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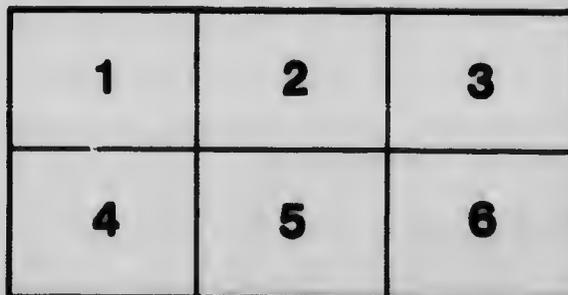
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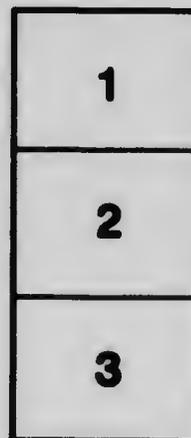
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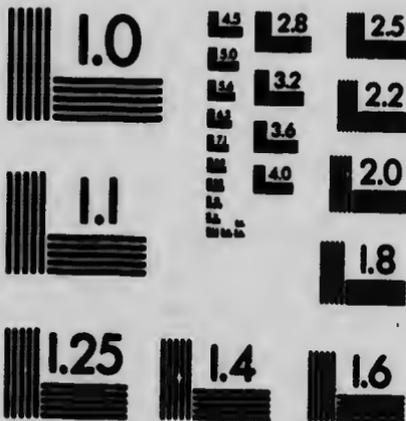
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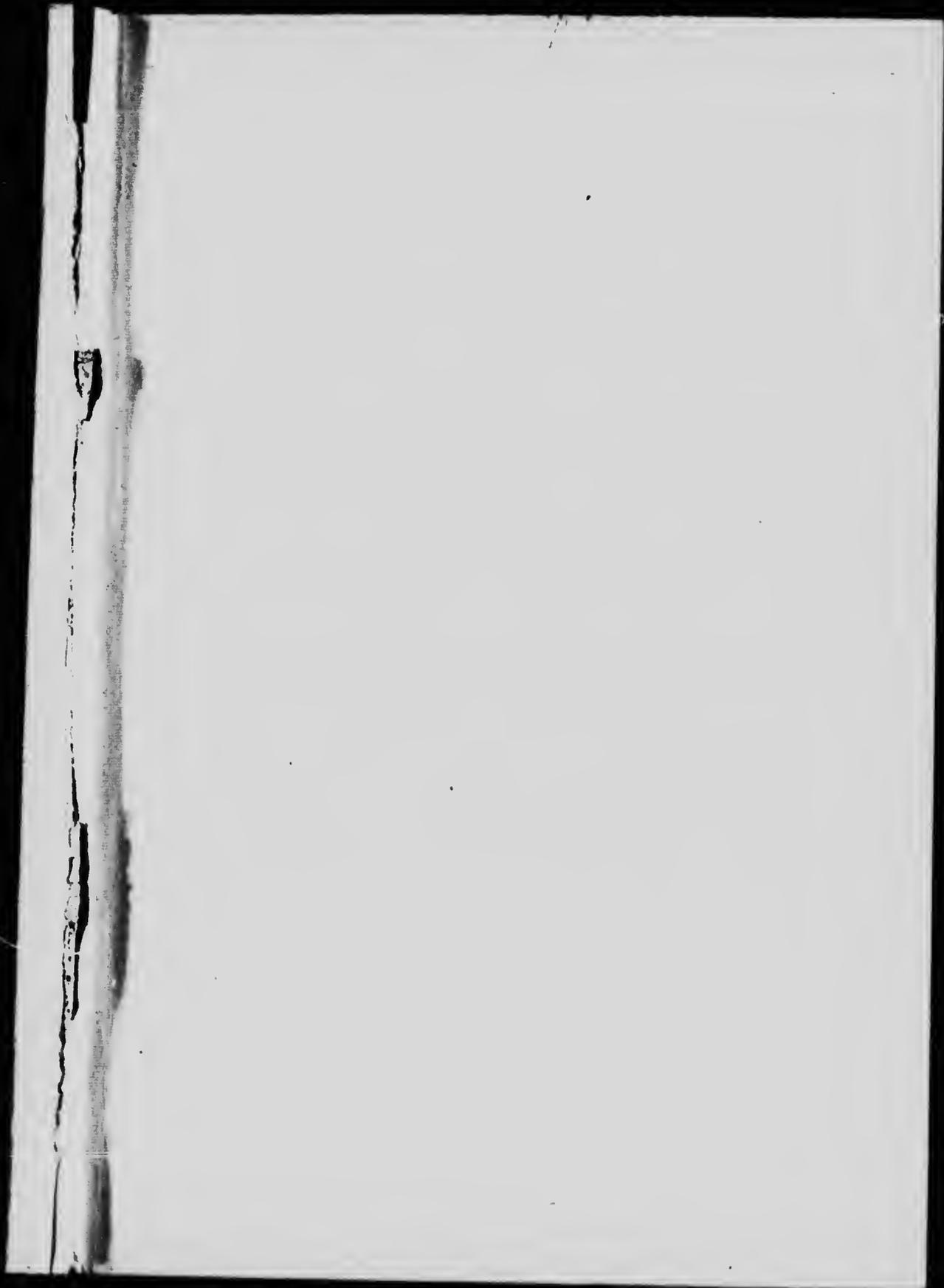
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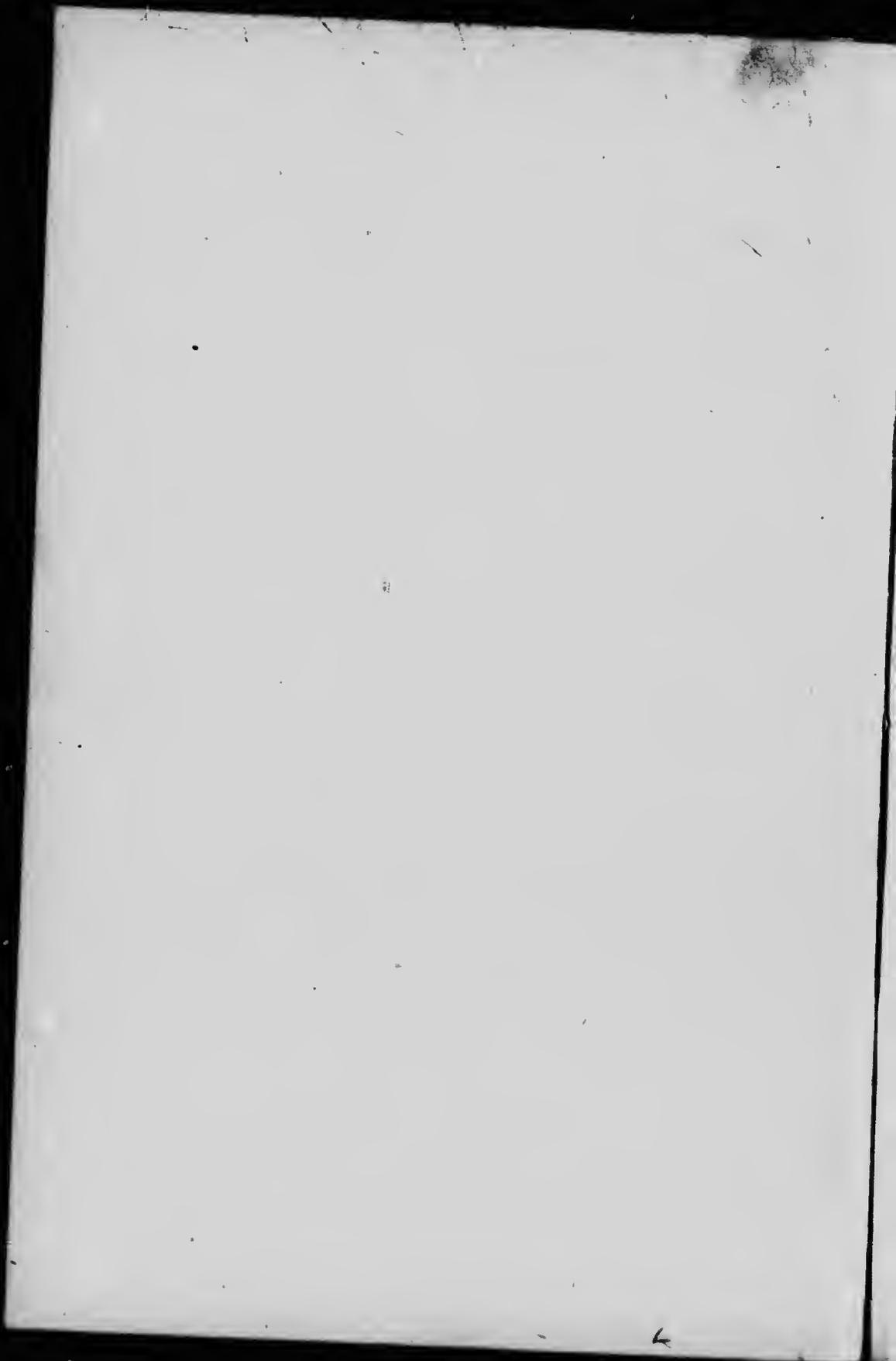
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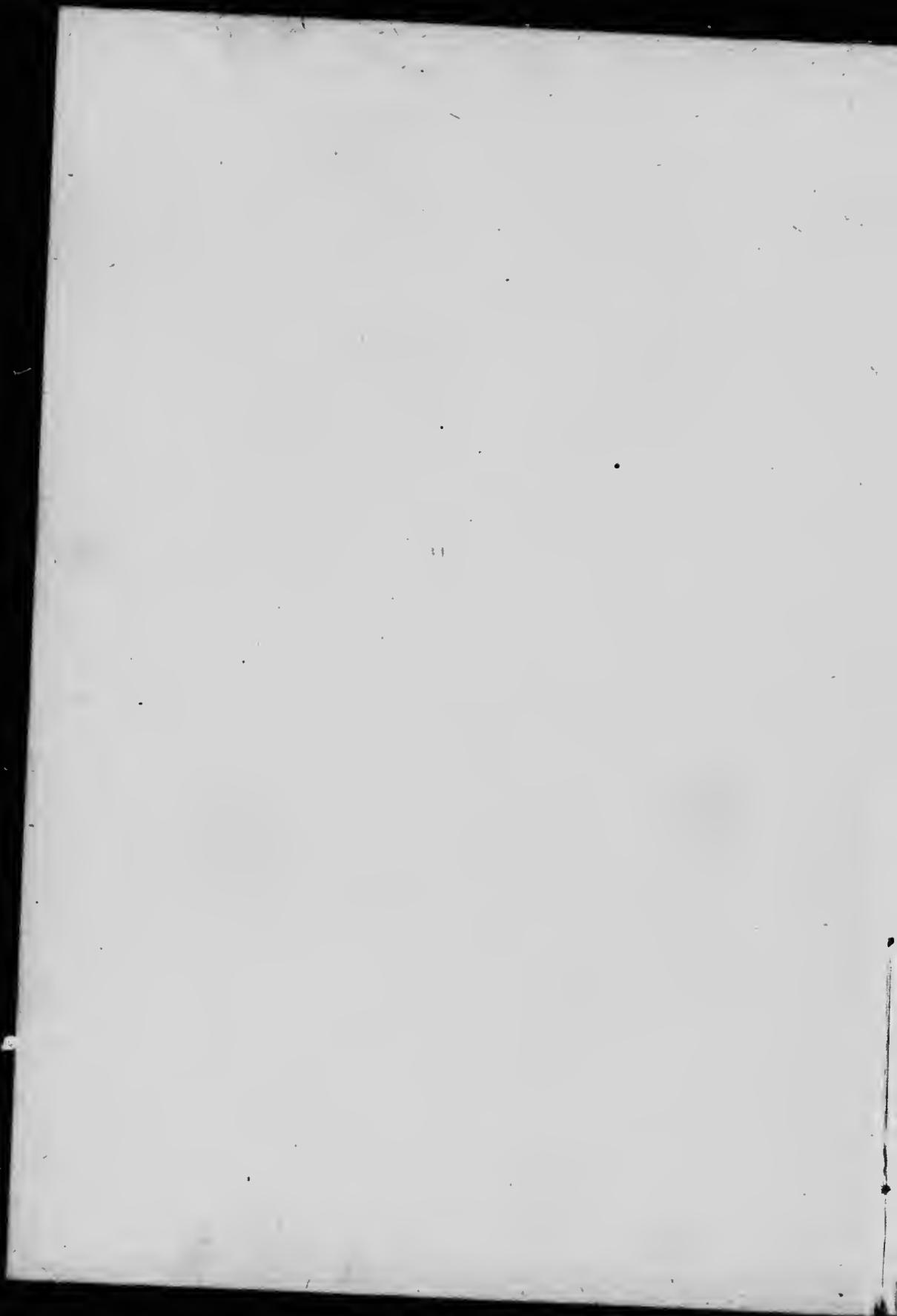


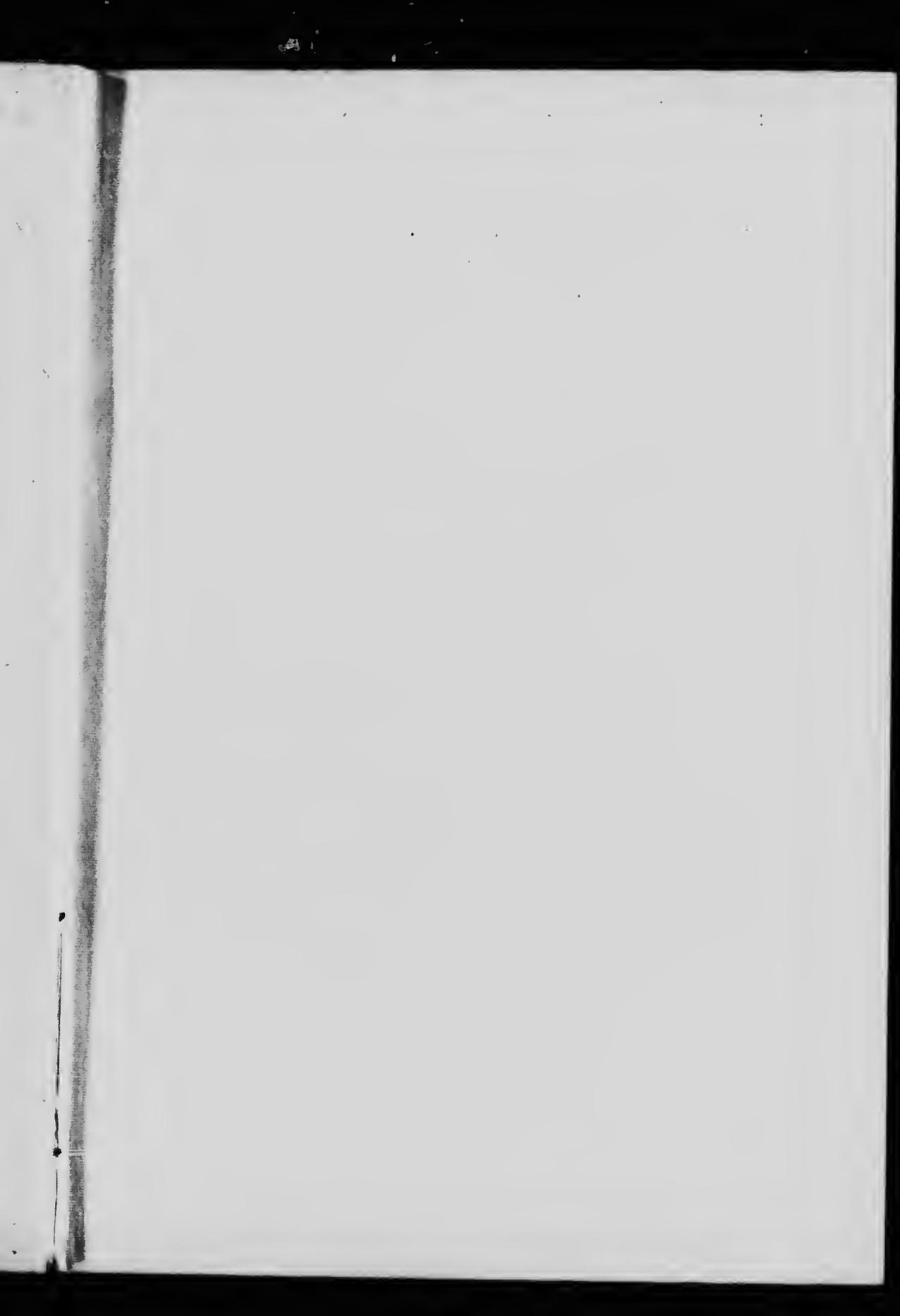
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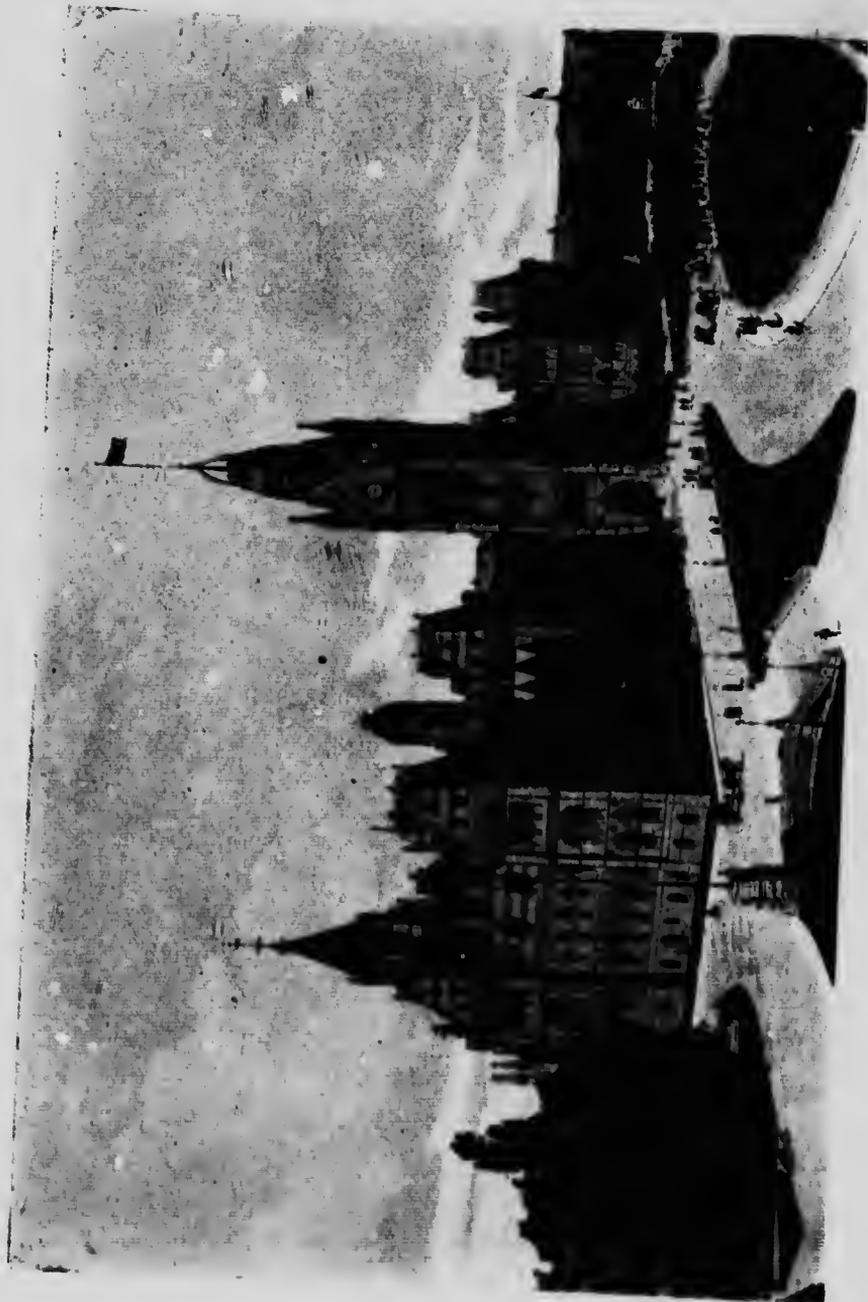
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PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE
IN CANADA

BEING REPORTS OF THE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT
AND THE PRESS

IN CONNECTION WITH THE SPRING EVENTS WHICH LED
TO THE CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH NORTH
AMERICA AND THE

DOMINION OF CANADA

JAMES MOYNE

Member of the House of Commons, Secretary of the Treasury, and
Minister of the Interior, and
Minister of the Colonies and the Dominion of Wales

TORONTO:
WILLIAM BRIGGS

1902



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A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT OF THE STIRRING EVENTS WHICH LED
TO THE CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH NORTH
AMERICA INTO THE

DOMINION OF CANADA

BY

JAMES YOUNG

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

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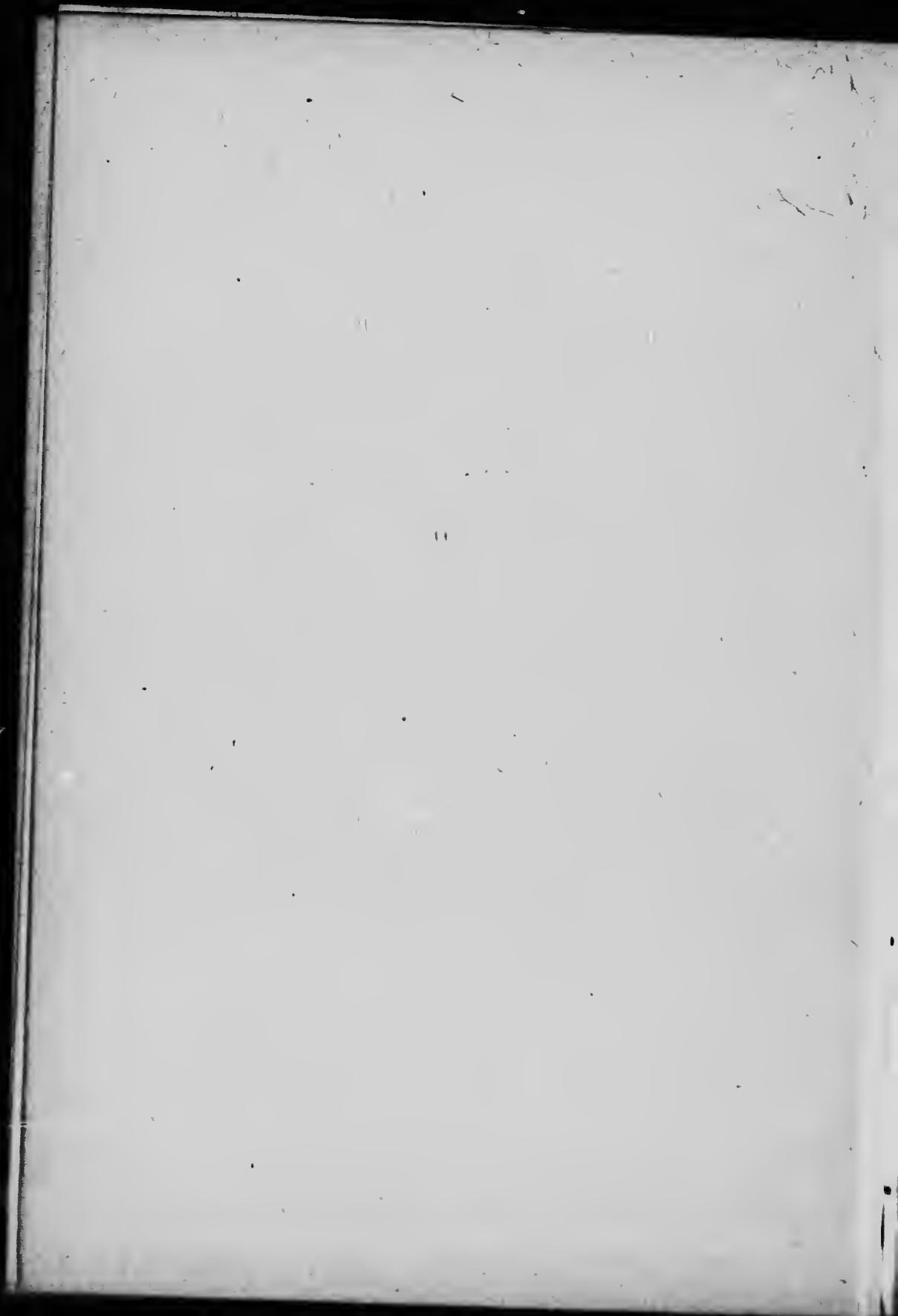
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TO THE
Don. Edward Blake, K.C., M.P.

WHOSE RARE ABILITY,
UNSWERVING PRINCIPLE, HIGH SENSE OF HONOUR, AND
DEVOTION TO THE PEOPLE,
IN THE PARLIAMENTS OF CANADA,
SHED LUSTRE ON CANADIAN PUBLIC LIFE,
AND SET A NOBLE EXAMPLE TO HIS FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

THIS VOLUME IS
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Preface

IN writing this volume my aim has not been to produce a work of history in the strict sense of the term. I have sought rather to embody my recollections of the principal men and events that came under my observation during a lengthened connection with Parliament and the Press, in such a form and style as may quicken the interest of the reader in a momentous period of our history within the memory of many still living.

My connection with the Press began when the relations of Church and State and several other questions deeply affecting the happiness and equality of the people were still unsettled, and when the long political struggle between Upper and Lower Canada under the ill-starred Union of 1841 was becoming more open, bitter and irreconcilable every year.

The most prominent champions in this memorable political conflict were the Hon. George Brown and the Hon. John A. Macdonald, the leaders respectively of the Reform and Conservative parties, although the Hon. George E. Cartier and the Hon. Antoine A. Dorion, of Lower Canada, were also conspicuous.

Both Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown were great men, who have left their mark on things Canadian for all time, and not only their bitter political battles,

PREFACE

but the striking personal characteristics of these two eminent statesmen possess deep and growing interest. And when the union between Upper and Lower Canada became absolutely unworkable—when deadlock became king—and Mr. Brown and Mr. Macdonald trampled their personal antipathies in the dust and joined hands in the Coalition Government of 1864 to extricate their country from its dangers and bring about Confederation, they set an example of patriotic statesmanship and self-abnegation sometimes portrayed in political romance, but seldom met with in the sober annals of every-day politics.

Whilst not overlooking important events in Great Britain and the United States, and using an author's prerogative in expressing opinions wise and otherwise, one of my chief aims has been to give a succinct account of the stirring political events in the late Province of Canada which ultimately led to the union of British North America, under the name of the Dominion of Canada—in other words, to tell the story of our great Canadian Confederation.

With thanks to James Bain, D.C.L., of Toronto Public Library, Avern Pardoe, Legislative Librarian, and George Johnson, F.S.S., Ottawa, for courtesies extended, I submit this volume in the confident hope that my generous readers (to adapt a familiar couplet) will

“ Be to my virtues very kind ;
Be to my faults a little blind.”

JAMES YOUNG.

“ THORNHILL,” GALT,
August 15th, 1902.

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PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

CHAPTER I

THE PASSING OF THE STAGE-COACH

MY acquaintance with public men and public life in Canada dates from my first connection with the press. This was in August, 1853, on the 10th of which month the first number of the *Dumfries Reformer*, Galt, was issued under my management. I was then only a youth of eighteen, but brimful of enthusiasm for everything connected with the press and public life, which was tinged with a *couleur de rose* so deep and fascinating that, although rather dim and faded now, it has not entirely vanished, notwithstanding all the varied vicissitudes which bridge the chasm between that period and the present.

When one thinks what the Dominion of Canada is to-day, and what the scattered colonies composing British North America were less than half a century ago, visions of "Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp" recur to the imagination, so remarkable is the transformation throughout the country which has since taken place.

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The largest and most influential of the colonies was then designated the Province of Canada, being composed of the two provinces previously known as Upper and Lower Canada, and now as Ontario and Quebec. The Imperial Parliament united them under one government on the recommendation of the eminent but unfortunate Lord Durham, who was sent out as special commissioner to report upon and heal the difficulties in connection with the Rebellion of 1837-38.

This union was consummated on the 10th February, 1841, but hardly fulfilled the glowing anticipations of His Lordship and the many British and French citizens who shared his views. It resulted, it is true, in a moderate increase of progress and development, and at the close of the first decade in 1851, when the census was taken, the population was found to number 1,842,265, and the annual commerce with other countries had increased to \$34,399,512. But it must be admitted that the general condition of the Province of Canada at that time, though not without encouraging promise in the future, presented a marked contrast to the wealth, prosperity, enterprise and dazzling outlook which distinguish the Dominion of Canada at the present day.

Throughout Upper Canada the difficulties which confronted the early pioneers had been largely overcome, and much of the vast tracts of fertile land enclosed by the three great fresh-water lakes, Ontario, Erie and Huron, had been cleared and cultivated, and yielded abundant crops. But the old log-house,

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unstumped field and undrained marsh were still largely in evidence, and even the long settled and prosperous districts—such, for instance, as the township of Dumfries and the village of Galt, populated by many of the grandest men, physically and mentally, I ever knew—still retained not a few lingering evidences in forest, field and road of their primitive condition.

The old-fashioned stage-coach, with its “shrill echoing horn,” was still the chief mode of travel. It was clumsy and slow, but jolly. It generally carried Her Majesty’s mails, and its arrival and departure in the villages through which it passed were considered the events of the day. The transportation of produce and goods was a still more tedious process. Everything produced on the farm or manufactured, which required to be exported, as well as all kinds of groceries, hardware and goods of every description imported into the interior of the country, had to be laboriously teamed by horses or oxen to and from tide-water. Teaming was then an extensive industry in all parts of the Province, and the toil and difficulty of these now obsolete modes of transportation can be fully realized only by those who experienced them.

Houses of stone or brick were still the exception in the country, but large bank barns were becoming the rule, and the people generally had begun to take a warm interest in all political institutions and proposals for the betterment of their homes and surroundings. This was greatly stimulated by the

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introduction of municipal councils in 1852, and the increased powers given by the Legislature to the people to elect boards of trustees to manage and improve their educational affairs. In the early days of settlement the Public Schools were comparatively few and poor, but it deserves to be recorded to their credit, that many of the early teachers were men of such force of character, and so practical and conscientious in their teaching, that they turned out better scholars than very many of those who enjoy the more learned and ornamental system of the present day.

Nevertheless, the surroundings of all but the wealthy classes, and especially of the farmers, were rude and backward, judged by present standards. The houses of the latter were scantily, often indeed roughly furnished, and a bit of green sod, or a clump of trees or shrubs, or a bed of flowers to brighten up the front yard, was a veritable oasis in the desert.

At harvest time the scythe and the cradle had not generally given place to the mower and reaper. The latter were for some time regarded as luxuries rather than necessities, and on looking back and remembering the immense crops of wheat then raised—it being wheat or nothing in those days—it seems marvellous how it could have been all cut by hand with such unwieldy tools. At church, at weddings and other social events, imported goods were rapidly coming in for wear, but in the country Canadian homespun and the coarse tweeds and other woollens made at the old-fashioned woollen mills were still generally

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patronized. Luxuries of all kinds were scarce. Musical instruments, for instance, were exceedingly rare even in towns and villages, and almost unknown in the country.

Life as a whole was harder and more prosaic than now, and although the people generally were healthy, happy and hopeful, there was neither the wealth, the conveniences, the comforts nor the pleasures which are now enjoyed by the great mass of Canadians in all the well settled sections of the Dominion.

Such is a rough outline of the physical and social condition of affairs when our narrative begins. The prospects of the whole Province, however, were on the eve of being considerably brightened and bettered. We were about to enter upon one of those "growing times" which have periodically marked our country's career, and which did much to obliterate the memory of the hardships and dulness of the pioneer days of the past and inspire all classes of the people, whether the British settler or the French habitant, with brighter hopes and stronger confidence in their country's future.

CHAPTER II

DAWN OF THE RAILROAD ERA

THE years 1853-4 marked an era in Canada's material development and prosperity. Several different causes contributed to this result. Prominent among them was the dawn of the railroad era. A few years before, George Stephenson, the eminent engineer, had demonstrated to a committee of the British House of Commons that railways were practicable, and silenced one of the principal objectors by his famous *bon-mot*: "So much the worse for the coo."

The whole world was thrown into ecstasies by the success of Stephenson's great invention. It revolutionized the old modes of land transportation, and the honour has been claimed for Canada of being the first to introduce the railroad into America, the short line connecting Laprairie and St. John's, near Montreal, having been completed as early as 1836. This was followed by the opening of the Northern Railway from Toronto to Bradford in 1853, and by the rapid work of construction on the Great Western Railway, to connect Niagara Falls with the town of Windsor on the Detroit River, a distance of 229 miles. The main line of this road was completed and opened for

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traffic on the 27th January, 1854, and the large expenditure of capital upon the work, the influx of engineers and railway officials, and the increased demand for labour, made up a new experience for the Province and had a wonderfully inspiring effect.

The Grand Trunk Railway, a still more ambitious project, was also under construction at this time. The Hon. Francis Hincks, Premier of Canada, visited Great Britain early in 1852 with the Hon. E. B. Chandler, of New Brunswick, in the hope of promoting the construction of the Inter-colonial Railway at that time. Failing to enlist the support of the Imperial Government, he took up the construction of a trunk line through Canada, and conducted, if he did not conclude, arrangements with the eminent English contractors, Messrs. Peto, Jackson, Brassey and Betts, for the construction of the Grand Trunk road. The company was incorporated the same year. Parliament approved of a government guarantee being given to the extent of about £2,500 per mile, to be paid in the proportion of \$160,000, as each £100,000 was expended upon the line.* Messrs.



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* "Canadian Year-Book," 1894, page 210.

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Jackson and Betts, accompanied by Robert Stephenson, M.P., the famous engineer, visited Canada in 1853, to complete the arrangements, and a suggestive sidelight is thrown on the condition of the country at that time by the memorable trip they made through the western peninsula, accompanied by a number of leading Canadian politicians and railway magnates, to spy out the land and, if possible, discover the best route for the proposed undertaking.

This party proved a large and imposing one. Among the more distinguished gentlemen who composed it were Robert Stephenson, M.P., William Jackson, M.P., W. L. Betts, M.P., Hon. Francis Hincks, Chancellor Blake, Hon. J. S. Ross, Hon. H. H. Killaly, Mr. A. M. Ross, Chief Engineer of the proposed railroad, and Mr. Walter Shanly, Engineer of the Toronto and Sarnia section. According to the newspapers of that day it took three four-horse coaches and a baggage waggon to carry them and their effects.* They passed Galt on the afternoon of Sunday, the 28th August, on their way from Guelph to Paris, whence they proceeded by way of Woodstock, London and Chatham to the western boundary.

When travelling they made an imposing cavalcade, accompanied as they often were by local celebrities

* "On Sunday morning a large party of honourable and official gentlemen in the direction of railroad affairs passed through Guelph *en route* to Detroit, by way of Paris, London and Chatham. The *convoy* consisted of three four-horse coaches and a baggage waggon."—*Guelph Herald*, September, 1853.

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on horseback, and very naturally created a mild sensation in the towns and villages through which they passed. They were met and entertained in many of the larger places they visited, and more or less criticised in all.

Opposition to Mr. Hincks and his ministry was at that time getting to a pretty white heat. The Opposition press saw in the new railway, or at least thought they saw, an adroit move of the Premier to prolong his lease of power, and their caustic references to the expense of £150 for conveyances, £25 per day for expenses, and the impropriety of Sunday travelling, must have slightly detracted from what, considering the good roads, charming weather and lovely foliage of our Canadian summer, should have been a delightful and exhilarating trip.

However this may have been, the arrangements of the Government with the British and Canadian capitalists were speedily completed, and by the summer of 1853 the Grand Trunk Railway, including the world-renowned Victoria Bridge over the St. Lawrence, which made Stephenson famous, were in rapid course of construction, augmenting still more the spirit of enterprise and hopefulness which had so quickly overspread the land.

Then in 1854 the Crimean War broke out. The famous manifesto of Napoleon III. of France to the Russian Emperor Nicholas appeared in March, and war speedily followed. The Turks won the first victory, at Silistria, before British and French armies could reach the scene of operations, and the bloody

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battles of Alma and Inkerman, and the memorable siege and fall of Sebastopol, during which British and French veterans fought side by side, ultimately led to Russia's defeat and the restoration of peace.

But what most concerned us in this war was the effect it had in promoting Canadian prosperity. Before harvest time was over farm produce of all kinds suddenly shot up to fabulous prices. Wheat and flour especially were in great demand, at prices seldom previously attained, the former for a lengthened period hovering about \$1.60 per bushel, and occasionally touching as high as \$2.00. These inflated war prices, combined with the large expenditures being made on the Great Western and Grand Trunk railways, soon made themselves felt to the remotest bounds of the Province.

Still another factor combined to increase the prevailing prosperity—the famous Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and Canada. This had been negotiated chiefly through the skilful diplomacy of His Excellency Lord Elgin, then Governor-General of Canada, who joined Mr. Hincks on his second visit to Washington on the subject. The treaty was signed by the Hon. William M. Marcy (Secretary of State) and Lord Elgin, on behalf of their respective governments, at Washington, on June 5th, 1854, and went into operation on March 15th the following year.

The effect of all these circumstances combined brought upon Canada one of the most extraordinary commercial and financial inflations ever experienced

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in any country. For a time business was so brisk, prices so good, and money so plentiful that everybody began to dream of becoming rich. Farmers indulged in new houses and lands; business men rushed into new stores, manufactories and other enterprises; and all classes seemed to feel that the "good times" had at last come and were going to stay. Property in town and country in some cases doubled, and in others quadrupled, in value. Sales of building lots were of daily occurrence, and thousands of them were sold on back streets of country villages at fabulous prices! New business enterprises, both public and private, cropped up almost every morning, and fortunes were supposed, in some cases, to have been made and lost in a day. In short, an unmistakable and dangerous "boom" had overspread the entire Province, and the people generally had been seized with a spirit of wild speculation and extravagance which subsequent experience could not possibly justify.

When this memorable "boom" collapsed, which it did rather suddenly, whilst fortunes had been made by many, most Canadians found they were not so rich as they had supposed, whilst many were left much poorer than when it began. Nevertheless, the change throughout the country from a state of tardy progress to one of business activity, enterprise and even wild speculation, was on the whole beneficial to Canada, and very much needed by all classes of the people at that time.

CHAPTER III

EARLY STRUGGLES FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

THE state of political affairs in Canada at this time was somewhat anomalous, but deeply interesting. The excitement and bitter animosities of the Mackenzie-Papineau Rebellion had largely disappeared. The old Tory Family Compact, whose oligarchical rule, coupled with the bumptiousness and blundering of Sir Francis Bond Head, then Governor-General, had been the main cause of all the strife and bloodshed, had been dethroned and discarded. Lord Durham's famous Report, as already mentioned, resulted in the union of Upper and Lower Canada, but the wise recommendation of this enlightened statesman in favour of conferring upon Canadians a full measure of Responsible Government remained for several years in uncertainty.

Under the governorship of Lord Sydenham and especially of his successor, Sir Charles Bagot, this great reform was recognized and partly introduced. The latter gentleman, although Conservative, held to the principle that the majority in the Legislature should rule, and finally invited the Hon. L. H. Lafontaine, the Hon. Robert Baldwin, and several of their

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Reform colleagues to accept office, so that his government might be brought into harmony with, and command the support of, a majority of the people's representatives. His Excellency's offer was finally accepted, and the first Lafontaine-Baldwin administration was installed in power amidst many signs of popular gratification.

This was the position of affairs when Sir Charles Metcalfe arrived from Jamaica to assume the governor-generalship in March, 1843. He had been trained in the arbitrary rule of India, knew little of parliamentary government, and, secretly prompted, it is believed, by Downing Street reactionaries, whose stupidity and blundering had long been proverbial, His Excellency arrogantly began to exercise the prerogatives of the Crown, not only without the consent of his constitutional advisers, but without even consulting them. This action of Sir Charles, whether inspired by Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, or by his own arbitrary ideas, involved the subversion of Responsible Government, and the country was immediately plunged again into violent political excitement over the old question whether popular government should be upheld or subverted.

It was a dangerous crisis, but Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine, the Reform leaders, rose equal to the occasion. True to the people and their principles, when they found their advice no longer accepted by the representative of the Crown, they patriotically resigned their offices in the Government, a course whose constitutionality and dignity has been univer-

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sally recognized. Then began the final battle for Responsible Government in Canada, the bitterness and violence of which hardly can be realized at the present day.

The result has long been a matter of history. Sir Charles Metcalfe unconstitutionally ruled the Province for nine months, without any Government at all; then he partially filled up the offices under the premiership of the Hon. W. H. Draper (afterwards Chief Justice), and, backed up by the Tory party, a temporary advantage was gained at the general elections in 1844 through means of bribery and violence previously unparalleled. The voice of the country was temporarily stifled by these devices, but not altered or subdued.

