the Hudson's Bay Company had large supplies of goods, provisions and ammunition, and they grew bolder daily in exercising illegal and terrorizing powers over the peaceful community.

(*f*) Before leaving Ottawa, it had been carefully arranged that on December 1st the Hudson's Bay Company should be paid, the British Government should issue an Order-in-Council transferring all the North-West to Canada, and that Mr. Macdougall should issue a proclamation as Lieutenant-Governor assuming the reins of government in Manitoba. Unaware that the Prime Minister had countermanded these arrangements, Mr. Macdougall issued his proclamation accordingly and commissioned Colonel J. S. Dennis, Surveyor-General of Manitoba, to proceed to the Red River District and take whatever steps he deemed necessary to restore law and order.

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(g) Colonel Dennis entered upon his duties with zeal. As "Conservator" he issued a proclamation. He found many active sympathizers, prominent among whom were Dr. Schultz, Dr. Bowen, Mr. Charles Mair, Captain Wchh and Dr. Lynch. In a few days Colonel Dennis had a small armed force of English halfbreeds and former halfbreed employees of the Hudson's Bay Company assembled at the stone fort known as Lower Fort Garry, and some sixty or seventy men under command of Dr. Lynch occupied one or more buildings in Winnipeg. In the meantime Riel sent out messengers and augmented his force to about 300 men, and the situation looked alarmingly dangerous. Bloodshed seemed inevitable.

(h) On December 26th Riel marched out of Fort Garry sufficient halfbreeds to completely surround Dr. Lynch and his men. Neither ingress nor egress was allowed, and the next day the whole sixty men, including Dr. Lynch and Dr. Schultz, had to surrender and were imprisoned in Fort Garry.

(i) This defeat frustrated Colonel Dennis' whole movement, and he issued another public announcement of an entirely peaceful character. This gave rather a quixotic air to the "Conservator's" operations, and it was fortunate they did not result more seriously.

(j) Having authoritatively learned that the transfer of the North-West to Canada had never taken place, thus rendering his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor and his proclamation alike abortive, Mr. Macdougall saw that nothing remained for him and

DONALD SMITH'S PEACE PROPOSALS

his party but to leave Pembina and return to Canada, which they immediately did.

(k) Mr. Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona), Vicar-General Thiebault, and Colonel de Salaberry, were the first Dominion Peace Commissioners to arrive in Winnipeg. A great mass meeting of about one thousand was assembled in the open air, on January 19th. It was 20° below zero! Mr. Donald Smith was the principal speaker, and very ably and skilfully presented the Canadian case. This meeting appointed forty delegates—twenty from each side—to meet in Convention on the 25th, to consider the Government's proposals, and "the English as a body and a large number of the French declared their satisfaction with the explanations given, and the earnest desire for union with Canada."* In spite of active rebel hostility, Mr. Smith succeeded in getting this Convention, when it met, to appoint Judge Black, Rev. Father Richot and Mr. Albert H. Scott delegates to go to Ottawa to arrange a settlement of all existing difficulties.

(l) Before the Convention adjourned, Riel repeated his promise to release all the prisoners still languishing in Fort Garry. He subsequently conditioned their release, however, with an oath of fealty to his so-called Provisional Government. Twenty-four of the prisoners refused to take this oath and they were consequently retained in confinement. This caused widespread dissatisfaction, and

* From the Report of Mr. Donald Smith to the Honourable Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for Canada, given in Ottawa, April 25th, 1870.

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a rising immediately took place at Portage la Prairie to liberate the prisoners by force. It spread like wildfire, and on February 14th about one hundred men marched past Winnipeg on their way to Kildonan, where they hoisted their flag on a public schoolhouse. Captain Boulton was in command, and the next day his force rapidly increased to three hundred and fifty men, mostly English halfbreeds. Not more than two or three miles separated the prospective combatants! According to the *Winnipeg Nation* of February 25th, 1870—sent me from there at the time by a friend*—the situation at Fort Garry and Kildonan was as follows:

“All day long men were coming and going in that usually peaceful locality (Kildonan) like ants in an anthill. Before nightfall, 400 men had been mustered. Captain Boulton, Captain Webb, Dr. Schulz, and Mr. Mair, were the chief figures in the force, and caucusing and counselling in abundance went on throughout the day. An eighteen-pounder was dragged from Lower Fort Garry by six oxen. Two tons of gunpowder, cannister, and in short, any quantity of arms and ammunition came thundering along. Next day the muster is calculated to have swelled to six or seven hundred men, the largest number under arms on that side during the affair.

“At Fort Garry, we cannot attempt to portray the scene. Men were gathering, cannon mounted,

* This old newspaper—now over forty years in my possession—was sent me by Mr. Alexander W. Wright, now Conservative organizer and Speaker of Toronto, and as it is filled with accounts of the so-called Riel Rebellion, has fully repaid the care with which it has been preserved during that long period.

RIEL'S TREACHERY

grape and canister laid in order. Five hundred men and more were told off to man the bastions, ramparts, etc. Shot and shell were piled around promiscuously. Everything that could be done was done to make the place impregnable."

(*m*) Barring a little exaggeration, this was the situation during Tuesday, February 15th, and was the culminating danger of the whole insurrection. A bloody conflict—the end of which no one could foresee—once more seemed inevitable. When things reached this terribly dangerous pass, however, Riel made another unexpected move, and, to the universal surprise, suddenly liberated all the prisoners in Fort Garry, even to the four sentenced to be banished.

(*n*) This important news was immediately communicated to the liberators' army at Kildonan, and completely changed the situation. A council of war was immediately called, and long and hot discussions followed, some ardent spirits persistently opposing disbandment until Riel abdicated and his followers dispersed. But having accomplished their main object, the political prisoners in Fort Garry being all released, the liberators finally and wisely decided to disband, and thus for the second time, the North-West escaped, at the last moment, the worst horrors of civil war.

(*o*) The want of good faith—treachery would be a better term—of Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue, was strikingly manifested as Captain Boulton's force were dispersing. On the forenoon of the 17th, that

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officer and forty-seven men were peacefully crossing the prairie on their way home to the Portage. When they came in sight of Fort Garry, a force of mounted halfbreeds galloped wildly from the fort, surrounded the returning liberators and captured and imprisoned the whole party! Thus Riel, in the face of danger, emptied Fort Garry of prisoners on Tuesday, and treacherously filled it again on Thursday! The same afternoon, he had Captain Boulton arraigned for treason before a court-martial composed of his rebel associates, and ordered to be shot the next day at twelve o'clock! It was only at the last moment, and after the greatest exertions on the part of the Dominion Commissioners and the leading clergy and citizens, that this gallant officer's life was saved.

(p) The so-called President and Provisional Government now became more arrogant and reckless than ever. They coquetted with Colonel Stulzman and other Annexationists, who sought to bring about American complications, and on March 3rd a young prisoner from Portage la Prairie, named Thomas Scott, who was guilty of nothing but some trifling insubordination to his guards, was court-martialed and ordered to be shot the next day! All efforts to save this respectable young man proved unavailing. Shortly before one o'clock p.m. he was pinioned, his eyes bandaged, led a few feet from one of the outside walls of the old fort, and a band of six halfbreeds, under Ambrose Lepine, shot him down in cold blood as he knelt in prayer on the frozen snow. As he walked to his doom, poor Scott is reported to

MURDER OF SCOTT

have exclaimed: "My God! my God! this is cold-blooded murder!" and that was the universal opinion when the shocking tragedy was learned throughout the Dominion.

(*q*) Five days after this terrible occurrence on March 9th, Bishop Taché returned to St. Boniface. He went to Rome shortly before the rebellion broke out, but at the urgent request of the Dominion Government returned to aid in restoring peace and order. Bishop Taché's power as the head of the Roman Catholic Church at Red River, and the wide promises of amnesty he made in the name of the Canadian Government—even to those concerned in Scott's death—were quickly apparent. Riel and his followers became inclined to accept the Bishop's proposals, and the desire for peace and union with Canada rapidly spread among the halfbreeds in all the settlements.

(*r*) The cruel murder of Thomas Scott produced intense indignation all over the Dominion, especially in Ontario. Public opinion now imperatively demanded that a military force should be immediately dispatched to crush the rebellion. Numerous difficulties stood in the way. The Cabinet was divided on an armed expedition. Earl Granville and the Governor and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were annoyed at Sir John Macdonald's refusal to carry out the "Deed of Settlement." The Imperial Government objected to take part in a military expedition until Canada had fulfilled its part of the bargain. This was finally done with the best grace possible. The Hudson's Bay Company was paid on

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May 3rd, and by proclamation the British Government transferred the whole immense North-West Territories to Canada on June 23rd, thus closing forever this important transaction.

(s) It was the middle of May when Sir Garnet Wolseley and the military forces under his command quietly left Toronto for Red River. There were about 1,400 Canadian volunteers and British regulars, Colonel Fieldon being in charge of the latter, Colonel Jarvis, of the Ontario, and Colonel Casault of the Quebec, volunteers. They camped a little west of Port Arthur at the head of Lake Superior on the 25th. They were then confronted with the wilderness. Eighteen miles of the Dawson route remained unopened, and it took them five weeks to cut their way through to Lake Shebandowan. Sir Garnet decided to follow the water route, although very roundabout, and went by boats from Shebandowan to the Lake of the Woods, then down the Winnipeg River to Lake Winnipeg, then along the lake and up the Red River to the seat of war.

This dangerous journey through the Canadian wilderness was accomplished without the loss of a single man, and the bugles of Canada's first gallant little army which had so manfully grappled with the hardships of the route were heard in shrill and defiant tones before Winnipeg on the morning of August 24th. Officers and men were alike eager for a brush with the rebels, but it turned out that, a few days before, Riel, Lepine, and their entire force had deserted Fort Garry and fled as fugitives!

REBELLION TERMINATES

The victory was, therefore, a bloodless one, but it completely collapsed this much-talked-of rebellion and quickly brought it to an inglorious termination.

(*t*) The troops were received at Fort Garry with universal rejoicings. Citizens of all classes appeared delighted that Riel had been driven into the United States and his followers dispersed. The Canadian *regime* was then installed. The Honourable A. G. Archibald, M.P., of Nova Scotia, was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and the Honourable John Norquay became its first Premier. There being nothing further for them to do, Colonel Wolseley and his forces—after a rest of two weeks—started on their return to Toronto amidst the cheers of the citizens, and from that day to this the whole of the Canadian North-West has been opened to civilization, and has developed in population and wealth with a rapidity seldom equalled in the world's history. The success of this expedition added to Colonel Wolseley's fame as a military commander and won for him Royal honours and future promotion.

Such was the commencement, principal events, and termination of the first Riel Rebellion, and I cannot take leave of the chapter without expressing how much my sympathy has been excited by the unfortunate train of circumstances which, with little or no fault on his own part, so sadly clouded the political career of the Honourable William Macdougall, and that, too, at the moment of his supposed personal triumph. His stoppage and deportation to the United States by Riel and his armed force was a real misfortune, and when

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the Dominion Government refused—contrary to the arrangement made—to take over the North-West until peace and order were restored, it completely wrecked the career of Mr. Macdougall as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, whose appointment and proclamation were thus alike rendered ridiculous.

I consider the standing of the Honourable William Macdougall and party at Pembina one of the most pathetic incidents in Canadian public life. Next to George Brown he did more to secure "the Great Lone Land" for Canada than any other person, and we have only to consider what the great Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have already become, and what the whole North-West will be before this century closes, to realize what valuable services Mr. Macdougall rendered to his native country by his long, able and consistent advocacy of the great measure which made Canada the owner of all the British possessions on the American continent.

CHAPTER XII.

INCIDENTS OF THE THIRD SESSION—SIDELIGHTS ON ITS SPEECHES AND EVENTS—HUNTINGDON'S BRILLIANT ORATION—SIR FRANCIS HINCKS' REPLY—SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S DANGEROUS ILLNESS.

WHATEVER temporary friction prevailed at the commencement of Confederation, especially in Nova Scotia, almost entirely disappeared during the years 1870, 1871, and 1872. This period proved one of quiet consolidation and moderate progress. The politics of the Dominion and the various Provinces, however, continued active and exciting, and many circumstances occurred of much interest to all students of our history.

This was specially true of the third session of the Dominion Parliament, which met on February 15th, 1870. It was an exciting one. This arose from a variety of causes. Several new Cabinet Ministers, notably Sir Francis Hincks, took their seats on the Government benches for the first time. Then Sir John Macdonald was confronted with the opposition of his former friends, Sir Alex. T. Galt, and Mr. Richard Cartwright. The Honourable William Macdougall, too, had resumed his seat in Parliament and also gone into Opposition. The country generally was in rather bad humour over the North-West Rebellion and the inactivity of the Government in tak-

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ing steps to bring Riel and the murderers of Thomas Scott to justice.

Most of the measures laid before Parliament were of a useful but minor character, except the Bills to grant to Manitoba Representative Government, and to prepare for taking the first census. Most of these measures, as well as the general administrative action of the Administration, were vigorously assailed by Messrs Mackenzie, Dorion, Blake, Holton and other Liberal members. Occasionally they were joined by Messrs. Macdougall, Galt, Cartwright and other Conservatives, making the attack on the Government fortress more formidable. Its chief defenders were the Prime Minister and Sir Francis Hincks, aided by the ever-ready Sir George Cartier and the Hon. Dr. Tupper. A succession of strenuous debates followed, which again clearly brought out the great ability and versatility of our first Dominion Parliament.

Not a few striking incidents occurred before this session closed. Several notable bouts occurred between ex-Governor Macdougall and the Honourable Joseph Howe. During one of these, the former accused the latter when in Winnipeg as Minister of the Interior and His Honour's forerunner, of not only acting in the spirit of John the Baptist, but as having actually hobnobbed with some of the principal rebels. This roused the old Nova Scotia lion to a state of fury, and he furiously replied. Soon afterwards Sir John Macdonald took an entirely opposite course to Mr. Howe under somewhat similar circumstances.

SIR JOHN'S STRATEGY

Under some real or supposed cause of irritation, Sir A. T. Galt arose one afternoon and made a caustic criticism of his old-time colleague, the Prime Minister. He went so far as to allude to him as fast becoming the Pecksniff of the House, and whom he had never before known to assume "the high moral tone" in all the numerous rôles he had known him to play. The House fairly "sat up," to use a common phrase, at this unexpected attack by the former famous Finance Minister, and every eye in the Chamber was instantly fixed on the First Minister. I watched him eagerly from the first word to the last. There he sat at his desk, his elbows resting on its lid, and his face partially hidden by his hands. He listened without a move to all that was said, and, master of strategy as he was, he passed the unpleasant incident over without uttering a single word in reply. His tact in an emergency was seldom ever more conspicuously manifested.

There were many splendid speakers in Canada's first House of Commons. Among them Messrs. Blake, Macdonald (Premier), Mackenzie, Macdougall, Hincks, Howe, Galt, Dorion, Tupper, Holton, Cartier, Hillyard Cameron, Tilley and Huntingdon were all in the first rank.

The finest oratorical effort of the session was made by the Honourable L. S. Huntingdon, member for Shefford. He was a born orator. Nature had given him a strong, intellectual face, a most pleasing voice, and a graceful manner. He could be powerful, too, as well as brilliant when his rather waning ambition saw fit to assert itself. Sir Francis Hincks

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was at this time the shining mark for Liberal attack, and Mr. Huntingdon was induced to review his political career and return to Canada as Finance Minister, which he did in one of the most clever and eloquent orations ever heard in the House of Commons.

Mr. Huntingdon's most successful hit was his comparison of Sir Francis—after fourteen years spent as Lieutenant-Governor of the Windward Islands and other British possessions—to old Rip Van Winkle of Catskill fame, who, after twenty years' sleep in the mountains, awoke unconscious that he had grown old and grey, shouted for his dog, which was dead, and grasped for his gun, to find it mouldered away! This speech held the House of Commons spellbound for an hour and a half, and has ever since lingered in my memory as one of the finest bits of Parliamentary oratory I heard during twelve years' membership in that body.

But Mr. Huntingdon did not have it all his own way. Sir Francis Hincks was not an orator, but he was an accomplished and exceedingly clever and ready debater, and, true to his Irish lineage, was always spoiling for a fight. He therefore promptly and effectively gave his opponent a Roland for his Oliver, his chief ground of attack being Mr. Huntingdon's alleged desire for Canadian independence, which he warmly denounced as certain to lead to Annexation, or, at least, to the disruption of the Confederation which had cost the people of Canada so much time, trouble and expense to bring about. The gallant knight proved that he still retained much of his old fire as a speaker, and, like Mr. Hunting-

SIR JOHN'S SERIOUS ILLNESS

don, was rapturously cheered by his colleagues when the intellectual duel came to an end.

The Conservative leader was a much overworked man during this arduous session. Shortly before it closed another threatened Fenian attack on Canada added to his perplexities. Under the increased pressure of this and other things Sir John finally broke down. On the afternoon of May 6th, when he was considered better of his first indisposition, he was suddenly attacked by biliary calculus when about to sit down to lunch in his Parliamentary office, falling to the floor in spasms of agony until life was nearly extinct. Colonel Bernard, his brother-in-law, was quickly at his side, and medical aid procured as soon as possible.

When the House of Commons met at three o'clock, Sir George Cartier announced the Premier's serious illness. It created a painful impression. It was at first thought he could not recover, and, in any event, that his political career was ended. Political opponents and friends alike united in the warmest expressions of sympathy to Lady Macdonald, who had long acted, and now more than ever, as Sir John's guardian angel. The Premier hovered between life and death for nearly three weeks, after which date he was able to be removed to the Speaker's Chambers, and ultimately to the beautiful Province of Prince Edward Island, where he remained until he was sufficiently restored to return to Ottawa.

The Government was in peril more than once during this session, and during Sir John's illness stood badly in need of additional debating talent. Most of the best debaters were then on the Speaker's left. But

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the large majority of the Government and the widespread fear that danger might result to the Confederation from a Ministerial crisis at such a critical time, carried them and their measures safely through till the prorogation, which took place on May 12th. Shortly afterwards the Honourable Charles Tupper for the first time became a member of the Cabinet as President of the Council, the Honourable Senator Kenny having resigned the Receiver-Generalship and accepted the position of Administrator of the Province of Nova Scotia.

The Imperial Government made an important change in Colonial policy during 1870. The Gladstone Administration withdrew all British troops from Canada (except garrisons at Halifax, N.S., and Victoria, B.C.), as well as from all other principal colonies except India. This new departure was the more memorable inasmuch as the Riel Rebellion, the Fenian raid and the United States Alabama Claims were all unsettled, but the centre of Europe was being crimsoned with blood by the great Franco-German war, which few at first dreamed would in a few weeks end in the siege and capture of the city of Paris by the victorious Germans, and the exile of Napoleon and Eugenie to England.

The hand of Mr. Gladstone was also conspicuous at this period in the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, and in his Government taking over all the private electric telegraphs in the United Kingdom and making them part of its postal system, which is one of the first examples of Government ownership of public utilities on record.



HON. CHARLES TUPPER.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY—WASHINGTON TREATY CARRIED—LIBERAL VICTORY IN ONTARIO—BLAKE FORMS NEW MINISTRY—SECOND DOMINION ELECTIONS.

By 1871 four years had elapsed since the Dominion was established, and the term of the first Provincial Legislatures was drawing to a close. The Confederation was already so firmly established that the existing Governments of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick passed through their second elections without much change of men or policy.

The Ontario contest proved more lively and exciting. Lieutenant-Governor Howland closed the House of Assembly on February 13th, and within a few days, Attorney-General Macdonald issued the writs for the second General Elections. The nominations were appointed to take place on March 14th, and the polling on the 21st. When the fateful day arrived, it was found that Mr. Blake and the Liberals had made undoubted gains, and claimed the victory. Premier Macdonald and his colleagues, however, maintained they would have a working majority when the Legislature was called together. And so this important point remained undecided all through the summer and fall.

The union of British Columbia and the construction of the Pacific Railway were among the chief

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questions debated during the fourth session of the Dominion Houses. They met on February 15th, and prorogued on April 14th. Sir John Macdonald was absent during the whole period at the city of Washington, U.S., being one of the members of the famous British and American Joint High Commission. Sir George Cartier acted as leader in his chief's absence, and numerous hot discussions, and not a few "scenes," took place during the session.

British Columbia—then numbering about 10,000 whites—only asked at first that the Dominion should make a wagon-road over the Rocky and Cascade Mountains. But when the negotiations closed it was found that the Government had agreed to construct, equip and operate a railroad from the Pacific coast all the way to tidewater at Montreal—a trans-continental line involving an outlay of at least \$100,000,000.

The Liberal party, under the Honourable Alex. Mackenzie's leadership, although anxious for Columbia's admission to the Union, stoutly opposed pledging the credit of the Dominion to such a gigantic undertaking until competent engineers had thrown some light on its practicability and cost. The measure, however, was passed by both Houses without material amendment, and British Columbia became a Province of Canada on July 20th, 1871.

The first Census of the Dominion was begun in April. The Honourable Christopher Dunkin, Minister of Agriculture, supervised the work. The population of the four original Provinces in 1871 was found by the Census Commissioners to be

CANADIAN INTERESTS SACRIFICED

3,485,761.* A comparison at the time made that a gain of 395,265, or 12.79 per cent. in ten years. The result caused considerable disappointment, and some incredulity as to the correctness of the enumeration.

The sittings of the Joint High Commission at Washington, in which Lord de Grey and the Honourable Hamilton Fish were the British and American members, excited much interest all over the continent. It was earnestly hoped by Canadians that it would completely establish international peace and goodwill.

But when it became known that our losses through Fenian outrages in Canada had been withdrawn, whilst Britain had to pay £3,229,166 for the famous Alabama claims; that additional Fishery concessions had been made to the United States, without our getting any adequate consideration; and that certain new rights and privileges had been granted to them on the St. Lawrence, the Stikeen and other far northern rivers, a wave of dissatisfaction spread over the whole Dominion. It was felt that Canadian interests had been sacrificed to settle British and American difficulties, and for once Conservatives and Liberals were united in feeling and expressing strong dissatisfaction therewith.

Much of the unpopularity of the Washington Treaty fell at first on Sir John Macdonald. He was warmly assailed for not resigning his position as High Commissioner rather than become a party to any sacrifice of Canadian interests. When the

* Canadian Year Book, 1910.

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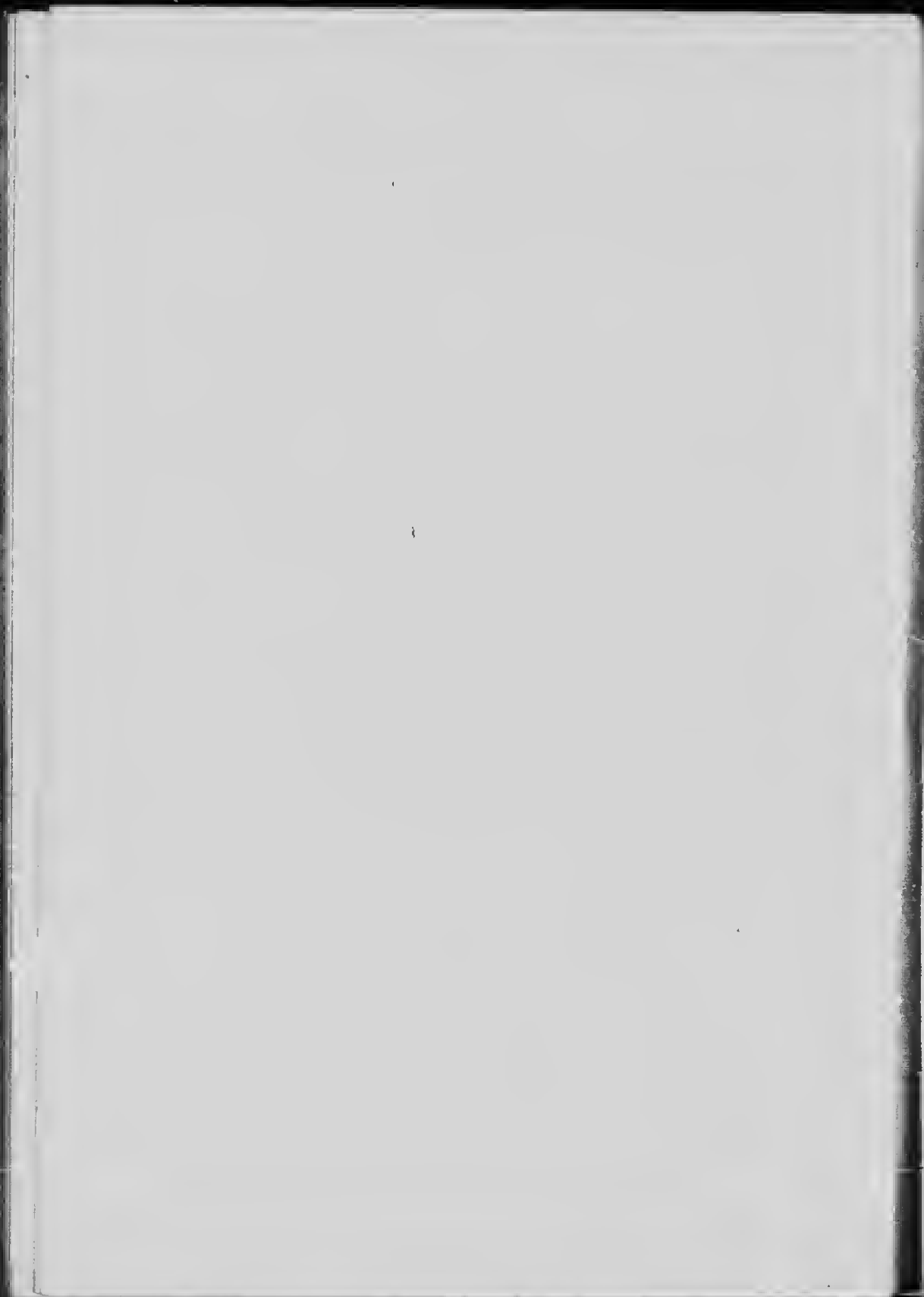
full history of the negotiations was revealed, however, it was quite evident that it was Lord de Grey, under the direction of the Imperial Government, who made the concessions so unpopular in Canada, and that Sir John Macdonald had protested against and strenuously opposed their adoption. His private letters to Ottawa friends, afterwards published, also went to show that he had felt keenly his isolated position as a Commissioner, and only signed the Treaty when his refusal might have destroyed the whole work of the Commission and left the difficulties of the two nations in a more dangerous state than ever.

Ontario experienced a political crisis and change of Ministry as soon as its new Legislature assembled on December 7th. Eight members of the new Legislature could not take their seats on account of breaches of the Controverted Elections Act, and Mr. Blake and the Opposition had a narrow majority actually present.

The defeat of the Sandfield Macdonald Coalition came about in this way. After Mr. R. W. Scott had been elected Speaker, Mr. Blake moved an amendment to the Address, attacking the Administration's railway policy and involving want of confidence. The Honourable M. C. Cameron hotly replied, and an excited debate became general. The House soon saw that a political crisis was now on. The day after the debate opened, a motion of Premier Macdonald to adjourn was defeated by thirty-six to thirty-four. On the ensuing Wednesday a



HON. EDWARD BLAKE.



BLAKE FORMS NEW GOVERNMENT

Ministerial motion, moved by Mr. McCall, of Norfolk, to postpone the consideration of Mr. Blake's amendment till all the members of the House were present, was defeated by forty to thirty-two, and on Thursday—all other devices for delay having failed—Mr. Blake's motion of want of confidence was carried by forty to thirty-three, a majority of seven. The Ministerialists refused to resign on the ground that eight members of the House were not in their places, and it was only after three other defeats—showing that the Ministry had lost control of the House, and the Honourable E. B. Wood, Provincial Treasurer, had resigned his position—that the remaining members of the Cabinet handed in their resignations.

Lieutenant-Governor Howland summoned the Honourable Edward Blake and entrusted him with the formation of a new Government, which he promptly accomplished by the selection of and acceptance of office by the following gentlemen:—

President of the Council (without portfolio), Mr. Edward Blake; Provincial Treasurer, Mr. Alex. Mackenzie; Attorney-General, Mr. Adam Crooks; Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. Richard W. Scott; Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, Mr. Archibald McKellar; Provincial Secretary, Mr. Peter Gow.

It would carry us too far to enter into details. Suffice it to say that Mr. R. W. Scott having accepted office, Mr. J. G. Currie, of Welland, was elected Speaker in his place; that Mr. Sandfield MacDonald

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refused to attend a Conservative caucus * and left abruptly for Cornwall; that Mr. M. C. Cameron was chosen the Conservative leader, and that Mr. Blake and his colleagues, especially Mr. Scott, were assailed by the new Opposition with unusual bitterness and acrimony. The new Liberal Government, however, now that Coalitionism was dead, was sustained by an ample majority, and a very laborious and useful session followed. No less than 118 public and private bills became law, the chief of which restored to the people's representatives full control over all grants made to railways, abolished dual representation, and set aside \$2,000,000 additional for the promotion of new railway projects.

The Governor-General, Lord Lisgar, who had been honoured the previous year by admission to the peerage, opened the fifth and last session of the Dominion Parliament on April 11th, 1872. There was some belief abroad—at least in Liberal circles—that the big Coalition at Ottawa might meet some check before the session closed. These expectations, however, proved completely illusory. Universally disliked though the Treaty of Washington was, it was carried after a six days' absorbing debate—chiefly for Imperial reasons—by a vote of one hundred and twenty-one to fifty-five. The Pacific Railway Bill also became law.

* The current report in the corridors was that when invited to attend this caucus, the late Premier jocularly replied in his bluff, offhand way, "You may go to blazes—I'm going to Cornwall."

LORD LISGAR PROROGUES PARLIAMENT

This measure, briefly summarized, authorized the granting of \$30,000,000 and of fifty million acres of land and numerous other concessions to a Company with \$10,000,000 of subscribed capital and \$1,000,000 paid up, which would undertake to construct, equip and operate the road. It had evidently been drawn, as was the Redistribution of Seats Bill (necessitated by the Census), having in view the coming General Elections, and Sir John Macdonald voted down all the efforts of Mr. Blake, Mr. Mills and others to have all elections held on one and the same day, and to enact other electoral reforms designed to promote fair and honest elections.

His Excellency Lord Lisgar prorogued Parliament on April 14th in a dignified and graceful farewell address, concluding in the following pleasing words:

“ I now have the honour to bid you farewell, with those serious thoughts which the word ‘ farewell ’ naturally awakens, with every acknowledgment of the many courtesies and the effective assistance I have received at your hands, and with the most cherished and ardent wishes for the welfare of the Dominion with which I rejoice to think my humble name has been connected by an honourable tie for more than three years.”

Not a few leading Conservatives desired to see Sir John Macdonald appointed Governor-General as Lord Lisgar’s successor—a few of them, possibly, not altogether disinterestedly. In view of his recent critical illness, however, even prominent Liberals

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agreed it would be a fitting close to his long and successful political career. But as heretofore, Sir John continued too fascinated with politics to think of resigning as Prime Minister unless his health absolutely incapacitated him.

The Imperial Government next chose as Governor-General the Right Honourable Frederick Temple Blackwood, Earl of Dufferin, and His Excellency and Lady Dufferin arrived in Quebec on June 25th. They were received there by Sir Hastings Doyle, the Administrator of the Dominion, Lieutenant-Governor Belleau, of Quebec, Sir John Macdonald and other Ministers, the Honourable Joseph Cauchon, President of the Senate, Mayor Garneau, of Quebec City, and a large gathering of military and citizens. Both Lord and Lady Dufferin made a most favourable impression upon all Canadians from the day they landed, and the citizens of Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa welcomed them to Canada with receptions of the most enthusiastic character.

The life of the first Parliament of Canada—five years—expired on July 1st, 1872, and the writs for the second General Elections soon began to issue. At this signal, the whole Dominion—then comprising six Provinces—seemed to burst into a political conflagration. The Liberal party had been greatly strengthened and encouraged by the success of the new Ontario Administration, and the Honourable Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie, in that Province, Messrs. Dorion and Holton, in Quebec, Messrs. Jones and Ross, in Nova Scotia, and Messrs. Smith

SIR JOHN TOURS ONTARIO

and Anglin, in New Brunswick, threw themselves into the contest with great energy and determination to win.

The Dominion Government felt that its life was in danger, and Sir John Macdonald frankly declared that for the first time an extensive electioneering tour by him throughout Ontario had become a necessity. Messrs. Cartier and Langevin were more optimistic about Quebec, but in Nova Scotia Messrs. Howe and Tupper had a more difficult task. These eminent Nova Scotians had been lifelong antagonists. They had grown grey in opposing each other, their eloquent but bitter political fights had been heard on almost every Nova Scotia stump, and when they now appeared arm in arm—brother Ministers of the Crown—in conducting the Dominion campaign, many of the electors in that politically disrupted Province were utterly puzzled to know where they were at. Howe and Tupper had to fight not only the straight Opposition Liberals, but also the Anti-Confederates, who still controlled the Provincial Ministry and exercised a wide influence. These two gentlemen were at that time, however, among the most powerful platform orators in Canada, and greatly helped the Dominion Government during the canvass by their able presentation of the Ministerial side of the case. In New Brunswick Messrs. Tilley and Mitchell conducted the contest on behalf of the Government with their usual activity and zeal.

The struggle in Ontario was hotly contested. Sir John Macdonald and Sir Francis Hincks made a

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grand political tour of the Province. Messrs. Mackenzie and Blake were equally energetic and eloquent, and the contest proved a very strenuous one all along the line.

It was September before the final returns came straggling in. The Liberals had won a decided victory in Ontario, having carried fifty-one to thirty-seven seats, whilst Sir Francis Hincks and the Honourable William Macdougall were among the defeated. Sir George Cartier was also beaten in Montreal, and his solid phalanx of "Bleu" supporters was naen shattered. Together, Ontario and Quebec gave a small majority against the Government, but Sir John Macdonald claimed that the four smaller Provinces would sustain him when Parliament met, and so the result of the second Federal elections, as in the case of the Ontario contest, remained in uncertainty till the following year.

The death of the Honourable Sandfield Macdonald on the eve of the Dominion Elections caused widespread regret and sympathy. He was born in 1812, elected member for Cornwall in 1841, and assisted Baldwin and Lafontaine to fight and win their great battle for Responsible Government. He occupied a distinguished position in Parliament for over thirty years, and undoubtedly remained a stalwart Liberal in his views even during the four years he was Premier of the Coalition Cabinet. Sir John Macdonald found—as George Brown did before him—that Sandfield Macdonald would take his own course whatever anyone else advised or said.



HON. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD,
First Premier of the Province of Ontario.

(From an oil painting by J. W. L. Forster, R.C.A.)



A TRIBUTE TO SANDFIELD MACDONALD

I knew Mr. Macdonald personally for a good many years. With some minor defects he possessed many noble qualities. He was a good lawyer, an able Minister of the Crown, and his record as an administrator and citizen was clean and creditable. Although he was among the small band of independent Liberals who declined to support Confederation, he rendered valuable service to his native country in Parliament for over a quarter of a century, and has as good claims to be classed among the Makers of Canada as many who are awarded that honour without question.

His Ontario Administration, it must be admitted, made some mistakes. But none were dishonourable to its Prime Minister, and I have long held the opinion, and now place it on record, that the name of Sandfield Macdonald deserves to be ever held in grateful remembrance by the people of Ontario for the modest and economical manner in which he set the wheels of our first Ontario Government and Legislature in motion, the beneficial effects of which continue to be seen and felt even to this day.

CHAPTER XIV.

A POLITICAL SURPRISE—BLAKE AND MACKENZIE RESIGN—JUDGE MOWAT BECOMES PREMIER OF ONTARIO—HIS FIRST SESSION SETTLES DIFFICULT QUESTIONS.

SOME important political changes in the Government of Ontario occurred during the fall of 1872.

The termination of Dual Representation, and the desire of Mr. Blake and Mr. Mackenzie to continue members of the Federal House at Ottawa, necessitated their withdrawal from the Ontario Cabinet. When its reconstruction took place, there was not a little public surprise when it was learned that Mr. Blake's successor, the new Prime Minister of Ontario, was to be one of the most eminent Judges then on the Bench, the Honourable Oliver Mowat.

The idea of inviting Mr. Mowat to re-enter political life originated with Mr. Blake and the Honourable George Brown. These two gentlemen waited on His Honour at his house on Simcoe Street during the forenoon of October 21st, and proposed that he should resign his Judgeship and take the former's place as Premier of Ontario. There can be no doubt this important proposal was quite unexpected by Mr. Mowat, and he had many and strong reasons for continuing his successful judicial career. But Mr. Blake and Mr. Brown so forcibly set forth the critical position of political affairs both at Ottawa

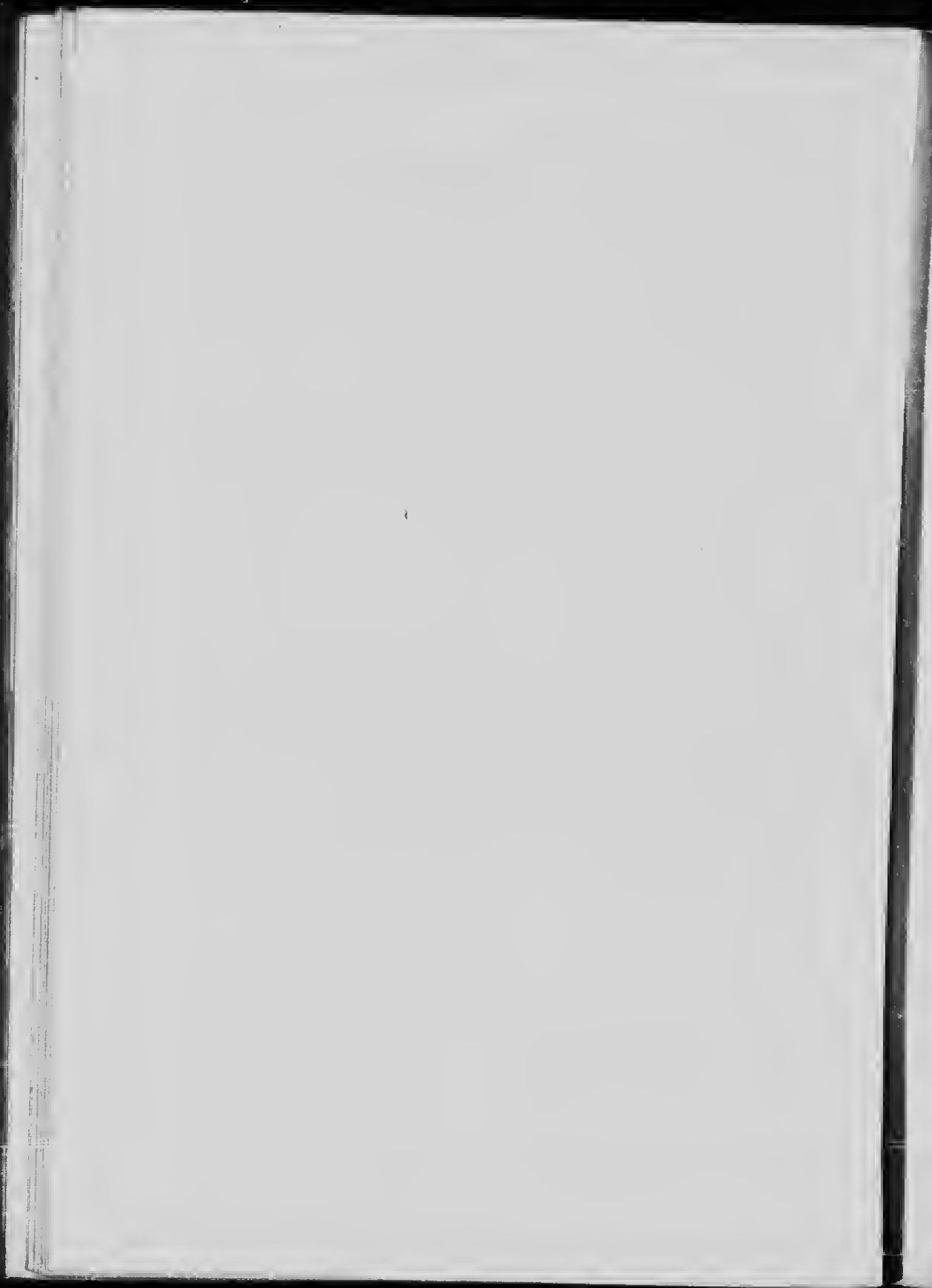


HON. S. C. WOOD.

HON. RICHARD W. SCOTT.

HON. T. B. PARDEE.

SOME PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE MOWAT MINISTRY.



MOWAT RE-ENTERS POLITICS

and Toronto, and the wide field for usefulness as a statesman which his acceptance would open up to him, that Mr. Mowat, after two days of most anxious consideration, but with characteristic courage and clearness of judgment, decided that it was his duty to undertake the onerous task which his friends so earnestly pressed upon him.

Mr. Blake tendered the resignation of Mr. Mackenzie and himself to Lieutenant-Governor Howland, on October 23rd, and advised His Honour to entrust Mr. Mowat with the formation of a new Ministry. This was accordingly done. Mr. Mowat, having resigned his Judgeship, accepted the Lieutenant-Governor's commission to form an Administration, and the same day himself and his Cabinet were sworn into office as follows:

Honourable Oliver Mowat, Q.C., LL.D., Premier, Attorney-General; Honourable Adam Crooks, Q.C., LL.D., Provincial Treasurer; Honourable Archibald McKellar, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works; Honourable Richard W. Scott, Q.C., Commissioner of Crown Lands; Honourable Timothy B. Pardee, Provincial Secretary and Registrar.

The new Prime Minister was shortly afterwards elected a member of the Ontario Legislature by acclamation. This was for the North Riding of Oxford, which Mr. George Perry, M.P.P., resigned for the purpose. Thus began the successful career of what was known as the Mowat Government, and which continued to hold office without a break for close upon a quarter of a century. The longest-lived British Ministry—Lord Liverpool's—only existed

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for seventeen years, but Mr. Mowat's surpassed this by nearly eight years, and has the distinction of being the longest Administration in the whole history of Constitutional Governments.

Mr. Mowat's resignation from the Bench and acceptance of the Liberal leadership, however, did not escape criticism. After the surprise which always occurs when the unexpected happens, his course was variously received. The Liberals almost unanimously regarded his appointment as a master-stroke both for the Province and their party, and this feeling was increased by the very able and earnest election address and nomination speech made by him at Woodstock to the electors of North Oxford. The Independents, and not a few moderate Conservatives, frankly admitted that a better and safer man could not have been found—at least in the Liberal ranks. The great bulk of the Conservatives, however, and especially those under the leadership of Mr. M. C. Cameron, bitterly assailed Mr. Mowat as having degraded the Bench by resigning one of its foremost positions to dabble again in political strife, the effects of which upon the Judiciary, they alleged, would be of the most deplorable character. These doleful predictions were fortunately no more realized than when Sir John Thompson some years later left the Nova Scotia Bench to become the Conservative Minister of Justice and afterwards Prime Minister of the Dominion.

On the contrary, during his long and active official career as head of the Ontario Government, Mr. Mowat proved himself to be a most able and prolific

SIR JOHN RECONSTRUCTS GOVERNMENT.

legislator, a most careful and clean administrator, and established strong claims to be considered the most dignified, popular and successful Prime Minister which this country has ever had in its service.

When these political changes were completed, public interest all over the Dominion naturally centred on the political situation at Ottawa. The recent elections left the Government with not more than eight or ten of a majority, and its future, when Parliament met, was therefore uncertain.

Sir John Macdonald reconstructed his Government as follows: Sir George Cartier obtained a seat for Provencher, Manitoba, by the resignation of Louis Riel. He was in England vainly trying to recruit his shattered health. Sir Francis Hincks, after his defeat in Renfrew and Brant, temporarily accepted a seat for Vancouver, B.C., but from the first insisted upon retiring from public life. Before the session opened, Sir Francis resigned both his office and his seat. Mr. Tilley then became Finance Minister, Dr. Tupper became Minister of Customs, and Mr. Theodore Robitaille, member of Parliament for Bonaventure, Quebec, was admitted to the Cabinet as Minister of Inland Revenue.

Both political parties found an opportunity at this time to display their growing aggressiveness at a bye-election for the County of Welland, caused by the lamented death of the sitting member, Mr. Thomas C. Street. This riding had long been a Conservative stronghold, and the late member had recently carried it by a majority of 529. The Conservatives nominated Dr. King, a successful local

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physician, and the Liberals Mr. A. W. Thompson, well known as the promoter of the Southern Railway. Both parties put forth extraordinary efforts to carry this election.

November 12th was nomination day, and the number of Cabinet Ministers, Liberal leaders, members of Parliament, press reporters, canvassers and agents present at Welland on that day was probably never surpassed at any previous Canadian contest. Among the Ministers were the Honourable Charles Tupper, Honourable Peter Mitchell, Honourable John O'Connor, Honourable J. C. Aikens, aided by the Honourable William Macdougall. The principal Oppositionists were the Honourable Edward Blake, Honourable E. B. Wood, Honourable J. C. Currie, Mr. A. H. Dymond, and several others. The nomination proceedings lasted all day and part of the night, and oratory on the sins and virtues—particularly the former—of both Grits and Tories, flowed like water for nearly twelve hours!

The most striking incident occurred near the close. Mr. Blake had been nearly jockeyed out of speaking altogether by the Ministers'—especially the Honourable Peter Mitchell's—long speeches, but he finally evened things up by the clever device he adopted in replying to his opponents. He said he would reply to the clever speeches of Messrs. Tupper, Mitchell, and O'Connor, by simply citing the Honourable William Macdougall, their late and present colleague, as his witness in the case. He then quietly drew from his pocket that gentleman's famous pamphlet on the Red River Rebellion, and reading

BLAKE'S CLEVER SPEECH

therefrom some of Mr. Macdougall's terrible charges against the Dominion Government—including some of the Ministers present on the platform—he commented upon each charge *seriatim* with such wit, sarcasm, and eloquence as greatly discomposed his opponents and worked the tired audience into a state of great hilarity and enthusiasm.

The nomination over, this strenuous fight was resumed in the townships, villages, and concession lines. Among other Conservative members of Parliament present were Messrs. Angus Morrison, Rufus Stevenson, Abraham Lauder, Charles Rykert, and Tom Ferguson. Welland never before passed through such an exciting contest, and probably never will again. Orators and canvassers continued thick as blackberries in July until the polls closed, when it was found that Mr. Thompson was elected by a majority of sixty-eight.

The first session of the Ontario Legislature under the leadership of the Honourable Oliver Mowat, assembled on January 8th, 1873. Among notable new members elected during the recess were the present Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir William R. Meredith, then of London, and the late Honourable Christopher F. Fraser, of Brockville. The official speech of Lieutenant-Governor Howland on opening the House was conspicuous for its firm and hopeful character, and the number of useful, practical measures promised. The general feeling of the people of Ontario as to the working of Confederation at this period was clearly set forth in the opening paragraph, which was as follows:

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"We have now had six years' experience of the working of the great measure of Confederation, which the people of Upper Canada frankly accepted and from which they anticipated much advantage. I am confident that you will agree with me that their expectations have in a large measure been realized, though in some of its details the Act of Union may have done less than justice to this Province, and incidents to be regretted have occurred, as they will occur in the first establishment of all new constitutions. The general effect on the local affairs of Ontario has been eminently beneficial. The administration of these affairs is now to a large extent in our own hands; and our revenue has enabled us, without taxation, not only to defray all the charges of Provincial government and to afford essential aid to numerous railway enterprises and other public works and improvements, but also to accumulate a surplus now amounting to more than four millions of dollars."

The address in reply to His Honour's speech was moved by Mr. William C. Caldwell, of South Lanark, and seconded by Mr. R. M. Wells, of Toronto, member for South Bruce. Mr. Mowat and his colleagues, and their proposed measures, did not lack for criticism from Mr. M. C. Cameron, the Conservative leader, Mr. W. D. Ardagh, Mr. Fred W. Cumberland, Mr. W. R. Meredith, Mr. Herbert S. Macdonald, and other Opposition members. But the new Administration was firmly entrenched in power, and aided by such clever debaters as the Honourable E. B. Wood, Mr. James Bethune, Q.C., Mr. Thomas Hodgins, Q.C., and the new member, Mr. Fraser—whose fine oratorical

VALUABLE LEGISLATION PASSED

powers were immediately recognized—they carried their measures through with a firm hand.

A great many important Bills were passed during this session. The most difficult question to deal with was the settlement of the long-standing Municipal Loan Fund debt and difficulties. Mr. Mowat grappled with them and found he had got an elephant on his hands, but after much serious over-work on the part of himself and his private secretary* he finally settled what previous Ministers had been afraid to tackle, and in a way, too, to give general satisfaction. The measure to consolidate the Municipal Acts was scarcely less important; it reflected much credit on the legal ability and industry of the Honourable Adam Crooks, and has been taken as a model for such legislation ever since.

Among other valuable legislation passed was the Administration of Justice Act, embracing many legal reforms, the consolidation of the Public and High School laws, various electoral reforms, and several other Acts to give more liberal encouragement to new railways, drainage works and other public improvements. Altogether no less than one hundred and seventy Bills were passed and became law.

* Both before and during the session Mr. Mowat spent many busy hours in working out a settlement of the complicated questions connected with this matter. On February 10th, 1873, Mrs. Mowat wrote to a friend: "Oliver is as busy as it is possible for a man to be. The Municipal Loan Fund Act is like a millstone about his neck. Even his private secretary finds it so; at least he told me the other day he had had a frightful dream, part of which was that he was in a graveyard, and had seen his own gravestone, on which was carved the letters M. L. F."—Biggar's "Life of Sir Oliver Mowat," Vol. I., page 205.

CHAPTER XV.

ADVENT OF LORD DUFFERIN—THE PACIFIC RAILWAY SCANDAL—MR. HUNTINGDON'S CHARGES—SIR HUGH ALLAN'S OWN STATEMENT OF THE FACTS.

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, the new Governor-General, had a keen eye for the spectacular, and opened the first session of the second Canadian Parliament on March 5th and 6th, 1873, with surpassing pomp and ceremony.



LORD DUFFERIN.

His Lordship was evidently much gratified by the enthusiastic reception which greeted him and his large and brilliant staff on reaching Parliament Hill. The noble Parliamentary buildings with their magnificent central tower; the fine military display by the Royal Artillery, the Governor-General's Foot Guards and the mounted cavalry; the thousands of prominent and well-dressed people who crowded the Senate Chamber and the corridors and passages leading thereto; and the still greater number of citizens who crowded the terrace outside and much of the great Parliamentary square, made up a very grand and imposing scene.

LORD DUFFERIN OPENS PARLIAMENT

When His Excellency, with Lady Dufferin and other distinguished persons, entered the beautiful Senate Chamber, the vast audience rose to their feet until Her Majesty's representative had taken his seat in the Viceregal Chair. The Ministers of the Crown in Windsor uniforms, the scarlet tunics of the staff and the plain black of the Senators at the upper end of the Chamber; Speaker Cockburn and members of the House of Commons standing at the Bar; the entire centre of the Chamber being filled with ladies—including Lady Dufferin and party—from all parts of Canada, made this a memorable and long-to-be-remembered occasion. When silence prevailed, His Lordship read the Royal Speech with pleasing emphasis and grace, the Sheridan gift of oratory being conspicuous throughout its delivery.

With the exception of an important paragraph announcing that a charter for the construction of the Pacific Railway had been granted to a "body of Canadian capitalists," the speech did not promise much legislation. The paragraphs relating thereto were brief and general, making it tolerably clear that it was around the Pacific Railway question that the Government anticipated the fight for its political life.

What is known in our political history as the Pacific Railway Scandal, and which resulted in the overthrow of our first Dominion Government, would require a whole volume to describe fully. Only such a brief outline of the principal facts can be attempted here as historical truth demands, and is

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necessary to enable the reader to form an intelligent opinion upon the subject.

Two companies were incorporated during the previous session with the view of securing the great railway charter. One was Sir Hugh Allan's of Montreal, which was called the Pacific Railway Company, and some of its principal members were United States capitalists, Mr. George W. McMullen, of Pictor being their Canadian agent. The other was a purely Canadian company organized by the Honourable D. L. Macpherson, of Toronto, and known as the Interoceanic Railway Company. The headquarters of the former was Montreal, and of the latter, Toronto, and a sturdy fight took place between them to secure from the Government the coveted prize. This struggle lasted all through the summer and to the following February—although, as subsequent revelations proved, Sir Hugh Allan had been secretly promised in writing at the beginning of the General Elections, as early as July 26th—and by the two principal Ministers of State—that he would be made President of whatever company they decided should get the charter to build and operate the road.*

After interviews numerous and difficulties and wrangles many, Sir John Macdonald found he could not amalgamate the rival companies. He finally cut the Gordian knot shortly before Parliament met by

* A telegram of Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Cartier, dated July 26th, 1872, and a letter of Sir George Cartier to Sir Hugh Allan, dated July 30th, 1872, were produced and certified as correct before the Royal Commission, and filed.

HUNTINGDON'S CHARGES

discarding Sir Hugh Allan's American friends, making the great shipowner chairman of "The Canadian Pacific Railway Company," but naming Canadians only as directors. The Board was composed as follows: Sir Hugh Allan, Montreal; Honourable A. G. Archibald, Halifax, N.S.; Honourable Joseph Octave Beaubien and Jean Baptiste Beaudry, Esq., Montreal; Egerton R. Burpee, Esq., St. John, N.B.; F. W. Cumberland, Esq., and Sandford Fleming, Esq., Toronto; Robert Newton Hall, Esq., Sherbrooke, Quebec; Honourable John S. Helmcken, Victoria, B.C.; Andrew McDermott, Esq., Winnipeg; Donald Melnis, Esq., Hamilton; Walter Shanley, Esq., North Adams, N.S., and John Walker, Esq., London, Ont.

Aside from being unnecessarily partisan, this company was creditable to the Government, all its members being Canadians, and most of them favourably known to the country at large.

It was on April 2nd that the Honourable J. S. Huntingdon, member of Parliament for Sheffield, startled the House of Commons and the country with his famous charges of political corruption against the Government at the previous elections. They were set forth in an elaborate resolution, drawn with strict regard to Parliamentary practice, the substance of which was, that the Government had arranged with Sir Hugh Allan, on behalf of himself and his American and Canadian colleagues, that he would be appointed chairman and chief of the Pacific Railway Company, and that in return Sir Hugh had advanced large sums of money

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(\$162,000 directly to Cabinet Ministers, and \$350,000 in all) to aid the Government in carrying the General Elections held throughout the Dominion the year before!

Having moved this motion, Mr. Huntingdon sat down without uttering a single word. The Hon.



SIR HUGH ALLAN.

Mr. Mackenzie afterwards explained that silence was observed to avoid any charge of prejudging the case. It was nevertheless a tactical mistake, which Sir John Macdonald promptly availed himself of by calling for an immediate vote, which defeated the motion by 107 to 76.

Such grave charges, however, made by one of the foremost members of Parliament, could not be refused investigation. All Canada was quickly excited over the charges. The press and public opinion demanded an investigation, and the pressure became so great that the First Minister felt himself called upon to move that a Committee be appointed for the purpose. The House selected Messrs. Hillyard Cameron, Macdonald (Pictou) and Blanchet, Ministerialists, and Messrs. Dorion and Blake, Oppositionists, to compose it.

The Committee promptly met and elected Mr. Hillyard Cameron chairman. It soon appeared, however, that neither the Government nor the Committee were in any hurry for the investigation.

THE PACIFIC SCANDAL

First, it took several weeks to get a Bill passed to examine witnesses on oath; then, when they met on May 5th to examine witnesses, Sir John Macdonald attended and asked an adjournment to July 2nd on the ground that Messrs. Cartier and Abbott could have time to return from England and be present, which was opposed by Messrs. Dorion and Blake, but carried by the majority; and when they met again on July 2nd at Montreal, the chairman opened the proceedings by announcing that on the previous day—July 1st—an official proclamation* had been published at Ottawa announcing that the Oaths Act had been disallowed by the British authorities. And on this ground the majority of the committee forced another adjournment to August 13th—to which Parliament itself had been adjourned—on the plea of giving the committee sufficient time to take evidence and report.

Messrs. Dorion and Blake strongly opposed these repeated delays, and moved to call Sir Francis Hincks, who was present, as a witness, but Messrs. Cameron, Macdonald and Blanchet voted all these motions down. And in these various devious ways the investigation into grave political charges, solemnly ordered by Parliament, was successfully obstructed and brought to naught for several months.

Sir John Macdonald, before the committee adjourned, wrote, renewing a former offer to make the Select Committee a Royal Commission, which

* The Honourable Edward Blake in his Speech, November 4th, on the Pacific Scandal.

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would enable them to examine witnesses under oath and give them all the necessary powers. But in dignified and caustic terms Mr. Dorion and Mr. Blake refused to act on a Government Commission, their chief objection being expressed in Mr. Blake's letter in these words:

"It would be of evil consequence to create the precedent of a Government issuing a Commission of Enquiry into matters of a charge against itself; the Commissioners being, as they are, subject to the direction and control of the accused."