The bitter struggle went on in Parliament and throughout the country until that terrible disease, cancer, caused Sir Charles to resign, and his successor, Lord Elgin, was sworn in as Governor-General at Montreal, on the 30th January, 1847. His Lordship was a man at once sagacious and eloquent, courtly in manners, and friendly to constitutional principles. The Draper Administration was still sustained in the House of Assembly by a small majority, and continued His Excellency's advisers throughout the year. But at the ensuing general elections, which came off in January, 1848, Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine and their Reform supporters swept everything before them at the polls, both in Upper and Lower Canada, and the long and bitter battle for Responsible Government was at last and forever won.

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When Parliament assembled the Draper Ministry was promptly defeated, and resigned. Lord Elgin thereupon sent for the Hon. Louis Lafontaine, and entrusted him and the Hon. Robert Baldwin with the formation of a new, homogeneous government, to be composed entirely of Reformers, and fully recognizing, as Her Majesty's representative, the principles of Responsible Government as the only basis upon which future administrations should be formed and the business of the country carried on. Thus this dangerous conflict happily ended in the enlargement of popular rights as well as the signal triumph of the Reform party, more especially of its eminent leaders, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine, whose ability, moderation and dignity, in carrying the agitation to a final and successful issue in the face of the most violent antagonism, forms one of the brightest chapters in the political annals of this country.

The second Lafontaine-Baldwin Administration, though firmly seated in power, found the political caldron still boiling. Their Tory opponents, though reduced to a small minority, made up in bitterness what they lacked in numbers. When, therefore, the Administration passed the famous Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, and Lord Elgin came down to give the Royal assent thereto, as he felt constitutionally bound to do, their rage and vexation burst all bounds, and Montreal was soon at the mercy of an organized Tory mob, whose violence culminated in the mobbing of Her Majesty's representative and the burning down of the Parliament Buildings!

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This criminal outrage did much to complete the ruin of the old Tory party, and still further strengthened the Lafontaine-Baldwin Government, who have been called "the Great Ministry" in consequence of the splendid volume of legislation they passed, "much of which survives to the present day, and is a fitting monument to the justice, rectitude and broad statesmanship of its members."*

The Lafontaine-Baldwin Administration continued in office all-powerful until the fall of 1851, when its distinguished leaders grew weary of the political strife in which they had so long been engaged. Amidst universal regret Mr. Baldwin resigned in August, and the Hon. Francis Hincks, already conspicuous for financial ability, became leader of the House of Assembly in his place. Mr. Lafontaine could be prevailed upon to linger behind his colleague only until October, when his retirement also took place and brought this famous administration to a close.

It had been arranged that Mr. Hincks and the Hon. A. N. Morin should reconstruct the Cabinet and become the Upper and Lower Canada leaders

* "The Great Ministry! Yes; for everything in this world is relative, and when the work of the second Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry is fairly contrasted with that of other Canadian ministries of its epoch, it must be acknowledged to have been great at least by comparison. No administration known to our history has ever effected so much during an equal space of time. None has contained so many men whose abilities entitled them to rank among colonial statesmen as compared with mere politicians."—"Canada Since the Union of 1841," by John Charles Dent, Vol. II., page 238.

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respectively. His Excellency the Governor-General selected Mr. Hincks as Premier, and the second Reform ministry was composed of the following gentlemen: Upper Canada, the Hons. Francis Hincks, Dr. John Rolph, W. B. Richards, Malcolm Cameron and James Morris; Lower Canada, the Hons. A. N. Morin, L. T. Drummond, John Young, E. P. Taché and R. E. Caron.

The Hincks-Morin Government had been nearly two years in power when my connection with the press began in 1853, and to give subsequent events their proper setting, a brief *résumé* of the position of political parties towards each other at that time and the important public questions at issue between them will be found necessary as well as useful.

There were then three distinct parties represented in the Legislature and the country. There were, first, the Hincks Ministry and their Reform supporters; second, Sir Allan McNab and an active remnant of the Tory party; and third, Mr. George Brown and a section of the Reform party, chiefly Upper Canadians, who had withdrawn their support from Mr. Hincks and his colleagues.

Lord Elgin's enlightened policy had firmly established Responsible Government, but a considerable number of other questions of vital importance to the peace and prosperity of the Province had attained prominence and were awaiting settlement. Prominent among these were the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, the abolition of the Rectories, the termination of the French Seignorial System, and

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the substitution of a Legislative Council elected by the people for the antiquated system of Crown nomination. Besides these measures the tide of agitation had already set in for non-sectarian education, no grants of public money to ecclesiastical corporations, and representation by population—or, in other words, that the representation in Parliament of Upper and Lower Canada should be based on the number of their respective inhabitants.

Mr. Hincks and his ministry claimed to represent the Reform party, and were admittedly pledged to settle the Reserves, Rectories, Seigniorial Tenure and Legislative Council questions. Like their Reform predecessors, however, they had delayed legislation on one ground and another until many Reformers became weary, and doubts of their sincerity began to be entertained. Sir Allan McNab and his supporters constituted the regular Opposition. They denounced the proposed abolition of the Reserves and Rectories (which had in the days of the Family Compact been set aside from the public lands for the establishment of the Church of England) as little short of spoliation and sacrilege, and stigmatized the Reform leaders, especially Premier Hincks, as being, to use the language of the time, "steeped to the lips in corruption." The dissentient Reformers, led by Mr. Brown, based their opposition to Mr. Hincks and his colleagues on the ground that they had broken faith with the Reform party, that they were either unable or unwilling to carry the great measures of reform to which they were solemnly pledged, and that, among other ministerial abuses,

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they were encouraging the introduction of Separate Schools and aiding ecclesiastical corporations at the dictation of their French Canadian colleagues and supporters.

The Tory and Reform wings of the Opposition, as will be observed, were wide asunder as the poles in their views on all the great political questions then dividing public opinion. Neither had they anything in common personally or socially. Nevertheless, the old adage that politics makes strange bed-fellows was again exemplified, and for a considerable time Mr. Brown and Sir Allan McNab, though preserving separate camps, acted more or less together in opposing the Hincks-Morin Ministry, both in Parliament and throughout the country. This subjected the latter to a somewhat galling cross-fire, and brought about a political situation decidedly singular and interesting.

The position of public affairs was by no means satisfactory. Twelve years had elapsed since the union between Upper and Lower Canada, and the future was not unclouded. As we have seen, there was still a formidable array of complicated political questions before Parliament pressing for settlement. They profoundly stirred all classes of the people, for they involved not only the questions of a State Church and religious equality, but others which might easily fan into flame the racial and religious susceptibilities of the British majority in the West or the French majority in the East.

How such difficult legislation could be peacefully

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and successfully accomplished in a young province so constituted—one-half being British and Protestant, and the other French and Catholic—made up one of the most formidable tasks ever imposed upon any country possessing representative institutions. It may be safely affirmed, therefore, that it reflects the highest credit upon the public men and public life of Canada that, despite much deplorable party strife and rancour, our statesmen proved equal to the occasion, and before many years all these difficult and dangerous questions had been manfully grappled with and on the whole satisfactorily settled.

CHAPTER IV

DR. JOHN BAYNE, "FATHER OF THE FREE CHURCH"

I BARELY had got seated in the chair editorial when brought into contact with one of the most remarkable men I ever met—the Rev. John Bayne, D.D., one of the first ministers of Galt.

He was born in the west parish of Greenock, Scotland, on the 16th November, 1806, and came to Canada in 1834. His father was the Rev. Kenneth Bayne, A.M., minister of the Gaelic chapel in that city. On his mother's side he was also of staunch Scottish Presbyterian stock, and was educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh universities, where he passed a very brilliant academical course. After preaching in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, during the absence of the Rev. W. T. Leach (afterwards the Venerable Archdeacon Leach, of Montreal) in Great Britain, he was called to, and became the minister of St. Andrew's Church, Galt, during the following summer.

On his first arrival in the then little village he resided for some time in my father's house, and I therefore knew him from childhood. I was, however, brought into contact with him in a special manner at this time, in consequence of a lecture he delivered for

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the Mechanics' Institute of Galt on "The Evidences of Design in the Works of Creation." It combined science, philosophy and religion, and excited so much interest that there was an urgent demand for its publication. Here was an opening for journalistic enterprise, but the difficulty was to get the reverend gentleman to write the lecture out, something he very rarely did, not a sermon in manuscript having been found at his death, out of all the long and able discourses which marked his ministry.



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Keying up my courage to the requisite point to meet the august Doctor, I shortly afterwards presented myself at his house, a two-story stone dwelling still standing at the foot of High Park. Having knocked timidly at the door, the housekeeper and

servant (they were generally united in one in those days) quickly appeared.

"Is Dr. Bayne in?" I inquired.

"Oh, yes," she replied, "come in"; and, with the brusque courtesy of the period, she ushered me into the sitting room without knock or ceremony.

Here a surprise awaited me. The room was cloudy with smoke, which was enriched with an odour which could not be mistaken.

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Having just come in from the sunlight, I could not at first see clearly about me. Whilst peering through the murk, however, a human figure gradually took form and arose from a lounge at the other end of the room. As the figure advanced I saw it was Dr. Bayne, who, although evidently a little ruffled at the unceremonious way in which I had been ushered in, took my hand so genially, and with words and manner so kindly, as to soon place me comparatively at my ease.

After the usual interchange of civilities the Doctor excused himself for a few minutes whilst he went into an adjoining room.

During his absence the light and my vision improved, and I soon discovered the cause of the unusual smoke on my entrance. On the mantel, the window sills and other more curious places I counted no less than nineteen clay pipes, many of which looked new, and all were white and clean. Some were full and some were empty, but the impression left on the beholder was, and I afterwards learned this was correct, that the Doctor commonly filled them all together and then smoked as circumstances called for.

He evidently regarded smoking and drinking in a very different light. He was one of the earliest clergymen within my knowledge to take a decided stand against the liquor traffic, and it was much needed among the early settlers in those days. But it was no secret that he enjoyed a smoke. From the numerous evidences counted around the room I concluded he could hardly have been excelled by Milton.

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Dryden, Coleridge, Goethe, Carlisle or Tennyson in his love of the pipe, which, although justly losing ground in these modern days, was in the past, and indeed, still continues to be, a characteristic of many of the brightest and noblest geniuses the world has ever seen.

Dr. Bayne broke up these reflections by his return to the room. This afforded an opportunity to examine him more critically. Although his health was no longer robust, I was struck with his fine, distinguished-looking presence. He was slightly above the medium height, erect, and lithe in form, and neat, almost natty, in attire. The face was distinctly oval, the forehead broad and massive, and the nose well formed and straight; the predominating features, however, were his finely-shaped dark-grey eyes, at once so calm and penetrating that their glance once seen remained a memory forever, and his finely-formed mouth and lips, which mingled firmness and gentleness to a wonderful degree.

His portrait, still to be found in many of the homes of Galt and Dumfries, although not perfect as a work of art, is very like him as he appeared in his clerical gown, and not inconsistent, I trust, with the brief literary snap-shot of his appearance here attempted.

My interview proved successful, and a short time afterwards I found myself in possession of what was one of the ablest and most brilliant lectures ever delivered in Galt, but the most difficult MS. to decipher which ever fell to any poor printer's lot. I quite renewed the acquaintance of my earlier years

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with Dr. Bayne before his neat-looking hieroglyphics were all comprehended, the proofs corrected, and the interesting and instructive production placed before the reading public.

It has always been a wonder to many how Dr. Bayne ever found his way to the "wilds of Canada," for wild, indeed, the country was in those remote days. His talents were so great, his learning so wide and deep, and his tastes so cultivated and refined, that it is surprising that he ever left the intellectual centres of Great Britain, where he was well equipped to win renown either in college or pulpit. The secret is doubtless to be found in the intensity and fervour of his religious convictions.

His preaching afforded ample proof of this, as it was exceedingly remarkable, being characterized by a zeal and passionate eloquence rarely equalled. "So impressed was he with the mighty import of the message of the Gospel," to use my words on a former occasion, "that he was known to preach for two hours and a half, and sometimes his Sabbath services continued from eleven o'clock till after three in the afternoon. His style of preaching vividly recalled the old pictures left us of John Knox preaching before Queen Mary,* and although probably a shade too austere,

* "Mr. Bayne, in the judgment of his congregation, was a preacher *par excellence*. In preaching he would begin in a slow, deliberate tone, but as he proceeded his expression became more rapid; then the whole man would preach. Tongue, countenance, eyes, feet, hands, body—all would grow eloquent. Under his able and energetic pastorate the congregation soon became strong and vigorous."—*Historical Sketch of Knox Church, Gall, 1901.*

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was characterized by an earnestness and at times religious vehemence which exercised a powerful influence over the community among whom he had cast his lot."

Many memories of his ministry crowd upon the mind, and a characteristic one may be mentioned. In early days in Canada, as elsewhere, the battle between Calvinism and Arminianism ran pretty high. Dr. Bayne was a very pronounced disciple of the Swiss theologian, and as the Methodists began to push their views of the plan of salvation very zealously in Galt, the Doctor determined to discuss the subject fully. Without indulging in a sectarian or controversial spirit, and avoiding as far as possible anything offensive to others, he gave a most masterly description of, and argument for, Calvinism and the doctrine of Election, the series consisting of no less than thirteen consecutive sermons.

These discourses were, of course, the talk of the whole district, which was considerably augmented by the closing words of his last discourse, which were in substance as follows: "Election or no Election, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." These words afforded some satisfaction to the adherents of the Arminian view, who rather adroitly argued that if he had used them at the beginning he might have dispensed with all the rest of his sermons. The Calvinists, on the other hand, as stoutly maintained that these closing words made a grand as well as scriptural ending of a most able, comprehensive and convincing exposition of God's

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revealed purposes and methods in the salvation of the race.

How vividly this incident recalls the warmth of the controversy, in full swing at that time, between the two great exponents of these religious views, which everyone then deemed vitally important, and which in some cases degenerated into absolute, unchristian bitterness! And how it should moderate our bitterness in modern controversies, religious or political, when we see that, warm as the battle raged even forty years ago between Presbyterians and Methodists, many in both communions are now warmly advocating the organic union of these two great churches in Canada, and no longer consider views entertained of the doctrine of Election an unmountable bar to their united and hearty co-operation as one body in the great work which the Master has given all Christians to do.

No man of the acquirements and individuality of Dr. Bayne could fail to be a power wherever he cast his lot. He was held in profound respect wherever known throughout the Province, and in Galt and the surrounding districts, many even beyond the pale of his own congregation, especially among the young people, entertained for him feelings still deeper—bordering, in fact, upon awe.

Many evidences of this might be given, but one is especially well remembered. In the pioneer days it was a common custom for the settlers to gather about St. Andrew's church doors on Sunday morning and converse together—not unfrequently, it must be

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admitted, on the news and gossip of the settlement. The manse was situated about four or five hundred yards from the church, with an open grass common between. As the Doctor was occasionally fifteen, and sometimes even twenty minutes late, since learned to have been generally caused by temporary indisposition, these church-door gatherings were on such occasions correspondingly numerous and lively. But at the words, "There he comes!" as the Doctor emerged from the manse door and began to walk across the green, the gossipers would disperse as if by magic, and be devoutly seated in their pews several minutes before he mounted the steps which led up to the sacred desk.

So strong and general was this feeling towards Dr. Bayne that a sort of audible h-u-s-h, rising and falling in regular cadence, would pass over the audience as he entered the church or any congregational meeting. Nevertheless, he was greatly admired, and even loved, and when he unbent in the privacy of his own home or in the limited circle which he visited, he not only enjoyed a good joke, but his conversation and manner were genial and often sparkling and pleasing in an eminent degree.

Dr. Bayne was commissioned by the Provincial Presbyterian Synod to visit Scotland in 1842 to obtain ministers and missionaries to supply the rapidly increasing settlements in the western peninsula. He remained there all the ensuing winter to observe and take part in the Disruption Movement in the established Church of Scotland, which was

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then at white heat and culminated the following summer. Upon his return to Canada he entertained hopes that by a compromise, involving no sacrifice of principle, a split in the Canadian church might be avoided.

When the Synod met in Kingston in 1844, however, the majority would not consent to modify in any way their connection with the Church of Scotland, whereupon twenty-three ministers and many elders, under the leadership of Dr. Bayne, resigned and formed themselves into a new Synod to be called "The Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada." It was generally called the Free Church after its namesake in Scotland, and it soon became apparent that a large and influential section of the Presbyterian body throughout the Province warmly sympathized with, and approved of, the movement.

Dr. Bayne was from this time justly regarded as the father of the Free Church in Canada, for which he worked energetically and successfully. His influence among Presbyterians became widespread throughout Upper Canada, and would doubtless still further have increased, but in the providence of God this was not to be, as he very suddenly and unexpectedly passed away on the 3rd November, 1859.

He arose that morning intending to preach a Thanksgiving sermon for his friend, the Rev. Mr. McLean, of Puslinch. He had his overcoat on his arm ready to depart, when he suddenly complained of illness, and ultimately had to retire to bed. After the Thanksgiving service in Galt, his assistant min-

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ister, the Rev. A. C. Geikie, who recently died in Australia, much honoured, entered his room and asked him to partake of some refreshment. This he declined, and on Mr. Geikie looking in at the door sometime afterwards he found him apparently asleep and thought it best not to disturb him. Towards five o'clock, thinking it strange that he did not arise or ring for anything, Mr. Geikie again entered his room and approached his bed, when, to his surprise and sorrow, he found that Dr. Bayne had peacefully and silently passed away.

His attitude was so natural that he appeared to be only sleeping, and traces of a faint smile illumined his features as if he had unexpectedly caught a glimpse of the glory unspeakable.

CHAPTER V

GEORGE BROWN IN AN OLD-TIME ELECTION

THE press of Canada was conspicuous at an early date for ability and independence. Even fifty years ago there were many well-conducted newspapers. They were, of course, far behind those of to-day as regards size, appearance and news—especially foreign events—having neither railroads, telegraphs; telephones, linotypes nor eight-cylinder presses to aid them. But editorials and local news were generally well and correctly written, and quite equalled if they did not surpass, these departments in our modern broad sheets, some of which are so “yellow” in colour, that it is difficult to tell what is fact and what is fiction.

Conspicuous among the newspapers of that period were the old Quebec *Gazette* and the Montreal *Herald*, the latter long and ably edited by Mr. Edward Goff Penny. In Toronto the chief Conservative paper was the *British Colonist*, published by Mr. Hugh Scobie. It was a vigorously conducted and excellent journal. The *Examiner* was owned by Mr. James Lesslie, was written for by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Hincks, and also by Mr. Charles Lindsey,

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who became editor of the *Leader* when it was started in 1850, and who still enjoys a green old age as one of the registrars of Toronto. The British *Whig* of Kingston and the *Journal and Express* of Hamilton, the latter conducted by Mr. Solomon Brega, were then prominent journals. The *Whig* is still to the front, and is, in fact, more vigorous now in its old age than it was in its youth. The Hamilton *Spectator*, which was a model typographically, was started by Mr. R. R. Smiley in 1846, and the *North American*, which was edited by the Hon. William McDougall, appeared in Toronto four years later and aroused considerable interest by its semi-Republican platform.

Mr. George Brown and the *Globe* were already powerful throughout the whole Province. His father and he emigrated in 1838 from Edinburgh, Scotland, to New York City, where they became connected with the *Albion* newspaper, and subsequently started the *British Chronicle* on their own account. Early in 1843, George, then a young man of twenty-four, made a tour of the Northern States and Canada in the interests of the *Chronicle*, but had such inducements held out to him by the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministers and others to commence a newspaper in Toronto, that on his return to New York the whole family decided to throw in their lot with the British provinces.

They immediately removed to Toronto, and on the 18th August following the *Banner* appeared. As much of this journal was devoted to Presbyterian and ecclesiastical news, sufficient attention could not be

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given to political and secular affairs, and consequently the *Globe* was started early in 1844.

The period was favourable for these literary ventures. The disruption in the Church of Scotland and the final struggle with Sir Charles Metcalfe over Responsible Government were then burning questions, and Mr. George Brown took the side of the Free Church and the Reform party with much energy and ability. He was ably seconded by his brother, Gordon Brown, upon whom the principal editorial work finally devolved, and who, barring a tendency to be a little too autocratic, was one of the best all-round managing editors I have ever known.

Through the success and influence of his newspaper, Mr. George Brown soon became widely known and influential. His racy and powerful, though rather cumbrously constructed editorials, were a principal factor in bringing about the overwhelming Reform victory at the general elections in 1848. For many years his relations with Messrs. Baldwin, Lafontaine, Hincks, Price, Lesslie and other Reform leaders were of the closest character. He gave them a warm and consistent support until 1851. About this time, however, a large section of the Reform party became dissatisfied. The Government had made little or no progress in settling the Clergy Reserves, Rectories and other questions on which they had secured the confidence of the electors. This naturally caused dissatisfaction, and Mr. Brown and other prominent Reformers had for some time been earnestly protesting against the course of the Administration, and

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insisting on its pledges on these important questions being fulfilled.

Such was the political situation when a bye-election occurred in the county of Haldimand. Mr. Brown was tendered the Reform nomination and accepted it, but announced himself as an Independent Reformer. His chief opponent was the famous William Lyon Mackenzie, the recently pardoned rebel leader, but there were two other Reformers in the field, Mr. Horace Case and Mr. Jacob Turner, and also a Tory candidate in the person of Mr. Ronald McKinnon, of Caledonia. The fight was really between the two gentlemen first named, and what between the attitude of the Administration, who rather dreaded Mr. Brown's advent to Parliament as an Independent, and the strong sympathy felt for Mr. Mackenzie as having suffered in what was generally considered to be a just cause, the rebel and exile of 1837, upon whose head a reward of £1,000 had been set, found himself at the close of the contest elected once more to the Canadian Parliament.

This defeat widened the breach between the Government and Mr. Brown, and during the ensuing fall, when Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine retired and the Hincks-Morin Administration was installed in power, his opposition became more decided and open.

At the general elections in November following (1851), Mr. Brown accepted a nomination tendered to him from the counties of Kent and Lambton, which were then united. Rather strangely, the gentlemen who took the chief part in bringing him out as a can-

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didate, were Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, of Lambton, and Mr. Archibald McKellar, of Kent, who then became acquainted with each other for the first time. Both of these gentlemen soon afterwards found seats in Parliament, and became Mr. Brown's most trusted lieutenants until the end of his life. They were sometimes called the "Reform Triumvirate," so unitedly and successfully did they act together for many years.

Mr. McKellar was conspicuous for his humour and drollery, and during the closing years of his life, when residing in Hamilton as sheriff of the county of Wentworth, he related to me many laughable incidents which occurred during his long career as a political campaigner. Not the least amusing of these occurred during this Kent and Lambton contest.

It proved to be a three-cornered fight, and a good illustration of our old-fashioned Canadian elections. Besides Mr. Brown, the other candidates were Mr. Arthur Rankin, of Sandwich, who was the Hincks Reform candidate, and Mr. A. Larwill, of Saratia, who was brought out by the Tory party. The Hon. Malcolm Cameron, who had recently been appointed President of the Council, was then an influential man in western Canada, and he threw all his energies into the contest to defeat Mr. Brown. He declared he would give the latter "a coon hunt on the Wabash," and boldly confronted him on the public platform, the war of words often lasting for seven or eight hours on a stretch—occasionally, in fact, till near daylight. Canadians in those early days were deadly in earnest

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in their politics, and elections were almost invariably marked by much excitement, bitterness and occasional rows. This contest proved conspicuously exciting and bitter,* for it was the first straight fight between the Hincksites and Brownites, and many life-long Reformers for the first time found themselves arrayed against each other.

Several of these stories centred round an old Highlander, whom we will call Donald Mactavish, who was a well-known character in the riding, a staunch Reformer and successful farmer. He could neither read nor write, but his mental sharpness and force of character were such[†] that, by getting his family to read to him, there was not a man for miles around who understood current politics better than he did.

He had become an intense admirer of "Geordie Broon," as he was then frequently called, and was very anxious to have him stay over night at his

* Some light is thrown on the character of our early elections by the following specimen of numerous private letters circulated by the Hon. M. Cameron during this contest :

(Private.)

SARNIA, Nov. 12, 1851.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. George Brown is to be at Warwick on the 19th, at Donnelly's, at 10 a.m. Now take a day in the good work of getting him a good meeting. I will be out, and we will show him up, and let him know what stuff Liberal Reformers are made of, and how they would treat fanatical beasts who would allow no one liberty but themselves. Let everyone that hates "a stag and a traitor" come, and we will sing "Fagh a ballach"[‡] to him in style. The "Bouchaleen Bawns"[‡] of Warwick will wake him up. Now see to it.

Yours truly,

(Signed) MALCOLM CAMERON.

† "Clear the way," the cry of the White boys on going into a scrimmage.

‡ The White boys.

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house. This request it was considered good policy to comply with, and when the party reached the Mactavish homestead, it was found to be a large one-story log building—consisting, however, of but one large room, the eating and sitting part being at one end and a series of beds at the other, guiltless alike of partitions or curtains of any kind whatever. There were some sixteen people, big and small, to sleep in those beds that night, and Mr. McKellar used to laugh himself into tears as he told how Mr. Brown, although worn out with speaking and traveling, kept them all up for hours after they wanted to retire, because he was too embarrassed to undress and get into bed under such unusual circumstances.

It was only after taking Mr. McKellar outside for consultation, and being gravely assured that it would be a gross breach of Highland hospitality if he did not conform to the customs of the country, that Mr. Brown got his courage screwed up to the sticking point to undress, and, to use the words of the droll narrator, "finally made a plunge for his bed, so wild and ungraceful that it might be imagined but could never be described."

Another incident connected with Mactavish gives an idea of the humour of the times. The Tory candidate, Mr. Larwill, had been a tinsmith in his early days, which trade many Highlanders looked down upon on account of their unsavoury recollections of gipsy tinkers in Scotland. A young Scotchman named McLean, who was well connected in Toronto, was in the riding canvassing for Mr. Larwill, and spoke on

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his behalf on the day of nomination. His remarks quite excited the ire of Donald Mactavish, but afterwards Mr. McLean was introduced to him, and sought with all the art in his power to conciliate the irate old gentleman. He particularly claimed his friendship on the ground that he was a Scotchman like himself, to which Mactavish, with rising blood, replied: "Yes, that's joost it. That's joost what makes her feel so pad at the nomination yesterday, that anypody calling herself a Scotchman could be found to propose a tinkler to sit in Parliament."

The elections throughout the Province resulted in favour of the Hincks-Morin Government, but Mr. Brown was returned, as were also several Reformers who shared his views. Both in Parliament and the press he soon afterwards burned his bridges behind him so far as opposition to Mr. Hincks was concerned.

The Ministerialists feared the dissatisfied Reformers more than Sir Allan McNab and the Tories, who continued weak and unpopular, and during the fall of 1853, Messrs. Hincks, Morin, Drummond, Rolph, Cameron and other ministers made an extensive political tour throughout Upper Canada, being banqueted in many places. Their chief attacks were centred upon George Brown and the *Globe*, and the friends of the latter vigorously responded by a series of similar demonstrations, not the least important of which were a great political meeting and banquet—the former to be held at the village of Glenmorris in the afternoon, and the latter at Galt in the evening. The interest in these gatherings became intense through-

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out all the surrounding districts when it became known that Mr. Brown would be met and opposed at Glenmorris by Mr. David Christie, then member of Parliament for Wentworth; and a Reformer as strongly supporting the Hincks Administration as the former opposed them.

The day of battle and of feasting—the 10th October—at last arrived. It proved beautifully fine. The atmosphere was clear and bracing, the woods ablaze with autumnal colours, and the chief combatants and their friends were early on the field. Mr. Brown and Mr. Christie were not unevenly matched. Both being Scotch, born the same year (1818), educated alike at Edinburgh High School, and both ambitious politicians in the very prime of early manhood, they doubtless felt, with Fitzjames and Roderick Dhu—

"Such pride as warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel."

I was not present myself, being still innocent of the political craze which Swift describes as "the madness of many for the gain of a few," but from the lips of many of the early settlers—now alas, nearly all gone "across the bar"—I learned what a memorable political battle this was. Both gentlemen acquitted themselves admirably. Mr. Christie proved himself a formidable antagonist. He was an effective public speaker, and surprised and delighted his friends. Mr. Brown was powerful, convincing, and at times eloquent. It was, in short, a famous battle, during which the politics of the day, and especially the divisions

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which were then rending the Reform party asunder, were handled with much force, ability and skill on both sides.

When, during the following year, the Hincks-Morin Government was defeated, the causes of difference between the Reformers of the Province almost entirely disappeared, and Mr. Brown and Mr. Christie became fast political friends, which relation was never afterwards broken. During their long friendship they doubtless enjoyed many a quiet laugh over the battle of Glenmorris and its exciting incidents.

Evening found the Commercial Buildings, Galt, a blaze of light for the banquet in Mr. Brown's honour. The chair was occupied by James Cowan, Esq., Clochmohr, afterwards member of Parliament, and the vice-chairs by Robert Ferrie, Esq., Doon, who also became member of Parliament, and Dr. Samuel Richardson, of Galt. About three hundred Reformers were present, and loud and long were the cheers which greeted the guest of the evening as he rose to reply to the principal toast: "George Brown, the Member for Kent."

Very few of those present had ever seen the speaker before, myself among the number, and I well remember the eager glances and thrill of interest on the part of the audience as he straightened himself up to the full height and uttered his opening words. His was a striking figure. Standing fully six feet two inches high, with a well-proportioned body, well-balanced head and handsome face, his appearance not



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only indicated much mental and physical strength, but conveyed in a marked manner an impression of youthfulness and candour. These impressions deepened as his address proceeded, and his features grew animated and were lighted up by his fine, expressive eyes. His voice was strong and soft, but had the defect—if such it be—of the well-known Edinburgh accent, which helped to add to the surprise of many who had expected to see a much older and sterner-looking man in the George Brown who had been arousing Parliament and the country as they had seldom ever been aroused before.

The speaker's introductory remarks caused a momentary ripple of disappointment. Like the opening of all his speeches, they were marked by a little nervous stammering and stuttering. This quickly passed away, however, and as he warmed to his subject, his mannerisms were soon forgotten in the masterful manner in which he discussed the great public questions then affecting Upper Canada and the Province at large. Among these were the Clergy Reserves question, the Government's Grand Trunk and other railway transactions, the Seignorial Tenure, Representation by Population, no public aid to Ecclesiastical Corporations, and many other questions in regard to which the people were then deeply agitated. He brought to the discussion of these great issues such well-arranged facts and figures, such a flow of oratorical power and eloquence, coupled with such evident earnestness and enthusiasm, that he quite

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captivated his audience and closed a three hours' speech amidst universal and long-continued cheering.

This was George Brown's introduction as a politician to this district, and from that night until his last he became a great power in Waterloo and surrounding counties, as he afterwards did in every nook and valley of Upper Canada.

CHAPTER VI

CAREER AND FALL OF THE HINCKS MINISTRY

EARLY in 1854 it became evident that forces were at work which must soon produce a political crisis. Upper Canada was indignant that little or no progress had been made in abolishing the Clergy Reserves, although the Government had been Reform for nearly seven years, and Lower Canada complained that the Seigniorial Tenure system still remained a drag upon its energies and progress. Public opinion had been gradually crystallizing against the Hincks Administration, and when Parliament was called together on the 5th June, the members were in no amiable mood.

When the Chambers were convened the Speech from the Throne rather added fuel to the flames. It was remarkable for its omissions. It made mention of the breaking out of the Crimean War, of His Excellency Lord Elgin's successful negotiation of the Reciprocity Treaty at Washington—about the only subject of prime importance referred to—and foreshadowed a new and extended Representation Bill upon which an early appeal would be made to the people. But, strange to say, nothing was said

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whatever about the Clergy Reserves and Seignorial Tenure questions.

Considering their great importance and long agitation, the complete silence of the official speech of the Governor-General in regard to these measures was certainly an extraordinary omission. It seems at this distance to have been a political *faux pas*. Parliament, at any rate, promptly manifested its dissatisfaction. Four votes of non-confidence were immediately proposed to the address, two of them by Messrs. Sherwood and Langton, Conservatives. The motion regarding the Clergy Reserves was vigorously supported by Messrs. George Brown, Joseph Hartman and William Lyon Mackenzie, and on the Seignorial question by Messrs. Joseph Cauchon and Louis Victor Sicotte, all of whom except Mr. Hartman, who did not long survive, either were, or afterwards became, distinguished in public life. After a very stormy debate, in which the Tory leaders took a vigorous part, and which lasted for ten days and much of the nights, the Government was defeated by a majority of 13, Mr. Hincks being deserted by all but five of his Upper Canada supporters.

The next day the Governor-General came in state to the Parliament Buildings. He had accepted the advice of the Ministry to prorogue Parliament, with a view to a dissolution and an immediate appeal to the people. When Black Rod appeared and summoned the Assembly to meet His Excellency in the Council Chamber, an exciting and turbulent scene took place. Sir Allan McNab and William Lyon Mackenzie were

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among the most conspicuous in denouncing the proposed dissolution, the ultra-loyalist and former arch-rebel for once joining hands in obstruction. The Chamber was a wild scene for some time. But all was unavailing, and amidst much excitement and bitterness Parliament was prorogued and dissolved, and the Province found itself again in the midst of a general election.*

It proved an unusual one—somewhat, in fact, of a political muddle. Political parties were in an anomalous condition. The Tories were still weak in Parliament and the country. They were out of accord with advanced public opinion, and the smoke of the burned Parliament Buildings still beclouded them. The Reform party was numerically strong, but, as we have seen, hopelessly split into two warring sections.

Mr. Hincks and his Reform friends in Upper Canada had to face both the Tories and the Clear Grits, as the latter at this time began to be called. He was zealously supported by his two colleagues, Dr. John Rolph and Mr. Malcolm Cameron, and together they made a spirited defence of their Administration. In his address to the electors of Oxford, the Premier claimed credit for the Reciprocity Treaty, their successful railroad policy, and for an energetic and enterprising administration of affairs. He also declared that during the session so summarily closed his Government had intended to submit and discuss

* The polling for this election took place during July and August, on the days directed by the Government in each writ, which was the law at that time. The polling lasted two days.

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the measures they had prepared to secularize the Reserves, abolish the Seigniorial Tenure and reform the Legislative Council, and having passed a bill to bring the new franchise laws into immediate operation, to then dissolve Parliament and take the verdict of the enlarged electorate on these great measures.

The Opposition assailed the Government from varying standpoints—the Reformers, led by Mr. Brown, because they had not fulfilled their pledges to abolish the Reserves and Rectories; the Tories, led by Sir Allan McNab, because they still promised to abolish them! Both wings of the Opposition, however, united in denouncing many of the administrative and legislative acts of the party in power, especially certain transactions in connection with the new railroads and other public works.



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As an example of these charges, what became known as "the Toronto £10,000 case" may be mentioned. This charge was, that Mr. Hincks had joined Mr. John G. Bowes, Mayor of Toronto, in buying up a large block of debentures issued by the city to aid the construction of the Northern Railway, which debentures they purchased at 20 per cent. discount. The facts were not denied. The only disputed points

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were the legality and propriety of the transaction. It ultimately came before the Court of Chancery in a suit against Mr. Bowes. The judges held that he must refund his share of the profits to the city, as he was mayor thereof and acting in a fiduciary capacity. Mr. Hincks' position, however, was never legally challenged, and he and his friends maintained that there was no impropriety in his taking part in the purchase of these debentures at the price at which they could be obtained in the open market. Nevertheless, the transaction was regarded as of doubtful propriety on the part of one holding the exalted office of Prime Minister, and on the strength of this and a few similar speculations, the Opposition made the hustings ring at the elections with charges of jobbery and corruption against Mr. Hincks and his colleagues.

Some idea may be obtained from this brief outline of the public issues of this political contest, but it is more difficult to understand how oddly political parties and the electorate generally were divided and mixed up.

As the contests which took place in the county of Waterloo afford a good illustration of the political situation all over the Province, they are worthy of citation as cases in point. In the north riding, Mr. Michael Hamilton Foley, barrister, Simcoe, had been sent by the Hon. Dr. Rolph to contest that riding as the Ministerial Reform candidate. He was a clever Irish Canadian, stoutly built and good-natured, with great readiness and wit as a public speaker, and, occasionally stopping for a moment to wipe his spec-

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tacles, was an adept at making it hot for his opponents, even if he had once in a while to take a little liberty with the facts. His opponents soon learned when he wiped those spectacles to look out for a wipe of a very different character.

Soon after Mr. Foley's arrival in Berlin, the support of the *Reformer* was asked in the North Waterloo contest by a gentleman I had never seen before. He was evidently young and ambitious, in stature tall and graceful, with a fine oval face and features—a decidedly handsome native Canadian, whose whole appearance and address were manly and pleasing, although slightly marred by an occasional dash of coldness in his words and manner. This gentleman in after years took an active part in bringing about the Confederation of British America, and became the Hon. William McDougall, C.B. He was on his way to the north riding to enter the lists as a Clear Grit Reformer against Mr. Foley, and as he was opposed to the Hincks Government, I readily promised him such assistance as my newspaper could give. He was soon in the field, proved himself a remarkably fine public speaker, and Mr. Foley and he were soon at it hammer and tongs.

In South Waterloo the contest was equally mixed. Mr. George S. Tiffany, barrister, Hamilton, appeared as a Reformer on behalf of the Government, and Mr. Robert Ferrie, one of the Ferries of Hamilton, but who then carried on a large milling and store business at the village of Doon, was the Opposition Reform candidate. He was brought out by a requisition.

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tion signed by both Clear Grits and Tories, but all the four candidates in both ridings were Reformers, and old political friends soon found themselves divided from each other and mixed up with former opponents in a manner never before experienced. When the election ended it was found that honours were easy, Mr. Foley being returned in the north riding and Mr. Ferrie in the south.

As it was in the Waterloos, so it was generally throughout the whole Province. Most of the elections were more or less of a political muddle. In some ridings a Reformer was pitted against a Tory as usual; in others, a Brown Reformer against a Hincks Reformer and in others the Hincksites, Tories, Clear Grits and even Independents all had candidates in the field. In not a few localities the Tories supported Clear Grits, in others Clear Grits supported Tories, and both generally united to oppose the Hincksites. The latter, too, had in some cases to choose between voting for a Tory or a Grit, and were puzzled to decide as to which might prove the most dangerous opponent.

In short, political disunion stalked abroad, and the differences among old Reform friends—even among members of the same families—in almost every riding in Upper Canada, combined with the strange medley of former Tory and Clear Grit opponents working together in others, made up one of the most singular and unsatisfactory general elections which ever took place under our representative system.

CHAPTER VII

UNEXPECTED TURN OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS

THE smoke of the political battle throughout the country had scarcely cleared away when the new Parliament was called together. It assembled on 5th September. Both the Government and the Opposition claimed to have the majority, and the opening of the session by His Excellency Lord Elgin was marked by much excitement.

The election of the Speaker afforded the first test of strength. There were three candidates proposed. The Ministerialists put forward Mr. George E. Cartier; the Rouges, Mr. L. V. Sicotte, and the Clear Grits and Tories, Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, who had been the previous Speaker. On the first vote the Ministerial candidate, Mr. Cartier, was defeated by 62 to 59—a majority of 3. The second vote was on Mr. Sicotte, and his chances seemed poor. But in order to defeat Mr. Macdonald, who had ceased to be his political friend, Mr. Hincks adroitly arose at the last moment and threw his own vote and that of his supporters in favour of Mr. Sicotte, thus turning his small minority into a majority of 35. The Government had received a severe check, but the ready

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tact of its leader foiled the Opposition and partially concealed its dangerous character.

Two days afterwards, however, the Administration sustained a direct defeat on the Timothy Brodeur election case, and it soon became apparent that they no longer controlled the House and its action. On the morning of the 8th, Mr. Hincks and Mr. Morin waited upon the Governor-General and tendered their resignations and those of all their colleagues.

The political situation thus created was quite a difficult one, and placed upon His Excellency Lord Elgin no easy task. The three parties into which the Legislative Assembly was divided numbered nearly as follows : Ministerialists, 65 ; Clear Grits and Rouges, 40 ; Tories, 25. In many respects they were all bitterly opposed to each other, and it was difficult to foresee how any government could be formed able to command a majority. It was naturally supposed, however, that the reins of power would remain in the hands of the Reform party, which, although divided, numbered about 105 in a house of 130. There was much surprise, therefore, when the Governor-General sent for Sir Allan McNab to form a new government, as the group under his leadership was the smallest of the three in the House, numbering in fact not more than one-fifth of the people's representatives.