The day after the committee adjourned amidst popular expressions of disapproval in Montreal, the whole Dominion was treated to a great surprise. Frustrated in getting their evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. George W. McMullen and his friends handed the secret history of the whole Pacific Railway Scandal to the press of Montreal. It consisted chiefly of copies of the correspondence between Sir Hugh Allan and the American capitalists associated with him in trying to secure the Railway charter, as well as Sir Hugh's letters to and from leading Dominion Ministers. The original letters subsequently produced, and the sworn testimony of Sir Hugh Allan himself, clearly established the general accuracy of the principal charges made. Sir Hugh's own story of the most material points of the scandal may be summarized as follows:

(1) That on July 26th, Sir John Macdonald telegraphed to Sir George Cartier at Ottawa,

TERMS OF PACIFIC CONTRACT

instructing him "to assure Allan that the influence of the Government will be exercised to secure him the position of President. The other terms to be as agreed upon by Macpherson and Abbott. The whole to be kept quiet until after the elections"!*

(b) That on the 30th—four days later—Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott met, by appointment, with Sir George Cartier, at his Montreal office. After lengthy discussion of the railway matter, Sir George Cartier finally signed a letter to Sir Hugh Allan containing the general understanding which they had arrived at. Sir Hugh was not quite content with this. He immediately telegraphed Sir John Macdonald at Kingston asking his endorsement of his colleague's letter. The Prime Minister promptly wired Cartier his refusal to endorse his letter to Allan and further declared that unless the terms of his telegram of July 26th were adhered to he would have to go down to Montreal and discuss the whole matter with them. This unrevealed Cartier letter and the Allan telegram were thereupon both withdrawn, Sir Hugh telegraphing

* The telegram of Sir John Macdonald read as follows: "July 26th, 1872.—Sir George Cartier, Ottawa: Have seen Macpherson. He has no personal ambition, but cannot in justice to Ontario concede any preference to Quebec in the matter of the presidency, or in any other particular. He says the question about the presidency should be left to the Board. Under these circumstances I authorize you to assure Allan that *the influence of the Government will be exercised to secure him the position of President.* The other terms to be as agreed upon between Macpherson and Abbott and the whole matter to be kept quiet until after the elections, then the two gentlemen to meet the Privy Council at Ottawa and settle the terms of a provisional agreement. This is the only practical solution of the difficulty and should be accepted at once by Allan. Answer. (Signed) JOHN A. MACDONALD."

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this fact to Sir John Macdonald, and adding these words: "Your telegram to Sir George Cartier is the basis of the arrangement, which no doubt you approve of."

(c) That on the same day—July 30th—when Sir Hugh and Mr. Abbott were preparing to depart, according to the evidence of the former before the Royal Commission, the following important circumstances occurred: "As we were leaving, Sir George said to me in his usual abrupt manner, 'Are you not going to help us in our elections?' or words to that effect. I replied that, as on former occasions, I would no doubt do so to some extent, but I wanted to know how much he required. He said it was impossible to tell, but from the opposition raised to the Pacific Railway project it might be \$100,000. I thought this was a large sum, but I felt that the interests involved in the approaching Montreal elections were most important in a national point of view. I therefore determined to give the Government all the assistance in my power, and in answer to Sir George's request I asked him to state to me in writing what he wanted me to do. In the afternoon I waited on Sir George and he gave me a letter of which the following is a copy:

"Private and Confidential.

"MONTREAL, 30th July, 1872.

"Dear Sir Hugh,—The friends of the Government will expect to be assisted with funds during the pending elections, and any amount which you or your Company may advance for that purpose will

DETAILS OF GRAFT SCHEME

be recouped to you. A memorandum of immediate requirements is below.

"Very truly yours,

"G. E. CARTIER.

" Now wanted:	Sir John Macdonald	\$25,000
" "	Hon. Mr. Langevin	\$15,000
" "	Sir G. E. Cartier	\$20,000
" "	Sir John A. (additional)	\$10,000
" "	Hon. Mr. Langevin	\$10,000
" "	Sir G. E. Cartier	\$30,000"

(d) That, on August 24th, Sir George Cartier wrote Mr. Abbott (Sir Hugh Allan being absent in Newfoundland), asking him to advance \$20,000 more to his Central Committee on "the same conditions as the amount written by me at the foot of my letter to Sir Hugh Allan of the 30th ultimo"; and in a footnote attached to this letter Sir George requested "that \$10,000 more be sent to Sir John A. Macdonald."* Two days afterwards, Sir John himself sent Mr. Abbott, from Toronto, the following telegram marked "Immediate—private: I must have another \$10,000; will be the last time of calling: do not fail me."

* Following is the letter of Sir George Cartier to the Honourable Mr. Abbott:—

"Montreal, August 24th, 1872.

"Dear Mr. Abbott: In the absence of Sir Hugh Allan I shall be obliged by your supplying the Central Committee with a further sum of twenty thousand dollars upon the same conditions as the amount written by me at the foot of my letter to Sir Hugh Allan on the 30th ultimo.

"GEORGE E. CARTIER.

"P.S.—Please also send Sir John Macdonald ten thousand dollars more on the same terms."

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(c) Taken altogether, Sir Hugh Allan swore that he had advanced to various members of the Administration the sum of \$162,000,* and his evidence went on to say: "I also paid for the assistance of other friends of my own in connection with the elections, between \$16,000 and \$17,000. These sums, with the preliminary expenses on the Pacific and the various railroads in which I was engaged more or less connected with the Pacific enterprise, made up the amount of my advances to about \$350,000."

The foregoing was in brief Sir Hugh Allan's own story of the principal facts of the Pacific Scandal, but there were numerous other unpleasant circumstances disclosed which are purposely omitted. These astounding revelations were published, in whole or in part, in every Canadian newspaper from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the transactions were generally painted in much darker colours than the knight of Ravenswood employed. They were in fact read with pain and regret by all right-thinking Canadians, and the general feeling was that they must leave a dark and abiding stain on the escutcheon of Canada unless Parliament and people rose in their might and vindicated the political and Parliamentary principles which had been so shamefully violated.

* "In this way, on my return I found that the limited payments which I at first agreed to had been exceeded, and with subsequent advances they finally stood as follows: To Sir George E. Cartier's Committee, \$85,000; to Hon. John A. Macdonald, toward election expenses in Ontario, \$45,000; to the Honourable H. L. Langevin, towards electoral expenses in Quebec, \$32,000. Total \$162,000."—Sir Hugh Allan's evidence before the Royal Commission.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS OF 1873—REMARKABLE PARLIAM- ENTARY STRUGGLE—STRANGE SCENES IN PARLIAMENT—THE CLOSING DEBATE— FALL OF THE MACDONALD GOVERNMENT.

WHEN the day for the reassembling of Parliament arrived—the memorable 13th of August—political excitement ran high. The Investigation Committee having failed to investigate, the leaders of the Liberal party were eager to take further steps to probe the Huntingdon charges.

The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, who only arrived that morning from an unfinished visit to the Maritime Provinces, had a busy day of it. Sir John Macdonald advised an immediate prorogation. His Excellency preferred a short adjournment instead of prorogation, but finally agreed thereto on the distinct understanding that Parliament would again be called together in eight or ten weeks. When the First Minister retired, a large deputation, headed by Mr. Richard Cartwright, presented His Excellency with a petition from ninety-two members of the House of Commons, protesting against Parliament being prorogued before it could further investigate "the grave charges of corruption made against Your Excellency's constitutional advisers." His Excellency's reply was that a Commission of

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Judges would be appointed to take evidence in regard to the Huntingdon charges, and that Parliament would be assembled again as soon as their labours were concluded.

Lord Dufferin's consent to the prorogation of Parliament before it could take further action in regard to the Pacific Railway investigation raised a storm of criticism, and for a time he was much perplexed. As evidence of this I may mention that after the prorogation he sent for the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie and frankly discussed the situation with him. This interview impressed the Liberal leader favourably as to His Excellency's desire to act with fairness as Her Majesty's representative, and this becoming known, greatly modified the criticism of his action which had set in.

When the Houses of Parliament met at three o'clock, the Governor-General amidst a great crush of spectators in the galleries promptly took his place in the Viceregal chair to declare the prorogation. Mr. Cockburn, Speaker of the Commons, was over twenty minutes late on that day, and Lord Dufferin had to wait, and Black Rod play the part of Peeping Tom through the glass of the central door, during all that time. When the Speaker did appear, the Honourable Mr. Mackenzie immediately began speaking to a question of privilege, and a very unusual Parliamentary scene followed.

The Speaker was soon on his feet, the Sergeant-at-Arms stood waiting to announce that Black Rod was at the door with a message from the Senate, and Mr. Mackenzie, amidst cries of "Order! order!"

HOUSE BREAKS UP IN DISORDER

from the Ministerialists, and of "Privilege! privilege!" from their opponents, continued to speak in loud tones against any interference with the rights and liberties of Parliament. He sent up the following strongly-worded resolution to the Speaker:

"Constitutional usage requires that charges of corruption against Ministers of the Crown should be investigated by Parliament and that the assumption of that duty by any tribunal created by the Executive would be a flagrant violation of the privileges of this House."

Mr. Mackenzie then continued his speech amidst loud noises and confusion, during which the Speaker motioned to the Sergeant-at-Arms to admit Black Rod. That sable functionary from the peaceful regions of the Senate was for a moment nonplussed by the stormy scene around him, but managed to give his bows and message in pantomime. Scarcely anyone heard a syllable, but Speaker Cockburn evidently understood his meaning, for he immediately left the chair, although Mr. Mackenzie was still speaking in defence of what he declared to be the liberties of Parliament.

Headed by the Sergeant-at-Arms, but amidst continued expressions of disapprobation both on the floor of the House and in the galleries, the Speaker, Ministers of the Crown and their supporters then proceeded to the Senate Chamber, where the prorogation ceremony was quickly performed.

All the Liberal Senators and Commoners, with very few exceptions, declined to attend the proro-

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gation, and soon after Lord Dufferin had concluded and retired, they convened an indignation meeting in the large Railway Committee room. Mr. Mackenzie presided, and the principal speakers were Senator Christie and Messrs Holton, Cartwright, Blake, Dorion, Young (Montreal), Laflamme, Huntingdon, Mills, Smith and Anglin (N.B.), and Letellier de St. Just. At six o'clock an hour's adjournment took place, and the night was far advanced when the resolutions were unanimously passed. The first declared the prorogation to be "a gross violation of the privileges and independence of Parliament and of the rights of the people," and the second, that Parliament should again take the investigation of the Huntingdon charges into its own hands as soon as it was called together. And thus ended this memorable day—the 13th of August—in our Parliamentary annals.

The Governor-General immediately left Ottawa to rejoin Lady Dufferin at St. John, N.B., and the following day the Government appointed their promised Royal Commission. The Commissioners were: Judge Day, of Montreal, and Judge Polette, of Three Rivers—both of the Quebec Superior Court—and County Court Judge Gowan, of Barrie, Ontario.

The Honourable Mr. Huntingdon, Senator Foster, George W. McMullen and other chief witnesses refused to give evidence before this tribunal, but about October 1st the Commission reported the evidence of over thirty witnesses, without expressing any opinion thereupon.

GREAT POLITICAL EXCITEMENT

True to his promise, Lord Dufferin summoned the second session of the second Parliament of Canada to meet on October 23rd. It met amidst greater political excitement than ever. The Royal Speech contained little except an announcement that Sir Hugh Allan had found difficulty in financing the Pacific Railway in England, and had thrown up the charter.

The great debate which must either vindicate or overthrow the Government did not begin till Monday, the 27th, when immediately after the Address had been moved and seconded, the Honourable Mr. Mackenzie in a powerful and eloquent but moderate speech, moved that the following words be added to the second clause thereof:

“And we have to acquaint Your Excellency that by their course in reference to the investigation of the charges preferred by Mr. Huntingdon in his place in this House, and under the facts disclosed in the evidence laid before us, His Excellency’s advisers have merited the severe censure of this House.”

The Hon. Dr. Tupper, with customary forcefulness and fluency, replied at length to Mr. Mackenzie’s attack upon the Government, and in this way was opened one of the most remarkable and profoundly exciting debates in all our Parliamentary history. Nearly every member of the House of Commons spoke on one side or the other. But details are impossible, as the struggle went on

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for seven days and most of the nights, and many singular scenes took place.

The six representatives of Prince Edward Island—which Province had recently entered the Federation—took their seats for the first time at the beginning of the debate, and this added to the uncertainty of the approaching vote. Both sides fought hard to capture these votes, in fact all members supposed to be doubtful were besieged by both sides almost day and night. The crowded attendance, late hours and prolonged excitement naturally led to undue conviviality on the part of those so inclined, and so uncertain was the vote expected to be, both as to time and result, that some members were actually kept under lock and key for days and nights lest they should be *spirited* away and got to vote contrary to their expressed intentions.

It was not until the second Monday of the debate, November 3rd, when there were at least eight or ten avowed defections from the Government's support, that Sir John Macdonald and his friends felt that he could no longer delay in entering the arena of debate. A report that he would speak that afternoon, and the Honourable Edward Blake reply, spread like wildfire throughout Ottawa, and all day the spacious Chamber was crowded with members, senators, and deeply interested spectators—hundreds of whom in the evening were unable to gain admittance to the galleries.

It was an hour after recess—nine o'clock—when the Prime Minister entered the Chamber and

SIR JOHN'S DEFENCE

shortly afterwards arose to speak. The Parliamentary "buzz" instantly died away. The silence became deep and impressive. The great Minister—for in many respects he was great—had thrown aside his usual jaunty air. He looked pale and nervous. His political life, his personal career as a statesman, hung in the balance. His speech might make or mar them for ever. He evidently was impressed, as indeed every member of the House was, with the gravity of the occasion.

He began speaking very slowly and in a very low tone of voice. By degrees he waxed warmer—his line of argument being in defence of the Government's action in regard to the investigating Committee's adjournments; in proroguing Parliament on the 13th of August; in appointing the Royal Commission; in regard to the disallowance of the Oaths Act; and in the formation of the Pacific Railway Company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head. These points he discussed with much of the ability, shrewdness and skill which carried him successfully through many a Parliamentary fight.

In the latter half of his speech he gradually developed a different tone and manner. His voice gradually became louder and more strident, his volubility excessive, and he indulged in a number of personal charges against Mr. Huntfordon which, notwithstanding the emphatic denials of that gentleman, he persisted in repeating until the Speaker checked him. He reiterated again and again that there was no bargain—no contract between his Government and Sir Hugh Allan, and finally argued that the im-

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mense sums paid by that gentleman to himself and other Ministers were only a large election subscription, which all Governments made a practice of, and were justified in accepting from their political supporters. His peroration was almost dramatic, and closed with the following words: "I can see past the decision of this House, either for or against me. But whether it be 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." (Prolonged Government cheers.)

During the latter part of his speech, which lasted a little over four hours, Sir John failed to do himself justice. But successful defence of the actions of his Government and himself in this matter was an impossibility, and his authorized biographer, Joseph Pope, Esq., now C.M.G., has frankly told us that "before he rose he must have felt the judgment of the House was against him."*

When the Honourable Edward Blake arose at ten minutes to two o'clock in the morning to reply to

* "For the first and last time of his life he failed—or perhaps I should not say he failed, as before he rose he must have felt that the judgment of the House was against him—but there and then only was his supreme effort in vain. His majority, not large in April, had been steadily melting away. A sense of extreme uneasiness prevailed in the Ministerial ranks, which was ominous for the Administration. There was 'a sound of going in the tops of the mulberry trees,' a feeling of impending change everywhere abroad."—Pope's "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. II., page 194.

BLAKE'S GREAT SPEECH

the Prime Minister, the cheering was taken up by the Opposition, and repeated again and again. He began by a caustic reference to the Premier's pathetic apostrophe. "It was not," he said, "to these high and elevating sentiments that Sir John had appealed during the elections; it was not upon the intelligent judgment of the people he had relied, but upon Sir Hugh Allan's money!" This sharp retort electrified the House, after which Mr. Blake proceeded to dissect the Prime Minister's defence with conspicuous fairness and moderation. In brief, his line of argument was: that in giving Sir Hugh Allan control of the Railway charter with one hand whilst taking his money with the other, the Government had been guilty of corruption; that Ministers had planned to prevent the Special Committee appointed by Parliament from investigating the Huntingdon charges; that whilst passing the Oaths Bill, it was the Premier's own representations that caused its disallowance; that the Investigation Committee was again blocked from taking evidence at Montreal on July 2nd, by the Government illegally issuing a Proclamation on July 1st—the day before—declaring that the Oaths Act had been disallowed; that the letters of Sir Hugh Allan and Sir George Cartier clearly established a bargain with the former gentleman; and further, that the pretence that Sir Hugh Allan's money was only a large election subscription was little better than an insult to the intelligence of any sensible person. Mr. Blake, in a glowing peroration, closed with these words: "I believe that this night or to-morrow will

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see the end of twenty years of corruption—(ironical Government cheers)—this night or to-morrow night will see the dawn of a brighter and better day in the administration of public affairs in this country.” (Immense Liberal cheering.)

When Mr. Blake concluded, many considered this to be the greatest speech which, up to that time, he had ever made in Parliament, and he had the unique compliment paid to him that, when his Liberal friends ceased cheering, his Conservative opponents united in giving a hearty round of applause.

It has been often said that it was not till the Honourable David Laird spoke for Prince Edward Island, and the member for Lisgar, now Lord Strathcona, had thrilled the House with his brief but ever memorable speech,* that the Ministerialists gave up hope. But the position of these gentlemen was known before they spoke, and there is little reason to doubt that it was Mr. Blake's thorough exposure of the Pacific Scandal in all its details, and his ringing appeal to his Conservative opponents not to further stain the fair name of Canada and their own

* The principal portion of Lord Strathcona's speech was as follows: "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. He would he most willing to vote confidence in the Government—(loud cheers from the Government side)—could he do so conscientiously. (Immense Opposition cheers and laughter.) It was with very great regret that he felt he could not do so. For the honour of the country, no Government should exist that has a shadow of suspicion of this kind resting on them, and for that reason he could not support them." (Renewed Opposition cheers.)

SIR JOHN RESIGNS

personal honour, that finally sealed the Government's fate.

When Parliament met the next day, November 5th, Sir John Macdonald rose in his place and announced the resignation of the Government. They did not wait for the passage of Mr. Mackenzie's vote of censure, which had an assured majority of thirteen. In his remarks, Sir John said:

"Until last night the Government believed they had the support of the House, that the House would not only give them a vote of confidence, but sufficient support to carry on satisfactorily the affairs of the country. However, from certain things stated in this House, and from certain communications more or less formal outside of the House, they had reason to believe—in fact they knew—that they had not at this moment a good working majority. The consequence was he felt it his duty to-day to go to His Excellency and respectfully tender to him the resignation of the Government."

Sir John further said that he had it in charge from His Excellency to state that he had accepted the resignation of the Administration and sent for Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, to form a new Government.

CHAPTER XVII.

GEORGE BROWN—HIS BOW PARK FARM—JOSEPH
HOWE—BECOMES LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF
NOVA SCOTIA—A GREAT AND BRILLIANT
BRITISH AMERICAN—GEORGE E.
CARTIER—HIS PATHETIC
DEATH IN LONDON.

BEFORE entering upon the history of the new Liberal *régime* under the Premiership of the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, there are a few occurrences which are worthy of relation.

Whilst the new Prime Minister had led the Opposition from 1867 to 1872, and was cheerfully and loyally supported by general consent, he was never formally elected leader until the opening of the second Parliament in 1873. At the first caucus of the party it was decided to appoint a joint committee to consider the leadership and report as early as possible. The Ontario section named Messrs. Mackenzie, Blake, Young (Waterloo), Rymal and Richards; the Quebec section Messrs. Dorion, Holton, Letellier, Huntingdon and Jette.

The committee held two or three meetings. All were agreed, first, that the leader should be from Ontario, and second, that the choice should be either Mr. Mackenzie or Mr. Blake. Mr. Mackenzie praised Mr. Blake and Mr. Blake advocated the

MACKENZIE BECOMES LEADER

selection of Mr. Mackenzie, making it clear that he could not accept the leadership under existing circumstances. At the next caucus, presided over by the Honourable John Young, of Montreal, Mr. Mackenzie was recommended by the joint committee and unanimously elected.

Although in retirement from public life so far as the editor-in-chief of a great newspaper can retire, the Honourable George Brown continued to take the warmest interest in public affairs, and in the success of the party of which he was so long the leader. He left the Liberal leaders a free hand, but, when asked, was ever ready to advise or assist in party movements within the limits he had prescribed for himself. His voice was still potential both in Parliament and the country, and he rendered great service to the Liberal cause during the critical election of 1872, although he only made one single speech. This was at Newmarket, North York, on July 31st. He accepted this invitation to speak because he had twice declined nomination for the riding, and had an unusually enthusiastic reception from the Liberal veterans of that county. He spoke for over three hours, exhibiting all the old fire which made him so powerful on the platform in earlier days.

Mr. Brown's energy still continued unabated, and for several years had been chiefly concentrated on his famous Bow Park farm near Brantford.

Nature had made this a lovely spot—a level plateau with deep, rich, alluvial soil—the sparkling waters of the Grand River hemming it into the shape

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of an ox-bow. Having successfully sold out his estate at Bothwell, with its oil, cabinet-ware and other industries, Mr. Brown proceeded not only to stock Bow Park with the most costly of pedigreed British Shorthorn cattle and other live stock,* but lavished money in making its buildings, fences and grounds on old country models.

He had two Scotch masons from Galt working on his stables and other buildings at that time. They were brothers, named James and Thomas Dalgleish, both intelligent, superior men, and one day in his office at Toronto, I rallied him on what one of them told me after his return.

"What was that?" he asked, impulsively. "Well," I replied, "one of them told me he had always considered you would be the best man for Finance Minister we could find in all Canada, but after seeing the way you were throwing away money at Bow Park he had been much shaken in this opinion."

Tossing down his pen, Mr. Brown jumped to his feet impetuously, exclaiming: "Ah! fools and children shouldn't see half-done work!"

*The Honourable Robert Jaffray, Senator, during the summer of 1906, related to me the following amusing incident illustrative of the absorbing interest which Mr. Brown took in Bow Park and his splendid Shorthorn herds. Whilst Mr. Jaffray was one day making one of his customary calls on Mr. Brown at his King Street office, a telegraph boy rushed in and thrust a message into the editor's hands. Hurriedly glancing over it, Mr. Brown rose to his feet, and with swinging arms exclaimed: "Oh, that is grand—that is glorious news!" Wondering what could cause such a sudden outburst of gratification, Mr. Jaffray ventured to ask, "What is it?" and to his great surprise and amusement, Mr. Brown smilingly replied: "Why, the Duchess of Bedford has got a heifer calf!"

HOWE APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

He then paced his room, dilating on the good which Bow Park had done and would do in raising the character of the stock and farming of Canada, and predicted that he would ere long be able to publish statistics which would prove it to be a good, paying concern. But that time unfortunately never came.

Several other changes than those mentioned in the previous chapter took place in the Dominion Cabinet during 1873. Towards the end of April the Honourable Joseph Howe, whose health had been failing for some time, resigned his office as Secretary of State for the Provinces, and was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of his native Province. His appointment was popular throughout Nova Scotia, in which he had been Premier so long and had fought so many successful battles in Parliament and the press for the liberties which his fellow-countrymen enjoyed. Animosities being stilled by his old age and retirement in poor health, he was almost universally welcomed back to Nova Scotia as its new Lieutenant-Governor. But, alas! he was not long to enjoy that exalted position. He and his family had hardly got comfortably settled in Government House, Halifax, before his health exhibited alarming symptoms, and despite all that medical skill could do, on the morning of June 1st—barely four weeks after his homecoming—the great Nova Scotian breathed his last.

The late Principal Grant of Queen's College—himself one of Nova Scotia's greatest sons—and

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Judge Longley, in his recently published biography, very justly place the Honourable Joseph Howe among the greatest men born under the British Crown on this continent. In his "Life of Joseph Howe," page 228, Judge Longley makes the following observations upon Howe's connection with the Dominion as a Minister of the Crown:

"Howe's four years as a member of Sir John Macdonald's Cabinet are the least glorious of his whole career. His health was impaired and he did not possess the vigour and fire of his former years. But apart from this the situation was novel. Howe had been accustomed all his life to lead and control events. He found himself a member of a Government of which Sir John Macdonald was the supreme head, and of a cast of mind totally different from his own.

"Sir John Macdonald was a shrewd political manager, an opportunist, whose unfailing judgment led him unerringly to pursue the course most likely to succeed each hour, each day, each year. Howe had the genius of a bold reformer, a courageous and creative type of mind, who thought in continents, dreamed dreams and conceived great ideas. Sir George Cartier, a man not to be named in the same breath with Howe as a statesman, was, nevertheless, a thousand times of more moment and concern, with his band of 'Bleu' followers in the House of Commons, than a dozen Howes, and the consequence is that we find, for four years, the great old man playing second fiddle to his inferiors, and cutting a far

HOWE CHAMPION OF POPULAR RIGHTS

from heroic figure in the arena in which he had been cast under circumstances altogether unfavourable."

Whilst not subscribing to all the views of his biographer given above, there can be no doubt they fairly present the principal reasons why Howe failed to take that high position in the Dominion Parliament which the great reputation he had deservedly won in earlier years led many to expect. There was, however, an additional and most potent reason. Whether actuated by patriotism, pique or some occult reason, his Repeal agitation was the mistake of Howe's life, and his subsequent acceptance of Confederation and a Cabinet office rather tended to deepen than dispel the cloud which hung over his course in this matter.

But at the worst this was only a spot upon the sun, and no fair-minded man can read the history of Joseph Howe from his birth in 1804 on the North-West Arm of Halifax harbour, till he practically became, by the will of the people, the dictator of Nova Scotia, without feeling that Nature had lavished upon him many of her choicest gifts.

He was at once a graceful writer, an orator almost without a peer for brightness, humour and pathos, a poet of no mean order, the tried champion of popular rights, a constructive statesman when in office, and a man so approachable and genial as to be the idol of the people. A few mistakes during a lifetime of devoted public service cannot obscure the intrinsic greatness of a man cast by Nature in such an heroic mould, and therefore history must

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rank "Joe Howe," as his fellow-countrymen delighted to call him, as one of the most brilliant and distinguished statesmen that British America ever produced.

Word was received in Canada by cable on May 20th that Sir George Etienne Cartier—for nearly twenty years one of the most striking figures in Parliamentary and Government circles—had died in London that morning at six o'clock. This sad news was not unexpected by those who knew his condition. His health had been failing before the recent general elections, and the defeat of himself in Montreal East and of so many of his veteran "Bleu" supporters throughout the Provinces made his ailment—said to be Bright's disease—so dangerous to his life that he was persuaded to set out for England in hopes of getting treatment and change which would effect his recovery.

He was affectionately cared for in London by his wife and two daughters, but it soon became apparent that he was slowly dying week by week. Nothing, however, seemed to dim his hopes that he would soon be well enough to sail for Canada again, and it was extremely pathetic and affecting under such circumstances that he continued to write Sir John Macdonald and other friends as long as he could hold a pen, his letters evincing the deepest interest in Canadian affairs and desire to resume his part therein. Only three days before his death he tried to write a letter in bed—which his daughter Josephine had to finish—addressed to his old colleague Sir

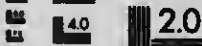
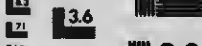
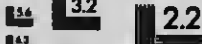
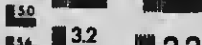
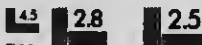


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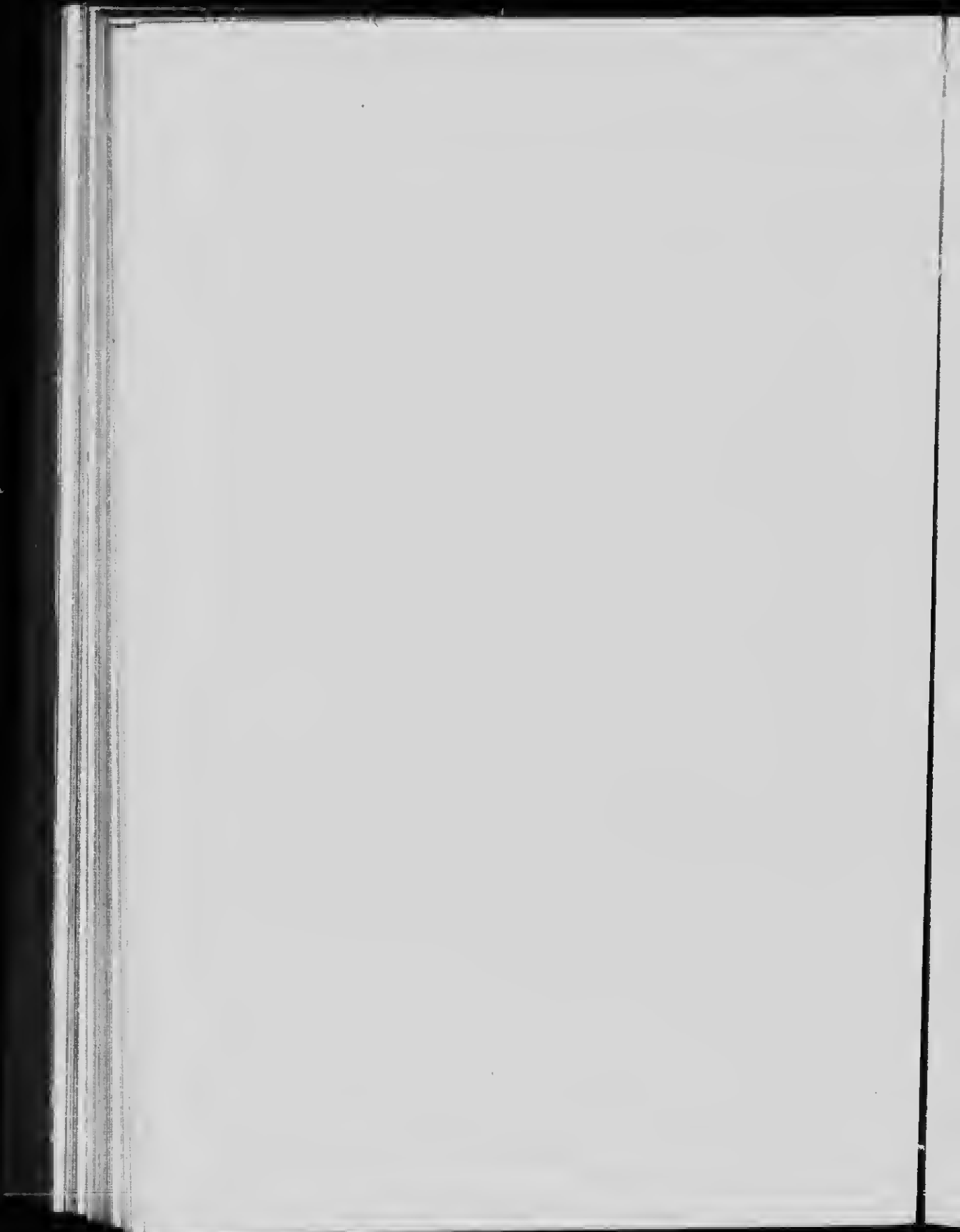
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DEATH OF SIR GEORGE CARTIER

John,* and in this he expressed the hope that he would be able to carry out his purpose to sail for Canada on the 29th! Alas! his treacherous malady suddenly culminated, and on the following Tuesday morning, after summoning strength to say "I am dying," he peacefully passed away.

Sir George Cartier traced his ancestry back to Jacques Cartier, the intrepid Breton navigator and discoverer of the St. Lawrence, and was born in the County of Verchères, Quebec, on September 14th, 1814. He was a typical French-Canadian. He possessed fair abilities, but had neither an impressive presence, graceful speech nor a courteous manner, though gifted with boundless courage, unflagging industry, much force of character and tenacity of purpose. In debate he was always pugnacious and ready for a fight, but beneath a decidedly brusque manner, which was seldom laid aside in Parliament,

* Pope's "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. II., page 157. gives this letter, which was as follows:

"London, 47 Welbeck St. West, May 17th, 1873.

"My dear Macdonald,—I am ill in bed since a few days suffering from rheumatic pains in my chest. I am so weak I cannot hold a pen, and I use Josephine to write for me. I hope to get rid of my pain in a few days and always purpose to sail on the 29th of May. Allan communicated to me your last about Grand Trunk and other matters. You did well in writing him thus. I have not as yet got a reply from Lord Kimberley about the extension of the Railway building time, but I expect it from day to day. Very likely he is waiting for the law officers of the Crown. Dr. Johnson says I am progressing as well as possible. But the cold weather and the cold wind we are having here since several weeks do not work favourably for me. I presume you have progressed, or you are on the eve of doing so. My kind remembrance to our colleagues, and the same from us all to Lady Macdonald. And, my dear Macdonald, believe me as always,

"Yours very sincerely,

"G. E. CARTIER."

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he possessed much kindness of heart and geniality, especially when met in social intercourse.

During the earlier sessions after Confederation, Sir George displayed his hospitality by giving an entertainment to the members on Saturday nights. None but gentlemen were ever invited, which quickly won for them the name of "stag parties," and as all political shades were freely intermingled, a more free and easy, jolly festivity could hardly be imagined. It was generally ten o'clock before most of the guests arrived, and the rooms were often so crowded that you could hardly get space to stand.

The chief event of the evening was supper at half-past eleven o'clock (when on time), but the evening was principally spent in conversation, French-Canadian boat songs, Scotch ballads, or other *divertissements* improvised for the occasion. Sir George himself set the example in jollity, and after welcoming those present liked nothing better than to grasp hands with two or three friends and jump round in a ring like so many *garçons* just out of school.

At one of these Saturday night entertainments a rather weird but unnoticed incident occurred which I am tempted after forty years to relate. A prominent member of Parliament was announced, a man not generally liked, and with not a few bitter opponents. I had never seen him before at close range, and something about his face had arrested my attention. As I stood gazing, my thoughts involuntarily wandered to a figure seen at Madame Tussaud's in

POLITICAL BITTERNESS

London. Just at that moment a tall, dark-visaged, impetuous French-Canadian friend glided towards me, and putting his mouth close to my ear, whispered: "Do you see that face?" his sparkling dark eyes glancing towards the newcomer; then he slowly added: "It is like de face of a mur-da-raire!"

This startling remark illustrates the bitterness which even after Confederation existed among some of the sterner party spirits, but it was as unlike the geniality, fun and frolic which distinguished these lively festivities as anything could possibly be.

When Parliament, then sitting, was informed of Sir George Cartier's death, Sir John Macdonald, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Dorion, Mr. Langevin and Mr. Cauchon, especially the former two gentlemen, paid graceful and touching tributes to the memory of the deceased Minister, and on June 14th his remains were conveyed to Montreal Cemetery by one of the largest and most imposing State funerals ever bestowed on a Canadian citizen.

Sir George Cartier, it must be confessed, was not very scrupulous in regard to the weapons he used in political warfare, but his reputation for independence, courage, and straightforwardness commanded the respect of opponents as well as friends. He was for twenty years the champion of Quebec, during which period George Brown was depicted as its arch enemy, and all the Governments of Sir John Macdonald and himself prior to Confederation existed mainly by the will of Cartier and his "Bleu" followers. His astute Ontario colleague generally ruled—most of the time, in fact, had a free hand—

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but when an important Cabinet difference arose, Sir George had the courage to put his foot down and become the ruler of Canada for the time being, and he controlled the votes necessary to back him up.

Though not without serious mistakes, his policy brought about some important reforms in the Province of Quebec, and as a member of George Brown's famous Federation Committee, as a visitor to the Charlottetown Convention, and a delegate to the Quebec Conference, he was the zealous and unwavering friend of Confederation from first to last. Take him all in all, Cartier was a bold and striking figure in our public life for nearly two decades, and as one of the Makers of Canada he is entitled to be placed in the foremost rank.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OTTAWA THRILLED WHEN THE HON. ALEX. MACKENZIE BECOMES PRIME MINISTER—MEMBERS OF THE NEW LIBERAL CABINET—REMARKABLE ACTIVITY OF THE DEFEATED MINISTER.

THE capital of Canada was thrilled when it became known during the forenoon of November 5th, 1873, that the Right Honourable Sir John Macdonald's Government had resigned, and that the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie had been sent for by Her Majesty's representative, the Earl of Dufferin, and entrusted with the formation of a new Administration.

Mr. Mackenzie * accepted His Excellency's Commission, and few political leaders ever encountered

* As an illustration of some of the new Prime Minister's characteristics, I may mention an incident which occurred whilst he was selecting the members of his Cabinet. One evening he invited me—much to my surprise—to accompany him in his car to call upon a leading politician whom he had chosen for an office. The recollections of that ride it would be hard to obliterate. It was so characteristic of Mr. Mackenzie. He evidently went about his Cabinet-making self-reliant, determined, unperturbed. He appeared no more uplifted than if he had been going out to an ordinary day's work. No word of exultation escaped his lips; he was in fact more subdued and reticent than usual. His invitation to me was no doubt intended as a compliment, and there were not a few reasons why he might have said something to me of his political plans. But except the name of the gentleman he was going to call upon, he was silent as the Sphinx in regard to his arrangements, and not the remotest syllable passed between us as to the new Cabinet, either going or returning! Such was Alexander Mackenzie. Even when his intentions were the kindest and best, he was so canny and cautious that he seldom turned out the silver side of the shield, and this peculiarity unfortunately lost him many a friend before his political reign came to a close.

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less difficulty in completing his task. As usual, several deserving candidates had to be overlooked. But no complaints were heard, although it was said one little, ambitious, but deserving member of Parliament shed a few tears in one of the corridors when he learned he was not in the cast.

When the House met the next day, the Honourable L. H. Holton, who spoke for the new Ministers, announced that Mr. Mackenzie had formed his Cabinet; and that with the exception of the Presidency of the Council, the portfolios had been distributed as follows:

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.—Premier and Commissioner of Public Works, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie; Without Portfolio, Mr. Edward Blake; Secretary of State, Senator David Christie; Finance Minister, Mr. R. J. Cartwright; Postmaster-General, Mr. D. A. Macdonald; With Portfolio, but unassigned, Mr. R. W. Scott.

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.—Minister of Justice, Mr. A. A. Dorion; Agriculture, Mr. Letellier de St. Just; Inland Revenue, Mr. Telesphore Fournier.

PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA.—Militia and Defence, Mr. William Ross; Receiver-General, Mr. Thomas Coffin.

PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.—Fisheries, Mr. Albert J. Smith; Customs, Mr. Isaac Burpee.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—Minister of the Interior, Mr. David A. Laird.

Although only a few hours in office, the new Government decided that there should be an immediate dissolution of Parliament and a General



HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

MACKENZIE GOES TO COUNTRY

Election. The existing House had been elected under notoriously corrupt influences, and it was due to the people that they should have an opportunity to elect an entirely new Parliament free from all objectionable circumstances. Lord Dufferin prorogued Parliament the same afternoon with the following speech:

“Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate,—Gentlemen of the House of Commons: In consequence of the resignation of my late Ministers during the Debate on the Address, I have called a fresh Administration to my Council. A large number of seats in the House having thus become vacant, I have decided, with due regard to the circumstances of the case, that it will be most convenient in the interests of the public to prorogue this Parliament.”

And thus ended the second Parliament of Canada, and also the Pacific Railway crisis, which had so long agitated all parts of the country.

The very day they resigned, the outgoing Government made a large batch of new appointments to office. Three were of the first class, namely: Mr. John Crawford, member of Parliament for West Toronto, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario; the Honourable S. L. Tilley, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick; the Honourable Hugh Macdonald, Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. Mr. Thomas Ferguson, M. P., was appointed Collector of Customs for Collingwood, and scores of others to minor offices. Should the new Cabinet cancel these improper appointments or not? This

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was the first knotty point they had to face, and they took the conciliatory course of allowing the appointments actually completed but disallowing all the others.

Ontario's new Lieutenant-Governor, the Honourable John Crawford, was sworn in at Government House, Toronto, on November 12th. Among those present were Messrs. Mowat, Crooks, McKellar and Pardee, Chief Justice Draper, Honourable Judges Galt and Duggan, Honourable J. B. Robinson, M. C. Cameron, S. B. Richards. Reverend Principal Caven, Vicar-General Jamot and other distinguished citizens. His Honour was publicly congratulated by Chief Justice Draper and Premier Mowat.

Whilst most men would have been crushed under the circumstances of his defeat, the nonchalant activity with which Sir John Macdonald set to work to break the fall of his Administration and hold his party together was truly remarkable. Within a few days of his resignation, he called an Opposition caucus, offered to make way for a younger man, but promptly accepted the Conservative leadership again when offered to him. Then he was tendered a grand banquet at the Russell House. There was a torchlight procession, and about two hundred guests. Mayor Martineau presided, and the speeches were made in the following order: Messrs. Macdonald, Tupper, Mitchell, O'Connor and Pope.

Sir John's speech was, as usual, quite characteristic. Aside from his defence of his Government, attacks on those members who deserted him during the crisis, and calling the Mackenzie Government a coalition between the Grits and Tories like Cart-

AN "ANIMATED OVATION"

wright and Scott, the most conspicuous feature of his speech was the faith he professed to have in his political star—declaring, as he did, that although then "a fallen Minister" the plaudits he heard "encouraged him to believe he would rise again."

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie, was too busy at the capital to go west until the end of November. On starting for his home in Sarnia, and at many of the railway stations *en route*, he was greeted with acclamations by thousands who had assembled. London gave him a fine reception, and on reaching Sarnia, the town was found to be in gala attire—streets ornamented, flags flying, bands playing and several thousands of people filling the railway station and adjacent thoroughfares.

After being welcomed by Mayor Taylor, the Honourable Mr. Pardee and a Reception Committee, Mr. Mackenzie was conducted through the streets amidst cheers and music to the Belchambers House, on the balcony of which he was presented with a flattering address by the mayor on behalf of the citizens of Sarnia, and to which he replied in modest and appropriate terms. An "animated ovation" is how one of the newspapers described this reception of the new Prime Minister by his fellow townsmen.

Mr. Mackenzie was re-elected for Lambton on the following Tuesday—the 25th. It was by acclamation, and the same evening he was honoured by a grand banquet at the Belchambers House—attended, it was estimated, by over five hundred leading citizens of Lambton and adjoining localities. Besides the guest himself, the Honourable E. B. Wood, the Honourable Alex. McKellar, the ancient member for

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the riding, the Honourable Malcolm Cameron—then residing in Ottawa—and Mr. George Ross, M.P., were among the principal speakers on this festive occasion.

The reconstruction of the Mowat Cabinet was necessitated at this period by the promotion of the Honourable R. W. Scott to Ottawa. Mr. Christopher Findlay Fraser, member for South Grenville, was found to be Mr. Mowat's choice for the vacancy, and the following changes took place shortly afterwards: Mr. Pardee became Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. McKellar, Minister of Agriculture and Provincial Secretary, and Mr. Fraser, Commissioner of Public Works.

One of the most brilliant political banquets ever given in Canada was held at the St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal, on the evening of December 23rd, in honour of the Honourable L. S. Huntingdon. That that gentleman had, during the late crisis, rendered great service to Canada, was universally recognized by his political associates and the people generally. His fine talents, especially as an orator, and his frank, genial, disinterested character, had also won for him a wide circle of personal as well as political friends.*

* The present Earl of Roschery visited Canada for a considerable time during the Pacific Scandal crisis. He was the lion of the season both at Government House and in Parliamentary circles. He looked youthful at that time and had a bright and pleasing manner. Mr. Huntingdon seemed to be one of his favourite Ottawa acquaintances, for they were frequently seen together both in the Parliamentary Chambers and elsewhere. His Lordship was accorded the honour of being admitted to the floor of the House of Commons, attended several sittings, and seemed to be deeply interested in the exciting debates then going on.

BANQUET TO HUNTINGDON

And they united on this occasion in honouring Mr. Huntingdon by this signal and conspicuous expression of the feelings of admiration and respect entertained for him by Canadians in all parts of the Dominion. This banquet fully accomplished its purpose—it proved, in fact, nothing short of a national testimonial. The dining hall was crowded with 400 gentlemen, including many distinguished Canadians, and nearly as many more—much to their annoyance—were unable to procure seats. The Honourable John Young, M.P., presided with much dignity, and Mr. Joseph Dontré, Q.C., was Vice-Chairman. Seated on the Chairman's right were the Honourable Mr. Huntingdon, the Honourables Edward Blake, Consul-General Dart, N.S., D. A. Macdonald, David A. Laird and Messrs. L. A. Jette, M.P., R. Laflamme, Q.C., and E. G. Penny; on his left were the Honourables Alex. Mackenzie, A. A. Dorion, R. J. Cartwright, L. H. Holton, Donald A. Smith, Senator Christie, Letellier St. Just, T. Fournier, and Messrs. L. A. Boyer, M.P., Mayor Bernard, Mr. James Stewart and others. Many prominent citizens from Shefford and other outside places were also seated around the tables.

The toast of the evening—"Our Distinguished Guest, the Hon. Mr. Huntingdon"—was proposed by the Chairman in very laudatory terms. When he rose to reply, Mr. Huntingdon was received with immense cheering. After he had modestly expressed his fear that he did not deserve so great an ovation, he discussed the part he had taken in the late political crisis, with his customary power and eloquence

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—his whole speech being received with unbounded enthusiasm.

The new Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Dorion and Mr. Blake followed in brilliant speeches, after which nearly all the members of the new Administration spoke, as well as Messrs. Holton, Jette, A. Mercier, M.P.P., L. O. David and others. The oratory throughout was of an unusually high order, and the whole "magnificent ovation"—as it was called—was in every sense worthy of the importance of the occasion.

The Mackenzie Ministry made their first appointment to the Senate of Canada a few days before Christmas. The Honourable Oliver Blake, one of the elective Legislative Councillors of old Canada, who had been appointed a Senator at Confederation, passed away on December 10th. Ten days thereafter, not a little to the public surprise, the *Official Gazette* contained a notice that the Honourable George Brown, so long the leader of the Liberal Party, had been appointed to the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Blake's decease. This appointment was quite congenial to Mr. Brown. It connected him directly with public affairs without seriously interfering with his newspaper business or Bow Park, and he soon showed by his attendance at Ottawa that he was still prepared to take a modest share in carrying on the affairs of the Dominion which he had done so much to establish and uphold.

When the members of the Government returned to the capital after their re-elections, they set vigorously to work to get thoroughly in touch with and

ENERGY OF PREMIER MACKENZIE

take control of their departments, and to make preparations for the coming appeal to the people. This was no easy task. Most of the Deputy Ministers, clerks and other officials were zealous Conservatives, and although there were many honourable exceptions, the new Liberal Ministers were not in all cases very graciously received or loyally served. The energy and boundless industry of Premier Mackenzie, however, quickly became apparent, and his activity was shared by most of his colleagues, which enabled them to grapple successfully with most of the hindrances which they found in their way.

All the Provinces now began to resound with preparations for the elections to the third Parliament of Canada, which the Government desired to hold as early as possible.

CHAPTER XIX.

THIRD PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS—MAKING IT "HOT FOR MOWAT"—MORE TROUBLE FOMENTED IN BRITISH COLUMBIA—SIR JOHN'S COURSE.

THE New Year's holidays—1874—passed over quietly, but the Parliamentary battle quickly followed. Politically the people had grown a little tired of politics and desired a rest. Besides this, the result of the coming contest was generally regarded as a foregone conclusion. For the time being, the Conservative party was shattered, and its old chieftain—as he began to be called—found himself helpless to coax or whip his followers into fighting form. For these reasons, these Canadian elections proved the shortest and quietest on record.

The canvass did not become active until Premier Mackenzie issued his election pronunciamento, addressed nominally to the electors of Lambton but really for the people of the whole Dominion. The election writs were dated January 7th. As the law stood, the Liberals might have brought the contests on in a way to unfairly favour their party interests, but they very properly recommended the Returning Officers in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick to hold the nominations on the 22nd and the polling on the 29th of the month. These recommendations were almost universally observed, and contributed much to the convenience of the electors.

COUNTRY SUPPORTS LIBERALS

Mr. Mackenzie's policy of political reform was of a fairly comprehensive character. He promised measures to promote the independence of Parliament, the fairness and purity of elections, the establishment of a Supreme Court, to enact more strenuous bribery and corruption penalties, to improve the Franchise Act and the trial of controverted elections by the Judges, and to substitute the ballot for the system of open voting. This was a large programme, but the Premier further added: "We shall strive to elevate the standard of political morality which our opponents have done so much to debase, and to conduct public affairs on principles of which honest men can approve, and by practices which will bear the light of day."

The elections turned upon these issues and the Pacific Railway revelations, and the polling days quickly came round. The verdict of the country was a pronounced one. It was overwhelmingly in favour of the new Liberal Administration. The results in the five Eastern Provinces were tabulated as follows:

	Gov't.	Opp.	Ind.
Ontario	65	19	3
Quebec	44	16	3
Nova Scotia	19	1	1
New Brunswick	12	4	0
P. E. Island	6	0	0
	146	40	7

The elections in Manitoba and British Columbia did not come off till March, but when the final

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returns had been received at Ottawa, it was found that to the new House of Commons—numbering at that time 206 members—only some forty-five straight Conservatives had succeeded in securing election.*

Sir John Macdonald himself was barely saved in Kingston, which he had represented for thirty years! His election was successfully protested for corrupt practices, but he was returned again, although with a still further reduced majority.

When public excitement cooled down, it was generally felt throughout the Dominion that this long political struggle had ended fortunately for Canada and its future. That curse of modern democratic government, political corruption, had been spreading with leprous speed for several years. The Pacific Scandal was only one of many evidences of this. Fortunately for the Dominion, the Parliament and the electors alike proved that, when it is clear that any political party has gone wrong, they can be relied upon to uphold the principles of political morality, no matter who may suffer at the polls.

The Honourable M. C. Cameron and his Conservative colleagues made it pretty "hot" for the Honourable Oliver Mowat and his Cabinet during the third session of the second Legislature of Onta-

*"In the General Election of 1874 the Conservative party, taken by surprise and weighted with all the disadvantageous circumstances which attend defeat, were well nigh annihilated. Out of 206 members of the House of Commons the Conservatives did not number more than forty-five. The once great party had dwindled to a mere handful, to be pitied rather than feared."—Pope's authorized "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. II., page 198.

MOWAT'S CLEVER MOVE

rio. The new Lieutenant-Governor, Honourable John Crawford, opened the House on January 7th and 8th, on the latter day with considerable ceremony. Mr. R. M. Wells, member for South Bruce, was elected Speaker. Mr. A. S. Hardy, of South Brant, moved and Mr. Peter Patterson, York, seconded the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. The Honourable M. C. Cameron sharply attacked the Government, especially for withholding the Crown's sanction to two Bills previously passed to incorporate the Orange Associations of Eastern and Western Ontario.

These Orange troubles made this Ontario session unusually acrimonious. Mr. Mowat dealt with the difficulty with customary cleverness. He brought in a general measure for the incorporation by Orders-in-Council of Joint Stock Companies, such orders as the Orange Association, and other cognate societies, thus saving the time of the Legislature, and the large expense of numerous special Bills. The Conservatives hotly attacked this measure, but when pressed to a division it was carried by forty-one to thirty—a majority of eleven. This was one of the smallest majorities Sir Oliver had during this rather turbulent session, but there has been nothing heard of similar Orange troubles since that time.

The session had another bitter party fight over a vote in the Supplementary Estimates. It was an award of \$3,000 to pay John Montgomery for the burning of his hotel near Toronto at the time of the William Lyon Mackenzie Rebellion in 1837. This was an old claim which had been pressed again and

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again. Mr. Merrick, Mr. D'Arcy Boulton, Mr. Corby, Mr. Boulton, and other descendants and friends of the famous old Family Compact of Rebellion days were quickly up in arms and hotly opposed the vote. Mr. Merrick declared the Legislature had refused to recognize the claim in 1851 and the *Globe* had approved of their action. Mr. Corby declared "the claims of rebels should not be recognized after nearly forty years."

Attorney-General Mowat, however, affirmed that the Legislature had recognized the claim to the extent of \$1,580, which was sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor at the time. Montgomery, however, claimed a loss of \$15,000, and although his hotel—which was rented at the time—was in the hands of the Mackenzie forces, he personally disclaimed being disloyal. Under all the circumstances, Mr. Mowat considered the Government should recognize the claim to the extent of \$3,000, and set this long-standing grievance at rest. The Conservatives still remained dissatisfied, however, and Mr. Merrick moved to amend the resolution by striking out the vote of \$3,000 to Montgomery. After some sharp cross-firing the amendment was negatived by thirty-five to fourteen, and the grant to Montgomery confirmed.

Strange to say, with all its acrimony and waste of time, this session proved one of the most fertile in passing valuable legislation for the good of Ontario which had so far ever been held. Among the chief measures passed were the following: A comprehensive Act for the consolidation and improve-

BLAKE RETIRES

ment of the Public and High Schools, Collegiate Institutes and the Board of Public Instruction, which the Rev. Dr. Ryerson, Superintendent of Education, commended in a letter to Mr. Mowat couched in high terms of praise;* the introduction of the system of voting by ballot; the prevention of frauds and errors, and the promotion of purity in electoral contests; the extension of the franchise on the basis of income; the establishment of the Court of Error and Appeal, and numerous other legal reforms which Attorney-General Mowat had skilfully and industriously prepared. It was close upon eleven weeks before the House adjourned.

The permanent arrangement of the offices in the Federal Cabinet was completed shortly after the elections took place. The Honourable Edward Blake retired. Although it had been publicly announced by himself at his re-election that his acceptance of office without portfolio would be only temporary, his withdrawal from the Cabinet was received by the public with mingled feelings of surprise and regret. Rumours of incompatibility between him and Mr. Mackenzie were soon set in motion, and even stories of disagreement were circulated by

* The Rev. Dr. Ryerson's words contained in his letter to the Honourable Oliver Mowat on the new School Bills were as follows: "I have now carefully considered all the modifications proposed in the amended School Bills and have read the final revise. I think it but just to you to say that I not only concur in the provisions of these Bills, but I believe they will constitute an epoch in the improvement of our School System as acceptable to all parties and as efficient as possible. I beg to thank you for your personal courtesy and attention, and I hope you will succeed in carrying the Bills through the Legislature without mutilation or amendment."

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opponents, whose wish doubtless was "father to the thought." But as Mr. Blake zealously supported the Government during the session which followed, these rumours gradually disappeared. The Honourable David Christie resigned from the Cabinet and became Speaker of the Senate the Honourable S. L. Huntingdon entered the Government as President of the Council, and the Honourable R. W. Scott became Secretary of State. The number of Ministers was in this way reduced to thirteen, all of whom had working departments.

Most of the Provinces composing the Dominion were at this period in a peaceful and fairly prosperous state. There were of course the usual skirmishes between local politicians, but their relations with the Federal Government were satisfactory, and their local Ministries seemed to enjoy the public confidence. The only exceptions were Quebec and British Columbia. The De Boucherville Ministry in Quebec was in a moribund condition. The revelations of the late elections had undermined it, and although, after several narrow escapes, they managed to struggle through a short and turbulent session on January 28th, their fall or reconstruction was considered certain at no distant date.

Early in February, British Columbia indulged in one of these local outbreaks which led some to fear it might become the "stormy petrel of the Dominion."

The Honourable Amor De Cosmos was the Provincial Premier. He was a man of considerable ability, somewhat erratic in speech and action and

EXCITEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

occasionally eccentric; his Ministry, however, was competent and well-sustained. At their request, Sir John Macdonald, and also Mr. Mackenzie, agreed to pay them £50,000 in a bulk sum in place of the Dominion guarantee of interest on the cost of constructing the Esquimalt Graving Dock, and the like capitalization of their Federal subsidy at \$950,000 had been mooted.

Mr. De Cosmos and his colleagues had some bitter opponents in Victoria. The Dominion elections, too, were just beginning. Dr. Helmcken and his party had been strong supporters of the late Ottawa Government, so much so that that gentleman had been named one of Sir Hugh Allan's Pacific Railway directors; they were, consequently, bitterly hostile to Mr. Mackenzie and his candidates. On the cry that De Cosmos was about to rush through the Legislature then in session the above changes in the Union Act, and that those changes would be used as precedents by the Mackenzie Government to abandon the Pacific Railroad, or at least alter the date for its completion, a great popular demonstration was stirred up, which it was doubtless hoped might ruin De Cosmos and damage the Liberal candidates at the coming elections.

In connection with this outbreak, the Ministerial press found much fault with the language used by Sir John Macdonald during the Kingston election in regard to Mr. Mackenzie's proposed policy on the Pacific Railway, and some went as far as to allege—though I decline to accept this in the absence of proof—that he had instigated the whole trouble

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in Victoria in order to embarrass the Mackenzie Administration at the outset of their career. The reports of his speech in Kingston contained the following paragraphs :

“ Sir John Macdonald referred to Mr. Mackenzie's Pacific Railway policy, which was *a breach of a solemn contract* entered into with British Columbia and the Imperial Government. In this Mr. Mackenzie commits, for the first time in Canada, *a breach of the public faith*. The original contract says the railway was to be commenced within two years and completed in ten, and it was to be built through Canadian territory. *For this breach of faith British Columbia has a right to secede*, for this was one of the conditions of Confederation. The Queen and the Imperial Parliament would not allow that breach of faith, and as honour reigned supreme in the Imperial Parliament, they would repudiate the idea of having a hand in the breach. He wanted no railroads for the United States as Mr. Mackenzie wanted, and we would have no hermaphrodite system of transport carrying away the great produce of the West from Canada (cheers). They would have to give up that policy *or give up British connection and the endorsement of England.*”

Something in extenuation of this inflammatory language may possibly be advanced for Sir John on the following grounds: that he was labouring under the bitterness of his party's defeat, that he was at the time engaged in a desperate struggle to secure his own re-election, and that he may have spoken under the excitement of the moment. The wisest

SIR JOHN'S INDISCREET UTTERANCE

men are sometimes rash under such circumstances. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that such a line of attack was quite reprehensible, more especially when in essence untrue, and being widely published in the British Columbia press, was well calculated to excite a volatile Western community into some incendiary act to preserve their rights from the alleged "breach of faith" about to be practised upon them. To proclaim on such incorrect, and, indeed, on any grounds whatever, that "British Columbia has a right to secede" was certainly unworthy of a statesman who had played so distinguished a part in the making of Canada, and it might have inflicted serious damage to the noble fabric which he himself had done such grand work in modelling and building up.

Some of the more prominent appointments of the Liberal Government shortly after their accession to power are worthy of mention. Among them were the following: the Honourable E. B. Wood, of Brantford, appointed Chief Justice of Manitoba in the place of the Honourable James Morris, who some months before had been advanced to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Manitoba; and Edward Goff Joly de Lotbinière of Quebec, and Edward Goff Penny, Esq., of Montreal, called to the Senate, and the Honourable John Sanhorn made Judge of the Superior Court of Quebec.

CHAPTER XX.

FIRST LIBERAL SESSION—UNHERALDED APPEARANCE
OF LOUIS RIEL, THE METIS CHIEF—DEBUT OF
THOMAS MOSS AND WILFRID LAURIER—
DORION'S FIRMNESS—RIEL EXPELLED.