Mr. Brown and his supporters regarded a Tory Administration as impracticable. They hoped for a new Reform ministry with Mr. Hincks out, and pledged to the immediate passage of the great

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measures which had sundered the party. The latter's Lower Canada colleagues, however, had warmly sided with the late Premier during the party's quarrels, and George Brown and the *Globe* were already being held up before the French Canadians as the enemies of "our laws, our language and our race."

Their relations had been further embittered by the events of the recent elections, and in their hour of defeat Mr. Hincks and his colleagues were evidently determined at all hazards to thwart Mr. Brown and the Reformers acting with him. They consequently approved, and had doubtless advised, Lord Elgin's course in sending for Sir Allan McNab, and it soon began to be whispered in the corridors that they had formally proposed to assist the Tory leaders in forming a Coalition Government if the latter would agree to pass the Clergy Reserves, Seigniorial Tenure and the Elective Legislative Council measures announced in the Speech from the Throne, and which the retiring ministers had already in a forward state of preparation.

Had a bomb-shell been exploded in the legislative chamber it could hardly have created more surprise than when this secret was revealed, and the public learned that negotiations for a coalition between the Tories and the Hincksites were actually in progress on the basis mentioned above.

The leaders of both these parties had so long and bitterly denounced each other that many were incredulous as to the possibility of such a union. Sir Allan McNab, Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, Mr. William

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Cayley, Mr. Ogle R. Gowan, in fact the whole party, had been battling for nigh a quarter of a century for a State-endowed church, and against the abolition of the reserves and rectories, and not long before the legislative chamber had resounded with frantic cheers as one of their number had made an elaborate attack on Mr. Hincks as a second Walpole who was "steeped to the lips in corruption."

The boldness of the proposed new combination, therefore, rather staggered these gentlemen at first, more particularly those of them who were good churchmen, and they temporarily hesitated. But in the isolated and almost hopeless position of the Tory party at that time the offer of power and office was a strong temptation, and as the after developments proved, Sir Allan had ceased to be the real leader of his party, and had either to go with the tide or be left stranded on the shore.

The real leader of the Tory party in this memorable crisis was a comparatively young man, who had joined their ranks a decade before and was rapidly forging his way to the foremost place. He was born in the city of Glasgow, Scotland, on January 11th, 1815, and, when five years old, was brought by his parents from Scotland to Upper Canada. He received a good Grammar School education, and was trained to the legal profession. In 1844 he was elected to Parliament, and in 1847 became Receiver-General in the moribund Draper Administration, which position he held until his party fell in 1848. He possessed far greater political sagacity than his aged colleagues

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and although still lacking in official experience, he was not less forceful and accomplished, and even more adroit, than the retiring Prime Minister, Mr. Hincks, who had been nicknamed by some of his opponents "the Emperor," on account of the almost autocratic power which for several years he wielded. He was, in short, a born political manager, and was already the master mind and moving spirit and the rising hope of the Tory party.

I need scarcely say that the gentleman referred to was the member for Kingston, who afterwards became the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B.,* and who was destined to play such a long and distinguished part, not only in the government of the Province of Canada, but of the whole of British North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans.

When Hincks and Macdonald agreed to clasp hands across the political chasm which had so long separated them, the proposed coalition became possible. The difficulties were admittedly formidable, but their master hands forcibly grasped and skilfully overcame them, so far as that was possible. Sir Allan McNab's hesitation ended in the acceptance of the commission of Her Majesty's representative to

*Mr. Macdonald's family was of Highland extraction. His grandfather had been a successful merchant in Dornock, Sutherlandshire, and his father, Hugh Macdonald, became a manufacturer in Glasgow. His mother's name was Helen Shaw, and the family numbered five: Margaret, who married the Rev. James Williamson, Professor of Mathematics and Natural History, Queen's University, Kingston; John Alexander, the future Canadian Premier; James and Louisa; and another brother, William, who died in childhood.



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

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form a new Administration, and on the 11th instant the arrangements were all complete, and the first famous Canadian Coalition Government was sworn into office. It was composed as follows:

UPPER CANADA.—Sir Allan N. McNab, Premier and Minister of Agriculture; Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney-General West; Hon. William Cayley, Inspector-General; Hon. John Ross, Speaker Legislative Council; Hon. Robert Spence, Postmaster-General.

LOWER CANADA.—Hon. A. N. Morin, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. L. T. Drummond, Attorney-General East; Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, Provincial Secretary; Hon. J. Chabot, Commissioner of Public Works; Hon. E. P. Taché, Receiver-General.

The announcement of these new and unexpected political combinations created quite a sensation throughout the Province, and in the agitated state of public opinion at that period, produced not a little recrimination and bitterness both in the House and the country. In Parliament the Opposition denounced the Coalition as immoral; in the country the people were much puzzled and divided.

Both the Tory and Reform parties were deeply stirred. The great body of the former were elated that from an almost helpless position in the cold shades of Opposition, they had suddenly obtained control of the Government and its patronage. But many influential churchmen were deeply incensed that their own political friends had bargained (in

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their opinion) to wound the Church of England by agreeing to confiscate its endowments—feeling like the eagle in the famous simile, which grieved the more to see that one of its own feathers tipped the shaft which was drinking its life-blood!

The criticism of the Reform party chiefly fell upon Mr. Hincks. He was roundly condemned by Reformers all through the West, except the limited but respectable minority who adhered to Messrs. Ross, Spence and himself, for making the resuscitation of the Tory party possible—having acted, as they alleged, on the principle of “rule or ruin.” He defended himself manfully, however, giving, as was his custom, blow for blow. His chief ground of defence was that the great measures he had announced in the Speech from the Throne would be faithfully carried through Parliament by the new Administration, and that the seats held in it by his late Lower Canadian colleagues and his two Upper Canada friends, Messrs. Ross and Spence, were the best guarantee that good faith would be kept in every respect in passing these measures into law.

Whoever was to blame, the Reform party was evidently wrecked.

Many charged this result to the personal ambitions and antagonism of Mr. Hincks and Mr. Brown. To the credit of Canadian public life, however, there were other and stronger reasons. Questions of vital importance, as we have already seen, then agitated the public mind. It was of lasting importance to the people of Canada and their descendants that they

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should be settled forever, and it must be admitted that the Reform leaders opposed to Mr. Hincks were amply justified in their course by the long and exasperating delay in the fulfilment of the promises made to settle these vital questions. This is amply attested by the fact that the great body of the Reformers of Upper Canada sustained their course at the elections, and as soon as the Coalition Ministry was formed, Messrs. Rolph, Christie, Foley and others who had adhered to Mr. Hincks up to that time, immediately held a meeting and decided to unite with their fellow Reformers and the Quebec Rouges under the leadership of Mr. Brown and Mr. A. A. Dorion, of Montreal.*

When these events occurred my political sympathies were all with the Clear Grits and against Mr. Hincks. But time and experience often modify and improve opinions, and investigations in after life led me to regard the latter as not nearly so black as he was painted at the time. The difficulties in the way of settling the Clergy Reserves question were much greater than were generally supposed. Conscientious

*The gentlemen who signed the resolution organizing the new Opposition were : Messrs. W. Hamilton Merritt, L. H. Holton, A. A. Dorion, George Brown, A. T. Galt, J. S. Macdonald, John Rolph, S. B. Freeman, Joseph Papin, John Fraser, Alanson Cooke, John Young, John Scatcherd, T. M. Daly, M. H. Foley, M. F. Valois, R. Macdonald, J. B. E. Dorion, Jacob DeWitt, A. J. Ferguson, Joseph Hartman, Robert Ferrie, D. Mathieson, Joseph Gould, Chas. Daoust, G. M. Prevost, J. O. Sanborn, W. L. Mackenzie, W. Mattice, Amos Wright, John M. Lumsden, D. McKerlie, A. Laberge, Noel Darche, F. Bourassa, J. B. Guevremont, J. O. Bureau, and J. H. Jobin.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



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objections on the part of Mr. Baldwin, the hesitancy of Mr. Lafontaine and his Quebec colleagues to interfere with church endowments, and the tardiness of the Imperial Government in passing an Act to authorize the Secularization, which leading lawyers considered necessary, and which was only obtained shortly before the elections of 1854, furnish some explanation and excuse for Mr. Hincks' failure to fulfil earlier his political pledges to the people at the polls.

His unexpected alliance with the Tory party—whose opposition to him had been both violent and long—seems much less excusable. In saying this I feel bound to mention that I was informed many years afterwards by a member of Parliament whom I deemed reliable, that in order to prevent disaster to the Reform party, Mr. Hincks, on one occasion, privately offered to Mr. Brown and his friends to retire from the leadership in favour of Judge John Wilson, of London, if that would restore peace and harmony, which offer was not accepted. If true this would place Mr. Hincks' conduct in a better light. But I never heard this story confirmed, nor do I remember its currency at the time when all classes were stirred by the formation of the memorable Coalition, and when Reform condemnation of their late leader swelled into a chorus as the far-reaching consequences of his action became more clearly discernible.

A very few weeks of the session sufficed to show that the Coalition Ministry had been formed on a solid, and what was likely to be a lasting, basis. Its

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corner-stone was Lower Canada, and for many years that province was destined to be paramount in shaping Canadian policy and legislation.

Several of the new Administration, too, were able men, conspicuous among whom was the Attorney-General West, Mr. Macdonald, and they applied themselves with much energy and assiduity to carry out the policy they inherited from the Hincks Government, and which policy they were pledged to crystallize into legislation.

Sir Allan McNab manfully announced to Parliament that his party would no longer oppose, but would submit the measures promised in the vice-regal speech to settle the Reserves, Rectories, Seignorial Tenure and Elective Legislative Council questions, which had been repeatedly declared to be the will of the country. These promises were in the main faithfully kept, and the measures were submitted and carried through Parliament as rapidly as could reasonably be expected. The Clergy Reserves Bill contained monetary concessions to the State Church party in possession of these lands not acceptable to many of the people of Upper Canada, but the measures of the Government proved successful in settling and removing all these vexed questions from the political arena, forever establishing in Canada religious and political equality, and carrying the ship of State safely through this remarkable crisis into smoother and safer waters.

Before the following session closed, Mr. Hincks, who had long played the leading *role* in Parliament,

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resigned his seat for Renfrew. Soon afterwards he was appointed by the Government of Great Britain, first as Governor-in-Chief of Barbadoes and the Windward Islands, then of British Guiana, and was honoured by being made a Companion of the Order of the Bath (1862), and a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1869.

CHAPTER VIII.

MACDONALD AND BROWN AS RIVAL LEADERS

THE decade extending from the formation of the first Coalition Government (1854) to the dawn of Confederation (1864) was one of continuous political agitation. It quickly developed into a struggle between Upper and Lower Canada, in which British and French and Protestant and Catholic ideals clashed, and as it advanced and intensified, any stable Government became almost impossible, and the opinion rapidly grew that either the legislative union between the two provinces would have to be dissolved or some other remedy found and applied.

Notwithstanding the unsettled state of politics, however, the country continued to gradually develop and advance, and not a few interesting circumstances occurred which it would be inexcusable to overlook.

Among these was the departure of Lord Elgin. His governorship had been marked by many important and exciting events. His firm establishment of Responsible Government, the attacks made upon him by the Montreal Tories, their burning of the Parliament Buildings,* and subsequent hoisting of the Annexation

* "At the time of the agitation in the Province of Quebec, and especially in the city of Montreal, in consequence of the passage of the

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flag, his triumphal tour throughout Upper Canada, and his successful negotiation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States—all these circumstances had contributed to make him universally known though not universally popular; in fact, till near the close of his mission, it might almost be said the Reformers loved him like an angel, and the Tories hated him like a devil! His Upper Canada tour, however, proved how much admired and popular he was with the great body of the people.

I recollect quite distinctly Lord Elgin's visit to Galt at that time. It was in 1849. He was conducted from Paris to the Swan Inn, the half-way house, by the citizens of the former place and vicinity, and there two large processions with banners flying, one from East and the other from West Dumfries, met and conducted him into Galt. The village was profusely decorated with arches and evergreens, and had appended to the principal bridge over the Grand River a skilfully executed representation of a spider and its web, recalling the famous incident in the career of his ancestor, King Robert Bruce of Scotland.

Rebellion Losses Bill, when Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, was threatened with violence and much abuse, in consequence of having sanctioned the bill, the Reformers of Ontario approved of the legislation and of the course pursued by Lord Elgin, and a deputation was sent on behalf of the Reformers of Upper Canada to assure him of our sanction and support of the course which he had pursued. That deputation was composed of the Hon. George Brown, the late Col. C. J. Baldwin, and myself. When we presented our address to Lord Elgin *he was so much affected by it that he actually shed tears. He was evidently much gratified.*—*Letter of Sir William P. Howland to Toronto Globe, 1901.*

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Lord Elgin was not tall, but strongly and well built, with a broad, intellectual face, large beaming eyes expressive of the orator, and wonderful grace and suavity of manner. His face was brightened by broad smiles as he drove through the streets in a carriage drawn by four beautiful grey horses, and his eloquence and affability captivated all hearts long before his entertainment in Galt concluded. He was afterwards escorted to the Wellington county line, where he was conducted to similar honours by the people of Guelph and vicinity.

Lord and Lady Elgin's career in Canada closed with brilliant festivities given by them at Spencerwood, Quebec, and the day after the close of the first session of the McNab-Morin Coalition, the 18th December, 1854, His Excellency resigned his charge as Governor-General into the hands of Sir Edmund Head, a nephew of Sir Francis Bond Head of rebellion fame, and a gentleman of undoubted attainments, but cast in a very different mould from his courtly predecessor.

Three days later the people of Quebec regretfully crowded its narrow, rugged streets, as Lord Elgin and suite, himself with bared head, walked to the shores of the St. Lawrence, on whose mighty bosom he bid adieu to Canada forever. His popularity was evidently undiminished in the ancient capital, but recent political events had produced some curious changes on the point in Upper Canada—the Tory party having at last discovered his virtues, whilst, alas for consistency, not a few Reformers had soured a little on

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their former idol. Fortunately, this latter feeling was only temporary, and all classes of Canadians have long agreed that Lord Elgin was not only one of the most charming governors Canada ever had, but that his administration of public affairs was conspicuous for its wisdom and prudence during an exciting and critical period.

The last session of Parliament to be held in the city of Quebec before the removal of the seat of Government to Toronto—it having been decided after the burning of the Parliament Buildings to alternate the capital between these two cities every four years—was opened by the new Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, on the 23rd February, 1855. During the recess Mr. Morin had retired to the Bench, and Mr. George E. Cartier had become the Lower Canada leader, but the Government continued all-powerful. The session was noticeable mainly in accentuating the difficulties and bitterness existing between Upper and Lower Canada, the end of which many began to fear but none could see their way to redress.

The chief political gladiators in Parliament were the Hon. John A. Macdonald and Mr. George Brown. They were surrounded by not a few able men, but they were the leaders of their respective parties *par excellence*. Both of these gentlemen were then in the prime of life, both parliamentary orators of a high order, but in method and manner essentially different. Mr. Macdonald was alert and skilful, quick to see and take advantage of any weak point in his adver-

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sary's armour, and ever ready with a jibe or witty sally. Mr. Brown was earnest, positive and impulsive, with a force of reasoning and invective difficult to withstand.

The Reform leader came prominently to the front during this session as the champion of Upper Canadian rights, by which soubriquet he speedily became known. He boldly demanded Representation by Population, the setting aside of the Rectories—which question remained still unsettled—and fearlessly opposed the Separate School Bill introduced by Receiver-General Taché, as well as all government grants to ecclesiastical corporations.

The galleries of the House of Assembly were crowded almost nightly at this time, and members of that day often informed me in after years that nothing could exceed the courage and eloquence with which Mr. Brown stood up night after night demanding justice for Upper Canada in the face of a hostile majority on the floor of the Chamber, and still more hostile auditors in the galleries above. So high, indeed, did public feeling run on some occasions, that fears were entertained for his personal safety, and his friends occasionally insisted, after late and exciting debates—lasting often till long after midnight—on accompanying him to his lodgings through the dark, winding streets of the ancient capital. He was personally fearless, and to the credit of Quebec and Canadian public life, though the questions often discussed could not fail to arouse intense racial and religious rancour, no personal violence was ever offered to him.

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The commercial relations of Canada and the United States were completely revolutionized by the Elgin-Marcy Reciprocity Treaty. This enlightened measure was brought into operation on the 15th March, 1855, by the issuance of joint proclamations by President Pierce of the United States and Governor Head of Canada. Its term was for ten years, but thereafter either of the signatories could terminate it on giving twelve months' notice.

Great interest was manifested on both sides of the international boundary, especially along the Niagara and Detroit frontiers, during the first weeks the treaty was in operation. Its beneficent character was immediately established. The trade between the two countries increased considerably over 50 per cent. before the year of its inauguration ended—during a period, in fact, of only nine and a half months. The statistics prove, as we shall see later on, that before its close it had more than quadrupled our international trade, and aggregated the magnificent volume of \$673,000,000 as the result of eleven years of (comparatively) free commercial intercourse between the two countries.

A measure producing such remarkable commercial results was evidently born of the most enlightened statesmanship, and immensely benefited both the United States and Canada. Time proved, however, that its commercial blessings counted for little when national ambition and jealousy came into play.

What a fearless, incorruptible, time-scarred political veteran William Lyon Mackenzie was! I never met

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him till his closing years. During the fall of 1855, though over seventy years of age, his restless ambition led him to call a series of public meetings to agitate for the dissolution of the union between Upper and Lower Canada. He announced a meeting for Galt on the afternoon of the 10th September. This locality had been among his strongholds prior to the Rebellion of 1837, and not a few copies of that newspaper curiosity, *Mackenzie's Weekly Message*, continued to be taken by some of his early sympathizers.

Mr. Mackenzie's first visit to Galt had been as early as 1833, on which occasion his Tory opponents tried to break up his meeting by an artful device. He spoke from the south end window of the only hotel the then little backwoods village possessed, and about the middle of the proceedings a person with a blackened face and fantastic dress suddenly appeared on the street carrying a hideous-looking effigy, which was intended to represent the orator, and contained a small parcel of gunpowder. The figure was well gotten up, and the lower extremities were fitted up with a good pair of top boots, which were recognized as belonging to a leading Galtonian who wore a style and quality not commonly in use.



WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

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The effigy prematurely exploded, knocking over a respectable old farmer named William Mackenzie, and an uproarious scene ensued. In the *mêlée* over the half-scorched figure, a young farmer named Marshall, a Mackenzie sympathizer, rushed through the crowd, seized the top boots, and made off with them as fast as his legs could carry him. The hero of this incident, who was a bit of a wag, afterwards declared they were the "brawest" boots he had ever worn, but if his pursuers had caught him that night it would have fared badly with him.

Although the whole of these proceedings took place in full view of Mr. Mackenzie, he only smiled grimly, and went on with his speech very little disconcerted by the boisterous scene around him.

When the day arrived for his last Galt meeting Mr. Mackenzie was greeted by a large and respectable audience, and as he stepped nimbly on the platform to commence his address, there was a buzz of animated interest. No one required to be told he was a remarkable man. If Marshall Ney had been the hero of a hundred battles, Mackenzie had been the hero of a hundred political fights. He scarcely looked, however, the political veteran that he was. His frame was well knit and wiry, and was surmounted by a massive, well-formed head and face, which had a strong, leonine expression. They appeared, in fact, rather large for the rest of his body, and the vigour and rapidity of his speech and gesticulations astonished everyone.

For two hours he denounced the evils and abuses

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arising out of the union between Upper and Lower Canada, in a torrent of statistics, invective and humour, and under the thrill of occasional bursts of applause his eyes brightened and his voice rang out in clarion tones. For the moment he doubtless felt "Richard's himself again."

Nevertheless, it was quite apparent that a new generation had arisen who "knew not Joseph." Few present had ever seen, and some had never heard of the famous old veteran before, and although many agreed with him as to the flagrancy of the political abuses he exposed, few approved of the extreme course of a dissolution of the Union as the proper remedy.

My impressions of Mr. Mackenzie were favourable, and they were strengthened by an interview the following morning when he called at the *Reformer* office on his way to his next appointment. He was making his tour in a horse and buggy, accompanied by one of his devoted daughters, Miss Helen, who did not long survive him. In appearance he looked older than he seemed to be on the rostrum, but indulged in an animated and pleasant conversation, during which, like shadows flitting athwart the sunbeam, an occasional glimpse of the old veteran's positiveness and irascibility added spice to the interview.

Whatever his faults and mistakes were, rebel though he was in 1837, few Canadians now doubt that William Lyon Mackenzie was at heart patriotic and unpurchasable, and that, as already stated, the

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tyranny, oppression and insufferable arrogance of the old Family Compact, intensified by the blunders of Sir Francis Bond Head, did more to produce the rebellion than anything he or any other person ever did or could do.

Soon after this tour active steps were taken to present Mr. Mackenzie with a testimonial, which took the form of a homestead. I felt it a privilege to take a humble part in this tardy recognition of his services, and occasionally heard from or saw him afterwards until his death on the 28th August, 1861. The following letter received by me a few years before his death, which has hitherto remained unpublished, is exceedingly characteristic, and is worthy of reproduction, as it throws some light on the peculiarities of this remarkable man during his closing years:

“TORONTO, January 27th, 1858.

“Dear Sir,

“Yours of Saturday intimates that Mr. — is a candidate for the Legislative Council. He is one of the meanest Yankees in creation. I have known him thirty-nine years—and never knew any good of him.

“You were to set me right in the *Eby* matter, and show that he was treated worse than Baines, Shortis, etc., but forgot, or had no spare time, I suppose. I send you some late *Messages*, but I care for no exchanges, being positively unable longer to read them whether good or bad. Thus far I have done all the work of my newspaper, but it now fatigues me, besides being, as always, unprofitable.

“The scenes I have seen here of late are melancholy in the extreme; whether they will continue in the Legislature it is difficult to say. If health per-

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mits, I will go into the past votes of Mr. — with a will. He would indeed be a curse to the body politic if again galvanized into public life. As soon as possible *I'll attend to him.*

“WM. L. MACKENZIE.”

During the month of October following, the parliamentary and governmental departments, with their huge accumulations of archives and paraphernalia, were removed from Quebec to Toronto—an undertaking the magnitude and annoyances of which only the very few veteran departmental officials who are still living can have any adequate conception of.

The rapid progress being made by Canada at this period, and the buoyant spirit and high hopes which pervaded all classes, stimulated as they were by the effects of the Russian War and the immense railway development going on, found vent in two remarkable celebrations. The first was held at Brantford to celebrate the opening of the Buffalo and Goderich Railway, and the other at Toronto on the 20th December, the occasion being the opening of the important branch of the Great Western Railway connecting Hamilton with that city.

Both of these festivities were conducted on what, for Canada, was a colossal scale. The inauguration of the Reciprocity Treaty and the completion of these railways across Canada, connecting eastern and western United States cities, produced an unusual flow of good feeling between Americans and Canadians at this time. These celebrations, therefore, partook largely of an international character, and such

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immense and influential gatherings of leading citizens of Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Oswego, Ogdensburg and even New York, with those of Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Quebec, London and all other prominent Canadian places, had never before, nor have ever since, taken place on either side of the boundary line.

At Toronto the festivities, which were all complimentary to those invited, consisted of a mammoth *dejeuner* at one o'clock in the afternoon, at which many eminent Americans and Canadians made appropriate speeches, and by a still larger and grander gathering in the shape of a ball in the evening, which took place in the immense new workshops of the Northern Railway. It was estimated that over five thousand of the *élite* of Canada and the adjoining American cities were present at the latter event. The vastness and magnificence of these railway celebrations still appears as a bright vision through the mists and shadows of over forty years, and of the brilliant Toronto *fete* I thus expressed myself at the time :

“The vast room was fitted up in the most tasteful manner, and the *dejeuner* itself was most sumptuous ; but it sank into insignificance when compared with the gorgeous manner in which the ball-room was decorated and ornamented. To give a description of the scene which met the eye of those who entered would be utterly impossible. To be realized it must have been seen. What with banners, paintings, mottoes, fountains, crowns and other devices made by means of gaslight, the ball-room presented a scene so brilliant that common mortals almost fancied they had been suddenly transported to some enchanted

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palace by the magic wand of some modern magician. About nine o'clock the immense room began to fill, and ere ten o'clock most of the guests had arrived. About this time it was estimated that there were about five thousand people present. Music was supplied by the Rochester Band and the Band of the Royal Canadian Rifles, to whose thrilling strains many tripped it on 'the light fantastic toe' until daylight, when the gas was turned off and the brilliant scene closed forever."

CHAPTER IX

SNAPSHOTS OF POLITICAL CELEBRITIES

TORONTO having become the capital, and the tension between the two provinces being steadily on the increase, deep interest was manifested both in Upper and Lower Canada in the approaching session of the Parliament of 1856.

The Houses met on the 15th February with the customary military display, and for the first time I looked from the reporters' gallery upon the "assembled wisdom" of Canada. These first impressions are vividly recalled. They were tinged with feelings akin to awe, but quite favourable to the appearance and capacity of Canadian legislators. The old Parliament Buildings, still existing but sadly degenerated, seemed an imposing edifice in those early days, and the inside of the Chamber was then attractive and pleasing.

The dignified and graceful appearance of Mr. Speaker Sicotte in his silk gown and white gloves was the first object which arrested attention. In after years I saw many speakers, but recall none whose appearance, dignity and influence in the chair impressed me more favourably. As he slowly raised himself to his full height, and quietly but firmly



TORONTO—YONGE STREET, LOOKING SOUTH.

SNAPSHOTS OF POLITICAL CELEBRITIES

said "O-r-d-a-r-e," you might have heard a pin drop, so well had this cultivated French gentleman the Assembly in hand. Sergeant-at-arms Donald W. Macdonnell, a strikingly handsome man, with his sword and cocked hat, who held the office for over thirty-seven years, and the Clerk of the House, Mr. William Burns Lindsay, in his official gown, were also conspicuous figures on the floor of the Chamber, as they would have been in any deliberative body.

The greatest interest naturally centred in the leading members of the Government and Opposition, the number of distinguished men in so comparatively small a legislative body being highly creditable to Canada and its electorate.

Probably at no time had the Reform party more able leaders compared to its numbers than in this parliament. At the principal desk sat George Brown and A. A. Dorion, the former stalwart, the latter small in body but large in mentality, courage, firmness and courtesy. At an adjoining desk were Luther H. Holton and Alexander T. Galt, both large and striking men. Then there were John Sandfield Macdonald, who afterwards became the first Premier of Ontario under Confederation; the Hon. Dr. John Rolph, who had been a member of the Hincks Ministry; and John Young, widely and favourably known as the special representative of Montreal and Canada's commercial interests. This gentleman dashed up the stone steps leading into the Parliament Buildings as I was also about to enter, and as he hurried past I thought I never had seen a larger or grander-looking

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man. Besides these gentlemen, there were also David Christie, Michael Hamilton Foley, Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, Samuel B. Freeman, Joseph Hartman, Wm. Hamilton Merritt, all Upper Canadians and men of mark; and also from Lower Canada, J. O. Sanborn, afterwards an eminent judge; J. B. E. Dorion, known as *l'enfant terrible*; and, last but not least, Joseph Papin.

The latter gentleman was a tall, well-built and promising young French Canadian. He was courageous as well as eloquent. The previous session at Quebec he had astonished everyone by boldly moving a resolution in favour of a national system of non-sectarian education. His fine speech on the occasion surprised the House as much as his motion, but the latter was in advance of the period and obtained only a few votes. Mr. Papin was induced to make his first speech in English during this session, and it happened to be on the first afternoon I was present. It was delivered in broken English, but it was exceedingly brilliant both in argument and humour, the House at times roaring with laughter at his witty sallies at the French ministers.

Everyone predicted a distinguished parliamentary career for Mr. Papin, but alas, like too many of earth's bright spirits, he died young, and through the mist of the intervening years he seems like a bright shooting star which unexpectedly darted across the political firmament and suddenly disappeared.

On the Government side the bluff and jolly old knight of Dundurn, Sir Allan McNab, was absent, from

SNAPSHOTS OF POLITICAL CELEBRITIES

an attack of his old enemy, the gout, and the leadership of the House was in the hands of Attorney-General Macdonald. Although the latter gentleman sometimes jokingly described himself as a "rum 'un to look at but a good 'un to go," he had an intellectual face, strongly marked by acuteness, firmness and versatility, and at this period (he had just passed his forty-first birthday) a lock of dark hair fell over his forehead *a la* Disraeli, giving him an undoubted resemblance to that eminent British statesman, whom I afterwards saw in the House of Commons.

Mr. Macdonald was conspicuously the leading spirit in the Coalition Government, and a very little observation sufficed to show what a clever, tactful and wily parliamentarian he already was. The Hon. Willam Cayley was probably the handsomest of the group of ministers ; Solicitor-General Smith, with his rubicund countenance and tangled head-gear, the most jolly-looking, and Robert Spence the most studious and grave. Messrs. Drummond, Cauchon and Cartier were the principal Lower Canada ministers. The former with his clean-shaven face looked youthful and accomplished, and was quite oratorical, at times even slightly dramatic, in the delivery of his speeches. He presented something of a contrast to his two French colleagues. Both the latter were clever, exceedingly energetic, and ambitious, but nature had denied them Mr. Drummond's pleasing appearance and manner. In appearance they were short, swarthy and aggressive. Mr. Cartier, in particular, did not at first sight favourably impress the observer. His hair was cut

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short and stood erect above his forehead, his voice was rasping, and his blunter opponents declared that his restless, jerky manner reminded one of a snappish terrier dog; nevertheless, he was quite pleasant and even jolly in social intercourse, possessed latent ability of a sterling order, and rapidly rose to the Lower Canada leadership of his party. This influential position he held till his death, after Confederation, practically dictating the policy of the Coalition and of Canada whenever he saw fit to assert the power of the Quebec majority behind him. Among other notable men were the Hon. John Ross, long known as the close friend of Mr. Hincks; Ogle R. Gowan, the Orange Grand Master; and John Hillyard Cameron, probably then the most eminent practising lawyer in Canada.

The Ministerialists, like the Opposition, were a fine body of men, and the Parliament as a whole was highly creditable to a young country like Canada, which had been in the enjoyment of Responsible Government only for a few years.

This session proved a memorable one. The Government was embarrassed by the illness of Sir Allan McNab, its leader, and most of his colleagues, one exception being Mr. Cayley, desired his resignation. But the sturdy old knight would not resign. Like Napoleon's old guard at Waterloo, he might die but would never surrender.

Meanwhile signs of trouble appeared. The rivalry between John A. Macdonald and George Brown had been steadily growing for some time, and under the

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sting of one of the powerful attacks of the Reform leader, the former retorted by making his famous charges against Mr. Brown in connection with the Kingston Penitentiary Commission, of which the latter had been a member and secretary. They constituted, if true, a deadly blow at Mr. Brown's personal character and popularity, for Mr. Macdonald in a reckless mood declared that, in order to find grounds on which to dismiss the father of Solicitor-General Smith as superintendent of the penitentiary, "he had falsified evidence, that he had suborned perjured evidence, that he had pardoned convicts, and that he had pardoned murderers that they might give evidence against the old man."

Mr. Brown indignantly denied these terrible charges as without any foundation whatever, and immediately demanded a special committee of investigation, which was granted after some delay.

Without going into all the particulars, the special committee, who were mostly opponents, had to completely vindicate Mr. Brown, as he fortunately was able to produce a copy of the evidence and findings of the Penitentiary Commission, the only copy of which was supposed to have been burned with the Parliament Buildings in 1849, and these proved the baselessness of the charges made. The Reform leader came out of this inquiry without a stain, and although during the bitter three days' debate which took place on the committee's report, Mr. Macdonald's friends contended that he was justified in making the charges from the evidence within his reach, public opinion

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was almost unanimous that these reckless charges exceeded the bounds even of partisan warfare, and should never have been made.

Two other circumstances occurred which helped to increase the prevailing excitement. The first was the defeat of the Government on a motion of John Hilliard Cameron, an independent Conservative, who moved for a copy of the charge made by Judge Duval at the St. Sylvester murder trial, held a short time before in Lower Canada, where a Protestant named Corrigan was killed by a Roman Catholic mob in open daylight, and the ringleaders acquitted. The Government resisted this motion, and was defeated by a vote of 48 to 44. The second was a motion, carried mainly by Lower Canada votes, that the city of Quebec should be the permanent seat of Government. This resolution aroused a wild commotion, and the press throughout Upper Canada teemed with demands for the repeal of this motion or a dissolution of the Union. The spirit aroused is well exemplified by the concluding sentence of an article in my own newspaper at the time, which was as follows: "Let ministers learn, and the fact be impressed on the Lower Canadians, that if they proceed further and carry their end, they will arouse a storm throughout Upper Canada which will only be silenced *by a dissolution of the Union.*"

For once, at least, the Legislative Council, our second chamber, proved a blessing, for it refused to pass the Supply Bill until the dangerous motion in Quebec's favour was withdrawn; but both these un-

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fortunate circumstances gave colour to the charge of Lower Canada domination, strengthened the demand in Upper Canada for representation by population, and added fuel to the burning issues now disturbing the two provinces.

While these events were transpiring, gout still held Sir Allan McNab in thrall, but dismount from the premiership he would not. He had thus far baffled several "well-laid schemes" of his colleagues to effect his resignation, but his Waterloo came at last.

Taking advantage on June 20th of the Government being left in an Upper Canada minority of six on a motion of want of confidence, although sustained by a majority of the whole House of 23, all the colleagues of Sir Allan resigned the next day, leaving the gallant old veteran "like the last rose of summer," blooming alone! The Premier was powerless, therefore, to do aught but resign also. This was quickly followed by the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, entrusting Receiver-General Taché with the formation of a new Administration. The latter immediately called Attorney-General Macdonald to his aid, and before the circumstances were generally known throughout the remoter parts of the country, all the former members of the Cabinet had been reinstalled in office, except the late Premier and the Hon. Mr. Drummond, who declined longer to act with his late colleagues.

The crisis was then seen to have been a dexterous *ruse* to displace Sir Allan McNab, in which the complaisant attitude of Her Majesty's representative did

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not escape observation, and friend and foe alike traced throughout the proceedings the skilful hand of Mr. Macdonald, henceforth to be openly acknowledged, as he long had been privately known to be, the real leader of his party and actual though not nominal Premier of the country.

Whilst these ministerial changes were in progress Parliament was the theatre of a quite unusual scene. The Houses had adjourned till Friday, and when they met on that day the usual excitement of a crisis was increased by the appearance of the deposed Premier, Sir Allan McNab, well buttressed with cushions, in a large invalid's chair, which was wheeled into the Legislative Chamber by the attendants. The old gentleman was still quite ill, but with remarkable pluck had arisen from his sick couch, and, evidently in no amiable mood, awaited an opportunity to express his indignation at the turn which affairs had taken.

When Mr. Speaker Sicotte had taken the chair, Sir Allan asked to be allowed to speak sitting. This request having been granted, he briefly reviewed the crisis, contending that with a majority of twenty-three the Government had no just ground for resignation. It was probably fortunate that nearly all his late colleagues were absent, as he assailed them with much bitterness for the course they had chosen to pursue. Solicitor-General Smith, who was almost the only minister present, promptly moved an adjournment till Monday, doubtless hoping to prevent further discussion. But this did not suit the Opposition, who prolonged the scene for over two hours, during which

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attacks on the ministers and sympathy for the late Premier were profusely intermingled.

Though a bluff statesman of the old school, and possibly no longer a source of strength to his party, Sir Allan McNab was at least patriotic. He was popular with many, and his manly and vigorous speech under such pathetic circumstances strongly aroused the sympathies of Parliament and the country, and helped to make this one of the most touching scenes in our parliamentary history.

When the Houses met on Monday the members of the Taché-Macdonald Government were in their places, being composed of all the former ministers with the two exceptions already mentioned. The new ministers taken in to fill the vacancies were Mr. P. M. Vankoughnet, of Toronto, and Mr. Timothy Terrill, of Stanstead. Attorney-General Macdonald, now the leader of the House, made the ministerial explanations, which were promptly met by a vote of want of confidence, moved by Mr. A. A. Dorion, and another prolonged and warm debate ensued. It lasted for over a week, and the regular Reform Opposition having now the assistance of Sir Allan McNab and Mr. Drummond and his friends, the defeat of the reconstructed coalition was expected by many. However, when the division bell rang, the vote stood fifty-eight to fifty-four, and they were sustained by a majority of four.

It was a narrow escape, and although left in an Upper Canadian minority of fifteen—more than double the number they had resigned upon the

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previous week—they seem never to have thought of resigning again. On the contrary, they utilized their slender majority so well that it sufficed to carry them through the remainder of the session, at the close of which the heated political combatants found themselves almost equal in numbers, and much uncertainty prevailed not only in regard to the stability of the administration but of the union of the two provinces.

Taken as a whole, this session (1856) was one of the longest, stormiest and most singular held since the Union. It lasted nearly five months; it embraced several defeats and more than one political crisis, and it is not too much to say that from George Brown, John A. Macdonald, A. A. Dorion, John Sandfield Macdonald, L. H. Holton, Hon. L. T. Drummond, A. T. Galt, M. H. Foley, Robert Spence and other members were heard a succession of very able and eloquent speeches—speeches excelled in few legislative halls—though possibly more denunciatory and bitter than we are accustomed to in these less turbulent days.

The session kept up its stormy character till the end, the Legislative Council, as already stated, having in its closing hours thrown out the Supply Bill rather than approve of Quebec being chosen as the permanent seat of Government—an act of independence as serviceable to Canada as it was unexpected.

CHAPTER X

CONFLICT OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA

THE holidays of 1857 were scarcely over before the political battle was renewed. This took the form of a provincial convention of the Reform party. It met in Temperance Hall, Temperance Street, Toronto, on the 8th January. It was called by a circular signed by Reform members of Parliament and journalists. The names of the M.P.'s appended to it were as follows: J. C. Aikins, David Christie, S. B. Freeman, A. J. Ferguson, J. Fraser, J. Bartram, M. Mills, John Rolph, J. Wilmot, George Brown, Billa Flint, Robt. Ferrie, M. H. Foley, Joseph Gould, H. Munro, Wm. Patrick, J. Scatcherd and A. Wright. Among numerous journalists who also signed the circular were J. Gordon Brown, William McDougall, Joseph Blackburn and Erastus Jackson.

The object of the convention was to make preparations for the general elections, which were thought to be imminent on account of the weakness of the Government at the close of the previous session. When the meeting was called to order the Hon. Adam Ferguson was elected chairman, and Messrs. J. Gordon Brown and William McDougall

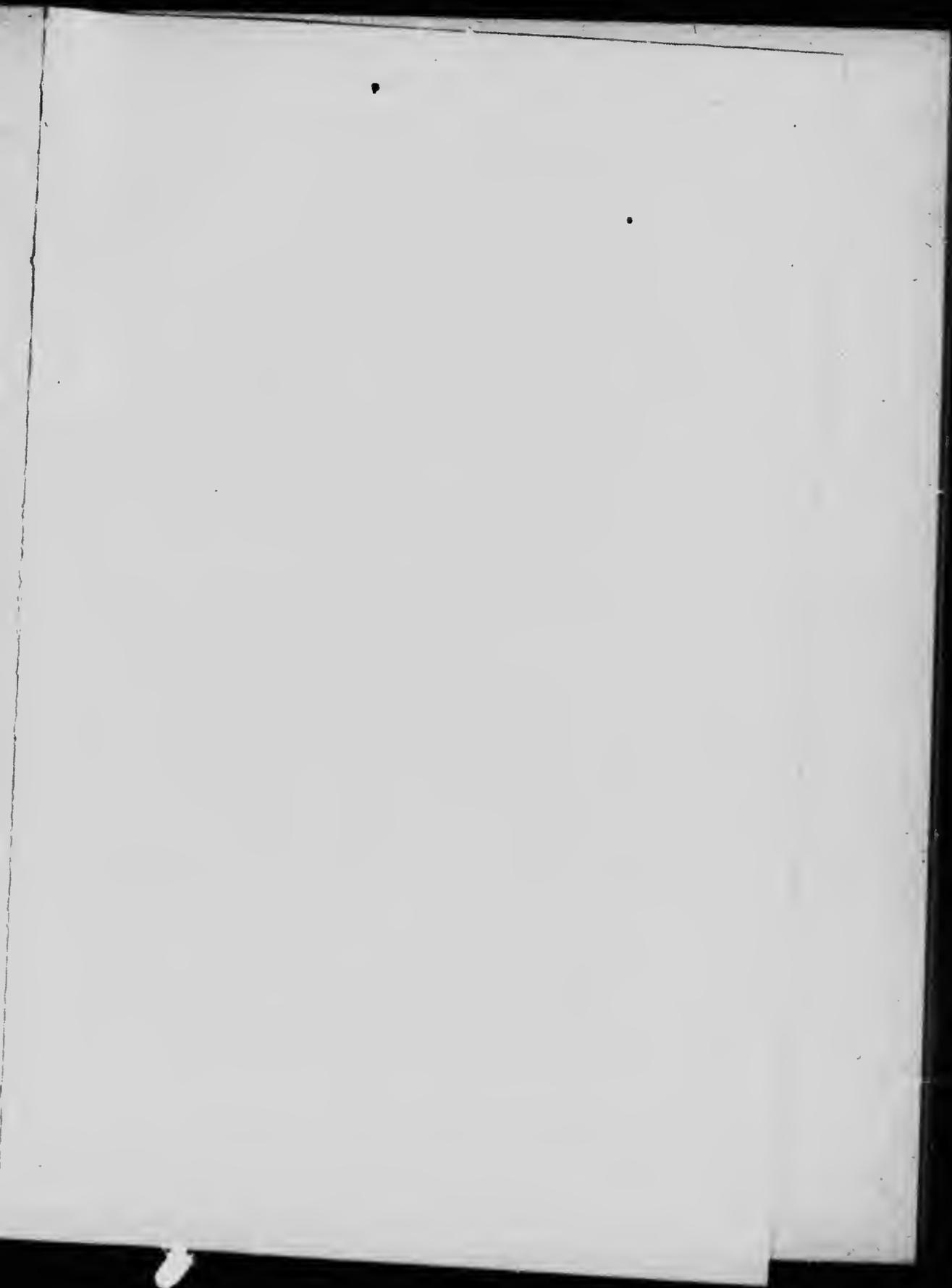
PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC LIFE IN CANADA

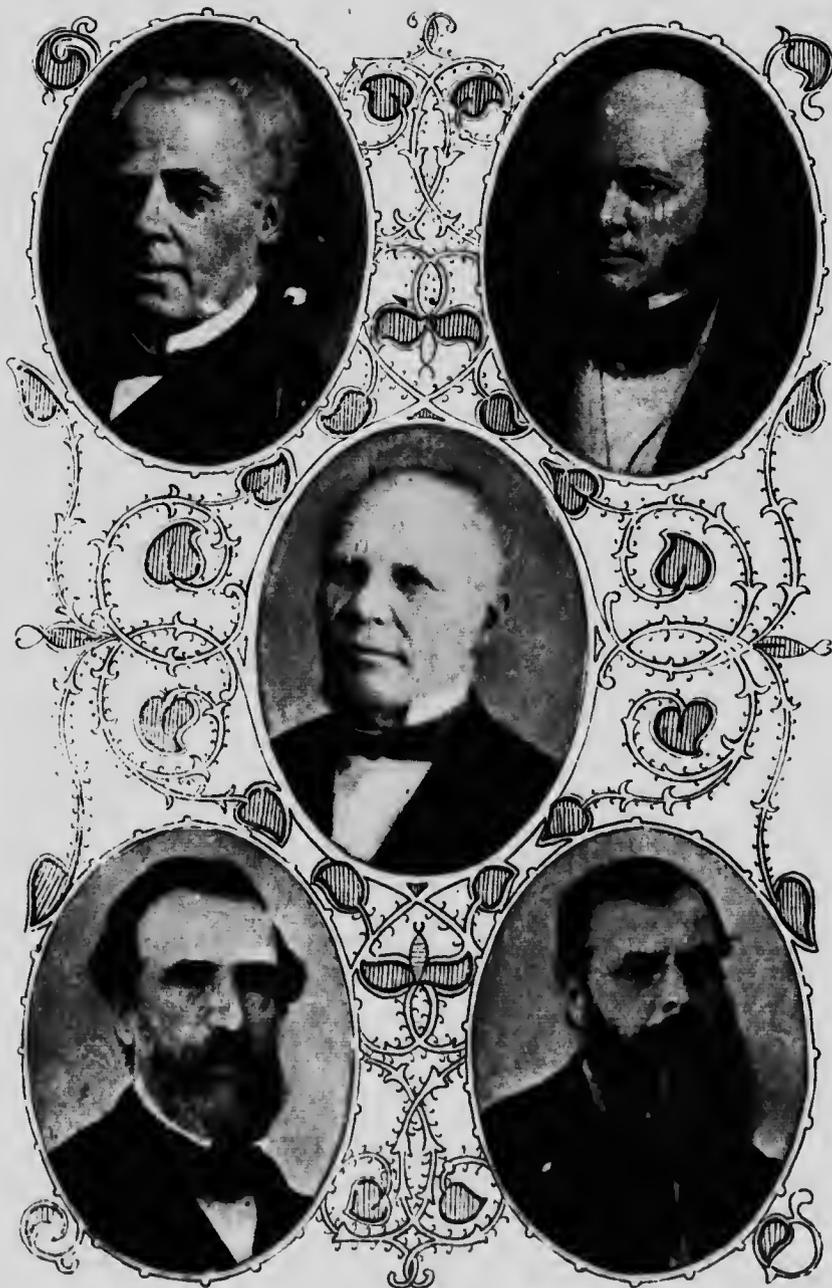
joint secretaries. There were over two hundred delegates present from all parts of Upper Canada.

The names of the movers and seconders, and the resolutions finally adopted by the convention as the platform of the Reform party, were as follows:

(1) For Representation by Population—John White and the Hon. John McMurrich; (2) Legislation, whenever practicable, to be for both Upper and Lower Canada—W. Allan and M. Gillespie; (3) Against Sectarian Legislation—George Barron and Archd. McKellar; (4) For Improved Schools—T. McConkey and W. Tyrrell; (5) Free Trade and Strict Economy—Joseph Blackburn and Wm. Osborne; (6) Against Expenditure without Parliamentary Sanction—A. McKinnon and K. McLean; (7) For Registration of Voters—William Notman and Oliver Blake; (8) Acquisition of Hudson Bay Territory—Billa Flint and P. McCullum; (9) For Formation of Reform Alliance—A. Farewell and H. Moyle; (10) Details of Amalgamation—J. W. Rose and C. Draper; and (11) J. Climie and S. Alcorn; (12) That an Address to the Electors be issued—A. Hamilton and R. H. Brett.

This was a creditable platform. "F^rp. by Pop." as it was commonly called, and Non-Sectarian Education and Non-Sectarian Legislation were the burning issues around which the battle between Upper and Lower Canada chiefly raged. The Free Trade and Protection struggle had not then commenced, all parties still favouring taxation for revenue only, but the plank in favour of the incorporation of the Hudson Bay Territories was a decided step in advance.





SIR GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER,

HON. WILLIAM CAYLEY.

SIR ETIENNE P. TACHÉ,

HON. ROBERT SPENCE.

HON. JOSEPH EDOUARD CAUCHON.

PROMINENT MEN IN TACHÉ-MACDONALD MINISTRY.

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This was due, as indeed much of the whole platform was, to the political foresight of Mr. George Brown, who early pointed out the absurdity of one-third of the whole continent being kept a mere hunting-ground for the benefit of a private company, as well as the immense benefit it would be to Canada and the world if opened up for settlement.

A political convention embracing all Upper Canada was then a novelty, and I well recollect the sarcastic and humorous references of the Conservative press to it as the "Dark-Lantern Convention" and the "Temperance Street Conspiracy." This was, however, only political chaff, and the political platform adopted by the conventionists, although likely to consign the Reform party to the cold shades of Opposition for many years, was well adapted to promote the welfare and good government of Canada, and most of its planks have been placed on our statute books with almost universal acceptance.

To the surprise of many, when the new Taché-Macdonald Government met Parliament six weeks later (the 26th February), though weak at its birth it had grown and strengthened wonderfully. The majority of four had increased to twenty, and although the struggle between the two sections of the Province was still gathering force, it was evident that the Coalition was more secure in the saddle and carried its measures through the session with a firmer hand. The principal of these were the appointment of Chief Justice Draper as Commissioner to Great Britain on the Hudson Bay question, and the appro-

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riation of £225,000 for buildings at a permanent seat of Government, the choice of which was to be left to Her Majesty the Queen.

Nearly everyone was agreed that the perambulating system of having Toronto and Quebec four years alternately as the seat of Government ought to cease, but Montreal, Toronto, Quebec, Kingston and other cities all wanted to be the capital, and it was found impossible to secure a majority in Parliament for any one of them. The Ministry, therefore, sought to find a way out of the difficulty under cover of a choice by Her Majesty, which, after some vicissitudes, which will be narrated later, ultimately proved successful. This session was signalized by the resignation of the Hon. Joseph Cauchon from the Government, but in other respects it was the least exciting for several years.

"One of the darkest chapters in the world's history" was the general verdict on this year as it drew near its close. Seldom have any twelve months witnessed such a series of terrible misfortunes and disasters. I have already alluded to the wave of prosperity which swept over the world, including Canada, during the earlier years of the decade. During the fall of 1857, however, this prosperity was not only suddenly arrested, but there followed the worst commercial and financial panic which the world has ever experienced. Great Britain and all other commercial nations suffered severely, and the 25th of October was called in New York City "Black Friday," in consequence of the fearful crash and ruin

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among the commercial and financial houses and the dark and despairing despondency which ensued.

Among the calamities which occurred may be mentioned the terrible massacres at Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Cawnpore and other places, on the breaking out of the Indian Mutiny, and two fearful disasters which took place in Canada. The first of these was the railway tragedy at the Desjardins Canal, near Hamilton. It occurred on the 12th March, when the evening train from Toronto to Hamilton, engine, tender, baggage car and two passenger coaches, ran off the rails and crashed through the swing bridge over the canal into the abyss below! Out of ninety passengers not over thirty escaped being killed or drowned—bankers, merchants, clergymen, labourers, rich and poor, young and old, the grey-haired sire and the prattling child—hurled into eternity without a moment's warning. My duty as reporter took me to the scene of the calamity early next morning, and the sight of the long row of mangled dead laid out in the freight sheds at Hamilton, was painful and sad in the extreme.

The other disaster was still more appalling. Between four and five hundred Scotch and Norwegian emigrants arrived in Quebec on the 25th June, by the steamship *John Mackenzie*, from Glasgow. Full of joy and hope that their sea voyage was over and the land of promise reached, they embarked next day on the steamer *Montreal* for their journey up the St. Lawrence. They left at four o'clock in the afternoon, but had only

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got to Cape Rouge, twelve miles up the river, when flames were discovered bursting out above the boiler deck. Despite all the efforts of the captain and crew, the *Montreal* was soon a mass of flames, and although another steamer, the *Napoleon*, was close at hand, sad to relate, no less than two hundred of the unfortunate emigrants were either drowned or burned to death.

This disastrous year closed amidst the excitement of a general election. Early in November it was decided to reconstruct the Lower Canada section of the Administration and appeal to the country. With this object in view, Premier Taché and most of his French Canadian colleagues resigned, and the Hon. John A. Macdonald became Premier of Canada for the first time, and Mr. George E. Cartier the Lower Canada leader.

The writs for the elections were dated the 28th November, and were returnable on or before the 13th January, the elections being still held at varying dates and for two days. The "hard times" somewhat depressed this political struggle, but it was still quite hot enough in both provinces, the tide running very strongly in favour of Mr. Brown and the Liberal party in the West, and for Mr. Cartier and the Administration in the East.

The Reform party was strong in Upper Canada at this time. Three ridings, Lambton, North Oxford and the city of Toronto, pressed the Reform leader to accept nominations, and he did so for the latter two, being elected for both. He elected to sit for

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Toronto, which ultimately proved a mistake, as metropolitan constituents are apt to do for party leaders.

On the other side, Mr. Macdonald, the Conservative leader, had a very difficult task on this occasion. This arose from the loud outcry throughout the country against Lower Canada domination, and the fact that he held office solely by the votes of the representatives of that Province, the price of which, his opponents did not hesitate to declare, was his opposition to Representation by Population and the other reforms so strenuously advocated by his own Province.

He met these charges with his usual adroitness, strongly maintaining that the Reform policy would disrupt the Union, and that the course of himself and his friends was necessary to its preservation.

Upon the foregoing political issues, the measures proposed by the recent Reform convention, and the usual charges and recriminations between the *Ins* and *Outs*, the battle raged with more or less bitterness from Sandwich on the west to Gaspé on the east.

At its close the two provinces remained as antagonistic as before: Lower Canada strongly sustained the Government; Upper Canada defeated them by 32 to 18, whilst nearly one-half of the eighteen only secured their return by declaring themselves in favour of Representation by Population and against Sectarian schools.

Among the elected Reformers three notable and honoured names appeared for the first time: Mr.

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D'Arcy McGee, who met such a tragic death in 1868, Mr. William Macdougall, and Mr. Oliver Mowat, who was destined to play such a distinguished part in the politics of the future. Among the leading Ministerialists defeated were Solicitor-General Cayley, Postmaster-General Spence, and Receiver-General Morrison.

So strong did the tide of public feeling run in Upper Canada that the Government found it impossible to find seats for any of these gentlemen, and finally filled up the Cabinet by taking in Mr. Sydney Smith, of Cobourg, and the Hon. John Ross, of Montreal, and continuing Mr. Cayley without a seat in the House.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FAMOUS BROWN-DORION CRISIS.

BEFORE the heated combatants had time to cool, the political struggle was transferred again to Parliament, which was opened by Sir Edmund Head on the 25th February, 1858. The conflict between the two provinces, with the statesmen ranged under Macdonald and Cartier on the one side and Brown and Dorion on the other, had now become intense, and the session not only surpassed all its predecessors in length, boisterousness and bitterness, but stands almost without a parallel for the political struggles, crises and scenes which characterized it.

It would carry us too far afield to enter into details of the numerous exciting struggles between the two parties during this tempestuous session, but some of the more notable ones occurred over the following questions :

(1) The unsuccessful efforts of the Opposition to forthwith declare invalid the elections of Mr. G. B. Lyon Fellowes as member for Russell, and of Messrs. Alleyn, Dubord and Simard for the city of Quebec, the former of whom had notoriously been elected by 300 names copied into the poll books from old directories of Rome, Albany and Troy in New York State, and the latter by thousands of bogus names also

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entered as voters in the poll books, among whom were Lord Palmerston, Napoleon Buonaparte, George Washington, Duke of Wellington, Judas Iscariot, Julius Cæsar and nearly all ancient and modern celebrities; (2) a Montreal Nunnery Bill carried by the narrow vote of 53 to 49, and of whose opponents 46 out of the 49 were Upper Canadians; (3) a determined effort of the Opposition to prevent Thursday being taken for Government business, during which neither party would yield until the House had been in continuous session for thirty-six hours; (4) the debate on Inspector-General Cayley's Budget, during which there were several lively passages between him and Mr. Brown, and which ended in some of the Government proposals being defeated by 50 to 48; and (5) another prolonged resistance of the Opposition to what they declared to be an attempt on the part of the Government to force through their estimates so hurriedly as to prevent discussion, during which the House was in continuous session, and often a sort of political pandemonium, from Thursday at three o'clock until the following Saturday morning at 9 a.m., a period of no less than forty-two hours.*

* The exact length of the session of 1858 was 173 days, as it began on February 25th and closed August 16th. It was not only the most prolonged of any session during the old Parliament of Canada, but has so far not been surpassed by any since Confederation, although, curiously enough, the longest Dominion session (1885) was also exactly 173 days—meeting on January 29th and being prorogued on the 30th July. The longest continuous sitting of Parliament ever known in Canada was in 1896 on the Manitoba Remedial Bill, which lasted from three o'clock on Monday the 6th April till Saturday the 11th at 11.55 p.m., a period of 128 hours and 55 minutes!

THE FAMOUS BROWN-DORION CRISIS

During these prolonged struggles not only the best, but debating talent of every description, was called into requisition. Besides the leaders the chief combatants on the Reform side were Messrs. Sandfield Macdonald, Mowat, Connor, McGee, Foley, Cauchon, Notman, Mackenzie, Macdougall and McKellar; and on the Conservative side, Messrs. Rose, Sicotte, Cayley, Sydney Smith, Loranger, Benjamin, Sherwood, Pope, Turcotte and Robinson. The debates of the present day seem tame compared with the streams of oratory, not infrequently spiced with personalities, which then resounded through our legislative halls, much of which was exceedingly able, and would doubtless have been less acrimonious but for the aggravated struggle in which Upper and Lower Canada were then engaged.

In public life in Canada, as in Britain, political opponents are often personal friends, but bitter feelings between many of the leading members ranged on each side became quite marked as this session advanced, and ultimately resulted in the famous scene when Mr. W. F. Powell, of Carleton, egged on by others equally bitter but more crafty than himself, made his savage personal attack on the leader of the Opposition and his aged father. Mr. Brown's vindication of his father, and especially of his business failure in Edinburgh through misplaced confidence in a friend, was almost universally admitted to have been one of the finest outbursts of impassioned eloquence ever heard within Canadian legislative halls. Its closing words were:

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“With a full knowledge of all that has passed, and all the consequences that have flowed from a day of weakness, I will say that an honest man does not breathe the breath of heaven; that no son feels prouder of his father than I do to-day, and that I would have submitted to the obloquy and reproach of his every act, not fifteen years but fifty—aye, have gone down to my grave with the cold shade of the world upon me—rather than that one of his grey hairs should have been injured.”

And as these noble words rang through the Chamber, the members on the floor, and even the spectators in the galleries, broke into cheers, the like of which seldom had been heard in the old Parliament buildings, and which were re-echoed the next day all over Upper Canada as the circumstances became known.

Not the least singular circumstance connected with this attack was the unexpected stand taken by the chief Conservative organ, the *British Colonist*, then edited by Mr. George Sheppard. The manager of the *Colonist* not only refused to defend the Powell attack, but came out the next morning with the famous article, “Whither Are We Drifting?” which heralded its going into opposition to the Government and created an unusual commotion in Conservative circles.

So clearly had the foregoing events of the session brought before representatives and people the grave dangers menacing the continued existence of the union between Upper and Lower Canada, that when

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the discussion of the constitutional remedies proposed came on, many members were prepared to listen, even some Lower Canadians, who had heretofore refused to do so. The question came up on a bill brought in by the Hon. Malcolm Cameron in favour of Representation by Population, a motion by Mr. Thibaudeau affirming the Double Majority principle, and another by Mr. A. T. Galt in favour of the Federation of the two Canadas or of all the British North American provinces. The Government opposed all these remedies, but they were all thoroughly discussed, and the votes showed their relative popularity.

Mr. Galt's motion was in advance of public opinion, and the debate upon it was adjourned and never resumed. The Double Majority was supported by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, the Hon. Mr. Cauchon, Mr. Thibaudeau and many other Lower Canadians, the vote standing 65 to 33 against it—only ten of the latter being Upper Canadians. The Representation by Population bill received the six months' hoist, but it had an Upper Canada majority of 41 to 10 in its favour, and had all the members been in their places the vote would have shown 53 for and 13 against it.

These discussions and divisions, though effecting no immediate result, made it quite clear that political affairs could not long continue as they were, and that the dark spectre of a dissolution of the Union would soon have to be faced if some remedy could not be found for the existing and increasing sectional difficulties.

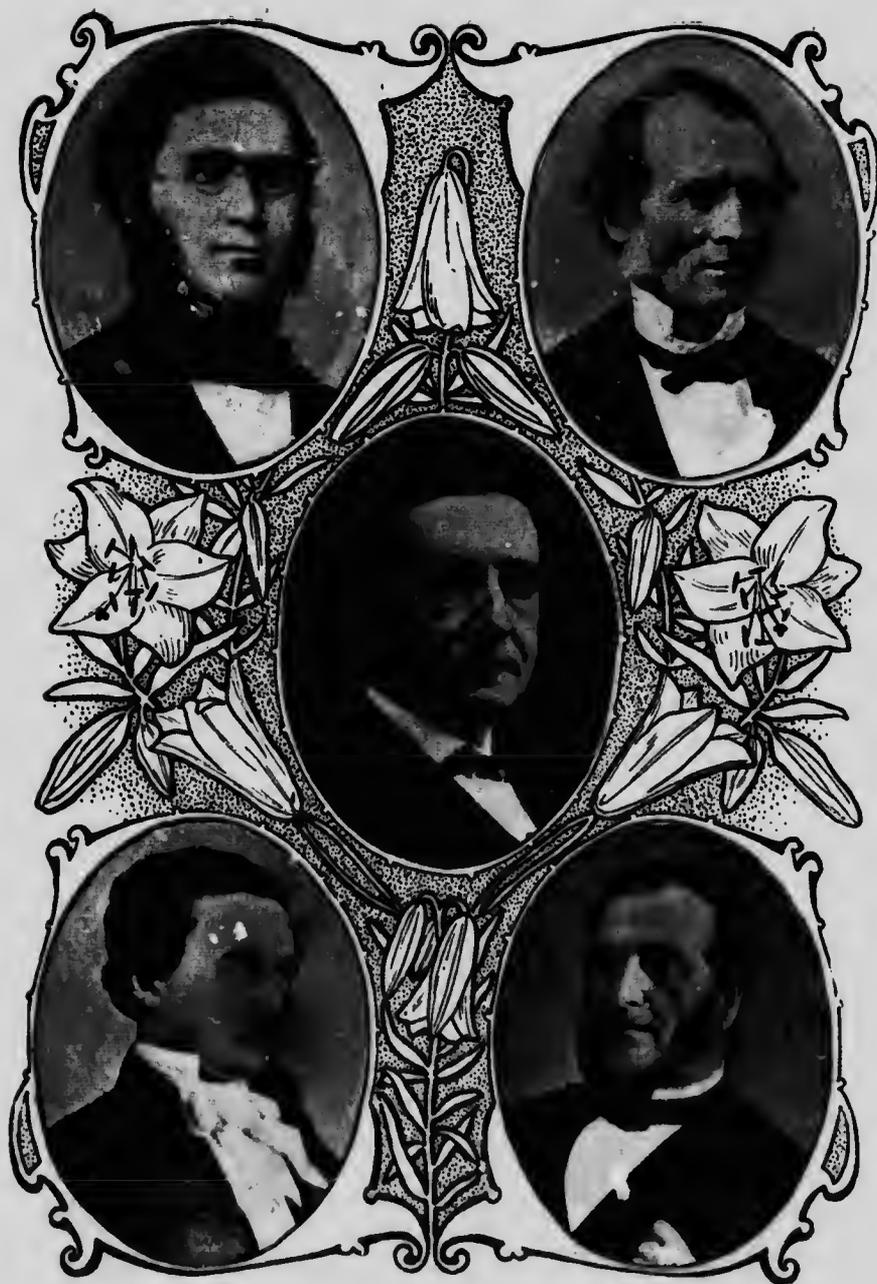
This was the position of matters when the greatest

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political and constitutional crisis in Canadian history arose. It occurred on the seat of government question. It will be recollected that the choice of the future capital had been left to the decision of Queen Victoria. Her Majesty doubtless decided as advised by the Colonial Secretary, and the Colonial Secretary as advised *sub rosa* by Sir Edmund Head and his advisers. That decision was in favour of the city of Ottawa. Its selection was a surprise to many, and when the question came up in the House, on the 28th July, the award was assailed from various quarters and excitement ran high. After several motions had been disposed of, it was moved by Mr. Piche, "That in the opinion of this House the city of Ottawa ought not to be the permanent seat of Government for the Provinces." This resolution was carried, despite all the efforts of the Government, by 64 to 50, a majority of 14. It was a vote of non-confidence, and the following day the Ministers waited upon the Governor-General and tendered their resignations, which were accepted.

A brief but correct synopsis of the further circumstances of this remarkable crisis may be given as follows: On Thursday (29th July) Sir Edmund Head by letter offered Mr. George Brown the leadership of a new Administration, requested his acceptance in writing, and invited him to call and consult about his colleagues. Mr. Brown immediately called upon His Excellency and asked the usual delay to consult his friends. On Friday morning he reported that he was still in consultation with his friends, and would give

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SIR OLIVER MOWAT.

HON. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD.

SIR ANTOINE AIMÉ DORION.

HON. L. T. DRUMMOND.

HON. LUTHER HAMILTON HOLTON.

PROMINENT MEN IN BROWN-DORION MINISTRY.

THE FAMOUS BROWN-DORION CRISIS

an answer on Saturday morning, when he finally accepted in writing the duty of forming a new Administration, "as proposed to him in His Excellency's communication."

On Sunday night, about ten o'clock, Mr. Brown received a note and memorandum from His Excellency, the chief point in which was: "His Excellency gives no pledge or promise, express or implied, with reference to dissolving Parliament. When advice is tendered to His Excellency, he will make up his mind according to the circumstances then existing and the reasons then laid before him."

Mr. Brown, by note sent early Monday morning, informed His Excellency that he had successfully performed the duty entrusted to him of forming the new Government, but that "until they had become his constitutional advisers they would not be in a position to discuss the important questions raised in his memorandum." Shortly after ten o'clock, Mr. Brown waited upon His Excellency and submitted the names of his Administration, and at noon they all assembled at the Executive Council Chamber and were sworn into office. The new Government was universally admitted to be an exceedingly able one and was composed as follows:

THE BROWN-DORION MINISTRY.

Inspector-General, Hon. George Brown; Commissioner of Crown Lands, Hon. A. A. Dorion; Attorney-General West, Hon. J. Sandfield Macdonald; Attorney-General East, Hon. L. T. Drummond; Provincial

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Secretary, Hon. Oliver Mowat ; Public Works, Hon. Luther H. Holton ; President of the Council, Hon. J. E. Thibaudeau ; Postmaster-General, Hon. M. H. Foley ; Solicitor-General West, Hon. Dr. Connor ; Solicitor-General East, Hon. C. J. Laberge ; Receiver-General, Hon. F. Lemieux ; Speaker Legislative Council, Hon. James Morris.

When the two Houses of Parliament met at three o'clock the same day, the newly sworn-in Government was immediately met with votes of "want of confidence" in both Chambers by the late Administration and its adherents, joined by several of those disappointed in not obtaining office. The new ministers, by accepting office, had all vacated their seats in the House, and had no opportunity to explain their policy or in any way defend themselves. Nevertheless, the motions of censure were pressed as rapidly as possible to a division, and the new Administration condemned by 71 to 31 in the Assembly and 16 to 8 in the Legislative Council.

The following morning, Tuesday, Mr. Brown waited upon the Governor-General, and in the name of the Cabinet advised him to prorogue Parliament with a view to a dissolution. The chief grounds for this advice, as given in their written memorandum, were : That the present House did not possess the confidence of the country ; that not a few of its members held their seats by electoral frauds ; that his present advisers had entered the Government with the fixed determination to propose constitutional measures for the establishment of harmony between Upper and

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Lower Canada ; that they had never concealed from themselves the probability that they would be unable to carry on the Government with the present House ; and they submitted that they had a right to claim all the support His Excellency could constitutionally extend to them to place their policy before the people and obtain their verdict upon it.

On Wednesday, at two o'clock, Mr. Brown was handed a long memorandum from His Excellency, answering some of the arguments advanced by his advisers, and advancing various objections to the course they proposed, and concluding with these words : "With every respect for the opinion of his Council, His Excellency declines to dissolve Parliament at the present time."

Having refused their advice, there was nothing left for the new Government to do but resign, which Mr. Brown and his colleagues immediately did, thus finding themselves not only out of the Government, but out of Parliament altogether, unless re-elected by their constituents.

The concluding circumstances of this crisis harmonized with its remarkable character, and moved speedily to accomplishment. His Excellency sent first for Mr. Galt, who was an impossibility as Premier, having no followers. He then applied to the late Attorney-General East, Mr. Cartier, and grim must have been the smile on the face of the Hon. John A. Macdonald as his old colleague asked his assistance to again reinstal themselves and their colleagues in office ! Except that it was called the

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Cartier-Macdonald instead of the Macdonald-Cartier, it was simply the former Conservative Government restored, there being no change of policy and no change of any importance in the *personnel*, except that Mr. Galt became Inspector-General in place of Mr. Cayley.

All was plain sailing for the resuscitated Government but for one initial difficulty. This was awkward enough, but it was surmounted in a most ingenious though unusual manner. Under Canadian as under British law, every member accepting office in a cabinet thereby vacates his seat in Parliament, and has to be re-elected. The members of the Brown-Dorion Cabinet, therefore, had all vacated their seats, and according to the usual constitutional practice, the Cartier-Macdonald ministers were in the same position. But they managed, nevertheless, to maintain their places in Parliament in the following unexpected way. A clause had been added some time before to the Independence of Parliament Act, to enable a minister of the Crown to change from one portfolio in a cabinet to another, without again going back to his constituents for re-election. Under cover of this clause the members of the Cabinet met in a body shortly before twelve o'clock midnight of the 6th August, took the customary oaths to perform the duties of certain departments in the Government which they had no intention of holding, and fifteen minutes after that witching hour they were transferred back again to the departments they held prior

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to their resignations, solemnly swearing again to properly perform the duties appertaining to them!

When all the exciting circumstances of this crisis, especially the concluding scene in the Council Chamber, which was aptly described as the "double shuffle," became known throughout the country, they created an immense sensation. Not only were the ministers accused of violating the constitution in not submitting themselves for re-election, but charges were also openly made that the whole crisis had been a prearranged plot between the Governor-General and the Prime Minister, Mr. Macdonald, to frustrate his Reform opponents.

Sir Edmund Head was by no means popular. The previous year, when he visited Great Britain, his departure from and return home to Canada excited very little interest. But the charge that His Excellency was a party to any organized plot of the character alleged may be safely dismissed as a result of the party and sectional bitterness existing at the time. At the same time, after carefully re-examining all the circumstances, it is impossible to acquit him of partisanship—conscious or unconscious—in favour of the Conservative leaders. Although he sent for Mr. Brown to become his adviser, it is quite evident that neither the latter nor his colleagues ever enjoyed His Excellency's confidence. His Sunday night memorandum to the half-fledged Premier, warning him against relying on a dissolution of Parliament, before such advice had been tendered, and even forecasting

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refusal if his advisers proposed a mere prorogation, by insisting that quite a number of measures must in any case be passed by the House—in which he knew the new ministers were in a minority—affords strong presumptive evidence that His Excellency not only desired Mr. Brown's failure, but that there existed in his mind *une arriere pensée* that the crisis would end somewhat in the manner in which it did.

Certain it is, if the memorandum referred to had been written by Attorney-General Macdonald himself instead of His Excellency, its terms could not have served the former gentleman and his colleagues better, as the *denouement* of the whole affair, as already related, very clearly proved.

Thus ended this remarkable crisis, and the sessional curtain quickly fell upon the scene. Their principal opponents being out of the House, the Government rapidly passed the measures announced in the Speech from the Throne, obtained the necessary supplies, and on the 16th August Sir Edmund Head with vice-regal pomp prorogued the longest and most remarkable session ever held in the late Province of Canada.

CHAPTER XII

REFORM PARTY DECLARES FOR FEDERAL UNION

THE events narrated in the last chapter, ending in the reinstalment of the Cartier-Macdonald party in office, temporarily checked the demands of Upper Canada for constitutional reform. The failure of the Brown-Dorion Administration, aside from the Governor-General's action, had brought out very clearly the great difficulties in the way of carrying Representation by Population with Lower Canada almost a unit against it, and it must be admitted some of its parliamentary advocates were much discouraged. Not less clear, unfortunately, was the proof of the domination of Lower over Upper Canada, and of the gross political abuses which had arisen and urgently called for redress.

Under the influence of the indignant utterances of the Reform leaders seeking re-election to Parliament, especially the powerful speeches of the Hon. George Brown and his trenchant editorials in the *Globe*, Upper Canada reached white heat in its determination to insist upon redress.

Ample proof of this was afforded by the re-election,

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chiefly by acclamation, of every one of the members of the short-lived Brown-Dorion Ministry. The state of public feeling was also conspicuously illustrated in the case of the Reform leader himself. Toronto was strongly Conservative, and the Government made special efforts to prevent his re-election. Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, a popular candidate, was induced to take the field against him, but after one of the fiercest of election contests, public opinion ran so strongly in favour of what was called Upper Canadian rights that Mr. Brown was returned by a handsome majority.

I have described more fully than I otherwise would the political situation at this excited and critical period, for two reasons: First, because it is desirable the reader should understand the actual position of affairs at this time, in order to fully appreciate the story of the great Confederation which is to follow—that notable achievement of Canadian statesmanship, the Confederation of all British America into the Dominion of Canada; and second, because I consider it necessary to enter into some detail in regard to the political events of the next six years.

During that period the late Province of Canada was simply "marking time" politically. The failure of the Union between Upper and Lower Canada under one legislature was clearly proclaimed by the events of the late session. The somewhat dramatic crisis at its close may be said to have been the Union's death-knell. It is true the old order of things lingered on till 1864, "dying to slow music," as the

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American humourist puts it ; but the doom of the legislative union was sealed at that time. The two provinces had reached a political deadlock, in which neither would give way, and although the control of the Government alternated from one party to the other from this time until Confederation, all efforts to find a solution of the difficulties and save the Union proved to be vain and fruitless.

One of those scientific achievements which thrill the whole world took place during the fall of 1858. On the 10th August the first electric submarine cable was laid between Great Britain and the United States, and appeared at the time to be entirely successful. However unruffled old Neptune may have been as the electric current swiftly coursed for the first time through the Atlantic's three thousand miles of "dark, unfathomed caves," all the great nations were pleasingly excited as they read the first message, which was appropriately worded as follows : "Europe and America are united by telegraph. Glory to God in the highest ; on earth peace, goodwill towards men."

Scarcely less striking were the next two messages, which passed between Queen Victoria and President Buchanan. They are worthy of reproduction :

"Her Majesty desires to congratulate the President upon the successful completion of this great international work, in which the Queen has taken the deepest interest."

President Buchanan, after a short delay, sent the following excellent reply :

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"The President cordially reciprocates the congratulations of Her Majesty the Queen on the success of the great international enterprise accomplished by the science, skill and indomitable energy of the two countries. It is a triumph more glorious, because far more useful to mankind, than was ever won by conqueror on the field of battle. May the Atlantic Telegraph under the blessing of Heaven prove to be the bond of perpetual peace and friendship between the kindred nations, and an instrument destined by Divine Providence to diffuse religion, civilization, liberty and law throughout the world."

The great achievements of science were fewer in those days than now at the threshold of the twentieth century, and the apparently successful accomplishment of this great undertaking, almost annihilating time and space, was widely celebrated throughout Great Britain, the United States and Canada. Processions, illuminations, bonfires, balls, dinners or speeches took place in many Canadian cities, towns and even important villages, all classes of the people recognizing and rejoicing over the great scientific achievement. The most imposing demonstration took place in New York City, where Mr. Cyrus Field and the other chief promoters of the great enterprise resided. As an evidence of the immense enthusiasm displayed in New York, the following motto from one of the flags carried in the procession is at once characteristic and entertaining :

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LIGHTNING
CAUGHT AND TAMED BY
FRANKLIN ;
TAUGHT TO READ, WRITE, AND GO ERRANDS BY
MORSE ;
STARTED IN FOREIGN TRADE BY
FIELD, COOPER & CO. ;
WITH
JOHNNY BULL
AND
BROTHER JONATHAN
AS
SPECIAL PARTNERS.

Circumstances soon proved, however, that this widespread jubilation was somewhat premature. After the messages referred to had been exchanged, and the cable had continued working for something like fifteen or twenty days, to the universal surprise and regret, through some defect it ceased to work, and all efforts proved unavailing to make it do so. This was a heavy blow and sad discouragement to all the officers and shareholders of the Company which had undertaken the great enterprise, and as we shall see later on, prevented further attempts to lay the cable for several years.

The system of giving political dinners, public and private, may almost be said to be an integral part of the British parliamentary system, and in many cases the hotter the political fight the more numerous the dinners. At any rate, shortly after the bye-elections

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occasioned by the late crisis a merry round of public dinners set in. The members of the short-lived Brown-Dorion Ministry, collectively or individually, were entertained at Elora, Brantford, London and other places, the principal banquets of the series being those given at Hamilton and Montreal.

The presence of the Hon. Messrs. Dorion, Sandfield Macdonald and Morris, none of whom had probably ever spoken in the city before, created unusual enthusiasm at Hamilton, and this was surpassed a little later on when the Hon. Messrs. Brown, Sandfield Macdonald, Mowat, O'Connor and Foley were greeted in Montreal by still larger numbers and with equal enthusiasm.

Nor were the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier and their ministerial colleagues without plenty of admirers. They reserved their fire, however, until nearer the general elections, when they had an extensive banqueting tour, which was all the more effective because it took place on the eve of battle.

The session of 1859 does not call for much remark. It was the last to be held in Toronto, and began on the 29th of January. The Cartier-Macdonald Government met Parliament stronger, and the Opposition rather weaker, than during the previous session, the seat of Government question being the chief danger in the former's path. Six months before they had been beaten on the selection of Ottawa as the capital, but after lengthy debates Her Majesty's decision, as it was called, was now finally sustained by a majority of five. It would have been defeated but for four

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members of the Opposition who resided in the Ottawa district, who, had they voted with their party as usual, might have rendered the history and prospects of our Dominion capital very different from what they are.

Much bitterness was felt and expressed over the selection of Ottawa at the time, but in view of subsequent events and in the calmer light of to-day, few will now be found to condemn the Hon. John A. Macdonald either for referring the troublesome question to Great Britain or for the choice which was ultimately made.

Among the new men who I recently entered Parliament two had at once taken front rank. These gentlemen were Mr. Oliver Mowat and Mr. D'Arcy McGee. The former's success at the bar of Toronto was evidently to be eclipsed by his success in Parliament. I had not met him at that time, but after noting his course and rapid rise in the estimation of the House, I made in my newspaper the following somewhat prophetic references to him :

"Talented, yet unassuming, learned yet not dogmatic, zealous in maintaining his principles yet not extreme or stubborn, he has displayed all the characteristics of the true statesman. *He promises to be the law reformer of Upper Canada.* All the prominent measures of law reform now before Parliament owe their paternity to him, and, generally speaking, *are acceptable to all parties.* Mr. Mowat's course is fast increasing his popularity throughout the Province,

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and his future not only promises to be one of usefulness *but one of honour and triumph to himself.*"

Though made more than forty years ago, these complimentary references have been amply justified in the distinguished career of Sir Oliver Mowat.

Mr. McGee's fame as an orator and a poet, as well as his connection with the Young Ireland party in greener days, preceded him to Canada and naturally centred public attention upon him. He was promptly elected to Parliament for one of the divisions of Montreal, and his services as a public lecturer were soon in much demand. I first met him at a complimentary dinner given to him in London, and this led to an engagement on his part to lecture



D'ARCY MCGEE

in Galt on "Burns and Moore," which he did in the spring of 1859 to an unusually large and interested audience. I thus came to make the acquaintance and enjoy the friendship of Mr. McGee, which continued until the close of his life.

At first glance Mr. McGee's face appeared rather dark and stern, but it lighted up wonderfully during conversation. Nature had endowed him with many accomplishments—an intellect at once poetic and logical, and that fascinating power of oratory with

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which the gods seem to have endowed so many of old Erin's sons. From an artistic standpoint he was probably the most finished orator who ever addressed the Parliament of this country. He quickly took rank among the leaders of the Reform party, and became a very active and eloquent advocate of its principles, especially among his co-religionists.

The activity of Mr. McGee at this period aroused not a little hostility on the part of the Conservative party, especially the Orange section of it, and this was ultimately carried so far that at Bradford, in the county of Simcoe, he was prevented from lecturing on a literary subject, "The Historical Connection between Ireland and Scotland," by open threats of the Orangemen of the district that they would break up the meeting by a riot. The danger, which was known to be real, greatly alarmed the town and vicinity, and at the request of a deputation Mr. McGee wisely withdrew his consent to lecture. This denial of free speech was widely condemned by men of both political parties, and it shows how far Canada has since advanced in political toleration, for such a display of party bigotry would hardly be possible in the remotest section of the Dominion at the present day.

This summer was signaled by one of the shortest yet bloodiest wars of modern times. It broke out about the middle of May between Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, with Napoleon III. of France as his "magnanimous and valiant ally" on one side, and Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, on the

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other. The Italians aimed at throwing off the Austrian yoke from Lombardy and Venetia and establishing Italian unity, and the French Emperor at first declared it to be a war to "free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic." Francis Joseph naturally sought to retain his grip on the Italian provinces, which had long been appendages of the Austrian Crown, and soon all Europe was in a ferment. Nearly half a million of soldiers speedily confronted each other on the sunny plains of Italy, and after a series of great battles at Montebello, Palestro, Magenta, Solferino and elsewhere, resulting in immense slaughter, victory clearly rested with the Franco-Italian armies.

The power of Austria was evidently crushed for the time being, and the complete triumph of Italian unity within sight, but just at this point the Emperors Napoleon and Francis Joseph arranged to meet at Villafranca ; and, to the surprise of Europe, the former made peace as suddenly as he had commenced hostilities. The reason for this was, the Emperor alleged, that "the contest was about to assume proportions no longer in keeping with the interests of France." The grand province of Lombardy was awarded to Italy, and France and Austria pledged themselves to support the formation of an Italian confederation. This was a long stride towards the goal of Italian nationality, but the terms of peace still left Austria in possession of all of Venetia, allowed the return of the hated Princes of Tuscany and Modena to their States, and made other minor concessions, which

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aroused accusations against the Emperor Napoleon in both France and Italy of bad faith towards his Italian allies.