CANNON resounded in thundering tones from Parliament Hill, Ottawa, on the afternoon of March 26th, 1874, when His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, left the official residence, Rideau Hall, to open the first session of the third Canadian Parliament, under the new Liberal Administration.

Some of the more extreme adherents of the late political *régime* had freely predicted that with the advent of the "Grits" to power the ceremonies and festivities at the opening of Parliament would be commonplace, and Ottawa in fact suffer a social collapse. But under the inspiring influence of the Dufferins, there was not the slightest danger of Canada suffering from inattention to official ceremonies and festivities.

On the contrary, the danger was rather the other way. On the night of the opening of Parliament, an immense State dinner was given at Government House to the members of the Cabinet and other official and distinguished guests; on Friday evening, Lord and Lady Dufferin held a Drawing-room in the Senate Chamber, which, with the decorations, illu-

GAY AND FESTIVE SESSION

minations and brilliant assemblage, surpassed all previous efforts of the same kind; and on Saturday evening they gave a most brilliant "At Home" at Rideau Hall, which was attended by many hundreds of prominent persons.

The Speakers of the Senate and Commons and most of the new Ministers also proved to be liberal entertainers; some of their supporters complained, in fact, that their festivities were unnecessarily numerous. But between their entertainments and the profuse hospitality of the Dufferins, it is safe to say that there never had been a more gay and festive session of Parliament held in Canada, and that the predicted "social collapse" was indefinitely postponed.

When Lord Dufferin retired after the brief opening services in the Senate, the members of the House of Commons immediately reassembled, whereupon Mr. Mackenzie, seconded by Mr. Dorion, moved that the Honourable Timothy Warren Anglin, member for Gloucester, N.B., be elected Speaker. This motion was unanimously concurred in, and his mover and seconder conducted him to the Chair amidst much cheering.

In a few minutes the House adjourned and Ministers, members and officials were soon intermingled in excited groups, discussing the unheralded appearance at the capital of the notorious Louis Riel, of Manitoba Rebellion fame! During the late elections he had been returned for Provencher. He was opposed by another Metis named Hamelin, but Riel was elected by 195 to 69. The Grand Jury of

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the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench having found a true bill for the murder of Thomas Scott against Louis Riel in his capacity of President and moving spirit of the so-called Provisional government, no one supposed that, although elected to Parliament, he would leave his hiding-place in Manitoba, journey all the way to Ottawa, and appear within our Parliamentary portals. Had Banquo's far-famed ghost suddenly appeared in the Senate or House of Commons, the members could hardly have been more surprised than when the swift-winged rumour reached them that Riel was in Ottawa, and during the lunch hour of that very day—less than three hours before the House convened—had in company with a Quebec member entered the Clerk's office, claimed his seat as the member for Provencher, took the oaths of office and signed the Parliamentary roll!

This rumour was at first discredited by many as a skilfully-concocted canard. The signature "Louis Riel" on the official roll of Parliament, however, soon set all doubts at rest, and the news and excitement spread like wildfire, the enquiry being in every mouth—"And what are they going to do about Riel?"

The whole capital—more especially Cabinet, Parliamentary, municipal and magisterial circles—was soon in quite a flurry over this matter. That Riel was in Ottawa or neighbourhood was undoubted. That all formalities had been complied with to enable him to walk into the Commons Chamber and take his seat was equally certain. And no one knew what his next move would be. He

DISAPPEARANCE OF RIEL

had not appeared at the short proceedings that day, but might he not brave and defy all, and boldly do so on the morrow?

Hundreds were on the alert to catch a glimpse of him. There was at least one warrant in Ottawa for his arrest, and constables soon started on his trail. Some amusing cases of mistaken identity were said to have occurred, there being many strangers in the city. But all search was in vain. Riel could not be found. He had as mysteriously vanished as he had unexpectedly appeared. It is believed Riel found the air in Ontario so hot that he accepted advice and assistance to cross the St. Lawrence into the United States as quickly as possible.

The debate on the Speech from the Throne was rendered more memorable on this occasion because the gentlemen chosen to move and second the Address were both young, native-born Canadians—the one of British, the other of French extraction—who had already won for themselves bright laurels in the law courts of their respective Provinces. Their speeches fully maintained the high reputation which preceded their entrance into Parliament, and left no one in doubt that they possessed the necessary talents and eloquence to play—as one of them has since done—a long, distinguished and successful part in the future government of their native land. These two gentlemen were Mr. Thomas Moss, Q.C., member for West Toronto, and Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, member for Drummond and Arthabaska.

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The former well represented Ontario, the latter as fitly the Province of Quebec; Mr. Moss was essentially British—fair, stout and outspoken; Mr. Laurier as essentially French—dark, slender and polished. Both were good specimens of Young Canada, and in appearance, language and manner, they afforded a striking illustration of the chief mental and physical characteristics, even the idiosyncrasies, of the two great races—the solid foundation-stones upon which our Canadian nationality is being built up.

I well recollect the day and the ripple of surprise which crept over the Chamber when Wilfrid Laurier rose to make his maiden speech. He was then in his thirty-third year, having been born at St. Lin, County of L'Assomption, on November 20th, 1841, and at first glance he looked like an unsophisticated country boy. His long, chestnut-tinged hair, naturally inclined to be thrown back on both sides, and his clean-shaven face, deepened this impression on the beholder, and many of his fellow members, who saw him for the first time, supposed he was much younger than he really was.

As he proceeded to speak, however, displaying all the self-possession of the practised orator, there was instinctively felt to be something about this boyish-looking French-Canadian which arrested attention—a charm of manner, a touch of dignity, an air of candour, a sparkle in expression, and a native eloquence seldom found combined in one person.

He spoke in French on this occasion, but a few days afterwards gave Parliament another surprise

SIR WILFRID'S MAIDEN SPEECH

by speaking in English with equal force and fluency. This was on Louis Riel's expulsion from Parliament—a most difficult subject for him—but he held the closest attention of the House for over an hour. He chivalrously championed the unpopular side of an impossible cause, but he did so with such skilful argument, sound judgment and deep feeling that, although inexorable, Parliament discovered that a new star had appeared in our political firmament, though many failed at the time to perceive its size and brilliancy through the haze of existing circumstances.

Beyond a little chaffing of the Government, Sir John Macdonald did not oppose the Address. His line of tactics, as he averred later on, was to give his opponents a loose rein for a session or two. The Address was therefore carried unanimously, and at the same sitting the House agreed without opposition to a motion of Mr. Mackenzie Bowell to have Attorney-General Clarke of Manitoba examined at the Bar of the House in regard to Riel and his election for Provencher, being a preliminary step towards a motion to expel him from Parliament and declare the seat vacant.

Discarding the tactics of his predecessor, Premier Mackenzie had many of the reports and measures of the Government ready when Parliament met, promptly introduced them, and pushed the business of the session with vigour from the start. Some of the old taggers were surprised when the Finance Minister, Mr. Cartwright, shortly after the opening, gave notice of his intention to move the House into

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Committee of Supply and Ways and Means. Mr. Dorion also introduced the new Parliamentary Elections Bill at the first opportunity. This was the chief Ministerial measure, and it was an elaborate, able and carefully-drawn document. It stamped out many of the old electoral abuses and introduced the following reforms:

(a) The adoption of the Provincial franchises and voters' lists as the basis of representation; (b) vote by ballot at all elections; (c) all general elections (unless impracticable) to be held on one and the same day; (d) Sheriffs and Registrars to be returning officers instead of party nominees; (e) the abolition of the old nomination day and the nomination of candidates by a document placed in the hands of the returning officer signed by not less than twenty-five electors; (f) the abolition of any property qualification on the part of Parliamentary candidates, and many other similar changes. Over 150 clauses were devoted to the promotion of fairness and purity at elections.

The Honourable Mr. Dorion, Minister of Justice, was a man of small stature but large intellect. I had seen him as far back as 1857 sitting beside the Honourable George Brown in the old Parliament Buildings in Toronto, and he had been steadily fighting the battles of his party in Parliament ever since. He was universally admired for his fine abilities and acquirements, his disinterestedness and his moderation and courtesy towards both opponents and friends. He was probably the gentlest and politest man in Parliament, but he was firm as a

SECRECY IN VOTING

rock against friend or foe who sought to make any material changes in the Election Bill upon which he had expended so much labour and zeal.

As an illustration of his firmness, this incident may be mentioned. Mr. Dorion's system of ballot was absolutely secret. I had given some study to the systems in operation in Australia, and at a previous session had introduced a Bill to adopt what was known as the Victorian system. This was afterwards adopted by Ontario, and admitted of the voter's name being traced and disclosed in case of legal examination into frauds or other delinquencies. Both publicly and privately Mr. Dorion was urged to adopt this system of ballot instead of the one in his bill. Even the Honourable Edward Blake added his request to many others. But all was in vain. Mr. Dorion could not be moved to consent to any but an absolutely secret ballot, and inner circles afterwards learned that his unbending attitude arose from the earnest conviction that any system under which any person—lay, judicial or clerical—could ascertain how any elector had cast his vote, would in the Province of Quebec not prove a blessing but the reverse. And I feel bound to add that actual experience in numerous elections afterwards convinced me that Mr. Dorion's firm stand on this question was entirely right, not only for Quebec but for the whole Dominion. If the ballot is to be the blessing it ought to be, the voter must be protected by absolute secrecy as to the way in which he casts his vote. The mere dread that those in charge of the poll books can in any way discover for whom he marks his ballot,

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prevents many a man from voting as he otherwise would.

Few objections were raised to the Government's big budget of electoral reforms. The Honourable Charles Tupper criticized taking the Provincial franchises for Dominion elections, and Mr. John Hillyard Cameron called the ballot un-English, although it had been in use in the old land for some time. The only division which took place on the Bill was in Committee, when an amendment to retain the open system of nominating candidates, although defeated, received a considerable vote. Discussion served to show that Mr. Dorion's Bill was nearly perfect, and he had the great satisfaction of seeing nearly all its clauses passed into law without the slightest change.

The expulsion of Louis Riel came up early in the session, and was the most stirring—in fact, almost the only deeply exciting—incident which took place. From the day of the Metis chief's unexpected appearance in Ottawa, the excitement over the matter continued to widen and increase. The situation was felt on all sides to be both delicate and dangerous. Bad management might open a veritable Pandora-box of racial and religious feuds. After the conclusion of Attorney-General Clark's statement at the Ear of the House, and some material evidence had been taken by the Special Committee appointed for the purpose, the question came up in the House on April 15th for final debate and decision.

DEBATE ON LOUIS RIEL

Mr. Mackenzie Bowell moved as a question of privilege, seconded by Dr. Schultz, the expulsion of Louis Riel, member of the House of Commons for the electoral district of Provencher, in the Province of Manitoba. The Honourable Mr. Holton moved in amendment "That it is expedient to postpone the further consideration of the motion now before the House, until the Committee shall have reported." This was seconded by Mr. Cameron, of South Ontario. Mr. Mousseau, seconded by Mr. Baby, then moved an amendment to the amendment, "That a full and complete pardon and amnesty be granted for all acts, crimes and offences committed during the said disturbances."

A long and excited debate followed on these several motions, and many members found themselves in a very embarrassing position. The principal speeches were made in the following order: Messrs. Bowell, Holton, Mousseau, Schultz, Donald Smith, Mackenzie, Hillyard Cameron, Blake, Jette, Ouimet and Laurier.

The struggle on this exciting question went over to the following day, and the debate was not terminated till ten o'clock that night. The division bells then rang, and the Clerk declared the result of the vote to be as follows: Mr. Mousseau's amendment was defeated by 104 to 27, Mr. Holton's by 117 to 76, and Mr. Bowell's original motion expelling Riel was carried by 124 to 68.

Neither the Conservative leader nor any of his late colleagues took part in the Amnesty or Expulsion discussion; Sir John, in fact, attended the

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House very irregularly during this session, and his name does not appear in any of the divisions taken on this question. He was evidently not present.

The Riel spectre having been laid by Riel's expulsion from Parliament, the sessional business proceeded quietly and quickly. There was comparatively little debate, but there was an unusual volume of valuable public and private legislation submitted and passed. Among the more notable Government measures not already mentioned were the following: (*a*) To establish a Mounted Police force in the North-West Territories; (*b*) To improve the Act for the Trial of Controverted Elections by Judges; (*c*) To raise the Customs Tariff sufficiently to prevent a threatened deficit in the year's transactions; (*d*) To establish a Military College for the training of officers at Kingston; (*e*) To enable the Government to proceed with its new Pacific Railway policy, which will be explained later; (*f*) To give a lump sum of £50,000 to British Columbia in place of the original subsidy of £5,000 per annum for ten years to facilitate the building of the Esquimalt Dry Dock; (*g*) To place the Intercolonial Railway under control of the Minister of Public Works instead of Commissioners; (*h*) and to make the Militia forces more effective.

Among numerous Public Bills introduced by private members, that for the establishment of a daily report of the Parliamentary Debates—popularly called the Canadian Hansard—was passed by the House, and continues to flourish to this day.*

* Efforts to secure an official report of the debates of the House of Commons had failed several times. But experience having

A USEFUL SESSION

This session only lasted two months, but during that short period no less than 109 measures were passed and became law.

Dr. Tupper was about the only Oppositionist who manifested any fight. He criticized in his usual forceful way Mr. Cartwright's tariff changes, Mr. Mackenzie's new Pacific Railway policy, and Mr. Dorion's adoption of the Provincial franchises.

This session—with the exception of the Riel episode—was generally considered one of the shortest, quietest and most useful on record.

proved to the writer how important it was to members, their constituents and the Dominion at large, that there should be an authoritative record of what was actually said in Parliament, I moved early in the session of 1874 for a Special Committee to consider and report on the subject. This was carried. The proposal was opposed by some Reform and Conservative newspapers. The non-speaking members, too, were generally against it. "But," to quote from my private notes at the time, "our party backed me up well, as well as Messrs. Blake and Tupper, and the discussion finally partook somewhat of the character of a declaration of party independence." The Committee reported favourably, and on May 18th I moved the adoption of its report, which—after some opposition, mostly from the back benches—was carried without a division.

CHAPTER XXI.

SIGNS OF PROGRESS—THE BRITISH COLUMBIA QUARREL—THE BROWN-THORNTON RECI- PROCITY TREATY—THE CANADA FIRST PARTY—BLAKE'S AURORA SPEECH.

THE Dominion now began to manifest more signs of progress and development than at any time since its formation. It must be admitted the advance was slow at first, and occasionally "hard times" had been complained of. But substantial progress had been made all along the line since Confederation, and the outlook was steadily growing better.

The official records of our annual commerce amply sustain the foregoing statements. Seven years had elapsed since the Union, and besides an increase in our transactions with the sister Provinces, the total volume of our foreign trade had expanded as follows:—

1867-8. . \$131,027,532	1871-2. . \$194,070,190
1868-9. . \$130,889,946	1872-3. . \$217,801,203
1869-70. . \$148,387,829	1873-4. . \$217,565,510
1870-1. . \$170,266,589	

Whilst Canada was thus progressing commercially the relations of the Federal Government with all the Provinces were of a satisfactory character, with the exception of British Columbia.

ATTEMPT TO APPEASE BRITISH COLUMBIA

The salient points of this controversy may be briefly summarized as follows: The Hon. Mr. Walkem, Premier of British Columbia, as early as July, 1873, protested to Sir John Macdonald's Ministry that they were not proceeding with the Pacific Railway as fast as the terms of union required. When the Liberal Government was inaugurated, he protested again. Mr. Mackenzie replied cautiously, but the excitement in the Province continued to foment. Early in 1874 he sent out Mr. James D. Edgar, barrister, Toronto, as the representative of the Dominion to treat with Premier Walkem, and, if possible, arrive at some reasonable settlement of the dispute.

Mr. Edgar was at first pleasantly received by Premier Walkem and introduced to the latter's colleagues as representing the Federal Government. But the situation in a few weeks developed thus: Believing the original bargain with British Columbia to be unwise and impracticable so far as the completion of the Pacific Railway was concerned, Mr. Mackenzie's Government desired to have a recognized extension of the time to finish it. Mr. Walkem, on the other hand, insisting on "the bond and nothing but the bond," abruptly broke off negotiations with Mr. Edgar by disputing his credentials! He then entered upon a crusade of protests to the Governor-General, despatches to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, personal interviews with the Imperial authorities in London, etc., etc. After almost interminable correspondence, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, recommended a settlement on the following

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terms: (1) A railway to be constructed by the Dominion between Nanaimo and Esquimalt on Vancouver Island without delay; (2) surveys on the mainland to be pushed; (3) a wagon road and telegraph through the mountains to be promptly proceeded with; (4) not less than \$2,000,000 to be expended on the railway within Columbia during each year until completed; and (5) that the time for its completion—at least to Port Arthur, the head of Lake Superior—be extended to the 31st December, 1890, a period of nine years.

The above are known as the Carnarvon terms. They were communicated in a despatch dated November 17th, 1874, and were promptly accepted by the Mackenzie Government on December 18th. British Columbia also agreed to this settlement, and all parties to the long and disagreeable quarrel were congratulating themselves that it was at last finally settled, when at the ensuing session of Parliament the Dominion Senate took up the evil work of Marplot, threw out the Government Bill to construct the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, and reopened the whole dangerous controversy again! The Senate was at that time almost wholly Conservative, and Mr. Mackenzie bitterly blamed Sir John Macdonald and his other political opponents for unpatriotically intriguing to checkmate his efforts to carry out the Carnarvon terms and thus restore peace and harmony with the Pacific Province.

Mr. Mackenzie's plan for the construction of the Pacific Railway was to proceed gradually—not to rush construction in advance of population, and

OPENING OF DAWSON ROUTE

through dismal wildernesses which few white men had ever trodden. He considered that the Dawson route, with its water stretches, should first be utilized between Port Arthur and Winnipeg, and that a wagon road should precede, and would be of immense advantage in constructing the railway through the Western mountain ranges.

Admitting there was great force in this view thirty-seven years ago, subsequent experience, it must be admitted, goes to prove that the magnificent prairie lands of the great North-West warranted rapid railway construction through Canadian territory to open them up for settlement, and it having been decided to commence the construction of a great trans-continental railroad, the sooner it could be completed and put into operation the better would it be for the country.

The necessity for direct railway communication was clearly brought out during the summer of 1874. The Dawson route had been opened the previous year. It cost over \$1,000,000. It carried some 1,660 passengers and their effects during the first season, and late in the fall about 150 of the Mounted Police went up by the new route. The cost of passage was at first \$15 from Toronto to Winnipeg. But the next summer a firm named Carpenter and Co. undertook with the Government to operate the line. They charged \$10 from Thunder Bay to Winnipeg, and made an earnest effort to popularize the service. But the line was necessarily slow, uncomfortable and uncertain, and complaints by passengers were soon, if not as numerous, at least as

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pungent as the persistent attentions of the blackflies and mosquitoes in passing through the swamps. Nevertheless the Dawson route was of great value to the Dominion at this time, being the only way to our great North-West through our own territory. As a passenger route, however, it was never a success.

Surprise and regret were felt by Canadians generally when, during the first week of June, it was learned that the Hon. A. A. Dorion, Minister of Justice, had retired from public life. His resignation was justly regarded as a great loss to the MacKenzie Administration. But Mr. Dorion was no longer a young man. He had been battling in Parliament for decades, and his Quebec friends, although conscious how much their party would suffer from the loss of so gifted a leader, united in pressing upon him to accept the Chief-Justiceship in the Quebec Courts, then vacant. He finally decided to do so, and shortly afterwards the Honourable Telesphore Fournier was promoted to the Ministership of Justice, and the Honourable Felix Geoffrion taken into the Cabinet as Minister of the Interior.

The prospects of the renewal of Reciprocity with the United States appeared bright at this period. In consequence of encouragement received from Washington, the Honourable George Brown and Sir Edward Thornton, British plenipotentiary at Washington, were appointed to negotiate on behalf of Canada. Under date of April 24th, 1874, a valuable pamphlet prepared by Mr. Brown, and setting forth the great commercial advantages to both countries

AMERICANS REFUSE RECIPROCITY

of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, was placed before the American people. The Honourable Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, was the chief negotiator on behalf of the United States, and after several long and earnest meetings, the Commissioners succeeded in framing a valuable measure. It was in substance like the previous Reciprocity Treaty, but there was an enlargement of the list of exchangeable natural products, which Canadians liked, and some addition to the list of exchangeable manufactures, which the Americans liked.

When negotiated, the adoption of this Treaty looked certain. The Imperial and Canadian Governments approved of it, President Grant and his Cabinet were favourable, and promptly forwarded it to the United States Senate for consideration and advice. The Senate, however, which was near its prorogation before receiving the measure, dispersed without taking any action, and when another session came round it was only too apparent that many senators and other American statesmen still harboured the absurd idea that by denying Reciprocity they could squeeze Canada commercially into seeking some form of political relationship. And thus, again, was Reciprocity vainly sacrificed on the Annexation altar.

The summer trip of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Dufferin, including a gay party, was more extensive than usual this year. They spent five days fishing up the Nepigon River, toured the Great Lakes, including a day at the great American western metropolis—Chicago. Returning, they

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came down the centre of Ontario, remaining over at Brantford, the Telephone City, where His Excellency had some public duties to perform.

The next day the party met large gatherings of the Six Nation Indians at Mchawk Church, the village of Oskewekea, and other parts of their Reserves, lunched with the Honourable George Brown at his famous Bow Park Stock Farm,* and the same evening held a largely attended public reception in the Brantford City Hall. The sparkling oratory of Lord Dufferin and the pleasing manners of both Lady Dufferin and himself added to the widespread popularity they had already won.

That the Louis Riel drama was not finally closed, the country now received another reminder. Nominations to fill the vacancy in the representation of Provencher, Manitoba, were called for on September 3rd, and although Riel had been expelled from Parliament only a few months before, he managed to secure nomination again. Dr. John Bowen was proposed against him, but by some informality, the Returning Officer ruled him out, and Riel was declared elected by acclamation. As this could not have happened without the support of a considerable number of his compatriots, it created a painful im-

* This luncheon at Bow Park proved a very delightful affair. Mr. and Mrs. Brown invited a number of intimate friends "to meet their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Countess of Dufferin." The invitations were mostly confined to Brantford and vicinity, but a few were sent to Toronto, Galt, and other places. When the guests were assembled, Bow Park presented a very festive appearance, and nearly two hours were spent in examining Mr. Brown's splendid Shorthorns and in exploring the beauties of this most beautiful place.

CANADA FIRST PARTY

pression, and revived fears on the part of many that possibly the worst of the Riel troubles were not yet over.

The fall of this year witnessed the announcement of a new political movement, Toronto being its headquarters. It had its origin about four years previously, and was at first composed of a small group of clever, well educated young Canadians who associated themselves together for patriotic purposes, but up to this time had acted in a private rather than a public way. The two most active spirits were Mr. W. A. Foster and Mr. George T. Denison, and among their earlier colleagues were Mr. Charles Mair, the North-West poet, Mr. R. G. Haliburton, son of the famous author of "Sam Slick," and Dr. Henry J. Morgan, the eminent Ottawa writer. Colonel Denison is still active and distinguished in the Chief Magistracy of Toronto, but Mr. Foster, a man of fine character and literary culture, did not long survive to accomplish his political dreams. Among the other early members of the organization were Messrs. J. D. Edgar, Thomas Walmsley, Joseph E. Macdougall, Hugh Scott, George R. Kingsmill, William Canniff, Richard Graham, and George M. Rae.

As it claimed to stand for Canada first in everything political, it quickly became known as the Canada First party, and after Mr. Foster and his friends announced that they intended to form a third political party, a considerable number of promising young Canadians were attracted to the new move-

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ment.* When they finally organized, Mr. William H. Howland was elected President and Mr. George McWilliams, Secretary; the name of "The Canadian National Association" was formally adopted, but the public always called them the Canada First party. Not long afterwards, Dr. Goldwin Smith, the famous *littérateur*, took steps to form another Canadian Club—professedly non-political—and out of these various elements, by gradual evolution, has arisen what is probably to-day the most successful organization of the kind in all Toronto, the National Club, whose beautiful clubhouse now adorns the centre of the metropolitan city.

The name of Goldwin Smith, D.C.L., deserves special reference. He was a great and grand man with a few limitations. He first settled in Canada in 1871, and four years thereafter married Mrs. William Boulton of The Grange, Toronto. He accepted an invitation from me, as Chairman of Galt Collegiate Institute, to close the summer term of the College some time after his settlement in Toronto. His address was scholarly, dignified and pleasing. Having to lecture in Woodstock four days afterwards, I invited him to remain at Galt until that time, which he cordially accepted, and I have always looked back to it as one of the most instructive, bril-

* Willison's "Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party," Vol. I, page 202, gives the names of the following prominent gentlemen as having joined the Canada First party at this stage: Messrs. W. H. Howland, Thomas Moss, W. G. McWilliams, Nicol Kingsmill, Hugh Blain, W. B. McMurrich, J. K. Macdonald, Frederick Fenton, George W. Badgerow, C. R. W. Biggar, James R. Raff, A. S. Irving, A. M. Rosebrugh, W. T. O'Reilly, James H. Morris, Frank McKelcan, and James H. Coyne.

FRIENDSHIP FOR GOLDWIN SMITH

liant and delightful visits I ever enjoyed. He was a man of the profoundest scholarship and cultivation, an unsurpassed master of the English language, and I may add frankly, that I never knew what a thorough historian was or could be until I met Dr. Smith. He was not only familiar with the minutest details of the world's history, but he had in command the very words used by great men on great occasions. For example, when commenting on the thrilling period in the history of Napoleon Bonaparte when he decided to divorce the faithful Josephine, and had to choose between fourteen or fifteen European Princesses for a new Empress, Dr. Smith not only portrayed the negotiations between Prince Metternich on behalf of the Austrian royal family and the great French Emperor, for the hand of the Archduchess Marie Louise, but he quoted freely the very words which passed between these two most eminent living statesmen during their most delicate and deeply important interviews. For most of four days I did little else but listen to Dr. Smith's historic pictures past and present, which were of the most charming and delightful character.

The friendship thus formed was never broken. I did not share his views on many points, and felt hurt more than once at things about Canada said by him in the American press. But in his private letters, hospitality at The Grange, and whenever we chanced to meet, his friendship never at any time wavered, and time and intimacy deepened the impression that he was not only the world's most eminent historian and *littérateur*, but that in private

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life—notwithstanding his fearless and often aggressive logic—he was one of the most kindly, considerate and truest of friends. The last time I called was during his last illness, only a few weeks before his death, and the recollection of Dr. Smith seated at the table in his spacious library, in the midst of the books he loved so well, together with the courtesy, cordiality and dignity of his reception—although tempered by physical weakness—made a most striking and unique picture, which left an impression on my mind which time will never obliterate.

Public interest in the Canada First movement was deepened by a somewhat remarkable speech made by the Honourable Edward Blake shortly after its announcement. It soon became known as the Aurora Speech, was unusually original, advanced and brilliant even for that distinguished Canadian, and Liberals as well as Conservatives regarded it—as, indeed, the speaker said himself—as of a disturbing character. It was delivered at a very largely attended North York Liberal celebration held at Aurora on October 3rd, and at which the Honourable Oliver Mowat, the Honourable Archibald McKellar, Mr. Æmilius (now Sir Æmilius) Irving, M.P., Mr. A. H. Dymond, M.P., and many other prominent Liberals were present.

The striking feature of the far-famed Aurora speech was Mr. Blake's open advocacy of a number of advanced political reforms, most of which harmonized with the Canada First platform. The principal of these were as follows: (a) the encouragement of a Canadian National sentiment, (b) the

BLAKE'S AURORA SPEECH

reform of the Senate, of which he said: "I do not believe it consistent with the true notion of popular government that we should have a Senate named by the Government of the day and holding their seats for life"; (c) the deploration of the prevalence of electoral corruption, commendation of the new Mackenzie Election law, and the advocacy of still more drastic measures if needed; (d) the placing on the Statute Book of a law—with proper safeguards—making it compulsory for every qualified elector to cast his vote at Parliamentary elections; (e) votes for farmers' sons actually employed on the farm; and (f) the adoption of Hare's or some other system of plural voting at elections which would secure the representation of minorities, thousands of whom, it was clearly shown, have practically no voice whatever in selecting their representatives under the present system.

The immense crowd listened with surprise and the deepest attention to the impassioned orator, who, during his peroration, used the following words: "My honourable friend, Mr. Mowat, will, I doubt not, by your suffrages, enjoy a long time in which to perform his high duty, but it may be permitted to one who prefers to be a private in the advance guard of the army of freedom to a commanding place in the main body—(Loud cheers)—to run the risk of promulgating what may be called a political heresy to-day but may perhaps become a political creed to-morrow." (Cheers.)

Nothing appeared, so far as I am aware, to show that Mr. Blake was ever a member of the Canada First party or that its organization on a political

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basis and his Aurora speech were more than a coincidence. His advanced programme as unfolded to the electors of North York covered somewhat more than the new party's proposed reforms, but there was sufficient similarity to lead many of the latter's members to cherish the hope that Edward Blake might prove the coming Moses to lead them into the Promised Land.

The third party, however, soon found that all was not plain sailing. Some members objected to the influence wielded by Mr. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Howland, the latter of whom on becoming President, made a favourable allusion to Canadian Independence. This was resented by Colonel George T. Denison and the Imperialist wing of the organization, and it was not until it was finally decided to relinquish its party aims and again become neutral that the dissensionists resumed connection therewith.

The old political parties promptly proved they had no love for the new organization. The *Globe* on the Liberal side and the *Mail* on the Conservative, vigorously assailed it. It was held up to ridicule, accused of being founded on the narrow basis of Know-Nothingism or Nativeism, and as being at heart in favour of Canadian Independence, which was pictured—as usual—as the end of British connection and the first step towards Annexation! The well-intentioned and innocent Canada First party looked desperately fierce and dangerous as dressed up by its political opponents.

The party never realized the ambitious expectations which heralded its formation. The death of

INFLUENCE OF CANADA FIRST PARTY

Mr. Foster was a great loss, and when President Howland, not long afterwards, also passed away, the seriousness of the blow to the new movement was generally felt. A few months afterwards Mr. Blake was prevailed upon to re-enter the Mackenzie Government as Minister of Justice. This sealed the fate of the Canada First party. In fact, its career as a third party might not inaptly be described as a flash in the pan. But to its credit it must be allowed that it exercised a wholesome influence throughout Canada in bursting some old party fetters, in uplifting the trend and freedom of political opinions, and in creating the patriotic national sentiment which has found expression in the numerous Canadian Clubs now in existence from Halifax to Vancouver.

Before closing this chapter, this year's remarkable session of the Ontario Legislature deserves notice. It began on November 12th and ended on December 21st—only lasting forty days! But Mr. Mowat and his Ministry were then all-powerful, their measures were ready, and the business was pushed from start to finish. The House conducted a long inquiry into the mismanagement of the Agricultural College at Guelph under Professor McCandless, passed laws defining the eastern, western and northern boundaries of Ontario, adopted a new Redistribution Bill increasing the number of representatives from eighty-two to eighty-eight, added ninety-nine Acts to the Provincial Statutes, and transacted a large volume of other business—all in forty days. This was the shortest and one of the most successful of Ontario sessions.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DOMINION DEVELOPING—RIEL BANISHED—
PREMIER MACKENZIE VISITS BRITAIN—
HONOURED BY QUEEN VICTORIA—
McKELLAR'S DROLLERY.

THOUGH not so exciting as some others, the year 1875 was one of much importance and interest. The elections to the third Ontario Parliament had begun before the New Year came in, the nominations for which came off on January 11th and the polling on the 18th. Considerable interest was felt in the result of this contest, in consequence of its being held under the new Redistribution Act, but the Mowat Administration was sustained by a majority of fifty-one to thirty-three, with four classed as Independent members.

Several circumstances at this period indicated the Dominion's growing development and importance. Among these may be mentioned: The unqualified success of the new North-West Mounted Police force; the friendly treaties made by Lieutenant-Governor Morris of Manitoba and the Honourable David Laird, Minister of the Interior, with the Indian tribes of the North-West, thus legally and honourably extinguishing the Indian title; the inauguration of the Supreme Court of Appeal at

AMNESTY FOR RIEL

Ottawa;* the establishment of the Military College at Kingston; and the union of all the Presbyterian Churches throughout the Dominion into one denomination. The Methodists not long afterwards were similarly united, and the usefulness of these two great religious bodies correspondingly increased throughout the Dominion.

The outlook for Canada's future peace and prosperity was also brightened by the final settlement of the Riel rebellion troubles. When Parliament met on February 4th, the Honourable Mr. Mackenzie immediately placed on the notice paper a resolution dealing with the Amnesty question. It was evidently the work of a master-hand, and concluded in the following terms:—

“That in the opinion of this House it is not for the honour or interest of Canada that the question of Amnesty should remain longer in its present shape.

“That in the opinion of this House the facts developed in the said evidence (taken by the North-West Special Committee) cannot be ignored by the people of Canada and must be considered in the expression of their views as to the disposition of the question.

“That in the opinion of this House it would be

* When the Supreme Court Bill first came down, most of Mr. Mackenzie's supporters and many Conservatives were opposed to any appeal from its decisions to the Privy Council. The increased expense, long delay in settling cases, and consequent unfairness to poorer clients, caused much private discussion among the members. But Imperial influence was in favour of continuing the Right of Appeal, and the criticism did not materialize into active opposition.

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proper, considering the said facts, that a full Amnesty should be granted to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, saving only L. Riel, A. D. Lepine and W. B. O'Donohue.

"That in the opinion of this House it would be proper, considering the said facts, that a like Amnesty should be granted to L. Riel and A. D. Lepine conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's dominions."

In a speech, conspicuous for good judgment and careful preparation, Mr. Mackenzie moved the adoption of this important resolution, and a spirited debate ensued. Many members took part and the stream of eloquence continued till the third day at 2.40 a.m. When the vote was taken, it was found that Mr. Mousseau's amendment for an unconditional Amnesty was defeated by 152 to 23, the minority being almost entirely composed of French Conservatives. The Government resolution was then put and carried by the large majority of 126 to 50, the result being received with much cheering. The vexatious Manitoba rebellion troubles were thus at last set at rest, and in a way which gave general satisfaction throughout the country.

The Honourable George Brown took his seat in the Senate of Canada for the first time in 1875. His first duty was to explain and discuss the proceedings of the Reciprocity Commission which met at Washington the previous year, and of which Sir Edward Thornton and himself were the Canadian representatives.

BROWN'S SPEECH DISAPPOINTING

When Mr. Brown began his speech, the House of Commons soon presented a deserted appearance, many of its members having gone to the Senate to see and hear for the first time a man of whom they had read and heard so much. He was then only in his fifty-seventh year, full of all his old-time life and vigour, and his fine, manly appearance made a most favourable impression upon the large audience present. His speech on this occasion, however, was generally regarded as a little disappointing. This was not surprising. It necessarily had to be a quiet recital of what the Reciprocity Commission had accomplished. Few men can make an interesting explanatory statement.

Sir John Macdonald was the most conspicuous success in speeches of that kind of any person to whom I ever listened—natural aptitude and long practice combining to make such statements his forte as a public speaker. But Mr. Brown had little or no experience in such deliverances, and although an able and lucid account of the doings of the American and British Commissioners and the nature of the proposed new Reciprocity Treaty, his speech contained little of that powerful and aggressive oratory which had made old Canada red hot, and contributed so much to bring about the union of British America of which we are now all so proud.

On returning to the Commons in company with the Honourable Mr. Huntingdon, who had also been listening to his old political leader, I asked him if George Brown's great reputation as a Parlia-

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mentary orator in the stormy days before Confederation was entirely justified. Few members of the House were better qualified to judge of this than the eloquent member from Shefford, and his swift answer was more emphatic than polite: "In those days George Brown was the damnedest agitator I ever listened to!"

The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the Honourable John Crawford, passed away on May 13th. He was not an active politician, but was universally respected. The Ottawa Government pressed the acceptance of the vacant Lieutenant-Governorship on the Honourable George Brown, but the honourable gentleman could not see his way to accept it. He politely declined, and the Honourable D. A. McDonald, Postmaster-General, was thereupon appointed to the vacant office with general acceptance.

During the month of May, the Marquis and Countess of Dufferin and family left Canada for a summer visit to Great Britain, and early in June they were followed across the Atlantic by the Honourable Alexander and Mrs. Mackenzie, a trip which the Prime Minister greatly needed after his long and arduous labours. It so happened that the Honourable George Brown also went over this summer, and soon both England and Scotland were pleurably excited over what the newspapers described as "the Canadian invasion."

In honour of Canada and of his successful administration as Governor-General, Lord Dufferin was entertained at a great banquet given by the

BANQUET TO LORD DUFFERIN

Canada Club of London. Many eminent persons were present, including Sir Francis Hincks and Sir John Rose. The principal toast was "The Governor-General of Canada and Prosperity to the Dominion." His Excellency's reply was most eloquent, and contained one happy allusion to the relations between the United States and Canada which deserves to be preserved. It was as follows:

"Nothing in fact can be more friendly than the relations and feelings which prevail between the Canadian people and their neighbours across the frontier. Whatever may have been the case in former times, every thoughtful citizen of the United States is now convinced that the future of Canada has been unalterably fixed and determined, and that she is destined to move within her own separate and individual orbit. So far from regarding this with jealousy, the public of the United States contemplate with a generous enthusiasm the daily progress of Canada's prosperous career. In fact they are wise enough to understand that it is infinitely to the advantage of the human race that the depressing monotony of political thought on the American continent should be varied and enlivened by the development of a political system akin to, yet diverse from, their own, productive of a friendly emulation, and offering many points of contrast and comparison, which they already begin to feel they can study with advantage." (Cheers.)

Mr. Mackenzie went first to London, where he had some Canadian matters to look into. He was received with marked distinction and courtesy by all

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members of the Imperial Government with whom he came in contact, and Her Majesty Queen Victoria conferred upon him the high honour of inviting him to Windsor Castle as her guest.

He was graciously received by Her Majesty and most favourably impressed with all she said and did. There were rumours in the press at that time that age was telling upon the Queen's mental powers, but in answer to my inquiry on this point, he declared it was utter nonsense, that he found her an exceedingly sensible and sharp woman, who was punctilious in discharging the duties of the Crown, and equally punctilious in insisting that her Ministers, from the Premier down, should pay that deference to the Crown which the Constitution requires.

The fact that Mr. Mackenzie, though naturally a bright Scotch lad with a good education, left his native village of Logierait with little besides his trade as a stonemason, and now returned Prime Minister of Canada—a land more than double the size of all Europe combined—greatly impressed the press and people of the mother-land. This was particularly the case throughout Scotland, and various cities and other places vied with one another as to which should be the first to do him honour. He was presented with the freedom of Dundee, Perth, Irvine, Logierait—where he was born—the banquet at the latter place being held in a large and gay marquee near the old house of his father, which was specially decorated for the occasion. Sir Alex. Muir Mackenzie, Bart., of Delvine, presided, and

AN AMUSING INCIDENT

the guest's reply to the honours done him—standing near the house in which he was born and surrounded by the graves of his ancestors—was unusually eloquent and touching. He afterwards addressed the Chamber of Commerce at Greenock, but the time arranged for his departure for Canada being near at hand, he had to decline the further honours which Glasgow and Manchester desired to bestow upon him.

When on his way to Perth, on July 16th, to receive the freedom of that city, Mr. Mackenzie was greatly amused by an incident which occurred *en route*. At one of the railway stations the guard ushered into the compartment of which he had been the sole occupant a well-dressed, fine-looking, middle-aged lady who proved to be well-connected, intelligent and inquisitive. After long and cautiously surveying her unknown companion, she at last opened up conversation. She suspected he was a Colonial, artfully managed to ascertain he had been in Canada, and proceeded to tell him that there was to be a great celebration in Perth that day as the Prime Minister of Canada, who was on a visit to Scotland, was to be presented with the freedom of the city by the Lord Provost and other dignitaries, followed by the usual festivities. She intended to be present. Mr. Mackenzie was naturally interested, but soon found himself embarrassed in finding answers which would not reveal his identity.

The thought evidently never crossed the lady's mind that the quiet, plain, unassuming stranger

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could be the hero of the occasion, and after dilating on the honour it was to Scotland as well as himself, that Mr. Mackenzie should have risen from being a working stonemason to the high position of chief ruler of Canada, she suddenly switched on to some embarrassing questions just as they were entering the city.

“ You say you have yourself been in Canada—did you ever see Mr. Mackenzie?”

With some restraint to hide his amusement, Mr. Mackenzie replied: “ Oh, yes, I have seen him,” and he was finally forced to admit that he had frequently been in his company.

“ Well, then,” rattled on his companion, becoming steadily more interested in the subject, “ what is your opinion of Mr. Mackenzie? Is he a grand-looking man, and does he deserve the flattering reputation which the Scottish newspapers give him for ability and stern integrity in all he does?”

“ I have always had my doubts about that,” was the quick and witty response which followed this question, the Prime Minister turning his head away to hide his amused smile at the embarrassing situation, but which fortunately was soon terminated by arrival at Perth, and the rattle made by the guards unlocking the doors of the railway compartments.

As Mr. Mackenzie arose, took up his overcoat, and assisted his inquisitive but intelligent companion to alight, he quietly handed his visiting card to her without a word of explanation.

A moment later he was being greeted by the Lord Provost and other dignitaries of Perth, amidst the

UNION OF PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

cheers of the assembled citizens, whilst the heroine of the incident stood on the railway platform, Mr. Mackenzie's card still in her hand, and evidently not a little surprised and flustered over the flood of light which had suddenly dawned upon her mind in regard to the Premier of Canada and his varied characteristics.

Ecclesiastical circles were pleasantly stirred by the consummation of the union of all the Presbyterian Churches throughout the Dominion, which took place at Montreal on June 15th. All the four Synods, headed by their Moderators, marched in procession to the Hall. About 2,000 persons were present. The religious service was conducted as follows:—

Dr. George M. Grant, Kingston, gave out the 100th Psalm; Principal Snodgrass, Montreal, read the Scriptures; Principal Caven, Toronto, offered prayer; the Rev. P. G. McGregor, of Nova Scotia, presided as Senior Moderator, and the Rev. W. Reid, of Montreal, Senior Clerk, read from a parchment the Basis of Union agreed upon, which the four Moderators came forward and signed. In solemn language and amidst the deepest silence and interest, Mr. McGregor then declared the four contracting bodies united together under the name of "The Presbyterian Church in Canada," whereupon all simultaneously rose to their feet, joined hands and sang the 133rd Psalm.

The venerable Dr. Cook, of Quebec, was elected first Moderator of the new Church, and thus

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modestly was "The Presbyterian Church in Canada" started on its career. But the same evening at a grand social entertainment, presided over by Principal Dawson of McGill University, it was estimated that not less than 5,000 persons were present, and many brilliant speeches were made in regard to this happy union of Canadian Presbyterianism and the wide field for usefulness as a Church which lay before it.

The new Supreme Court was constituted on October 8th. The Judges appointed by the Government were as follows: From Ontario, the Honourable Chief-Justice William Buell Richards and the Honourable Samuel Henry Strong; from Quebec, the Honourable Jean Thomas Taschereau and the Honourable Telesphore Fournier; from New Brunswick, the Honourable Chief-Justice William Johnston Ritchie; and from Nova Scotia, the Honourable William Alexander. In honour of the creation of the new Court, His Excellency Lord Dufferin—who had just returned from his British trip—gave one of the largest and most imposing State Banquets ever attempted, at Government House, to which an unusually large number of distinguished Canadians were invited.

Some political changes towards the close of 1875 were of public interest. Among others, that time-scarred political veteran, the Honourable Archibald McKellar, retired from the Ontario Government and was appointed Sheriff of Hamilton. He had been the hero of many electoral battles, and left

A CLEVER REPLY

behind him an honourable record for probity and good nature. Whilst he could not be classed as a great Parliamentarian, Mr. McKellar, was a great power throughout the country, his fine presence and common sense, ready wit and unfailing fund of humour making him almost unrivalled when in his prime as an effective and pleasing platform speaker.

As an illustration of Mr. McKellar's adroitness in a dilemma the following incident, which occurred during one of his Kent elections, is selected from numerous others. There are many negroes in Kent, and at that time whether blacks and whites should be educated together in the public schools was a burning question. Before a large meeting—mostly coloured—his shrewd opponent in the contest dared him to answer the following question: "Would he vote to have the coloured children educated in the same schools as whites?" This question was a poser. The answer might decide the election. There were about 300 coloured votes in the section; if he answered "Yes" he would lose many white votes, if he answered "No" he would lose the coloured vote.

It so happened that the Conservative candidate was a strong Orangeman and a man of unusually dark complexion, and Mr. McKellar promptly replied as follows: "His opponent," he said, "was a loud and strong upholder of the British Constitution, and he (McK.) would continue to use all his powers as a legislator to secure the coloured people all the rights and privileges they were entitled

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to under the British Constitution." Then he slowly advanced, looking straight at his opponent, "But if we are going to have schools for different colours, then the quadroons should be separated from the blacks, as well as the blacks from the whites, and in that event he very much feared that neither his opponent nor himself would ever be able to get their children into the white schools!" This unexpected sally brought down the house and alike collapsed his opponent and his question.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EARLY LETTERS OF SIR, WILFRID LAURIER—NATURAL
GIFT FOR LEADERSHIP—COSTLY DUFFERIN
FESTIVITIES—THE COMMERCIAL SITUA-
TION—UNPUBLISHED LETTER
THEREON—THE TRUE STORY
OF MACKENZIE'S ACTION.

THE Liberal Government was now at the zenith of its career, and notwithstanding the cloud in the West had given general satisfaction. They had already passed into law the principal electoral and other reforms they had advocated in Opposition, and the Riel and other difficulties inherited from their predecessors had mostly disappeared. The future of the Administration really looked roseate. But, although it did not appear at the time, they were in reality nearing the beginning of a great political agitation which might prove a turning-point in their career.

Several important changes in the Cabinet had taken place since its formation. The loss of Mr. Dorion was distinctly felt. Mr. Letellier St. Just had retired to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Quebec. The introduction of the Honourable Joseph Cauchon into the Cabinet—able man though he was—did not popularize it. On the other hand, Mr. Blake's return to the Cabinet as Minister of

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Justice in May, 1875, greatly strengthened Mr. Mackenzie's hands.

There was one weak joint in the Administrative armour, and it was one of the then junior members, Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, who, with customary brightness, first brought it to my notice. That gentleman and I regularly corresponded from his entrance into Parliament until he became a member of the Cabinet in 1877, and it has continued more or less ever since.

Mr. Laurier's early letters—now thirty-seven years old—lie on the table before me, and read by the light of the brilliant success which he has since achieved as Prime Minister of Canada, clearly foreshadowed his natural gift for leadership. Not that they are free from the peculiarities of youth. Far from it. They are at once unsophisticated, impetuous, self-confident and extreme. At that time he was strongly radical. In affairs both of Church and State he was outspokenly democratic. He was a Rouge of the reddest tint. But amidst not a little of the inexperience of youth, the letters contain many evidences of that remarkable political prescience which so quickly raised him from a country lad with a moderate education to the first rank of Canadian statesmen, and has since made his name famous in every land possessing Representative Government.

The Mackenzie Government was never excelled by any previous Canadian Administration for carefulness, honesty, or economy. The principal measures of their programme, however, were dis-

FRENCHMEN REQUIRE EXCITEMENT

posed of during their earlier sessions, and although with the heavy expense of the Pacific Railway on its back, the Dominion really needed a breathing spell, the absence of any new Ministerial measures bold and striking enough to arrest the imagination and hold the support of the people of the Dominion, gave the first little chill to the Liberal Administration's popularity. Mr. Laurier's letter clearly pointed out the danger of this in advance, and he hit off the political situation in one of them in this quaint way: "Remember that I am a Frenchman, and that we Frenchmen think it no fun if we have not a little excitement in our politics. The policy of our Administration is too tame to be exciting: all the excitement comes from their occasional blunders!"

The Dominion Parliament was called for February 10th of the year 1876, and the Governor General and the Countess of Dufferin planned a series of festivities more elaborate, costly and brilliant than any ever previously attempted at the Canadian capital. Besides the customary opening ceremonies, the recently appointed Supreme Court Judges appeared for the first time in scarlet robes trimmed with ermine, and after the usual round of dinners, Drawing-rooms and other functions, the festivities culminated in a magnificent fancy dress ball, fashioned on Imperial Court models. This came off on the night of February 13th, with an attendance of fully fifteen hundred distinguished Canadian and other guests.

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As many members and others invited did not see their way to appear in costume, two entertainments were found to be necessary. At the first one, fancy costumes were *de regueur*, except in the case of the Honourable Mr. Mackenzie and a very few other privileged persons. Many of the costumes proved to be reproductions of those worn by ancient historical personages, and were at once elaborate, expensive and beautiful.*

At the second, those invited could attend in ordinary, full dress or fancy costume as they preferred, and it proved much the larger of the two entertainments. Rideau Hall was in fact completely crammed with the guests—hundreds of them in brilliant and picturesque costumes—and when the opening procession, headed by their Excellencies, entered the gaily decorated ballroom, and the devotees of Terpsichore began to whirl into the mazes of the waltz and quadrille, to the sweet strains of the band of the Governor-General's Foot Guards, the scene was certainly one of the most imposing and brilliant of the kind ever witnessed on this continent.†

*“The picture presented was one of great brilliancy, animation and novelty. A red Indian conversed familiarly with a Duchess; a Hindoo made friends with a Spaniard; Night and Morning met, and the Spirit of the Press was hailed by Bluebeard.”—*Daily Globe* Report.

† The following was the order of the first couples in the procession to supper: His Excellency and Mrs. Mackenzie; Honourable Mr. Mackenzie and Her Excellency; Chief Justice Richards and Mrs. Bierstadt; Honourable R. W. Scott and Mrs. Hingston; Honourable S. L. Huntingdon and Mrs. Russell Stevenson; Honourable Isaac Burpee and Miss Macdonald; Honourable David Laird and Miss Morris; Honourable Edward Blake and Miss Littleton; Honourable Mr. Vail and Mrs. Blake; Hon-

CANADA A SLAUGHTER MARKET

The programme of the Mackenzie Government for the session embraced a number of valuable measures. Among them were bills to amend the law in regard to Common Carriers, to create a Territorial Government for the Northwest Territories, to afford greater security to policy-holders in Life Assurance Companies, to collect and classify Criminal Statistics, in regard to the enfranchisement of Indians and to provide for the better administration of insolvent banks. Parliament was much pleased with the congratulations in the Official Speech on the opening of the Prince Edward Island Railway and the near completion and opening of the Intercolonial, which the trade of Ontario and Quebec with the Maritime Provinces urgently needed.

The session opened rather languidly. For some time there had been more or less commercial depression abroad, and neither the United States nor Canada entirely escaped. During 1874-5 our annual trade declined \$14,902,235, and the following year, \$16,154,119. This business contraction, too, was aggravated by hard-pressed American manufacturers and merchants sending goods and produce into Canada and sacrificing them here rather than in their own home markets. Our Customs Tariff at this time averaged about 17½ per cent., and many articles were admitted at a lower duty or came in free. This enabled the Americans to make Canada a slaughter

ourable D. Mills and Mrs. Scott; Honourable Mr. Coffin and Miss Richards; Colonel Macpherson and Mrs. Burpee; Honourable R. J. Cartwright and Mrs. Vail; His Excellency's Chaplain and Miss Bramley.—Legge's History of the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin in Canada, page 428.

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market without much loss to themselves, but when we desired to send our Canadian productions into the United States markets, their high tariff, averaging about 35 per cent., almost completely shut us out.

The press and the Canadian people soon began to complain of this. On its face it did not appear a square deal, and the advocates of Protection for Manufacturers—who had made little progress in their long agitation up to this time—ingeniously started a cry for agricultural protection against United States farm products, as the best means of getting protection for themselves. This proved a most adroit move on their part. The catchy proposal took immediately with many of the farmers, and before the year closed, a lively agitation had arisen on the subject.

Up to this time the Dominion Parliament—divided on nearly all other questions—had always been a unit on our commercial policy. At Confederation, our first Finance Minister, Sir A. T. Galt, declared—and both sides of the House agreed therewith—that the best fiscal policy for Canada was one the reverse of the high Protective system of the United States, one which would make the Dominion conspicuous as a country for cheap living, low taxes, and attractive inducements to all classes at home or abroad seeking homes for themselves and their families. Mr. Galt indicated an average of 12½ per cent. as our maximum tariff, and the general feeling for many years seemed to be “The lower the better.”

CHANGE TO HIGHER TARIFF

Whilst Conservatives and Liberals continued to be united against it, the policy of Protection was considered un-English and remained under the ban. But the refusal of the United States to agree to Reciprocity, or to lower in any way the fiscal barriers obstructing our international trade, naturally aroused some Canadian feeling, and a spirit of change on this question soon became perceptible. From meetings addressed by me at this period in Guelph and other parts of Wellington on behalf of the first election to Parliament of Mr. Hugh Guthrie, Sr., K.C., I became convinced the agitation for tariff change had already obtained a strong hold upon the masses of Canadians, especially certain classes of farmers, and unless the Mackenzie Government made at least some moderate concession to public opinion—and the deficiency in the public revenue supplied them with ample reasons for that—they must inevitably suffer more or less in popularity.

Under these circumstances, correspondence was opened with the Liberal leader on this subject, and the following letter was sent to him the week before the session of 1876 opened. It is now published for the first time :

“ ‘ THORNHILL,’ GALT, February 3rd, 1876.

“ My Dear Mackenzie :—The trade question continues to attract great attention throughout the country. There is little or no improvement as yet in the position of manufacturers, and much interest is being manifested in the legislation the Government intends to propose.

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"The popular idea undoubtedly is: Reciprocity with the United States; Free Trade if they will, equal duties if they won't. This would be my own feeling if I could see how the difficulties in the way could be overcome.

"The opinion of Sir Francis Hincks which he has kindly communicated to me is: That our commercial position to the United States should be considered exceptional. That Schedules B and C of the Brown Treaty should be made to impose the same duties on American goods coming into Canada as they charge us on Canadian goods going into the United States, with the provision attached, that if their duties were afterwards decreased, so should ours be to the same extent, but not otherwise. This is the view of Sir Francis roughly stated, but the proposed legislation would be exceptional as regards the United States, and might prove dangerous in the end.

"But would it not be practicable to take Schedules B and C and reconstruct them on the American scale of duties, excluding particular articles which would materially affect British trade and be unfair to our consumers, but covering those of the United States which of late have been 'slaughtered' in our markets to the harassment and injury of our industries more than the benefit of the people at large?

"Mr. Cartwright and you are in the best position to know whether such a step is either advisable or practicable. I have not as yet considered it fully myself, but believe the Tariff could be so arranged on the basis of these schedules as to remove the charge of unfair competition from the United States without resorting to exceptional legislation or materially increasing the cost of articles to the consumer.

TARIFF ARRANGEMENT UNJUST TO CANADA

" My chief object in writing, however, is to let you know that public sentiment runs strongly in favour of a bold and resolute policy towards American manufactures coming into competition with our own. That the present Tariff arrangement with the United States is unjust to Canada is the settled general opinion of the people, and if this feeling is not allayed before another election, it will have a *most potent influence* in determining its results. The Opposition know this, and will act accordingly during the coming session. Hoping to have the pleasure of seeing you by the close of next week,

" I remain,

" Very truly yours,

" JAMES YOUNG.

" The Honourable Alexander Mackenzie,
" Ottawa."*

Almost endless discussion has since taken place as to the circumstances which led the Mackenzie

* When I began to write "Public Men and Public Life in Canada" one of the root principles adopted was to avoid reference to myself in every practicable way. When Volume I. was nearly finished, the appearance of a book in which the author, and an able man, used between fifty and sixty capital I's on a single page, led me to go twice over my MSS. and strike out every capital I which was not felt to be absolutely necessary. But in consequence of my intercourse later on with many eminent statesmen when in the House of Commons and the Ontario Legislature, as well as personal connection with some of the political and other events described in this volume, I find it difficult to adhere to the principle of self-abnegation as completely as in Volume I. After consideration, therefore, I have concluded to publish the above letter and some other unpublished correspondence on the Trade question, including a reply from the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, and also to introduce such other personal references and letters as my connection with public life may render necessary to the elucidation of several other interesting circumstances yet to be dealt with.

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Administration to choose the position they did on this commercial agitation, and many misleading and not a few absolutely erroneous statements have been published in regard to it. Circumstances having placed me in a position to know the inside history of the matter, more especially during the early part of this session—when the die was cast—I will endeavour to relate the facts as clearly and correctly as possible.

On reaching Ottawa, the assistance of the Honourable L. H. Holton, of Montreal, was requested. He was a strong Free Trader, but heartily agreed to join in pressing upon the Government the views contained in the letter given above.

We had several interviews with the Honourable Mr. Mackenzie and the Honourable Mr. Cartwright, and pressed our views in other influential quarters. Other members doubtless also did so. The Prime Minister was never convinced that even the trifling departure from Free Trade principles proposed could be justified by sound argument. But in view of all the circumstances at the time, I have good reason to know that, though possibly the matter never came before the Executive Council, the leaders of the Government did come to the conclusion to make the small advance in the Customs duties which so many of their Ontario and Quebec supporters desired. As proof of this, I may mention that Mr. Holton confidentially told me, one day, that he had seen and read the Government resolutions on the subject, and rumours were soon afterwards current that the Administration intended to take this course.

OPPOSITION TO TARIFF CHANGES

The Honourable R. J. Cartwright was announced to make the Budget Speech on February 25th. As the day drew near when the Government policy would have to be declared, public interest greatly increased. It was then almost universally believed that there would be a moderate increase in the tariff. But the old saying again came true: "There's many a slip 'twixt cup and lip."

Two or three days before the Budget Speech Mr. A. G. Jones, M.P. for Halifax, and Mr. James Carmichael, M.P. for Pictou, arrived from Nova Scotia. At that time the Maritime Provinces were overwhelmingly for Free Trade, and these gentlemen, especially the former, were emphatic in declaring to the Government their opposition to the projected fiscal changes. The prominence of Mr. Jones warranted his being considered the mouthpiece of the Maritime Liberals, and there can be no doubt they were nearly all opposed to the suggested increase of the Tariff, more especially any increase for Protective purposes. Reports were afterwards circulated that they had signed "a round-robin," as it is called in political circles, or had unitedly pledged themselves to vote against the Government, if the proposed Tariff changes were persisted in.