Whilst these great events were transpiring abroad, Upper Canada continued to be deeply agitated and aggrieved over its political position. Ominous meetings in favour of dissolution of the union with Lower Canada began to take place. This retrograde movement was not favoured by the leading politicians, either of the Reform or Conservative parties, with the exception of Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie.

But many had come to doubt the possibility of obtaining Representation by Population under the existing union, and the people themselves began to agitate for its dissolution as the only speedy and effective mode of freeing Upper Canada from what had become a degrading and insufferable position. "Smash the Union" might soon have developed into an irresistible cry.

At this juncture Mr. Brown and other leaders of the Reform party decided to convene a meeting of all the Upper Canada members of Parliament opposed to the Government, to consider the political situation. It was held at the Rossin House, Toronto, on the 23rd September, and was well attended. The consensus of opinion at this meeting was found to favour the following views: (1) That the circumstances of the recent governmental crisis proved that the difficulties in the way of obtaining redress of Upper Canada's grievances were almost unsurmountable under the existing union with Lower Canada: (2)

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That by changing the union from a legislative to a federal one, under which each province could have a local legislature controlling its own local affairs, not only would the adoption of representation by population become practicable, but the provinces would be able to work together in the federal body without the discord and heart-burnings which had so long distracted them; and (3) That a general convention of the Reformers of Upper Canada, on a larger scale than that of 1857, should be called to meet at Toronto on the 9th November, to consider the proposed constitutional changes.

As the many influential delegates who attended this convention, as well as the spirited debates which took place; throw much light upon the state of public feeling throughout Upper Canada at that time in regard to our relations with the sister province, a tolerably full synopsis of the proceedings will be found both interesting and instructive.

When the day for holding the convention arrived the usual animation of the streets of Toronto was augmented by the influx of delegates from the cities, towns, villages and townships of the Province, the number being unusually large and influential for that period. During the first day of the convention 550 delegates enrolled their names, and 700 attended altogether. Not a little excitement prevailed within the St. Lawrence Hall, where the convention was held, when at twelve o'clock the assemblage was called to order.

The following members of Parliament were present

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and registered: Legislative Councillors, the Hons. David Christie, Adam Ferguson, Dr. Smith and Donald Macdonald; Members of the Legislative Assembly, Messrs. Oliver Mowat, W. P. Howland, George Brown, Dr. Connor, Wm. Macdougall, Wm. Notman, M. H. Foley, Joseph Gould, M. Harcourt, John White, J. C. Aikins, Thomas Short, Hugh Finlayson, J. W. Cook, H. Munro, Joseph Rymal, David Stirton, Donald A. Macdonald, Amos Wright, Wm. Lyon Mackenzie and John R. Clark.

The Hon. Adam Ferguson was unanimously chosen chairman, and Mr. William Macdougall, M.P.P., and Mr. John Scoble, joint secretaries. The permanent organization of the Convention was then entered upon and completed, and after various standing committees had been appointed, chief among which was a large one on Resolutions, an adjournment took place till the evening in order to give the committees time to meet and prepare their reports.

The St. Lawrence Hall was completely jammed with delegates and spectators when the evening session convened. After routine business the chief features of the programme were the presentation by the chairman, Mr. Andrew Jeffrey, of Cobourg, of the report of the Committee on Resolutions and the general discussion which followed. Among the principal speeches were those of the Hon. Malcolm Cameron and the Hon. George Brown, the former of whom ably supported the resolutions when presented, and the latter closed the proceedings of the evening with a characteristic address on the existing state of

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provincial affairs, the slightest reference to the Brown-Dorion Ministry and its partisan treatment by Sir Edmund Head being greeted with tumultuous applause. The Committee's resolutions were as follows:

1. *Resolved*,—That the existing Legislative Union of Upper and Lower Canada has failed to realize the anticipations of its promoters, has resulted in a heavy public debt, burdensome taxation, great political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction throughout Upper Canada; and it is the matured conviction of this assembly, from the antagonisms developed through difference of origin, local interests and other causes, that the Union in its present form can no longer be continued with advantage to the people.

2. *Resolved*,—That highly desirable as it would be while the Union is maintained, that local legislation should not be forced on one section of the Province against the wishes of a majority of the representatives of that section—yet this assembly is of opinion that the plan of government known as the "Double Majority" would be no permanent remedy for existing evils.

3. *Resolved*,—That, necessary as it is that strict constitutional restraints on the power of the Legislature and Executive in regard to the borrowing and expenditure of money and other matters should form part of any satisfactory change of the existing Constitutional system—yet the imposition of such restraints would not alone remedy the evils under which the country now labours.

4. *Resolved*,—That without entering on the discussion of other objections, this assembly is of opinion that the delay which must occur in obtaining the sanction of the Lower Provinces to a Federal Union of all the British North American Colonies places

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that measure beyond consideration as a remedy for present evils.

5. *Resolved*,—That in the opinion of this assembly the best practical remedy for the evils now encountered in the government of Canada, is to be found in the formation of two or more local governments to which shall be committed the control of all matters of a local or sectional character, and a general government charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the Province.

6. *Resolved*,—That while the details of the changes proposed in the last resolution are necessarily subject for future arrangement, yet this assembly deems it imperative to declare that no general government would be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is not based on the principle of Representation by Population.

The earlier speeches in favour of the new policy of Federation were made by the following gentlemen: Hon. Oliver Mowat, Toronto; Messrs. E. V. Bodwell, South Oxford; George S. Wilkes, Brantford; A. Farewell, Whitby; W. H. Oliver, Simcoe; George Esson, Otonabee; Alex. McKinnon, Vaughan; John Scoble, Toronto; J. H. Hopkins, Toronto; Thomas Donnelly, Picton; and A. Choate, Hope Township.

Mr. George Sheppard, formerly editor of the *British Colonist*, but then a writer on the *Globe*, was the first to take the platform for a dissolution of the Union, and he was ably supported by Dr. Daniel Clark and Mr. Robert McLean, of North Oxford, and Mr. John McNaughton, of Haldimand. Mr. M. H. Foley, M.P.P., made a vigorous speech in reply to the arguments of these gentlemen, after which the

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chairman called for a vote on the first four resolutions, to which there was no opposition. They were carried unanimously amidst much applause.

Mr. A. Diamond, of Belleville, then moved the fifth resolution, in favour of a Federal Union, which was seconded by Mr. David Wylie, of Brockville. To this motion Mr. George Sheppard, seconded by Mr. W. Woodruff, Niagara, moved an amendment as follows :

“ Resolved,—That in the judgment of this convention a totally unqualified dissolution affords the most simple and efficacious remedy for prevailing administrative evils which flow from the Legislative Union of Upper and Lower Canada.”

Mr. Sheppard supported this resolution in a very clever and eloquent speech, which elicited much applause from many parts of the hall and greatly heightened the excitement which prevailed. When he closed it seemed that he had almost captured the Convention for Dissolution pure and simple, and for a considerable time the party leaders were not a little anxious as to the final result.

After the Hon. Donald Macdonald, M.L.C., had spoken, Mr. William Macdougall, M.P.P., came forward to reply to Mr. Sheppard, and very ably and skilfully did he oppose dissolution and support federation. The debate had indicated that the weak spot in the proposed Federal Union, in the opinion of many of the conventionists, was the expense likely to arise from having three governments instead of one, and in closing his speech Mr. Macdougall adroitly

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moved a second amendment to strike out the words "general government" from the fifth resolution, and substitute therefor "some joint authority" as the central body, which he claimed would largely meet the objections raised to the expense of the changes proposed. Mr. Thomas Nixon, Newmarket, seconded Mr. Macdougall's amendment.

These amendments brought the disputed question squarely before the Convention, and very animated and exciting was the discussion which followed.

The main motion as proposed to be amended by Mr. Macdougall was ably supported by the Hon. David Christie, Brant; Messrs. D. A. Macdonald, M.P.P., Glengarry; Hope Mackenzie, Sarnia; Dr. Connor, M.P.P., South Oxford; D. McDougall, Berlin; J. Bengough, Whitby; A. Hurd, Reach; Daniel Rose, Williamsburg; A. L. McBain, Glengarry, and Abishai Morse, Grimsby. With equal zeal Mr. James Leslie, of Toronto; John Smith, of Mornington; J. M. Climie, of Bowmanville, and several others, spoke in favour of Mr. Sheppard's amendment for an unqualified dissolution of the Union with Lower Canada.

These speeches *pro* and *con* were not ended until the night had far advanced, when calls for the Hon. George Brown, who was expected to close the debate, became so loud and persistent that the Reform leader could no longer delay coming forward.

It is needless to say that Mr. Brown's appearance on the platform was the signal for prolonged applause. Nor is it necessary to outline his speech. It is enough

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to say it was George Brown at his best. He displayed little of the art or polish of the orator. But there was such a masterly array of facts, sound reasoning, sarcastic thrusts at opponents, and ringing appeals in favour of the rights of Upper Canada—always powerful and convincing, and at times rising to the height of true eloquence—that he speedily gained control of the Convention and seemed to sway it at his will.

The heroic picture which the Reform leader presented during the delivery of this speech made a deep impression on his auditors. It has never been erased from my mind, and it impressed older men, too, as the following little incident well illustrates.

Mr. John Fleming and other Galt delegates were seated near the south side of the platform. As the flushed orator turned his face towards us on one occasion, Mr. Fleming, hastily turning, exclaimed: "Young, look at Brown's eyes." I had caught a glimpse of them before, but now he directly faced us, and the excitement of the moment had certainly given them an unusual glow of singular power and brilliancy. His stalwart form and strong, intellectual face, his ringing voice and impassioned gestures, all helped to deeply impress the Convention, and towards the close of his speech, when he earnestly pressed both sides to accept Mr. Macdougall's amendment, the battle for Federal Union was manifestly won.

So clearly was this the case, that at the request of Mr. James Leslie and other dissolutionists, Mr.

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Sheppard withdrew his amendment on the understanding that Mr. Macdougall's would be accepted and made part of the original motion. The vote was then taken on the fifth resolution as amended, and as the whole Convention, with very few exceptions, rose to their feet in favour of "federal union," the pent-up excitement found vent in a wild scene of cheering, which fittingly expressed the universal gratification felt at the harmony and good feeling with which the final result had been reached.

The closing month of this year witnessed the execution, at the city of Charleston, South Carolina, of poor old John Brown, of Ossawatimie. Grand but misguided old man, by his rash attempt at Harper's Ferry to precipitate the downfall of slavery by armed force he had legally forfeited his life, but the nation generally sympathized with the object he had in view, though could not approve the means. Fanatic though he undoubtedly was, and weak also in human eyes his mimic rebellion, history furnishes few more heroic and touching pictures than that of the old grey-haired abolitionist, with head erect and perfect calmness, going to his death for what he earnestly believed to be the cause of humanity and of freedom.

What his two-score of armed men failed to do at Harper's Ferry, his death on the 2nd of December accomplished. It set on fire the anti-slavery sentiments of the Northern and Western States. It ensured the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of the Republic the following year, and

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before another twelve months had elapsed, Northern troops on their way to Southern battlefields passed Harper's Ferry singing :

" John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on ! "

And it went " marching on," until the Southern and Middle States were red with blood, and the shackles of 4,000,000 slaves were forever struck from their limbs.

One of Canada's grand old men, one who wielded much influence in Upper Canada's early days, and is justly regarded as the founder of our educational system, I first met at Berlin at this period. This was



EGERTON RYERSON, D.D.

Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, equally celebrated as Superintendent of Education and as a Methodist divine. He was then making a tour of the counties of the Province, sounding the people and educating them up to certain enlightened changes which he wished to make in the school laws.

The doctor's was a striking figure. The statue of him before the Normal School in Toronto corresponds very fairly with my recollections of him as he appeared in the court-house, Berlin, before the crowded meet-

REFORM PARTY FOR FEDERAL UNION

ing which he had called. The principal changes in our educational system which he then advocated were : (1) That all public schools should be free ; (2) that the law should be made compulsory on parents to send their children to school between the ages of six and fourteen ; and (3) that the support of grammar schools, over and above the Government grant, should fall partly on the county councils and partly on the municipalities in which the schools were located.

These proposals of Dr. Ryerson did not escape opposition, and I was much struck by the wary doctor's clever answers to objectors, and the adroit, almost sly manner, in which he finally got the meeting to endorse everything he proposed. Nearly all his proposals at that time have long since become law.

CHAPTER XIII

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII. IN CANADA

THE whole of British America was thrown into a whirl of loyal enthusiasm by the visit of His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (now His Majesty King Edward VII.), during the autumn of 1860. The year before, Parliament had unanimously invited Her Majesty Queen Victoria and other members of the Royal family to visit Canada, and although unable herself to undertake so long a voyage, the Queen graciously sent her first-born son, the heir to the throne.

Before describing the events of this Royal visit, however, a few words should be said about the session of Parliament immediately preceding it, which opened at Quebec on February 28th.

It proved short and dull, but long enough to be quite disheartening to the Reform party. They expected their new policy would be specially acceptable to the Lower Canadians as a means of settling the sectional difficulties. But when Mr. Brown proposed a federal in place of the existing legislative union, in a five-hours' speech, admittedly able and studiously moderate, it was received quite coldly by the House,

HIS MAJESTY EDWARD VII. IN CANADA

and although it obtained an Upper Canada majority of 25 to 22, only four Lower Canadians had the courage to record their votes in its favour. These gentlemen's names deserve to be mentioned. They were the Hon. A. A. Dorion, Hon. Mr. Drummond, Mr. D'Arcy McGee and Mr. Papineau.

This result was chiefly due to the fact that the Cartier-Macdonald Government was at that time solidly entrenched in power, that their existence depended on blocking all constitutional changes, and that they and their organs had so ingeniously attacked the proposed federal union, especially the "some joint authority" feature of it, which was much ridiculed and not a little misrepresented, that public opinion had got a little at sea in regard to this remedy for the country's political ills.

The prime mover in this as in all the Government's political devices was Attorney-General Macdonald, who never failed to improve any little slips which his opponents might make. How cleverly he often did this the following little incident attests. Dr. Connor and Mr. Foley having got into an open tiff in the House with Mr. Brown about the presentation of the federal union resolutions at so early a stage, Mr. Macdonald promptly seized the opportunity to take the following part in the fray, which affords a good illustration of the methods which he so frequently and successfully employed :

"Attorney-General Macdonald was disposed to sympathize with the member for Toronto, who had made his party by his own labour and perseverance,

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and he wondered, when he had heard gentlemen who had accepted office in his Government charge him with unfaithfulness to his principles. They knew all this at the time, and yet they joined his Administration. But the present shattered state of the Upper Canada Opposition showed that there never had been any principle of cohesion between them, and that they had merely agreed together for the greed of office. Their present condition was a great triumph for the Ministry, and the best proof of the wisdom of the course pursued by the Government, who, in the midst of accusations of wrong, had carried on the business of the country calmly and successfully, and had out-lived the boasted unanimity of the Opposition, who now showed by their dissensions that they never had any principle. It would be a proud day for the present Collector of Customs in Toronto, if he were here, to see the state to which his assailants, notwithstanding their alleged unanimity, had been reduced by the dissensions which existed in their ranks. But all this might be affected, for they had coalesced and kept together without any motive but the one he had adduced, and he had all along looked for such a result."

The loyalty of the people of Canada to the British throne and Queen Victoria, who had so long adorned it, found universal expression on the visit of the Prince of Wales, not only throughout Canada but all the other British American provinces. Many Canadians, however, looked forward to the arrival of the Prince, the Duke of Newcastle and their party, with some misgivings. The time chosen for the visit was not propitious. Canada was politically agitated, the

HIS MAJESTY EDWARD VII. IN CANADA

Upper Province discontented and sullen, the Government unpopular in one and the Governor-General in both sections. A rumour that the Right Honourable Richard Cobden was to accompany the Prince's party as a new Governor had been joyfully received, but nothing came of it.

The feeling in regard to Sir Edmund Head was voiced in Parliament by Mr. D'Arcy McGee, who said that "it was highly desirable the Prince should be received with the highest manifestations of goodwill on the part of Her Majesty's subjects in this Province. But this would not be the case if, on his introduction to the people of the Province, a person stood between him and the people who was unpopular and detested. He hoped the Prince would not be brought here simply to rehabilitate the popularity of an unpopular Governor-General." The Speaker called Mr. McGee to order, but no one rose to contradict him. This circumstance indicates the feeling which existed.

The Royal Squadron conveying the Prince of Wales and his party entered the harbour of St. Johns, Newfoundland, amidst a Royal Salute, on the evening of the 23rd July. His reception was imposing and enthusiastic, eminently worthy of the first colonial possession of the British Crown on this continent, and when His Royal Highness reached Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—the principal celebrations being at Halifax, St. John and Fredericton—he was almost overwhelmed by the round of receptions, addresses,

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processions, illuminations, regattas, balls and dinners with which he was greeted.

After a cordial reception at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, the Royal Squadron next appeared in the beautiful harbour of Quebec, with its towering fortress overhead, and in this ancient capital, as in the commercial metropolis, Montreal, the following week, the French Canadians in some respects excelled those of British origin in the *eclat* and enthusiasm with which they honoured the Prince.

The following pen picture of the scene on the presentation of Montreal's address not only illustrates this but affords a glimpse of the spirited way in which our principal Canadian cities entered into these Royal festivities :

"There was some delay in mooring the steamer at the wharf, during which ample time was afforded for surveying the fine proportions of the lofty pavilion, brightly painted, under which a throne for His Royal Highness had been placed, and where he was to receive the address of the corporation. Under this were gathered together the municipal authorities, the members of the Executive Council, the members of both Houses of Parliament, and a brilliant array of naval and military officers, all in uniform or full dress of some kind. The most remarkable figure of the whole was M. Rodier, the Mayor of the city, dressed in a scarlet robe trimmed with sable, made after the pattern of the Lord Mayor of London's, and wearing his golden chain and sword of office. By Mayor Rodier His Royal Highness was received as he stepped on shore, amid a thundering salute, and

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conducted up the scarlet carpet leading to the scarlet dais, there surrounded by his suite. His Royal Highness stood while, first in English and then in French, his Worship, standing on the lowest step of four, read a long address. This, beautifully engrossed on parchment, he then inclosed in a crimson velvet case, ornamented with gold, and handed it to the Prince, who read his reply in English only."

Whilst in Montreal the Prince laid the foundation-stone of the famous Victoria Tubular Bridge over the St. Lawrence River—then the greatest bridge in the world—and at the city of Ottawa he also laid the foundation-stone of the magnificent Parliament Buildings which now grace the Ottawa's rugged banks. Her Majesty having selected Ottawa as the future Canadian capital, its Mayor, Council and citizens vied with each other in making its festivities worthy of Royalty and the bright future before their city.

Up to this time the Royal visit had been almost like a summer sky without a cloud. The only exception had been a slight jar at Montreal, caused by the officiousness of Sir Edmund Head. It arose in this way. The Anglican address had just been read, when the Rev. Dr. Mathieson stepped forward to read the address from the clergy of the Church of Scotland. Sir Edmund rather curtly told him to hand it in—that circumstances would not permit of his reading it. The staunch old Presbyterian said he would not present it at all, if he were not allowed to read it, and soon afterwards retired. The Prince and the Duke of Newcastle were both much annoyed

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when they learned of this unpleasant incident, but the Duke made it all right by expressing his regrets, and inviting Dr. Mathieson to breakfast with His Royal Highness and to present his address at Kingston. The belated address, however, may not after all have been presented at the Limestone City, for it was there the Orange difficulty broke out, which not only threatened but caused serious trouble.

The Duke of Newcastle, having decided to recognize no party or sectarian emblems during the Prince's tour, was surprised to find at Kingston that the Orangemen in large numbers were drawn up on the wharf, with Orange banners flying and bands playing party tunes. He therefore refused to allow His Royal Highness and suite to land until all party mottoes and symbols were withdrawn. The Kingstonsians had beautified their city with arches and evergreens, prepared an excellent programme, and were generally anxious the Duke's wishes should be complied with. But all efforts to induce the Orangemen to give way were fruitless, and after a considerable time spent in vain endeavours to have this unfortunate *contretemps* adjusted, the steamer was ordered to proceed, and Albert Edward never set foot in Kingston at all.

Nor was the trouble over. Many of the Orangemen at Kingston started in another steamer for Belleville, where the Prince was to be entertained the next day. They arrived in that city the same evening, marched through the principal streets with

HIS MAJESTY EDWARD VII. IN CANADA

banners and music, and held an indignation meeting to stir up the Belleville Orangemen, during which Queen Victoria and Garibaldi were loudly cheered and the Duke of Newcastle as loudly groaned. The next day they made such an Orange demonstration that the Prince and his party were reluctantly compelled to pass Belleville also without landing.

The greatest demonstrations which greeted His Royal Highness during his tour were those of Toronto and Hamilton, both of which attracted immense numbers of people from the surrounding districts. A huge amphitheatre was erected in the "Queen City" for the occasion, and when Mayor Adam Wilson, afterwards Chief Justice, presented the civic address, it was claimed that in and around the vast structure and on the streets, taking part in the celebration, could not have been less than 60,000 people. Many of the citizens became wildly enthusiastic over their Royal guest, whose gentleness, prudence and affability captured the hearts of all with whom he came into contact. Nevertheless, not a little anxiety was caused by the fact that, although in the background, the shadow of the Orange trouble was still dangerously near.

The Orangemen of Toronto, like the Masons and firemen, had erected an arch. The city councillors, however, assured the Duke of Newcastle that no Orange emblems would appear upon it; but when passing underneath it in the procession, what was His Grace's surprise to find that it was built in repre-

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sentation of the Bishop's gate at Derry, and that a statue or figure of King William surmounted it! This was regarded as an insult, and at the levee held by the Prince, the Mayor and Corporation were not allowed to be presented, but a special meeting of the Council and an apology happily prevented any further unpleasantness. But for this little cloud the Toronto celebration was a brilliant success.

The Royal visitors next passed through Brampton, Georgetown, Guelph, Berlin, Stratford, London, Sarnia, Ingersoll, Woodstock, Paris, Brantford, Dunnville, Fort Erie, Chippewa, St. Catharines and Niagara Falls. At the latter place they witnessed the daring feats of that prince of acrobats, Blondin, who not only crossed and recrossed the Niagara River on a single rope, blindfolded, but actually stood on his head on the slender line near the middle of the awful chasm! The whole party, and especially His Royal Highness, were loud in their praises of the grandeur and beauty of Niagara Falls, which, indeed, is generally considered the greatest natural wonder in the world.

The Prince next visited Hamilton on Tuesday, the 18th, where he had consented to open the Provincial Agricultural Exhibition, and it is estimated that his reception was taken part in by no less than 50,000 people. Never did Hamilton deserve the name of "the Ambitious City" more than on this occasion. Not only was it beautifully decorated with arches, evergreens, flowers and mottoes, but besides the usual round of civic festivities, it had a regatta, horse races, and the Agricultural Exhibition thrown in.

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Wednesday forenoon had been set apart for a private inspection of the exhibits in the Crystal Palace, as it was called, by the Prince and his suite, and I was amongst the fortunate members of the press admitted on the occasion. We had the honour of presentation, and accompanied the visitors during the inspection. This afforded ample time to observe His Royal Highness, and my memory recalls very distinctly the pleasing impressions which he made.

His appearance at that time, however, was very unlike the robust pictures of King Edward VII. with which we are now so familiar. Attractive in person and manner he was then as now, but he was rather short for his age, slender in build, and pale in complexion. His face was intelligent and pleasing, the most striking features being his eyes, which were large and handsome, a prominent, well-formed nose, and a small mobile mouth. His hands and feet indicated something of the size and rotundity which he has since attained, but his appearance, at this time, was exceedingly boyish and artless, which rendered his quiet, gentlemanly manner all the more pleasing. He did not speak much, but when he did his voice was clear and strong; indeed, it was quite apparent that, notwithstanding his youthful appearance, he possessed a vigorous constitution, with abundance of mental and physical activity.

As proof of this it may be mentioned that, whilst his suite suffered more or less, His Royal Highness went through the whole long-continued round of festivities in good health and spirits. This was no

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ordinary feat, for he was engaged every day but Sunday, and what this means may be known from the programme at Charlottetown, the pretty capital of the pretty Province of Prince Edward Island, where in one day he received an address, held a levee, drove out in plain clothes, went out shooting, rode out again, took a salt water swim, dined with a large party, and went to a ball and danced till three o'clock in the morning!

It took the Royal party about an hour and a half to make the round of the Crystal Palace, at the close of which the Prince modestly expressed himself delighted with the exhibits and the courtesies shown to himself and attendants, and as his carriage left the Palace and fair-grounds he was greeted with ringing cheers by the immense crowds assembled to do him honour.

This famous Royal tour finished in the United States. The whole party went out through the western prairies, the Prince of Wales travelling under the name of Baron Renfrew. After enjoying some shooting, they accepted the hospitalities of some of the Atlantic cities, the principal celebrations being at Washington, New York and Boston, where the festivities in Canada were rivalled, if not eclipsed, by the magnificence and enthusiasm with which His Royal Highness and suite were received and entertained. The *élite* of these great American cities could not have been more hospitable or enthusiastic had their guest been Queen Victoria herself. The Prince became the social lion wherever he went, and his

HIS MAJESTY EDWARD VII. IN CANADA

social triumphs in Canada were more than repeated among our American cousins.

The closing ceremonies took place at the city of Portland, Maine, where on the 20th September, amidst the booming of cannon, the music of bands, and the cheers of the Americans assembled, His Royal Highness set sail again in the Royal Squadron for Great Britain—a fitting termination to his successful and ever-memorable tour.

Scarcely had the Royal party bid adieu to Canada when the slumbering indignation of the Orange Order burst into flame. Indignation meetings were held at Kingston, Toronto, Port Hope and elsewhere, including a meeting of the Orange Grand Lodge, at which strong resolutions were passed condemning the Duke of Newcastle, the Governor-General and the Government, for their conduct towards the Orange body during the Prince's visit. So bitter was the feeling for a time, that rumours obtained currency that the Hon. John A. Macdonald and some of his Upper Canada colleagues would be forced to resign and give place to Mr. John Hillyard Cameron and some of his Orange colleagues. The members of the Ministry, however, hurried to Quebec to take steps to smooth over the difficulties, and nothing finally came of the rumours of cabinet changes. Although aggrieved, the Orangemen generally were too close allies of the Conservative leaders to wish to overthrow the Government, and so the tempest blew over with the forcible expression of a little honest indignation.

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Looked at from an impartial standpoint, the whole of these Orange troubles were unfortunate, and however honourable their motives, which may be conceded, both sides were more or less to blame. Such an unpleasant train of circumstances could hardly happen in Canada to-day under the more liberal and conciliatory political spirit which now happily obtains among all classes.

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CHAPTER XIV

WAR-CLOUD BURSTS IN THE UNITED STATES

NOVEMBER 4th, 1860, will be ever memorable in United States history. That day witnessed the culmination of the bitter anti-slavery agitation, which had distracted the Republic for half a century, in the triumphant election of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, to the presidential chair.

The conscience of the American people had been deeply stirred for several years by the evils of slavery as portrayed by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe in her celebrated book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The thrilling story of Selby, Uncle Tom, little Eva, Legree, Eliza, and the irrepressible Topsy penetrated mansions and cabins alike, arousing almost universal sympathy and indignation. Then a few years afterwards came the old John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry, already referred to, and the sorrowful execution of the poor old veteran abolitionist. These events acted like a spark to kindle the anti-slavery indignation of the Northern and Western States into a political conflagration. So fiercely did it burn that although Lincoln was opposed by two other popular candidates, Messrs. Douglas and Breckenridge, he received 49 more votes of the Electoral College than both of

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them together. The total number of votes was 303, of which Lincoln received 176, and his opponents 127.

This decisive victory of the Republican party, whose avowed policy was to curb, if not destroy, the system of slavery which had so long disgraced the nation, was immediately followed by preparations for secession in all the Southern and some of the border States, and quickly precipitated, as we shall see later on, one of the greatest and bloodiest wars of ancient or modern times.

Not a little interest was created at this time by a young chemist in Toronto named Ebenezer Clemo, who claimed to have discovered a new process for making white paper from straw. This was something for which the *London Times* at one time offered a premium of £10,000. The Hon. George Brown and the Taylors, paper-makers, took the matter up, printed the *Globe* on the new straw paper for some time, took out patents in Canada, the United States, Britain and France, and at one stage the ubiquitous New York reporter telegraphed all over the continent that Cyrus W. Field, of Atlantic cable fame, and other capitalists had bought out Brown and Clemo's interests in the new discovery for \$800,000. There was at that time a preliminary bargain of some kind being negotiated in New York between the parties mentioned, but the transaction finally fell through, as the paper made under Clemo's process was rather hard and stiff, as well as too straw-coloured, and neither the American nor Canadian paper-makers were able, after many experiments, to produce good white paper from

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straw cheap enough to satisfy the big newspaper dailies.

Clemo afterwards produced a Canadian novel, "Simon Seek," a queer story of the queer adventures of a queer emigrant family seeking a home in Canada. A home-made novel was then a curiosity in this country, and Mr. Clemo* had some originality. Nor was his straw paper agitation in vain. It stimulated experiments, and before many years there was discovered the process of making wood pulp, which has since become the principal material used in making cheap news and other papers.

Signs of another general election now began to appear. Shortly before winter set in, the Upper Canada members of the Government made a political tour of the Province. They were entertained by their supporters in a series of public dinners, those at Hamilton, Brantford, London, St. Thomas, Guelph and Cobourg being the most successful. The principal ministerial speakers were the Hon. John A. Macdonald, the Hon. P. M. VanKoughnet, the Hon. Sydney Smith and the Hon. J. C. Morrison.

On the Reform side the leaders were entertained at dinners at Fergus, Simcoe and elsewhere, and the Hon. George Brown addressed unusually large public meetings at Kingston, Napanee, St. Thomas, London, Galt and other places, which plainly testified that the large majority of Upper Canadians continued to be bitterly aggrieved at the working of the Union, and

* Further reference to Mr. Clemo and his discovery may be found in Morgan's "Bibliotheca Canadensis," 1867, page 77.

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at being systematically ruled by Lower Canadian majorities.

Whilst our statesmen were thus peacefully fighting their political battles, the war cloud in the United States was rapidly growing denser and blacker. As the day for the inauguration of President Lincoln drew near, the excitement became almost as great in Canada as in some parts of the Republic itself. The Southern States were openly preparing for war. They had in fact already committed an act of war, having fired on the Government steamer, *Star of the West*, and prevented her from reinforcing Fort Sumpter in

Charleston harbour.



PRESIDENT LINCOLN

When Mr. Lincoln and his family left Springfield for Washington, a week before the inauguration ceremonies, to be held on the 4th March, 1861, the roar of the coming conflict met his ears at every centre of population. At Harrisburg, Pa., he was earnestly pleaded with by his friends — Mrs. Lincoln giving way to tears — not to pass through Baltimore for fear of assassination. He would not be dissuaded, but finally consented to go by an early morning special train, *incognito*, which he did, reaching Washington safely, to the great relief of his friends.

WAR-CLOUD BURSTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Few persons then realized the great man Abraham Lincoln really was. Most people regarded him more as the railsplitter he was described to be during his canvass, than as the far-sighted, capable and patriotic statesman he proved himself to be. His remarkable speeches at the principal cities he passed through on his way to the capital, however—so original, so powerful, but also so tender and fitting—convinced many that the new President was no ordinary man. His speech at Philadelphia, in particular, created immense enthusiasm, especially his closing appeal—“that he might have their assistance in piloting the ship of state through this voyage, surrounded by perils as it is; for if it should suffer from shipwreck now, *there will be no pilot ever needed for another voyage.*” In the *New York Tribune* Horace Greeley thus burst forth over this speech:

“Rejoice, lovers of freedom! for your sentiments have found a memorable expression from the elected Chief of the Nation! Let it be read by every hearth, and pondered by every American, until the heart even of childhood shall glow with its spirit, and the nation be brought to realize that it is to be saved by truth, not dissimulation, by cherishing the spirit of liberty and justice, not truckling to slavery and wrong. Thank God that the hour of our trial has found the man who is to pilot us nobly through its troubles and its perils.”

Never before was the Republic in such a state of excitement, especially the city of Washington, as when Lincoln was sworn in as President and delivered his inaugural address. His heart must have trembled

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under the heavy load of responsibility and danger which rested upon him, but in word or bearing he never faltered. His address was remarkably striking. His indisposition to interfere with slavery in any State where it lawfully existed, his denial of the right or power of any State to secede, and his solemn obligation to preserve, protect and defend the Union, were enforced with wonderful boldness and clearness, but he fittingly closed his remarks with the following tender and touching appeal for peace: "I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. . . We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our cords of union. The mystic chords of memory, stretched from every battlefield and patriotic grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as assuredly they will be, by the better angels of our nature." But the eloquent appeal was in vain. The South had already "cried havoc! and let slip the dogs of war."

The Parliament of Canada assembled again on the 16th March, and once more the struggle between the two provinces was transferred from the country to the Chambers. This session was memorable in consequence of the absence of the Reform leader. Mr. Brown's labours, both public and private, had for many years been nothing short of herculean, and at a period when slander of all political leaders was disgracefully rife, he was assailed with a venom and persistency without a parallel; besides this, it must be confessed, his leadership met with some opposition

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and discouragement from a few within the Reform party itself. These circumstances brought on a serious attack of illness just as the session opened, and Mr. Brown was unable to attend any of the meetings. The Reform leadership, therefore, was temporarily placed in the hands of a committee composed of Messrs. Dorion, Foley, Macdougall, Mowat and Wilson, with Mr. Foley as chief spokesman.

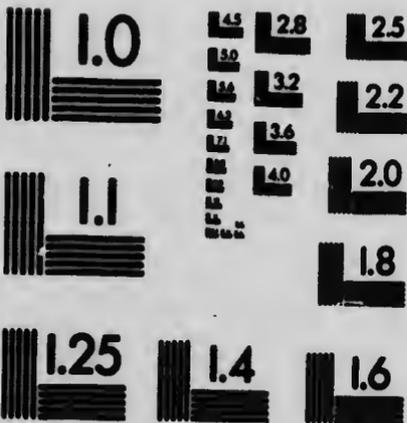
Although Mr. Brown was absent, the constitutional battle raged as fiercely this session as on any former occasion. Mr. Thibaudeau (L.C.) moved for dissolution of the Union, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald for the Double Majority, and Mr. Thomas Ferguson, a Conservative, for Representation by Population. Mr. William Macdougall and others discussed a Federal Union, but no motion seems to have been made in favour of this remedy of the Reform Convention. The vote on the Representation question was the largest yet obtained—67 to 49—among the yeas being two members of the Administration, Messrs. Sherwood and Smith, and all the Upper Canadian members who voted but nine.

Mr. D'Arcy McGee distinguished himself not only by a brilliant speech in favour of constitutional changes, but by boldly voting therefor. The Government, however, successfully passed through the session, although frequently in danger, for the Lower Canadians themselves had become restless and uncomfortable under the taunts of their opponents, that they were forcing their legislation and their Conservative colleagues upon Upper Canada, when the majority



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of its representatives had declared for years that they had no confidence in them. This session lasted only two months and two days, one of the shortest on record.

One month later the general elections were in full swing. It is unnecessary to describe the issues of this contest at length. It was simply the old political battles over again, but the country was beginning to grow tired of the long-continued struggle, and some great political surprises occurred when the votes were counted. Many of the "old Parliamentary hands" suffered severely. Among these were thirteen Upper Canada supporters of the Cartier-Macdonald Administration, and seven of their oldest Reform opponents. Among those defeated were Postmaster-General Sydney Smith and Solicitor-General Morin, and, very oddly, both the leaders of the Opposition, Messrs. Brown and Dorion. East Toronto being really a Conservative riding, it was not surprising that the Reform leader failed to carry it against so formidable an opponent as Mr. John Crawford, but that Mr. Dorion should in Lower Canada have shared the same fate made quite a singular coincidence.

The general result of the elections was at first supposed to ensure the downfall of the Coalition Ministry, but a close analysis made later on proved the supporters returned of the two political parties to be almost equal. The numbers were apportioned thus: Ministerial supporters, 36 Lower Canadians, 27 Upper Canadians—in all 63; Opposition supporters, 36 Upper Canadians, 29 Lower Canadians—in all 65.

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Two seats unaccounted for would not alter the result, so that whatever might be the fate of the Government, it looked as if the equality in numbers would now result in an absolute political dead-lock—neither party being able to carry on the government, and neither willing to give way.

When the declaration for East Toronto took place, the Hon. George Brown made a very manly, chivalrous and good-tempered speech, in which he reviewed the political situation and his own parliamentary career, congratulating the Reform party on its success at the elections, but concluding with the unexpected announcement that his defeat "had opened up the way for his retirement without dishonour, and he intended to take advantage of it. My health and my personal interests," he continued, "have rendered me desirous of retiring for at least a parliamentary term, and it is my present resolution not to seek re-election by any constituency for some time to come."

Such were among the words in which Mr. Brown made an announcement which caused widespread surprise and regret to the Reformers of Upper Canada, and called forth kind remarks from not a few of his more generous political opponents. The temporary retirement of the foremost champion of Upper Canadian rights, when the prolonged struggle between the two provinces had reached a climax, was a circumstance of much public importance, and the following brief extracts from his resignation speech will, therefore, be found quite interesting :

"In forming this resolution, I have not lost sight of

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certain public advantages which may flow from it. It has been by certain recreant politicians of Upper Canada a constant excuse for their mischief: 'Oh, we know this or that act was wrong, but if we had done otherwise the Government would have been overthrown and George Brown would have come in.' Well, gentlemen, George Brown will no longer be the scapegoat for these gentlemen—their miserable palliative will no longer be available, and we will have an opportunity of testing their sincerity in the past by their conduct in the future. (Cheers.) . . . Now, I readily admit that in endeavouring to free Upper Canada from the injury and disgrace of French domination, I have used strong language against those representatives of Upper Canada who were traitors to their trusts, and that I have systematically held up all such men to public indignation; but I plead in justification that it was the only remedy for the evil. (Cheers.) . . . I plead as the complete and triumphant vindication of my policy, that whereas in 1852 it was well-nigh impossible to find a seconder for a motion in favour of Representation by Population, there are now, in 1861, fifty-three members elect from Upper Canada unreservedly committed to stand or fall by that vital measure. (Loud cheering.) . . . What care I for the honour of final victory? Sufficient honour is it for me that I laid the foundation of success—that I fought a ten years' battle without faltering; and brief as was the existence of the Brown-Dorion Government, I will always remember with proud satisfaction that I was the leader of the first Administration formed to settle the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, and do justice to Upper Canada. (Loud cheers.) . . . When the present Administration is overthrown, as it will be when the new Parliament assembles—let us hope that all will set their faces against the con-

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struction of any new Ministry, come from what side it may, that will not meet this question honestly and fairly. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, in leaving parliamentary life, after ten years of arduous labour and stormy conflict, I feel it no slight gratification that I can look back on my whole career with satisfaction, and defy my opponents to point to one vote I ever gave, one motion I ever made, one word I ever uttered, that was unworthy of a faithful representative of the people." (Loud cheering.)

His Excellency Lord Monck, accompanied by his family, arrived in Quebec on the 23rd October, to enter upon his appointment as Governor-General of Canada. He was sworn into office the next day at eleven o'clock, and the same afternoon Sir Edmund Head took his departure, going to Boston by train, and taking steamer from that city.

Seldom has a Governor-General left Canada with fewer friends. The most favourable thing I ever heard said of him was, that he possessed some artistic taste, was a great admirer of Gothic architecture, and that we were mainly indebted to him for the selection of the undoubtedly magnificent Gothic buildings which adorn Parliament Hill in the Dominion capital. In other respects his career as Governor-General was unfortunate, both in the interests of Canada and of his own popularity. He early alienated the French Canadians by an unfortunate allusion to them as "une race inferieure." His partisan conduct during the Brown-Dorion crisis ruined his popularity with the Reform party, and the Orange body was also aggrieved at his course during the tour of the Prince of Wales.

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It may be that, from his own point of view, Sir Edmund acted as his judgment and conscience deemed right, and that the pretence of a slight to Her Majesty in Parliament setting aside the selection of Ottawa as the future capital, which Attorney-General Macdonald and others contended, may have blinded His Excellency to the partisanship of his course during the famous Double Shuffle. But certain it is, nevertheless, that few governors were ever more universally welcomed than Lord Monck, and probably none, always save and except his namesake, Sir Francis Bond Head, ever left Canada less noticed and regretted than did Sir Edmund Head at the close of his long term of seven years.