These reports were entirely without foundation. To make certain on this point, I wrote a letter of inquiry to the Hon. Mr. Jones, then Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, a short time before his death. From his interesting reply, dated "Government House, Halifax, April 11th, 1903," it is quite

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evident that no united representation whatever was made to the Liberal Government on the subject by the Maritime members. In reference to this point, Mr. Jones in his letter distinctly says: "There was no concentrated action among them or resolve that they would oppose any increase in the Tariff. But they were, you know, all Free Traders, and naturally looked askance on any idea in a Protectionist direction."

His own personal position His Honour thus defines: "I fully shared these views [anti-Protection], but my strongest objection was that the reconstruction of the Tariff was not to be general, but only to apply to some articles in which the Ontario friends of the Government had special interest. The Sugar question was in a very disturbing position, and on account of our trade with the West Indies, we were very much interested in having it placed on a better basis." But the Prime Minister and Mr. Cartwright could not see their way to make any general increase of the Tariff under the circumstances then existing.

Aside from what is above stated, the Maritime Liberals brought no pressure to bear upon the Government except their open advocacy of Free Trade in preference to Protection. Their views and position, however, exercised a powerful influence upon the head of the Government, the Honourable Mr. Mackenzie. It need scarcely be said they were in complete harmony with the Prime Minister's own opinions on the subject of Political Economy. These views had been learned in his rugged Scottish home

CARTWRIGHT SPRINGS SURPRISE

and had been cherished as truth ever since. And to make a long story short, Mr. Mackenzie found no difficulty in finally deciding to adhere to his own life-long opinions, and make no material changes in the commercial policy which had prevailed since Confederation, and which all parties had considered the best for the Dominion until the existing agitation arose.

The foregoing is the true story of this interesting chapter in Canadian public life, but the Finance Minister was well on in his able Speech on the Budget before the crowded House of Commons realized the surprise in store for them. The secret was confined to the Cabinet and a small circle of friends, and when Mr. Cartwright announced that the Government had decided neither to increase the Tariff in a time of depression, nor adopt a policy which would be "a servile plagiarism of the worst blunders which the United States have committed," the surprise was as manifest among the Conservatives as on most of the Liberal benches.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE N. P. DEBATE CONTINUES—CONSERVATIVE
AMENDMENT—THE DUFFERINS VISIT COLUM-
BIA—HIS LORDSHIP'S SUCCESS—JOHN A.
ON THE STUMP—THE LIBERALS IN
CONVENTION, ETC.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD and the Honourable Charles Tupper did not disguise their surprise at the Government's action. The latter had to reply to the Finance Minister, but Sir John at a later stage admitted his own surprise. "I came, I confess it, to hear his [Mr. Cartwright's] speech, impressed with the idea that he was going to bring down an alteration of the Tariff." According to current report, the Honourable Charles Tupper came to the House loaded up to denounce an increase of the Tariff, and to dilate—as he had done before—on the danger of permitting an entrance to the thin end of the Protectionist wedge!

Such an unexpected change in the situation would have appalled many another man. But in debate, nothing could appal Sir Charles. As usual he rose equal to the occasion. With surprising coolness he turned his guns, took up the opposite line of attack, and probably made a more forcible and effective criticism of the Government's course than if he had been able to use the mental ammunition which he had specially prepared for the occasion.

TUPPER NONPLUSSED

There were many throughout the Dominion, especially in Liberal circles, who believed that if the Mackenzie Administration had even moderately raised the Tariff at this time, the Conservatives would have opposed Protection and raised the cry that the commercial policy of the Empire, and even British connection, was in danger. This would have been quite in harmony with Sir John Macdonald's previous record on this question, but as the circumstances did not arise, this must remain a moot question.

The following incident may be related, however, as possibly having some bearing on this interesting point: When Dr. Tupper concluded his speech about half-past ten o'clock, and shortly before the House adjourned, the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie went across the Chamber to the front of the Doctor's desk, and the two doughty antagonists—the heroes of so many political battles—indulged in what seemed to the onlookers a very friendly and amusing conversation, which at times seemed to verge a little too near the hilarious for a legislative body with the Speaker still in the Chair. I watched the whole proceeding across the gangway, and was somewhat surprised when the Premier on returning came straight across the front of my own desk. Knowing that my opinion was that the Government had made a serious, if not fatal, blunder, in not dealing with the Tariff as originally intended, he went on to tell me his conversation with the member for Cumberland, which seemed to have amused him very much.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

"What do you think Tupper has just told me?" he began.

"I have no idea," I replied.

"Well," continued Mr. Mackenzie, "I went over to banter him a little on his speech, which I jokingly alleged was a capital one considering he had been loaded up on the other side. He regarded this as a good joke," Mr. Mackenzie went on to say, "and frankly admitted to me that he had entered the House under the belief that the Government intended to raise the Tariff and fully prepared to take up the opposite line of attack!"

Both of these political veterans were in the same box with regard to their action on this question, and the suddenness of their change of position on the eve of battle seemed to afford both of them not a little amusement as they bantered each other in a friendly manner. What the Liberal and Conservative parties did that night, however, was pregnant with importance. They were making history. Had Mr. Mackenzie increased the Tariff, the Conservatives would probably have become—as already suggested—the Free Traders instead of the Protectionists of Canada, and our political history would have been quite different during the ensuing twenty years.

After the speeches of Messrs. Cartwright and Tupper, the pent-up oratory on the Trade question burst all bounds. At every stage of Supply, amendments were moved. Mr. Irving (now Sir Æmilius) and Mr. Wood, of Hamilton, Mr. Thomas Workman, of Montreal, and several other Liberal sup-

SIR JOHN'S SHREWDNESS

porters of the Government moved in favour of increased protection to manufacturers. Dr. Otto, as usual, wanted the farmers protected. So did many others who were after their votes. Sir John Macdonald's attitude so far had been somewhat reticent and non-committal; but the Government having declared its policy, it now became necessary for the Conservative party to place itself on record. It was not until the 10th of March, however, that its veteran leader did so by moving the following amendment:

"That the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved that this House regrets His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for a readjustment of the Tariff, which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business deplored in the gracious Speech from the Throne, but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries, as well as to the agricultural productions of the country."

Sir John did not support his motion with a careful, argumentative speech. He seldom ever did. His readiness on all Parliamentary topics was such that he nearly always trusted to the spur of the moment—a habit which saved him much labour, but frequently was not just to himself and his reputation. But if anything was lacking in argument on this occasion, it was more than made up by the great shrewdness he manifested in dealing with the Tariff situation, and the happy manner in which he quoted the famous rhyming despatch of George Canning

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

to Sir Charles Bagot, the British plenipotentiary at The Hague, when the Netherlands put a duty on English shipping :

“ In matters of Commerce the fault of the Dutch
Is in giving too little and asking too much,
With equal advantage the French are content,
So we'll clap on Dutch bottoms just twenty per
cent.”

The Hon. Mr. Cartwright briefly but effectively replied to the Conservative leader, after which this interminable debate became more boisterous than ever. Whilst it was going on, the Whips on both sides used every exertion to swell their division lists, and when the vote was finally reached, the Government was found to be sustained by a majority of one hundred and twenty-one to seventy-five. Thus ended the first fight in Parliament between our two great political parties on the Protection question, which was ultimately to agitate and divide the whole Dominion.

The Honourable Alexander Mackenzie's reputation for ability and effectiveness as a speaker had been steadily rising for some time, in fact, ever since his acceptance of office. The leadership of the House of Commons is a very difficult task, and more so for a layman than a lawyer. It must be admitted that during his first session, Mr. Mackenzie showed some lack of experience, but by the session of 1876, he had become completely master of the rules of Parliament and was found equal to every emergency

MACKENZIE'S SPEECH ON PACIFIC RAILWAY

which the leadership of the House of Commons entailed.

Near the close of the session the Premier quite distinguished himself and delighted Parliament with a speech on the progress and position of the Pacific Railway of a most instructive and interesting character. It manifested thorough knowledge of the engineering and other problems of the great work, explained fully the progress already made, the difficult portion of the line yet to be located, and the policy of the Government in seeking to meet the just expectations of Columbia in regard to the road. Mr. Mackenzie's industry was so great, he was so fully master of his subject, that he delivered this long speech—necessarily abounding in figures and details—with comparatively few references to his notes, and it was so truly eloquent in its sincerity, accuracy and clearness, that it made a vivid impression on Parliament and raised him to a higher niche in the public estimation.

It was just at the turn of the sunny days of summer—July 31st—when His Excellency Lord Dufferin and party left Ottawa on their famous British Columbia tour. Besides Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin, the party consisted of the Honourable E. G. P. Littleton, the Governor-General's Secretary, Captains Ward and Hamilton, A.D.C.'s, and Mr. Campbell, private secretary. They departed amidst the acclamations of the Prime Minister, Chief-Justice Richards, the Honourables Messrs. Scott, Burpee, Vail and other members of the Cabinet, a detachment of the Governor-General's

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Foot Guards and band, and a large number of citizens. On reaching San Francisco they were met by H. M. Corvette *Amethyst*, and landed at Esquimalt on August 16th, after a sea voyage of 760 miles.

The relations of the Dominion and British Columbia were still in a "snarl," and Lord Dufferin made no secret that the principal object of his visit was to endeavour to restore more friendly relations between them. Their Excellencies were received, from their landing to their leaving the Province, with much enthusiasm. Lieutenant-Governor Albert N. Richards went aboard the *Amethyst* and greeted them as soon as the vessel weighed anchor, and on landing in picturesque Esquimalt—only a village then—they were met by Sir James Douglass and a large Reception Committee, who welcomed their Excellencies to the Province. When they reached Victoria they found the capital elaborately and gaily decorated—not the least brilliant part being the Chinese quarter—and the Mayor and Council presented Their Excellencies with another address, followed by salutes, music, illuminations and other expressions of civic joy of the most cordial character.

Lord Dufferin's visit proved a master-stroke of diplomacy. Few men ever lived who were by nature better fitted to succeed on such a mission. In social functions of state, His Excellency was at his best. It is unnecessary to enter into details. Lieutenant-Governor Richards, whom Premier Mackenzie had recently appointed, had not yet entered Government House. It had just been refitted throughout, and

LORD DUFFERIN'S TRIP

His Honour offered it to the Dufferins during their stay in Victoria. This kind offer was graciously accepted, and Their Excellencies—in fact the whole Viceregal party—entered upon a round of dinners, receptions, balls, picnics and other social entertainments with such gracious courtesy towards all classes whom they met that they quite captured the hearts of the Columbians, and kindlier feelings towards the Dominion soon began to be perceptible on all sides.

After taking a long voyage northwards, during which they sailed to the Skeena River, 514 miles from Victoria, and even went as far north as Port Simpson, the Viceregal party returned via Charlotte Island to New Westminster on the mainland of British Columbia on September 5th. Their Excellencies received an equally warm reception there, made a tour of the Fraser River, and finally reached Victoria again on the 13th. The round of festivities was again resumed, but the following week Lord Dufferin proved that he was capable when necessary of soaring into the region of the highest statesmanship, and made the master-stroke of his mission. He invited all who had signed or presented addresses to him, all whose acquaintance had been made, and all prominent citizens who were so inclined, to attend at Government House on the forenoon of the 20th, when he would in an address give the impressions formed in his mind during his sojourn among them.

The response to this invitation was a large and influential attendance. His Excellency spoke for

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

over two hours with his usual rhetorical brilliancy. His remarks chiefly concerned the relations between the Province and the Dominion, which were handled with much *tact, frankness* and *courage*. With sympathy towards his hearers, he nevertheless frankly explained and discussed the great difficulties in the way of pushing the construction of the Pacific Railway faster than the Dominion was then doing, and in a very noble and generous spirit, he defended the Prime Minister, the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, from the numerous calumnies circulated about him on the Pacific Coast. He eloquently maintained that he was an honourable statesman, and an upright man, who fully recognized the claims of the Province upon the Dominion and was earnestly seeking to fulfil them as fast as the limitations placed upon him would admit.

This remarkable speech, and his mission to British Columbia generally, were probably the greatest services rendered to Canada by Lord Dufferin during the five years he was Governor-General, and although he had no power to make any bargain or settlement, from the day he first set foot in Victoria the bad feeling of the Province towards the Dominion began to dissipate like fog under the summer's sun, and fortunately disappeared entirely long before the Pacific Railway was completed.

Lord and Lady Dufferin bade farewell to the British Columbians at a grand open-air entertainment given by the city and people in their honour in the Beacon Hill Park. This took place during the afternoon of the same day on which His Excel-

"A RUM 'UN TO LOOK AT"

lency's famous speech was delivered. It was a very large and enthusiastic gathering, and the next day the Viceregal party set out on the *Amethyst* for San Francisco, homeward bound. Lingered on the way at the American Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, they did not reach Ottawa until October 23rd, when His Excellency received many felicitations on the success of his mission to the Pacific Coast.

Soon after Parliament was prorogued on April 10th, Sir John Macdonald, who had removed from Ottawa to Toronto for the purpose, specially devoted himself to the work of party management and organization. Conventions, public meetings, and occasionally the mammoth picnic, were soon in evidence, the two principal speakers on most of the occasions being the Opposition leader and the Honourable William Macdougall, who, notwithstanding his famous North-West pamphlet, had again donned the Conservative colours.

The old Chieftain, as he was now generally called, was the biggest drawing card at these gatherings. Thousands desired to see a man who was at once described as an angel of darkness and an angel of light! Everybody also felt pretty sure there would be more or less excitement, and possibly some fun, at any meeting which John A. addressed. That gentleman was too shrewd to surfeit his hearers with politics, and if his gatherings manifested any signs of dullness, he would raise a laugh by describing himself as "A rum 'un to look at but a rare 'un to go," or by rehearsing in his inimitable way some funny old story, a favourite in his repertoire

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

evidently being the old squaw who declared "A little too much was just enough!"

In my humble judgment, the remarkable tact and cleverness of Sir John Macdonald as a political manager were never more conspicuous than in the untiring and successful efforts he put forth at this time in Toronto, and under many discouraging circumstances, to throw off the load of public obloquy under which his party and himself had been crushed at the general election only four years before.

Spurred up by the activity of their rivals, the Liberals also felt the need of better party organization, which had been somewhat neglected, in fact, since power was obtained. They therefore united in holding a Provincial Convention at Toronto, on July 6th. It was largely and influentially attended. Mr. James Young, Member of Parliament, presided, and among the more prominent public men present were: The Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, Honourable Oliver Mowat, Honourable J. G. Currie, Honourable Adam Crooks, and Honourable T. B. Pardee. Besides speeches from these gentlemen, the discussions were taken part in by Messrs. Æmilius Irving, Thomas Oliver, William Kerr, A. S. Hardy, James M. Bethune, James D. Edgar and others. A small executive body was formed to carry out the work as outlined by the Special Committee appointed for the purpose. This proved a thoroughly business convention, composed largely of influential men from the business centres, and its proceedings were characterized by short speeches and much unanimity.

LIBERALS OPTIMISTIC

The Liberal Government of the Dominion and that of Ontario manifested increased party activity from this time forward. The Honourable Alexander Mackenzie made an elaborate and powerful defence of his Administration at Watford, and immense picnics were held at Dunnville, Brantford and elsewhere. The array of speakers at the Telephone City was somewhat formidable. Among them were the Honourable Messrs. Mackenzie, Mowat, Cartwright, Patterson, C. F. Fraser, Hardy, and, last but not least, Mr. Joseph Rymal, so long known and esteemed as the outspoken champion and shrewd humourist of the Liberal party both in Parliament and the country.

Three Dominion bye-elections took place this fall. They were for North Middlesex, South Wellington and Glengarry. The latter, in particular, was hotly contested by the Conservatives, but the Government carried them all. These and other circumstances rather tended to reassure Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues that they still had a solid majority of the people of Ontario at their back.

CHAPTER XXV.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF THE HONOURABLE
ALEXANDER MACKENZIE ON THE TARIFF—
SIR FRANCIS HINCKS AND HIS VIEWS—
AN ABLE MAN AND GOOD DEBATER.

THE agitation among many manufacturers and certain classes of farmers in favour of higher duties on American and other imports competing in our markets was augmented by the late session's discussions. Having previously ascertained this, correspondence was renewed with the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie on the subject. On July 19th I wrote him in still stronger terms than were employed in the letter given in the last chapter, pointing out the certain danger to his Government and the whole Liberal party from the growing agitation, and suggesting—not a protective policy—but a moderate readjustment of the tariff, which, it was believed, would satisfy public opinion and “make the political horizon brighter for the party than it is at present.”

The Prime Minister replied at length from Ottawa, on July 21st—two days afterwards—and as this important letter gives an inside view of Mr. Mackenzie's opinions at that time, and has never been published before, it is worthy of preservation by reproduction here. The letter is as follows:—

A MATTER OF EXPEDIENCY

“OTTAWA, July 21st, 1876.

“My Dear Young:—I am much obliged for your long letter. I was aware from many indications that our farmers were more or less led astray by a plausible cry, and undoubtedly it must be met.

“It is a delusion to believe it will do them any good to go through the form of imposing a duty on United States farm produce. It would injure our farmers in two ways. First, it would injure the general trade of the country, and everything that does that must injure the principal class in it. Secondly, it would in all probability provoke retaliation. The Yankees don't require any of our produce, or rather they can easily do without it, and they could very easily raise the duties to such an extent as to deprive our farmers of the only market they have for the greater portion of their produce.

“I am not only a Free Trader in principle, but, as a *matter of expediency*, I am opposed to the proposed policy. I have therefore felt inclined to make a speech shortly, dealing exhaustively with the whole matter. In that speech I would show that in the matter of manufactured goods we had reached the maximum of our collecting powers by custom dues; that any further duties would only diminish the revenue and raise prices, and that our farmers would not only pay more for what they buy, but would have to bear a *direct tax* to make good the sure deficit in the revenue.

“You might get over a present clamour by a temporizing policy which would show itself in promises to consider the imposition of higher duties, but that must inevitably lead to some new mode of taxation which would get into operation nicely to tell against us at the General Election. It would

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be useless to tell our opponents or the people, as a rule, that this was brought about by the adoption of their own policy. We would certainly be judged by what existed at the time, without regard to promoting causes.

"Remember the feeling in the House against the protecting duty put on petroleum oil. It was so strong that we were compelled to promise its consideration next session. With regard to common cotton goods, denims, etc., I find that Canadian mills supply all the demands now. It is only on certain higher articles any duty can be collected. We can, therefore, only accomplish raising the price but not revenue by additional duties. McInnis admitted that to me last winter.

"The other main articles are not so bad as this, but I doubt if they will bear more taxes without diminishing the importation.

"Take woollen goods, our people have almost a monopoly of what they can make. We impose no duty on wool and we import a half more than our exportations. It would be monstrous to let them get wool free and excessive protection too! If we tax wool even five per cent. and raise the general duties to twenty per cent., they will be worse off than they are now. A duty on wool would do our farmers no good, as they don't grow the kind required for cloth in Canada.

"Again, what is raw material to one person is finished goods to another. I had several députations lately. One says, 'You admit printers' ink free, while you charge seventeen and one-half per cent. on lampblack, linseed oil, and other ingredients.' Another says, 'You admit type at five per cent.' Well, ink and type are raw materials to the printers and

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MACKENZIE'S LETTER

publishers. Lampblack and oils are raw materials to the ink maker, but they are all finished articles for ordinary use such as painting. Ironmakers demand duties on pig iron. That is raw material to our rolling mills. The rolling mills demand a duty on bar iron and plate iron. The one is a raw material to the blacksmith and waggon-maker, the other is a raw material to the boiler-maker and nail-maker. I am not drawing a picture for you. I am reciting what has passed in my office.

“Another consideration must govern statesmen. That is, would a Protectionist policy be for the ultimate good of the country? I am firmly convinced it would do the greatest possible injury to us. Protection is a monster when you look closely at it. It is the essence of injustice. It is the acme of human selfishness. It is one of the relics of barbarism. Cannot we show this? Cannot we use the press vigorously as well as the rostrum in showing it up when it is advocated as a principle? Cannot we show how that as a temporizing measure, consequent on the folly of our American neighbours, we have gone far enough? Cannot we show how manufacturers have, as a rule, thrived by compelling all others to pay for their prosperity?”

“Lastly, my impression is that a turn will soon take place. Our revenue has improved during the present month so far by about \$80,000 over the same month last year. I think if this continues we may count on the disappearance of the grumbling and the recent agitation for protection.

“I remain, yours faithfully,

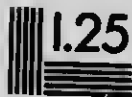
“A. MACKENZIE.

“James Young, Esq., M.P.,
“Galt, Ontario.”



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PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

This interesting letter throws still further light on the reasons which decided the Mackenzie Administration to take the stand which they did on the Tariff question, and which they continued resolutely to adhere to. Subsequent events in Canada rendered the whole subject historically interesting, and as the narrative and this correspondence would not be complete without its publication, it is deemed advisable to append the reply which I sent to Mr. Mackenzie's letter given above. It was as follows:—

“THORNHILL, GALT, August 1st, 1876.

“My Dear Mackenzie:—I have read your long and most interesting letter carefully and with its contents generally I agree. At the same time there is another point of view from which the subject can be examined, and the strong impression made upon my mind by actual contact with the people in meetings assembled, led to my recent letter—my desire being to keep you apprized of the temper of public opinion as I find it.

“When a country is situated as Canada is to the United States, and is passing through a commercial crisis, with many failures, factories closing, etc., it is difficult to govern by the square and rule of abstract principles of political economy. Very many of our people are not only prejudiced against the Americans for their high tariff, but consider there is an injustice to our own people in our allowing them to send their productions so freely into Canada, and there is, in my opinion, at least this amount of truth in their complaints—that the circumstances are seriously harassing and annoying to certain of

SECURE POWER BY MAKING CONCESSION

our industries. Add to this, that business continues dull, manufacturers unprosperous in many cases, and workmen unemployed, and you have a state of things which can be, and is being, worked up by the Tory party to the imperilment of the Government and our party generally.

"Our first duty, as you say, is to the country—to have it governed rightly. The most essential thing to this end in my humble judgment is, to *keep the Tories from scrambling back into power again*, and if they can be checkmated by a slight concession to public opinion in the business centres—in other words by a moderate readjustment of the tariff—need there after all be any such deviation from the principles of our existing tariff as to make that course inadmissible?

"It is well to examine questions from all sides, and, aside from its merits, I desired to put this one before you in the above light, for I fear some of our Protectionist friends may be less tractable next session than heretofore, and we shall be compelled to stand or fall as a party by the position then taken up.

"If times change and business becomes brisk, my views may not be realized. But if things remain much as at present, which will likely be the case, and no notice whatever is taken by the Government of the strong feeling existing in regard to our one-sided fiscal relations with the United States, no matter how right generally our party may be on the merits of the question, serious disaster will inevitably result.

"You know the state of affairs in Quebec, and in such a case as I have mentioned above, the Government might find themselves in a minority in the

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

two large Provinces. That we could long continue to govern the country under such circumstances is extremely doubtful.

"In regard to the farmers, I am of course agreed that Protection would not do them any good. But some reason in this way: 'If higher duties on American produce would not do the farmers any good, they would at least do him or the public comparatively little harm, and as we now have duties on horses, cattle, cheese, pork, etc., what sound objection can there be to the addition of a few other articles to the list? It would be a harmless proceeding (provided duties were remitted on articles re-exported), and would satisfy thousands who now feel aggrieved.' This is not my reasoning, but I give it as the way many Reformers put the matter, leaving references to yourself.

"Considering the position of your Protectionist supporters, I fear a Free Trade speech would be very embarrassing to them. Nearly all our friends hold (so far as I know their feelings) that the issue should be put, not as Free Trade *vs.* Protection, but a Revenue Tariff *vs.* a Protective Tariff. That is the true issue, and the only one we can maintain where there are manufacturers.

"I remain,

"Very truly yours,

"JAMES YOUNG.

"The Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, Ottawa."

There were few Canadians better informed on trade and financial questions than the Honourable Sir Francis Hincks, and during a short visit to

INVENTION OF THE TELEPHONE

Montreal when our commercial relations with the United States was the all-absorbing topic, I had an opportunity to learn the views of that famous old political veteran on the subject. When I called at his office, he was just going to respond to an invitation from Professor A. Graham Bell, of Brantford, to see his wonderful new invention, the telephone, and kindly asked me to accompany him.

This trial of the telephone was, of course, for only a short distance. The wires had been strung around several blocks in the heart of the city, and the gentlemen present were equally surprised and delighted with the result of the experiments. The distinct manner in which the singing of a few verses of an old familiar song was heard elicited general admiration. The impression of those assembled seemed to be that the telephone would be extremely useful to send messages to different parts of a city or for other short distances. But unless it was Professor Bell himself, it is doubtful if anyone present had any idea that the new and comparatively little instrument would become an almost universal vehicle of communication throughout the world, and by which persons would be able to talk freely with each other though hundreds of miles apart.

My first personal contact with Sir Francis Hincks in any debate took place at the town of Paris. At



A. GRAHAM BELL.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

the elections of 1872 he proposed to run in one of the Brants, and a very large and excited meeting took place to hear him. I drove over from Galt, and was requested to reply to the honourable gentleman, to which he freely consented. The speeches were at length,* and some severe and bitter things were said of the Ex-Governor's former Canadian career. Notwithstanding this, Sir Francis was too plucky and magnanimous a fighter to notice them afterwards, and subsequent intercourse with him in Parliament proved him to be an exceedingly manly, straight-forward and clever opponent as a debater. After retiring from the Dominion Government he decided to spend the evening of his days in Montreal, and he not only wholly disconnected himself from politics, but friendly relations were resumed by him with many Liberals who had been his opponents for many years. He was most courteous and obliging in supplying information in regard to the Tariff and other Dominion questions, and it affords me pleasure to acknowledge that I was gradually led to modify many early opinions formed of Sir Francis, and to rank much higher those qualities as a statesman which had distinguished his long and successful career in old Canada, the West Indies and the Dominion itself.

* Mr. Charles D. Barr, Registrar of Victoria, Lindsay, was then a rising young reporter on the *Globe*, and he gave my speech *verbatim*. In the flutter of Sir Francis Hincks' reappearance on the political stage, it was accorded seven full columns in that paper. Political speeches were evidently then at a premium. To-day the press heavily discounts them.

SIR FRANCIS HINCKS' RETIREMENT

From letters received from Sir Francis a short extract or two will be acceptable. Under date of January 8th, 1876, he makes the following reference to his retirement and to the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie:

"You are quite correct in assuming that I have completely withdrawn from political life. My determination to do so was formed long before the general election (1872), which preceded the last (1874), but you are too old a politician not to be aware how difficult a thing it is for a party man, and especially a Minister, to withdraw himself from the ties which he has formed. I had great pleasure when on the other side of the Atlantic in reading the various utterances of your friend the Premier (Honourable Alexander Mackenzie), for whom I have always entertained a great personal respect, and I thought he said nothing that ought not to have given satisfaction to every true Canadian."

Having solicited the favour of his views on our commercial relations with the United States, Sir Francis replied on January 20th; the following extract from his letter gives a concise but clear idea of what his opinions were as to the commercial attitude we should take towards our American neighbours:—

"With regard to the other subject of your letter, I believe that I mentioned to you that I had received a communication from Mr. George Stephen (now Lord Mount-Stephen) a leading manufacturer, asking my advice regarding the imposition of duties on

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

certain manufactures. I will as soon as possible send you a copy of my reply, which will put you in full possession of my views, which in brief are: That an Act for establishing Reciprocal Trade between the United States and Canada should be passed. That exactly the same duties should be imposed in Canada as are charged in the United States on the articles included in Schedules B and C of the Brown Treaty. And that the Act should contain a clause empowering the Governor-in-Council to reduce or abolish said duties, on being satisfied that the United States had abolished or reduced their duties on all or any of the said articles."

This would have been, it is to be feared, a rather drastic and somewhat dangerous remedy for our commercial difficulties. It was pointed out to the veteran legislator that it savoured of retaliation, that it might be construed as exceptional legislation against the United States, and might give rise to international difficulties. But Sir Francis denied there was any retaliation about it, stoutly maintained it was Reciprocity pure and simple, and defended his views with much of the old fire and zeal for which he was so noted during the many frays of his early years.

Several important changes in the Dominion Cabinet took place near the close of 1876. The Honourable David Laird, Minister of the Interior, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories; the Honourable Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture, became Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec; and the Honourable Felix Geoffrion

IMPORTANT CHANGES IN CABINET

resigned as Minister of Inland Revenue on account of ill-health. These vacancies in the Cabinet were filled up as follows: Mr. David Mills, Member of Parliament for Bothwell, was appointed Minister of the Interior; Mr. T. A. R. Laflamme, Member of Parliament for Pontiac, Minister of Inland Revenue; and Mr. C. Pelletier, Member of Parliament for Kamouraska, as Minister of Agriculture. All the new Ministers were re-elected by considerable majorities.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SECRET SERVICE FUND—SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S
CONNECTION THEREWITH—UNEXPECTED DIS-
CLOSURES—MACKENZIE'S GENEROSITY.

THE Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the Honourable Donald Macdonald, opened the Ontario Legislature very quietly on January 3rd, 1877. The Liberal Ministry of the Honourable Oliver Mowat continued to have a good working majority, and the session itself proved as quiet as the opening. The principal Conservatives then in Opposition were Mr. M. C. Cameron, leader, Mr. William Macdougall, Mr. Meredith (now Chief Justice), Mr. Long, Mr. Lauder, Mr. Patterson (Essex), Mr. Merrick, and Mr. Deacon. The business was vigorously pushed through by the Ministry, and the prorogation was reached in eight weeks.

The changes for some time projected in the Ontario Education Department took place early this year. The Reverend Dr. Egerton Ryerson had grown grey in the service of the people as Superintendent of Education, and had done grand work for the Province in that capacity. But the Government and Legislature had passed an Act to abolish the Superintendentship of Education and to make that office a Government department, presided over by a Minister of the Crown responsible to the people. This

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HON. A. S. HARDY.

HON. J. M. GIBSON.

HON. RICHARD HAGGERT.

HON. O. MOWAT.

HON. JOHN DRYDEN.

HON. E. H. ERONSON.

HON. C. F. FRASER.

HON. G. W. ROSS.

ONTARIO'S THIRD CABINET.

THE SECRET SERVICE FUND

proposal met with Dr. Ryerson's own approval, and when he resigned at this time, the Honourable Adam Crooks, then Provincial Treasurer, was made Ontario's first Minister of Education. The Honourable S. C. Wood at the same time became Provincial Treasurer, and Mr. Arthur S. Hardy, M.P.P. for South Brant, was admitted to the Cabinet as Provincial Secretary.

When the curtain rose at Ottawa, on February 8th, on the fourth session of the third Parliament of the Dominion, it was evident from the opening that political excitement was growing, and that the session would most probably be lively and bitter. This was rendered the more certain from disclosures which had recently been made in regard to the Secret Service Fund, controlled by the late Government, and which were sure to cause Parliamentary investigation and more or less personal recrimination.

The Secret Service Fund was not unknown before Confederation, but it had its chief development under our first Dominion Government. During the first six years they held office, they asked and received from Parliament at different times, \$125,000, and no one outside of the Prime Minister and one or two of his colleagues knew anything whatever about how it had been spent. The ostensible object of this Fund was to secure secret information and provide means to checkmate the Fenians and other secret and open enemies of the Dominion, but when a vote for as much as \$75,000 was asked for in a single year, Parliament began to manifest some

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

anxiety to know how wide an interpretation was being put by the Prime Minister on the objects for which such large sums of money were voted.

This feeling found vent in the Public Accounts Committee as early as 1872, when I brought up the subject and proposed the following resolution:—

“ That inasmuch as such large sums as \$75,000 have been voted as Secret Service money, of which there is no audit, as in the case of other expenditures, this Committee is of opinion that a record of all sums spent for Secret Services should be kept, as in England, in a book specially prepared for the purpose, and that this book should annually be inspected by a Confidential Committee of five members, of whom two should be members of the Opposition of the day.”

Sir John Macdonald declared that under no circumstances whatever would he ever disclose how the Secret Service money had been expended, contending at length that it would not only endanger the lives of the persons who received it, but would prevent the Government from getting further information in that way. The feeling of the Committee, however, although the majority were Conservatives, was decidedly in favour of some confidential check being adopted which would tend to prevent any abuse of this secret fund, and Sir John having intimated that he would withdraw his objections if the resolution were confined to the future, this was agreed to by the mover, and the resolution carried unanimously.

SIR JOHN EXPLAINS

Nothing further occurred in Parliament on the subject for five years—until, in fact, this session opened. Immediately afterwards, however, reports appeared in the press that for two years after the late Conservative Administration had resigned office, \$32,179 of Secret Service money had been lying, unknown to the Mackenzie Government, in a special account in the Bank of Montreal. The original deposit had been made in the name of a Cabinet sub-committee of four, but it had always been mainly, and for several years wholly, under the control of Sir John Macdonald; and, further, that in November, 1875—two years after he had ceased to be a Minister of the Crown—that gentleman had chequed out \$6,600 from the Bank of Montreal to pay two unsettled Secret Service claims, and instructed Mr. Drummond, the Ottawa Agent of the Bank, to refund the balance, \$25,579, to the Dominion Treasury!

Before the orders for the day were called on February 15th, Sir John Macdonald rose and entered into lengthy explanations in regard to this matter. The members of the House were intensely interested and listened in profound silence. The circumstances of the case were practically as already related, but that no injustice may be done to the Opposition leader, it is deemed advisable to give the material portion of his explanations in his own words as contained in the following extracts from his speech as published at that time:—

“At last, at the time the Government resigned, I was the only remaining member of the Sub-Com-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

mittee, and there was left a sum of \$32,179. The matter stood over for some time, as I expected to hear a good deal about the claims. I knew there were \$6,600 of claims that beyond doubt must be paid, because in one case one of my colleagues had paid the money out of his own pocket, and in another my colleague had pledged his personal honour and his legal liability to pay the amount. These claims had not been adjusted and were allowed to stand over, until in November, 1875, when I was down here in Ottawa on private business settling my own affairs in this city, as I had gone to live in Toronto, and I thought I had better close this also. I was not up exactly to the correct mode of doing this, so I went to the Auditor-General and asked the best mode of doing it. I said I should wish to retain \$6,600 to meet the two claims I have mentioned, which would leave \$25,579, the sum mentioned in the Estimates, which I wished to refund. I made up my mind that all other claims, all just claims, had been pretty well quit and settled, and that I could pay it over, and I had no doubt that if any other just claim came up with the consent of the party I could confidently go to the head of the present Government and state it. I therefore thought that the time had come when the money should be paid over. The money lay in the Bank of Montreal as a special fund to be drawn upon by the Sub-Committee. It was never touched by me in any way whatever from the time we resigned until I gave two cheques drawing on the special account which stood there in my name as the surviving member of the Committee—one in favour of the Receiver-General, and another to myself, for the purpose of reimbursing my col-

MACKENZIE'S MAGNANIMITY

leagues. No portion of this money was ever in my hands, no portion was ever in my pocket. I paid it over in the manner I have mentioned, and that is the whole story."

Although all this was surprising news to Parliament, the circumstances had been known to the Government for over a year. A few weeks after the balance of the Secret Service money had been refunded in November, 1875, Mr. John Langton, the Auditor-General, informed the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie of the circumstances. The Prime Minister was, of course, greatly amazed, declared Sir John Macdonald had no right to cheque out any public money after leaving office, and instructed Mr. Langton to write him immediately that public explanations of these expenditures would have to be made. He replied he would see Mr. Mackenzie and explain as soon as the House met. But delays arose. Sir John was frequently absent at this period. Then he was unwell for a time, and from one cause and another, and in spite of Mr. Mackenzie's requests, the session passed away without the promised explanations ever being made.*

The magnanimity with which Mr. Mackenzie treated the Opposition leader in regard to this matter deserves to be mentioned in these later days, when slander and abuse of political opponents in

* Fuller particulars in regard to the Secret Service disclosures may be found in a very careful and unbiased personal statement given by the Honourable Mr. Mackenzie before the Public Accounts Committee on March 27th, 1877, and published in all the leading newspapers at that time.

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Parliament seem to be rapidly usurping the place of criticism and debate.

The Prime Minister confidentially informed me of the Secret Service disclosures at the time, and said that Sir John Macdonald had urged him not to press for explanations in Parliament, at least for a time. Whilst firmly maintaining that explanations must be made before the session closed—to which Sir John agreed—the Premier practically left him to choose his own time for doing so. And when his expectations in this respect were disappointed, out of chivalrous feeling towards his old antagonist he not only made no announcement to Parliament himself, but allowed the veil of secrecy to enshroud the circumstances during the whole year. A more magnanimous act of a rival statesman towards another cannot be found in the annals of Canadian public life, and it brought out in a clear light another of those sterling qualities in the character of Alexander Mackenzie which finally won for him universal respect and admiration.

When Sir John Macdonald made his explanations the following year, as given above, Mr. Mackenzie replied with studious moderation, making use of these words:—

“I do not say one dollar of this money was either kept or used improperly, but I do say the honourable gentleman had no right, and that no member of his Government had the right, to pay out one dollar of that money after they had left office.”

The Honourable L. H. Holton and other leading

NO SECRET SERVICE NOW

Parliamentarians spoke in much stronger terms of the unconstitutionality and impropriety of the course which had been pursued, and the House instructed the Public Accounts Committee to make a thorough investigation into the whole circumstances. This was done as far as possible—Messrs. Langton and Drummond being the principal witnesses—and a full report was made to the House of Commons. The conclusions of the Report were five, which may be condensed as follows:—

(1) That a grave irregularity and breach of duty were committed; (2) that the \$6 600 taken from the Public Funds should be repaid; (3) that by the destruction or removal of the vouchers all chance of audit has been lost; (4) that the Auditor-General seriously erred in concealing the facts within his knowledge from the Government; and (5) that further safeguards are necessary if Secret Service money be voted in future.

This exciting question was finally disposed of when, as its Chairman, it became my duty to move the adoption of the Public Accounts Committee's Report on April 14th. The Conservatives decided to vote against it, but indulged in scarcely any discussion. Several Liberal members were absent when the division took place, the vote not being expected until the evening, but the Report was carried by eighty-two to sixty, a majority of twenty-two.

This took place over thirty years ago, and it is not a little singular that no vote of money for Secret Service purposes has ever been asked for from that day to this!

CHAPTER XXVII.

INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT—PARLIAMENT VOTES
ON THE NATIONAL POLICY—BLAKE RESIGNS
—CAUCHON AS LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—
POLITICAL EXCITEMENT INCREASES—
LAURIER ACCEPTS OFFICE.

QUITE an excitement also occurred during this session (1877) over alleged violations of the Independence of Parliament Act. It began by a discovery made by the Hon. Mr. Huntingdon, President of the Council, when reading proofs of the Public Accounts to be laid before the House.

That gentleman found that in each of the two preceding years from \$8,000 to \$10,000 had been paid for Government printing to the *Freeman* newspaper office of St. John, N.B., of which Mr. Speake Anglin was the principal owner, and he promptly reported the circumstances to the Executive Council. The Cabinet were alike surprised and concerned over the matter, and immediately decided that as soon as some work then in hand was completed and for which expensive paper and material were on their way from Great Britain, no further orders should be given to the *Freeman* office, and all such printing should thereafter be done by the printing contractors at Ottawa.

The Opposition took the matter up as a violation of the independence of Parliament, and Mr. Mac-

INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT

kenzie Bowell moved a condemnatory motion which, if passed, would have left Speaker Anglin without a seat. Then the seat of Mr. James Norris, member of Parliament for Lincoln, and of several other Liberals, were assailed on account of some trivial contracts made with the Government, or minor articles furnished to officials on public account. These attacks naturally provoked reprisals, and very soon the seat of Mr. J. M. Currier, member of Parliament for Ottawa, was attacked on similar grounds, and some six or seven other Conservatives were threatened, if not actually served, with writs.

The penalty for sitting in Parliament improperly is two thousand dollars per day, and for a time some alarm was felt on both sides. However, all the breaches of the Act were trifling and unintentional, and Messrs. Norris and Currier were the only members whose contracts with the Government were of a nature to vacate their seats. On learning this they both resigned.

In the case of the Speaker, Mr. Anglin, Mr. Bowell's motion was defeated by ninety-seven to forty-five, and the question on motion of the Government was sent to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, to enquire into the facts, search for precedents, and report.

After thorough enquiry the Committee reported that the Speaker had vacated his seat for Westmoreland, but Mr. Norris, Mr. Currier and himself were all re-elected by their constituents, and the Government brought in a bill of indemnity for all members who had unwittingly incurred the penalty of two

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

thousand dollars per day. Although somewhat stormy, this ventilation of the Independence of Parliament had a wholesome effect.

The Conservative party was quite aggressive during this session, and endeavoured to keep what they had already christened as the National Policy as much to the front as possible. Sir John Macdonald had evidently at last decided upon this as his war cry at the next elections, and the party moved two or three resolutions on the subject, somewhat non-committal, but skilfully expressed to influence public opinion throughout the country.

On March 2nd, when the Hon. Mr. Cartwright moved the House into Committee of Supply, the Opposition leader commenced a general discussion of the question, and closed by submitting the following amendment:

“That the said resolution be not now read a second time but that it be resolved that this House regrets that the financial policy submitted by the Government increases the burthen of taxation on the people, without any compensating advantages to Canadian industries; and, further, that this House is of opinion that the deficiency in the revenue should be met with a diminution of expenditure, aided by such a readjustment of the Tariff as will benefit and foster the agricultural, mining, and manufacturing interests of the country.”

Mr. A. T. Wood, of Hamilton, a Ministerial supporter, moved an amendment to the amendment, which was in effect that the additional revenue

BLAKE RESIGNS PORTFOLIO

should be raised by increasing the duties and giving more protection to home industries.

Both of these motions were based on the assumption that you could decrease taxation and increase protection at one and the same time, an idea which, the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie caustically said, reminded him of a man standing in a tub and trying to raise himself by its handles! Mr. Wood's amendment was defeated by one hundred and nine to seventy-eight. Then Dr. Orton moved to amend his leader's amendment—but with the latter's approval—by a straight declaration for agricultural protection. Some six or seven days' discussion took place at different stages on these various motions, and when the votes were finally taken, that of the Government was carried by one hundred and twenty to sixty-nine.

At a meeting of the Privy Council, presided over by the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, and held on June 7th, an unexpected change took place in the Dominion Cabinet. The health of the Minister of Justice, the Honourable Edward Blake, had been somewhat impaired by his strenuous labours in the Government, especially during the recent session, and as relaxation had become necessary, he resigned his position as Minister of Justice, to the great regret of his colleagues and the country.

At the earnest request of Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues, however, he was induced to remain in the Cabinet for the present as President of the Council, which greatly reduced his labours and responsibility.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

These changes necessitated others. The Hon. Mr. Laflamme succeeded Mr. Blake as Minister of Justice, and the Honourable Joseph Cauchon took his place as Minister of Inland Revenue. The latter gentleman had had a long and chequered public career, and was a man of marked ability and not a little influence among certain classes of his fellow-countrymen. He was not generally popular, however, especially among the younger French-Canadians, and in a few months thereafter, on the retirement of the Honourable James Morris, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

This recalls to mind an interview which a friend* and I had with Lieutenant-Governor Cauchon in Winnipeg whilst he held that office. The old Hudson's Bay Fort, the scene of many stirring and even tragic events in the wild days of the past, was at that time the official residence. It was a very antiquated, queer-looking residence for a representative of Royalty, but His Honour was equal to the occasion. He received us with a certain air of dignity, but as we talked of Canadian affairs, this gradually melted into cordiality, and ultimately found expression in the tender of a glass of wine.

On rising to leave, his Honour conducted us into a ramshackle little stable of about sixteen by twenty feet. It was built of pieces of old boards which seemed as if they had been pitched together, and in which he had housed three rather well-bred specimens of pedigreed cattle. They were Jerseys,

* Mr. D. McDougall, of Berlin, Ontario, formerly Registrar of the County of Waterloo.

INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT HOUSE

which were then rarely to be seen in the West. He prided himself much on these animals, which did not appear to advantage, however, in their cramped, chilly and cheerless surroundings. He afterwards took us out to where we could get a fine view of the splendid Red River, upon the beauties of which, and the great future before Winnipeg and the North-West, he dilated with eloquent volubility.*

Government House dignity and hospitality, after the Viceregal model at Ottawa, are kept up in a moderate way in all the Provinces of Canada. Naturally, the ceremonies are of a quieter and less ostentatious character than at the Capital, the Lieutenant-Governors being a step further removed from Royalty than the Governors-General, but there can be little doubt that the influence of Government House in all the Provinces, and especially in those newly-organized in the Great North-West, is of an uplifting and beneficial character.

During the summer and fall of this year, the political picnics and other demonstrations, both

* Apropos of the Winnipeg incident mentioned above, I was much amused at what a leading Conservative of that city—afterwards high in official life—told me about Lieutenant-Governor Cauchon's entertainments, as compared with those of a well-known predecessor of his own party. My friend said, "The functions given by the latter were frequent and often promised much, but you always came away feeling that somehow or other your bright anticipations had failed to materialize! On the other hand," he continued, "Cauchon flatly told us when he arrived in Winnipeg that he had come to recruit his fortunes, and was not going to waste money on swell dinners and parties. But he gave entertainments occasionally, and when Madame Cauchon and he did undertake to do so, the function was always first-class in every respect, and left most pleasing recollections in the minds of those privileged to be present." The narrator preferred the latter.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Liberal and Conservative, became so numerous in Ontario and Quebec—particularly in the former—as to suggest that the coming great electoral campaign had actually begun. The Hon. Messrs. Mackenzie, Huntingdon, Mowat and Cartwright made a tour of Ontario, and were actively assisted by Messrs. Hardy, Ross, Young, Fraser, Patterson, Mills, Rymal and numerous others. On the Opposition side, Sir John Macdonald was still more active and zealous. The Hon. Dr. Tupper and the Hon. Wm. Macdougall continued to be his chief assistants, but Mr. Masson, of Quebec, Mr. Bowell, Mr. Plumb, Mr. M. C. Cameron, Mr. Patterson (Essex) and some of the younger men, such as Mr. A. W. Wright and Mr. James Fahey, both bright and racy speakers, rendered the Conservative chieftain much valuable assistance.

Arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, to settle the difficulties which had arisen over our Canadian fisheries on the Atlantic coast, took place this summer. The Commission was appointed under Articles twenty-two and twenty-three of the Washington Treaty. This treaty was negotiated in 1871, but on account of delays, chiefly interposed by the United States Senate, no meeting took place until 1877, six years afterwards. The Commissioners named were: His Honour Judge E. H. Kellogg, for the United States, and Sir A. T. Galt, nominally for Great Britain but really for Canada, as he was chosen by the Mackenzie Administration. Both nations united on the Honourable

FISHERIES AWARD

Maurice Delfosse, Belgian Minister at Washington, as third Commissioner.

The Commission organized in the city of Halifax, N.S., on June 15th, and there was a large array of eminent legal counsel present. It was not until November 23rd, however, that its labours were concluded. The award valued the fishing privileges granted to the United States under Article eighteen of the Washington Treaty at \$5,500,000, and it was signed by Messrs Delfosse and Galt, which rendered it binding on both nations.

Judge Kellogg declined to sign the award, and the Honourable Dwight Foster, of Boston, the American Government's agent, in respectful language, guarded against silence on his part being taken as acceptance thereof. The award was popular throughout Canada, being generally regarded as the only occasion when this country had got anything like justice from an International Commission. There were not wanting strong objectors at Washington to the payment of the award, but the United States Government finally and honourably paid the full amount in December, 1878, the share of the Dominion being \$4,460,882 and that of Newfoundland \$1,039,118.

It is not a little singular that it was not until three years after entering Parliament that Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, M.P., was sworn in as a member of the Liberal Government. As the ancient correspondence already adverted to proves, he was somewhat of a philosopher as well as a politician in those early days, and had so much faith in his political star

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

that he was not anxious to assume the responsibilities of office too early in his career. Under date of Arthabaskaville, December 2nd, 1875, he wrote :

“I am really glad to hear from you. You saw my name in print concerning the place in the Cabinet left vacant by Mr. Fournier, and you desire to know from me how the matter stands. I am just as ignorant as you may be, and the cause of my ignorance is I do not care. My name has been put forward, but I never made a step towards it. In fact, to speak the truth, I do not desire an appointment to an official position at present . . . the Liberal party pushes me ahead and would have me take a more active part in politics than I have done heretofore. I however feel very reluctant to do it. I am at present quiet and happy. The moment I accept office, I will go into it actively and earnestly, and from that moment my quietness and happiness will be gone.”

However, when the Honourable Joseph Cauchon was translated to Manitoba the demand was universal among the Liberals in Parliament that Mr. Laurier should enter the Cabinet, and on October 8th, 1877, he was sworn in as Minister of Inland Revenue. His re-election for Drummond and Arthabaska was taken for granted, and it was a genuine political surprise to the whole Dominion when the return of the polls revealed that the new and popular young Minister had been defeated by a Mr. Barbeau, with a majority of twenty-seven.

This unexpected result was accomplished by the local Conservative Government of Quebec, aided by

LAURIER ON LIBERTY

influential hierarchical influence, which was at that time hotly opposed to Mr. Laurier and his views.

His opinions were modern and advanced. He had the courage of his convictions, and was outspoken in advocating them. He thrilled his Province by going to the city of Quebec and delivering a brilliant lecture on Liberty, in which the principles of British Parliamentary government and of civil and religious liberty were boldly and eloquently advocated. He was considered too liberal—too advanced—in his political views, too independent of Ultramontanism, and a combined effort was made by both lay and clerical extremists to crush him at the outset of his official career.

This subjected him to an unexpected defeat, but the check was only temporary and was promptly overcome. Mr. Thibaudeau, M.P., chivalrously resigned his seat for Quebec East, and after another hard fight, the Hon. Mr. Laurier was elected to represent the ancient city by a majority of 315, and has now held the seat continuously for over thirty years. Then followed such a round of banquets, lunches, and receptions as completely established the widespread popularity which the new Minister enjoyed all over his native Province.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

TWO GREAT JURISTS—WORK OF BLAKE AND MOWAT—
THE STIRRING SESSION OF 1878—EXCELLENT
MINISTERIAL MEASURES—BITTER CRISIS
IN QUEBEC—DE BOUCHERVILLE
MINISTRY DISMISSED.

EVENTS then transpiring throughout the Dominion as clearly foretold the general elections of 1878 as the rumbling thunder tells that the electric storm is drawing nigh.

Among these circumstances were three bye-elections in Nova Scotia. Through some trivial breaches of the Independence of Parliament Act, Mr. A. G. Jones, Halifax; the Honourable W. B. Vail, Digby, and Mr. Robt. Moffatt, Restigouche, had to resign their seats. Mr. Vail had been Minister of Militia for four years, and his re-election was considered certain. The Honourable Charles Tupper and the Conservative party, however, decided upon a determined effort to run him out, and they succeeded by a majority of 372. All over the Dominion the Opposition were much encouraged by this victory.

On learning of Mr. Vail's defeat, Mr. Jones boldly stepped to the front. He had always previously declined to accept office. But he now promptly uplifted the fallen Liberal banner by entering the

BLAKE WITHDRAWS FROM MACKENZIE

Government as Minister of Militia. He was sworn in two days afterwards by Sir W. O'Grady Haley, then Administrator of Nova Scotia, and continued with increased energy his canvass for re-election for Halifax. Mr. Jones was an extensive shipowner and merchant, as well as a member of great ability and force of character. Dr. Tupper personally conducted and took part in the contest against him, and the whole Conservative party put forth extraordinary efforts to repeat the Digby victory. But in the new Minister of Militia, though not quite so experienced, Dr. Tupper found his match in debate and power of organization, and when the polls closed on January 26th, Mr. Jones was found to be elected by a majority of 223.

Another of the circumstances alluded to was the resignation from the Liberal Government of the Honourable Edward Blake. Even with the light duties of President of the Council, that gentleman's health had not improved. His exalted views of public duty, and the keen conscientiousness and high sense of honour which entered into all he did, seemed to make any Ministerial responsibility unbearable to him at this time, and his medical advisers and friends felt that rest and quiet had now become absolutely necessary to his restoration to health.

As too often disgraces politics, there were slanderers who attributed Mr. Blake's resignation to other causes. But there is no reason to doubt that his withdrawal from the Mackenzie Administration at such a critical time—the general elections being close at hand—gave much pain to Mr. Blake him-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

self, as it undoubtedly did to the whole Liberal party, who learned of his retirement from the Cabinet with universal regret.

It must forever remain an honour to the Liberal party that, at Confederation, it gave to Canada two great lawyers—Mr. Blake and Mr. Mowat. It was probably fortunate, too, that the former devoted himself mainly to the Dominion, and the latter to the Provincial sphere. The Quebec Conference of 1864 furnished the blocks which were to compose the Dominion edifice. As hewn by the Fathers of Confederation, many of the resolutions were at first in a very rough, and, in some cases, unworkable shape, and very few Canadians are even yet aware that it was chiefly due to the great legal acumen and untiring industry of Sir Oliver Mowat that they were chiseled into the harmonious proportions in which they were finally adopted by the Conference.

The British North America Act itself—founded on the Quebec resolutions—is undoubtedly a grand charter, but by no means a perfect instrument, and if during the first decades of Confederation its interpretation had been in the hands of incompetent Ministers, many entanglements might have arisen, especially between the Federal and Local Administrations. The great services rendered by Mr. Blake during our first two Parliaments, in keeping Federal legislation and administration in harmony with our new Constitution, was acknowledged in Parliament by Sir John Macdonald himself, and when he became Minister of Justice in the Mackenzie Administration, his services as a constitutional lawyer were

CANADA'S DEBT TO BLAKE

still more apparent, as he then exercised a free hand on all questions of that nature.

Mr. Blake was zealous in maintaining the rights of the Dominion, Mr. Mowat equally zealous in championing Provincial rights, and without wishing to detract from the praise justly due to Sir John Macdonald, Hon. Mr. Dorion, Mr. David Mills and others, it may justly be said that Canada owes a debt of gratitude to those two distinguished Canadian jurists—Mr. Blake and Mr. Mowat—for the successful manner in which the charter of our liberties, the British North America Act, has been interpreted and worked up to the present time.

Another sign of the times was the annual meeting of the Liberal Association at Toronto on February 5th; this had to be adjourned from its rooms to Shaftesbury Hall on account of the large attendance. Nearly nine hundred delegates were present from all parts of the Province. The President of the Association, Mr. James Young, M.P., presided, and Messrs. Archibald Blue, St. Thomas; C. D. Barr, Lindsay, and John S. King, Toronto, were elected joint secretaries. Mr. George R. Pattullo, secretary of the Association, submitted the Annual Report. The Honourable Alexander Mackenzie was unable to be present on account of Parliament meeting during the same week, but he wrote an illuminating letter on the political situation. The chief speeches were made by Sir Oliver Mowat and the Honourable George Brown—the old leader and chief promoter of Confederation being received with unbounded enthusiasm.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

The Ontario Legislature, which opened as early as January 9th of this year, completed its labours in six weeks and one day! It was a fruitful session, but attracted little attention, as the eyes of the Dominion were centred upon Ottawa and the Federal Parliament, whose proceedings were regarded as the prelude of the general election.

This was the last session of the fourth Parliament, and was opened on February 7th, 1878, by Sir William Buell Richards, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He acted as Deputy Governor-General; and with the customary formalities, the Honourable David Christie, Secretary of State, announced that Sir William would not declare the reasons for calling Parliament together until the members of the House of Commons had elected their Speaker according to law.

An unexpected objection was raised on the Speakership when the Commons reassembled and the Clerk of the House, Mr. Alfred Patrick, had taken the chair. The Hon. Mr. Anglin—who had been re-elected to Parliament during the recess—was proposed again as Speaker by the Prime Minister, seconded by the Honourable A. J. Smith. But Sir John Macdonald objected. He contended that Mr. Anglin could not be elected Speaker, as it was an old English rule—which applied to Canada—that a member elected during the existence of a Parliament had to be introduced to the Speaker before he could take his seat, and as there was at that time no Speaker, Mr. Anglin could not be introduced and

A FANTASTIC OBJECTION

take his seat, and was, consequently, ineligible to be elected to that position.

This objection was generally regarded as somewhat fantastic, and Mr. Mackenzie skilfully succeeded in ridiculing it. He showed that Sir John himself, on being re-elected after losing his seat for Kingston for breach of the election laws, had declined to be introduced to the Speaker a second time; consequently, the Premier argued, he had himself broken the old English rule he now invoked, and if his present logic were correct, he had broken the law and was sitting and voting when he had no right to be inside the House at all !

Sir John did not deny this, but replied in a spirited manner, maintaining his point. The episode aroused much interest while it lasted. The Clerk finally put the motion to the House, when it was carried by one hundred and sixteen to fifty-two. Mr. Anglin was thereupon conducted to the Speaker's Chair by his mover and seconder, and, with one foot upon the dais, he returned thanks in appropriate terms.

This was to be the farewell session of the Dufferins, and great preparations were made to make the opening ceremonies the next day more imposing and brilliant than on any previous occasion. Everything was skilfully planned and zealously carried out. Their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Countess of Dufferin had already opened Parliament five times during their Viceregal reign in Canada, but their sixth and farewell Parliamentary opening—much to their gratification—surpassed all previous functions of the same kind.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

His Excellency delivered the Speech from the Throne with customary dignity and grace, and among the many thousands who crowded every part of the beautiful Parliamentary buildings and grounds almost universal regret was expressed that the Vice-regal reign of the noble Earl and his charming Countess was swiftly drawing to a close.

When the Houses settled down to business, it was found that the Government had prepared an excellent legislative programme for their consideration. Among the more important were measures to better secure the independence of Parliament; to ensure a more thorough audit of the Public Accounts, by making the Auditor-General an independent officer, removable only, like the Judges, by a two-thirds Parliamentary vote; to assist railways in new districts in Manitoba and the North-West, and to encourage settlement there by a Homestead law, and easier facilities for registering property.

The Ministers also announced that the Pacific Railway surveys had been practically completed; that the work of construction was now proceeding satisfactorily; and that further treaties had been made during the previous summer with the Black-foot and Piegan Indians extinguishing the Indian title on fifty-one thousand additional square miles of territory.

Territory from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, and from the southern boundary of the Dominion to near the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude—comprising the large area of about 450,000 square miles—was now ready for settlement, all the

QUEBEC GOVERNMENT DISMISSED

claims thereon of the chiefs and native tribes having been settled by peaceful negotiations.

March winds had only just began to blow when the electric current flashed from the city of Quebec that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, had dismissed the De Boucherville Government and commissioned the Honourable Henry G. Joly de Lotbiniere, the Liberal leader, to form another in its place! This event was like a bolt of lightning out of a clear blue sky. No one had dreamed of such an occurrence. His Honour had apparently got on pleasantly with his Conservative advisers for two years, and at this time Mr. De Boucherville and his colleagues were sustained by a majority of twenty in a House of sixty-five members. Their political position was generally looked upon as secure.

The correspondence, however, between Premier De Boucherville and Lieutenant-Governor Letellier—afterwards published—proved that for several months His Honour considered he was not being treated by his advisers with the respect due to the representative of the Crown. In a letter to the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, he specified nine or more cases in which marked disrespect was shown to him and his high office. The more important of these allegations were five, and were stated as follows:—

“*Second.*—That my name has been used by the members of the Government as the signature of documents I had never seen.

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Third.—That there has been published in the Official Gazette a proclamation calling the Legislature without my having been either consulted or informed, and before my signature had been thereto appended.

Fourth.—That another proclamation appointing a day of Thanksgiving was similarly issued under the same circumstances.

Fifth.—That although I had by my advice and my letter of the 14th March, 1877, intimated to the Premier my firm determination to protect the independence of this Province against the arbitrary decisions of the Executive in matters in which the tribunals had jurisdiction, the First Minister believed it his duty, without my co-operation and without consulting me, to propose to the House in the legislation on the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway, to substitute executive for judicial authority.

Sixth.—That without having notified me, and without receiving my authority in any way whatever, the De Boucherville Government had taxed almost generally business contracts and the ordinary transactions of life, transfers of bank stocks, etc., no message having been demanded from me on the subject, and none having been signed by me as its authority for the act."

After Lieutenant-Governor Letellier and Premier de Boucherville had discussed their difficulties in a very gentlemanly manner—creditable alike to both gentlemen—His Honour decided that the dignity and honour of the Crown required that he should dismiss his Cabinet and seek other advisers. This

CRISIS IN QUEBEC

took place on March 2nd and was received with a loud burst of indignation by the dismissed Ministers and their supporters. Quebec was immediately convulsed with a grave political crisis, which added to the excitement in the two Houses at Ottawa, and was felt more or less throughout the whole Dominion.

The Quebec crisis was not discussed in the House of Commons till six weeks later, and it will be convenient to defer further reference thereto for the present, except to record the following facts:— (a) The Hon. Mr. Joly formed his Cabinet without difficulty; * (b) As soon as they were sworn in, the Conservative majorities in the Legislative Council and House of Assembly adopted a joint resolution denouncing the course of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier as being a violation of the Constitution and of the principles of Responsible Government. (c) Premier Joly and his Administration lost no time in asking the verdict of the people of Quebec on their course. (d) They dissolved the Legislature on the 22nd of March, and the elections for a new House took place on May 2nd.

After an unusually bitter contest, the new Government gained about fourteen seats, and could claim to be sustained by their Province. When the

* The names and offices held by the Joly Administration were as follows:—Henry G. Joly, Premier and Minister of Agriculture and Public Works; D. A. Ross, Attorney-General; P. Bachand, Provincial Treasurer; F. C. Langelet, Crown Lands; A. Chauveau, Solicitor-General, afterwards Provincial Secretary. F. G. Marchand, Provincial Secretary; H. Starnes, Crown Lands, after Langelet; H. Mercier, Solicitor-General, following Chauveau.

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Legislature met for business, however, they were only able to elect their Speaker by a vote of thirty-three to thirty-two—a majority of one. Premier Joly managed to hold office for one year and eight months, but his majority was too narrow to enable him to enact the vigorous policy of Reform which he had planned and was anxious to carry out. Like Sandfield Macdonald in 1863, he didn't even possess a "drinking majority." *

I remember well the excitement in the House of Commons after the dismissal of the De Boucherville Administration became known. The Hon. Mr. Mackenzie sought to proceed quietly with the public business. The members, however, were in no mood for ordinary State affairs. The unexpected crisis at Quebec was the all-absorbing topic. Individuals and groups discussing and disputing about its causes, constitutional bearings, and probable results, could be seen in the lobbies, corridors, in the Chamber itself—everywhere—so general was the excitement on all sides. The French-Canadian members seemed quite to enjoy it, although the Bleus as hotly denounced the action of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier as the Rouges loudly praised and commended it.

Walking in the lobby the same evening with the Honourable Hector Fabre, then a member of the Senate, but for many years past and until his recent death chief Canadian agent at Paris, France, we discussed the question in its various aspects.

* See Volume I, page 197.

FRENCH LOVE A COUP D'ETAT.

After a free exchange of opinions, I asked him if the fact that the De Boucherville Cabinet had a clear majority of twenty in their favour would not make their dismissal unpopular among the French-Canadian people. He promptly answered: "Not at all. Letellier's dismissal of his Cabinet is a regular *coup d'état*, and if there is anything our people like in politics, it is a *coup d'état* in the public interests made at the right moment!"

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ELECTIONS DRAW NEAR—HONOURABLE CHARLES
TUPPER—THE TRADE DEBATE GROWS HOTTER—
MR. COLBY'S SPEECH—THE CHIEFTAIN'S
FINAL MOTION—ADDRESS TO LORD
DUFFERIN—STORMY SCENES.

As the session of 1878 advanced the (so-called) National Policy—like Aaron's rod—seemed to swallow up all other topics. The discussions mainly revolved around the Hon. Mr. Cartwright's Budget, which he delivered on February 22nd, in an able and elaborate speech. The applause which greeted his conclusion at that time, however, was taken up with equal zeal by the Opposition as the Honourable Charles Tupper rose to reply.

That gentleman had come to be called the "Cumberland War-horse," and from the origin of Confederation he had certainly been the war-horse of the Conservative party. He had been at the front in every great political battle fought, and although verging on three-score years, he retained his physical and mental powers to a wonderful degree, and in or out of Parliament was always ready, always willing, sometimes in fact seemed to be aching for a fight, especially when any important party object was in sight.

Whilst his facts, logic and methods were not always above criticism, the Doctor was certainly the

NATIONAL POLICY INTRODUCED

most active, aggressive and clever all-round Conservative politician who came from the Maritime Provinces at Confederation, and a formidable antagonist to meet in any debate. On this occasion he maintained his claim to be called the "Cumberland War-horse" by the voluminous rhetoric and sonorous tones in which he combated the Finance Minister's political economy, and denounced the real and imaginary shortcomings of the Liberal Administration.

Dr. Tupper did not follow his speech with an amendment. That was reserved for the Chieftain himself, and the debate went on until March 17th before Sir John Macdonald placed before Parliament and the country the position on the National Policy on which he had decided to appeal to the electors. After reading the resolution he had proposed in 1876, and also that of 1877, he now moved that Mr. Cartwright's motion to go into Committee of Supply should be amended as follows:—

"That all the words after the word 'that' be left out and the following inserted instead thereof: 'It be resolved that this House is of opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which by a judicious readjustment of the Tariff will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home; will restore prosperity to our struggling industries now so sadly

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depressed; will prevent Canada being made a sacrifice market; will encourage and develop an active interprovincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbours, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country; eventually, a reciprocity of trade."

Sir John Macdonald contended that "the resolution embraces and embodies a policy which will be accepted, and accepted warmly, by this country," and proceeded to discuss it at considerable length with all the tact, ability and versatility for which he was deservedly famous. He concluded in these words: "I will move the resolution in the hope and belief that it will be accepted by the people of Canada as the enunciation of a fair and just policy, and we pledge ourselves to fight the battle *à outrance* at the polls and in the country."

The Finance Minister having already answered Dr. Tupper, neither Mr. Mackenzie nor he deemed it necessary to reply directly to the speech and motion of the Opposition leader. Mr. A. H. Dymond, M.P. for North York, and Mr. John Charlton, M.P. for North Norfolk, however, were evidently inspired to champion the Government cause, and very successfully—so far as sound argument was concerned—repelled the Opposition attacks. They exposed and ridiculed numerous weak points in the National Policy with much effect, the general attitude of the Government and its supporters being very pointedly expressed in the closing words of Mr. Charlton's address:—

MR. CHARLTON'S ADDRESS

"The intelligent people of Canada," said that gentleman, with a faith that was not realized, "had only to have these facts placed before them for consideration and they would reject this political scheme of the Opposition, which was adopted by them, not because they believed it was a policy that would benefit Canada, not even because they expected to reconcile conflicting interests and reduce their absurd theories to practice if successful before the people: but because they believed it would be a specious and delusive cry, which would catch the popular ear with its vague generalities and loud promises, and might serve to give them a temporary advantage, and lead them to that goal of their prayers and ambition—the loaves and fishes of office—to reach which they were willing to travel by any road and profess any principles."

This debate on the National Policy was probably the longest since the Union—certainly since the Mackenzie Government attained power. According to Hansard, not less than forty speeches—many of them long, and some unduly long and tedious—were delivered for and against the Opposition amendment, whilst there were speeches *ad libitum* on similar amendments. To give even an outline of what the various orators said would take up too much space, and is unnecessary at this late date.

Critically considered, this debate hardly rose equal to the standard of the Parliament of Canada; there were not a few good speeches delivered, but there were too many gentlemen of the back benches who wished to define their position before the elections

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came on, to permit of the discussion taking a high range. The ablest speeches on the Government side were made by Messrs. Cartwright, Blake, Laurier, George W. Ross, Patterson, Charlton and Dymond; on the Opposition side by Messrs. Tupper, Macdonald (Sir John), McCarthy, Masson, Burr, Plumb, Haggart and Colby.

The most notable speech of the whole debate—certainly on the Opposition side—was made by the latter gentleman, Mr. Charles C. Colby, member of Parliament for Stanstead. That gentleman was born in Derby, Vermont, in 1827, and came to Stanstead in 1832. Unlike most of the members on both sides of the House, he had been an out-and-out Protectionist from his youth. He was thoroughly imbued with the views of Horace Greeley and George W. Cury, and he gave what was until recently the unanimously Free Trade Canadian Parliament a genuine surprise. During the eleven years Mr. Colby had been in the House he had rarely ever addressed it, but on this occasion he arose and delivered one of the longest, most argumentative and eloquent addresses on behalf of the National Policy which the members of the Chamber had ever heard.

When he concluded, the delight of the Conservatives found expression in a round of cheers, and although the Ministerialists considered his arguments to be mostly Protectionist fallacies, all were agreed that Parliament had seldom listened to a speech more earnestly and gracefully delivered.

As the debate threatened to become interminable, the two leaders—Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Macdon-

NATIONAL POLICY DEFEATED

ald—finally agreed that it should close and the vote be taken on Tuesday, March 12th, and many of the speeches were crowded into that afternoon and night. At three o'clock the next morning, the flow of oratory was still going on briskly.

The House, however, was now tired and restless. Belated speakers were met with unnatural noises, desk scraping, cushion throwing and an occasional chorus—anything, in fact, which would make for the division. Mr. Mackay (C.B.), got little further than stigmatizing the amendment as a political kite, meaning nothing. At 3.20 Mr. J. M. Currier, of Ottawa, took the floor, but quickly succumbed, and at 3.30 Mr. William McGregor (Essex), was completely overwhelmed by cries of "Division!" discordant noises and confusion. The House in thunderous tones answered "Yes!" when Speaker Anglin put the usual question: "Shall the members now be called in?" The division bells then pealed out joyously throughout the Chamber, corridors and lobbies, and the tired and jaded members came trooping in from every part of the great building, eager for the closing act of the drama. The division was taken amidst deep silence. But when the Clerk announced that there were one hundred and fourteen against and seventy-seven in favour of the National Policy, the Ministerialists broke out into loud cheers, which the Oppositionists followed with a demonstration equally enthusiastic.

Lord and Lady Dufferin, who were about to say farewell to Canada, were the recipients of a very graceful compliment at the hands of Parliament on

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April 11th. In a highly eulogistic and evidently sincere speech, the Prime Minister, the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, moved that an Address be presented to Their Excellencies from the Parliament and people of Canada. This was seconded by Sir John Macdonald in appropriate terms, and eloquently supported by the Hon. Mr. Laurier on the one side and the Hon. Mr. Langevin on the other.

“ We venture to convey the assurance,” said the concluding paragraph of the Address, “ that your Excellency and your distinguished Consort will bear with you on leaving us our warmest wishes for your future welfare and happiness; that we rejoice in the conviction that, though Canada may no longer possess the advantage of your Excellency’s experience and knowledge of public affairs in so exclusive a degree as she has enjoyed them in the past, this country will continue to have in your Excellency a friend and advocate; and that it is our heartfelt wish that for many years the Empire at large may have the benefit of your Excellency’s ripe wisdom, experience and eminent abilities.”

The Address was duly presented to Their Excellencies at a distinguished function held in the Senate Chamber on April 17th. The reply of Lord Dufferin was conspicuous for its expressions of warm attachment to Canada, of sadness in bidding it farewell, and for the bright and brilliant rhetoric for which His Excellency was famous. The following were among the more striking paragraphs:—

“ It is difficult for one to find fitting words in which to thank you for the signal and unprecedented

SIR JOHN ARRAIGNS LETELLIER

honour which has been conferred upon me by this Joint Address from your two Houses I found you a loyal people and I leave you the truest-hearted subjects in Her Majesty's dominions. I found you proud of your descent and anxious to maintain your connection with the Mother country; I leave you more convinced than ever of the solicitude of Great Britain to reciprocate your affection, of her dependence on your fidelity in every emergency. When I resign the temporary Viceroyalty with which I have been invested into the hands of my Sovereign, I shall be able to assure her that not a leaf has fallen from her Maple Chaplet, and that the lustre of no jewel in her transatlantic diadem has been dimmed."

Later in the day on which the Viceregal Address was passed, Sir John Macdonald arraigned the action of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier, of Quebec, for his dismissal of the De Boucherville Ministry. He treated the question at great length from a constitutional point of view, quoting with much ability, tact and moderation British precedents, and the words of Lord Brougham, Freeman, Earl Grey and others in support of his motion, which was in the following words:—

"That the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved that the recent dismissal by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec of his Ministers was, under the circumstances, unwise and subversive of the position accorded to the advisers of the Crown since the concession of the principle of Responsible Government to the British North American Colonies."

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The Prime Minister replied. Mr. Mackenzie was then at the zenith of his powers and distinguished himself by another display of the ascendancy he had attained as a Parliamentary debater and leader of the House. His speech was one of the cleverest he ever made. He agreed with most of Sir John's constitutional authorities. He declined, however, to discuss the merits or demerits of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier's course, contending, in a masterful argument, which greatly impressed both sides of the House, that the question was one for the Province itself to deal with. It was then, he contended, in process of settlement. The Hon. Mr. Joly and his colleagues not only had assumed all responsibility for His Honour's dismissal of his late advisers, but they had dissolved the Legislature and appealed to the people of Quebec—the highest tribunal—to decide the question by their verdict, and for the Federal Parliament to interfere and condemn one side or the other under such circumstances would be a most unwarrantable and dangerous interference with the Provincial autonomy which the Confederation Act confers upon the Provinces.

The most bitter debate of this stormy session followed, chiefly affecting Quebec. The French-Canadian members naturally took the most prominent part. Many of them did not emulate the moderation displayed by their leaders, but indulged in party strife and bitterness to an unusual extent.*

* During some of the sharper passages between these opposing orators, it was often insinuated and sometimes even charged that some of the French Ministers had influenced Lieutenant-Governor Letellier to dismiss the De Boucherville Cabinet. Not the slight-

LEGISLATIVE PANDEMONIUM

The debate began on Thursday, April 11th, and continued until two o'clock the next morning. On Friday afternoon it was resumed, and on account of some bitterness which was stirred up, the debate was carried on all that day, throughout the whole of Friday night, and continuously during the whole of Saturday until five minutes after six o'clock in the evening!

The Opposition spoke against time during Friday night and Saturday, and the House was frequently a sort of Legislative pandemonium, especially during the long night sittings. Many of the members were utterly fagged out, and, according to the press the next morning, a few unpleasant scenes of a festive nature took place during the night. All day Saturday the galleries were filled with eager spectators, and Her Excellency Lady Dufferin and suite honoured the Chamber by their presence. Sir John Macdonald came in late in the afternoon, and Mr. Mackenzie and he soon afterwards arranged that a vote should be taken on Monday night without further debate, whereupon the Premier announced the

est proof, so far as I remember, was ever produced to prove this statement, and there are strong reasons for believing that His Honour, naturally proud-spirited and impulsive, acted entirely on his own judgment. As some proof of this it may be mentioned that in a private letter to Premier Mackenzie explanatory of the crisis, and only a day or two after its occurrence, Mr. Letellier used these words: "I thank God not to have at any time asked your advice on the dismissal of Mr. De Boucherville, and to have acted in the same way with your colleagues." In the same letter he chivalrously offered to send in his resignation of his office if Mr. Mackenzie desired it, but the latter declined to interfere in what he considered to be a Provincial question in process of settlement under the well understood principles of the Constitution.

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agreement and adjournment amidst a whirl of delight.

When the vote was reached on Monday as arranged, the motion to censure Lieutenant-Governor Letellier was negatived by one hundred and twelve to seventy.

This session kept up its character till its close. Twenty minutes before the prorogation on May 10th, Mr. Donald A. Smith, of Selkirk, now Lord Strathcona, rose to a question of privilege, and proceeded to deny some unjust attacks made by the leaders and newspapers of the Opposition in attributing to him mercenary motives in supporting the Government. This aroused both Sir John and Dr. Tupper, and the most violent scene of the session occurred between Mr. Smith and these two gentlemen. Speaker Anglin was unable to quell it, although he threatened arrest by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the triangular duel was still going on amidst much noise and confusion when Black Rod was admitted and with some difficulty delivered his message.

In the Senate His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin sat in the Viceregal Chair for the last time, gave the Royal assent to various measures passed, delivered his farewell speech to Parliament as Governor-General, and prorogued the two Houses till June 16th.

Thus closed the third Parliament of Canada, and its late members went forth from the capital in no amicable mood, to fight out their political battles at the fourth general Dominion election, then close at hand.

CHAPTER XXX.

CLOSE OF THE GREAT POLITICAL BATTLE—SIR JOHN
MACDONALD A STRIKING AND PICTURESQUE
FIGURE—MACKENZIE ENTHUSIASTICALLY
GREETED—THE OPPOSING BATTLE-CRIES
—GREAT CONSERVATIVE VICTORY.

THE greatest electoral battle yet fought in Canada was now transferred from Parliament to all parts of the Dominion. Both political parties had been so long organizing and canvassing that, when the Houses prorogued, a huge political wave seemed to spread eastwards to the Maritime Provinces, westwards over our giant lakes, prairies and mountains to the sparkling waters of the Pacific, and northwards as far as settlement had penetrated towards the Arctic Circle.

That Parliament would be dissolved and the elections held immediately was generally expected. Mr. Mackenzie favoured an early summer contest, as did nearly all his principal supporters. But there were so many Liberal laggards, especially in Quebec, who declared their ridings were not organized and pleaded so earnestly for delay that the Premier at last consented to postpone the elections till after harvest, and September 17th was finally chosen as the great and decisive day. That this delay proved a serious mistake for the Government and its candi-

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dates soon became apparent, and it is well known it was a source of regret afterwards to Mr. Mackenzie as long as he lived.*

With little rest from the session's fatigues, Ministerialists and Oppositionists sprang to arms for the final struggle at the polls. The chief lieutenant of the Conservative party, the Hon. Dr. Tupper, after a few lively meetings in Ontario, departed early for Nova Scotia and the East. The Hon. Mr. Tilley, less aggressive than his colleague, but a forcible speaker † and generally respected, was speedily at work in New Brunswick. The main body of the army remained under the immediate command of the Chieftain himself, zealously aided by the Honourable William Macdougall, Messrs. Bowell, Haggart, Plumb, Meredith, M. C. Cameron, Kirkpatrick, T. N. Gibbs, and many others. Although in his sixty-fourth year, Sir John Macdonald never made a more striking display of his remarkable faculty for party management and organization than during this whole campaign.

* In "The Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, his Life and Times," page 501, Messrs. Buckingham and Ross say: "Almost the last words the writers of this biography heard from Mr. Mackenzie's lips when they were with him on his seventieth birthday, a few weeks before he died, were these: 'I made a mistake, I should have dissolved in June.'"

† A story was current in the lobbies of the House of Commons early in the first session under Confederation, which caused some amusement. It was to the effect that when Mr. Tilley left for Ottawa to attend to his Parliamentary duties, one of his old admirers in New Brunswick, true to his Province and his leader, exclaimed: "How surprised the Canadians will be when they hear Tilley's eloquence reverberating through their Legislative halls!" That man was a supporter worth having.

OLD CHIEFTAIN A GREAT FIGHTER

Amidst the embattled hosts, he was undoubtedly the most conspicuous figure. Not five years before, he had fallen from the high office of Prime Minister—utterly crushed by the electors of Canada—for the part he and his colleagues had taken in the Pacific Railway Scandal. His Cabinet and party lay in ruins beneath the painful disclosures. Not one statesman in ten thousand could have survived such a blow. But outwardly, at least, he bore himself jauntily. From the day he was reappointed leader he went right forward heedless of the past, bending every faculty of mind and body, apparently every thought, to one great object—the recovery of his former exalted position. He moved from Ottawa to Toronto, as we have already seen, to accomplish this great purpose, and he fought the whole of this electoral battle with the desperate energy of a great man who knew he had tarnished a great career, and felt that his political future and reputation for all time was trembling in the balance.

Political history furnishes few more striking and picturesque figures than Sir John Macdonald on the eve of the elections of 1878. The inique circumstances produced a strong wave of sympathy throughout the Dominion for the old Chieftain, which blinded thousands to his admitted faults, and brought into the limelight his remarkable ability and tact as a political leader, as well as the many valuable services he had rendered to Canada—especially after he accepted Confederation—during his long and successful public career.

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Sir John's task at this time was for other reasons an exceedingly difficult one. He had always been a Free Trader—an admirer of England's commercial policy—and at first fought shy of being committed to a system of high protective duties. That bright but erratic genius, Nicholas Flood Davin, in one of his witty public letters, describes an interview in the *Mail* office during the elections, at which Sir John, Mr. Charles Belford and himself were present, during which Macdonald warmly took the editor to task for publishing an article favourable to Protection!* As time went on, however, and it became clearer that the trade agitation could be utilized to win success at the polls, Sir John, with customary flexibility, finally came out as a full-fledged advocate of the National Policy, and baited his motion in

* Mr. Nicholas Flood Davin had some brilliant qualities, but was somewhat eccentric. He was a great admirer of the Conservative Chief, and in one of his Ottawa letters drew the following clever pen portrait of that gentleman as a political leader: "Sir John Macdonald was a statesman of large national views but he was not, nor did he profess to be, a thinker on questions with the object of arriving at new ideas to apply in any department of Government. He considered that was not his business. Walpole's and Melhourne's maxim was cherished by him, '*Quies non movet.*' His business was to govern. The first duty of a politician was to get in; the next to keep in, both *sine qua non*s of Government that we are not living in Plato's Republic, but in a democracy—in *foece Romuli*. He was no crusader, no Don Quixote, but a large-minded man, who knew there is no absurdity like expecting five legs of mutton from a sheep. He had one general principle of action—he would give the people what they wanted. If they were wrong he would resist them as far as he dared; try to divert them; appear to do what yet he was determined if possible not to do; but once the majority of the people of Canada were set on any course, he would give them their desire. If Israel wanted a king, Samuel would find them one; if he could not turn the tide, he would go with it."

MACKENZIE'S CAPACITY FOR WORK

Parliament so cunningly as to capture most of the popular vote.*

The Hon. Mr. Mackenzie never displayed more ability and capacity for work than during the late session, often working for weeks from twelve to eighteen hours a day! But at its close he found himself by his own confession "almost completely used up." His family and friends insisted upon his taking a holiday. He was finally persuaded to accept the invitation of a friend to spend a short vacation with him amidst the majestic but restful scenery of the lower St. Lawrence. But within ten days he was back in Ottawa at the helm of the Government, and entered immediately on the work of preparing for the elections with all his old-time vigour, ability and persistence. His chief lieutenants in the Maritime Provinces were the Hon. Messrs. Jones, Smith, Anglin, and Davies, the latter now on the Supreme Court Bench; in Ontario and Quebec, the Hon. Messrs. Mowat, Holton, R. W. Scott, Huntingdon, Laurier, Cartwright, Laflamme, Ross, Hardy, Charlton and numerous others; westwards, the Hon. Messrs. Sifton and Greenway were the most conspicuous.

* On the eve of the general elections (1878), it was pointed out to him that some of his men were talking Protectionism, which, whatever its effect in such a country as the United States, with its vast area of production and home trade, would not do for Canada. "No," was his reply, "you need not think I am going to get into that hole." Scarcely two months had elapsed when into that hole he got! Rallied by his friend on this change, he jauntily replied, "Yes, Protection has done so much for me: must do something for Protection!"—Goldwin Smith's "Reminiscences," page 431.

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During August the Premier and the Finance Minister, Mr. Cartwright, made a successful tour of the Maritime Provinces. They spoke at Georgetown, Charlottetown, Summerside, Pictou and the cities of Halifax and St. John. The Bluenoses received them with enthusiasm, the reception of Mr. Mackenzie at St. John, in particular, being described as one of the most splendid ovations which he ever received.

On his return to the capital, the Premier found his desk piled up with urgent calls for public meetings, and he lost no time in entering upon another extensive Ontario tour. He was zealously supported as usual, and spoke at Ottawa, Glengarry, Toronto (where the workingmen honoured him with a flattering address), Strathroy, Millbrook, Sarnia, Wingham, Kincardine, Paisley and elsewhere. In all his long political experience Mr. Mackenzie afterwards declared he had never been greeted before by such immense, enthusiastic audiences, and when he returned to Ottawa—on the morning of the elections—he very naturally felt hopeful that when the polls closed that evening, Victory would again perch on the Liberal banner.

The flood of oratory throughout the Dominion—good, bad and indifferent—turned chiefly on the National Policy, and it flowed on to the last hour with ever-increasing interest. The Conservative speakers enlarged upon the ruinous results of the commercial depression; the injustice and bad effects of allowing the Americans to use our markets whilst they had barred theirs against Canadian products;

HOPE IN THE NATIONAL POLICY

the failure of the Mackenzie Government to bring about better times, and whose Finance Minister they delighted to tell, had declared that the Cabinet were as helpless as "flies on the wheel" to restore "Good Times." Then, turning the silver side of the shield, they declared that the National Policy would speedily restore prosperity to and expand our Canadian manufactures; would terminate the exodus to the United States by providing the unemployed with work at home; would enrich the farmers by preventing American competition in our home markets with their wheat, corn, hay, pork, oats and other natural products; and pave the way for a new Reciprocity Treaty—in short, that the proposed new National Policy, backed by a new Government, would quickly dispel the hard times and restore prosperity to all parts of the Dominion and all classes of the people.

The Liberal appeals to the electors were equally loud but the very opposite in tone. Their speakers contended that the National Policy would place Canada in antagonism to the commercial policy of the Empire; that it would be no cure but an aggravation of the hard times to inflict increased taxation upon the suffering people at such a time; that protection for our farmers in their home markets, when Canada exported over \$100,000,000 of farm products annually, was a palpable dodge to catch the agricultural vote, and would take ten dollars out of the farmers' pockets for every one it put in; that whatever protection was given to manufacturers would have to be taken out of the pockets of the farmers, merchants, mechanics

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and other working classes; that the great mass of Canadians would be injured by the increased cost of their food, clothing, tools and most articles they required to buy—in short, that the so-called National Policy largely consisted of humbug, cunningly shapen and coloured by Sir John Macdonald to get himself and party back into power, when the era of Pacific Scandals and extravagant and corrupt expenditures would inevitably revive in grosser forms than ever; and, finally, that the welfare and highest interests of the Dominion required that the electors should sustain the Mackenzie Government, under whose cautious, economical and honest policy the cloud of commercial depression was already lifting, and the sun of prosperity would soon illuminate again every Province of Canada with all its accustomed splendour.

Thus this memorable electoral contest went on until the fateful day—September 17th, 1878—dawned upon the scene. In Ontario, at least, the day proved bright and beautiful, with that slight crispness in the atmosphere which makes so many Canadian fall days invigorating and delightful. The time for talk was now past, and tens of thousands of canvassers and conveyances were out before day-break, scouring the back concessions and streets for the doubtful and loose-fish voters, and from nine o'clock in the morning to five o'clock in the evening—the polling hours—the whole Dominion was the exciting scene of the most thoroughly organized and well contested political elections which it had ever experienced.

MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT FALLS

Still more exciting and memorable was election night from ocean to ocean. It would require the pen of a Macaulay or a Dickens to picture the scene as the returns of the polls began to arrive at the headquarters of the various constituencies, and were read from the electric wires to the hundreds of thousands who awaited the results with intense interest. Only two hours after the last vote was cast at five o'clock, it was learned that, although Sir John Macdonald had been defeated in Kingston, the Conservative candidates generally were gaining. Two hours later, nine o'clock, it became apparent that the Mackenzie Government had fallen, and by eleven o'clock doubt had deepened into certainty that the elections had resulted in an overwhelming Conservative victory, pregnant with important results to Canada and its future!

Full returns were not obtained for a few days. When completed, they proved there had been nothing short of a political revolution. Among the defeated were many prominent men. The Conservative leader was the most conspicuous on the Opposition side—having represented Kingston for over thirty years continuously—but except the Honourables Hector Langevin, Peter Mitchell and Thomas N. Gibbs, all ex-Ministers, most of his prominent supporters had been re-elected. Three members of the Mackenzie Cabinet lost their seats, the Hon. Messrs. Cartwright, Jones and Coffin, and among that solid phalanx of Ontario Liberals pretty generally known as "The Old Guard," many of them met their Waterloo on this occasion. Among the more prom-

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inent of these were: Messrs. Irving, Wood, Young, Landarkin, Dymond, Metcalfe, Lorn McDougall, Blain, John Macdonald, McCraney, H. H. Cook, Norris, Biggar, Archibald, Buell, and numerous others. The Hon. Mr. Blake, who was away in Europe for his health, was also defeated in South Bruce, and the loss of Messrs. Davies (P.E.I.), Power, Forbes, and Church (N.S.), and Devlin (Que.), added to the extent of the Liberal disaster.

At the previous general election (1874) the political pendulum swung far to the Liberal side, and Mr. Mackenzie found himself sustained as Prime Minister of Canada by an overwhelming majority. In a full House, the Conservatives did not number more than forty-five.* Now, the fickle pendulum had swung quite as far to the Conservative side. When the official returns of the contest were all received, it was found that Sir John Macdonald and the National Policy had carried the elections by one hundred and thirty-seven to sixty-nine on a straight party vote, the most sweeping political victory which the Old Chieftain had ever won during his long and eventful career.

That night and all the next day—the 18th—were generally devoted by the Conservative party and

*“In the general election of 1874, the Conservative party, taken by surprise and weighted with all the disadvantageous circumstances which attend defeat, were well-nigh annihilated. Sir John Macdonald himself narrowly escaped defeat in his own constituency, was unseated on a petition, and re-elected by a majority even less than before. Out of 206 members in the House of Commons, the Conservatives did not number more than forty-five. The once great party had dwindled to a mere handful, to be pitied rather than feared.”—Pope’s “Life of Sir John Macdonald,” Vol. II, page 198.

TRIUMPH FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

press to the celebration of their undoubtedly great political victory. Only four years before, the Liberals had their day of rejoicing, and it was only natural that the Conservatives should now indulge in much party glorification over their notable achievement.

Opinions naturally and widely differed as to the intelligence and justice, or the want of them, displayed by the electorate on this occasion. The elections were in one respect, however, a veritable triumph. This was, that the Mackenzie Government conducted them throughout with Puritan honesty, had no big campaign funds, eschewed bribery big and little, and treated their opponents with scrupulous fairness; and, although public excitement at times ran high, simultaneous one-day elections were held across the whole British North-American continent with perfect quietness, order, justice, and without even a serious scrimmage to mar the great occasion! This was certainly a great triumph for Canada and Constitutional Government—one which both political parties, and every true Canadian, had reason to rejoice over and feel proud of.

CHAPTER XXXI.

AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTIONS—LETTERS OF MACKENZIE—LORD DUFFERIN'S "FAREWELLS"—HIS TRIBUTE TO THE LATE PREMIER—THE NEW CONSERVATIVE CABINET—HON. WILLIAM MACDOUGALL AND OTHERS.

THE day after the great electoral battle of 1878 found the Dominion surprised and somewhat stunned by the sweeping character of the result. The general anticipation was that the contest would be close. Few—probably none—expected a complete turnover. Sir John Macdonald himself was surprised at the large majority which he obtained. The Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, from his enthusiastic reception throughout Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, had been led to the conclusion that his Government would be amply sustained, and in writing his principal Parliamentary supporters immediately afterwards, he frankly confessed his surprise and disappointment at the verdict given by the electors.

The Liberal leader, however, accepted his defeat with characteristic promptness, manliness and courage. Two days afterwards he wrote the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, that, as the elections were sufficiently over to be conclusive as to the defeat of the Government, he would assemble his colleagues as soon as possible, and finish up what business they

MACKENZIE RETIRES WITH CLEAR CONSCIENCE

had on hand, after which he would wait upon His Excellency and tender to him his resignation. He concluded his letter as follows: "In the meantime I have to express my deep gratitude to you for your unvarying kindness to me, and the constant anxiety you have shown to aid me in every way in carrying on the Government. This I shall never forget. I will only say for myself that I have endeavoured to do what was right in the interests of the Crown and the people, and I can now look back with the pleasure which a clear conscience, political and personal, necessarily gives."

Lord Dufferin replied the next day with much kindness and consideration, and enclosed, also, a special note to Mrs. Mackenzie. The most important paragraph in His Excellency's letter to Mr. Mackenzie reminds one of his famous tribute to his First Minister when in British Columbia. It read as follows:—

"Whatever my personal convictions may be upon the general policy of your Government, it would not, I suppose, be proper that I should express them even in a private letter, but no consideration need preclude me from assuring you that in my opinion neither in England nor in Canada has any public servant of the Crown administered the affairs of the nation with a stricter integrity, with a purer patriotism, with a more indefatigable industry or nobler aspirations, than yourself; and though the chances of war have gone against you at the polls, you have the satisfaction of knowing that your single-minded simplicity of purpose, firmness, and

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upright conduct have won for you alike the respect and goodwill of friends and foes.

"As for myself I can only say that I shall ever retain a feeling of warm friendship for you. From first to last you have treated me not only with great kindness and consideration but with a frankness, truthfulness, and openness of dealing for which I am grateful."

Among the earlier letters of Mr. Mackenzie on the result of the elections were those to the Honourable L. H. Holton, Montreal; Senator Hope, Hamilton; Mayor Waller, Ottawa; Mr. J. D. Edgar, Toronto, and myself;* but, doubtless, there were scores of others which have never been published. The letter to Mr. Holton was dated on the 21st. "I scarcely know," he says, in the opening paragraph, "how or what to write you. The disaster in Ontario was to me wholly unexpected. Up to the day of polling I was satisfied we would hold our own. I wish now to get your views about the future. I propose, as soon as our friends can be got together, to resign my leadership and give them an opportunity of selecting one who may be more successful." The letter addressed to me by Mr. Mackenzie was substantially as follows:—

"OTTAWA, Sept. 26th, 1878.

"My Dear Young:—I suppose you have hardly got over your shock of disappointment at your local, as well as the general, result of the fight. For my

* These and other letters are published in Mackenzie's "Life and Times," by Buckingham and Ross, Chapter xxxiii., page 514.

MACKENZIE'S KEEN DISAPPOINTMENT

own part I was much astonished at the revolution. It is evident that the feeling for protection had got a stronger hold than we supposed on the people's minds.

"My own county was no exception. I should have had six hundred on a straight party vote, and only got one hundred and forty-six. Every Province excepting one went in the same way. I was not able in my long tour to detect any signs of defection anywhere, or any lack of enthusiasm, and I returned here on the day of polling satisfied that our Ontario majority would be as large as before. I quite counted on the loss of a few counties, but considered I would gain others. We did gain four out of the eleven I counted on winning.

"All my schemes for the future are cut short. *Ministerial and other arrangements to be gone into after the elections* are all nipped.* The result is not very encouraging to Liberal leaders. We resisted a policy which would be deeply injurious to the masses, and the masses have turned upon us and rent us. I suppose the German element was a principal element with you, judging from the majorities, but the trouble elsewhere was really the fact that a large proportion of the people had become desirous of a change, believing that a change would bring prosperous times, plenty of work and money. New

* Mr. Mackenzie was probably the most cautious, reticent and non-committal Chief Minister in regard to official patronage we ever had. This arose mainly from his conscientiousness, but, unfortunately, it lost him many friends. The words in the foregoing letter "*ministerial and other arrangements to be gone into after the elections are all nipped,*" had a special meaning for me, but only remain a dim memory of "what might have been," after the lapse of thirty years.

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Brunswick alone among the faithless stood faithful.
'Among the faithless, faithful only it.'

"I feel it a tremendous task to begin again the work of reorganization, and quite shrink from it. Perhaps the party will find some one more likely to command success.

"It is intensely discouraging to lose so many true men—McGregor, J. L. McDougall, Blake, Snider, Landerkin, Cartwright, Norris, Wood, Irving, McCraney, Dymond, Smith, Metcalfe, Blain, John Macdonald, Cook, Kerr, Biggar, Archibald, Buell, McNab, A. F. McDonald, Blackburn, L. Ross—all gone! What a splendid lot of men, in addition to those from Waterloo. There are hardly enough left to form a skeleton battalion."

The downfall of the Mackenzie Administration after so short a reign was the result of a singular and unfortunate combination of circumstances. These have been indicated already in the history given of this great commercial agitation, and more especially in the letters addressed to the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie two years before, which may be found in Chapters XXIII. and XXV. The administrative as well as the legislative record of the Mackenzie Government was highly creditable, and their cautious dealing with the Pacific Railway was probably a blessing to the Dominion at that particular time. But it must be admitted that, with the exception of that gigantic undertaking—for which they got little credit—their policy as a whole embraced few measures bold and striking enough to satisfy the impatience of

DUFFERIN'S FAREWELL VISIT

the people for relief from the hard times then existing.

The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, paid his farewell visit to Ontario to open the Agricultural Exhibition at Toronto. It took place on September 24th, and when His Excellency mounted the grandstand, surrounded by a brilliant staff and the President and officers of the Agricultural Association, to begin the opening ceremonies, he received an enthusiastic ovation from the thousands assembled. His speech was one of the most brilliant and witty which he made during his long sojourn in Canada, which he concluded in these eloquent words:—

“In a few weeks one of the most promising of the younger generation of English statesmen will reach your shores, accompanied by a daughter of your Queen (tremendous applause). Under the auspices of these distinguished personages, you are destined to ascend yet higher in the hierarchy of the nations, to be drawn still closer to the heart of the mother country, to be recognized still more universally as one of the most loyal, most prosperous and most powerful of those great Colonial Governments that unite to form the Empire of Great Britain. (Great cheering). May God Almighty bless you and keep you, and pour out upon your glorious country the universal blessings that lie at His right hand.” (Tremendous cheering, renewed again and again.)

On October 9th—only three weeks after their defeat—the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie waited upon the Governor-General at Montreal and placed in his hands the resignation of himself and

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his colleagues. Nothing could better prove the warm personal friendship which had grown up between Lord Dufferin and the Liberal leader than the fact that, after the latter had taken his departure and was no longer Prime Minister, His Excellency wrote and sent to him one of the most touching notes ever penned under similar circumstances:—

“ MONTREAL, October 9th, 1878.

“ My Dear Mackenzie :—I can assure you I felt a very bitter pang in shaking you by the hand yesterday. We have been associated so many years together, in promoting the interests of the Dominion, and I have such a sincere personal esteem for you, that it felt like parting with one of my oldest friends.

“ I have told them to send you a portrait of Lady Dufferin and one of myself, which I hope you will allow a place upon your walls.

“ Believe me, my dear Mackenzie,

“ Yours sincerely,

“ DUFFERIN.”

Lord Dufferin, who had been already delayed in sailing for Great Britain by the impending changes in the Government, now called Sir John Macdonald to the Premiership and entrusted him with the formation of the new Administration. His task was not a difficult one. Most of his colleagues were, in fact, already chosen, but a week elapsed before the Conservative chief, with all his expertness, was able to get the last of his Cabinet complications adjusted.

Quebec's farewell to Lord Dufferin was a notable event. It lasted for two days, and in the number

DUFFERIN LEAVES CANADA

of eminent persons present, its tasteful decorations, profuse festivities and universal enthusiasm, the Ancient Capital's ovation to His Excellency was not surpassed by any other Canadian city. As the noble Earl stood on the deck of the *Polynesian* bowing his acknowledgments to the tens of thousands waving farewells with flags and other devices from Dufferin Terrace and the rugged streets and by-ways of the grand old city, down to the shores of the majestic St. Lawrence; and, accompanied by H. M. Ships *Syrius* and *Argus*, the *Polynesian* slowly steamed out of that magnificent harbour, and from beneath the frowning guns of the greatest fortress in the world, a scene of natural grandeur and beauty was presented worthy of the brush of Bell-Smith, Homer Watson or any other of our leading Canadian painters.

The gentlemen selected to compose the new Conservative Government were as follows:—

ONTARIO:—Premier and Minister of the Interior, Sir John A. Macdonald; Receiver-General, Honourable Alexander Campbell; Secretary of State, Senator James C. Aikens; Minister of Customs, Honourable Mackenzie Bowell; President of the Council, Honourable John O'Connor.

QUEBEC:—Minister of Militia, Honourable L. R. Masson; Postmaster-General, Honourable Hector Langevin; Minister of Agriculture, Honourable John H. Pope; Minister of Inland Revenue, Honourable L. F. G. Baby.

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MARITIME PROVINCES:—Minister of Public Works, Honourable Charles Tupper; Minister of Finance, Honourable S. L. Tilley; Minister of Justice, Honourable James Macdonald; Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Honourable J. C. Pope (P.E.I.); Without Portfolio, Honourable R. D. Wilmot (N.B.).

Eight of the members of the new Government had been colleagues of Sir John Macdonald at the time of the memorable crisis of 1873; the other five gentlemen were in office for the first time. The Government was experienced, therefore, as well as able, and entered upon the work of introducing its new commercial policy with commendable energy and despatch.

As usual in Cabinet-making, there were some disappointments. Among old colleagues passed over were the Honourable Peter Mitchell, Hon. Dr. Robitaille, and the Honourable William Macdougall. Considering the undoubted ability of the latter gentleman, as well as his great services to the Conservative party during the elections, this occasioned some surprise. But it no doubt arose from the fact that he never was a favourite of the Prime Minister's, as proof of which I may at this late day mention that the Honourable George Brown informed me that as early as the Coalition of 1864, Sir John Macdonald recommended him not to include Mr. Macdougall with Mr. Mowat and himself, as one of the three Reform members to enter the

HON. WM. MACDOUGALL A STATESMAN

Cabinet. Mr. Brown, did not, however, accept the advice.

My first acquaintance with the Hon. Mr. Macdougall was in 1854 (see Vol. I., page 66), and I knew him long and well. He had his political faults, some of them possibly born with him, but he had also many great and noble qualities. He was a man at once able, eloquent in speech, decidedly independent in thought, but strangely indifferent as to what others thought of his political actions. He was fertile in political ideas, always ready to defend them, and to press them upon his political leaders, and Sir John Macdonald showed all through his career that that was just the kind of colleague he did not wish to have. These circumstances are mentioned not to reflect on either gentlemen, but because it has long been my settled conviction that Mr. Macdougall as a public man was often greatly misunderstood, and that at heart he was a statesman much truer to Canada and its people, and to his own ideals, than he generally received credit for in those stirring days.

Besides the foregoing gentlemen the new Government did not contain the Honourable John Hillyard Cameron*, the Honourable Hector Cameron and Mr.

* My acquaintance with Mr. Hillyard Cameron was brief. During two or three sessions at Ottawa, however, we frequently breakfasted together at the Rideau Club. He was shy at first. But this gradually wore off, and he was found to be a most charming conversationalist over his morning cup of coffee. I will never forget the enthusiastic way in which he related to me more than once his first appearance as a pleader in Court, which happened to be against the Honourable William Hume Blake, afterwards Chancellor of Upper Canada (Ontario) and

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Dalton McCarthy—the latter a Q.C. of much ability, a man of advanced ideas and promising future—all of whom had strong claims for Cabinet rank. But Sir John had not room for them all, and evidently preferred as Prime Minister not to have ambitious colleagues like Mr. Macdougall and Mr. McCarthy, but men who could be relied upon to support and maintain the policy and measures which—as the chosen Conservative leader—he carefully planned and mapped out, and considered best for the country—or, at least, best for the success of his party in the House and the country.

As already mentioned, Sir John Macdonald socially, and as the party leader, was not like the same person. This was first impressed on my mind by a prominent Conservative who was a great admirer of the old chieftain. He frankly discussed the Premier's peculiarities in this respect, and summed up his conclusions by saying that whilst considerate, agreeable and delightful in his social intercourse with his supporters, which seldom failed to secure their personal attachment, in his capacity as leader he was a perfect autocrat, and would not tolerate the interference of supporters, or even of Cabinet colleagues, with his management of the party or other duties, which, he held, had been

father of the Honourable Edward Blake. He described in a most realistic way his nervousness and anxiety when he learned who was to be the opposing counsel, and seemed to enjoy his triumph all over again when he told how he won his case and received the congratulations of his friends on the success of his maiden effort against so eminent and eloquent an opponent.

SIR JOHN AGAIN IN THE SADDLE

entrusted to his charge as leader by the party at large.

Whatever the future had in store, Sir John Macdonald was now again firmly in the saddle as the Prime Minister of Canada, with the prospect of a long lease of power before him, and having always posed as the champion of England and of English policy, not a few wondered how far he would implement the wild promises of a high Protective policy after the United States model, by which the elections were carried.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE AND PRINCESS LOUISE—
MOWAT CHAMPIONS PROVINCIAL RIGHTS—
DISMISSAL OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
LETELLIER—"A TEMPEST IN A TEA-
POT"—NATIONAL POLICY
PASSED—THE PACIFIC
RAILWAY.

THE new Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne, and his Royal Consort, the Princess Louise, arrived in Halifax after a very stormy passage on November 25th, 1878. Except on the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860, Nova Scotia's charming capital never indulged in such elaborate ceremonies and unbounded enthusiasm as on this occasion.

The same day, at half-past one o'clock, an immense procession accompanied the Viceregal party to the Provincial building, where His Excellency was to be sworn in as Governor-General. Among those present were the Marquis of Lorne, Major de Winton and other officers of his staff, Chief-Justice Ritchie, in the scarlet robes of the Supreme Court—who took a seat near the throne—Sir John Macdonald being on his right and the Duke of Edinburgh on his left hand. Among other distinguished gentlemen present were the Honourable Charles Tupper, Honourable James Macdonald, Honourable

MARQUIS OF LORNE TAKES OATH OF OFFICE

Mackenzie Bowell, and other Cabinet Ministers, Vice-Admiral Inglefield, Chief-Justice Young, Mayor Tobin, the clergy, magistrates and hundreds of other citizens.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise was conducted into the Chamber by her brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, and Sir Patrick McDougall, then acting Governor. The vast audience stood until she was seated, and her reception could not have been more cordial and brilliant. Chief-Justice Ritchie then administered the oaths of office to the noble Marquis, the completion of whose installation as Governor-General was announced by the roar of cannon from the fleet and batteries, and the ringing of bells all over the city.

The Halifax celebration lasted three days and made a brilliant reception to Their Excellencies on first landing on Canadian soil. Similar honours greeted them in Montreal on the 29th, and Ottawa had planned not to be outrivalled, but unfortunately Miss Canada took the dumps and indulged in one of the wildest days of "rain, sleet, hail and snow" ever experienced by the oldest inhabitant. It was simply awful. The celebration had to be postponed, but it was estimated that 9,000 people* defied the elements and greeted the new Governor-General and the Princess at the railway station with enthusiastic cheers and other tokens of welcome.

"The demeanour of the new Governor and his Royal Consort," said a Canadian Press corre-

* Special correspondence of the *Toronto Globe*.

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spondent who accompanied them from Halifax to Ottawa, " was such as could hardly fail to elicit the warmest sympathy of the people . . . The Princess has handsome features, full of the evidence of refinement, culture and intelligence, a fair complexion, light brown hair, and wonderfully earnest, expressive eyes. Her complexion has that rare combination of fine texture, delicacy of colour, and wondrous freshness that is so seldom met with. But after all, her greatest charm appears to be a certain expressiveness that is altogether indescribable."

The Honourable Oliver Mowat was now in his seventh year as Premier of Ontario, and with his colleagues Messrs. Crooks, Pardee, Fraser, Hardy and Wood was still firmly seated in power. When, therefore, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Honourable D. A. Macdonald, opened the Provincial Legislature on January 9th, 1879, the proceedings were not enlivened by expectations of any political change.

Since the previous session, the old-time Opposition leader, the Honourable M. C. Cameron, had retired to the Bench. He prided himself on being a Tory of the old school, and had the courage of his convictions, which is something in favour of any man. Mr. William R. Meredith, M.P.P. for London, was elected leader in his place, the Honourable Alexander Morris, late Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, being his chief lieutenant. The new leader, unlike his predecessor, mixed up some bold democracy with his Conservatism, advocating as he did biennial sessions, the election of registrars,

ONTARIO'S CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

sheriffs and other officers by county councils, and other radical changes. He also began a vigorous assault on Mr. Mowat and his colleagues in preparation for the approaching general elections.

But Mr. Mowat was invulnerable. He was already regarded as the champion of Ontario's constitutional rights. Some of these had been denied and assailed long before by the Premier of the Dominion Administration. To protect the Province, Attorney-General Mowat had at various periods to make appeals to the Privy Council in England. The two most important were on the delimitation of the western and northern boundaries of Ontario, and the persistent disallowance by the Dominion of an Act "To Protect the Public Interests in Rivers, Streams and Creeks."

Had the contentions of Sir John Macdonald and the Federal Cabinet prevailed, the western boundary of Ontario—to use terms easily understood—would have been fixed at a line drawn six and a half miles east of the cities of Port Arthur and Fort William on the shores of Thunder Bay, Lake Superior, and the northern boundary at the top of the watershed or height of land. Sir John instructed his officials to maintain these limits. If consented to, this would have reduced the area of the Province from 260,862 square miles to 116,782—more than one-half!*

Fortunately, when Mr. Blake became Premier of Ontario—as far back as December, 1871—he

* Biggar's "Life of Sir Oliver Mowat," Vol. II., Chapter xiv., page 376.

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promptly repudiated any such emasculation of the Province. Mr. Mowat, on succeeding Mr. Blake, took the same ground, both of them contending that the true boundaries of Ontario were: On the west, beyond the Lake of the Woods, and at least 300 miles nearer the setting sun than Port Arthur and Fort William; and on the north and east that they extended to the mouth of the Albany River on James Bay, 332 miles north of the watershed or height of land. It is unnecessary now to repeat details. The above outline gives the chief grounds of this famous boundary dispute between the Dominion and Ontario Governments, and Sir Oliver Mowat had deservedly won great popularity among all classes by the remarkable ability and zeal with which he was fighting to prevent such a deadly blow to the standing of Ontario in the Confederation as the loss of one-half of its whole territory would undoubtedly have been.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Sir Oliver had become known as "The Champion of Provincial Rights," and that notwithstanding the rout of the Liberal party in the Dominion contest of the previous year, he won the Ontario elections of 1879 with a larger majority than he had before.

The opening of the fourth Federal Parliament, on account of the great political changes which the recent elections had brought about, was naturally looked forward to with deep interest. It took place on February 13th, and the new Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, and his Royal Consort the

MARQUIS OF LORNE OPENS PARLIAMENT

Princess Louise, performed their parts in the opening ceremonies with eminent dignity and grace. Even thorough loyalists like ex-Premier Mackenzie had fears that the presence of Her Royal Highness might lead to the introduction of functions fashioned after those of the Royal Court at Windsor, and not suitable for a democratic country like Canada. But nothing of the kind occurred, and with the exception of an unusually grand and gay State Ball, which over one thousand eminent Canadians and other guests attended, the opening of Parliament on this occasion did not materially differ from its predecessors.

The session of 1879 was chiefly memorable for three important questions. These were: The dismissal by the new Government of His Honour, Luc Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec; the introduction and passage of the new commercial system known as the National Policy; and the changes made by the Administration in regard to the Pacific Railway and its construction.

The Honourable J. G. Blanchett had hardly been elected Speaker before it became evident that the Quebec supporters of the Government had come to Ottawa irritated because Lieutenant-Governor Letellier was still in office, and determined to have him dismissed even if a political crisis resulted. An excited and bitter Parliamentary debate speedily arose, during which constitutional principles and party passions were oddly intermingled. The same resolution on the subject which had been proposed by Sir John Macdonald during the previous session,

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and voted down by the Mackenzie party by 112 to 70, was again proposed by the Hon. Mr. Mousseau, seconded by Mr. Dalton McCarthy. Nearly all the leading speakers on both sides of the House then engaged in an unusually heated discussion, which, as everyone expected from the Government's attitude, was finally carried by 136 to 51, and Lieutenant-Governor Letellier's dismissal approved by a straight party vote.

Like most vexed political questions, the dismissal of the De Boucherville Cabinet by Lieutenant-Governor Letellier had strong arguments on both sides of it. The consensus of opinion throughout the Dominion settled down to something like this: (a) that His Honour acted within Constitutional limits; (b) that his protests against some of his Cabinet's legislation were quite justified; and (c) that the evident neglect and ignoring of His Honour by his advisers was a contempt of the Crown in the person of its representative, and afforded justification for dismissal. Sir Francis Hincks and other eminent authorities took this view. Admitting all this, however, the determining point still remains: In view of the fact that the Cabinet was amply sustained in the Legislature, and the principles of Responsible Government admittedly in force, were the delinquencies of Mr. De Boucherville and his colleagues sufficiently grave—was the honour of the Crown so seriously compromised—as to call upon His Honour, as he evidently himself believed, to exercise the Royal prerogative and dismiss his advisers from office? That is where there is room

MARQUIS OF LORNE ACCEPTS ADVICE

for difference of opinion, and so it is likely to remain for all time to come.

When Sir John Macdonald advised Lieutenant-Governor Letellier's dismissal, it came out that the Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, could not see his way to dismiss Mr. Letellier on hand! He therefore replied to his Prime Minister's advice as follows:—

“That as the decision of this case would decide for the future as well as the present, the relations of the Dominion and Provincial Governments in regard to the Lieutenant-Governors, and there were no precedents to guide him in the present case, he deemed it advisable to submit the advice tendered to him, and the whole case with the attendant circumstances to Her Majesty's Government for their consideration and instructions.”

His Excellency's course was quite reasonable, but when announced to Parliament the Quebec Bleus expressed great indignation, and turned the vials of their wrath from their victim—thus temporarily respited—to the head of the noble Marquis himself! They compared him to Lord Metcalfe, denounced his course as unconstitutional, and openly threatened to commence agitation for his recall! It was the proverbial “tempest in a teapot.” But the Prime Minister managed to moderate the bitterness of his Bleu followers, and when the Home Government recommended the Governor-General to accede to the advice of his Ministers, and to which the Marquis assented, this noisy and discreditable political squall quickly came to an end.

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The great event of the session was the abolition of our long-established Revenue Tariff, and the enactment of a highly Protectionist commercial system after the United States model. The measure was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Tilley on March 14th. His speech was replied to by the Hon. Mr. Cartwright, and the Honourable Charles Tupper and the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie followed. After these addresses, which were able on both sides, the oratory of the recent elections—much of it, unfortunately, of the stump order—flooded the House of Commons and continued more or less throughout the entire session. It filled many hundreds of pages of the official debates in reporting it.

The new Tariff was quietly received throughout the Dominion. The country was in fact tired of discussing it. But in Britain both Conservatives and Liberals denounced it with unusual bitterness. The press was particularly severe. They learned of the high duties imposed by the National Policy, as one influential paper said, "with profound amazement and sorrow," and the whole land rang with protests against the measure as "unstatesmanlike, unwise and retrograde." Many apparently thought that the elections once securely carried, Sir John Macdonald would find some way to avoid antagonizing the commercial policy of the Empire, and confine his fiscal changes to a mere readjustment of the Tariff, as indeed he had publicly promised the New Brunswickers to do.* But, whatever his real

* Sir John Macdonald's telegram to the Honourable John Boyd, St. John, N.B., during the elections.

NATIONAL POLICY INTRODUCED

feelings, he could no longer do this. He was in the hands of an overwhelming Parliamentary majority flushed with victory, and no other practicable course was then open to Sir John but to go with the tide and give to the people the restrictive commercial system which the large majority of them had been induced to vote for.

Mr. Tilley's measure was fairly in accordance with the Administration's promises, even the absurdities of agricultural protection—which it is safe to say took ten dollars out of the farmers' pockets for every one dollar put in—being faithfully provided for. The changes which it made in our trade policy were important and far-reaching. Under the old Revenue Tariff, the Customs duties averaged about twelve and one-half per cent. and seldom rose above seventeen and one-half per cent., but under the new Protective system duties of thirty, forty, and even fifty per cent. were not uncommon. In some specific instances even sixty per cent. duty was levied.