The shrill trumpet of war resounded loudly throughout Canada before this memorable year closed. The danger was real and alarming for a time. On the 8th November, Captain Wilkes, of the United States cruiser *San Jacinto*, forcibly stopped the British mail steamer *Trent* on the high seas, and took from it Messrs. Mason and Slidell, the plenipotentiaries of the Southern Confederacy, then on their way to Europe. This was contrary to international law, an unpardonable insult to the British flag, and produced an immense sensation in Great Britain and the United States, as well as every other part of the civilized world.

The reckless, foolhardy action of Captain Wilkes was received with loud hurrahs by most of the press and people of the Northern States, and even the Secretary of the Navy sent a report to Congress in which he commended Wilkes' "prompt and decided action,"

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and excused him for not capturing the vessel! But this was fortunately not the way that President Lincoln and the Imperial Government regarded the matter. Lord Palmerston was then Premier, and Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary. They promptly demanded that Mason and Slidell and their two assistants should be given back to British control, and the illegal act of Captain Wilkes apologized for.

For two or three weeks the lookout was decidedly black. It appeared as if war were certain. Great Britain resounded with preparations. The British arsenals were at work night and day. The fleet was under immediate orders. A preliminary allotment of over 10,000 soldiers was made for Canada. Our Militia Department made a first call of 35,000 of the sedentary militia. Much real alarm and anxiety were felt, not only in Canada but the neighbouring States, and well might they dread such a terrible conflict as might have ensued.

The only part of America pleased was the newly-born Southern Confederacy. President Jefferson Davis and the whole South openly expressed their delight at the prospects of an Anglo-American war, which they considered would ensure the success of their rebellion, then rapidly developing.

Thank God, they were disappointed. Better counsels prevailed. The negotiations were conducted by Lord John Russell and the Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State. The latter had to admit that Great Britain asked nothing more than the United States itself had always contended for, and in an able despatch agreed frankly to Lord Russell's demands,

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his concluding words being as follows: "We are asked to do to the British nation just what we always insisted all nations should do to us. The four persons are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your Lordship will please intimate a time and place for receiving them."

Thus happily blew over this dangerous war-cloud. It is to be hoped these two kindred nations will never be so near war again. Facts which have since come to light have shown how near that calamity was. Lord Palmerston was a danger, and so were the American jingoes and foreign element.

History now tells us there were two grand personalities, alike honoured and beloved by both nations, whose powerful influence was largely instrumental in recalling the white-winged angel of peace. These were Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria and President Abraham Lincoln, in many respects two of the grandest rulers who ever adorned such exalted positions.

Before this dangerous question was finally settled, another dark shadow—the shadow of death—fell upon the British throne. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria, unexpectedly died of gastric fever on the 15th December, and was buried in the Chapel Royal, St. George's, Windsor, two days before Christmas. The intense grief of Her Majesty and the Royal family evoked much sympathy throughout Canada, as, indeed, throughout every part of the British possessions.

CHAPTER XV

THE SANDFIELD MACDONALD MINISTRIES

WHEN His Excellency Lord Monck came down from Spencerwood, Quebec, on the 20th March, 1862, to open the first session of the seventh Parliament of Canada, the political interest was intense. There existed that thrilling element in politics—uncertainty. Many considered the Coalition Ministry doomed. Others declared they had already had as many lives as a cat, and that Macdonald would pull them through again in some way.

The proceedings opened favourably for the ministers. They put Mr. J. E. Turcotte forward as their nominee for Speaker, and he was elected over Mr. Sicotte by 66 to 53—a majority of 13. But beneath the surface the difficulties between the provinces were more aggravated than ever, whilst not a few political abuses had come to light, which made the Government's position more critical.

The address in reply to His Excellency's speech was met by two amendments on the constitutional troubles, one by Mr. Macdougall in favour of Representation by Population, and the other by Mr. Sicotte against it. The former familiar amendment was greatly strengthened on this occasion by the fact that

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the recent census (1861) had proven that Upper Canada had a larger population than Lower Canada by 285,427. The Government accepted both amendments as motions of want of confidence. Nevertheless, Messrs. Hillyard Cameron, Thomas C. Street, M. C. Cameron and other leading Conservatives, openly declared they would vote with Mr. Macdougall in favour of Representation by Population.

The attitude of these gentlemen precipitated a ministerial crisis before the address was disposed of, during which Messrs. VanKoughnet, Morrison and Ross retired from the Ministry. The vacant portfolios, as stated in the press, were first offered to the Hon. Alexander Campbell, of the Legislative Council, and to Messrs. Cameron and Street, who all honourably declined to accept office unless the representation question was taken up and settled. This Premier Cartier flatly refused to do, and the Hon. John A. Macdonald, therefore, filled up the Upper Canadian section of the Cabinet by taking in the Hon. James Patton, Legislative Councillor, Mr. John Carling, M.P. for London, and Mr. J. Beverley Robinson, M.P. for West Toronto. When these gentlemen returned to their constituents for re-election, Mr. Patton was defeated, but his two colleagues were sustained.

The Government thus reconstructed was vigorously opposed by Messrs. Foley and Sicotte, who had been chosen to lead the Opposition, as well as by Mr. Macdougall, Mr. D'Arcy McGee and other Reformers, becoming prominent among whom was a new member destined to play a conspicuous part in the future

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of Canada--Mr. Alexander Mackenzie. The battle went on with varying fortunes until the 20th May, when a new Militia Bill prepared by the Ministry came up for its second reading. This measure proposed to clothe, equip and drill 5,000 officers and 45,000 men for twenty-eight days in each year, erect armouries, and otherwise place the Province in a better state of defence. The expense was estimated by Attorney-General Macdonald at \$1,110,204 per annum.

This Militia Bill does not look very formidable at this distance, but it was considered very extravagant by many in those days, especially by the Premier's own Lower Canada supporters. They protested, and finally handed him an "ultimatum" against the measure, and when the vote on the second reading was taken the Government was defeated by 61 to 54—a majority of 7. And thus at last came about the downfall of this famous Coalition Government, which, ever since the year 1854, in one form or another, had succeeded in maintaining itself in power. But what everyone now asked was—What of the future?

The following day, Wednesday, the Hon. Mr. Cartier and his colleagues resigned, and the Governor-General promptly called on Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald to form a new Administration. He accepted the task; on Friday the names of the new Cabinet Ministers were announced, and on Saturday they were sworn into office. The list was composed as follows:

UPPER CANADA.—Hon. J. S. Macdonald, Attorney-

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General ; Hon. M. H. Foley, Postmaster-General ; Hon. W. P. Howland, Finance Minister ; Hon. Wm. Macdougall, Crown Lands Commissioner ; Hon. James Morris, Receiver-General ; Hon. Adam Wilson, Solicitor-General.

LOWER CANADA.—Hon. L. V. Sicotte, Attorney-General ; Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, Solicitor-General ; Hon. A. A. Dorion, Provincial Secretary ; Hon. D'Arcy McGee, President of the Council ; Hon. Francis Evanturel, Agriculture ; Hon. U. J. Tessier, Public Works.

The accession of the Macdonald-Sicotte Administration to office was hailed with great satisfaction throughout Upper Canada, and was received at least favourably in the sister province. The best proof of this is to be found in the fact that the gentlemen who accepted office in it were all re-elected by acclamation. The *personnel* of the new Ministry and their policy, so far as it went, were admittedly irreproachable and promising. The constitutional difficulties were to be met by the adoption of the Double Majority principle, the new Premier's well-known remedy for the troubles between the two provinces. In the statement of the ministerial policy laid before both Houses of Parliament, this principle was set forth in the first two paragraphs in the following terms :

" 1st. Recognizing the Federal character of the Act of Union and the danger at the present critical emergency of attempting to change the basis of that Union, the Government will seek to remedy the evils now encountered in the government of Canada by

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committing to the members composing the Administration, for each section respectively, the control of all matters of a local or sectional character, the Administration as a whole being charged with all such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the Province.

"2nd. It will be admitted as a rule that local legislation should not be forced on either section of the Province against the wishes of a majority of its representatives, and that the Administration for each section should possess the confidence of a majority of its representatives."

The official statement of the new Government also promised the following measures: A bill to equalize the representation of ridings in each section; an improved but less expensive militia law; an amended tariff for revenue, but with a due regard to manufactures; and an insolvency law to apply to both sections of the Province. The Government also speedily arrived at an understanding to retain Ottawa as the capital, to investigate the unexpectedly large expenditures on the new Parliament Buildings, to favourably consider Upper Canada's claims for public expenditures according to its population, and also in regard to measures for railroads, retrenchment and the correction of abuses.

Whilst the new Government and its general policy—which Premier Macdonald declared to be Reform—were hailed with satisfaction all over Canada, there was, unfortunately, one fatal weakness. No more than their predecessors were they able and prepared

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to grapple with and settle the real source of the long and aggravated provincial difficulties. The Double Majority would undoubtedly mitigate the existing evils. But no Government could long exist on that principle, and so long as Upper Canada with 300,000 more people and paying at least two-thirds of the revenue, was denied representation by population, the permanent restoration of peace and harmony was impossible.

This speedily became apparent. Forty Upper Canadian Reformers in caucus heartily promised to sustain Mr. Macdonald and his colleagues, but most of them reserved the right to vote for justice to their section on the representation question. The Hon. George Brown and the *Globe* strongly reprobated the Government's position on the latter question, but were delighted that the Coalition was gone, and promised to sustain Messrs. Macdonald and Sicotte on the other portions of their policy. This view generally prevailed throughout Upper Canada, and when a long prorogation of Parliament was agreed to, in order to give the new ministers ample time for their re-elections and to mature their policy, the political situation was felt to be unusually interesting, and people were more inclined than ever to inquire—What of the future?

The first meeting of the Press Association which I attended was held in Hamilton on November 27th of this year. The Association had been formed in Kingston only three years before, and was not then the large and influential body, with an annual

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banquet and excursion, which it is to-day. The following are the names of the principal journalists present on the occasion :

Mr. William Gillespie, Hamilton *Spectator*; Mr. Thomas Sellar, of the Montreal *Echo*; Mr. D. McDougall, of the Berlin *Telegraph*; Mr. David Wylie, Brockville *Recorder*; Mr. Thomas White, Jun., Peterboro' *Review*; Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Belleville *Intelligencer*; Mr. R. E. O'Connor, Ottawa *Union*; Mr. W. G. Culloden, Milton *New Era*; Mr. W. H. Floyd, Cobourg *Star*; Mr. James Young, Galt *Reformer*; Mr. John Jacques, Hamilton *Times*; Mr. George McMullen, Newburg *North American*; Mr. W. T. Cox, Goderich *Huron Signal*; Mr. James A. Campbell, Milton *Champion*; Mr. E. Boyle, Picton *Times*; Mr. John McLean, Sarnia *British Canadian*; Mr. John Siddons, London *Prototype*; Mr. William Mowat, Stratford *Beacon*; Mr. G. W. Verrall, Strathroy *Home Guard*; Mr. James Seymour, St. Catharines *Constitutional*; and Mr. W. S. Johnston, Port Hope *Guide*.

Among the more active members at this meeting of the Press Association were Tom White, as he was then familiarly called, afterwards an honoured member of the Dominion Government; Senator Bowell, still hale and hearty, who has been Premier of Canada and leader of the Conservative party; Mr. D. McDougall, afterwards registrar of the county of Waterloo, and warm-hearted old "Father Wylie," as the younger members of the press-gang called him to his evident pleasure. Those present were a fine

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body of men, devoted to one of the noblest of professions. But it is also true that in no respect has there been more progress made in Canada since that period, than in the growth, the ability, the usefulness and success of our newspaper press. It has been said, "Those whom the gods love die young." I know not whether this applies specially to writers for the press, but of those who attended this Hamilton meeting, alas, most of them have already passed over the infinite boundary.

Nothing could better illustrate the vicissitudes of public life than the fact that the two great political rivals—the two real leaders of the Conservative and Reform parties—Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown, were both slightly in the shade at this time. There is little gratitude in politics, and even their right to leadership did not always remain unquestioned.

Ever since the Orange troubles there had been occasional rumours that a section of the Conservative party wished to make Mr. Hillyard Cameron leader. This feeling took shape at a caucus of the party shortly after the fall of the Coalition, but it failed of success, Mr. Macdonald's supporters proving to be decidedly the more numerous. The Hon. George Brown at an earlier period placed his resignation as leader in the hands of a Reform caucus, under somewhat similar circumstances. He was re-elected without a division, but was now out of Parliament altogether, and the nominal leadership in another's hands. Nevertheless, both Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown by their commanding talents, great force of

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character and firm grasp of public affairs—although it would be difficult to find two men more differently constituted—were the natural chieftains, the one of the Conservative and the other of the Reform party.

Whilst one was out of power and the other out of Parliament, both gentlemen still swayed the masses of the two great political parties in which Canadians have always been divided, and during the many years in which they so ably and bitterly fought each other in Parliament and the country, they might not inaptly have been called the Pitt and Fox of Canadian public life.

Though so opposite mentally and physically, they were in many respects not unevenly matched. Mr. Brown was powerful in body, powerful in debate, and powerful with his pen. He wielded a claymore both heavy and sharp in parliamentary discussions, and which was still more powerful on the country rostrum. He naturally took the side of the masses of the people, and of reforms like Representation by Population, upon which he worked up public opinion until they could be no longer resisted.

On the other hand, Mr. Macdonald was agile physically, had a natural gift for party management, and in debate his weapon, though possibly not so powerful, was at least quite as keen as his great antagonist's. He was no less successful on the public platform, where his jokes and funny stories*—with

* Among the many characteristic stories told of the Conservative leader, "Bystander" in the *Toronto Week / Sun* has recently revived the following good illustration of his ready wit: "As a Minister Sir

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which his speeches were freely interlarded—were often more effective than a logical argument would have been. But whether in Parliament or on the stump his alertness in taking advantage of any slip of his opponents and in piloting his party safely through political difficulties was at once remarkable and unequalled by any of his contemporaries.

A field-night in the old Parliament of Canada, when these two great political gladiators, then in the prime of manhood, were pitted against each other in some great debate, seldom failed to arouse the members and spectators to a high pitch of excitement, and was an event not easily erased from the memory.

John had to speak at a banquet. A tyro in the profession was sent to report him. Sir John had been convivial, and his speech showed it so much that the young man shrank from sending his notes to his journal. After waiting for a time he obtained an interview with Sir John, who, by that time, was himself again, read over his notes, and asked Sir John whether they were correct. Sir John utterly repudiated them, and dictated a sober speech, which having done, he said: "Now, young man, you tell me you are a reporter just getting out in your profession. Let me give you a piece of solemn advice. *Never again attempt to report a Minister when you're drunk!*"

CHAPTER XVI

SECTIONAL TROUBLES AS RAMPANT AS EVER

IT is foreign to my purpose to follow closely the tragic events of the American War, which was now in full swing and deluging the Middle and Southern States with blood. But a far-reaching event occurred at this time, which made quite a sensation throughout the whole world, and which deserves passing mention.

This was President Lincoln's famous proclamation decreeing the emancipation of the slaves in all States which might be found in rebellion at the beginning of the coming year (1st January, 1863), and enjoining the Army and Navy of the Republic to recognize and maintain the freedom of all such persons. This was a most daring political stroke on the part of Lincoln, and how intensely he felt the deep importance of the step is well attested by the ever-memorable words—really an intensely earnest prayer—with which his proclamation of freedom closed: "And upon this, believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favour of Almighty God."

This Emancipation proclamation proved the turning-point of the war. Many may deny this; indeed,

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we know there are some who deny that the hand of God can be seen in any of the events of history, or even in the splendours of the material universe. But if ever the Divine hand was traceable in human affairs, it surely was during this American conflict. The nation had long indulged in the sin of slavery. They refused as obstinately as Pharaoh did of old to let the people go, and then the scourge of war came upon them. Even then, millions in the Northern States, let alone the South, were opposed to freeing the slaves, and what was the trend of the war whilst these views prevailed?

It is matter of history that up to the time that the Republic became committed to Emancipation by the President's proclamation, the events of the war went almost steadily in favour of the South. So much was this the case, in fact, that at one time it looked as if General Lee would take Washington before General Grant would take Richmond. But from the time that the freedom of the slaves was proclaimed at Washington, the tide turned in favour of the North, and victory succeeded victory, until the proposed slaveholding republic was no more, and the supremacy of the national flag, now a real symbol of freedom, was established in every State and Territory of the Union from the frozen peaks of Oregon to the sunny glades of Florida.

Explain as agnostics may, the study of these now historical facts, as well as of all the remarkable events connected with this tremendous war, from John Brown's scaffold until Lee delivered up his sword to

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Grant at Appomattox, strongly goes to prove that the hand of the Almighty was in and through it all, and invests with an added and deeper meaning Tennyson's famous lines—

“Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the Throne ;
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow,
Keeping watch above His own.”

There was a temporary lull in our politics during the summer and fall of 1862, the result of the recent political changes. A slight ripple, however, was created on the last day of the year, when the Hon. George Brown returned from Europe after six months' absence for rest and recuperation. Just before his return he was wedded to Miss Annie Nelson, an accomplished and amiable lady still living in Edinburgh, Scotland—a sister of the Messrs. Nelson, the famous publishers of that city—and it was decided by his friends in Toronto to give him a public reception on his arrival home.

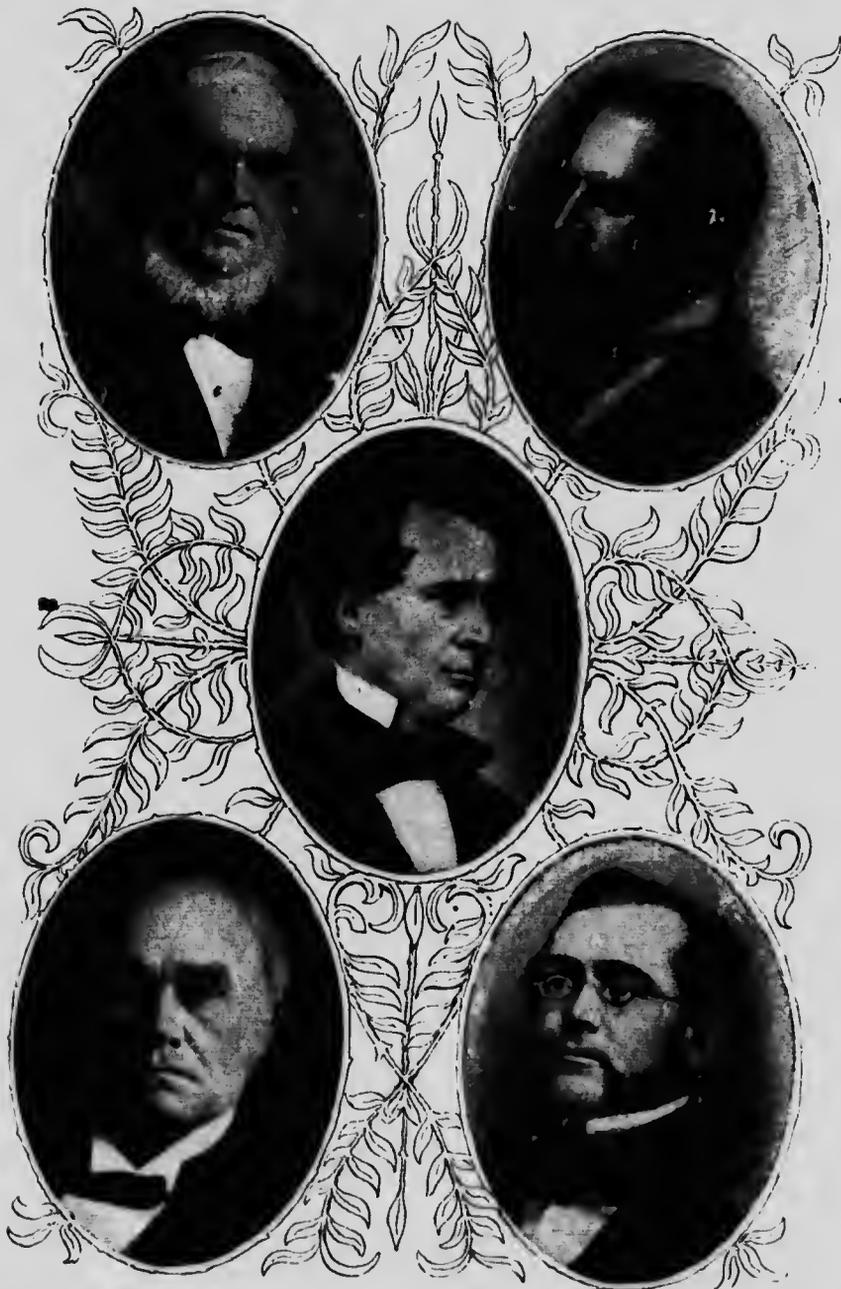
The Hon. John McMurrich and the Hon. William McMaster, Legislative Councillors, and the Hon. Oliver Mowat, M.P.P., were appointed a deputation to meet him at Hamilton, and on his arrival at Toronto station he was presented with a very complimentary address in the presence of several thousand people. That he had not decided to remain permanently out of public life was tolerably evident from

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his brief reply, two or three paragraphs of which were as follows:

"Fellow-Citizens,—I thank you most cordially for the magnificent reception you have given me on my return home—a reception as unexpected as it is gratifying. . . . So far as I am concerned, that devotion to the interests of our country that you have been good enough to ascribe to me, has been in nowise diminished by my visit to Great Britain. On the contrary, I have come back with strength invigorated, with new and, I trust, enlarged views, and with the most earnest desire to aid in advancing the prosperity and happiness of Canada. (Cheers.) You have been good enough to allude to the change in my domestic relations—(great cheering)—and I shall only express my belief that the partner who comes from my native city is one who will do credit to the country she has left as well as the land of her adoption. (The crowd here gave three cheers for Mrs. Brown.) . . . One word more and I have done, and that word is this: I feel deeply, and I shall feel deeply all the days of my life, the great honour and kindness you have shown me on this occasion." (Great cheering.)

The first session of the new *régime*—the Macdonald-Sicotte Government—commenced on the 12th February, 1863. The Speech from the Throne promised measures on the Representation of each province, the Militia, Insolvency, and other subjects; it also announced that Messrs. Sicotte and Howland had visited Great Britain with delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, to promote the long-contemplated Intercolonial Railway, the want of which had been so badly felt when the British troops had to be marched



HON. WILLIAM PEARCE HOWLAND.

HON. LOUIS VICTOR SICOTTE.

SIR JOHN J. C. ABBOTT.

HON. WILLIAM MACDOUGALL.

HON. MICHAEL LAMILTON FOLEY.

PROMINENT MEN IN SANDFIELD MACDONALD'S MINISTRIES.

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from the seaboard across the Maritime Provinces to Lower Canada in the depths of winter during the *Trent* affair, and also that a Commission was investigating the condition of every branch of the public service with a view to introduce retrenchment and other reforms. The programme was an excellent one, but, as already intimated, ignored Upper Canada's claims for increased representation.

The changed attitude of the two political parties in relation to this troublesome question was not only manifest, but verged on the amusing. The Upper Canada Conservatives, now in the cold shades of Opposition, had evidently got new light on the justice of Upper Canada's demands. The Reformers, on the other hand, were now ministerial supporters, and they did not rush in as formerly with constitutional amendments to the address. They were evidently most anxious not to embarrass the Government on the question, although all except those in the Cabinet were prepared to act upon their right, reserved in caucus when the Administration was formed, to vote on the representation question as formerly.

The Opposition, however, were now nothing loth to force the fighting. They warmly assailed Mr. Macdougall and Mr. Foley for their change of attitude, and met the address with four different amendments relating to the constitutional difficulties. Two of them were in favour of Representation by Population. Mr. M. C. Cameron moved the same resolution proposed by Mr. Macdougall during the previous session, and Mr. Hillyard Cameron moved for the in-

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creased representation of Upper Canada in the House of Assembly, but continuing the equality of the provinces in the Legislative Council. The change in the attitude of both parties naturally added new zest and interest to the discussions which these motions called forth.

When the vote was reached, it became painfully evident again that the settlement of the disturbing difficulties which afflicted the Union was no nearer than when the Coalition was in power. The vote on Mr. M. C. Cameron's amendment in favour of Representation by Population was 64 to 42, almost the identical figures before the recent political changes. The Government had changed—the Reform party was in and the Conservative party out—but the Union remained in danger, and although Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's immediate outlook was favourable, it was quite evident the old sectional spectre was always hovering near and certain to appear sooner or later.

Shortly after the session began, an election became necessary in South Oxford, which became vacant in consequence of the Hon. Dr. Connor, its member, being appointed a judge of the Court of Queen's Bench of Upper Canada. A Reform convention nominated Mr. E. V. Bodwell, a respected and popular resident of the riding, but considerable dissatisfaction existed with the nomination, as it was known that a requisition was in circulation asking the Hon. George Brown to become a candidate. He did not get this requisition, however, which was signed by 1,100 residents of the riding, until the day before the

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official nomination of candidates. He decided to accept it, notwithstanding, and as the Conservatives put forward no candidate, the contest took place between Mr. Bodwell and Mr. Brown—both Reformers, and both pledged to increased representation, but the latter promising only an independent support to the Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry.

The time for canvassing at this election was necessarily short, and Mr. Brown requested several of his political friends to assist him. Soon after it began, I was surprised to receive the following telegram from him: "Several corners I cannot reach. Will you come forthwith and hold meetings on Monday and Tuesday? Answer."

And here a few words in reference to my relations with Mr. Brown will not be out of order. As already mentioned, I first saw him at a public dinner in Galt in the fall of 1853. My connection with the Reform press naturally led to our further acquaintance. For some reason, which never appeared very clear to me, he invariably treated me with kindly consideration, and even before the *Globe* was removed to the handsome and commodious office on King Street, presented to him as a testimonial by the Reformers of Upper Canada, he insisted upon my calling upon him whenever I came to Toronto, which I nearly always did.

On these occasions he always appeared a very busy man; but, nevertheless, was uniformly pleasant and agreeable. Whilst working away, he would ask innumerable questions about politics, the crops, manu-

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factures, and everything going on in the country, and when anything particularly interested him, he would throw down his pen and pace around the room, swinging his long arms like the pendulum of a clock, and discussing the matter from every point of view. During later years this familiarity increased, and he frequently spoke to me of leading Conservatives and Reformers, and his relations to them and to public affairs, with a freedom I was sometimes surprised at. I therefore came to know pretty intimately the many grand qualities of head and heart, as well as the minor limitations, which distinguished this eminent Canadian statesman.

When Mr. Brown's telegram about South Oxford election was received, it seemed a golden opportunity to win n.y political spurs, and I was speedily in the midst of the contest. After speaking at Eastwood, Springfield and elsewhere, I first met Mr. Brown at the village of Beachville, near midnight, where he was still addressing a large and excited audience in his own powerful and impressive way. His power on the stump had evidently not been exaggerated, and much was it needed in this contest, for it was a very unusual one, and the result, until near its close, appeared quite uncertain.

The Reform party of South Oxford was hopelessly divided. Many felt that they ought to stand by Mr. Bodwell, the nominee of the Reform convention; others considered Mr. Brown's long services entitled him to the position. Under these circumstances, even members of the same families opposed each

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other in some cases. The Conservatives were also divided, but in the end the most of them voted for Mr. Brown. According to the common report, the Hon. John A. Macdonald wrote and advised them to take this course, and many professed to see in this one of the Conservative leader's astute moves, namely, to alarm the French Canadians again by Mr. Brown's presence in Parliament, and thus secure the overthrow of the Macdonald-Sicotte Administration.

However this may have been, the Reform leader received a strong Conservative as well as Reform support, and at the close of the polls was found to be elected by a majority of 275. I accompanied him to several places in the riding during the polling days, and came home rather sorry for Mr. Bodwell, who was worthy to represent the riding, and afterwards did so for many years, but at the same time pleased that the Province and the Reform party would again have the benefit of Mr. Brown's able services on the floor of Parliament.

The session then going on at Quebec was only five weeks old when the sectional spectre appeared again in its most dangerous form. This occurred on a Separate School Bill introduced by Mr. R. W. Scott, of Ottawa, but which was in reality a Government measure. It had the support of Rev. Dr. Ryerson, Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, although it considerably extended the principle and privileges of Separate Schools. Its introduction produced a storm in the House at once, and after two or

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three heated discussions the excitement spread to the country.

The Upper Canada Reformers found themselves unable to support the measure, and several Conservatives who formerly voted for Separate Schools now declared against them. Their chief objection in this, so their opponents alleged, was to place the Ministry in a sectional minority, and thus upset the Double Majority principle. If so, they were completely successful, as the measure was carried by a considerable majority of the whole House—Lower Canada being almost a unit in its favour; but there was an Upper Canadian majority of seven against it on the final reading.

Premier Macdonald was much aggrieved at this result, and threatened to resign if his western Reform supporters did not give the bill a majority when it came back from the Legislative Council. They could not, however, be coaxed or whipped into voting against their principles, and the circumstances having clearly demonstrated the impracticability of the Double Majority principle, from this time forward Mr. Sandfield Macdonald ceased to advance it as a practical remedy for the sectional difficulties under which the Province suffered.

Other stirring sessional incidents quickly followed, which went to show that under the existing Union any stable Government was now impossible. Encouraged by the ministerial trouble on the School Bill, Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Cartier, the Conservative leaders, shortly afterwards assailed them with a

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direct vote of want of confidence. This produced a battle royal. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Cauchon and Galt were the principal Opposition speakers; the Premier, and Messrs. Mowat, Howland, Dorion and Mackenzie, for the Ministry. While the speeches ran the whole gamut of politics, the Representation question continued to be the rallying point of attack and defence.

The Conservative leader, Mr. John A. Macdonald, assailed the Government for inconsistency on that question. His line of attack will be understood by the following extract from his speech: "Representation based upon population had long been an exciting question in Upper Canada. When Messrs. Macdougall, Foley, Wilson and Howland took office after persistently agitating the question, it was reasonable to expect they were prepared for a solution of it. But they had taken office and left over for four years this question, which they had said was fraught with danger to the peace of the country."

The reply of the Prime Minister, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, was universally admitted to be a masterly defence of his Ministry. On the Representation question he replied as follows: "He was surprised to hear Mr. J. A. Macdonald's attack on members supporting the Government for the course they had taken on Representation by Population, especially as he had been more strongly against the principle than he (the Premier) himself was. He had only found fault with his friends for pressing the matter prematurely. He had never expressed an opinion in opposition to

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the principle. But the hon. member for Kingston had burlesqued the whole matter. He declared it was a principle which could not be applied in our country—that it was a revolutionary movement—that it would lead to universal suffrage. . . . The member for Kingston had voted for Representation by Population, yet he gave that principle up in 1854 for the purpose of getting office by Lower Canada votes.”

The speeches of Mr. Galt, Finance Minister, and of Mr. Dorion and Mr. Mackenzie, the latter already in the front rank, were also conspicuous in this memorable debate. Mr. Brown, who had only recently taken his seat, whilst arguing strongly for constitutional changes, made a powerful and eloquent appeal on behalf of the Administration, declaring “he would not vote to bring the Opposition back to power, who promised no amendment and showed no signs of repentance.”

It is votes and not words, however, which tell in parliament, and when the division bell rang, it was found that the motion of want of confidence in the Government had been carried by a majority of five. The numbers for each province were as follow . . . Upper Canada, 31 to 28 against the motion; Lower Canada, 36 to 28 in its favour. The total vote was, therefore, 64 for the Opposition and 59 for the Government, with six members absent and one riding vacant. The Province was thus again without a Government and in the throes of another political crisis!

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After their defeat the members of the Administration held a long meeting at which they decided to advise Her Majesty's representatives to dissolve Parliament, to reconstruct the Cabinet, and appeal to the country. As the existing House had been elected under their predecessors, they were clearly within their constitutional rights in asking a dissolution, and Lord Monck promptly accepted their advice.

When Premier Macdonald, however, announced the proposed Dissolution to the House, and asked a vote of credit during the elections, the Opposition became very indignant, and Mr. Cartier took the extreme step of stopping the supplies by moving that the House do now adjourn. This aroused the indignation of Messrs. Brown, Dorion and Drummond, who warmly denounced the conduct of the Opposition, and were just as warmly denounced by the Conservative leaders in return. The last thing many of the members wanted was a new election, and Mr. Cartier's motion to adjourn was carried by 55 to 44.

This factious vote left the Government awkwardly situated to find funds to carry on the public service, but did not in any way alter the political situation. His Excellency Lord Monck was quite uninfluenced by the vote. He firmly sustained his advisers, and on the 13th of May came down to the Legislative Council, assented to the bills which had been passed, and announced that, "As two Administrations had failed within a year to secure the confidence of the Assembly, thus showing the impossibility of conducting the public business in a satisfactory manner,

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he now prorogued Parliament with a view to dissolution of the Assembly and an immediate appeal to the people."

The reconstruction of the Government, already well advanced, was then proceeded with. It proved to be rather a thorough one. The Sicotte wing of the Cabinet all retired. Mr. Dorion became the Lower Canada leader, bringing in the Hon. L. H. Holton, as Finance Minister, the Hon. Isidore Thibaudeau as President of the Council, and Mr. Letellier St. Just as Minister of Agriculture, two portfolios being left temporarily vacant. In the Upper Canada section the Hon. Oliver Mowat became Postmaster-General, Mr. Lewis Wallbridge, Solicitor-General, and the Hon. Mr. Howland, instead of Finance Minister, became Receiver-General. The vacant portfolios were subsequently filled by the appointment of Mr. L. S. Huntington as Solicitor-General East, and Mr. Maurice Laframboise as Commissioner of Public Works.

These ministerial changes were largely the work of Mr. Brown, and as the Government now agreed to drop the Double Majority and make Representation by Population an open question—the greatest advance possible on the constitutional question at that time—he became its active supporter both in Parliament and in the columns of his paper. The new Cabinet decided that the elections should take place during the following month—June—and when the new Macdonald-Dorion Government went to the country, it was at once evident that they had a

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much stronger hold upon Upper Canada than their predecessors.

Before the 1st of July the political verdict of the Province had again been rendered. The elections had been short but bitter enough in many ridings, although the issues were the same old story. The Macdonald-Dorion Ministry was at first believed to have won a decisive victory. This was undoubtedly the case in the Upper Province, where about 43 Ministerialists were returned to 18 Oppositionists and 4 Independents. In the Lower Province, however, Mr. Dorion, who had been venomously assailed with sectional cries, did not fare so well. Mr. Holton and he failed in their first attempt at re-election, and the general result only showed about 25 Ministerialists to 32 Oppositionists, with several Independents mostly inclined to the Bleu side.

The Governor-General promptly called the new Parliament together on August 13th. He having resigned as Solicitor-General, the Government elected Mr. Wallbridge Speaker, and by skilful piloting their majority sufficed to carry them safely through the session. Before the prorogation took place, however, it became painfully evident that on all sectional, racial and religious questions the two provinces were so utterly opposed to each other that the House of Assembly was rapidly returning to its former state of chronic crisis, and that no Government, however good, could long exist whilst the present constitutional relations of the provinces continued to exist.

Indeed, before leaving Quebec, at the close of this

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session, more than one prominent statesman expressed fears that a dangerous crisis between the two provinces was near, which, if not wisely and prudently met, might not only violently disrupt the Union, but lead to excesses which might prevent the French and British inhabitants of the two sections from ever cooperating under any form of government, let alone ultimately fusing into one homogeneous Canadian nationality.

CHAPTER XVII

THE UNION DOOMED—DEADLOCK AGAIN KING

THE year 1864 must ever remain a memorable one in Canadian history. It opened in political gloom and closed in political sunshine. It was a remarkable one not only for the two provinces of Canada, but for every foot of territory in America over which floats the British flag. It proved a great turning-point in our history, for a series of political events took place pregnant with importance to the whole Empire, and which reflected the highest credit on the statesmen and statesmanship not only of Upper and Lower Canada, but of all the other British provinces on this continent.

Nevertheless, the outlook could hardly have been gloomier than when Parliament again met on the 19th February. The deadlock in the Legislature between the two provinces was now almost absolute. The Macdonald-Dorion Government had only a majority of one or two, and no important legislation was possible. Government of any kind had, as already stated, become well-nigh impossible, and some leading statesmen began to entertain fears that scenes of violence, possibly bloodshed, might unexpectedly occur.

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The Hon. Mr. Sicotte publicly declared that the differences between the two provinces were not unlike those which preceded the American Civil War, and might also end in violence, and the Hon. D'Arcy McGee also pointed out the elements of danger to the public peace. The Hon. George Brown, ever since his return from Europe, had been exceedingly anxious to get these constitutional difficulties settled. I have reason to know that, both for the country's sake and on personal grounds, he had become deeply in earnest to end the strife between the two provinces, and was prepared for any reasonable public or personal sacrifices to accomplish it.

Doubtless many others also felt the gravity of the situation, but a remedy for the dangers which menaced the Province had been so long sought for in vain that few of the people's representatives went to Ottawa with much hope of a new and better order of things.

When the Houses met, His Excellency's Speech from the Throne promised very little legislation, and what little the Government did promise they couldn't carry. They had a solid majority of one or two, but members were afraid to leave the Chamber, even for an hour, lest a vote of non-confidence might be carried in their absence.

This peculiar position gave rise to not a few amusing jokes. The standard one was that "Sandfield Macdonald didn't possess even a drinking majority; that a man daren't go out to drink for fear the Ministry would be defeated before he got back!" In

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fact, one notable attempt was made by a western Conservative member, who represented a riding not a thousand miles from the town of Stratford, to defeat the Government in this way. He hired a carriage and invited two or three Reform members from ridings adjacent to his own, to view the beauties of the Ottawa river generally and the town of Aylmer in particular. They accepted, and had a pleasant time at various hostelrys. But whilst the enjoyment was at its best, the waggish entertainer quietly slipped off with the carriage, leaving the Ministerial supporters nearly ten miles from the Parliament Buildings, and a vote on a non-confidence motion about to be taken.

The Government and its supporters had to speak for hours against time until their "drinking majority" could be hunted up. But their friends searched the city for them in vain, and it was only at the last moment, when hopes of their appearance that night had been almost given up, that the missing members walked into the House, footsore and weary, having, on the discovery of the trick played upon them, walked all the way back from Aylmer to the city.

It need scarcely be added, the speaking stopped abruptly, the division bells resounded through the lobbies, and the Government again was saved by its famous majority of one.

The Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald was a man not only of ability, but of marked individuality and independence of character, and finding his Government and legislation blocked by persistent votes of non-

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confidence and other embarrassing devices on the part of the Conservative leaders, Messrs. Macdonald and Cartier, he and his colleagues resigned office on the 21st March, although still in possession of their slender majority.

The crisis which resulted at once revealed the gravity of the situation. Neither the Reform nor Conservative party could command a majority of the House. The Reformers had a large Upper Canadian majority, but few Lower Canada supporters; the Conservatives had a large Lower Canadian majority, but few Upper Canada supporters. In other words, the majorities of the two provinces were hopelessly arrayed against each other. Nor would either party give way or compromise.

It soon became known that Her Majesty's representative, Lord Monck, felt much embarrassed by the gravity of the situation. There seemed, however, no other course for him but to attempt another patch-up. He first tried a reconstruction of the late Administration, with the Hon. A. J. Fergusson Blair as Premier. Mr. Blair was unable to succeed. Then His Excellency applied to the Hon. Geo. E. Cartier. He also failed. The third attempt proved a trifle more successful. Sir Etienne Taché, a member of the Legislative Council, at the Governor's earnest request, succeeded in forming a new Cabinet, but only after several days' delay and much difficulty.

Premier Taché invited the Hon. John A. Macdonald to form the Upper Canadian section, and most of the leading men who formed the Cartier-Macdonald

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Ministry were soon again installed in office. The only notable changes were the appointment of the Hon. D'Arcy McGee as President of the Council, and of the Hon. M. H. Foley as Postmaster-General. Both of these gentlemen had previously been prominent in the Reform ranks, but for personal reasons, well understood at the time, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald flatly refused to include them in his reconstructed (Macdonald-Dorion) Cabinet, at which both gentlemen took mortal offence.* The new ministers were sworn into office on the 30th March, and the next day Parliament consented to adjourn till the 3rd May, in order to allow them time for re-election and to mature their programme.

It was during this interregnum that I first made the acquaintance of two gentlemen already prominent, but destined to reach still higher eminence in public life, and whom their opponents dubbed "George Brown's lieutenants," in consequence of the close political and personal intimacy existing between the three gentlemen. These were Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, M.P.P. for Lambton, and Mr. Archibald McKellar, M.P.P. for Kent. They were invited to North Waterloo to oppose the Hon. Mr.

* There was a good deal of conviviality among some of the leading public men at the seat of Government at this period, and it was common report that the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald's action in this matter arose from these grounds. Mr. McGee at this time joined the Conservative party, and never afterwards acted with the Reformers. Mr. Foley did not survive many years, having died quite suddenly at his home in the town of Simcoe, on the 9th April, 1870. He was born in Sligo, Ireland, in 1819, and was only in his fifty-first year.

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Foley's re-election as Postmaster-General, and consented to do so. As already stated, Mr. Foley had long been a prominent Reformer, and for several months the parliamentary leader of the party, but was persuaded at this time by the Hon. John A. Macdonald to throw in his lot with his old political opponents.

The Conservative leader, as has already appeared, was one of the adroitest of party tacticians, and a good story was long current *apropos* of his interview with the member for North Waterloo when he agreed to join the Taché-Macdonald Administration.

Having sent for the latter to meet him in one of the upper rooms of the Parliament Buildings, "John A.," as he was almost universally called, proposed without any circumlocution that Mr. Foley should accept the Postmaster-Generalship in the new Cabinet. Whether from the suddenness of the offer, or some qualms at the thought of finally leaving his old political friends, Mr. Foley temporarily hesitated. He asked questions, and particularly insisted on knowing what the policy of the new Administration was to be.

Slapping his interrogator on the knee with his open hand, in his usual off-hand, impulsive way, Mr. Macdonald is reported to have replied: "D——n it, Foley, join the Government, and then help to make the policy." This story was generally regarded as correct, and a characteristic illustration of the tactful, persuasive way in which the Conservative leader succeeded in bringing so many of his party intrigues to a successful termination.

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In justice to Mr. Foley, it ought to be mentioned, that from the formation of the Macdonald-Dorion Ministry he frequently acted in opposition to the Reform party, but this in no way decreased the ferment in North Waterloo when he appeared for re-election. There was a complete *bouleversement* throughout the riding. The Reformers were now the Postmaster-General's opponents; the Conservatives, his friends. The former promptly placed Mr. Isaac Bowman, of Waterloo village, in the field, as Mr. Foley's opponent, and a very exciting election resulted. The Postmaster-General was assisted by two of his fellow-ministers, Messrs. Galt and D'Arcy McGee, who, however, only attended a few meetings; Mr. Bowman, by Messrs. Mackenzie and McKellar, who held meetings in all the principal parts of the riding.

As I was asked to take part at some of the meetings, I became well acquainted with the two latter gentlemen. They appeared at many meetings together, and were decidedly the best informed, most thorough and successful political stumpers I had ever heard up to that time. Both were then in the prime of life, evidently manly men, and quite unostentatious, but possessed of great energy of mind and body. Both were fair debaters, which too many stumpers are not, and discussed political questions on their merits, but the opponent who found himself sandwiched in between the two at a public meeting soon discovered he had got into a very tight place. Mr. Mackenzie occasionally indulged in a little dry

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Scotch humour, but Mr. McKellar possessed a great fund of humour of a broader character, and as his handsome face, when speaking, was almost constantly wreathed in good-natured smiles, his audiences were often convulsed with laughter by his droll and humorous hits and sallies.

The Hon. Mr. Foley was also a very able platform speaker, witty as well as eloquent, with the happy



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Irish faculty of getting the laugh upon his opponent. He made an energetic fight, and his new Conservative friends did their best to assist him, but his sudden change of political position made it almost impossible for him to succeed in carrying North Waterloo at that time, and the stirring contest resulted in his defeat by a majority of 163.

Long years afterwards, when residing in the city of Hamilton as the sheriff of Wentworth, Mr. McKellar told me a capital story of his colleague, Mr. Mackenzie, the embryo Premier of the Dominion, which occurred at the village of St. Jacob's during this election, and which, so far as I know, has never before appeared in print.

They had held a meeting in the village the previous evening, and sometime during the night the

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inmates of the hotel at which they stopped were aroused by a small but noisy party of Conservative canvassers from the county town. It was not till towards morning that the racket ceased and sleep became possible. Mr. Mackenzie was then, as afterwards, an early riser, and when he came down stairs at six o'clock a.m., he found a roaring fire in the big box stove in the hall, but not a soul stirring about—the hostler, who had kindled the fire, having gone to the stable to attend to the horses. At the same moment his eyes alighted upon what appeared to be a large bundle of newspapers carefully tied up. On examination, however, this proved to be a rabid political campaign sheet, headed "Facts for the Irish electors!—Black Record of the Grit Party!!"



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etc., etc. This campaign material had been carelessly thrown down in a corner on the arrival of the lively party now deeply immersed in sleep upstairs.

Chuckling with merriment, Mr. Mackenzie thus described to Mr. McKellar what then happened. He said: "I remembered that it was one of the undoubted rights of belligerents to capture and destroy any of the enemy's munitions of war which fell in their way. The fortunes of war had placed within

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our grasp some of the enemy's most dangerous weapons, and weapons, too, not of a very legitimate character—dum-dum bullets, as it were. I determined, therefore, to exercise our belligerent rights as to confiscation, which I immediately proceeded to carry out, by opening the big stove door and thrusting the huge bundle into the roaring flames! Then I went out for a long, peaceful walk through the quiet little village, and out into the green fields and woods adjoining, until the hour for breakfast slowly came round."

What became of this campaign thunder remained an unfathomable mystery for many long years, and as the then aged Sheriff recounted the circumstances of its magic disappearance, he laughed until the tears fairly glistened in his eyes.

When Parliament reassembled on the 3rd May, after a recess of five weeks, the Taché-Macdonald Government found themselves minus their Postmaster-General, as well as considerably weakened by the stern opposition which almost every Minister met with on presenting himself for re-election. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was extremely bitter at his opponents, particularly Attorney-General Macdonald, for what he considered the factious and unscrupulous opposition they had given his Administration, and he openly declared war to the knife against the new Ministry. It was promptly assailed, therefore, with a vote of non-confidence, and only escaped defeat by a majority of two.

At this point the Hon. George Brown, in an earnest but conciliatory speech, made his customary annual motion in favour of constitutional changes, calling

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special attention to the helpless position of the late and present Governments, and pressing strongly upon the House the advisability of appointing a special committee to consider the relations of the two provinces, and to report upon the constitutional changes necessary to put an end to the troubles.

Two years, even one year before, this motion would have been bitterly assailed and voted down. But many had at last awakened to the alarming dangers threatening the country, and the motion was carried and was referred to a special committee, if not comprising "all the talents," at least embracing fifteen of the foremost men in the House. It was composed as follows: Messrs. J. A. Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, Chapais, Turcotte, McGee, J. H. Cameron, Street, Brown, J. S. Macdonald, Holton, Mowat, Macdougall, McKellar and Scoble—the first eight Conservatives, and last seven Reformers.

Whilst Mr. Brown's Constitutional Committee were actively at work, the political war went on in the House. The Opposition promptly moved another vote of censure on the Government on the 14th. It had come to light a short time before that during 1859 the Finance Minister, Mr. Galt, had advanced \$100,000 from the public chest to redeem certain bonds given by the city of Montreal to the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway Co. These bonds the Grand Trunk Railway Co. subsequently agreed to redeem, and so the Government advance had really been made to the latter company. This had been done without the sanction or knowledge of Parliament, and Mr. Dorion very properly moved to con-

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demn the transaction. Mr Galt warmly defended the course he had pursued, but the defection of two of their supporters, Mr. Dunkin and Mr. Rankin, led to the defeat of the Government by a vote of 60 to 58.

Rather strange to say, on the very day this vote of censure was carried, Mr. Brown, as the chairman of the Constitutional Committee, submitted the result of their deliberations in the shape of an able and carefully prepared report. The minute in regard to this famous report is given in our parliamentary records as follows :

"Mr. Brown—From the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the important subjects embraced in a despatch to the Colonial Minister, addressed to him on the 2nd day of February, 1859, by the Hon. G. E. Cartier, the Hon. A. T. Galt and the Hon. John Rose, then members of the Executive Council of this province, while in London acting on behalf of the Government of which they were members, in which they declared that 'very grave difficulties now present themselves in conducting the Government of Canada in such a manner as to show due regard to its numerous population.' That 'differences exist to an extent which prevents any perfect and complete assimilation of the views of the two sections.' That 'the progress of population has been more rapid in the western section, and claims are now made on behalf of its inhabitants for giving them representation in the Legislature in proportion to their numbers.' That 'the result is shown by an agitation fraught with great danger to the peaceful and harmonious working of our constitutional system, and consequently detrimental to the progress of the Province.' That 'the necessity of providing a remedy for a state of things that is yearly becoming worse, and of allaying feelings that are daily being aggravated by the

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contentions of political parties, has impressed the advisers of Her Majesty's representative in Canada with the importance of seeking such a mode of dealing with these difficulties as may for ever remove them, and the best means of remedying the evils therein set forth'—presented to the House the report of the said Committee, which was as follows :

"That the Committee have held eight sittings, and have endeavoured to find some solution for existing difficulties likely to receive the assent of both sections of the Province. A strong feeling was found to exist among the members of the Committee in favour of changes in the direction of the federative system, applied either to Canada alone, or to the whole British American provinces, and such progress has been made as to warrant the committee in recommending that the subject be again referred to a committee at the next session of Parliament. All of which is respectfully submitted."—GEORGE BROWN, *Chairman*.

The political situation was now critical—almost dramatic. The latest new Government was again shattered. Deadlock was King again! And what was Lord Monck and his advisers to do? A successful reconstruction of the Government was impossible. A dissolution and a new general election might make a temporary change in the strength of the two political parties, but would bring no permanent relief to the now distracted country. After hours of consideration, however, the Taché-Macdonald ministers saw no other course but to advise Lord Monck to dissolve Parliament again, to which His Excellency, after considerable hesitation, gave his consent. Preparations were already begun for this purpose, when the dangerous crisis suddenly took a most unexpected turn.

CHAPTER XVIII

BROWN AND MACDONALD PATRIOTICALLY UNITE TO CARRY CONFEDERATION

IF there was one man in Parliament who, by long, unswerving advocacy, had done more than any other to make government impossible until justice was done to Upper Canada, or who was more anxious than any other to find a constitutional remedy which would restore peace and prosperity to both provinces—that man was George Brown. That gentleman saw clearly the possibilities of the existing political crisis, and like a true statesman he rose equal to the occasion.

The day after the defeat of the Conservative Ministry, he approached two of its most influential supporters, Messrs. James Morris, of Lanark, and John H. Pope, of Compton, and frankly stated to them his views. He earnestly pressed them to see their ministerial friends and urge upon them the importance of utilizing the crisis to "forever settle the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada" by the adoption of a Federal constitution as suggested in the special Committee's report. He declared at the same time, with equal frankness, that he would

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co-operate with and assist the present or any other Government which in this way earnestly sought to bring about a final and satisfactory settlement of the difficulties now distracting the country.

This bold action on the part of the Reform leader was not taken until after private consultation with a few of his chief supporters. But to all others it was as surprising as it was unexpected, and quite astounded both Parliament and the country. This was no wonder, for it immediately and completely changed the whole dangerous political situation.

Messrs. Morris and Pope, with Mr. Brown's permission, promptly communicated his message to the Hon. John A. Macdonald and Mr. Galt. These gentlemen were already busying themselves with the expected general elections, but quickly apprehended the importance and possibilities of Mr. Brown's message and promise of assistance. Only two days before, at the last meeting of the special committee on constitutional changes, Mr. Macdonald declined to sign its report in favour of a Federal Union as a remedy for existing difficulties. But this did not for a moment prevent him, on receipt of Mr. Brown's message, and after the defeat of the Government, from considering the possibility of its reconstruction with the federal principle as its chief corner-stone.

The position of the Constitutional Committee on the question of Federation had been as follows: After many days' discussion of the political difficulties affecting the two provinces, Mr. Brown drew up the report already given, in which the Committee declared

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themselves "in favour of changes in the direction of a Federative Union, applied either to Canada alone or to the whole of British America." Besides Mr. Brown, Mr. Mowat, and Mr. Macdougall, Messrs. Galt, McGee, Cartier and Turcotte warmly advocated the adoption of the report, and I often heard Mr. Brown say that nothing surprised him more on the first day the Committee met, than to find that a French Canadian, the Hon. Mr. Turcotte, who had not long before spoken of wading knee-deep in blood rather than submit to Representation by Population, was one of the very first, as soon as the door of the room was locked, to declare that the war between Upper and Lower Canada must now cease, and that he would support the remedy proposed.

When the Committee came to decide, the proposition in favour of a Federal Union was almost unanimously carried. Out of the fifteen prominent Canadians who composed the Committee, Messrs. John A. Macdonald, John Sandfield Macdonald and John Scoble were the only members who declined to subscribe to the report.

But the Government had been defeated since then, and its master-spirit, the Hon. John A. Macdonald, quickly perceiving the rising tide in favour of constitutional changes, and always alive to the importance of keeping in his own hands the reins of Government, made one of those adroit political changes which marked more or less all his public career.

As in 1854 he gave up his opposition to the settlement of the Clergy Reserves, Seigneurial Tenure and

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Elective Legislative Council questions, as proposed by Mr. Hincks, when the latter's aid enabled him to form a Coalition Ministry to carry these reforms out, so now in 1864, after long holding office as the chief opponent of constitutional changes, he became the supporter of the Federal Union of Canada or of all British America, as proposed by Mr. Brown, when the latter, like Mr. Hincks, promised him the aid necessary to form another Coalition Ministry to carry the measure through.

Many of Mr. Macdonald's admirers consider his change of attitude on these occasions as among his highest claims to statesmanship.* His opponents, on the other hand, have cited them as evidence that he was a mere opportunist, who was not particular what his policy was so long as it enabled him to control

* "He might write in living letters on his political arms as his motto, *carpe diem*. Unlike the unthinking plodder who launches his skiff when the winds and the tides set against him, Mr. (let us say Sir John, for we are anticipating) Macdonald only puts out when the current is with him and the 'furrows follow free.' . . . This has been Sir John Macdonald's pre-eminence: and if standing patiently by, and waiting till public opinion is ready for him to secularize the Clergy Reserves, or consummating a union of the straggling provinces, is to be a creature of expediency, then such a creature in a superlative degree is he. Brown's proposal of a Coalition Macdonald saw was the favourable turn to the tide, which had up to that hour set adversely.

"Because his efforts for Union before would only have been energy wasted, and a defeat tarnish on the project, he had, up to this hour, held aloof; because his exertions now could be turned to triumph, he not only joined hand with the Unionists, but with heart and head became the leader of the movement, halting not, or flagging not, as we shall see, till his ideal victory was won."—"Life and Career of Sir John A. Macdonald," by Collins and Adams, pages 286 and 287.

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the Government and dispense the patronage.* Much might be said on both sides of this question, but I content myself with stating the circumstances as fairly as I may be able, leaving each political side and the general reader to draw their own conclusions.

After the message of the Reform leader had been duly communicated to the Government, Mr. Brown was asked if he would consent to meet Messrs. Macdonald and Galt and discuss the subject. He consented, and these gentlemen waited upon him at the St. Louis Hotel on the 17th May, when the whole political situation was considered. The result of this and of subsequent interviews was the formation of the most powerful coalition government in Canadian history, which terminated the prolonged strife and bitterness between Upper and Lower Canada, and finally led to the Federal Union of all the provinces of British America under the name of "The Dominion of Canada"—one of the most enlightened and beneficent measures of ancient or modern times.

* "The first day of July, 1867, saw the great reform accomplished for which Mr. Brown had toiled so many years, and saw also the Conservatives, who opposed it to the last, now reaping the fruit of their opponents' labours. Thenceforward Mr. Macdonald would be able to boast he was the father of Confederation, on the same ground that he boasted of carrying the measure to secularize the Clergy Reserve lands. He strongly opposed both measures, on principle, as long as it was possible to do so, and then joined the men who initiated and carried forward the movement of both, and declared the work was his own. Having no great work of his own to boast about, he bravely plucks the laurel from the brows of the actual combatants and real victors, and fastens it on his own head."—*"Life and Speeches of the Hon. George Brown,"* by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, M.P., page 107.

BROWN AND MACDONALD UNITE

What innumerable difficulties had to be overcome to accomplish this noble achievement of Canadian statesmanship only the chief actors fully understood. At the first interview of Messrs. Brown, Macdonald and Galt they seemed almost insurmountable. The first named gentleman wanted the Conservative Government to carry out the constitutional changes proposed, and he would pledge them the support of himself and his Reform friends in doing so. Mr. Macdonald wanted a coalition ministry, with Mr. Brown as the chief Reform representative, and in taking this stand I consider he was wise, for the country as well as himself.

That Mr. Brown at first did not contemplate, and was sincerely desirous to avoid, taking office with his old political opponents, admits of no doubt whatever. He would never have done so had not a large majority of the Reform caucus insisted upon it. He was warmly attached to his Lower Canadian allies, especially Messrs. Holton and Dorion, and it pained him to think even of temporary separation from them; but it is well known that the principal difficulty in the way of uniting the two great Reform and Conservative leaders in one Cabinet—which both gentlemen doubtless felt—was not simply their long political rivalry, but the personal animosity which had previously existed between them, and which neither had taken much pains to disguise.

This led Mr. Brown to say in his frank, blunt way, at their first interview, that nothing but the gravity of the crisis and the absolute necessity of settling the

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constitutional difficulties endangering their country could justify them in meeting together for common political action. To this Mr. Macdonald assented, and although probably neither of them was ever able to forget the past, they nobly rose superior to their personal feelings when this grave crisis in the affairs of Canada demanded it, and patriotically united to restore peace and prosperity to their now distracted country.

In temporarily coalescing for this special purpose there is no reason to doubt that both Mr. Brown and Mr. Macdonald, each from his own standpoint, acted from principles of patriotism, and that the union of these two great political rivals and their respective parties in the Coalition Government of 1864, with the avowed policy of terminating the Canadian deadlock and bringing about the Confederation of British America, will forever remain one of the grandest triumphs of Canadian statesmanship, as well as an illustrious example of how the most bitter political opponents may sometimes patriotically combine for the good of their common country.

Five days after the first interview, on the 22nd June, all the preliminary difficulties had been overcome, and Attorney-General Macdonald read to Parliament a full memorandum of the negotiations day by day between the Government and Mr. Brown, which he followed with the formal announcement that a coalition administration had been agreed upon to bring about constitutional changes, and whose

BROWN AND MACDONALD UNITE

policy was more specifically defined in the following memorandum agreed upon by the contracting parties:

"The Government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the same system of government. And the Government will seek, by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces and England, to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation, to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general legislature based on the federal principle."

This important announcement* was not made to the Houses of Parliament without some murmurs of dissent, but it had the support of the overwhelming majority of both the Reform and Conservative parties. The Cabinet changes, at Mr. Brown's request, were postponed till the session closed, but the recently defeated Government was now all-powerful, and they vigorously pressed through the supplies and other necessary sessional business. They were able to adjourn Parliament on the 30th June.

On the same day the famous Coalition Cabinet was formed. The Hon. Messrs. Foley, Buchanan and

* As the speech of the Hon. George Brown, immediately after this announcement was made to Parliament, throws much light on the circumstances connected with the formation of this famous Coalition Government, an abbreviated report has been prepared and may be found in Appendix I.

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Simpson resigned their offices, and Messrs. Brown, Mowat and Macdougall, as representatives of the Reform party, took their places. The gentlemen composing the Cabinet and the offices they held were as follows :

UPPER CANADA.—Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney General West ; Hon. George Brown, President of the Council ; Hon. Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General ; Hon. William Macdougall, Provincial Secretary ; Hon. Alexander Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands ; Hon. James Cockburn, Solicitor-General West.

LOWER CANADA.—Hon. Sir Etienne P. Taché, Premier and Receiver-General ; Hon. George E. Cartier, Attorney-General East ; Hon. Alexander T. Galt, Minister of Finance ; Hon. J. C. Chapais, Commissioner of Public Works ; Hon. T. D. McGee, Minister of Agriculture ; Hon. Hector L. Langevin, Solicitor-General East.

This unexpected turn of the political crisis and the rapid march of events ending in the formation of this Confederation Government, in many respects the most celebrated in Canadian history, naturally astounded both Parliament and people. According to the historian Dent, "the announcement that George Brown and John A. Macdonald were to sit side by side in the same Cabinet" quite "electrified" the country.

Nor were grumblers absent. Some old-time Conservatives gravely shook their heads, and some Reformers found fault with Mr. Brown for entering



SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

HON. HECTOR LOUIS LANGEVIN.

SIR ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT.

SIR NARCISSE F. BELLEFLEUR.

HON. JOSEPH CURRAN MORRISON.

PROMINENT MEN IN MACDONALD-CARTIER MINISTRIES.

BROWN AND MACDONALD UNITE

the Coalition, whilst others thought he should have insisted on having six Reform ministers instead of three. It is well known he did ask for six members of the Cabinet, but he was not supported by the Lower Canada wing of the party, and his insistence upon the concession would have jeopardized and might have ruined the whole movement.

Notwithstanding some criticism, as soon as the country had recovered from its surprise, almost universal satisfaction was felt at the prospect of forever getting rid of the wretched sectional difficulties which had so long distracted the two provinces, and a wave of popularity for the Coalition Government and Confederation set in so strongly as to sweep everything before it.

CHAPTER XIX

HORACE GREELEY AND HENRY WARD BEECHER

WHILST these important political events were transpiring at Ottawa, I left Galt early in June, on a voyage to Great Britain, partly to increase my slender stock of world knowledge and partly for rest and recreation. I sailed down the Hudson River from Albany to New York, one of the most enchanting bits of scenic loveliness in the world, and which no tourist should ever miss. New York in 1864 was not the New York of 1900, but it was even then the American metropolis, and the largest and grandest city in the New World.

The Civil War was still raging. The presence of camps and soldiers in and near New York told that. But the tide of victory had set in strongly in favour of the North, and that monstrous crime, the assassination of President Lincoln, had not yet stained the annals of the Republic.

The nation, and especially New York, its commercial centre, was tired of war and carnage, and hopes began to be entertained that peace could not be far distant.

New York at that time had no Brooklyn Bridge, no Croton Aqueduct, no overhead Railway, no Grant

HORACE GREELEY AND BEECHER

monument, no colossal Statue of Liberty in the centre of its magnificent harbour, as if beckoning the commerce of the world to enter, and no Boss Tweed or Tammany Hall. Union Square was still the centre of the city, Printing and Court House Square yet innocent of modern sky-scrapers, and the grim old Astor House then at the zenith of its fame and glory.

There is much to learn and enjoy in New York, but aside from its incomparable location as a world's commercial metropolis, and the vastness of its commerce, probably the two strongest impressions made on my mind at the time were the daily scrimmage between the Bulls and Bears of Wall Street, whose wild exclamations and gestures savoured of bedlam to the uninitiated, and the wondrous beauty which Central Park promised and Greenwood Cemetery had already attained.

The day I spent in Greenwood Cemetery could hardly have been more beautiful. It was nigh the middle of June, and Nature was at its meridian splendour. This was my first visit, and although Greenwood has developed since then, and now rivals the famous *Pere la Chaise* of Paris, time has failed to obliterate the vision of natural artistic beauty it presented to my untutored Canadian eyes at that time. Passing through the stately, elegant entrance, what a gorgeous panorama of luxuriant, closely-shaven grass, noble specimens of the sculptor's art, miniature lakes and artistic fountains, rare and beautiful trees and shrubs, and millions of roses and other flowers in

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full bloom, burst upon the sight! It was at once enchanting, elevating and solemnizing, and these feelings increased when it was found that many hundreds of acres were thus artistically ornamented, forests of leaves, flowers and berries overhanging and bordering innumerable avenues and paths, the former of which furnish long and delightful drives, whilst the latter, gracefully meandering, conduct the visitor to more secluded and still lovelier scenes.

At one moment you pass over verdant and sunny lawns, now through park-like groves, and anon by a contrasting bit of tangled forest. Now you are in the dell, with its still waters, its overhanging shade and its calm repose. Then you look from the hilltop upon the imperial city, with its queen-like daughter on the bay—so beautiful and life-like—down into the quiet rural hamlet or beyond it, to the distant ocean. In gazing upon these beauties of Greenwood, at once so great a contrast and so creditable to the living New York across the river, the majesty and sweetness of William Cullen Bryant's famous lines strike one with peculiar force:

"Thou, God, art here : thou fillest
The solitude. Thou art in the soft winds
That run along the summit of the trees
In music. Thou art in the cooler breath
That, from the inmost darkness of this place,
Comes, scarcely felt ; the barky trees, the ground,
The fresh moist earth, are all instinct with Thee.
Here is continual worship ; nature here,
In the tranquility that Thou dost love,
Enjoys Thy presence."

HORACE GREELEY AND BEECHER

Among the famous Americans of that day, two who had come early to New York I desired especially to see. They were both men of marked originality, personally different but both characteristically American—original, New World types—whose genius was already recognized in Europe as in their native land. These gentlemen were Horace Greeley and Henry Ward Beecher.

What an able, kind-hearted, unsuspecting man Mr. Greeley was! Having requested an interview, I was conducted up stair after stair to a room near the roof of the *Tribune* building, where in the most unconventional manner I was ushered into his presence.

The *Tribune's* famous editor was writing, and the room and his table were littered with blue books, newspapers, *et cetera*, but his collar and tie were not all awry, nor his straw hat so shapeless as some of the popular pictures of the day represented them to be. He was of full average height, apparently healthy and strong, but what struck me most was the wonderfully open, free, kind-hearted expression of his eyes and face. His actions immediately confirmed this. The moment he learned I was a newspaper man from Canada on my way to Britain, he treated me as



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if I were a friend whom he had known all his life—the utter absence of all reserve on his part at once surprising and attracting me. This I afterwards learned was one of his most striking characteristics, and led him on some occasions into unpleasant complications.

After the exchange of a few commonplaces, he suddenly said: "Mr. Young, I am glad you called. I wish to send over a copy of my work on the Civil War in America to John Bright in England, and, if not too much trouble, I will be pleased if you will take it over with you and deliver it."

"It is the very thing I would like, Mr. Greeley," I replied, after a moment's surprise at this unexpected request of a gentleman of only five minutes' acquaintance.

"Well," he continued, "will you sit here a few minutes whilst I run down to my bookbinder's. I want Mr. Bright's copy bound and gilt in a special manner, and if he can get it done in time I will send it over with you."

After a short absence Mr. Greeley returned, slightly breathless from his hasty movement up those long flights of stairs, and it was arranged that I was to call on the following Friday, when he hoped the book, carefully prepared and wrapped up, would be placed in my possession.

This was my first, and proved my only, interview with Horace Greeley. When I called again, the day before sailing, he was not at his office, and I learned that the bookbinder, after promising to do his best,

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found himself unable in so short a time to get the book bound and ornamented as Mr. Greeley desired, and so after all I did not have the pleasure of so favourable an introduction to Mr. Bright.

My respect for and interest in Mr. Greeley were greatly deepened by this interview. I had been a careful student of his writings in the *Tribune*, which, after more than forty years, is still a welcome visitor to my library. Knowing now that he possessed a unique and lovable personality, and desiring to know more of his career, the story of his life was obtained and read with avidity. The particulars of his boyhood and early hardships were found exceedingly striking, and especially his youthful wanderings from his birth-place, at Amherst, New Hampshire, until he reached the great city of New York, on the 18th August, 1831, with little but his old faded red bundle on a stick across his shoulder, and a few bright rays of ambition and hope in his heart.

The man and his career alike deeply impressed me, and brought to mind the story of Dick Whittington and his cat on their way to London, for the rise of Horace Greeley from a poor homeless boy on the streets of New York until he founded and edited the most influential of American newspapers, was equal to, if it did not surpass, the achievement of Whittington in becoming the Lord Mayor of London. Only ability, industry and enterprise of a high order—amounting in fact to genius—could accomplish such a feat.

Poor Greeley! His future was destined not to

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pass unclouded. His famous article addressed to the rebellious States just before the war began, "Wayward sisters, go in peace," and his more famous journey to Richmond, Virginia, after General Lee had surrendered to Grant, to sign the bail bonds of the rebel President, Jefferson Davis,* were both highly natural and characteristic of the man, but they surprised and annoyed his political friends.

And when, in 1872, he accepted a nomination for the Presidency of the United States from the Cincinnati Convention, which was a combination of all those disgruntled with the Federal administration during the war, he severed the ties which had so long and so closely bound him to the Republican party. Thousands of Republicans, nevertheless, voted against him with deep regret. His subsequent defeat was a trial, but one which politicians do not generally take very seriously; but I recollect few events which struck me as being more painfully sad than the fact, that when Horace Greeley, staggering under the wreck of his presidential ambition, wanted to resume the manage-

* When in the city of Richmond, the capital of Virginia, during the winter of 1894, I found these Greeley bail bonds for Jefferson Davis fittingly framed, hanging in one of the rooms of the famous old capitol of that State. The coloured usher took special delight in pointing them out. Among numerous other curiosities in the ancient building which the Virginians will not allow to be removed on account of its numerous historical associations, there are on its walls portraits of every Governor Virginia ever had, commencing with the British, followed by those of the Republic after 1776, then the Southerners during the Civil War, and now those of the United States again. Richmond and its old capitol are full of interest to tourists.

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HORACE GREELEY AND BEECHER

ment of the *Tribune*—the paper he had founded and which was to him as the apple of his eye—he was coldly told that a new managing editor had been appointed by the directors of the company, and his services were no longer required!

This was “the unkindest cut of all,” indeed, a staggering blow at a critical time, and poor Greeley retired to his farm at Chappaqua with a broken heart, which, to the deep and lasting regret of the nation, in less than a month resulted in his death.

“Follow the crowd” is the advice, it is said, Henry Ward Beecher once gave to a stranger who, hastily passing him, inquired the way to Plymouth Church. This story, like hundreds of others about the great American divine, was doubtless apochryphal, but I acted somewhat on that principle on the Sunday morning spent in New York at this time, and soon found myself seated in a forward pew of Plymouth Church, all anxious to see and hear its renowned pastor.

The church was spacious and comfortable, but there were some surprises. I was surprised at its plainness, particularly of the outside; at the reverent, devout attitude of the vast congregation, the united and hearty ascriptions of praise which made the chamber re-echo, and, more striking than all, the quiet, unostentatious manner in which Mr. Beecher, straw hat in hand, ascended the stairs and took his seat in the pulpit. I had pictured a different bearing, and when I found that his every movement at the sacred desk, his reading of the Gospel and hymns,

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and his prayers, were conspicuously simple—the elegant simplicity of art—my surprise, and, I may add, my admiration increased.

The text of his sermon was 1 Peter 3:18, and his theme was "The Vicarious Sufferings of Christ." It was a masterpiece. This was not from its manner of delivery. He seemed to make no effort at oratory, and only rose three or four times into the region of eloquence, but this flashed out so suddenly and naturally that the listener was impressed with the immense reserve power which the great preacher evidently possessed and which only needed the proper occasion to call it forth. The sermon was masterly because of its high plane and tone, the highly intellectual, original and reverent manner in which he handled this greatest of Christian themes, and the convincing, elevating and spiritualizing lessons he drew from it. It was thoroughly orthodox, and left impressions on my mind which the lapse of time has failed to erase, and which remain fresh and wholesome and pleasing to this hour.

As the service drew to a close, Mr. Beecher for the first time relaxed. He read an announcement that the congregation would hold a social meeting on a certain evening, to which all the members were invited. Looking up, a humorous smile illuminating his expressive eyes and face, he said: "There is no reference to strawberries and cream in the announcement, but I suppose they are eloquently understood." And then, as if the thought had just occurred to him—which was likely the case—he exclaimed: "Ah!

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it is a different thing being a Christian nowadays compared with the days when I was a boy. Then the devil's children got nearly all the world's good things. But now we are not afraid to snatch a little fruit off our Father's trees, and it ain't stealing neither!"

This sally caused an audible smile throughout the vast audience, but as the parting hymn of praise resounded in thunderous tones throughout the church, I felt that neither the solemnity of the service nor the piety of the people had suffered from the humorous words which had escaped from the lips of this greatest of America's preachers.

After hearing this sermon of Henry Ward Beecher's I believed then, as now, that no man could preach such a discourse without being a genuine Christian. So strong was this impression that I never believed the scandals alleged against Mr. Beecher in after years, and a circumstance related to me by the Rev. J. K. Smith, D.D., for twenty years pastor of Knox Church, Galt, tended to confirm this view.

Dr. Smith was in New York whilst the city was agitated by the Beecher-Tilton charges. One evening an unusually large and influential meeting took place in one of the principal churches, representatives of all the evangelical bodies being present. The large platform was crowded with clergymen, among them my informant. Just before the hour to begin, Henry Ward Beecher quietly took his place upon the platform. His reception was cold. Several clergymen did not recognize him at all, others seemed to be otherwise engaged, and some who did speak

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to him seemed to do so in a hasty, perfunctory way.

"I felt much sympathy for Mr. Beecher," said Dr. Smith, in relating the circumstances to me, "the coldness displayed towards him by his fellow-ministers being so marked and chilling. But towards the close of the meeting," to give the Doctor's description in his own words as nearly as I can recollect them, "Mr. Beecher was requested by the chairman to pray, and as his appeal ascended to our Heavenly Father, it seemed—as lightning storms do—to completely change the atmosphere around us. It was reverent and elevated in tone, so appropriate to the occasion, so deeply spiritual in sentiment and language, and withal so tender and loving towards God and man, that the clerical ice began to melt, and before Mr. Beecher closed not a few of the ministers and many of the audience were in tears. And when the benediction was pronounced, with few exceptions his fellow-ministers—a few minutes before so cold and suspicious—crowded around and shook hands with Mr. Beecher, thus assuring him of their continued respect and attachment."

"The citizens of the United States," wrote a British tourist on his return home, "are composed of three classes: the good, the bad, and the Beechers."

Henry Ward Beecher was certainly cast in an original mould, and was undoubtedly *sui generis*. But after hearing him several times on the platform and in the pulpit, in my humble judgment he was the greatest and most characteristic orator of the

HORACE GREELEY AND BEECHER

American type, not excepting Webster, Wendell Phillips or Blaine, which the United States has produced. And as to the efforts of persecutors to tarnish his great reputation, during all the long years which have since elapsed I never once heard him maligned that the memory of that sermon on the vicarious sufferings of Christ did not instantly rise into view to dissipate any suspicion of his Christian character which may have momentarily flitted across my mind.

After lingering longer in New York than expected, I found myself in the good steamship *Edinburgh*, breasting the restless billows of the broad Atlantic—as in Sir A. Hunt's "Julian,"

"Watching the waves with all their white crests dancing."

What a change for one who never before saw the old ocean or smelt its salty breath! Byron, in "Childe Harold," describes it as "the image of eternity," and as "boundless, endless and sublime." It is certainly a revelation, awakening new and sublime emotions in the mind, and, alas, in too many cases, emotions of a very different nature in another part of the human anatomy. Nevertheless, there is something grand, invigorating and inspiring in an ocean voyage, especially in these favoured days when our modern steamships have become floating palaces containing every luxury and convenience which the heart of man can desire.

Many a time in early days did I hear British emigrants, newly arrived in Canada, tell in pathetic tones of their voyages by sailing-ships of ten, twelve and

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even fourteen weeks, with the numerous dangers and hardships through which they had passed. It took us twelve days to cross in 1864, and voyages in the average steamship then ranged from ten to fourteen. But the trip can now be made in less than a week, and when Canada completes its through railway system to its most easterly port, Sydney or Louisbourg, Cape Breton, and the proposed fast steamship line is established, it is within sight that the Atlantic voyage will be reduced below four days! And even then possibility will not be exhausted.

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CHAPTER XX

MEMORIES OF A TOUR IN ENGLAND

LIVERPOOL! I had caught pleasing glimpses of the coast of Ireland in passing, but it was not until we entered the Mersey and the magnificent harbour of what may be called the world's marine metropolis, that it was realized we were in Great Britain.

Two things immediately arrested my attention. The first was the extent, the massiveness and durability of Liverpool's docks. The blocks of stone were so immense, the entire docks so grandly massive, it seemed as if they had been constructed to last forever, and Macaulay's South Sea Islander would have a precious long time to wait if, after viewing the ruins of London Bridge and St. Paul's, he lingered to see this colossal masonry crumble away. The second surprise was the immense number of ships of every class crowding the immense harbour. This was a magnificent sight, for besides the moving craft under sail and steam, there were hundreds of vessels of all kinds and sizes—at some wharves six and eight lying side by side—and a perfect forest of masts and spars stretched away as far as the vision extended. These were manned not alone by British tars, but by foreigners of every colour, speaking the languages and

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flying the flags and colours of every maritime nation in the world.

The vastness of Great Britain's shipping and commerce, not to speak of the shipping and commerce of the whole world, was unrealized by me until this vast and imposing marine scene in Liverpool harbour burst into view, and the mind gradually perceived all that it involved.

To a Canadian "to the manner born," accustomed to crooked fences and stumpy fields, Great Britain appears like a well-cultivated garden. This remark applies to Scotia's "brown heath and shaggy wood," as it does to Albion's rich plains or old Erin's green hills. My first experience of the country was on the 1st of July. This proved one of summer's loveliest mornings, and at six o'clock I left Liverpool by rail for Kelso, Scotland, going up the west side of England *via* Carlisle, a quaint old border city.

This journey could never be forgotten. The pretty hedgerows, the odour of new-mown hay, the colouring wheat and other ripening crops, the orchards and gardens in gaudy colours, and the stately mansions and pretty cottages made up a scene and atmosphere of pastoral beauty which cannot be realized without being witnessed.

After a few weeks' rest at Kelso, I went down the easterly side of England *via* Newcastle, where I attended the famous annual show of the Royal Agricultural Society, the horses, cattle and sheep being a grand sight; then passed on to the city of London, and subsequently returned to Scotland by way of the

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MEMORIES OF A TOUR IN ENGLAND

cities of Manchester and York, which afforded a fine view of the central portions of the country.

Whether you go east, west or central, you find that all parts of England or Scotland (and the same is true of Ireland) have reached almost the perfection of fertility and beauty. The scene from commanding positions such as the tower of Windsor Castle in England, or the turrets of Stirling Castle in Scotland, with richly laden, hedge-bound fields and heather-blooming braes extending on every side beyond the range of vision, is exceedingly enrapturing. And what quickens your interest and admiration of this natural beauty is the fact that almost every nook and valley is celebrated in history or romance.

At one place in England you are shown where King John was forced to yield the Magna Charta to the angry barons; at another, the cottage where the immortal Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway lived and loved. Then it may be the famous field of Bannockburn, where King Robert Bruce and Scotland triumphed, or "The banks and braes o' bonnie Doon," which the sparkling genius of Robert Burns has endowed with undying fame. England, Scotland and Ireland, indeed, may be described as classic ground. There is scarcely a hamlet which the ardour of their divines, the deeds of their warriors, the writings of their scholars, the songs of their poets or the eloquence of their statesmen have not rendered famous.

This opens up a tempting field to the modern tourist, but the scope of this work precludes doing more

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than to notice briefly a few places and circumstances which were specially impressive.

Foremost among these is the British metropolis. To those who enter London for the first time what a sight it is! It is nothing short of a revelation, with its 4,536,063 people,* its gorgeous palaces and shabby hovels, its beautiful parks and gardens and its crooked lanes and alleys, its riches and its poverty, its virtues and its vices.

One hour's stand on London Bridge at any hour of the day, or a walk down Cheapside or the Strand, presents human life in all its varied phases. These famous thoroughfares are a living panorama of the ups and downs of life. As the nobleman whirls past in his gilded chariot, and the street beggar, weary and sad, appeals to you for charity, you may turn to the surging stream of passers-by—the densest in the world—and fill up every condition of life between the plethora of riches and excess of poverty. Notwithstanding this, thanks to its good civic management, London is conspicuous among great cities for its cleanliness and order, and it justly may be said to be, commercially, the metropolis of the world.

At this time London was much excited, as indeed the whole kingdom was, over the American war, which was then culminating in the thrilling battles on sea and land. On the railways, in the hotels—everywhere—it was the almost universal topic. On my

*By the census of 1901 the population of Lesser London is given as 4,536,063, and of Greater London, which includes the outskirts, as 6,580,616.

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way to London I had an animated discussion with a well-informed Englishman, who proved to be the travelling engineer of a large English machinery establishment, and whose views were thoroughly typical of the state of British feeling among the masses of the people at that time.

At the beginning of the war public opinion strongly preponderated in favour of the North. The aristocratic and ultra-Tory classes naturally opposed Democracy and Republicanism, but with such leaders as John Stuart Mill, John Bright and Richard Cobden, the masses of the British people were at first decidedly with Lincoln and the anti-slavery party. When Mason and Slidell, the representatives of the Southern Confederacy, however, arrived in England, they vigorously set to work to change all this. John Bull has always been true and touchy on two great questions—Free Trade and hatred of Slavery. The wily Southerners rubbed him briskly on both of these sensitive points. Soon the country was flooded with newspaper articles, pamphlets, and even books, to prove that the real object of the North was to force Protection on the Free Trade South, and, strange to say, the very Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, which, rightly understood, sounded the death-knell of slavery, was actually quoted as proof that neither Lincoln, nor Seward, nor the North cared anything about slavery, but to save the Union would doom the negro to chains forever!