Both British and United States trade with Canada was badly hit by the increased taxation. The former suffered most in cottons, woollens, silks, carpets and similar manufactures, and the latter in furniture, mowing machines, ironware, carriages, leather manufactures, clocks, etc., then largely imported from them. The true-blue Protectionists, however, continued to feel confident their pet panacea would ultimately make good. In their opinion, Protection high enough to shut off foreign competition was all that was necessary to restore good times, increase manufactures, enrich the farmers, develop our latent

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

resources, and in short make the whole Dominion rich and prosperous in short order.

But alas for human hopes! What actually did take place was as follows: prices generally throughout the Dominion were advanced, the cost of living was increased, taxation became more burdensome, the hard times were prolonged for several years, and, as we shall see later on from the Government's own official statistics, during the eighteen years of Conservative Government which followed—the great National Policy working overtime during the whole period—the progress of Canada was slower and its prosperity more disappointing than during any similar period since Confederation took place.

The new Pacific Railway policy was introduced on May 10th, five days before the House prorogued. It consisted of a series of fourteen resolutions. Their adoption was moved by the Honourable Charles Tupper in a clever and conciliatory speech, during which he frankly conceded that the Mackenzie Government had "directed their efforts with a sincere and anxious desire, as far as the circumstances of the country admitted, to carry out the (Pacific Railway) obligations which the Dominion had undertaken."*

The resolutions submitted and the Bill founded upon them gave the Government most extraordinary powers in regard to the construction of the railway, but it was the fall of the following year before the Government succeeded in effecting a contract for the construction of the road. It was made with a

* Parliamentary Debates of 1879, Vol. II, page 1887.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY POLICY

Montreal syndicate, the principal members of which were Donald A. Smith, Esq., now Lord Strathcona, George Stephen, Esq., now Lord Mount-Stephen, Duncan McIntyre, Esq., R. B. Angus, Esq., Morton, Rose & Company, and a few others.

The principal terms of this famous contract may be briefly stated thus: That the Montreal syndicate were to receive for the construction of the road 25,000,000 acres of selected North-West lands, \$25,000,000 in money, and all portions of the line completed or in process of completion, valued at not less than \$28,000,000. Besides these main items, the syndicate was to be exempt from all Provincial and municipal taxation on their unsold lands, to be exempt from Customs duties on all their steel, iron and other railway supplies needed for the completion of the road, together with numerous other concessions of immense value.

Parliament was called together on December 9th, 1880, chiefly to confirm this contract. When the Houses assembled, not a little excitement was aroused by the advent of a rival Toronto syndicate. Among the more eminent of its members were Sir William P. Howland, Honourable D. L. Macpherson, George A. Cox, James McLaren, A. R. McMaster, William Hendrie and many others. They offered to do the work for some \$12,540,000 less on the land and money subsidies alone.* But the Government was no doubt committed to the Montreal syndicate. Sir John Macdonald was

* Resolution moved by the Honourable Edward Blake, *Parliamentary Debates, 1880-1881, Vol. I, page 517.*

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

inflexible. He would allow no alteration in the Montreal contract, and the great majority of the members felt bound to support the Government at all hazards. After numerous Opposition amendments—including Mr. Blake's famous Omnibus resolution—had been voted down, the contract was confirmed, and all difficulties cleared out of the way of the rapid prosecution of this great and important public work.

Both Canada and the Government had no cause to regret that the construction of the Pacific Railway fell into the hands of Messrs. Strathcona, Stephens, McIntyre and Angus. They made a splendid bargain out of Canada, but they brought to the aid of the Government great ability, experience and enterprise, and carried out their contract with such wonderful energy and zeal that the last rail was laid, and the last spike driven, in 1885—five years before the time set for the completion of the gigantic undertaking.

This rapid and successful achievement reflected much credit upon the railway syndicate and the Government as well. It was also a feather in Sir John Macdonald's own cap. It helped to soften the memory of the failure and scandal of his first contract with Sir Hugh Allan, tended to confirm his reputation as a clever administrator, and to secure for him the long lease of power as Prime Minister which he enjoyed until the time of his death.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DEATH OF THE HONOURABLE GEORGE BROWN—BRIEF REVIEW OF A GREAT CAREER—HIS CHARACTER- ISTICS AS A MAN, WRITER, ORATOR AND STATESMAN—UNSURPASSED AMONG THE "MAKERS OF CANADA."

THE whole of Canada was startled on March 25th, 1880, when the telegraph flashed the intelligence that the Honourable George Brown had been shot in the *Globe* office that afternoon. The deed was done by a drunken employee named Bennett, who had been discharged by his foreman, and afterwards went to Mr. Brown's private room and insisted on his giving him a certificate of service and character. Mr. Brown referred him to the foreman or the treasurer, but personally refused to sign. Bennett then drew a revolver, whereupon Mr. Brown grabbed him by the wrist and endeavoured to put him out. During the struggle Bennett fired the pistol, the bullet striking Mr. Brown on the outside of one of his thighs. Mr. Archibald Blue, now head of the Statistics Department at Ottawa, has given a brief but graphic description of what he saw of this fracas. It has been summarized as follows:—

"It was late in the afternoon, and I had just gone by the open door where Brown and Bennett were

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

facing each other and talking earnestly. I had barely got to the door of my room on the next floor (George Brown's old room) when I was startled by a crashing noise below, and a cry as of a wild animal at bay. 'Help! Help! Help! Murder! Murder!' The next moment three of us were tumbling down the stairs on each other's heels. Allan Thompson, Sr., first, and wasn't it John Ewan next? Mr. Brown had the assassin by the throat with one hand and with the other the hand in which was the smoking revolver was held secure. The two first-comers instantly seized Bennett, and Mr. Brown stepped back to the wall, where he stood trembling, and with his face as ashen grey as death. 'Are you hurt, Mr. Brown?' Mr. Blue asked. 'I don't know,' he said, and the writer pointed to the bullet hole in his clothes. 'There,' I said, and Mr. Brown thrust down his hand and brought it out red with his blood. He walked into his own room, a surgeon was called in, the wound was dressed, and Mr. Brown was taken out of the *Globe* building for the last time."

The public excitement would have been more intense had it not been the general belief, and Mr. Brown's own opinion, that the wound was not at all dangerous. Unfortunately, however, blood poisoning set in—as often occurs from gunshot wounds—and the skill of his medical advisers was much neutralized by his restless energy in undertaking work at his house on Beverley Street, when he needed perfect rest and quietness. The greatest mistake was in addressing the annual meeting of the *Globe* shareholders from his sick bed. There

ASSASSINATION OF GEORGE BROWN

were not many present, but his exertions had a disturbing and weakening effect, and from that day his illness assumed a highly dangerous character.

I have reason to recollect these circumstances, inasmuch as the same afternoon on which the shareholders met I was surprised to get a telegram from Mr. Brown requesting me to come to Toronto the next day, as he wished to see me on an important matter. I supposed this might have reference to previous offers he had at various times made me in connection with the press, but in any event it seemed a matter of duty to comply with the request.

Shortly after eleven o'clock the next day I called at Mr. Brown's residence. I was received by Mrs. Brown, who explained that her husband had been awake during the whole night, had only fallen asleep at seven o'clock, and she would like me to call during the afternoon, as he was not yet awake. This request was instantly complied with, and was followed by an interview with Mr. Gordon Brown at the city office. He seemed surprised at his brother's telegram, dwelt on the dangerous character of his illness, and advised against the proposed interview. Under these circumstances, and believing I could see Mr. Brown later if his health improved, I did not return to his house in the afternoon, and so never saw him in life again, nor learned the particular matter upon which he desired an interview.

Being a man of grand physique, Mr. Brown's recovery was hoped for till near the last. But it was not to be. Shortly before daybreak on Sabbath morning, the 9th of May, his spirit took its flight.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

The whole of Canada was profoundly touched with sorrow and regret.*

For the moment all political differences were hushed. It was universally felt that a prince had fallen in Israel, and this was clearly attested by the immense number of citizens of all ranks and classes—many of them from long distances—who attended the obsequies on May 12th.

The pallbearers on the occasion were the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, Honourable Edward Blake, Sir Antoine A. Dorion, Honourable Archibald McKellar, Sir Alexander Campbell, Professor Wilson (Toronto University), Honourable L. S. Huntington, His Honour Judge Morrison, Sir R. I. Cartwright, Honourable David Christie, Honourable G. W. Allan, Sir W. P. Howland and the Honourable William McMaster. No special arrangements were made in regard to the procession, but with such a vast assemblage in carriages and on foot, comprising Cabinet Ministers, members of Parliament, the Judiciary, ministers of the Gospel, University and other Professors, municipal representatives, numerous deputations, and citizens generally, the absence of any formality seemed to deepen the silence, solemnity and sorrow, and gave to the mournful scene an impressiveness which few ever felt so keenly on any similar occasion.

No name is more conspicuous, nor deserves to stand higher or brighter in the pages of Canadian

* A large proportion of all the municipalities of Ontario, either by public meetings or their Councils, met and passed resolutions deploring Mr. Brown's tragic death and loss to the country.

TRIBUTE TO GEORGE BROWN

history, than that of George Brown. Nature had cast him in a large mould both intellectually and physically. He loved Canada and Britain intensely, and speedily won the front rank in Canadian statesmanship by the remarkable energy, the far-sighted political vision, and the fearlessness and disinterestedness with which he originated and advocated measures for the advancement of the country and the good of the people.

In briefly glancing at his place among the eminent makers of Canada, the subject may be considered from three points of view: (1) the man and his personality; (2) as a writer and orator; and (3) as a statesman and citizen.

In regard to his personality, Mr. Brown was in the glare of public life for nearly forty years, but nevertheless was often greatly misunderstood. He was a man of deep convictions and decided opinions—religious as well as political—who was enthusiastic in their advocacy and defence, and seldom or never surrendered in any controversy. These characteristics, coupled with an unusually powerful but somewhat aggressive logic, led his political opponents to represent him as an arrogant dictator, bigoted and headstrong—who would tolerate no other opinions but his own from friend or foe.

This was merely a partisan caricature of the real George Brown. To his political and personal friends he was always bright, agreeable and optimistic, and his long and pleasant relations with Messrs. Dorion, Holton, Mackenzie, Mowat, Blake, Joly, Huntingdon, McKellar, Crooks and other Liberal leaders,

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

proves that he was no more dictatorial than every successful party leader requires to be. For politicians who sought office by selling their principles, he was outspoken in expressing scorn and contempt. But the good men and true, who under the Liberal banner won by hard work nearly all the great political liberties which Canada now enjoys, found the great Liberal leader easy to approach, ready to discuss and advise, and even modify his opinions and actions, if circumstances required.

On the second point, Mr. Brown as a writer and orator, even political friends may differ. His articles in the press were not models in style. His sentences were often cumbrous and sometimes ungraceful. But they were like the man himself: bright, positive, logical, powerful and convincing. A close observer could tell his articles in the press quite readily. One day I met him on the railway between Hamilton and Harrisburg. He was on his way to Bow Park. In conversing I remarked I could nearly always detect his articles. Quick as a flash he opened out the *Globe* which he was reading, and pointing to a long article under the editorial head, "Now," he said, "did I write that?"

This unexpected contestation of my assertion was somewhat embarrassing. When I examined the article, too, my embarrassment was not relieved, as the earlier part was apparently written by him, but the latter part contained no signs of his master hand. Becoming satisfied, however, that I could not be mistaken in the parentage of certain sentences and senti-

A GOOD GUESS

ments, the reply was finally made, "Yes, Mr. Brown, I think you wrote it."

With a merry laugh he burst out, "Oh, you are wrong! It was Gordon who wrote it!"

I then pointed out to him the characteristic expressions and sentences which convinced me that no one else than George Brown could have been guilty of writing them, when, with another good-humoured laugh, he exclaimed:—

"Well, now that I recall the circumstances, I did write the first part of that article after all; but, being called away, I had to leave Gordon to finish it. So you are right after all!"

George Brown was a powerful writer and a great orator, but different in type from any of the gentlemen heretofore mentioned. He was *sui generis*, and he several times told me that few persons had ever found more difficulty in learning to speak in public than he had.

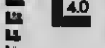
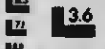
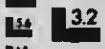
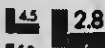
"In my early efforts," he said, on one occasion, "I stuttered and stammered badly, and even yet I often feel as if I had been lumbering and stumbling all through my remarks."

To the end of his life he never quite overcame a slight nervous hesitancy in beginning his speeches. But this disappeared like the morning mist under the rays of the summer sun. Then, his commanding presence, his clear, ringing voice, his evident sincerity, his intellectual grasp and his powerful appeals seldom failed to capture his audience, and for two or three hours thereafter, his impassioned oratory—rendered more effective by unstudied but highly



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PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

dramatic gestures—enabled him to command the undivided attention of his hearers, and often to sway them at his will until the peroration closed amidst rounds of applause.

“Oratory,” according to the Standard lexicon, “is the art of public speaking; the ability so to speak in public as to please, arouse, convince, move or persuade one’s hearers.” Judged by this definition, no Canadian speaker surpassed George Brown. Both in the Parliamentary forum and on the public platform, his speeches probably swayed the masses of the people more than those of any other Canadian of his day. The Hon. Mr. Huntingdon has bluntly told us (page 216) what an immense power as an agitator he exercised in the old Parliament of Canada; and his famous and touching defence of his aged father’s grey hairs when attacked in Parliament by a heartless opponent, his eloquent vindication—whilst labouring under deep emotion—of his course in joining with his political opponents to form the Coalition Government of 1864,* and his ever-memorable speech in explanation and support of the great

*The Honourable R. J. Cartwright, in his most interesting and pleasing address at Ottawa, already quoted from, furnished the following amusing illustration of the excitement then existing in Parliament, and the great influence of Mr. Brown’s speech announcing his acceptance of office to carry Confederation: “On that memorable afternoon, when Mr. Brown, in a few straightforward words, and not without emotion, made his statement in the House and declared that he was about to ally himself to Mr. Cartier and his friends for the purpose of carrying out Confederation, I saw myself an excitable, elderly little Frenchman rush across the floor, climb up on Mr. Brown, fling his arms around his neck and hang for several seconds there suspended, to the great consternation of Mr. Brown and the infinite joy of the spectators in the gallery.”

GEORGE BROWN A MAKER OF CANADA

Act of Confederation when laid before the House of Commons, have often been cited as probably his finest efforts within our Legislative halls.

On the public platform throughout the country he was unsurpassed, and after thirty years' association with him and other leading politicians—during which I heard them frequently—my opinion has always been that George Brown, whilst not the most graceful, not the most polished, nor always the most judicious, was decidedly the most impressive, powerful and effective political orator whom I ever heard address a popular audience.

Turning to the third point, Mr. Brown as a statesman and citizen, he proved himself one of the most active makers of Canada from the first day he set foot in it. As far back as 1844 he helped Baldwin and Lafontaine to overthrow the old Family Compact; he greatly aided to secure the boon of Responsible Government, in getting the Clergy Reserves and Rectories abolished, and in frustrating the efforts of the old Tory party to inflict the evils of Church and State upon this country.

When he first entered Parliament he advocated numerous measures for Canada's advancement, although they made him, as he himself declared, "a Governmental impossibility." In the long fight with Lower Canada he became the champion of Upper Canadian rights, and spent many toilsome years in Opposition advocating Representation by Population, Unsectarian Education and other remedies for the gross political abuses then existing.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Whilst other prominent statesmen, too, ridiculed the idea, and even Sir John Macdonald considered the immense Hudson Bay Territories—nearly one-half the whole continent—as of little value to Canada,* Brown's broad and far-sighted political vision led him to advocate with boldness and success the annexation of the whole vast domain to the Dominion—a masterstroke of statesmanship, which has done more to make Canada great and powerful than any other achievement in our history.

When the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, betrayed the Brown-Dorion Administration in 1858, Mr. Brown became at last convinced that Upper and Lower Canada could never be made to work together under a Legislative Union. With characteristic energy, he soon afterwards convened the great Reform Convention of 1859. That influential body declared for a Federal Union, as we have already seen, and he then immediately began a systematic agitation of Parliament, press and people, in favour of the great constitutional changes which he proposed.

When old Canada drifted from bad to worse, and in 1864 Deadlock became King and Representative

* Pope's authorized "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. II., page 43, says: "But not even Sir John Macdonald in 1865 realized the value of that country *otherwise than as a highway to the Pacific*, for he (Sir John) continues: 'But in any other point of view, it seems to me that that country is of *no present value to Canada*. We have unoccupied land enough to absorb the immigration for many years, and the opening up of the Saskatchewan would do to Canada what the prairie lands of Illinois are doing now, drain away our youth and strength.' Fortunately, he afterwards saw his mistake and changed his mind."

MR. BROWN FAVORS FEDERAL UNION

Government impossible, Mr. Brown became alarmed. He feared Canada was on the brink of disruption, and made no secret on his way to attend the session at Quebec that he would support any political party and any political changes which would avert the threatened danger and restore peace and prosperity.

It is at dangerous and critical emergencies like this in a nation's history, when the true statesman comes to the front. On this occasion it was George Brown. He saw that the crisis ought to be utilized to effect constitutional changes which would permanently restore Canada's peace and prosperity, but that, in consequence of the refusal of the Conservative leader for a considerable time to support Federal Union,* the present opportunity was in danger of being sacrificed again on the altar of a miserable opportunism, whose chief aim was merely to get office and to hold it.

The great Liberal leader rose equal to the occasion. Party bitterness was intense. He was not even on speaking terms with Sir John Macdonald. But with a noble courage, patriotism and sacrifice of

* "Sir John thought we were taking great risks both as regarded the future of the country and as regarded the future of the party with which he was identified. He did consent, but he consented under duress. He consented under the severest pressure, and not until he had been notified by many of his own supporters from Ontario that they would not, in the event of dissolution, come forward again as candidates, and not until he had been notified publicly in my own presence, and in the presence of many others, that his Quebec allies would make their own terms with Mr. Brown if he refused to enter into the Coalition. Not until then did Sir John consent to throw in his lot with them."—Sir R. J. Cartwright's Address on "Canadian Memories."

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

his party and personal feelings, he openly approached his Conservative opponents and pressed them to accept the policy of Federal Union, and thus, at one stroke, end the crisis and the country's whole troubles.

At the magnificent banquet given by the Canadian Club of Ottawa, on April 21st, 1909, in honour of the twenty-four Senators and members of the House of Commons still surviving of the first Parliament of Canada * (1867), the late Sir John Carling, of London, threw some light on the energetic, impulsive way in which Mr. Brown pressed his views at this time. In a letter read at the banquet, Mr. Carling wrote as follows:—

“I happened to be on my way to Quebec to attend to my Parliamentary duties, and when the

* When this famous Banquet took place in 1909 the total surviving Members of the first Dominion Parliament (1867), numbered only twenty-four. Their names were as follows:—

SENATORS.—Honourable A. R. McLelan (N.S.), Honourable William Miller (N.S.), Honourable W. J. Macdonald (B.C.).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Right Honourable Lord Strathcona, Right Honourable Sir Charles Tupper, Right Honourable Sir Richard Cartwright, Honourable Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Honourable Edward Blake, Honourable James Young, Honourable Sir John Carling, Honourable C. A. P. Pelletier, Honourable John Costigan, Sir James Grant, Honourable William Ross (Halifax), Honourable W. H. Ray (Clementsport, N.S.), His Honour Judge Savary (Annapolis Royal, N.S.), Mr. Frank Killam (Yarmouth, N.S.), Mr. L. de V. Chipman (Kentville, N.S.), Dr. Hugh Cameron (Inverness, Cape Breton), Honourable George B. Baker (Sweetsburg, Que.), Mr. Basile Benoit (Chambly, Que.), Sheriff Hagar (Prescott County, O.), Mr. Fred Hurdon (Toronto), Mr. H. Nathan, (now of London, Eng.).

Died since.—Of the gentlemen mentioned above the following have since passed away: Messrs. Carling, Ray, Baker, Benoit, Brousseau, Casault, Pelletier, Miller, Blake, Killam, Chipman and Cartwright.

JOHN A.'S GREAT CHANCE

train reached Toronto, George Brown, the leader of the Reform party, came into the coach in which I was seated and sat down beside me. We soon got into conversation, the subject naturally being the political crisis. Finally Mr. Brown brought his hand down on the arm of the seat with some force and vehemently exclaimed:—

“‘John A. has the chance of his life if he will only avail himself of it.’

“‘What is that?’ I asked.

“‘Let him go in for Confederation,’ was the reply.

“‘Would you support such a movement?’

“‘Most decidedly I would,’ he returned.

“Mr. Brown presented to the Cabinet at Quebec the attitude of the Reformers on the Confederation movement, and on reaching the Ancient Capital, I lost no time in telling the Honourable John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister, and his colleagues, that Brown would support Confederation.”

Fearing lest the golden opportunity might still be lost, Mr. Brown took another more decided and important step. After consulting a few leading political friends, the history tells us * that he authorized the Honourable James Morris and the Honourable John H. Pope to inform Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues, that if they would adopt and undertake to carry out the proposed constitutional changes, he would pledge them the support of the Reform party and himself in Parliament and the country, in carrying through the necessary legislation!

*For particulars of this most dangerous and alarming crisis in Canadian history, see Vol. I, Chapter xviii.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

This remarkable offer—one of the most memorable ever made by an Opposition leader to his party opponents in the whirl of a dangerous political crisis—was crowned with complete success. The Government asked an interview with Mr. Brown, and the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald and Galt waited on him at the St. Louis Hotel. He was personally opposed to accepting office, and fought valiantly to avoid it. But all parties insisted upon it, and his courageous and patriotic action in finally consenting led step by step to the formation of the most powerful Coalition Government in Canadian history, to their attendance at the Charlottetown Conference, to the calling of the famous Quebec Convention of delegates from all the Provinces, to the drafting of the British North America Act, to its passage by the Imperial Parliament, and, finally, to the union of all British America into the Dominion of Canada!*

These brief recollections of George Brown and his intensely active public career clearly attest what a strong, self-reliant, far-sighted statesman he really was. Ambitious he undoubtedly was, but he was naturally indifferent to office and its fascinations. He was twice offered knighthood by the Imperial

* Professor Hugh E. Egerton, M.A., Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford, in a famous address made by him at the time of the Coronation, paid the following brilliant compliment to Mr. Brown, for the part he played in bringing about this great achievement: "Special circumstances may be very different, but it can never be without a lesson for us, to recall the action of the stalwart Canadian Liberal, George Brown, who, out of the nettle of the break-down of Party Government, plucked the flower of a greater Canada!"

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BROWN OFFERED KNIGHTHOOD

Government * and the Mackenzie Administration pressed him to accept the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ontario. He respectfully declined these and all similar honours. Like all other men he had his limitations, nor were his actions by any means free from mistakes. But it may justly be said, that no other of the Makers of Canada rendered greater and more disinterested services to his country than did George Brown during his unusually active and influential public career.

* Mr. Brown might have been knighted in 1874, and in 1879 was actually gazetted and arrangements made for his investiture at Montreal. He went to Montreal to thank Her Majesty's representative, but respectfully declined the honour. Mr. Brown's course was highly commended, and was in line with the refusal of knighthood by the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, the Honourable Edward Blake and afterwards by the Honourable W. T. Fielding. There were special reasons why the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier and the Honourable Oliver Mowat could not refuse these Royal Honours offered them without discourtesy. But there can be little doubt that titles and other class distinctions are not consistent with our democratic Canadian institutions, and that Canadians generally have no sympathy with the numerous ambitious aspirants nowadays, secretly or openly besieging our Governments for knighthoods and other distinctions which they hope may keep their business or raise them a niche above their fellow-citizens.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

BLAKE BECOMES LIBERAL LEADER—PASSAGE OF THE
GERRYMANDER ACT—FEDERAL ATTACKS ON
ONTARIO'S RIGHTS—BOUNDARY QUESTION
NEARLY LEADS TO BLOODSHED—
"MOWAT MUST GO."

THE formal reorganization of the Liberal party in Parliament did not begin until the middle of the session of 1880. The Honourable Alexander Mackenzie up to that time had continued to act as Leader of the Opposition by general consent, and although apparently not so vigorous physically as formerly, he continued to display the same strong intellectual grasp, extensive knowledge and fine debating powers which had made him the undoubted leader of the House of Commons during his last two years in office. Subsequent events proved, however, that Mr. Mackenzie had undermined his health by his herculean labours as head of the Government, and that under a brave exterior he felt keenly the defeat of his Administration at the recent elections.

No formal caucus of the Liberals had been held since their defeat, and the first step in reorganization was the selection of a leader. Glancing again at letters received from Messrs. Holton, Workman, Burpee (N.B.), Mills, Huntingdon, Carmichael (N.S.), Rymal, Fleming, and other M.P.'s on this delicate point, I find all were agreed that the choice

MR. BLAKE INVITED TO LEAD

lay, as it had years before, between Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake. But whilst both of these gentlemen were admired and respected, and some preferred one and some the other, there was a growing feeling among the Liberal Senators and members that, in view of the recent elections, it might better promote the interests of the party if Mr. Blake became Leader under the circumstances then existing. Mr. Mackenzie with characteristic independence cleared the way for his party to act as they pleased by making the following announcement before the adjournment of the House on April 27th:—

“I desire to say a word or two with regard to my personal relations to the House. I yesterday determined to withdraw from the position of Leader of the Opposition, and from this time forth I will speak and act for no one but myself.”

When the Liberal caucus met on the 29th, therefore, the party was without a leader. There was a full attendance of the Liberal Senators and members. On motion of Mr. M. C. Cameron, of Huron, seconded by Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, of Quebec East, it was unanimously resolved: “That as the party is now without a leader, Mr. Blake be invited to fill the position.” That gentleman, who had previously declined when Mr. Mackenzie was a candidate, now signified his acceptance of the Leadership amidst much applause. Subsequently, resolutions were passed with equal enthusiasm, acknowledging the great services which the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie had so long rendered to the Reform party, and express-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

ing the universal admiration, respect and attachment felt towards him by the Liberals in all parts of the Dominion.

The Honourable Edward Blake entered upon his duties as Leader of the Liberal party with unsurpassed ability and zeal. His reputation and popularity, not less than his great powers as a jurist and a statesman, were then at their zenith, and as a Canadian "to the manner born," thousands looked to him as the rising hope of the Dominion. Mr. Blake's task, however, was an exceedingly difficult one, for whilst he was still aided by Mackenzie, Holton, Huntingdon, Mills, Laurier, Cartwright, Burpee (St. John), Anglin, Charlton, and other eminent men, his followers in Parliament were too few to have much influence in the country. His leadership, however, gave fresh inspiration to the Liberal cause, and he bent his great talents and energies to dispel "the deadly apathy" which he so oppressively felt and eloquently declaimed against.

Not much revival in politics, however, took place until the spring of 1882. His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne opened Parliament on February 19th, and the principal measure foreshadowed in the Speech was a new Representation Bill based on the census of the previous year. This proved an eye-opener for Mr. Blake and his slender battalions, for it quickly appeared that the Prime Minister felt so conscious of the change already going on in public opinion that he had determined to bring on a new general election in advance of the full term, and, under the plea of adjusting the representation to cut

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DISCREDITABLE GERRYMANDER

and carve and contort the various constituencies of the Dominion so as—to use his own unguarded words—to “live the Grits,” and make certain the continued ascendancy of his party and himself.

The late Mr. Gerry, of the State of New Jersey, had become famous as the inventor of this summary mode of killing off his political opponents, but his laurels were now endangered by the skill and ingenuity with which this Canadian gerrymander was secretly and artfully planned.

Ten years before, when redistribution took place after the census of 1871, Sir John Macdonald dealt with the same question. He then laid down these principles: That in readjusting the various constituencies, county and other municipal boundaries should never be interfered with unless unavoidable, and that the population of each riding should be as nearly equal as possible. This mode of adjustment gave general satisfaction. Sir Oliver Mowat acted on the same principles. But in the Dominion measure of 1882, Sir John deliberately trampled upon these just principles. County and other boundaries were broken with impunity to effect party purposes, and the equalization of population in the various constituencies became a mere pretence and pitiful farce.

Further particulars of this measure are unnecessary, as public opinion throughout the Dominion has long since been practically unanimous that it was one of the most discreditable measures ever introduced and passed by a Canadian Parliament—or to use the words of Mr. J. S. Willison, Editor-in-Chief

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

of the *Toronto News*: "The Redistribution of 1882 violated all the decencies of political warfare, and subjected the Liberal party to a great and enduring injustice."

The gerrymander discussions aroused Parliament and woke up the country. In a series of powerful speeches, Mr. Blake, aided by his chief lieutenants, fought the bill at every stage. Sir John had charge of it, and there was evidently "a conspiracy of silence." In introducing it he said little. He moved the second and third readings without a word. His followers, with only one exception, were equally silent. But he never missed a chance to press for divisions, and nothing could better prove his wonderful determination and cleverness as a Parliamentary tactician than that—bad and indefensible as every intelligent member of the House of Commons knew this measure to be—and in spite of the energetic opposition of the Liberal leaders from day to day, he piloted it through all its Parliamentary stages in less than two weeks, and on May 12th was able to move its third and final reading.

Like Napoleon's Old Guard at Waterloo, there was nothing left for the Opposition but a final and hopeless Legislative charge. During that day and night, they moved no less than twenty-three amendments against the third reading of the bill, and divided the House twenty-three consecutive times! Party feeling ran high. In language too strong to be Parliamentary, many Liberals denounced it as the basest and meanest gerrymander on record. Even Mr. Blake, nearly always studiously moderate,

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MR. BLAKE'S STRONG INDICTMENT

described it as a "shameful and deliberate attempt on the part of the Government to stab their political opponents," and in closing made this memorable appeal to the Prime Minister:—

"The Right Honourable gentleman said with some pride in our hearing the other day: 'A Briton I was born and a Briton I hope to die.' Sir, it is a grand thing to be a Briton, because associated with that name is all that is noble and brave and chivalrous; but if the honourable gentleman puts that Bill through, a Bill intended to level a fatal blow at his opponents and intended to strengthen himself in the House by sheer force of the majority which he has, I put the question to the honourable gentleman: Having been born a Briton, how can he hope to die a Briton with that blot on a name which I would fain hope may yet go down unsullied by it to posterity?"

But Mr. Blake's fervid eloquence was all in vain. In reply, Sir John said nothing, but continued to press for the final division. This was not reached till well on in the following morning, when this flagrant measure was carried by the usual party vote.

As soon as Parliament was prorogued on May 17th, the Government hurried on the Dominion elections with unusual speed. The writs, which had been quietly prepared in advance, were sent out the following week, the nominations were appointed for June 13th, and the polling for the 20th! It was difficult to understand why the Government were in such a hurry. But it was doubtless in accordance

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

with their leader's "tactics," and certainly left Mr. Blake and his supporters no chance of success against a Government with packed constituencies and immense power and patronage. All things considered, however, the Opposition made an energetic fight, but the Conservatives carried the elections by one hundred and thirty-nine to seventy-two, nearly as large a majority as they had before.

Firmly seated again in power, the Dominion Cabinet resumed its opposition to Sir Oliver Mowat and his position on the boundary question and the Rivers and Streams Bill. The Ontario Legislature was clearly within its constitutional rights in passing an Act to protect the public interest against the rapacity of lumbermen and others using our rivers and streams. Nevertheless, on the plea that private interests were not sufficiently protected by the Act—which Attorney-General Mowat unequivocally denied—Dominion proclamations were issued at Ottawa for three successive years, 1881, 1882, and 1883—disallowing this perfectly constitutional and wise legislation.

This was not only a direct interference with Ontario's Provincial rights, but directly opposed to the position taken by Sir John in 1872 when opposing the disallowance of the New Brunswick School Act.*

* Sir John Macdonald, in his important speech against the disallowance of the New Brunswick School Act in 1872, spoke as follows: "The Provinces have their rights, and the question is not whether this House thinks the local Legislature to have been right or wrong. Whenever a matter such as this comes before us, we should say at once that we have no right to interfere as long as the Provincial Legislatures have acted within the bounds of the authority which the Constitution gives them. If they did

THE BOUNDARY QUESTION

It was not until the British Privy Council had decided the famous McLaren *vs.* Caldwell suit, which established the perfectly constitutional and legal character of the measure, that the Rivers and Streams Act of 1884—enacted by the Ontario Legislature for the fourth time—escaped the Dominion guillotine and became law.

The Boundary question had now reached a critical, even a dangerous stage. This arose chiefly from Ottawa intrigues. When the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie was Premier, Mr. Mowat and he decided to settle the question by arbitration. The Honourable Sir Francis Hincks, Chief-Justice R. A. Harrison, and Sir Edward Thornton, G.C.B., then British Minister at Washington, were chosen as the arbitrators—a most excellent selection. During the first week of August, the Board held court at

not know that the question they were arguing and discussing and amending and modifying, to suit their own people, would be law, it was all a sham and the Federal principle was gone forever. If this House took the great responsibility of interfering with every law passed by Provincial Legislatures, it would—instead of being, as it is now, a general Court of Parliament for the decision of great Dominion questions—become simply a Court of Appeal to try whether Provincial Legislatures were right or wrong in the conclusions to which they came.”—Biggar’s “Life of Sir Oliver Mowat,” Vol. I., page 342.

In Mr. Blake’s speech were these pregnant words on the same subject: “If you are to admit the view that the Dominion Cabinet may veto and destroy your legislation on purely local questions, you make your local Legislatures a sham, and you had better openly, honestly and above board do that which the other system aims at, viz., create one central legislative power, and let the Parliament of Ottawa do all the business. I enquire only as to this: Is the law passed by the local Legislature within the exclusive competency of that Legislature and not materially affecting Dominion interests? If so, the Ottawa Cabinet have no right to touch it.”—*Ibid.*, page 343.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Ottawa, and fully enquired into the whole matter. The speeches of the many eminent counsel present were most illuminative, and the arbitrators unani- mously decided in favour of Ontario's right and title to the larger boundaries—which indeed had always been part of its territory.

The Ontario Legislature promptly accepted this award, and during the sessions of 1879 and 1880 both Conservatives and Liberals in that House— with one solitary exception—voted unanimous approval of it. The Conservatives, however, were now in power at Ottawa again, and the Dominion Cabinet declined to take any action in regard to the award in 1879, and during the session of 1880 Sir John Macdonald announced that the Govern- ment would not confirm it by legislation, which, in effect, was a repudiation of the award altogether.

This was a most objectionable proceeding, but those at the head of this intrigue to dismember Ontario* now took a more artful and dangerous step to effect their purpose. According to Biggar's "Life of Sir Oliver Mowat," Vol. II., page 380, the Ottawa authorities directly inspired and induced the Manitoba Ministry to call a special meeting of their Legislature (December 16th to 23rd, 1881) and pass an Act to extend their Provincial bound- aries so as to cover and take into Manitoba the most valuable part of what was known as "the disputed territory."

* "I have reason to know that this Act was introduced and passed under *direct inspiration of the Ottawa authorities.*"— Biggar's "Life of Sir Oliver Mowat," Vol. II., page 382.

THE BRINK OF CIVIL WAR

The Dominion Government had this Act promptly confirmed when Parliament met at Ottawa, and thus undertook to settle the Boundary question by Dominion and Manitoba legislation, and thus strip Ontario of about one-half of its entire territory!

This cunningly-devised but reckless action against Ontario by the Dominion Cabinet—the Prime Minister of which should have been his own Province's foremost defender—brought Ontario and Manitoba to the brink of civil war. Few Canadians are even yet aware how closely the opposing forces of the two Provinces came to bloodshed at Rat Portage during the summer of 1883.

The circumstances are indelibly stamped on my memory, as I was sworn in a member of the Executive Council and Ontario Government on June 3rd, 1883, and on my return to Toronto after re-election in North Brant, I found the situation at Rat Portage seriously alarming. Mr. Mowat was across the seas on a much needed holiday. Mr. Adam Crooks, Minister of Education, was at the Hotel Rigi in the mountains of Switzerland, dangerously ill,* and the little backwoods village of Rat Portage had suddenly become a danger-point of contested jurisdiction between Ontario and Manitoba, the latter now claiming most of the vast and valuable territory then in dispute between the two Provinces.

* The Hon. Mr. Crooks wrote me from Switzerland, July 1st, 1883, and after congratulations, closed his letter in these words: "I am improving so satisfactorily in health and strength from the opportunity afforded me I should return fully restored in health and even better than for some years." Crooks was a noble Canadian. Alas! his recovery was never realized.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Ontario was represented by Commissioners George Burden, of Rat Portage, and George R. Patullo, of Woodstock, and Stipendiary Magistrate W. D. Lyon, and they had sworn in a considerable force of police to preserve law and order, and maintain the rights of the Province; the Manitoba Government had sent down several officials and the Winnipeg Field Battery to maintain their real or supposed rights. I well recollect the deep anxiety felt by the Honourable T. B. Pardee—who was then acting Prime Minister—and indeed all his colleagues, lest hot-heads in the two forces should get into actual conflict and serious bloodshed result. For several days it was feared every hour that the telegrams being constantly received from the scene of trouble would bring tidings of an actual outbreak between the two hostile forces.

Fortunately, with the exception of arrests, counter arrests and some verbal and fistic altercations, no other breach of the peace occurred. The fact was, the officials representing Manitoba, as well as those of Ontario, clearly saw the dangerous position which the boundary troubles had reached, and it was doubtless largely due to their anxiety and prudence that the crisis passed over without the relations of the two Provinces being stained with a colour which often takes a long time to wash away.

When Sir Oliver Mowat returned home he acted with characteristic promptitude. He addressed the Manitoba Government direct. He proposed that their Attorney-General, James A. Miller, Esq., Q.C., should meet him in Toronto to decide upon some

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ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW MOWAT

mode of relieving the dangerous situation at Rat Portage, and of settling the whole question. This offer was accepted. Sir Oliver and Mr. Miller soon afterwards met as agreed upon. They carefully prepared and agreed upon a Special Case covering the whole Boundary question from its inception. This was to go to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for final arbitrament, and a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon in regard to the administration of affairs in the disputed territory until the decision was reached. Thus the serious dangers which menaced the public peace at Rat Portage happily disappeared, and the question over which the Dominion and Ontario had wrangled for years, Ontario and Manitoba in a few interviews placed on the certain road to an equitable and early settlement.

Triumphant in the Dominion, the Conservative party, Federal and Provincial, very naturally united in an active movement to overthrow Sir Oliver Mowat in the fall of 1882. They held a Provincial Convention in Toronto on September 13th. The Honourable (now Sir) W. R. Meredith, the Ontario leader, the Honourable Alexander Morris, Mr. Lauder, Mr. Merrick, Mr. Creighton and other M.P.P.'s were the ostensible movers. But behind them Sir John Macdonald was the inspiring and directing spirit, and he added to the *éclat* of this occasion by bringing the Honourable Leonard Tilley and the Honourable John Costigan of New Brunswick with him to the gathering. The convention was well and influentially attended. The Conserva-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

tive chieftain delivered one of his old-time, clever party philippics against the Grits—spiced by a few of his droll stories—and the whole proceedings were well calculated to stir up the party to make a special effort at the coming elections to capture the long-defiant Liberal stronghold.

Mr. Mowat and his colleagues did not underrate the danger of this Conservative movement. They prepared to meet it. They assembled the Legislature on December 13th. Then Mr. Mowat called a Provincial Liberal Convention to meet on January 3rd, 1883, during the holidays. The Province responded heartily. The attendance in fact was extraordinary. It was estimated that from six thousand to seven thousand persons were present. The Pavilion in the Horticultural Garden could not hold them, and Shaftesbury Hall was crowded with the overflow.

Captain McMaster, Toronto, was chosen chairman of the former meeting, and Mr. James Young, M.P.P., of the latter. The principal speeches were made by Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Blake, and Mr. Mowat in both halls, and the principal themes of discussion were the Boundary question and the Rivers and Streams Act, intense feeling being exhibited by the delegates against the attempts being made to despoil Ontario of a large part of its territory and constitutional rights. I have attended every Reform Convention held in Ontario for over half a century—including that of 1857—and am convinced this was the largest and most influential political convention ever held in this country.

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" MOWAT MUST GO "

Both sides now had their armour polished for the elections to the fifth Ontario Legislature, and Cæsar and Pompey being much alike in some respects, Mr. Mowat followed the Dominion example and hurried them on. His Honour, Lieutenant-Governor John Beverley Robinson, both prorogued the session and dissolved the Legislature on the same day—February 1st, 1883—and the Government appointed the 20th for the nominations and the 27th for the polling.

The contest had in fact already begun in some places, and it proved one of the hottest which the Province ever experienced. With Ontario's boundaries still unsettled much was at stake. Sir John Macdonald and his Ministers took a very active part on behalf of Mr. Meredith and the Ontario Opposition. Mr. Mowat and his colleagues also exerted themselves as they never did before. They felt it was a life and death struggle. Sir John gave out the war cry: "Mowat must go!" But whilst he had swimmingly carried the Dominion for his own Administration only the year before, the polling on this occasion proved he was unable to overthrow Sir Oliver Mowat in Ontario, whose electors gave him a safe majority of ten to continue what proved to be, when complete, a quarter of a century of the wisest, purest and best government which representative institutions have ever produced in any land.

Taking all the various legal disputes between the two Governments which had to go to Great Britain at this period for adjudication, the Dominion was singularly unfortunate.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

On one of the earlier cases—the Rivers and Streams Bill—the Dominion's position was unsustainable. The Special Case prepared by Mr. Mowat and Mr. Miller on the Boundary question came before the Judicial Committee on July 15th, 1884. It was probably the most important and elaborately argued colonial case which ever came before that illustrious body, and Ontario was completely successful, the Province being confirmed in all its original boundaries and rights.

The Boundary question settled, Sir John Macdonald then claimed that having extinguished the Indian titles, the Dominion owned all the lands, timber, minerals, etc., in the vast territories! Sir Oliver promptly decided to put this latter claim to the test. He very shortly began a suit to dispossess the St. Catharines Milling and Lumber Company from the large tract of land and timber which the Dominion Government had granted to them, and also to set aside numerous grants made to other speculators and friends when the territory was still in dispute.

It was 1888 before this case reached the Privy Council for argument. But on this important question, which involved the Dominion claims under their Indian titles, Ontario was again completely successful, and in at least six or seven different lawsuits which had to be sent to the Mother Country for final settlement, and over which Sir John and Sir Oliver battled for many years, the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council decided every one of them in favour of Mr. Mowat's contentions.

CHAPTER XXXV.

FAILURE OF THE NATIONAL POLICY—SIR JOHN
MACDONALD HONOURED IN BRITAIN—THE
MARQUIS OF LORNE AND THE PRINCESS
LOUISE—SECOND RIEL REBELLION—ITS
COLLAPSE AT THE BATTLE OF
BATOCHÉ—RIEL'S EXECUTION.

THE elections of 1882 and 1883 firmly entrenched the Conservative party in power at Ottawa and the Liberal party in Toronto, and the Dominion entered upon a period of political quietude. Unfortunately, it was dull commercially as well as politically. Notwithstanding the fact that the National Policy had been in operation for several years, the highly-coloured promises made by its advocates of Dominion development and business prosperity failed to materialize.

The total commerce of Canada during the last year of the Mackenzie Administration (1878) was of the value of \$172,405,454. The National Policy came into force early in 1879. The returns for that year declined to \$153,405,682; in 1880 they rose again to \$174,401,205. But as early as 1872 and 1873—nearly a decade before that—and under the low Revenue Tariff then existing, the volume of our trade during both years was considerably over \$217,000,000. The exact returns for 1873 were \$217,304,516, which is over forty-three millions of

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

dollars more than our total trade in 1880, the second year of the famous new policy.

Our farmers were blessed with a splendid harvest in 1882, and with the immense expenditure then going on in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, our commercial transactions were exceptionally enlarged. The value of our commerce in 1883 expanded to \$230,339,826. This promising result revived the hopes of some of its devotees that the National Policy would yet make good and get in its promised work.

But alas for such expectations, from that year of promise (1883) onwards till 1897—a period of fourteen years—and during which the National Policy was constantly in force—our official Blue Books prove that the Dominion made disappointingly slow progress, did little more, in fact, as regards our annual trade, than simply mark time! Our imports and exports seemed as if struck with some blight. In proof of this, I think two facts will be deemed conclusive. Thanks to the good harvest of 1882, the value of our exports during that year were \$102,137,203. For nine or ten successive years thereafter, under the National Policy, exports actually fell below the above figures. In 1883 our imports were \$132,254,022. But during the whole future continuance of the National Policy—from 1883 till it was swept out in 1897, fourteen years afterwards—our imports were actually less, and continuously less, during the whole long period than they were at its beginning.*

* "The Canada Year Book," 1908, Table XCV., page 177.

LAURIER AND THE PREFERENCE

If any further proof is needed to thoroughly discredit the old National Policy, it may be found in the following facts: When the Laurier Administration rescinded that policy in 1897, gave to Great Britain a preference in our Canadian markets, and reduced and rearranged our tariff more on a revenue and less on a protective basis, the Dominion bounded forward like a young giant who had burst his fetters. Our commerce immediately began to boom. Imports and exports alike expanded, and have been expanding annually ever since!

The last year of the National Policy (1896) the total commercial transactions of the Dominion amounted to \$239,025,360, not quite nine millions more than they were thirteen years before! The first full year of the Fielding Tariff (1898) our commerce expanded to \$304,475,736; in five years (1902) to \$423,910,444; in ten years (1906) to \$550,872,645; and for the year ending March 30th, 1911, the value of our commerce reached the magnificent aggregate of \$759,094,389!

By consulting our official Year Books ample corroboration may be found of the foregoing statements, which quickly wrought a revolution in public opinion throughout Canada as to the boasted merits of the National Policy, and led to the universal currency of the joke of the period, "Has the National Policy made you rich?" The present extraordinary expansion in our annual commerce, however, is doubtless not all due to the change of fiscal policy, but, contrasted with the commercial stagnation which so long existed under the National

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Policy, clearly establishes a fact which Canadians may well ponder—that whilst in the skilful hands of Sir John Macdonald the National Policy was made the winning card at the elections of 1878, it proved a costly blunder for Canada, involving immense loss to the people for eighteen successive years thereafter.

The Viceregal reign of His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne and his Royal Consort the Princess Louise, came to an end in the summer of 1883. They arrived amidst political storms, and His Excellency soon found himself enmeshed in the short but dangerous Letellier crisis. They departed amidst political calm, taking with them one of the most complimentary and eulogistic Addresses ever passed by the Senate and House of Commons on a similar occasion. His Excellency, now the Duke of Argyll, left many warm friends all over Canada, and Her Royal Highness, the Princess Louise, was universally regarded as one of the most beautiful, accomplished and gracious ladies* who ever represented the Crown in this country.

During November, 1884, Sir John Macdonald set out on his third visit to Great Britain since his re-

* I can speak of this with some knowledge. It became my duty as a Director during the Provincial Exhibition held at Ottawa in 1883, to conduct Their Excellencies through what was then known as the Crystal Palace, for a private examination of the mechanical, industrial, pomological, art and other exhibits. I was much struck with the great interest which both of Their Excellencies manifested in many of the exhibits, and especially with the distinguished but amiable and graceful manner in which Her Royal Highness treated all who had the honour of an introduction to her.

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MACDONALD'S VISIT TO BRITAIN

installment as Prime Minister of Canada. Honours from the Imperial Government, of which Gladstone was the distinguished head, awaited him there, and Mr. Joseph Pope, his biographer, has expressed the opinion that this visit was "in some respects the culmination point in his career." He was treated with great distinction. Mr. Gladstone offered him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and he was invited to Windsor Castle, where he was invested with this distinguished Order by Queen Victoria herself. He was also dined at the Eighty Club, many eminent statesmen and military officers being present, and received numerous other private courtesies which the Imperial authorities know so well how to bestow on distinguished Colonial visitors.

The Dominion was thrown into much excitement during the spring of 1885 by the breaking out of the second Riel Rebellion in what was then considered the far-distant North-West. The halfbreeds on the Saskatchewan, like those in Manitoba, were intensely dissatisfied with the way the Government engineers were surveying and parcelling out their lands, and the former rebel chief, Louis Riel—who had returned from banishment in Montana, U.S., immediately before—saw another opportunity to gratify his overweening desire for notoriety by arousing and organizing the halfbreeds and Indians into armed resistance to the Government and the local authorities.

The immediate scene of Riel's operations may be described as follows: Prince Albert was then the

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

centre of the small white population. Thirty miles east, at a point known as "The Forks," the great Saskatchewan River divided into two branches—the North and the South—both extending in a northwesterly direction and nearly parallel for a considerable distance. Prince Albert is situated about thirty miles up the north branch from the Forks, and fifty miles above that place was Fort Carleton, a fortified post of the Mounted Police, with a few small log houses around it. Straight across the country from Fort Carleton to the south branch of the Saskatchewan—about twenty miles distant—lay the village of Batoche Ferry, which Riel had chosen as his headquarters, and between Batoche and Fort Carleton was the little settlement of Duck Lake, where the first blood was shed.*

Major Crozier and a body of Mounted Police from Fort Carleton, accompanied by about forty Prince Albert Volunteers—about eighty armed men in all—started on March 26th in sleighs for Duck Lake to recover some Government stores which the halfbreeds had seized. About two hundred of the latter under Gabriel Dumont—a brave and daring fellow—had taken up a strong position and resisted the further advance of Major Crozier and his force. In the midst of a parley between the officers, some person or persons began firing, and a murderous fusilade was commenced, which lasted for nearly an hour. Being greatly outnumbered, the Mounted Police and volunteers had to retire, having lost ten

* The above statements have been mostly gleaned from Roberts' "History of Canada," chap. xxv.

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NORTH-WEST REBELLION

men killed and about twelve wounded! Being sheltered, the insurgent loss did not exceed five. This encounter was little better than a massacre, and aroused the Dominion as it had been seldom aroused before.

The whole region between the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan River, from east of Prince Albert to as far west as Battleford and beyond, quickly became a wild scene of alarm and danger. Details need not be repeated. Suffice it to say that Riel had succeeded in getting several hundred the Metis (some estimates were as high as 1,000) to take up arms, and had persuaded Big Bear and other Indian chiefs to go on the warpath, whilst Poundmaker and other Indians, even the Blackfeet, were restless and uncertain. If the Indian rising had become general, terrible bloodshed and suffering must have followed.

Thoroughly alarmed, the Federal Government and Militia Department acted with energy and promptness. They immediately called out a considerable number of our volunteer forces, who sprang to arms with commendable alacrity. In the short space of about two weeks, Major-General Middleton, the Commander-in-Chief, found himself at Qu'Appelle, then the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, with a small Canadian army at his command, eager to start on the long marches still necessary to take them to the seat of war. These troops were mostly from Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba, but others from the Maritime Provinces were on the way. Much fear was entertained that the

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Indians would seize Battleford, and even Edmonton, much further west. General Middleton therefore decided to divide his little force into three columns. General Strange and between five and six hundred men were sent to protect Edmonton from Big Bear and his braves; Colonel Otter (now Brigadier-General) and a similar force went forward to relieve Battleford and keep an eye on Poundmaker and his reserve; whilst the main body under Middleton himself was to protect Prince Alhert and then advance on Batoche, the rebel chief's headquarters.

What follows is now matter of history. General Strange relieved Edmonton, but was not in time to prevent some of Big Bear's men from committing the cruel Frog Lake massacre, and causing a small body of Mounted Police under command of a son of the great Charles Dickens to abandon Fort Pitt as indefensible. Colonel Otter also relieved Battleford, but got into a severe fight with Poundmaker and his three hundred warriors at Cut Knife Creek on May 2nd. This wily old chief claimed he was only defending his reserve and wigwams and would not take any part beyond them, but fought with skill and desperation. The battle of Cut Knife Creek was a sharp encounter. Colonel Otter and his force acted with great bravery—acted, in fact, like veterans—but circumstances convinced that officer that it was better to withdraw his force and return to Battleford, which he did successfully. During the engagement, however, eight Canadians were killed and fifteen wounded.

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CAPTURE OF BATOCHÉ

Prince Albert was out of danger as soon as General Middleton and his main force advanced, but on proceeding towards Batoché they came on the rebel lines at a place called Fish Creek, on April 24th. The battle of Fish Creek began the next morning at nine o'clock and Dumont and a large body of halfbreeds made a desperate resistance from well-chosen positions. It was a sanguinary struggle, but they were finally driven back, leaving the Canadians in possession of the field. General Middleton did not follow, but decided to encamp at Fish Creek and await the arrival of some reinforcements on their way, including Captain Howard and his Gatling gun.

General Middleton and his now well-equipped force of about one thousand volunteers did not reach and invest Batoché—the Riel headquarters and proposed seat of government—until May 8th. The insurgents had thrown up entrenchments, dug rifle pits, and made their position quite formidable. Reconnoitering and skirmishing began on the morning of the 9th and continued for three days, with a number of casualties on both sides, but without any general attack or satisfactory results.

The delay in assaulting the rebel position soon caused some murmurs. It appears that the commander and other British officers were loath to risk the volunteers on a frontal attack on the strong entrenchments and rifle pits of the halfbreeds, but the Canadian officers and their men generally grew tired of inaction, and became eager that a general attack upon the enemy should be made.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Roberts' History says (page 310) that about noon on the 11th, the Riel fire slackened, and Colonels Straubenzie, Williams and Grassett begged General Middleton "in vain for permission to charge." In Colonel George T. Denison's "Soldiering in Canada," chapter xxiii., page 295, it is stated that "on the night of the 11th Williams said to one of his comrades: 'The next time I am sent forward to skirmish, I will dash right on with the bayonet and end this matter, and I will want you to back me up,' and this seems to have been agreed upon, as the result proved."

However this may have been, there is no doubt the general attack was precipitated. The next day, about noon, Colonel Williams, Colonel Grassett and other officers did not confine themselves to skirmishing, but, as if by arrangement, made a joint attack with fixed bayonets on the nearest points of the rebel position and rifle pits. Thinking this only the beginning of the Government attack, the first line of halfbreeds, after a short resistance, retreated in some disorder to the second line—the commanding General's first knowledge of the attack being said to be the vociferous cheering of the volunteers in pursuit of the fleeing insurgents. It was current report, in fact, that General Middleton and Colonel Houghton were quietly taking their mid-day lunch at the time when the cheers first aroused their attention.

After a moment's surprise and indignation, General Middleton ordered out the rest of the troops, and soon joined Williams, Grassett and their comrades in carrying the other rebel positions

END OF REBELLION

and completing their defeat. After holding their ground for a considerable time, the halfbreeds finally became completely demoralized, and began a general flight in almost every direction. They were pursued by the victorious Canadians till their rout was complete.

Thus ended the battle of Batoche, which completely crushed the power of Riel and his followers—never very great at any time—to do any further serious harm. Big Bear and Poundmaker had still to be subdued, but this second North-West Rebellion practically collapsed with the battle and victory of Batoche, and in a short time thereafter Riel, Poundmaker, Big Bear and numerous others were in custody to answer for the crime of treason and other criminal offences.

The trial, conviction and execution of the Metis chief, Louis Riel, kept the Dominion for many months in as much excitement as the Rebellion itself. He was brought to trial in Regina, N.W.T., before Judge Richardson and a jury of six, on the 28th of July. His chief counsel was Mr. Charles Fitzpatrick, Q.C., of Quebec (now Sir Charles, and Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court), and the representatives of the Crown were Mr. B. B. Osler, Q.C., and Mr. Christopher Robinson, Q.C., of Toronto. The trial lasted four days, and after some thrilling scenes—the most singular being Riel's angry and violent repudiation of his counsel's plea that he was insane—the jury brought in a verdict of "Guilty," with a recommendation to mercy, and he was sentenced to be hanged.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Through the great pressure brought to bear on the Government, especially by the French-Canadians and Western halfbreeds, the execution of Riel was postponed two or three times, and hope that his sentence would be commuted to life imprisonment was entertained by many to the last. But the end of this painful case had to come, and on the 12th November the Dominion Government issued an Order-in-Council that the execution should not be extended farther than the time already set, November 16th, and on that day the unfortunate man, who had confidently hoped to be reprieved, was hung in the Mounted Police prison at Regina in the presence, almost exclusively, of a few Crown officials.

Thus ended the career of David Louis Riel—a man of much natural brightness, with great influence over his halfbreed compatriots, but carried away with an insane ambition for public notoriety, irrespective of the suffering and misery brought on others. Having fomented two rebellions, under the law he had doubtless forfeited his life. But a careful consideration of all the circumstances—nearly twenty-five years after their occurrence—has left two strong impressions on my mind in regard to this painful chapter in our history. The first is, that aside from the strong medical testimony given at the trial by Drs. Roy, Clarke and other mental specialists, it is difficult to conceive how Riel could indulge in the wild, visionary schemes and lawless and silly actions during this Rebellion without being mentally unsound, and suffering—at least at times—

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SCOTT'S TRAGIC DEATH

from what is known as ambitious mental mania. And the second is, that the death penalty would probably never have been inflicted, and Riel might have been a living man to-day, but that Thomas Scott's tragic and cruel death outside the walls of old Fort Garry, in the winter of 1876, still projected so dark a shadow that it deadened all appeals for mercy and sealed the prisoner's doom.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HOT FIGHT OVER THE FRANCHISE ACT—CANADA'S
FOREMOST PARLIAMENTARY DEBATER—MOWAT'S
CLEVER TACTICS—GREAT STRUGGLE BE-
TWEEN MACDONALD AND BLAKE—
SIR JOHN VICTORIOUS.

THE political situation at this time began to show manifest signs of a great political struggle between the Honourable Edward Blake and Sir John Macdonald for possession of the Federal Government. The Parliamentary session of 1885 afforded stirring evidence of this. It was opened by the Marquis of Lansdowne on January 29th. The prorogation did not take place till July 20th—nearly six months thereafter!

The session was early excited by an aggressive speech made by Mr. Blake attacking the Government's lavish Pacific Railway concessions. This was followed by a direct want of confidence motion censuring them for neglect and mismanagement of the second Riel Rebellion, then raging in the Northwest, and a systematic and spirited effort to "Stonewall"—as they call it in Australia—the proposed new Franchise Bills, which the Opposition felt should be opposed at every stage and by every means in their power.

The latter proved the most hotly contested fight of a fighting session. From the beginning of Con-

PARTISAN VOTERS' LISTS

federation—a period of eighteen years—the Dominion had steadily used the franchises and voters' lists of the Provinces for all Federal elections. This system worked well, but Sir John Macdonald, with some plausibility, maintained that the Dominion should have its own franchise and voters' lists. Pope, in his "Memoirs," says: "The main principles underlying Sir John Macdonald's Franchise Act are, (1) uniformity of the suffrage, and (2) the recognition of a property qualification as determining the right to vote."

Had this Bill been fair and impartial—had it proposed that the choice of the makers of the voters' lists should be confined to judges, sheriffs, registrars and other permanent officials disconnected with politics—much might have been said in its favour. But when it became known that the Government took power in the Bill to appoint their own revisers—in other words their own political partisans—to prepare and make up the voters' lists for the elections throughout the whole Dominion, the utterly unfair and partisan character of the measure became manifest to every impartial person.

The Liberals immediately denounced it as a twin measure to the notorious Gerrymander. It was so grossly unfair that political passion was immediately aroused. Hot words became the order of the day. Mr. Blake, in a series of speeches, fairly riddled the Bill, scathingly exposing and ridiculing its unjust provisions. In one stirring passage he told the Prime Minister flatly that "in 1872 he had taken Sir Hugh Allan's money to carry the elections of

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

that year; that he had reconstructed the whole constituencies of the Dominion to ensure his success in 1882; and now he had produced a Bill to take over the preparation and control of the entire voters' lists into the hands of himself and his partisans in preparation for the next contest."

The Opposition stonewalled the Franchise Bill for weeks. They moved nearly thirty amendments against it. Among their numerous unavailing objections they declared—in effect—that Government control of the voters' lists was not politics, but a daring violation of the principles of representative government artfully planned by the Prime Minister to fasten the grip of the Conservative party on place and power by their own interested votes!

"When Self the wavering balance holds,
'Tis seldom right adjusted."

The hands of the political barometer for some time had been moving towards "Change." The National Policy had ceased to be a pull. The farmers, in particular, had found it out. The Dominion as a whole was not prospering as it should have done. The bloodshed and enormous cost of the North-West Rebellion had damaged the Government's popularity. Their chief danger, however, arose from the rapid rise into prominence and popularity of the new Leader of the Liberal party—the Honourable Edward Blake.

I have already described (Vol. II., page 32) my impressions of Mr. Blake on meeting him for the first time. His portrait in this volume and the

EDWARD BLAKE HAD NO SUPERIOR

life-sized oil painting of him by Mr. Wyly Grier in the Ontario Legislative Buildings hardly do him justice.

He belonged to the highest type of native Canadians—physically, educationally, intellectually and morally. Opponents have occasionally spoken of him as being distant and cold. But he possessed the warm Irish heart, and what some have thought coldness arose solely from defective vision. I recall an incident which verifies this. One day when walking down Sparks Street, as we were leaving Ottawa at the close of a session, he burst out with an exclamation of deep regret that he was unable to bow, shake hands or utter a passing word of leave-taking—as I was almost continuously doing—to the numerous Ottawa and other friends we chanced to meet. "The trouble is," he said, "my eyesight prevents me recognizing them until they are either passed, or it is too late for me to speak or greet them."

Among all the distinguished statesmen who composed the first three Dominion Parliaments—and many of them were most able and distinguished men—it is safe to say that Edward Blake had no superior. Like other political leaders he had his limitations, but his high personal character, prominence at the Bar, and his masterful powers in legislation and debate gave him immense influence in Parliament.

There are many reasons, in fact, for classing Mr. Blake, in his prime, as the most logical, effective and brilliant Parliamentary debater—after the

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

British model—whose voice has yet been heard within our Canadian House of Commons. His fame at this time spread to the Dominion's remotest bounds, and thousands of Canadians began to regard him as the coming Prime Minister and rising hope of his country.

The veteran Conservative chief evidently foresaw and felt this growing danger to his political ascendancy. He began preparations early for the Dominion and Ontario elections. Quebec was hot and bitter over the Cabinet's course in regard to Riel and the North-West troubles; an elaborate and costly banquet to Sir John at Montreal might help to allay the storm. This was most successfully carried out, and the power of the Government was concentrated—as we have already seen—in carrying through Parliament the trump card for the approaching elections—the new Voters' Lists Act. Then the Honourable John S. D. Thompson was induced to resign from the Nova Scotia Bench to become Minister of Justice, and several further Cabinet and other changes were made which clearly indicated that Canada's famous political strategist was already laying his plans for the coming political contest.

The sessions for the following year—1886—of the Federal Parliament and the Ontario Legislature did not materially alter the political situation. The Ontario House assembled on January 28th, the Senate and House of Commons on February 25th. Both sessions were expected to be stormy, but turned out rather tame and unimportant. The fact is, the

MOWAT SUSTAINED

eyes of both political parties were already fixed upon the constituencies, which it was clearly foreseen would speedily have to decide between Macdonald and Blake at the polls. The Dominion election was expected to take place first, as its Ministers had held four sessions, and Ontario only three. But Sir Oliver Mowat had followed Sir John at the elections of 1882, and was too shrewd to want to do so again. He therefore on this occasion cleverly took a leaf from his opponent's book and decided not to hold any fourth session at all, but appeal immediately to the electors of the Province. Accordingly a proclamation issued by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Honourable John Beverley Robinson, dissolved the Legislature on November 15th, and the writs were issued for a new election to be held on the 28th.

Mr. Mowat and his colleagues were greatly helped by Mr. Blake and his friends during this lively contest, as they worked hand in hand till its close. They were met, however, with equal determination and zeal by the Conservative chief and Mr. Meredith and his lieutenants, who were not without hopes that, as Sir Oliver had so small a majority at the last elections, they might now be able to defeat him and crush Blake at a single stroke! These bright hopes, however, proved entirely elusive. At the close of the polls, the Mowat Government was again sustained by fifty-seven to thirty-four—more than double its former majority—and Mr. Blake's star for the Federal elections seemed brighter than ever. Nothing could better illustrate the undaunted

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

courage of Sir John Macdonald and his jaunty confidence in his political plans than that—notwithstanding this crushing Ontario defeat—he never hesitated, but promptly brought on the Federal elections. The constituencies and voters' lists which gave Mowat victory, however, were not those to which Mr. Blake and the Dominion Liberals had to appeal, and the action of the First Minister clearly showed his reliance on the influence of the Government aided by the Gerrymander and the new Franchise Bill. Shortly after the holidays, the Federal elections were announced, the nominations to take place on the 15th and the elections a week later—February 22nd, 1887.

This contest for the sixth Canadian Parliament proved unusually exciting. The Hon. Mr. Blake surprised his friends—after all the hard work he had already done—by the remarkable energy and spirit with which he conducted the canvass.

At an influential meeting held at his own house in Toronto he informed his principal lieutenants that he would collect no campaign funds, that he would conduct the elections legally and purely, and trust his fellow-Canadians in each Province and riding to organize their own sections. At this gathering, Mr. Blake's principal colleague—whose phenomenal talent for party leadership has since made him famous—was the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier, of Quebec, but scores of other distinguished young Canadians had rallied to their standard. Blake and Laurier made an attractive combination, and Liberal hopes soared accordingly.

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SIR JOHN SUSTAINED

The Government, however, had almost every advantage in their favour. By the votes of their own Parliamentary majority, they had placed themselves in an almost impregnable position. But notwithstanding this, the roll of the popular wave in favour of the new Liberal leaders was sufficient to cause Sir John Macdonald some alarm. Although late in the day, he hastily summoned Sir Charles Tupper from London—where he had for several years been Canadian Commissioner—to become Finance Minister, and conduct the elections, and the whole power and patronage of the Government were exerted to the utmost, backed by the openly solicited aid of the National Policy's beneficiaries.

Such was the position of the Conservative and Liberal parties when their forces were hurled against each other on February 22nd, 1887. It was one of the most important General Elections since Confederation, and from Nova Scotia to British Columbia it was stubbornly and strenuously fought out. So close was the contest that the night closed in wild uncertainty as to which side had won. Next morning the Government press claimed a majority of twelve, with some places in the far North-West to hear from, and that Sir John Macdonald would at least "control the House;" the Opposition papers held that the returns indicated a tie, and the final count was uncertain. Both parties were evidently disappointed and several days elapsed before it became clear that the Government would have a small majority when Parliament assembled.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Far-reaching political and personal consequences followed. Rumours were soon in circulation that the great and long-continued exertions of the Liberal leader—Mr. Blake—especially the strain arising from the local and Federal elections following each other so closely, had temporarily injured his health. This, unfortunately, proved to be true, and his medical advisers forbade his attending Parliament or acting as leader until his health was restored. Under these circumstances, Mr. Blake regretfully felt it to be his duty to privately inform the Hon. Mr. Laurier and other of his Liberal colleagues, that he would be forced to resign the leadership and some other person would have to be selected in his place.

This also soon became known and greatly altered the whole political situation. It was a signal for most of the political loose-fish to cast in their lot with the Government, and, as a matter of fact, made its hold upon office temporarily secure.

That Mr. Blake's brilliant career should be suddenly checked, and that, too, by dangerous illness, caused deep regret throughout the length and breadth of Canada, and his resignation as Leader was doubly unfortunate for the Liberal party, many of whom believed that with Blake and Laurier in command, even although the former was temporarily absent through sickness, they would soon be able to defeat the Government and obtain control of the affairs of the country.

The first session of the new Parliament was called to meet on April 13th. Although evidently a sick

LAURIER NOT ANXIOUS FOR LEADERSHIP

man, Mr. Blake appeared at the opening. He made a few brief remarks, his observations on the Government's selection of Mr. J. A. Ouimet, member for Laval, as Speaker—who had voted "want of confidence" in them for executing Riel—being unusually sarcastic and cutting.* He seems to have attended the House occasionally till the end of May but he was ultimately compelled to leave for Europe and elsewhere, in the hope of winning back the health and vigour which he had so disinterestedly sacrificed in his country's service.

The caucus of the Liberal party to deal with Mr. Blake's resignation and the appointment of his successor, was postponed from time to time till near the close of the session. In the end his resignation was regretfully accepted, and the unanimous choice of the caucus was in favour of his co-leader, the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier. That gentleman was then only forty-five, and on account of not very robust health and other reasons, he did not wish to accept the responsibility of the leadership. Before the prorogation took place, however, the importuni-

* Mr. Blake concluded his remarks as follows: "But what is to be thought of the men who called me Rielite and conspirator—nay, even fool, hypocrite and coward, calumniator, traitor and rebel, because I so voted, and who now propose to elevate to the first place in their Chamber the gentleman who shared the votes with me? Tell it not, Mr. Bourinot, on the 12th of July; name it not in the Lodges of the Orangemen; but so it is, and such being the situation, I extend my hearty congratulations to my fellow Rielite, to my co-conspirator against Canadian law, to my brother knave and fool, my fellow hypocrite and traitor, my associate in calumny, treason and rebellion, on being about to receive by the unanimous vote of the Canadian Commons, the position of first Commoner of Canada."—Commons Debates, 1887, Vol. I., page 2.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

ties of his friends and supporters and the hope that Mr. Blake might resume his place the following session, led Mr. Laurier to waive his objections and accept the onerous position so strongly pressed upon him. Time soon proved this to be a most fortunate choice for the Liberal party, for Mr. Laurier has since been for twenty-four years the undisputed leader of the Liberal party—during fifteen of which he has been Prime Minister of Canada—and still remains as popular as ever in Great Britain and throughout our broad Dominion.

No influential person in Parliament or the press now thinks of defending either the Gerrymander* or the Franchise Act.† Public opinion quickly and almost universally condemned them. But they played an influential, a deciding, part in the critical and important elections of 1887. In fact they were the principal factors in making Sir John Macdonald Prime Minister for the rest of his life, whilst there

*The Gerrymander was more effective in the elections of 1887 than in 1883. When first passed many Conservatives honourably refused to take advantage of it as being unfair. But the objections of many were forgotten four years later, and in the Province of Ontario, East Bruce, East Lambton, West Middlesex, South Norfolk, North and South Ontario, West Huron, South Wentworth, and other gerrymandered ridings—which elected Liberals in 1883—were all carried by Conservatives in 1887.

† Proof of the unfair character of the Franchise Act is furnished by the fact that the new Minister of Justice, the Honourable John Thompson, asked Parliament during the session of 1887—shortly after the elections were over—to suspend the operation of the Act for that year and finally rescinded its Voters' List provisions altogether, going back to the original system of using the Voters' Lists prepared by the various Provinces. This system still continues.

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RESULTS OF FRANCHISE ACT

are strong reasons for believing and affirming that but for the effects of these indefensible measures throughout the Dominion, the elections of 1887 would have resulted in the choice of the Honourable Edward Blake as Prime Minister of Canada, and greatly changed that eminent Canadian's whole future life and career.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

DISTURBING SYMPTOMS—WIMAN AND BUTTERFIELD'S
COMMERCIAL UNION TOUR—ITS FAILURE—THE
ELECTIONS OF 1891—UNRESTRICTED RECI-
PROCITY—SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S
"TACTICS"—BLAKE'S FAREWELL AD-
DRESS—ANNEXATION DEFUNCT.

THE events narrated in the last chapter were followed by some disturbing symptoms throughout the Dominion. More or less restlessness, discontent, and even hopelessness appeared in different quarters. The Liberal party—very naturally—were bitter, disappointed and resentful. Notwithstanding the immense expenditure on the Canadian Pacific Railway, business continued quiet. Immigration was sparse. Farmers were banding together to get a release from the burdens of the National Policy, and their cry was almost universal for Reciprocity with the United States in some shape or form.

All the Provincial Governments except British Columbia and Prince Edward Island sent delegates to an Interprovincial Conference held in the city of Quebec during the first week of November, 1887, to press numerous changes upon the Federal Administration at Ottawa—a somewhat disturbing move.*

* This Interprovincial Conference organized by the election of Sir Oliver Mowat as Chairman, and leading men of the various Provinces took part. They deliberated several days, and passed in all twenty-three resolutions. The principal of these requested

COMMERCIAL UNION

Advocates of reforms, and things that were no reforms, sprang up like mushrooms. Nor did they lack audiences. The people, in fact, manifested eagerness to listen to the political nostrums propounded, more especially if they bore on reciprocity of trade or any other means to increase our commercial prosperity.

For some months Mr. Erastus Wiman, of New York, the Honourable Benjamin Butterworth, of Ohio, and other Americans had been carrying on an active agitation in the United States in favour of Commercial Union with this country. They now availed themselves of the opportunity to extend the agitation into Canada, and particularly Ontario, where they announced a tour and series of public meetings. I had known Mr. Wiman ever since 1855. At that time, when acting as the Toronto manager of Dun & Company's Commercial Agency of New York, he brought a letter of introduction to me at Galt, and my acquaintance with him became more intimate when he was promoted to Montreal and started the *Trade Review*, many of the commercial editorials of which I contributed weekly from Galt, until he was promoted to New York City, and the

changes in the way in which the Dominion Government construed several sections of the British North America Act, and dealt with the Provinces in their Federal relations. They particularly pressed these charges: That the Dominion Veto power in disallowing Provincial legislation should be changed to the Queen in Council; they desired one-half of the Senators to be appointed by the Provinces; they wanted the Franchise Act rescinded and the Provincial lists again adopted; they also favoured changes in the Provincial subsidies and in several other matters.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

paper was finally merged into the *Toronto Monetary Times*.

When Mr. Butterworth and he began their Canadian tour, Mr. Wiman was at the zenith of his career, and up to that time had won deserved distinction for his rapid rise from a newsboy in Toronto to the chief managership of the *Dun Commercial Agency*, and for his remarkable energy and success in promoting large public enterprises.

Considering any scheme of commercial union quite inconsistent with Canada's relations to Great Britain or its ultimate national future, I felt it to be my duty to write a series of letters to the *Globe* strongly opposing it. These were afterwards published in pamphlet form during the summer of 1887—and a second and larger edition was speedily called for. Having sent Mr. Wiman copies of this pamphlet, the following short extract is made from his reply, which is dated—

“ 340 BROADWAY, N.Y., Nov. 15th, 1887.

“ I duly received some days ago the pamphlet containing letters on Commercial Union. I desire to heartily thank you for them. . . . There is a great deal in what you say which impresses me deeply, and if I could be moved by any argument from any source against what I conceive to be the best interests of Canada, what you have said would move me. But I am so fully impressed by my long residence here with what Canada might be, under British connection, with a free market here, that all else seems to fade away into insignificance

CHAMBERLAIN'S IDEA OF COMMERCIAL UNION

in comparison with it. I had a long talk with the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain about the whole subject yesterday, and he maintains very strongly his position, that discrimination against England means a cessation of British connection. It is a very hard position to be put into, but I am going to St. Thomas to speak on Saturday night, and I will try to meet this argument."

Persons who would like to consult the pamphlet on "Our National Future"—which opposes Imperial Federation as one extreme and Commercial Union as the other—may find it in the Parliamentary and other public Libraries.* I hope to make an extract from it in the Appendix,† but at present must confine my reference to its closing paragraph, which briefly expresses what I have long believed to be the final and only true destiny for Canada in the still distant but certainly coming future:

"As was stated in a former letter, Commercial Union is utterly anti-Canadian and leads directly away from that National future which ought to be, and is worthy to be, the hope of every true Canadian. There exists throughout Canada the kindest feeling towards the United States. For my own part I admire the great Republic with its noble work for humanity and freedom, and I like the American people. But as a nation they have their dangers.

* The R. G. McLean Publishing House, Toronto, printed a large second edition of this pamphlet in January, 1888, and may have some copies left.

† For this brief reference to Imperial Federation, see Appendix No. III., page 477.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

They have still unsolved their Negro problem, the Mormon scandal, the Socialistic conspiracy, which steadily becomes more dangerous, and Lynch law, which continues to prevail over a large part of the Union. The Continental Sunday, too, with its open theatres, concert halls and baseball matches, is becoming alarmingly common. Canada doubtless has its dangers and difficulties also, but it is my firm and earnest conviction that at present we occupy a better position than any other as a self-governing Dominion under British protection, and when the circling wheels of time bring this connection to an end—as it is believed they inevitably must—that we have territories vast enough, resources immense enough, institutions good enough and a people with character enough, to establish and maintain a Canadian Nationality which will be honoured and respected all over the world.”

If the large number of congratulatory letters received by the writer from prominent Canadians of all parties throughout the Dominion afford any evidence on the point, this pamphlet helped to expose the Quixotic character of Messrs. Wiman and Butterworth's tour and proposals. A raid across the lines by these gentlemen to convert the Canadian people to Commercial Union—and the political revolution which it involves—was indeed singularly suggestive of Don Quixote and his famous attack on the Spanish windmills. Among the more important letters received on the subject was one from Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada. This was exceedingly characteristic of that distinguished gentleman, and will be read with interest:—

COMMERCIAL UNION TABOOED

" EARNSCLIFFE, OTTAWA, Dec. 15, 1887.

" My dear Young:—I have read with great interest your letters on the subject of Commercial Union, and I must congratulate you on the vigour and ability with which you have combatted that fallacy. Your last note to Mr. Thurber is written in a most manly and loyal strain, and should convince that gentleman that opposition to Commercial Union is not confined to any one party in Canada.

" I am particularly pleased at your saying, ' that notwithstanding some grievous misgovernment ' Canada never developed nor prospered more than during the twenty years since the Reciprocity Treaty expired. Of course I understand you to mean that the " grievous misgovernment " was during Mackenzie's régime.

" However, it is more than gratifying to have your testimony that notwithstanding any misgovernment, from whatever source it may have arisen, Canada has held her own in this world's progress.

" Believe me, my dear Young,

" Yours very faithfully,

" JOHN A. MACDONALD.

" The Honourable James Young, Galt, Ont."

Canada continued rather dull, as were the Parliamentary sessions at Ottawa, during 1888, 1889, and 1890. Except among a small band of extremists, Commercial Union was speedily tabooed, but the agitation for commercial changes still went on. Unrestricted Reciprocity was not open to the serious political objections to Commercial Union, but many Liberals throughout the country did not wish to

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have the party committed even to that measure, feeling assured that its advocacy would prove a political blunder in the end. During a long correspondence with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I constantly pointed out the danger and certainty of this.

The political situation was decidedly singular when the General Elections for 1891 were announced, the dissolution to take place on February 3rd, and the polling on March 5th. Both political parties felt somewhat in a dilemma. So also did many independent electors. The latter were evidently tired of the Government, and as the agitated state of the Dominion indicated, were ripe for commercial and political changes. But, on the other hand, the Liberal party were not even united in favour of Unrestricted Reciprocity, and the open advocacy of Commercial Union and even Annexation by Dr. Goldwin Smith, Mr. Edward Farrar, Mr. Solomon White, M.P., Mr. Elgin Meyers, Q.C., and others alarmed many of the electors lest even Unrestricted Reciprocity might jeopardize our happy connection with Great Britain, or at least complicate our relations with the United States. This fear made many electors uncertain as to their position and duty.

Sir John Macdonald, then beginning his 77th year, and not so robust as formerly, nevertheless took in the embarrassing situation with the eye of a seer. With that far-sighted vision which marked his whole career during a political crisis, he saw his opportunity, and, as usual, determined to avail himself of it by every means in his power.

EDWARD FARRAR'S PAMPHLET

He began by describing the coming contest as his last political fight. He unfurled and waved the old flag with a vigour never surpassed in his palmiest days. In a long manifesto to the electors, he gave forth the battle-cry: "A British subject I was born and a British subject I will die!" Then followed a carefully planned surprise. This consisted of a sensational speech delivered before a large Conservative meeting held in Toronto for the purpose, on the evening of February 17th. Its chief feature was a series of quotations from proof-sheets of an unpublished pamphlet written by Mr. Edward Farrar for some of his American friends for circulation in the United States—the proof-sheets read from having recently been stolen from the printing office of Hunter, Rose & Company!

This was a genuine surprise, and as Mr. Farrar had long been an advocate of Annexation the now aged but shrewd Conservative Chieftain waxed loud and hot in denouncing his political opponents, whose policy of Unrestricted Reciprocity he classed with Commercial Union and boldly stigmatized as Annexation in disguise.

The following night at a great Liberal meeting held in the Horticultural Gardens, Sir Oliver Mowat ably and effectively replied to the Conservative leader's not very dignified nor scrupulous coup. Mr. Mowat utterly repudiated Commercial Union, but contended that the Liberal policy of Unrestricted Reciprocity would be of immense advantage to Canada—being simply complete Free Trade between the two countries—and that it would not change our

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political relations in any way with either Great Britain or the United States. He then went on to vindicate the Liberal party from the old, effete charges of disloyalty, the members of which were, he warmly maintained, as sincerely attached to Great Britain and British connection as their opponents.

This and other Opposition speeches helped to place the commercial question more fairly before the electors. There can be no doubt, however, that the tactics of Sir John Macdonald in zealously waving the Imperial flag and loudly beating the loyalty drum had on this occasion more effect than usual, and helped to turn the political tide which for some time seemed to presage a Liberal victory.

When the polls closed on March 5th it was found the Government had suffered some serious losses, but still retained a moderate majority. The Liberals won a slight majority in Quebec and Ontario, but all the outside Provinces—Prince Edward Island excepted—went strongly against them. The majority was at first placed at twenty-four, but before the first session closed, several divisions showed considerably smaller Government majorities. Thus Sir John Macdonald won his last political battle. He was himself a strikingly picturesque figure in the contest, whose clever and amusing peculiarities on the political rostrum appealed to many of the electors, and he had been for years, too, fortifying his hold upon power by legislation and other means—as we have already seen—which were quite unjustifiable. But all these circumstances com-

BLAKE'S WEST DURHAM LETTER

binéd—in my humble judgment—would not have saved his Administration from defeat on this occasion had not the Liberals in Parliament mistakenly adopted and pressed Unrestricted Reciprocity at a time when the electors were more or less disturbed by the disloyal vapourings of a small but noisy band of Political Unionists. Properly guarded, Unrestricted Reciprocity probably would not improperly affect our political relations with the United States. But the mere suspicion that it might do so and possibly imperil our future as a great Canadian nation embracing the entire northern half of the continent threw the Dominion elections for the fourth successive time into the hands of the Conservative party, the majority of the electors evidently having at last decided to act on the well-known maxim of the poet:

“Better endure the ills we have
Than flee to others we know not of.”

The day after the elections the country experienced another sensation. This arose from the publication of a written address by the Honourable Edward Blake to the electors of West Durham, giving at length his reasons for declining their re-nomination to the House of Commons, and bidding them “farewell” in words at once pathetic and touching. This is one of the most remarkable utterances ever penned or spoken by a Canadian statesman on Dominion affairs, and, it need scarcely be said, is characterized by that powerful grasp of public questions, that rare ability, candour and bril-

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liancy for which Mr. Blake was distinguished during his whole public career.

This famous address frankly declares that the late Liberal leader found his position in the Dominion Parliament had become unsatisfactory, if not untenable. I had been aware of this for a considerable time. He was not in harmony with the advocacy of Unrestricted Reciprocity, and felt that his only right and honourable course was temporarily or forever to retire from public life. Shortly after the Dominion elections were announced, he favoured me with a perusal of the original draft of the West Durham address announcing his retirement. I urged that it should not be published until the elections were over, and this was doubtless in accord with the honourable gentleman's own feelings, for he not only withheld it, but after its publication he continued as warmly attached to his fellow-Liberals in Parliament and out of it as he ever had been at any period of his life.*

* This address of Mr. Blake displays deep feeling throughout. After explaining its retention till the elections were over, he closes his farewell in the following pathetic words: "(32) Now, while I am unable to fight under false colours neither can I endure, at the very height and crisis of the battle into which a wrongful dissolution has unexpectedly plunged the Liberal Party, to take a different tack, or to turn one hostile gun against the well loved friends in whose company, whether as comrade or commander, I have sailed so many stormy seas, and fought so many hot engagements; whose general course I approve; and whose ships I wish not wrecked, but safe in port! (33) What then is left for me to do? This only. Since I cannot help, to hurt as little as I may; and, therefore, to go down with my little ship in silence, bearing for the moment all possible misconception, and leaving, till the ides of March be past, the explanation of my action."

ANNEXATION AS DEFUNCT AS MASTODON

The Commercial Union agitation really proved to Canada a blessing in disguise. It taught us as a people some needed lessons. In a special way it brought the question of the Dominion's national future—at least so far as the United States is concerned—squarely before us for examination and debate. All sensible Canadians soon discovered that a reciprocity treaty such as Lord Elgin negotiated in 1854 was one thing, Commercial Union quite another; and that the only logical outcome of this latter policy must in the end be political union.*

As soon as the Canadian public understood and became convinced of this, the Wiman-Butterworth campaign—which never had any real strength even in Ontario—completely collapsed, and from that day to this, now nearly a quarter of a century, the idea of annexation has become almost as defunct throughout Canada—certainly in Ontario—as the mastodon and other gigantic mammals of the pre-historic ages.

* One of the last letters received from the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie on a public question, fully corroborates the foregoing views of Commercial Union. It has never been published, and is so characteristic of Mr. Mackenzie, that it has been preserved in Appendix No. II., page 475.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

DEATH OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD—HIS CAREER AND
CHARACTERISTICS—STANDS IN THE FRONT
RANK OF CANADA'S NATION-BUILDERS
—SENATOR ABBOTT BECOMES PRIME
MINISTER—PAINFUL
DISCLOSURES.

THE first session of the seventh Parliament of Canada was opened with much *éclat* by the Governor-General, the Right Honourable Lord Stanley of Preston, G.C.B., on April 29th, 1891, and lasted five months and one day. It opened quietly, but numerous storms were gathering on the sessional horizon. It must also ever remain a memorable session in Canadian history, for on the evening of June 6th, the corridors of Parliament—where he had been the presiding genius so long—and the streets of the capital city, where his cheery joke and laugh had so often been heard, were pulsating with excitement and sorrow over the swift-flying report—"Sir John Macdonald is dead!"

The late elections had indeed proved his last political fight, and alas for human glory, he survived his victory at the polls only three months. The public meetings at Toronto, Hamilton, London, Stratford, Napanee and elsewhere, with which he opened the recent campaign, had proved too exciting and too heavy work for the aged Prime Minister.

DEATH OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD

His wiry constitution enabled him to recuperate somewhat before the meeting of Parliament, but no one can read the touching narrative of his last days by Mr. Joseph Pope—his faithful biographer and friend—without perceiving that Sir John Macdonald was a dying man from the close of that most laborious and trying election.

The Premier was present, however, and apparently in good form, at the opening of Parliament. He led the House as usual, moved that Mr. Peter White, member of Parliament for North Renfrew, be appointed Speaker, and the next day he replied to the Opposition leader, the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier, during the debate on the Address. Whilst his speeches were notably short, he was present in the House of Commons and spoke on several different questions, as late as May 22nd. That was, however, the last attendance of the great Conservative leader in the Parliament he loved so well.

Though not unexpected, the announcement of the Prime Minister's death created a great sensation and widespread regret, not only in Parliament and throughout all parts of Canada, but in Great Britain, the United States and other lands. Parliament was draped in the deepest mourning when Sir John J. C. Abbott in the Senate and Sir Hector Langevin in the Commons made the formal announcement that the Chief Minister was no more. Politics were for the moment forgotten, and the two finest eulogies on the deceased statesman were pronounced by two Liberals, Lord Rosebery, in England, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in Canada—the latter address

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probably being the most generous, appropriate and eloquent ever delivered in our Legislative halls on such an occasion.*

Expressions of regret and sympathy with Lady Macdonald and family poured into Ottawa. The most distinguished were from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, the Princess Louise, the Duke of Argyll, the Viceroy of India, Sir Donald Smith, Sir George Mount-Stephen, Sir Charles Tupper and other eminent persons. Queen Victoria conferred on Lady Macdonald the title of "Baroness Macdonald of Earncliffe" in recognition of her husband's "distinguished services." Parliament honoured him with a state funeral. The body lay in state in the beautiful Senate Chamber for parts of two days. Many thousands visited it. The funeral pageant in Ottawa was grand and impressive. It took place on Wednesday, June 10th, and the next day at Kingston amidst similar solemn services the body was consigned to its last resting-place by the side of his mother in Cataraqui Cemetery.

Sir John Macdonald was born in Glasgow on January 11th, 1815, and was consequently in his 77th year. He was first elected to represent Kingston in 1844, and was continuously a member of Parliament—and much of the time either a Cabinet Minister or Premier—for within a few days of forty-seven years! This is an exceedingly long record of public service, and the prominent part which he played in Canadian affairs during his whole

* See Pope's "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. II., chap. xxvii.

MACDONALD A NATION BUILDER

career stamped him not only as a shrewd, far-sighted man, but as one of the most successful politicians that ever undertook to pilot his party and country through the stormy and treacherous waters of political life.

It has often been said that eminent statesmen should not be judged by their contemporaries but by posterity. This remark particularly applies to men like Sir John Macdonald, who, combined with attractive personal qualities and rare talents for political life, was admittedly an opportunist in his policy and actions and whose born passion for political power led him in emergencies to resort to measures and practices which were objectionable, and which no one now seeks to defend. In the interests of truth I have not felt it to be my duty to conceal or gloss over these undoubted blemishes in a chequered but distinguished career.

The late Prime Minister, however—I have no hesitation in affirming—should be judged from a broad, not a narrow point of view. The man as a whole and his entire life-work as a Canadian statesman are the only correct standards of measurement, and judged from this broad point of view, the name of John Alexander Macdonald must ever stand in the foremost rank of those stalwart Canadian nation-builders, who, by their indomitable energy and ability, led the way in turning the tangled wilderness of British America into the most prosperous, powerful and promising young nation of modern times.

Lord Beaconsfield and Sir John Macdonald, it has often been said, resembled each other. I saw

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the former in the British House of Commons in 1864 and satisfied myself that there were some points of resemblance, the first to attract notice probably being the little jaunty-looking lock of hair which each permitted to fall over his forehead. When in repose, His Lordship's expression was a trifle pessimistic. His Canadian admirer's was nearly always bright and optimistic, and his manner towards his fellow-members of Parliament was almost invariably jaunty, jocose, and jolly.

His consideration for young men just entering upon political life was often manifested. I may mention one out of several little incidents in my own experience which exemplify this. One night, during the memorable session of 1878, when the still powerful Mackenzie Government was battling its Estimates through the House and Committee of Supply—of which I was Chairman—I stole out* to the anteroom, tired and restless, for a breath of fresh air. It was near midnight; the old parliamentary stagers were still battling over almost every item in the Supplies, but many of the members had retired for the night, and the corridors and ante-rooms were almost deserted. As I was about to return, who should rush in but Sir John Macdonald, then in the best of health and spirits.

"Hello, Young—you here!" he exclaimed in his usual sprightly and breezy way.

*The words "stole out" are used because at that time, and probably it is the same still, there was no legal provision for the Chairman of the House in Committee of Supply to leave the chair, and towards the close of a session the Committee sometimes sits from 8 p.m. till 2 a.m. without intermission.

SIR JOHN'S STRONG CHARACTERISTIC

"All that's left of me, Sir John," I replied respectfully.

There was probably no junior member of Parliament who had opposed the honourable gentleman more relentlessly than I had. Nevertheless, to my surprise, he commenced a conversation, during which he made several kind and encouraging personal remarks which it is not necessary to repeat. Then he went on:—

"I have often wondered why you do not speak more frequently in the House than you do."

"He's a wise man, Sir John," was my reply, "who knows when to keep his mouth shut."

He smiled and continued: "Yes, that's true, but you have gained the ear of the House. It listens to you, and there's no reason why you should not take a larger part in the debates than you do."

Thinking the Premier's remarks hardly deserved on my part, I quickly turned the conversation, and sought to balance any flattery which his words might contain by making some pleasant reference to himself. I therefore struck out off my own bat.

"Now, Sir John," I exclaimed, "there is one faculty which I have long considered you possess to a greater degree than any other public man I have ever met."

Like a flash he asked, "What's that?"

"Well," I replied, "since entering Parliament I have watched you—often during some trying political scene—for hours at a time, following your every word and movement, and I long ago concluded that I had never met any other statesman

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who could drink in the temper and spirit of a great parliamentary body so quickly and successfully as you can."

A flush of colour and a genial smile suffused his face like a sudden flash of summer sunlight, and with evident pleasure and a trace of feeling in his voice, he said as he turned to depart:

"Well, Young, I must own up—I always did pride myself a little on that."*

Sir John was not a statesman after the Gladstone model. He seldom studied out or submitted legislation in advance of public opinion. New reforms introduced into Parliament he almost invariably opposed. When the efforts of his opponents or friends, however, had crystallized public opinion in favour of any particular measures, and the people generally began to demand them, he was quite ready to give way, and equally efficient in framing and passing legislation to carry out the popular will.

His friend and admirer, Mr. Nicholas Flood Davin, M.P., in his clever pen portrait of Sir John already quoted, said: "He had one general policy—he would give the people what they wanted." Mr. Davin hardly did justice to his distinguished friend in this remark. The Prince of Opportunists he undoubtedly was! But he had also some strong political ideals. Among these were sincere attachment to the mother-land, British connection, British Parliamentary Government, and the maintenance of the standing and dignity of our judges and courts.

*The conversation recorded in this incident is condensed, but where given is almost verbatim.

MACDONALD A MASTERFUL STATESMAN

of law. During twelve years in the House of Commons, I seldom ever found him untrue to these ideals, and in the discussion of non-political legislation he would generally take the better way unless some party advantage stood in the way.

Sir John Macdonald was, in short, a masterful, many-sided statesman. His love and aptitude for political life would have made him conspicuous in any parliamentary body, and considered in his chief rôle as a political strategist and manager of men, it is doubtful if he was surpassed by any other party leader throughout the world. He made mistakes, and had his faults as a Minister of the Crown, but there is no reason to doubt his warm attachment to Canada and the Empire. He rendered invaluable service in the great work of framing our new Federal Constitution and setting the wheels of Confederation in motion, and it may be justly added, that time can never erase the numerous marks of his statesmanship which he stamped upon our already famous Dominion of Canada.

When Parliament resumed its duties on June 16th, after the funeral obsequies, it was announced in a written statement that, after consulting with the Minister of Justice, Sir John Thompson, His Excellency Lord Stanley had appointed Senator Sir John J. C. Abbott, of Montreal, to be Prime Minister, and that, at the new Premier's request, all the preceding Cabinet Ministers had consented to retain their former portfolios. This was a quiet reconstruction of the Government, but the political storm which had been threatening since the opening

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of the session soon afterwards burst forth in great fury.

This arose from a series of startling charges and exposures made by the Honourable Israel Tarte, M.P., against Mr. Thomas McGreevy, member of Parliament for Quebec West, certain extensive public contractors, the Honourable Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works, and one or two other officials. Avoiding details, Mr. Tarte charged, in effect, that by collusion and conspiracy of the persons named, the construction of numerous Government public works had been improperly given to the contractors at greatly inflated prices; that, in this way, the Dominion treasury had been for many years systematically defrauded out of immense sums of public money—some estimates being as high as \$750,000; that Mr. McGreevy—for about twenty-five years the active treasurer of the Conservative party—regularly received, by agreement, large “rake-offs” from the Government contracts of the firm in question, and that this money so scandalously obtained had been used for political purposes and was largely instrumental in helping the Government to carry the general elections of 1883, of 1887—when the Honourable Edward Blake was defeated—and of 1891.*

This is one of the most painful scandals in Canadian public life, but Parliament happily vindicated

* It was clearly established before the Parliamentary Committee that in the defeat of the Liberal party under the Honourable Edward Blake, in 1887, some twenty-two Quebec constituencies were largely won by the corruption practised at that election.

CANADA'S GOOD NAME VINDICATED

itself. The Committee on Privileges and Elections—the majority of whom were Conservatives—after holding over one hundred meetings in investigating the matter, reported that Mr. Tarte's charges were substantially sustained, the result being the forced resignation of the member for Quebec West and the retirement of the Minister of Public Works according to the rules of British Parliamentary practice. These painful disclosures made the closing debates and divisions of the seventh Parliament's first session somewhat stormy and exciting, during which the Ministerial majority dwindled in some divisions to as low as seventeen.

The final action of Parliament, however, and the subsequent decision of the Dominion Law Courts—before whom the accused were afterwards arraigned—were such as to vindicate the good name of Canada and uphold the outraged principles of political morality.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ONE OF CANADA'S NOBLEST STATESMEN—HON. ALEX.
MACKENZIE—THE MAN AND HIS CAREER—
INCIDENTS THEREOF—SUCCESS OF THE
ABBOTT-THOMPSON MINISTRY—HON.
EDWARD BLAKE ACCEPTS THE
IRISH MISSION.

THE Parliamentary sessions for 1892 began simultaneously in February, the Ontario Legislature assembling on the 11th and the Federal Houses on the 25th. The proceedings do not call for special reference, unless it be the fact that Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, in distributing her birthday honours, conferred the distinguished title of G.C.M.G. on the Honourable John Abbott and the Honourable Oliver Mowat, the Dominion and Ontario Premiers.

On April 29th of this year, one of the truest and noblest Makers of Canada passed away—the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie. Though in the unrelenting grasp of creeping paralysis for several years, and latterly—though intellectually unimpaired—unable to speak in Parliament, he attended its meetings to the close with surprising regularity. His illness was due to overwork when Prime Minister, and his death was not unanticipated. But when it was announced from Toronto on Easter Sunday that it had actually taken place, there was a burst of feeling and sorrow throughout the whole

DEATH OF ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

Dominion. From coast to coast his death was announced in churches the same afternoon and evening, and the eulogiums passed upon him proved how highly all parties and classes had learned to estimate the grand character of Mackenzie, whose great natural ability, wonderful industry and perseverance, unbending integrity and stern devotion to what he believed to be his duty and the good of the people have seldom been equalled and never surpassed by any other Canadian statesman.

The expressions of respect and sympathy which poured into the family residence at Toronto were numerous and warm. Among the most important were those from Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll and his Royal Consort the Princess Louise, the Marquis and Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, Lord Strathcona, the British Ambassador at Washington and many other eminent persons. Parliament adjourned as a mark of respect, and Sir John Thompson, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and many others eulogized the man and his work in terms at once appropriate and eloquent. For the moment the acrimony of politics disappeared, and the generous nature and universality of the tributes paid to the memory of the deceased proved what a strong hold he had gained—especially during his later years—upon the respect and attachment of his fellow countrymen.

I knew Mr. Mackenzie intimately, both personally and politically, for nearly forty years. He was a man so unassuming, so utterly devoid of all display of self-importance, and withal so outspoken when

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the public interests required it, that superficial observers seldom estimated rightly either the man himself or the importance of the work which he was doing. It was only when they came to learn that when in office, besides acting as Prime Minister, he conducted both the Public Works and the Railways and Canals departments—practically directed at least two other Cabinet portfolios—that during some periods he worked from fourteen to eighteen hours a day in the public service, and had to be ready at any moment during a session to meet the Opposition on any question they saw fit to bring up—it was only, I repeat, when Canadians came to know all this that they realized the true greatness of Alexander Mackenzie, and discovered that beneath his modesty and unassuming manner there breathed one of the ablest Canadian statesmen and truest men who ever graced our legislative halls.

It has already been mentioned how Mr. Mackenzie, during the later years of his Premiership, became the undoubted leader of the House of Commons during its debates. Sir John Macdonald and he frequently broke a lance with each other, and both gentlemen enjoyed a good joke even when the laugh happened to be on the wrong side. Sir John seldom studied his speeches, and trusting for his words to the spur of the moment, he sometimes left a loophole for retort which Mr. Mackenzie, with his great store of facts and accurate memory, became remarkably expert in availing himself of.

A notable instance of this, and one well worthy of preservation, occurred one day in the Commons

“ART THOU HE WHO TROUBLEST ISRAEL?”

when the Conservative leader, wishing to close off an inconvenient discussion, pointed at Mr. Mackenzie during his remarks and in an offhand manner exclaimed: “Art thou he who troublest Israel?”

Sir John did not recall at the moment that he was quoting the words of Ahab, the wicked king, and not those of the prophet. But Mr. Mackenzie, who was well read in Biblical as in other literature, instantly saw the slip and as instantly retorted in the words of the prophet Elijah: “I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father’s house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord and followed Baalim!”

This happy retort convulsed both sides of the House, and with characteristic good nature Sir John himself joined in and seemed to enjoy the hilarity which followed.

The Mackenzie Administration lived only five years, but it did good service for Canada during that period. It had a sound Liberal policy which was vigorously carried out, and its administration of the Government business was conspicuous for honesty, economy and carefulness. These wholesome methods were greatly needed at a time when looseness, wastefulness and even corruption had obtained in the Government to an alarming extent.* Besides the Prime Minister, his colleagues, Messrs. Dorion, Blake, Cartwright, Huntingdon, Mills, Jones, Mr. Albert Smith and Mr. Isaac Burpee were all able men, and the statute books of the Dominion testify

* Pacific Scandal revelations, Vol. II., chapter xv., and the Tarte exposures, chapter xxxviii.

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to the capacity and industry of the Government by many much-needed reforms and other valuable measures which they placed upon them. Among the more important were the following:—

(*a*) The ballot instead of open voting; (*b*) simultaneous polling at elections; (*c*) trial of election petitions by the judges instead of partisan committees; (*d*) Supreme Court established in accordance with the British North America Act; (*e*) the Canadian Pacific Railway commenced; (*f*) Halifax Fisheries Commission, which awarded \$5,000,000 to Canada from the United States; (*g*) enlargement of the Welland and other canals; (*h*) representative government established in the North-West Territories; (*i*) the introduction of free postal delivery in cities; (*j*) reduction in postage to the United States; (*k*) the banishment of Riel and other Manitoba rebels; (*l*) the settlement of the New Brunswick school question; and (*m*) the establishment of the Dominion Military College at Kingston.

The character of Mr. Mackenzie as a man and a friend was a very fine one. He was naturally kind-hearted, well read, bright in conversation, full of anecdotes and racy in humour—but always refined and never vulgar. His valued correspondence, which I retain, well illustrates these characteristics, and although physically infirm in his later years, during the occasional visits of Mrs. Mackenzie and himself to Galt, his mental brightness and cheerfulness seemed as manifest as ever. The last time we were honoured with his presence, however, he was evi-

MACKENZIE'S SIMPLE PIETY

dently weaker and his paralysis greater. He was fond of a game of whist—at which he was remarkably expert—and notwithstanding his increasing physical limitations, it appeared as if nothing could ever quench his patient, cheerful and undaunted spirit.

Another recollection of Mr. Mackenzie when his Administration was at its zenith should not be omitted. When on a business trip to Ottawa on one occasion, at his urgent solicitation I once spent two days at the Prime Minister's residence. Several memories cluster around that visit. The homes of kings and potentates are generally palaces glittering with splendour and abounding with pomp and ceremonies. Here was the uncrowned ruler of Canada—the man whose brain and hand by the will of the people guided the helm of State—undermining his health from day to-day by overwork in the public service, and in a house which, indeed, Mrs. Mackenzie made attractive by its lavish and refined hospitality, but which proved that the Prime Minister of Canada preferred himself to live in the most democratic simplicity.

In this vainglorious age, this was a refreshing, inspiring example, and when at the customary hour in the evening the Prime Minister of Canada quietly took up the Bible, read a chapter, and kneeling in humble reverence before the Throne of Grace, offered up one of the most simple, touching and beautiful of prayers for the Almighty's continued forgiveness and mercies, the scene became deeply solemn and impressive, and left memories so pro-

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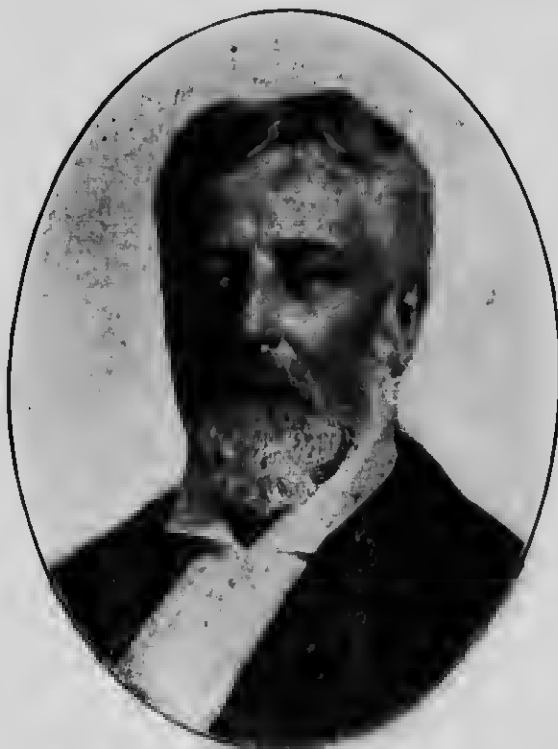
found that the lapse of time has failed to dim or lessen their uplifting power and influence.

Public interest began to centre on the Federal Parliament and the new Federal Administration from the beginning of this year. Under their rising young leader, the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal Opposition had become aggressive and hopeful; many Conservatives, on the other hand, were not altogether certain how the Government would succeed without the controlling power of its late leader. The new Prime Minister, Sir John Abbott, of Montreal, was a man of talent. He was prominent as a commercial lawyer, took a very active part with Messrs. Donald Smith, George Stephen, Duncan McIntyre and R. B. Angus in forming the famous syndicate which built the Canadian Pacific Railway, and was respected as a man of probity and moderation. He had been for some time leader of the Senate without portfolio, and now found a very able colleague in Sir John Thompson to lead the House of Commons.

With two such acceptable Ministers in command, the Government appeared to be well equipped for a long and successful career, but when Mr. Abbott proceeded to make some changes in his Cabinet before Parliament was called together, unexpected difficulties cropped up. He specially desired to avail himself of the services of Mr. William R. Meredith, M.P.P. for London, then leader of the Conservatives in the Ontario Legislature. The Quebec Bleus, however, hotly opposed this. They took a firm stand against Mr. Meredith being taken into the

LOSS OF COHESION IN CABINET

Cabinet, although that gentleman's appointment would in many respects have been acceptable to the country. Mr. Abbott was forced to abandon Mr. Meredith, and the curtain was otherwise sufficiently uplifted to show that the cohesion and unity of the



SIR WILLIAM RALPH MEREDITH.

Cabinet, which had so long existed under Sir John Macdonald, was no longer certain under critical circumstances.

The Dominion elections of the previous year (1891) produced a prodigious crop of election pro-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

tests and bye-elections. When the House of Commons opened, Mr. White announced that, under the Controverted Elections Act, the judges had officially reported upon sixty-three petitions, thirty-four of which were dismissed, but no less than twenty-nine elections were voided for bribery, corruption or other violations of law.

The chief measure of the session was the Redistribution Bill, consequent on the new census returns. Ontario, Quebec, the Territories and Columbia retained the same number of members, Manitoba gained two, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island lost one each, and New Brunswick two. Nor did the Bill make many changes in constituencies for partisan purposes. It was drawn under the care of Sir John Thompson, and to the credit of that Minister it was a much fairer and less objectionable measure than its predecessor of Gerry-mander notoriety.

During the numerous straggling bye-elections which occurred during this period, the Abbott-Thompson Ministry maintained its hold upon the electorate, and notwithstanding the vigour and vigilance of Mr. Laurier and his colleagues, was sustained throughout the session with rather increased majorities.

The opening summer brought something of surprise and interest to the Dominion. For a considerable time the Honourable Edward Blake had been quietly following his profession—not taking any active part in politics—when the British Associated

BLAKE GOES TO IRELAND

Press unexpectedly made an announcement which again brought his name conspicuously before Canada and the world, and created a lively ripple on the political waters. The cablegram appeared in the press despatches of June 13th, and was the first intimation that either the public or Mr. Blake himself had, that Mr. John Esmond and his supporters had decided to publicly request his assistance in the advocacy of Home Rule for Ireland, and to tender a seat in the British House of Commons for his acceptance.

Mr. Blake's political position in Canada was not satisfactory at this time. As his famous West Durham letter frankly stated, he had intended to devote the rest of his working life to the service of Canada, his native land, but there were certain barriers—as the document indicated—which at least temporarily stood in the way. The Home Rule offer, highly distinguished as Mr. Blake was as a Canadian, was not only a high personal compliment, but opened to him a Parliamentary career on a larger and more conspicuous field. Though entirely unexpected by him, within an hour after his reception of the private cablegram from the Home Rulers, he decided it was his duty to go to Ireland, and next morning he cabled his acceptance of the offer made to him.

Comment has sometimes been made on Mr. Blake's leaving Canada on this mission without making some public explanation of his reasons. A moment's consideration will show that this would

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

have been entirely out of place so far as the public were concerned, and I know and am in a position to state that, amidst his necessarily hurried departure for Ireland, he found time to write a carefully prepared document which, at his request, was shown confidentially to a few of his most prominent Liberal and personal friends. Within a few days he was on the ocean, and was shortly afterwards elected member for Longford, Ireland, to the British House of Commons, without any opposition.

When he sailed from Canada's shore, it was the hope of his wide circle of friends throughout the Dominion that Mr. Blake's absence would only be temporary. There is also reason to believe that this was his own hope and expectation. But his fine talents as a jurist, his thorough knowledge of the Federal system of government, and his splendid character as a man soon placed him in the front rank of the Home Rule party, and rendered it almost impossible for him to leave them so long as the Home Rule agitation remained in doubt.

The Irish party have always generously expressed their appreciation and gratitude for the eminent services rendered by Mr. Blake to them and the Home Rule cause, and instead of a short absence from Canada he continued to serve in the Imperial Parliament for no less than fifteen years! During the session of 1907, however, he was disabled by a severe nervous stroke which furnished ample reasons—in fact necessitated—his resignation as member for Longford and early return to Canada.

BLAKE RETURNS HOME

It was a beautiful August evening when Mr. Blake arrived in Toronto on his return home. He was greeted at the Union Station by many loving relatives and attached friends. To some old press friends he smiled in recognition, but simply said: "I have come home to rest," and although intellectually bright and cheerful till the time of his death, he did not take any active part in political or other public affairs.

CHAPTER XL.

ABBOTT RESIGNS—SIR JOHN THOMPSON SUCCEEDS HIM—HIS CAREER—WAS SIR OLIVER MOWAT CANADA'S IDEAL PRIME MINISTER?—HONOURABLE WILFRID LAURIER THE RISING POLITICAL STAR—THE FIRST ALL-CANADA CONVENTION.

THIS volume having reached its fortieth chapter, it is necessary to draw towards a conclusion.

How much political parties depend upon the personality and popularity of their leaders has often been exemplified in Canadian history. When Sir John Macdonald passed away, the Administration he had so elaborately built up, immediately manifested signs of crumbling. When Sir Oliver Mowat resigned later on, to enter the Federal service, his famous Ontario Cabinet also began to lose the firm grip it formerly had on the people. The Government of Sir John Abbott only lasted one and a half years. In consequence of ill-health, Premier Abbott resigned on December 5th, 1892, and he died in Europe on October 3rd of the following year. His successor was Sir John S. D. Thompson. He was comparatively a young man, being only in his forty-ninth year. He was sworn into office on December 6th, but his Administration—as we shall see later—did not last much longer than its predecessor.

SIR JOHN THOMPSON ACCEPTS OFFICE

The new Prime Minister deserves more than a passing notice. He was of Irish descent, a native of Halifax City, N.S., and in earlier years—like his father—was a Presbyterian and a follower of Joseph Howe. When the great Nova Scotian finally accepted Confederation in 1869, Mr. Thompson followed his lead, and ever afterwards acted with the Conservative party. He married Miss Affleck, of Halifax, in 1870, and the next year adopted the Roman Catholic faith.

Sir John Thompson began his active life as a Court reporter, became a barrister in 1865, served as Attorney-General in the Holmes Nova Scotia Ministry, became Premier of Nova Scotia in 1882, and was defeated at the elections which followed. Soon afterwards he accepted a Judgeship in the Supreme Court of that Province. In the fall of 1885, at the urgent request of Sir John Macdonald, he left the Nova Scotia Bench and entered the Dominion Government as Minister of Justice, and immediately took front rank in the House of Commons as an able and accomplished jurist and debater. The new Premier and the Honourable David Mills—though strongly opposed politically—were personally what is called "chummy," and the former frequently told the latter that he disliked political life. He was naturally of a retiring, sensitive dis-



HON. SIR JOHN
THOMPSON.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

position, and the asperities of debate frequently wounded his feelings. He was a politician with a conscience, as was manifested by his great speech on the execution of Louis Riel, and in flatly turning down his party's policy by refusing to longer use the fraudulent Franchise Act to make up the Dominion Voters' Lists, and in finally arranging to



GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.

return to the old system of using the Provincial Lists as the fairest and best system for all parties.

Sir Oliver Mowat was now not only politically supreme in Ontario, but continued personally as industrious, aggressive and successful as at any period of his long career. During this summer, however, he was much annoyed and occasionally distressed, lest the silly vapourings of a little, insignificant group, masquerading under the name and fame

MOWAT STAMPS OUT ANNEXATION

of Dr. Goldwin Smith, might do some harm to our allegiance to the mother-country.

How indignant Premier Mowat was at anything savouring of Annexation was made clear to me by several letters received at this period. In one of them he frankly declared, "It distresses me very much," and then he goes on to express himself in the following words: "What is to be done to meet the difficulty? In my position, I have not the time, nor have I now the energy which would be needed."

Notwithstanding these words—not unbecoming a man of seventy-two—Sir Oliver, with characteristic courage and determination, finally picked up his cudgels and boldly entered the lists himself. He dismissed Mr. Elgin Meyers, Q.C., County Attorney of Dufferin, for advocating Political Union, crushed the efforts of Mr. Sol. White, M.P.P., to get up a meeting for a similar purpose in Woodstock, North Oxford, wrote a masterly letter to the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie denouncing all such movements, made an intensely patriotic speech at Niagara Centennial Celebration on July 16th, 1892, and afterwards before the Toronto Board of Trade and elsewhere. This plucky and energetic crusade did much to win for Sir Oliver the soubriquet of "Ontario's Grand Old Man," and was successful in stamping out the expiring embers of an unpatriotic and unpopular attempt at agitation.

No person better deserved the title of "Grand Old Man" than the Premier of Ontario, and his record was equally grand in the Dominion as in the

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Provincial sphere. He was, in fact, another of Canada's great Nation Builders who stands in the very front rank. The British North America Act—our Canadian Constitution—was largely drafted by Sir Oliver from the crude resolutions of the Quebec Conference into the legal form in which the clauses now appear, and no other Canadian did so much as he did to have our new Constitution interpreted by the English Privy Council in a way to preserve the just rights of the Provinces and promote the good of the whole Canadian people.

To the distinction of being Canada's ideal Prime Minister and political leader, many consider that Sir Oliver Mowat has very strong claims. Upon points such as this, however, opinions naturally differ, and, fortunately in a free land like Canada, each person can choose his own ideals. But that Sir Oliver was a model Premier and Leader very few will deny. He held the office of Prime Minister longer consecutively than any other Canadian; as a Minister he was remarkable for his legal ability, his untiring industry and unfailing uprightness; after many years of careful legislation, he left Ontario one of the finest Judicial codes in the whole world; in many lawsuits with the Dominion before the British Privy Council—as already mentioned—he won every case; he was not an orator but an exceedingly well informed, able and ready Parliamentary debater; in the Cabinet he was revered by his fellow-Ministers, who regarded any expression of his opinion as closing any further debate; he had

MOWAT AN IDEAL PRIME MINISTER

the happy faculty of avoiding scandals, of never making political enemies, and although never without dignity in Parliament, the Executive Council, or the street, he was invariably free and pleasant not only with his own supporters but with all his political opponents worthy of respect.

The foregoing, and much more, might be justly said of Sir Oliver Mowat and his unusually long and successful career. And when, a few years later, after giving Ontario a quarter of a century of efficient and clean government—not surpassed in these respects by any other country in the world—he resigned its Premiership to enter the Senate of Canada as Minister of Justice in the Laurier Administration, and that, too, without a stain upon his escutcheon, wearing, in fact, "The white flower of a blameless life," he furnished at least a noble example of what an ideal Canadian Prime Minister and political leader ought to be.

The opening events of 1893 promised a stirring season in Dominion politics. On January 15th a large and enthusiastic demonstration was given in Toronto to Sir John Thompson, the new Prime Minister, and his colleagues. This was Sir John's first speech since becoming Premier. It was able and polished and made a favourable impression throughout the country. A similar ovation was tendered on the following Tuesday evening to the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the Opposition, by the Young Men's Liberal Club of Hamilton. It was eminently successful and made it clearly apparent that both political parties were

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

already on the alert for the Dominion elections portentously looming in the distance.

Another sign that politics were in the air was the holding of a Provincial Liberal Convention in Richmond Hall, Toronto, on January 24th. This proved a most active, intelligent, influential gathering. They met at eleven o'clock, and elected the Honourable James Young, of Galt, Chairman, and Mr. John B. Aylesworth, of Addington, Secretary. The Chairman announced the business simply to be—Organization. Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir Richard Cartwright spoke briefly, after which the Convention dealt with the business in a thoroughly business way. It was decided to form a Provincial Reform Association with a permanent Secretary. In the afternoon the Special Committee reported the names of those proposed as the first officers of the new organization.* These were unanimously elected, and the whole business of this eminently practical Convention closed in the promptest and most satisfactory manner.

These gatherings heightened public interest in the new political situation, which was steadily becoming more interesting. The Premier-ships of Sir John Abbott and Sir John Thompson did something to restore the confidence of the Conservative party after the loss of their late leader. Not a few be-

* The names of the first officers of the new Reform Association were: Honorary Presidents, Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir Richard Cartwright; President, Mr. Robert Jaffray, Toronto; Vice-Presidents, Honourable James Young, Galt; Mr. Charles Mackenzie, M.P.P., Sarnia; Honourable C. F. Fraser, Brockville; Mr. John C. Snell, Edmonton; Messrs. George A. Cox and John Waldie, Toronto; Mr. Thomas Murray, Pembroke; Mr. William Thompson, Orillia, and Mr. A. N. Belcourt, Ottawa.

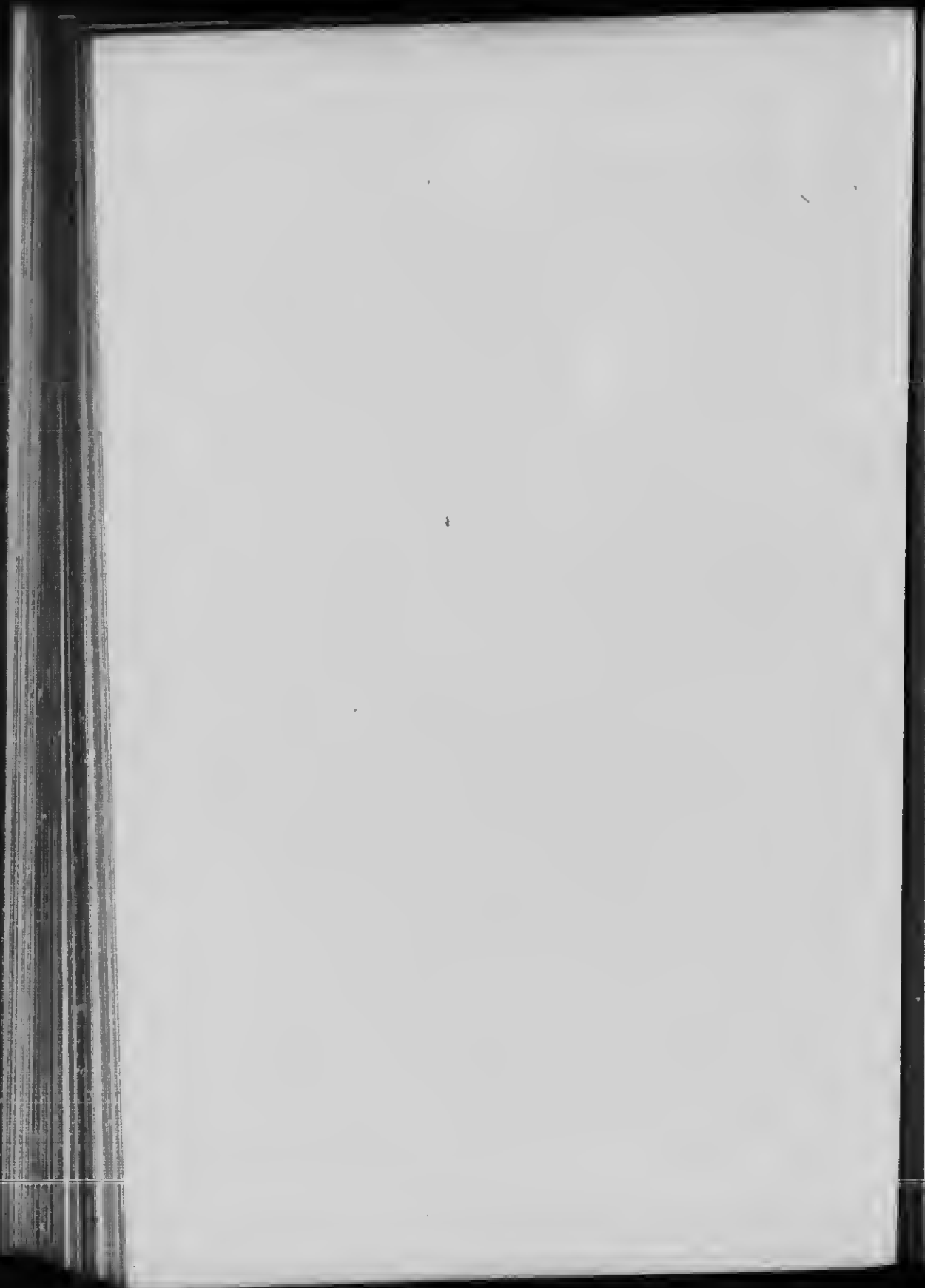
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SIR OLIVER MOWAT,
Premier of Ontario for about a quarter of a century.



LAURIER THRILLS THE DOMINION

lieved they would be able to hold the fort. Close observers, however, considered that from the death of Macdonald the Government had been gradually losing ground, and that the eyes of the people of the Dominion were turning towards the young leader of the Liberal party—the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier—who was, in fact, at this time the rising star in Canada's political firmament. His brilliant and touching speech on the death of his chief opponent, Sir John Macdonald, thrilled the Dominion like an electric spark.* At a single stroke it proclaimed him to be no ordinary man. It proved he possessed the gift of statesmanship, with views so broad, so generous, and so kindly, and with an eloquence so graceful and appropriate, as to win the admiration and applause of his political opponents as well as his political friends.

The greatest political event in Canada during this year was undoubtedly the great Dominion Liberal Convention held at the Capital on June 20th and 21st. To the Liberal party and its leader belongs the honour of calling this first Party Political Convention for the whole Dominion. It was a most courageous act on Mr. Laurier's part, and required much consideration and careful planning. Both

* After becoming Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier developed as a Parliamentary orator with much rapidity. His reply to Sir Charles Tupper's elaborate attack upon his Government on the Address at the opening of the session of 1898, was not only able and effective, but his closing tribute to Queen Victoria and her Jubilee Celebration in London, was so eloquent and appropriate that it will be read with pleasure. See Appendix No. I., page 473.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Macdonald and Mackenzie considered an All-Canada Party Convention too risky and dangerous to undertake. But Laurier—after careful consideration—took the hazard and won.

A few words about the origin of this historical Convention will be found of interest. Consulting my correspondence I find that as early as February 19th, 1889—in answer to a request of the Hon. Mr. Laurier of date a week earlier—I ventured to make some suggestions in regard to the approaching General Elections. The two suggestions most strongly recommended were: (1) The holding of a Liberal Convention composed of delegates from every Province and section of Canada; and (2) the adoption of a written party platform containing the principles which the party adopted and proposed to carry out. The exact words contained in this letter were: "That before the next elections (say the summer or fall) there should be held a Dominion Party Convention, and that we should adopt the American system of agreeing upon a written platform and letting the country know what we propose to do if it sustains us."

Nothing in this direction was then done. But when the famous elections of 1896 were approaching, and the recommendation of an All-Canada Convention and a written party platform were again pressed, the answer immediately came back from the Liberal leader at Ottawa: "The suggestion is a good one, and will be acted upon." And thus for the first time in the history of our Canadian Confederation, twenty-six years after its birth—the Lib-

GREAT LIBERAL CONVENTION

eral party decided that its first Dominion Convention should partake of a national character, and be composed of delegates from every Province and Territory throughout its vast domains! This bold and courageous move not only proved how rapidly our immense Dominion was consolidating, but caught the fancy of true Canadians from ocean to ocean, and doubtless helped to bring about the great political revolution which took place at the ensuing general elections.

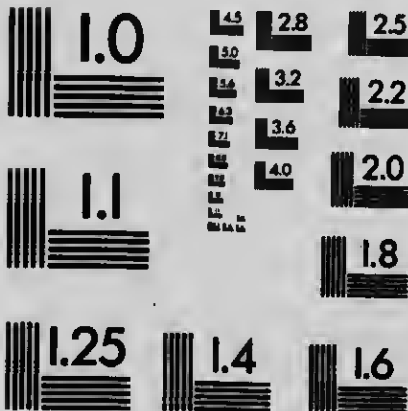
The National Liberal Convention assembled on June 20th at 2.30 p.m. The vast Rideau rink was jammed with delegates from all parts of the Dominion, the immense gathering being conspicuous for the unusually large number of prominent and influential Canadians present. The enthusiasm and applause were unbounded when the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier arose, and, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Marchand, Premier of Quebec, submitted for the Convention's choice as Chairman, the name of Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario.

On taking the chair Sir Oliver delighted the audience by making pleasing reference to its being the 56th anniversary of the accession to the Throne of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, after which he proceeded to outline the great work before the Convention and pointed out the importance of losing no time in earnestly applying themselves to its accomplishment. The loud applause which followed proved how heartily the delegates approved of the Chairman's sentiments in regard to the discharge of their duties.



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PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

The Convention quickly completed its organization, the principal officers being as follows: Chairman, Sir Oliver Mowat; Vice-Chairmen, the Honourable W. S. Fielding, Premier of Nova Scotia; the Honourable Henri G. Joly de Lotbinière, Ex-Premier, Quebec; Honourable A. G. Blair, Premier of New Brunswick; Honourable Fred. Peters, Premier of Prince Edward Island, and the Honourable Messrs. Greenway, Sifton, and Watson, for Manitoba and the North-West Territories. The Secretaries were: Charles S. Hyman, M.P., London; Mr. F. G. M. Duchesne, M.P.P., L'Islet; Mr. W. D. Balfour, M.P.P., Essex, and Mr. Andrew Pattullo, Woodstock.

Much of the work of the Convention was done by five active committees. The principal one of these was "On Resolutions." It numbered nearly one hundred members and comprised many of the most active and leading Liberals from various parts of the Dominion. It is unnecessary to enter into details of this great Convention here, as the names of all the delegates who registered as being present, and the eleven resolutions finally adopted as the platform of the Liberal party, with the numerous speeches made thereupon, were extensively published and widely circulated at the time.

It may be justly added that the proceedings of this memorable Convention were conducted throughout with dignity, ability and harmony. The Resolution Committee discussed each clause of the party platform *seriatim* and with much earnestness and interest. Several amendments were made in the

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THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION

resolutions submitted, the only material difference of opinion, however, being on the Temperance question, which was finally and agreeably adjusted. A short but inspiring speech by Hon. Mr. Laurier, and the singing of the National Anthem at the close of the proceedings on the second day, made a fitting termination of this first Canadian National Convention, which has justly become historic as a turning-point in our political history.*

* Soon after the meeting of the National Liberal Convention held at Ottawa, June, 1893, the Honourable Edward Blake wrote to Mr. A. Younie, then Secretary of the West Durham Reform Association, as follows: "May I be permitted to say how glad I am to think that the Reciprocity resolution of the late Reform Convention has ended the difference which led to the severing of my connection with the Riding, and that though no longer to be associated with you as your representative, I am no longer to be divided from you in opinion."

CHAPTER XLI.

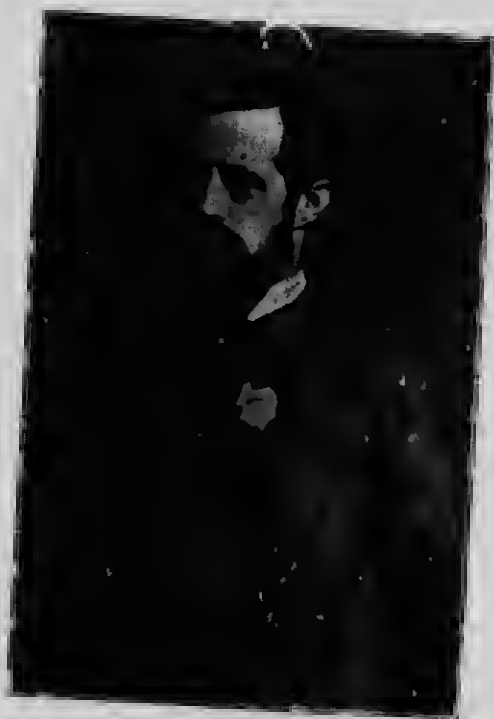
TRAGIC DEATH OF SIR JOHN THOMPSON AT WINDSOR
CASTLE—PUBLIC FUNERAL AT HALIFAX—SIR
MACKENZIE BOWELL BECOMES PREMIER—
HIS MINISTRY WRECKED BY DISSEN-
SIONS—SIR CHARLES TUPPER RE-
CONSTRUCTS THE CABINET.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, G.C.M.G., opened the Dominion Parliament for the first time as Governor-General, on March 15th, 1894. His Excellency was accompanied by Lady Aberdeen—a lady of rare ability and accomplishments—and their five years in Canada made one of the most useful and popular Viceregal reigns the Dominion has ever enjoyed.

When the summer came in, the political hosts of the Province of Ontario again found themselves in battle array. Mowat and Meritt had swords drawn for their last fight at the polls. The result was rendered somewhat uncertain on account of the zeal displayed by a new semi-secret organization called the Protestant Protective Association—familiarly known as the P. P. A.—and by the unusual activity of the Patrons of Industry, who made a thorough organization and a very creditable run. The contest was somewhat unique. But at the close of the polls on June 25th, the results were given by the press as follows: Liberals returned, fifty-one;

THOMPSON CONDUCTS SESSION SUCCESSFULLY

Conservatives, twenty-seven; Patrons, fifteen, and P. P. A.'s one. This left the Government a straight majority of eight, and as most of the Patrons elected were old Liberals, Sir Oliver Mowat was practically as strong as ever.



EARL OF ALERDEEN.

The session of the Dominion Parliament continued till near the close of the Ontario elections. It did not prorogue till June 23rd—two days before the Ontario polling took place. Under the careful management of the Honourable John Thompson, the Government passed through the session success-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

fully, which helped to continue the growth of a more hopeful feeling in Conservative circles.

The prospects of the Thompson Administration in fact seemed to brighten till near the close of the year. Sir John, who was up to that time our youngest Prime Minister, proved energetic, able and industrious. He did good work for the Dominion, both at home and abroad, and for his services to Great Britain as a Commissioner in the settlement of the Behring Sea difficulties with the United States, he was tendered the distinction of an Imperial Privy Councillor.

The ceremony of his being sworn into this honourable position was appointed to take place at Windsor Castle on December 12th. Sir John attended apparently in the best of health and spirits. He was duly sworn in as a member of the Privy Council before Her Majesty Queen Victoria when—sad to relate!—a few moments afterwards he was struck down with tragic suddenness by apoplexy, and quickly passed to that bourne “whence no traveller returns.”

These painful circumstances were learned with deep regret and sympathy throughout Great Britain and Canada, and more especially in the Maritime Provinces. The British and Canadian Governments vied with each other in honouring his memory. He was accorded a National funeral. His remains were conveyed across the Atlantic in the battleship *Elenheim*, and the elaborate funeral ceremonies observed in Halifax—his native city—fittingly expressed the sorrow and sympathy felt throughout

MACKENZIE BOWELL BECOMES PREMIER

every part of Canada at this tragic termination to a bright and promising career.

As the death of a Premier dissolves his entire Cabinet, the Governor-General, the Earl of Aberdeen, took early steps to reconstruct the Government. He entrusted this task to Senator Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who had long held office as Minister of Customs. He was deemed next in succession and a gentleman of much energy and experience, whose long connection with the press added to his acquirements for the discharge of the high duties of Prime Minister. He was sworn into office on December 21st, and made no important changes in the Cabinet except that Sir C. Hibbert Tupper became Minister of Justice and the Honourable George E. Foster leader of the House of Commons.

It must be admitted that the new Prime Minister, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, did not accede to power under as favourable circumstances as Sir John Abbott and Sir John Thompson. The unexpected deaths of these two gentlemen were sadly discouraging, and the difficulties arising from the Conservative party's long term in office—already over sixteen years—were steadily accumulating. This



SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

was true not only throughout the Dominion but within the Cabinet itself.

The Government met the House of Commons with an air of confidence, however, when the session of 1895 opened on April 18th. But a bitter debate arose before the Address was voted, and there were other ominous signs of coming turbulence and danger. The Honourable Wilfrid Laurier came to the front at this crisis as he never had done before. His rapid development as a Parliamentary leader and orator surprised both friends and opponents. He skilfully attacked the Administration, and, zealously backed up by Messrs. Cartwright, Mills, Davies, Mulock, Edgar, Patterson, Charlton and other Liberals, gave the Government a hot time in defending themselves, but on two direct votes of "want of confidence" their supporters sustained them by votes averaging from 114 to 72.

Whilst Mr. Bowell's Cabinet had a decided majority on a strict party vote, however, it was well known that it was hopelessly divided on the Manitoba School difficulty—which urgently required settlement—whilst several of the Ministers were known to be personally hostile to each other. The sweets of office have great power in holding parties and Governments together. But persons well informed in politics clearly perceived that the circumstances connected with the Bowell Administration must finally lead to its "break-up" and complete overthrow.

The long-suppressed party dissensions exploded much sooner than expected. On March 21st, an

MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

official despatch from Manitoba had been received by the Dominion Ministers, flatly declaring that its Legislature would never restore the old Roman Catholic Separate School which it had abolished, and protesting against any interference by the Dominion with the rights of the Province to choose its own schools. This brought the Manitoba School question to a head and finally brought about one of the most bitter party quarrels and extended political crises ever known in this country.

The Government's Quebec (Bleu) supporters declared the Cabinet must pass and enforce a Remedial Bill restoring and maintaining whatever privileges the Roman Catholics had in regard to Separate Schools prior to the last Manitoba legislation. Their Ontario (Orange) supporters, on the other hand, declared that having acted within its Constitutional rights, "Manitoba must and shall not be coerced," by the Dominion in any way whatever. The Hon. Messrs. Angers, Ouimet, and Caron, Quebec Ministers, then tendered their resignations to Prime Minister Bowell, and as the proposed Remedial Bill—although drawn up and ready—could not be carried through the House of Commons, the Government was for several days in a state of crisis and public affairs in a dangerous muddle.

Mr. Angers resisted all entreaties to withdraw his resignation, but on promises that the Remedial Bill would be passed before the approaching General Elections came off, Messrs. Ouimet and Caron were finally persuaded to remain in the Cabinet and thus

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

enable it to close the session without breaking up into discordant sections.

This crisis left the Bowell Administration almost in a moribund condition. They had obtained a short respite, but on the Manitoba School question, to satisfy both their Quebec and Ontario supporters was impossible. The people of the Dominion were not slow to perceive this, and the Government continued to lose ground.

Several independent Conservatives deserved credit for opposing the Government's attempt to coerce Manitoba. As early as December, the Honourable Clarke Wallace, the Comptroller of Customs, resigned office rather than countenance the Remedial Bill, and some of the most effective speeches against it were made by Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Q.C. The Liberal leader, too, was much praised for the courageous stand he took on the School question, his fearless declaration—although a French-Canadian—that Manitoba must not be coerced, nor its Provincial rights invaded, greatly enhancing his reputation and popularity.

Thus matters drifted until Parliament was called to assemble for its last session. The Senate and House of Commons duly convened on January 2nd, 1896, the Speech was delivered by the Governor-General, Lord Aberdeen, when, only two days later—to the surprise of all Canada—and before Parliament had even considered His Excellency's speech, the dissension in the Cabinet came to a head, and seven members of the Cabinet resigned their portfolios and left the Council Chamber in a body! The

" A NEST OF TRAITORS "

" Bolters," as they were immediately called, were: Messrs. Foster, Hibbert Tupper, Haggart, Montagu, Ives, Dickey and Wood. Their object evidently was to force the resignation of the leader of the Government and bring about a new deal. But Premier Bowell had a good share of spirit. He openly denounced the bolters as " a nest of traitors," and determined to hold the fort and defy them to do their worst.

Avoiding details of this unusually bitter and discreditable party embroglio, suffice it to say, that for nearly two weeks the business of Parliament was blocked and public affairs brought to a state of chaos whilst these contending factions were trying to patch up their difficulties so as to maintain their hold upon power! It was an unedifying spectacle, and it was not until January 15th that it was in substance announced: (1) That six of the bolters would return to the Cabinet under Prime Minister Bowell; (2) that Sir Charles Tupper would take his son's place in the Cabinet and become leader of the House of Commons; (3) and last, but not least, that Sir Mackenzie Bowell would resign the Premiership at the close of the session, when Sir Charles Tupper would form a new Administration and appeal to the country.

This was hardly peace with honour, but the bargain was at least faithfully carried out. Sir Charles Tupper found a seat in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and, though no longer young, led the House of Commons with much of his old political energy and forcible oratory. What remained of the session

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

naturally proved tempestuous. But the haven of Prorogation was finally reached on April 23rd, and shortly afterwards the Prime Minister, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, fulfilled his part of the party compromise by driving quietly to Government House and placing his resignation in the hands of Her Majesty's representative.

The Governor-General then sent for Sir CHARLES Tupper and entrusted him with the duty of forming a new Administration. In consequence of the party feuds over the Manitoba Schools and the plethora of aspirants for office, he found his task an exceedingly difficult one. But he finally formed a Government of eighteen members, composed chiefly of the former Ministers, with the addition of three or four new men without portfolios.

The whole Dominion was now beginning to pulsate with political excitement. The immense importance of the approaching elections was universally recognized. The recent quarrels of several of the new Ministers, as well as current reports that secret pledges had been given by the new Government to continue the policy of coercing Manitoba on the School question, aroused the electors as they had seldom been aroused before. The nominations for the elections were finally fixed for the 16th June, and the polling for the 23rd, and with the announcement of this fact the din of preparation daily rose higher and higher.

Sir Charles Tupper had at last reached what many believed to be the goal of his ambition—being now Prime Minister of Canada and Leader of the House

" TIME FOR A CHANGE "

of Commons—and he threw himself into the elections, aided by his son, Sir Hibbert, with surprising energy and determination for a man of seventy-five. Except Mr. Dalton McCarthy and a small circle of other Independents, he was fairly well supported by the Conservative party, but nothing could then turn the political tide which had been running throughout the Dominion for a considerable time. The Liberal party, too, were thoroughly organized and were being skilfully led—unsuspected even by many of his own followers—by a man who has since proved himself to be, if not the foremost, at least one of the most far-sighted statesmen and successful political leaders whom Canada has ever had at any period of its history.

Besides all this, the people of the Dominion generally were dissatisfied with the condition of public affairs. During the preceding year (1895) the returns both of Dominion imports and exports were much the lowest for several years. Business was quiet, immigration stagnant. The country's immense resources were largely lying neglected. The old National Policy was generally considered a failure, and a large number of Canadians made no secret that it was "time for a change." And when shortly before election day it was announced that Sir Oliver Mowat had consented to resign the Premiership of Ontario, and would join Laurier, if successful, in forming his first Dominion Government, the last ray of hope of the newly-formed Tupper Government carrying the elections may justly be said to have faded into oblivion.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

And so when the clock struck five on the evening of this momentous Dominion election day—the 23rd June—it was found that the polling had resulted in the greatest political revolution since the *débâcle* of 1878—eighteen years before. But on this occasion it was not to their opponents, but to the



HON. SIR WILLIAM MULOCK.

Honourable Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal party, that the electors of Canada had awarded triumphant victory.*

* The members returned were at first classified as follows: Liberals 119, Conservatives 89, Patrons of Industry 3, and Independents 2. But after the first session, the majority of the Laurier Government ranged from 44 to 50.

LAURIER FORMS NEW GOVERNMENT

Sir Charles Tupper and his colleagues acted with dignity under their defeat. They followed the example of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie and resigned on July 8th.

The Governor-General, the Earl of Aberdeen, shortly afterwards sent for the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier, who, at His Excellency's request, undertook to form a new Government. He was himself sworn in as First Minister on July 11th, and on the 13th he submitted to Lord Aberdeen the names of the colleagues he had chosen to compose his Cabinet, who met with the approval of Her Majesty's representative. The names of the gentlemen composing the Laurier Government as at first formed in 1896, were as follows:—

President of the Council (Premier): Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, P.C., G.C.M.G., Q.C., D.C.L. (Oxon.).

Trade and Commerce: Sir R. J. Cartwright, G.C.M.G.

Secretary of State: Honourable R. W. Scott, Q.C., LL.D.

Minister of Justice: Sir Oliver Mowat, P.C., G.C.M.G., LL.D.

Marine and Fisheries: Sir L. H. Davies, K.C. M.G.

Militia and Defence: Honourable F. W. Borden, B.A., M.D.

Postmaster-General: Honourable Wm. Mulock, Q.C., M.A., LL.D.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

Agriculture: Honourable S. A. Fisher, B.A.

Public Works: Honourable Israel Tarte.

Finance Minister: Honourable William S. Fielding.

Railways and Canals: Honourable A. G. Blair.

Interior: Honourable Clifford Sifton, Q.C.

Customs: Honourable William Patterson.

Inland Revenue: Sir H. G. Joly de Lotbinière,
K.C.M.G.

Without Portfolio: Honourable R. R. Dobell.

Without Portfolio: Honourable C. A. Geoffrion,
Q.C., D.C.L.

CHAPTER XLII.

"THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BELONGS TO CANADA"
—ITS IMMENSE DEVELOPMENT DURING THE
LAST FIFTEEN YEARS—NEARING EIGHT
HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS OF
ANNUAL COMMERCE—CANADA
DISCOVERED AT LAST.

WITH the dawn of the twentieth century, Canada became conspicuous in the world's glittering lime-light.

The famous French voyageur, Jacques Cartier, discovered Canada in the sixteenth century, but the world apparently did not find it till near the twentieth, over 350 years later. At least, it was not until after the new Canadian régime had been duly installed after the elections of 1896, that population began to rush into the Dominion from all quarters of the world, and the whole land seemed as if touched by the fingers of Midas, so rapid and remarkable has been its transformation—its progress, prosperity and promise—since that period.

Some contend that the contemporaneous occurrence of the new Administration and the great and immediate change in Canada's position and prospects was a mere coincidence and simply the result of natural evolution—that it would have come about anyway. Others as stoutly declare that the change was chiefly attributable to the discarding of the National Policy and other ancient drags on the

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

country's prosperity, and to the new men, new policy, new enterprises and new methods with which the young Prime Minister—Sir Wilfrid Laurier—promptly surrounded himself. It is unnecessary to decide between these contending views. Both parties have doubtless contributed something to make good the gracefully eloquent declaration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier that "The Twentieth Century belongs to Canada."

What chiefly concerns us is the important fact that the Dominion at that time undoubtedly entered upon an advanced and brighter chapter of its political existence, and what it may become as a nation before the present century closes—comprising as it does nearly one-half of the whole North American continent—opens up to the vision a field of the most enchanting and tempting character.

It is a field, however, too extensive and important to enter into at length in the last chapters of this volume, which was not expected to extend beyond the passing of Sir John Macdonald and the ancient régime. The brilliant career of the Laurier Administration can only be referred to in a general way, and our closing observations confined to a brief reference to the remarkable expansion and prosperity of Canada since 1896, a parting tribute to the grand men who brought about Confederation and composed its first Parliaments, and a few words as to our future National outlook.

Since the transformation of Canada began—fifteen years ago—the new discoveries made of its

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SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

CANADA'S WONDERFUL DEVELOPMENT

wealth, the rapid development of its immense natural resources, the rush of population into the world's new and greatest wheat belt—our Canadian prairies—the growth of railroads and other means of transportation, the influx of foreign capital, and the almost universal success which has attended our farms, forests, fisheries, mines, manufactures, shipping and commerce, have been truly immense. It is doubtful in fact if the development and prosperity of the Dominion during the last fifteen years has ever been excelled by any other country—even the United States—during its early years.

Two or three examples of our recent expansion in population and commerce will suffice to sustain these statements. According to Mr. Archibald Blue, Chief of the Statistical Bureau, the latest corrections in the census of 1911 shows our present population to be 7,204,527. This is an increase since 1901—a period of ten years—of 1,833,212, whereas the increase was only 1,863,554 persons during the previous thirty years!* During 1910 our population increased by 311,084, in the year just ended (1911) the number was 351,000, and it is therefore no exaggeration to say that this year 1,000 emigrants per day will soon be knocking at our doors for admission.

No better evidence of the extraordinary development and prosperity of Canada since the old régime passed and new Government methods were installed in 1896 could be adduced than to contrast the

* Canadian Year Book for 1910, page 2.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

growth of our aggregate commerce with other countries before and after that year. Confining our comparison to the fifteen years immediately before 1896 with the fifteen years which have since elapsed, and for brevity taking only the returns for every third year, the extent and rapidity of the growth of the commerce of the Dominion during the last decade and a half may be seen at a glance. The Government returns for the two periods contrasted were as follows:—

Before 1896—Under the National Policy.

1880	\$174,401,205
1883	\$230,339,826
1886	\$189,675,875
1889	\$204,414,098
1892	\$241,369,443
1895	\$224,425,485

After 1896—Under Fielding Tariff.

1896	\$239,025,360
1899	\$321,661,213
1902	\$423,910,444
1905	\$470,151,289
1908	\$650,793,131
1911	\$769,443,905

These official statistics clearly prove, first, that Canadian progress immediately before the great political upheaval of 1896 was slow and unsteady, but immediately after that date the Commerce of the Dominion doubled in ten, and more than trebled

INCREASE IN CANADIAN COMMERCE

(increased over 300 per cent.), during the last fifteen years! The contrast between the two periods is striking and significant, and it appears still greater when the total values of the two periods are given. They were in round numbers as follows: Total



HON. WILLIAM STEVENS FIELDING.

value of Canadian Commerce for the fifteen years prior to 1896, \$3,250,000,000;* total value thereof for the fifteen years which have since just elapsed, \$6,655,000,000! And it may be added in concluding

* This period was when the National Policy was in force.

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

that for the current year (1911-12) it is confidently estimated that the volume of our Commerce will reach \$800,000,000!*

The development and prosperity of the Dominion ever since the Fielding Tariff was enacted has been little short of marvellous, and our career as a nation is only beginning. Considering the country's immense area, its almost illimitable natural resources, its unsurpassed means of transportation by water and rail, and the industry, energy and enterprise of our Canadian people, a loose rein may be given to the imagination without exaggerating the value of Canadian Commerce before the middle of the present century.

* Large as this prediction appeared to be when made, it has been quite surpassed by the actual figures. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics published another official statement on April 21st last, showing that the total value of the commerce of Canada for last year—ending on March 31st, 1912, and including both imports and exports—reached the magnificent total of \$847,372,738!

CHAPTER XLIII.

FIRST PARLIAMENT CONSPICUOUS—ALAS! ALL THE
MEMBERS OF THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE ARE
GONE BUT ONE—SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT
AWARDS THE HIGHEST HONOUR FOR
CARRYING CONFEDERATION TO
BROWN, CARTIER AND GALT
—CANADIAN PARLIA-
MENTARY ORATORS.

NEARLY half a century has elapsed since His Excellency, Lord Monck, opened the first Confederation Parliament on November 6th, 1867. That was a great day for British America, and every Canadian has reason to admire and venerate not only those distinguished statesmen, "The Fathers of Confederation," but the many other young and old Canadians who helped to found and bequeath to us the priceless National heritage which to-day is ours.

My early connection with the press made me acquainted with many Canadian statesmen and Ministers prior to Confederation, and as a member of the first three Parliaments of the Dominion I soon realized how much our public life had been enriched by the presence of so many well educated, able and cultivated representatives from the Maritime Provinces.

The first Federal Parliament was conspicuous as a representative body. A number of its members

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

had been delegates at the Quebec Conference in 1864. Many others had experience as Parliamentarians, and not a few had been Ministers of the Crown in their respective Provinces. Aside from political differences, the first Parliament of Canada was a grand legislative body, and there are many reasons to sustain the claim which has been frequently made, that for distinguished statesmen and Parliamentary ability, it has never yet been surpassed by any of its successors.

As Canadians, we can never value too highly the splendid Constitution which has been bequeathed to us. With the exception of an antiquated Crown-nominated Senate, with membership for life, and which glaring anomaly would have been impossible but for the singular accord of the Honourable George Brown and Sir John Macdonald on this particular point, the experience of forty-four years proves what a valuable Constitution we have in the British North America Act. The Senate excepted,* it has worked successfully, and without a single material amendment since 1867! Except in dire necessity, therefore, no rude hands—especially no combination of ambitious politicians or scheming Provincial Ministries—should ever be allowed to tamper with the noble Charter of our liberties which

*The Liberal party has been adversely criticised for not reforming the Senate after advocating it ever since Confederation, and reaffirming the demand therefor at the great Liberal Convention of 1893. There is reason to believe that the ex-Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, more than once desired to take action in the matter. As some evidence of this, see Appendix No. IV., page 480.

CANADIANS "CHIPS OF THE OLD BLOCK"

the early Makers of Canada evolved during the long night of toil, strife, anxiety and bitterness through which they passed.

Alas! Every one of the famous men who composed the Coalition Government of 1864, which carried Confederation, has passed away; of the members of the first Parliament of 1867, not more than sixteen now survive; and of the delegates from the various Provinces who composed the Quebec Conference, only one single member is still among the living! This gentleman is the Right Honourable Sir Charles Tupper, G.C.M.G., and long may he be spared to share and rejoice in the development of the stalwart young Canadian nation which he helped to found.

Whilst owing so much to our early nation-builders, I have firm faith that the Canadians of to-day will be found "chips of the old block" and will prove equal to our growing responsibilities. The successful manner in which our Constitutional powers have been so far interpreted and worked out is creditable to us as a people. There doubtless have been some mistakes. All countries are more or less afflicted in that way. But it is no exaggeration to say that the solidarity and success already achieved by our Canadian Federation has been exceedingly encouraging.

In proof of the Dominion's stability, two illustrations may be given. During his last term in office, Sir John Macdonald was Prime Minister from 1878 until his death in 1891—a period of thirteen years—and the Conservative party continued to control

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

the Federal Administration up to 1896, making in all eighteen consecutive years! Very stable must be the people and their institutions whose Governments can hold office so long under free representative institutions!

The career of Sir Oliver Mowat and the Liberal party in Ontario was even more remarkable. That gentleman was Prime Minister of the Province from 1872 to 1896—twenty-four successive years—and the continuous reign of the Liberal party extended from 1871 to 1905, a period of no less than thirty-four consecutive years! This was an extraordinary term of office, and many Ontarians were actually born, educated, married, voted and died under the same Provincial Government which existed when they first saw the light!

Unless an exception can be found in the record of the Republican party of the United States after the Southern War, these instances of Canadian political stability are without parallel in the history of Responsible Government.

Before the Canadian Club and élite of Ottawa, on the evening of January 20th, 1906, Sir Richard Cartwright delivered a charming address on "Confederation Memories." It was an eloquent deliverance—redolent of those epoch-making days—and Sir Richard awarded the highest honours for advocating and carrying Confederation to the Honourable George Brown, Sir George Cartier and Sir Alexander Galt.

Mr. Galt was an accomplished statesman, and deserves the credit of being the first member of the

CARTWRIGHT'S "CONFEDERATION MEMORIES"

House of Commons to put on the notice paper a resolution in favour of the Federal Union of the five original Provinces: Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. He was not a necessity, however, to the carrying of the proposed measure. Brown and Cartier, on the other hand, were both absolutely necessary. It was



SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, G.C.M.G.

the union of these two powerful political leaders which made possible the Coalition Government and Federal Union in 1864, and they rightfully deserve the principal credit attached thereto.

Sir George Cartier rendered valuable service in conciliating the support of his French-Canadian

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

fellow-countrymen. No one would seek to decrease his credit therefor. But for the reasons already given at some length in Chapter XXXIII., it is believed impartial History must award the pre-eminence to George Brown, whose zealous, powerful and eloquent advocacy of Federal Union on the platform and in the press, with the active support of the whole united Liberal party at his back, did more than anything else to bring about the Confederation of British North America, and make Canada what it is to-day—the most prosperous, powerful and promising young nation of modern times.

None of our statesmen rendered longer and more notable services to Canada than Sir John Macdonald during his clever and successful, though somewhat chequered, career. As both volumes of this book are full of references to his distinguished Parliamentary and official career, it is not necessary to say more, in closing, than that Sir John rendered long and valuable services to Canada, and that even in old age he retained much of that great natural gift for politics and party leadership which enabled him to capture and hold office so long and so successfully, and won for him a wide reputation as a statesman both at home and abroad.

It may be justly claimed, I think, that our Canadian Parliaments—considering the difference in circumstances—compare not unfavourably with the British Lords and Commons, and the American Senate and House of Representatives. All our Parliaments since the Union have contained many admirable public speakers and not a few orators of the highest rank.

CANADIAN ORATORS AND DEBATERS

Mr. D'Arcy McGee, for example, was an orator in the highest sense of the word—bright, polished and sparkling. Mr. L. S. Huntingdon was born with this gift of the gods, and seldom failed to please with his charming rhetoric and musical voice. He was called the silver-tongued orator. Mr. Dorion was an admirable debater either in English or French. Cartier was brusque and aggressive, but forceful and effective. Mr. Holton was the Mentor of Parliament in regard to Constitutional and Parliamentary practice. His speeches were invariably short, but always models of classic English and dignified delivery. Mr. David Mills was a walking encyclopædia of Parliamentary knowledge. Honourable William Macdougall was a polished debater, generally graceful and effective—frequently eloquent. The Honourable John Hillyard Cameron was an accomplished speaker. Tilley was clear and fluent in delivery, and conspicuous also as debaters in the Maritime group were Mr. A. G. Jones (afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia), Messrs. Smith and Anglin of New Brunswick, and Mr. David Laird of Prince Edward Island. Sir John Thompson proved himself to be a fine debater of the foremost rank, being at once calm, clever, conciliatory and convincing. As already stated, however, no member of the House of Commons ranked higher than Edward Blakc as a Parliamentary debater, nor exercised greater influence by his speeches on the discussions which took place.

Having already referred at considerable length to Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Galt, Dr. Tupper, Mr. Cartwright, and Mr. Bowell, it only remains to add that

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

for decades these distinguished gentlemen were champions of their respective parties in the House of Commons and held the leading rank as Parliamentary debaters. Mr. Mackenzie, in particular, steadily improved whilst Prime Minister, and long



HON. DAVID MILLS.

before his Administration ended he had become one of the readiest, ablest and most correct* debaters which the House contained.

* It was said by some of the official reporters that Mr. Mackenzie was the only member whose speeches could stand being reported and published exactly as he uttered

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HOWE'S GREAT MISTAKE

Last, but not least—although he came into the House of Commons late, and after his health had been sadly impaired—there was no greater orator among all the Canadians mentioned than the Honourable Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia. He was a poet as well as an orator, and his eloquence was often brightened and enriched by beautiful poetic fancies. His speech at the famous Detroit Reciprocity Convention of 1866 was one of the most brilliant orations ever delivered on an international occasion. Very sad indeed was Howe's early death. He was a great British American, but made a serious mistake in opposing Confederation. Time never seemed to obliterate this, and many of his numerous friends and admirers believe that, in consequence thereof, the great Nova Scotian died of a broken heart.

Taken altogether, the first Parliaments after Confederation reflected credit upon "The Public Men and Public Life of Canada," and, barring a few mistakes, they kept step with the country's material developments and requirements. With the magnificent commercial expansion and prosperity which have taken place since 1896, with the Confederation booming from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and even the dark recesses of "the Great Lone Land" awakening to the thrill of advancing civilization, it is hardly necessary to say that the world has at last discovered Canada, and it is now no exaggeration to describe it as "conspicuous in the world's glittering limelight."

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CHAPTER XLIV.

CANADA'S FUTURE POLITICAL OUTLOOK—A FEW OBSERVATIONS IN CLOSING.

AT Confederation some clouds still darkened our political sky. But they have all, or nearly all, entirely disappeared, and that we are now launching our barque among the nations as a part of the British Empire, and under the ægis of the British Crown, gilds our future with exceedingly bright and brilliant colours.

No other young country ever started upon its career under more favourable circumstances. As we have already seen, the Dominion possesses the agricultural, the manufacturing, the maritime, indeed, all the resources of a great nation, and with the splendid Constitution handed down to us by Macdonald, Mowat, Brown, Cartier, Galt, Tupper, Macdougall and the other founders of Confederation, unless as a people we prove unequal to the occasion, the Canada that is to be must play an influential part in the future of this continent and the world.

As a people, Canadians continue proud to be part of the British Empire, and the Tariff Preference given by us to British trade, and the almost universal approval of a Navy to assist in Canada's and

OVER-ZEALOUS IMPERIALISTS

the Empire's defence, prove our earnest desire to work out our future—even to nationhood—hand in hand with the grand old Mother-land.

The danger of Annexation, too, may now be said to have passed. As a menace to Canada's future—as already mentioned—it is as extinct as the mastodon of prehistoric ages. The last thing which this country could now tolerate would be political absorption into the neighbouring Republic, for the sons and daughters of the Maple Leaf are practically unanimous in the belief that we have a far better political position now as part of the British Empire. And if in the distant future the revolving wheels of time should render our present happy connection with the old land untenable, we would have awaiting our acceptance a still higher and grander destiny as a powerful, independent Canadian nation, with territory easily large enough for two hundred millions of people.

But whilst saying this as to the Dominion's future outlook, I would fail in my duty as one warmly attached to Great Britain as well as Canada if I did not again sound a warning note—as I did in a pamphlet over twenty years ago—that the great mass of Canadians look with no favour on the numerous organizations and devices of over-zealous Imperialists to coax or cajole this Dominion into some kind of Imperial Federation which must infringe upon our hard-won Canadian liberties and lower our political status. All the great Canadians of the past, so far as known—including the Honour-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

able George Brown, Sir John Macdonald* and Sir Oliver Mowat—considered Imperial Federation “an idle dream,” and that after half a century of agitation none of its zealous advocates has ever been able to produce a practicable and taking plan, doubtless arises from the fact that, when attempted to be formulated, Imperial Federation at its root—in its very nature—is found to be antagonistic to the national aspirations of the Canadian people.

This is the only cloud visible, in my humble judgment, in the sky of our Imperial relations, and it is my earnest hope that the sagacity of our statesmen may be able to check the agitation of British and Canadian jingoes for political changes antagonistic to Canadian autonomy and prevent it growing into a serious national danger, which it might very easily do.

Twenty years hence the population of Canada may possibly not be far from 25,000,000. This will increase our responsibilities as well as our strength, but if as Canadians we act with a lofty spirit of

* “The proposal that there should be a Parliamentary Federation of the Empire I regard as impracticable. I greatly doubt if England would agree that the Parliament which has sat so many centuries at Westminster should be made subsidiary to a Federal Legislature. But, however that might be, I am quite sure that Canada would never consent to be taxed by a central body sitting at London in which she would practically have no voice, for her proportionate number of members in such an assembly would amount to little more than an honorary representation. That form of Imperial Federation is an idle dream. So, also, in my opinion, is the proposal to establish a uniform tariff throughout the Empire. No colony would ever surrender its right to make its fiscal policy.”—Sir John Macdonald, *Pope's Life*. Vol. II., page 215.

AN ANGLO-SAXON CONFEDERACY

patriotism, carefully guarding against the dangers of Sectionalism and the curse of race and political partisanship, the future of our Canadian Federation may now be considered assured and bright. North America needs such a power. The world is changing. Sleeping giants are awakening. The Yellow Peril may become real at any moment and our Pacific coasts are open and exposed to any marauding force.

That our rising Dominion, however powerful it may become, has abundance of work awaiting its energies is clearly apparent. It may be specially needed on our Pacific coasts, but around the shores of Hudson's Bay, north as far as the Arctic Circle, and in fact all over the Dominion, immense and all-important problems are waiting to be grappled with. That as a people we may be able to work out successfully the grand destiny which Providence has placed within the grasp of our young but magnificent Canadian Confederacy, should be the earnest prayer and constant effort of every patriotic Canadian and public-spirited citizen.

Besides seeking to make Canada great, and sacredly guarding our Canadian autonomy, the chief aim of our statesmen should be to make Canada the strongest link in the chain of friendship which now binds Great Britain and the United States together. And if they can induce and aid these two great nations—unsurpassed in ancient or modern times—to form a great Anglo-Saxon Confederacy, composed of Britain, the United States, Canada, Aus-

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

tralia, New Zealand and South Africa, it would be a master-stroke in promoting the world's peace, in terminating the brutal savagery and cursed waste of war, and in uplifting humanity throughout the whole earth to a higher Christian and civilized plane.

THE END.

APPENDIX I

TRIBUTE TO HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER JUBILEE CELEBRATION, BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILFRID LAURIER, IN CLOSING HIS SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT, ON FEBRUARY 4TH, 1898.

(See page 435)

My honourable friend from Temiscouata (Mr. Gauvreau) dilated eloquently upon the lessons to be derived from the Jubilee celebration.

The Jubilee celebration was remarkable chiefly for two distinct and characteristic features. In the first place, it was above all things a tribute of devotion and personal attachment to the Sovereign, to the noble woman who, during the course of a long life in the most exalted station, has ever displayed those qualities which grace her sex, gentleness and generosity, and who at the same time has shown that she was possessed of those sterner attributes which made her the model of Sovereigns, as she was already the model of women, and which have so much endeared her to so many millions of her subjects. Of all the touching scenes which were witnessed on Jubilee Day, none was more touching than the singularly warm, singularly sincere expressions of devotion, of love and of affection which spontaneously went forth to Her Majesty from her subjects in the poorer quarters of the great metropolis.

From another point of view the Jubilee celebration was as suggestive as it was impressive. It was a revelation of the wonderful development which has been attained by the British Empire, a revelation of its strength, of its extension, of its cohesion. Those who saw the Jubilee procession from Buckingham Palace to the Cathedral of St. Paul's, could not but have their minds carried back to the ancient days of Rome, to those famous pageants where the victorious general ascended the Via Sacra in a blaze of glory and triumph. It was a triumph indeed, was that procession from Buckingham Palace to the Cathedral of St. Paul's; but it was a triumph how different, how widely different, from the triumphs of ancient Rome. Here was not a warrior coming after a campaign, laden with the gory spoils of any provinces, or

APPENDIX I

many kingdoms, or with thousands of slaves and prisoners fettered to his chariot—the triumphant in this case was a woman, a woman no longer in the flower of youth but already marked by the hand of time, and in her cortège were the men of many lands and of many religions—men from the black races of Africa, men from the yellow races of Asia, men from the mixed races of the West Indies, Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists—but free men all! Free men all; some of them wearing the uniform of the British Army and proudly marching to the strains of England's martial airs. And when in front of the noble temple, under the canopy of heaven, the vast throng reverently invoked the blessing of Almighty God for the aged Sovereign and her vast dominions, a thrill passed over every one present, and each felt in his heart the conviction that, as the Roman Empire had been built up by force and violence, so it had been destroyed by force and violence; but that the British Empire lived, and could live ever, upon the eternal laws of freedom and justice.

And as it is for the British Empire as a whole, so it is for every component part of that Empire. That is the inspiration which shall ever guide us in the discharge of the duty which the Canadian people have entrusted to our care, and it is with this resolve that we, on this day, meet the Commons of Canada.—Parliamentary Debates, Vol. I, of 1898, page 92.

APPENDIX II

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF THE HONOURABLE ALEXANDER MAC- KENZIE ON COMMERCIAL UNION AND ITS RESULTS.

(See page 100)

OTTAWA, May 28th, 1887.

My Dear Young;—Yours of 19th duly received, but my absence from the city prevented my answering it sooner. I am wholly opposed to a so-called Commercial Union. In the first place, I think it all but impracticable. If in operation, our goods would nearly all come in by New York, and constant trouble would be experienced getting our share of the duties. Such a Union would last but a short time, and would inevitably lead to a complete Political Union. While it lasted it would lead to estrangement with the Mother Country. It would be an unprecedented policy.

It may be said, "What about Germany?" Well, the circumstances are not similar. The nations coming under the Zollverein have a Political Union as well. It would be as reasonable to point to a state of the American Union as an example of its working. We could not hope to maintain the existing relations with Great Britain while we had the most intimate commercial relations with a rival nation. Already all the Annexation element in Canada are eager for the new policy. I am bound to do all in my power to maintain the Union with Britain, and, if possible, to get some sort of an arrangement with the United States equal to an alliance offensive and defensive. Such alliance would by its weight command general peace and forward the interests of civilization and international justice.

In the meantime, we have the great Colonies clustering round the Mother Land, and now proving a source of strength instead of weakness, as they were forty years ago, and, until the great Republic sees fit to form an alliance I go for doing everything to bind together what we have got of English-speaking nationalities.

It may be said this is mere sentiment. Well, what if it is? Why should sentiment not be acted upon? It was sentiment that guided Britain in putting down the Slave trade in the East and led to paying £20,000,000 to emancipate the negroes

APPENDIX II

in Jamaica and the other West India Islands, but who would now interpose the objection? Sentiment has much to do with the government of the world and all men are responsible for the conduct of public affairs so far as their influence goes.

I need not say that I am willing to go a long way in Reciprocal trade, as our abortive Treaty of 1874 will show. Then we consulted Manufacturers before committing ourselves. When the scheme was afterwards published many of them were frightened and declared they could not compete as they had been making their articles from U. S. Patents. These comprised stove and implement makers largely. This would give trouble no doubt, as such articles could not reach the United States markets.

I am not to-day in trim for writing much, but I may return to it some other day. In the meantime, I am opposed in any case to a Commercial or Customs Union.

I am, my dear Young,

Yours faithfully,

A. MACKENZIE.

James Young, Esq., Galt.

APPENDIX III

EXTRACT FROM A PAMPHLET ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION. BY THE
AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK.

(See page 397)

According to Mr. Chamberlain, then, the great object the Imperial Federationists have in view, the "goal" to be gradually approached, the "desirable consummation" ever to be kept in view, is to create "a new Government for the British Empire, with large powers of taxation and legislation over countries separated by thousands of miles of sea."

As a matter of fact, without such a Government there could be no real Imperial Federation. And with such a body, what further use would there be for our Dominion Parliament and Government? As we would then be largely governed from London their occupation and usefulness would practically be gone, although I suppose our noble Parliamentary buildings, at whose Gothic beauty so many Canadians have gazed with growing feelings of national pride, might be utilized as a great lunatic asylum or home for incurables! If the people of Canada ever consented to a policy so fatuous, we would certainly need such an institution.

From the foregoing, and many other considerations, most British statesmen have heretofore regarded Imperial Federation as an "idle dream," and irrespective of party, nearly all leading Canadians have been united against it. Sir John Macdonald frequently declared it to be "utterly impracticable." Sir Oliver Mowat had never seen any scheme which appeared to him practicable. Speaking in the House of Commons the Honourable Edward Blake told his hearers "they had passed the turn, if, indeed, there had ever been a road to Imperial Federation." In his Toronto speech, May 24th, 1900, Sir Charles Tupper described it as "utterly impracticable and utterly impossible." Sir Wilfrid Laurier is strongly opposed to it, and I am not aware that the Conservative leader, Mr. R. L. Borden, has ever declared himself in its favour.

During the period of the Commercial Union agitation, the New York *Herald* asked for publication the opinions of Sir John Macdonald, Sir Oliver Mowat, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and

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other prominent Canadians, on the future destiny of Canada. Sir John's reply contained the following:—

SIR JOHN MACDONALD ON FEDERATION.

"We are told that we want an Imperial Federation. I will not trouble you with a disquisition on that subject just now, but I will tell you Imperial Federation is utterly impracticable. We would never agree to send a number of men over to England to sit in Parliament there and vote away our rights and principles. I am, as far as the question goes, up to the handle a Home Ruler. We will govern our own country. We will put on the taxes ourselves. If we choose to mis-govern ourselves we will do so, and we do not desire England, Ireland, or Scotland to tell us we are fools. We will say: 'If we are fools we will keep our folly to ourselves. You will not be the worse for it, and we will not be the worse for any folly of yours.'"

This statement of Sir John Macdonald, who was conspicuously British during his whole career, is exceedingly characteristic and jaunty. His seemingly off-hand words, however, are pregnant with meaning, and very cleverly express the feelings of Canadians generally on Imperial Federation. He evidently would tolerate no interference with our rights to govern ourselves as we pleased, and that, too, whether we did it wisely or unwisely. I like the manly, independent ring of Canadianism which permeates this statement of the great Conservative leader, and if ever Imperial Federationists get their hobby beyond the nebulous stage, I am persuaded that the stirring words of Sir John on this question will be echoed by the great body of the Canadian people of every party and of every class.

In closing my remarks I cannot but agree with the Conservative and Liberal British statesmen—comprising four-fifths of all the most eminent Parliamentary leaders—who consider Mr. Chamberlain's policy daring and dangerous alike to the Motherland and the colonies. His whole agitation, too, is decidedly un-British. This is true both of his methods and his measures. John Bull prides himself on broadening his liberties slowly, "from precedent to precedent." Mr. Chamberlain proposes a political and commercial revolution. This is certainly true of Imperial Federation, and, commercially, he asks the nation to set aside its historic British policy of "free trade and colonial freedom," and to don partly or wholly the tattered garments of American protectionism, which millions of Americans are now earnestly trying to throw off.

APPENDIX III

DANGEROUS ALIKE TO EMPIRE AND COLONIES.

Mr. Chamberlain has proclaimed himself "the Missionary of Empire," but the Imperialist, Professor Dicey, gives warning that his policy would have the very opposite effect. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P., and many others go still further; they say it would "smash the Empire." I entertain great respect for, and have much faith in, the stability of the grand old Monarchy. But that Great Britain, the great trading nation of the world, could restrict its commerce and shipping by tariff obstructions, make still harder the hard lot of its toiling millions by taxing the very food they eat, and impose Imperial Federation on the colonies, with its heavy military burdens and the loss of important powers of self-government, without gravely imperilling the British Empire, I am quite unable to believe. Indeed, it is my firm conviction that such retrograde and revolutionary changes, if ever adopted, would speedily reproduce the national troubles and calamities which marked the early days of George III. and Lord North, and the loss of the American colonies in the eighteenth century would be repeated before the twentieth closes.

A few words in regard to Imperialism and I have done. We are all Imperialists in Canada, so far as loyalty to Britain and British connection are concerned. But I feel safe in saying that not one Canadian in ten is of the jingo class of Imperialists, who seem to regard this great Dominion—comprising one-half of the entire North American continent—as a mere outlying "dependency" of the Empire, which ought to be made a mammoth emporium for British manufactures, and a recruiting ground for its army and navy.

He is the truer Imperialist and truer Canadian, who, whilst proud to continue to march side by side with Great Britain in national progress and prosperity, would never consent to subvert our independent Canadian Government, and instead of a peaceful, prosperous North American power, as our natural destiny seems to be, would make this great Dominion as directly connected with the politics, the military armaments, the heavy taxation and the wars and bloodshed of the Old World, as if no three thousand miles of ocean rolled between us.

APPENDIX IV

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILFRID LAURIER IN REGARD TO REFORM OF THE SENATE.

(See page 460)

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, OTTAWA, Nov. 24th, 1906.

My dear Young:—I have your favour of the 21st instant. I am sorry to have to believe that what you say is only too true, and that the remedy is not easy to find. There is one thing, however, as to which I would like to have further information. You say we should adopt a measure of Senate reform. This is a subject which has caused me a good deal of anxiety. Would you be good enough as to send me a synopsis of the Senate reform which you think should be adopted? Two aspects of the question have to be considered. First, the mode of appointment. Should it be by election directly by the people or by any other body, or by some other mode of appointment than the one now existing? Second, should the appointment be for life or for a term of years? The whole difficulty lies in these two questions.

Believe me as ever, my dear Young,

Yours very sincerely,

WILFRID LAURIER.

Honourable James Young, Galt.

THORNHILL, GALT, Dec. 1st, 1906.

The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G.C.M.G., etc.,
Ottawa.

My dear Laurier:—Re Senate reform, I agree that your two questions cover the difficulties requiring solution.

Without claiming any special value for them, I give you my views on the question, adopting your form of question and answer.

1. Should the Senate be abolished? This is popular with many, but inadvisable and impracticable.
2. Should it be reformed? Most certainly. With Crown nomination and life membership, it is an excrescence—an absurdity—on a modern, democratic Constitution.

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3. How should Senators be elected?

(a) By the Government as at present? No.

(b) By the local Legislatures or any composite or
franchise Franchises? No.

(c) By direct vote of the people? Most decidedly
"Yes," for it is in accordance with true Liberal
principles, would be universally popular with the
masses of the people of all the Provinces, and
when tried in old Canada was quite successful.

4. Should appointments be for life or a term of years? For
not more than ten years. Life membership has few, almost
no friends.

5. Should your Government reform the Senate soon? Most
certainly, for you and the Liberal party are pledged to the
teeth to do so, and we are now—having a large majority—
fairly chargeable with violating our promises of Reform for
mere party advantages.

I may add that the people feel more deeply on the Senate
question than appears on the surface, and you can scarcely
find a Tory or a Grit who has not long ago made up his
mind that it should be changed; in other words brought more
into harmony with the recognized principles of popular gov-
ernment.

Under these circumstances, if Mr. Borden had foresight
enough to declare for an Elective Senate, he would put you
in a tight place, and I also believe that if, as Prime Minister,
you add Reform of the Senate by popular vote to the other
great measures of your Administration, it will place you on
a plane with either Borden or Macdonald, and add to the
political triumphs you have already won.

I remain, my dear Laurier,

Very truly yours,

JAMES YOUNG.