These tactics, combined with its being the under

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dog in the fight, had for the time largely turned British sympathy in favour of the South, and my typical Englishman plied these arguments with force and skill. But when I was able to convince him of the real meaning of the Emancipation proclamation, and that it was the knowledge that slavery was doomed under the old Union, which led the South to secede and endeavour to found a new Republic—whose corner-stone was to be human slavery, and whose founders even hoped to bring Mexico and Cuba under its black flag—he with great frankness admitted that these considerations quite altered the position of the question.

“Sir,” he said in effect, at parting, “from the information you have given me I am convinced our people are being quite led astray as to the real merits of the questions at stake between the North and South in the war, and I think you should either give these views to the public by means of lectures or through the press, as I am now inclined to believe very erroneous opinions on many of these points are being sedulously propagated and generally entertained.” I had, indeed, spent about ten days just before leaving Canada in writing out a lecture on the subject, but the long summer evenings are not favourable for such addresses in Great Britain, and no suitable opportunity having presented itself to use it, I did not consider it my duty to seek to make one.

Another discussion did not terminate so pleasantly. This took place one evening in a London hotel, and

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well illustrates how warmly the average London cockney felt on the prevailing topic. Having been overheard after dinner in making some mild remark to a friend about the war, a well-dressed, dapper little man, whom I judged had been born within the sound of Bow Bells, interjected some reply, and briskly launched into a warm eulogy of the South and still warmer condemnation of the North. Desirous of avoiding controversy, I tried to effect a graceful retreat, but my inflammable questioner was determined to force on discussion, and we were soon engaged in a hot controversy over the war, which attracted quite a circle of listeners. It terminated in my opponent losing his temper and declaring that "he believed I was a Yankee skedaddler," to which I replied "that although I lived 3,000 miles away, I was a Canadian and just as much a British subject as he was." I only relate the incident to bring out the fact, that if the majority of London cockneys of that day could have had their way, the Southern Confederacy would have been flourishing to-day instead of being a fast-fading recollection of the past.

London abounds in attractions. Many days may be delightfully spent amidst the rare curiosities of the British Museum, the old and modern paintings of the National Gallery, St. Paul's Cathedral and its famous tower and whispering gallery, and the sculptured tributes to Britain's honoured dead in Westminster Abbey, the one which struck me most being that of Shakespeare in the Poets' Corner in his own grandly majestic words :

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“ The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve ;
And, like this unsubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.”

Amidst the arms, armour and jewels of the Tower, where the warders are still quaintly costumed as in the days of Henry VIII., you are reminded of the tragedies and romances of the past, and if these thrilling remembrances cause you to sigh for sights more modern and beautiful, you can run out to Kew Gardens or the Crystal Palace, whose statuary, paintings, fountains, shrubs and flowers are always exquisitely lovely.

Nothing was more gratifying, however, than the time spent in the House of Lords and House of Commons when in session. Of the grandeur and beauty of the parliamentary buildings, so proudly adorning the banks of the Thames, it is not necessary to speak ; but it was indeed a rich treat for a Canadian to see and listen to some of the greatest of Britain's statesmen—gentlemen, in many cases, plain enough to look at, but at whose words, when they officially voice the nation's resolve, princes sometimes tremble and the struggling millions take hope.

It was Members' day on one of the occasions I was in the Commons, and quite a number of prominent gentlemen spoke on different subjects. The Palmerston Government was then in power, and besides the Prime Minister, among those heard were Sir Charles Wood, the Marquis of Hartington, then Secretary of

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War, Lord Robert Cecil, now the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Robert Peel, the Hon. C. Villiers, Mr. Bernard Osborne, quite a humorous speaker, Mr. Frederick Peel, and several others.

When "Old Pam." rose to his feet there was an immediate hush all over the beautiful chamber, but notwithstanding *Punch's* lively representations of the veteran statesman with a sprig of green leaf* between his lips, it was quite evident that old age was creeping upon him. Gladstone and Disraeli, then the two greatest orators and rivals in the Whig and Conservative camps, were present, but remained quiet spectators. The manner of Gladstone evinced something of the importance and animation of "the coming man," whilst the movements of "Dizzy"—as many of his countrymen called him—seemed at that particular time rather to suggest disappointed ambition and baffled genius.

Both of these gentlemen, however, afterwards distinguished themselves as Prime Ministers, and the latter's earlier failures were fully compensated when he came back from the Berlin Congress of 1878 with "Peace with Honour," and was raised to the Peerage

* During Lord Palmerston's lifetime this was often said to be a clover leaf. Having written Mr. J. W. Bengough, caricaturist, on the point, he replied under date of the Outer Temple, London, March 12th, 1902, as follows: "Being on the spot, I went to the office of *Punch* to make inquiry on the point, being unable myself to answer the question. I have the authority of Mr. Arthur a' Beckett, an old member of the staff, for saying that the twig or straw usually placed in Lord Palmerston's lips had no significance beyond the indication in this way that he was of a 'sporty' character."

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as the Earl of Beaconsfield. As to his famous rival, whose remains were interred in Westminster Abbey only four years ago, as a man and citizen, as a



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brilliant classical and English scholar, as a trenchant and versatile writer, as an orator of rare power and brilliancy, and as a statesman of remarkable ability, fearlessness and high Christian principle—in short, take him all in all, I have long believed that, when political passions have cooled, history will declare plain William Gladstone to have been

the greatest and noblest British statesman of ancient or modern times.

Richard Cobden and John Bright, two of the ablest and most remarkable Englishmen then living, were unfortunately not in the House. But my attention was quickly arrested by the late successful Prime Minister, the Earl of Salisbury, who at that time as Robert Cecil was winning his spurs in the Tory ranks. He was notably tall, muscular, athletic, and the forcible and combative way in which he roasted the Government, pointed him out as a man with a future, which opinion his career as Prime Minister amply justified. Mr. Frederick Peel, who was afterward the honoured Speaker of the House of Commons for a

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quarter of a century, spoke with a clear, ringing voice and in a well-reasoned way, his method and manner being more suggestive of America than any other gentleman who spoke.

No leading statesman indulged on this occasion in a great speech, although the war statement of the Marquis of Hartington was important. But judging from the short running debates which several different motions evoked, I came away with a higher estimate than previously entertained of the parliamentary oratory of our Canadian statesmen, who would, under similar circumstances, I considered, have acquitted themselves not uncreditably by the side of these illustrious Commoners of the parent State.

The House of Lords has been called the gilded Chamber, and is much more gorgeously ornamented than the House of Commons. Not knowing any of the Peers, I was momentarily puzzled how to gain admittance. But the plea of being a Canadian and a British subject, reinforced as it was by a modest half-crown—the latter artfully displayed—proved sufficiently convincing to the sturdy old guard at the door.

The view on entering the House of Lords is decidedly imposing. The Chamber is one of aristocratic splendour, and the Lord High Chancellor on the Woolsack, the Lords Spiritual in lawn, and the Law Lords in wigs and gowns, add impressiveness to the scene. If the classes deserve special representation, the House of Lords fills the bill better than most

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irresponsible bodies. It is a worthy representation of the British nobility, whose devotion to the nation and heroism in its defence have been conspicuous in every age. Many of the Peers looked very venerable and distinguished. But the body as a whole did not differ materially in appearance from the House of Commons, nor, indeed, did there appear to be any conspicuous difference—except the distinctions created by wealth and education—between “My Lord” and the *genus homo* in general.

“The rank is but the guinea’s stamp,
The man’s the gowd for a’ that.”

CHAPTER XXI

THE LAND OF BURNS AND SCOTT

AFTER regretfully leaving London and its attractions, most of my time was spent in touring Scotland, the longest stops being at Kelso, Dumfries, Penpont, Glasgow, Stirling, and Edinburgh, the latter city being reached by steamer and the waters of the winding, circuitous Firth of Forth.

Of all the cities visited, Glasgow and Manchester appeared the busiest hives of manufacturing industry. The former also seemed to have good claims to other distinctions, for the falling soot and embers from its numerous tall chimneys frequently blackened both people and buildings, and the scenes in its Saut-market, especially on Saturday nights, were almost indescribable. The number of persons, both women and men, some of the former bareheaded and barefooted, who were more or less intoxicated, was nothing short of shocking, and as two Glasgow gentlemen took me to see this famous resort, I recollect we came upon an intoxicated woman sitting flat in the gutter, begging, an infant at her bosom, and two other ragged and dirty children asleep—one on either side—with their heads in her lap and their bodies lying on the cold, damp pavement! It was a most

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pitiful sight, and on the spur of the moment I could not help sarcastically repeating to my Scotch friends the words of Burns in "The Cotter's Saturday Night":

"From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad."

These occurrences, however, took place many years ago, and great progress has been made since then. The falling embers from the great Tennant works, Napier's Shipyards, Glasgow Iron Works, and many other immense establishments have now been largely overcome; in fact, nearly all the drawbacks referred to have disappeared under the remarkably successful municipal system which has now been in operation for many years, and Glasgow is to-day universally recognized as not only unsurpassed for prosperity, but as one of the grandest cities in the British Empire.

In point of beauty and orderliness, however, Edinburgh must be awarded the palm among British cities. It is conspicuously handsome and attractive; indeed, not a few travellers have pronounced it the most beautiful city in the world. This is an ambitious claim, however, and Paris and Washington would admittedly be hot rivals for such a distinction. But nestling so cosily below Arthur's Seat, with Holyrood Palace—the home of Scotland's ancient kings—its towering old Castle and fortifications, its magnificent Princess Street, Sir Walter Scott's and the Calton Hill monuments, the National Galleries of Paintings and Design, Herriot's Hospital, St. Giles' Church,

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and the beautiful gardens and bridges linking together the old and the new towns, Edinburgh could justly join Paris and Washington in claiming rank as the three handsomest cities in the world.

A few days were passed in Stirling and neighbourhood on the way to the city of Perth, where Her Majesty Queen Victoria was to take part in a great civic demonstration, and unveil a statue of her late husband, Prince Albert.

Stirling is exceedingly quaint and queer, but interesting. It is built upon a rocky hill or elevation, which rises to a considerable height. Upon its stately summit the ancient castle and fortifications tower skywards, on one side of which is the city gradually sloping downwards, and on the other, jagged, perpendicular rocks, several hundred feet above the plain below. This strange, abrupt elevation in the midst of a fertile plain is suggestive of some volcanic *faux pas* of primordial times. But the view from the old Castle's towering turrets is grand and inspiring, whether you look over the city towards Sir William Wallace's monument and Bannockburn's bloody field, or down from your dizzy perch, over the beetling rocks, to the tiny hedge-bound fields and luxuriant crops fast ripening in nature's softest shades of green and yellow.

The visit of Queen Victoria to Perth was justly regarded as an important event. The city was gaily decorated, and crowded with well-dressed people, intensely Scotch, from all the surrounding districts. I was chiefly anxious to see Her Majesty,

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that noble woman who had so long adorned the British throne, and did not enter as zealously into the other features of the demonstration as the elated citizens. There was, however, a cricket match, Highland games, a civic procession, bright-coloured flags, gaily-dressed marshalls, Highland pipers galore, and a State carriage in which sat the Queen, unostentatious and smiling. Then, in a pretty canopy-topped vehicle, rode the Princess Louise, at that time a beautiful girl of sixteen, who gracefully acknowledged my bow, and following were many Scottish and local notabilities in carriages and on foot.

"Perth is a pretty city," I wrote in my diary at the time, "and beautifully situated. A better-looking and better-dressed lot of people than those assembled to greet their Sovereign I seldom ever saw." This was specially true of the gentler sex. Sir Walter Scott, instead of confining himself to *one* "Fair Maid of Perth," should have written upon "The fair maids of Perth," for the city on this occasion seemed to be full of bonnie Scotch lasses, tastefully attired, their eyes lustrous with health and beauty. This was claimed as a characteristic of Perth, and the following old lines were quoted to me as proof of it :

"Glasgow for wells,
Edinburgh for bells,
And Perth for bonnie lasses."

As the procession reached the beautiful North Inch of Perth, so pleasingly bordered on the east by the River Tay, there was a lively rush to the favoured spot

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where the statue of the Prince Consort stood draped, with an elevated platform in front. Her Majesty, the Princess Louise and their escort soon appeared on the platform, ready to take their part in the chief event of the day.

The Queen sat during nearly all the ceremony. Her appearance was exceedingly like the better magazine and newspaper pictures so universally in circulation. If in anything they err, it is in giving her too staid and solemn an appearance. At that time she was in the prime of life, and although her favourite colour, black, was conspicuous, she was richly and elegantly attired, and her movements and manner were unconstrained, forceful and ladylike. She was rather shorter than fancy had pictured, but her head and face, and especially her eyes, not only denoted the royal lineage of the Guelphs, but marked force of personal character, in which gentleness, shrewdness and tenderness seemed happily blended.

The vast assemblage was evidently most favourably impressed by their Sovereign, for whom, indeed, the warmest attachment was felt by all classes of her subjects. As she proceeded, after the customary addresses, speech-making and music, to pull the cord and the draperies fell apart, suddenly exposing to view a handsome and artistic statue of Prince Albert on a massive pedestal, the enthusiasm of the people broke into cheers, which resounded over the beautiful Inches of Perth, and came back in echoes from the hills in the distance.

This Perth celebration proved one of the most

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pleasing features of the tour. With a party of friends Windsor Castle had been visited at an earlier period, in the hope of catching a glimpse of Her Majesty. It happened to be the day that the famous Eton College was closing for the summer term. The beautiful banks of the Thames were covered with well-dressed people, handsome equipages, stylish horses, powdered grooms, gymnasts, jugglers, etc., whilst boat races and sports were in progress. With the Eton professors and students, many of the latter splendid specimens of robust young manhood, a very characteristic picture of English high life was presented.

The view from the tower of Windsor Castle was specially charming. The college spectacle in the foreground, the magnificent landscapes stretching in every direction, the Thames in the bright sunshine winding among the verdant plains like a shimmering band of silver, and the numerous places of deathless historic interest within the range of vision, made the scene one which can never fade from memory's page. But the hope entertained of catching a glimpse of Queen Victoria was disappointed. It turned out she was not then at Windsor Castle, and this made the pleasure of seeing Her Majesty and the Royal party at Perth all the more memorable and gratifying.

Scotland is full of scenic beauty. Poets, novelists, and painters have united in its praise. My reference thereto, however, must necessarily be brief.

Quite attractive were the town of Kelso and its pretty environs—Floors Castle, the seat of the Duke of

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Roxburgh, the ruins of Kelso Abbey, and Kelso Bridge over the sparkling waters of the Teviot and Tweed, which streams unite a few hundred yards above it. Melrose and Abbotsford were specially interesting. The principal attraction of the quiet little village is the famous ruins of Melrose Abbey, so grand, so majestic, so beautiful, and of which Scott in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" sings:

"If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight."

Nevertheless, on a bright, sunny day, with the rich blue of the heavens for a setting, the ruins of the old Abbey, partly hidden by clambering ivy and other vines, are strikingly beautiful.

Abbotsford has been described as a poem in stone. It is situated on the Tweed, about two miles above Melrose, the lovely grounds extending in a gentle slope to the river. Once the home, it has now become the literary shrine, of Sir Walter Scott. Inside the edifice, the reception hall, the study, the arm-chair, the library, the dining-room, the collections of armour and swords, the rare curiosities and the costly presents showered by kings and nobles upon the renowned author of the Waverley novels, remain much the same as during his lifetime. Everything, in fact, about Abbotsford and vicinity is full of memories of this prince of novelists, whose writings, both in poetry and prose, are justly deemed classics, which will live through all the ages. As I turned to bid this famous spot adieu, the poem of Mrs. Hemans recurred to mind:

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“ Home of the gifted ! fare thee well,
And a blessing on thee rest !
While the heather waves its purple bell
O'er moor and mountain crest ;
While stream to stream around thee calls,
And braes with broom are dressed,
Glad be the harping in thy halls—
A blessing on thee rest ! ”

For beauty of scenery the trip down the River Clyde from Glasgow to Dumbarton Castle and thence through the Trossachs can hardly be excelled. In my diary is the following reference to this delightful trip : “ We went by rail to Balloch, thence by steamer up Loch Lomond. The day was a little misty, but the scenery—particularly the upper end—was exceedingly fine. After steaming past the lofty Ben Lomond, we landed at Inversnaid, and then coached to Stronachar at the head of the beautiful, romantic and celebrated Loch Katrine. Down this lake the scenery becomes still more splendid, until you reach the rustic harbour at the beginning of the Trossachs, which for wildness, grandeur and sublimity almost beggars description. The lovely Helen's Isle, Coilantogle Ford, the magnificent gathering-place of the Highland clans, and many other places made celebrated by the genius of Scott, were pointed out as we passed them. From this romantic locality we coached through the Trossachs to Callander, thence took rail to Stirling—the whole route so full of grandeur and beauty and historic associations that once seen it never could be forgotten.”

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But equally enjoyable are those parts of the west of Scotland where her illustrious peasant bard, Robert Burns, was born, and lived, and loved, and died. His lowly birthplace, two miles south of the town of Ayr, where—

“A Januar’ wind blew hansel in on Robin,”

the remains of Auld Alloway Kirk, where Tam O’Shanter saw the witches dance, the elaborate monument erected to his memory on “the banks and braes o’ bonnie Doon,” and the famous sculpture of Tam O’Shanter and Souter Johnny—

“He lo’ed him like a very brither,
They had been fou for weeks thegither ;”

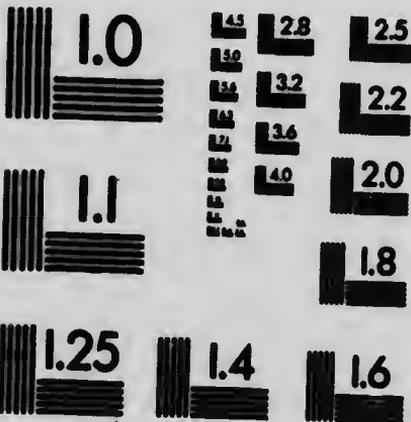
then, down at Dumfriesshire, the farm of Elliesland, where the poet closed his life, and the mausoleum of granite and marble which contains his remains in the Dumfries churchyard—these landmarks, and indeed, the whole west country—I might almost add all Scotland from John o’ Groats to Gretna Green—attest the immortal genius of Burns, and thousands annually come hither from all lands to worship at his shrine.

And here let me unburden myself of an impression long entertained. Whilst the mausoleum erected over the remains of Burns by his admiring fellow-countrymen was probably adequate in 1815, and whilst the famous marble made by Turnerelli in London, representing the genius of poetry throwing her mantle over the poet whilst standing at the



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plough, is undoubtedly a fine work of art, the fame of Scotland's poet has so steadily advanced at home and abroad that the monument erected eighty-five years ago in a corner of the old churchyard in Dumfries is no longer worthy either of his fame or his country.

The Burns monument on Calton Hill, Edinburgh, is rather more ambitious, but it is dwarfed by that of Sir Walter Scott on Princess Street, and it is quite safe to say that Scotland has produced no greater genius than her peasant bard. I am not a Scotchman "to the manner born," but sometimes admit, in moments of weakness, of having had a narrow escape. Neither are any powers of literary criticism claimed, but I know of no other poet whose eyes and ears seem to me to have been so close to Nature, "whose songs gushed from his heart as showers from the clouds of summer," and whose poetic insight was keener, imagination brighter, independence greater, tenderness deeper, or expression sweeter. None of her sons has done more to make Scotland and Scotchmen renowned and honoured among all nations, and I humbly submit that the time has fully come when his present modest resting-place should be superseded by a grand national monument, more worthy of the immortal genius of Burns and the undying fame achieved by the poet and the man in every land and language in which his writings have been published.

Great Britain is noted for her eminent clergymen. The style of pulpit oratory was not found to differ

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much from what is generally heard in the larger churches of the United States and Canada. The services were rather more solemn, generally a great deal longer, and in some churches you were loaded with a second sermon before getting home to your dinner!

Dr. Horatius Bonar, for over a quarter of a century pastor of the North Free Church, Kelso, was at this time removing to Edinburgh. His church, like those of all the other seceders, became the property of the Established Church of Scotland at the time of the disruption in 1843, but so highly was he respected, that until his Kelso pastorate ended, a period of over twenty years, the Established Church did not ask possession of it. When he gave up his Kelso pastorate, however, his congregation was required to relinquish possession of the church, and I was privileged to be present and hear Dr. Bonar preach his final sermon in that edifice.

It was a memorable occasion. He was a man of fine, venerable presence, and an earnest, logical, impressive speaker. He was quite as celebrated, however, for the many beautiful hymns of faith and hope he had written, not a few of which have since been published throughout Europe, in China, India and nearly all other missionary lands. There was intense interest manifested during all the closing services of the last Sabbath on which the Free Church congregation held possession. This reached a climax during Dr. Bonar's sermon, and towards its close, as he recited from beginning to end his beautiful hymn, "Only

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remembered for what I have done," tears were falling from the eyes of many of the crowded congregation. The closing sermon in the evening was preached by the Rev. Mr. Fordyce, of Dunse, who, unlike Dr. Bonar, did not spare the Established Church in his remarks.

Circumstances prevented my hearing the famous Dr. Guthrie and also the famous Dr. Chandlish, of Edinburgh, but the Rev. Professor Blaikie preached in the latter's church, and presented the Gospel message in an able and convincing manner. At the Barony Church, Glasgow, the eminent Dr. Norman McLeod was the officiating minister. The matter of his discourse and manner of delivery were cultured, but he did not seem on this occasion to rise equal to his reputation as a pulpit orator. It was, perhaps, an "off day," or it may have been the hearer—as is often the case—who was at fault.

Whilst spending some time at the seaside, a friend took me to the church of Dr. John Cairns, D.D., of Berwick. He was a United Presbyterian, had been one of Edinburgh University's most brilliant students, and afterwards became the Principal of the Theological Hall, Edinburgh—a large, handsome and deservedly eminent man. A grander sermon was seldom ever heard. It was an original, carefully prepared, slashing attack upon the higher critics and criticism, particularly of the Germans, but it was, unfortunately, greatly marred in its delivery by three or four oddly incongruous motions of the preacher's arms and body, regularly repeated every three or four

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minutes, and quite out of harmony with the point in hand. Dr. Cairns was evidently oblivious to the "poetry of motion," but he was, nevertheless, a great theologian, an original thinker, and an accomplished scholar, who spoke the best of English in a clear and distinct voice.

When in London, Dean Stanley, of Westminster Abbey, and Canon Farrar were among the foremost Episcopal orators. The Presbyterian Dr. Cumming was, however, the sensation of the hour, having shortly before solemnly predicted and maintained that the end of the world was close at hand. One bright Sunday morning I walked two miles through some of the queer old streets and lanes of London to hear the prophetic Doctor, and after being taken up to a cramped, steep gallery near the roof of the church, listened to a very commonplace written discourse. Newman Hall was then in the midst of his long and successful ministry. His services were excellent and well attended, but no preacher in the metropolis at that time, or probably at any other time, drew such immense audiences as the great Baptist, Charles H. Spurgeon.

The Tabernacle of Mr. Spurgeon was estimated to hold fully 7,000 persons, and almost every Sunday saw it crammed. The services were exceedingly impressive and refreshing. The songs of praise, without organ or choir—the prayers—the sermon—all were fresh, unconventional and inspiring. Mr. Spurgeon was of medium height, strongly built, with a plain, honest English face. His sermon was a

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simple, earnest, common-sense exposition of Divine truth—nothing less, nothing more—with occasional appeals to his hearers of startling earnestness and power. He evidently eschewed oratorical pyrotechnics, and made little display of theological or philosophical learning, occasionally conspicuous in the utterances of such men as Dean Stanley and Henry Ward Beecher. But he was a free and graceful speaker, whose clearness, directness, earnestness and spirituality made him a most powerful and eloquent preacher, whose success in drawing vast audiences and in awakening and converting sinners was not surpassed by either Wesley or Whitefield, nor, perhaps, by any European or American clergyman of this or any previous age.

It was well on in October when I bid Great Britain adieu. As its shores receded from view, my impressions deepened into wonder that so small an island should excel in power and glory ancient Greece and Rome, and possess so many claims to rank as the greatest empire of modern times. That her colonies circle the globe, that her fleets whiten (or darken) every sea, that her commerce in 1900 reached the enormous volume of £877,448,917, and that her red-cross flag has floated triumphantly on sea and land for nigh a thousand years, are glories of which no other land can boast, and of which Canadians as well as Britons justly may feel proud.

The record of Great Britain, too, has been a grand one in other respects. Mistakes have doubtless been made—mistakes in some cases, it may be, which led

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to unnecessary bloodshed and injustice. But in the promotion of human freedom, of free parliaments and representative institutions, of civil and religious liberty, of freedom of commerce, and the adoption of the principle of arbitration in place of war, she has admittedly done more for humanity and the world than any other nation of ancient or modern times.

These great achievements have not unnaturally evoked some national jealousy in not a few quarters, but as they have added to Great Britain's honour and glory, and as she is now backed up by her powerful cordon of free colonies in every part of the world, there is not only no cause to fear for the stability of the British Empire, but many reasons for believing that it is now entering upon a higher and grander destiny than it has yet attained.

CHAPTER XXII

CONFEDERATION THE ALL-ABSORBING TOPIC

ON my return to Canada the Confederation question was the all-absorbing topic. The Government had made a fortunate beginning.

The Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island had for some time been considering the propriety of union among themselves, and, with the sanction of their Legislatures, a convention had been called to meet at Charlottetown to take action in the matter. The Canadian Ministry availed themselves of this opportunity, and sent the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, Galt, Macdougall, McGee, Campbell and Langevin, as a deputation to Charlottetown, to urge the Convention to join Canada in its larger scheme for the Confederation of all the British Provinces in America.

The Convention duly assembled on the 1st September, 1864. It consisted of fifteen members, five from each Province. It was constituted by the appointment of the Hon. John H. Gray, of Prince Edward Island, as chairman, and the Hons. Charles Tupper and S. L. Tilley as joint-secretaries. The same day at noon the *Queen Victoria* arrived in the harbour with the Canadian deputation on board.

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Although they had no official standing, they were cordially welcomed to the Convention, and were invited to freely exercise all the privileges of members. Besides these gentlemen, the Governor of the island, George Dundas, Esq., and Governor A. H. Gordon, of New Brunswick, were also present, the former of whom was favourable to the larger scheme of Union, and the latter, though not at first friendly, after a visit to Great Britain became a strenuous advocate of the measure.

The Canadian delegates were asked to state their views and plans as soon as the business was fairly opened. In doing so, able and convincing speeches were made by the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald, Brown, Cartier and Galt, questions being asked *pro* and *con*, when each had concluded, so that the whole question was thus thoroughly threshed out. These speeches, with the festivities given at Government House, by the city of Charlottetown, and on board the *Queen Victoria* by the Canadian deputation, occupied the Convention for four or five days, and by the 8th, after effective addresses by the Hon. Messrs. Tupper, Tilley and other Maritime delegates, practical unanimity was reached in favour of a general Confederation of all British America, and the Convention decided to adjourn until the 10th instant, to meet then in the city of Halifax for the completion of its labours.

The Convention promptly reassembled in Halifax, and vigorously applied itself to the discussion of the great question before it. On Monday evening, the

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12th, public feeling found vent in a grand demonstration, given at the Halifax Hotel, in honour of the Canadian delegates. The Hon. Charles Tupper was chairman, and the Hon. W. A. Henry vice-chairman. In reply to the toast of the Provincial delegates, speeches were made in the following order: the Hon. Messrs. Cartier, Brown, Tilley, Gray, Macdonald and Galt. Mr. D'Arcy McGee replied to the toast, "Agriculture and Emigration as essential to Colonial Union," and kept the audience in roars of laughter. The Hon. Jonathan McCully was also prominent.

This demonstration was an exceedingly memorable one, for such rapid progress had been made that the speakers boldly announced that, so far as the delegates to the Convention could do so, the Confederation of all British America had been decided upon, and that a conference representing all the Provinces would take place at Quebec the following month, October, to finally decide the question, and, if favourable thereto, to draft a new constitution to lay before the Legislatures of the respective Provinces.

Many of the delegates accepted invitations to make a tour throughout Nova Scotia and New Brunswick before returning home. On Wednesday (the 14th) they went to Windsor, thence to the city of St. John, and on Thursday up the beautiful River St. John to Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick. At all these places, and wherever they stopped, they were enthusiastically received and royally entertained. On Friday they returned to St. John, and went on the same night by rail to Shediac, where they again

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boarded the *Queen Victoria*, which brought them to Quebec on the 19th September—their mission, apparently, having been a complete success.

I met many of the delegates to this Convention in after years, and many bright and curious things were evidently said and done during its deliberations and festivities. When it first met, a very strong prejudice against Canada and Canadians existed among some of the Maritime delegates, particularly the old-timers. As the former laid their case before them, however, the arguments in favour of the larger Union were so overwhelming that they carried everything before them.

This view so pervaded the meeting towards its close that one of the quiet members on the back benches, with ready wit, voiced the general feeling in quite an amusing way. Rising slowly, and raising his hands as if going to pronounce a benediction, he solemnly said: "If anyone can show just cause or impediment why these colonies should not be united in matrimonial alliance, let him now express it or forever hold his peace." A roar of laughter followed. After silence had been restored, and no objection being raised, "Then," he continued, "ere my days on earth, which are now comparatively few, shall close, I may yet witness the conclusion of the ceremony and hear them pronounced man and wife." This unexpected sally produced great hilarity, and did more to promote Confederation than some more elaborate speeches.

It was a great day for British America when the

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Quebec Conference* assembled in that city on the 10th October. It was conspicuous alike for the many able statesmen who composed it, and its patriotic object. It consisted of thirty-three members, and these gentlemen are now and forever will be recognized as "the Fathers of Confederation." They had no common work on hand. They were assembled to lay the foundations of a new nationality, and at the present day, thirty-seven years after the event, without approving of all they did, it can safely be said they did their work, wisely and well. The constitution they fashioned was to Canada what the Act of

* The names, residences and standing of the gentlemen who composed the Quebec Conference were as follows :

Upper Canada : Hons. J. A. Macdonald, Attorney-General ; George Brown, President of the Council ; Alexander Campbell, Crown Lands ; Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General ; William Macdougall, Provincial Secretary, and James Cockburn, Solicitor-General.

Lower Canada : Hons. Sir E. P. Taché, Premier ; George E. Cartier, Attorney-General ; A. T. Galt, Finance Minister ; J. C. Chapais, Public Works ; T. D'Arcy McGee, Minister of Agriculture ; H. L. Langevin, Solicitor-General.

Nova Scotia : Hons. Charles Tupper, Provincial Secretary ; William A. Henry, Attorney-General ; Jonathan McCully, Leader of the Opposition ; Robert B. Dickey, M.L.C. ; Adams G. Archibald, M.P.P.

New Brunswick : Hons. S. L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary ; John M. Johnson, Attorney-General ; William H. Steeves, M.L.C. ; Edward B. Chandler, M.L.C. ; Peter Mitchell, M.L.C. ; John Hamilton Gray, M.P.P. ; Charles Fisher, M.P.P.

Prince Edward Island : Hons. John H. Gray, Premier ; Edward Palmer, Attorney-General ; William H. Pope, Provincial Secretary ; A. A. Macdonald, M.L.C. ; Edward Whelan, M.L.C. ; George Coles, M.L.C. ; T. H. Haviland, M.P.P.

Newfoundland : Hons. F. B. T. Carter, Speaker House of Assembly ; J. Ambrose Shea, Leader of the Opposition.

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Settlement was to England in 1688, what the Union was to Scotland in 1701, and the Union to Ireland in 1801.

The Convention was formally constituted by the appointment of Sir E. P. Taché, Premier of Canada, as chairman, and Major Hewitt Bernard, of the Canadian Civil Service, as secretary. The Provincial secretaries of the various provinces were named as joint-secretaries. The proceedings were conducted, as at Charlottetown, with closed doors. This was probably wise, but rather tantalizing, inasmuch as the press for some time teemed with elaborate reports of the balls, levees, dinners and other festivities electrifying the ancient capital, but contained little but vague surmises as to what was transpiring inside the Conference.

As decisions were reached, however, they were given to the public, and the results were ultimately laid before both Parliament and people. The first important step taken was the passage of a resolution affirming the desirability of the Confederation of all the Provinces. This was proposed by the Hon. John A. Macdonald, and was unanimously carried amidst cheers which could be distinctly heard outside the chamber in which the meetings were held. The second important resolution was entrusted to the Hon. George Brown. It outlined the form of the proposed new constitution, which was to be of a Federal character. This also was carried unanimously amidst much rejoicing.

The adoption of the general plan of Confederation,

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however, proved the easiest part of the Conference's work. The arrangement of the details was an exceedingly complicated and difficult matter. The distribution of Legislative and Executive powers between the Federal and Provincial Legislatures, the constitution of the Senate, the adjustment of the representation, judicial systems, debts, revenues, etc., of the various Provinces—these and numerous other cognate questions naturally gave rise to long and sometimes warm discussions. But the Conference applied itself vigorously to overcome all difficulties, acting on the old Roman maxim, either "to find a way or make one."

It is to be regretted that this important Conference, which probably acted wisely in keeping its proceedings secret at the time, did not at least preserve accurate minutes of its daily proceedings and a brief synopsis of the remarks made by the delegates on the various vital questions brought before them. Some light is thrown on the proceedings by "Pope's Confederation Documents" (1895), which are official and valuable as far as they go, but they are incomplete and fragmentary, and only lift the corner of the curtain sufficiently to show how much must have been said and done which was either designedly or negligently omitted altogether, or mentioned only in a cursory way.

From reading these documents, for instance, one might suppose that the system of life Senators appointed by the Crown was practically adopted without opposition ; whereas, as a matter of fact, motions

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were moved against it and a vigorous debate took place. The question came up on the 17th October, when it was moved by the Hon. John A. Macdonald, "That the members of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Crown under the great seal of the general Government and shall hold office during life." Several influential members, including the Hon. Oliver Mowat* and the Hon. William Macdougall, as well as the Prince Edward Island delegates, were opposed to the members of the Upper Chamber being nominated by the Crown for life, which really meant appointment by the Prime Minister and Cabinet of the day and a vast increase of official patronage, which all governments (with the possible exception of Mr. Mackenzie's) have since freely used for the promotion of party purposes. Mr. Macdougall and Mr. Mowat both spoke against the foregoing motion, and moved two amendments in opposition thereto; the first being, in effect, that the Senate be elective, and, that motion having been negatived, that the

* "GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"TORONTO, Feb'y 4th, 1902.

"My dear Mr. Young,—I have your note of yesterday, and I shall be glad to see you on Wednesday. At the Quebec Conference I made a little speech in favour of an elective Senate, and I think Macdougall did also. I do not at present recollect as to the other gentlemen you name, but I shall endeavour to refresh my memory before I see you. I do not suppose that any member of the Conference regarded the constitution drawn up as the best possible, but only as the best practicable in view of the different interests and sentiments of the members of the Conference and those they represented. We all preferred it as a whole to the existing state of matters. Believe me, very sincerely yours,

"O. MOWAT."

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twenty-four senators assigned to Ontario should be elective.*

Curiously enough, the two great Canadian leaders, Macdonald and Brown, divided on most questions, were united on this one, and after the debate had continued over into the second day, the contest ended in one of the most retrograde decisions—the worst blunder of the Conference—the constitution of the Upper Federal Chamber on the antiquated, obsolete basis of nomination by the Crown for life.

Another danger was more easily avoided. No member of the Conference took a more distinguished part in forming and fashioning the new constitution than the Hon. John A. Macdonald. But for a considerable time Mr. Macdonald made no secret that he preferred a Legislative to a Federal Union. He seems to have desired the supreme control to be in one Parliament and purely provincial affairs entrusted to

* "Touching the other question which you ask about, the opposition to the nominative Senate at the Quebec Conference, I have often heard Mr. Macdougall say, that while Brown was in favour of the principle, Mowat and he were opposed to it. I have Macdougall's copy of Col. Gray's work on Confederation, and in corroboration of what I state, quote a pencil memo. in the handwriting of Mr. Macdougall. At page 60 of Gray's work it is stated 'that the Hon. George Brown led the Liberal section of the Canadian Cabinet strongly in support' of a nominative Legislative Council. Here is what Mr. Macdougall wrote: 'A mistake. Macdougall, seconded by Mowat, moved a resolution to make the Senate elective; the negative vote was large. Macdougall, seconded by Mowat, also moved that the twenty-four Senators assigned to Ontario should be elected. This was negatived *after much debate.*'"—*Letter from Henry J. Morgan, author of "Canadian Men and Women of the Time," etc., Ottawa, 31st January, 1902.*

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one or more large councils of a municipal character.* It is greatly to be feared that under such a system the introduction of the Maritime Provinces would only have accentuated the difficulties already existing under the Legislative Union between Upper and Lower Canada. Fortunately, the Conference was found to be almost unanimous in favour of the Federal system, and when Mr. Macdonald ascertained this, nothing could exceed the frankness with which he waived his own views and applied himself to give effect to those of the majority.

Among other "hitches" which arose, the most notable were the following: Whether the provinces should have one or two Legislative Chambers, how the debts and revenues should be adjusted, and the arrangement of the various judicial systems, that of Quebec being essentially French and different from all the others.

* "Up to this point, and for some years later, the Attorney-General West differed from his colleagues as to the details of the Confederation plan. He believed the true system was one parliament having extreme control, and a system of municipal institutions in each province with enlarged functions. To this view his colleagues were determinedly hostile, expressing their preference for provincial legislatures, and a controlling joint-authority. 'I prefer that system, too,' argued Mr. Macdonald, 'but what I fear is, that it may be found impracticable. I fear there will arise a collision of authority between the provincial legislatures and the general parliament, which would be an evil worse than what we now seek to remedy.' His colleagues were of the opinion that this danger could be averted by assigning to each parliament at the outset its special functions, giving it, as Mr. Cartier aptly expressed it, its 'chart of jurisdiction,' whence no difficulty could arise — *"Life of Sir John A. Macdonald," by Collins and Adams, page 2, 1.*

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Each province was left at liberty to do as it pleased in regard to a Legislative Council, but Ontario was the only one which found it practicable to adopt a single Chamber. Some others would like to have done so, but found the difficulties too great. Mr. Galt submitted a scheme for the settlement of the debts and revenues of the different Provinces, but that question, as well as the judicial rearrangement, had ultimately to be submitted to special committees. At one time it was feared that the financial difficulties would prove insurmountable, and it is well known that Messrs. Galt and Brown, representing Canada, were closeted till late hours at night with Messrs. Tupper, Archibald, Tiiley, Shea and Pope, representing the Maritime Provinces, so difficult was it to find a solution just to all concerned. The numerous financial difficulties were finally overcome, but like all other important parts of the scheme, had to be most carefully and laboriously worked out.

The Conference did not close till the 28th October, having been in session eighteen days. It completed its great work so far as it had power to do so. All the numerous and formidable difficulties which had confronted the delegates had been manfully and successfully grappled with, and as the result of their labours they produced a new and complete constitution for the union and government of all British America, and one which has proven to be, taken as a whole, just and beneficial to all the provinces. Some minor changes, additions and erasures, were made at the meetings held in London, England, in 1866, but the

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measure so laboriously produced by the Quebec Conference was substantially embodied in the British North America Act as passed by the Imperial Parliament early in 1867, and has now been the Constitution of Canada for a period of thirty-five years.

After so notable an achievement it is not surprising that the Québec Conference closed amidst a round of congratulations and rejoicings.

The Maritime delegates and their ladies were invited to visit Upper Canada, which few of them had ever seen. They accepted the invitation, and at their first stopping-place, Montreal, were received with much enthusiasm and a merry round of festivities. They next visited the future capital, Ottawa, the beauty of the Ottawa River and Chaudiere Falls and of the Parliament Buildings being specially praised. On November 2nd a Grand Trunk special conducted them farther westward. At Prescott, Kingston, Belleville and Cobourg—in fact, wherever the train stopped—they were cordially entertained or enthusiastically received, and it was calculated that not less than 8,000 persons were gathered to greet them on their arrival at the railway station in Toronto.

The Mayor and Council of Toronto and other distinguished citizens gave their guests a most enthusiastic reception—in fact, the jam of people, the music of bands, the glare of torches, the "swish" of fireworks, and the tumultuous cheering made it difficult to get the distinguished visitors to the carriages and to set in motion the procession to conduct them to the Queen's Hotel. Mayor Medcalf, from the balcony of

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the Queen's, then read an address of welcome and speeches were made in reply by the Hon. J. H. Gray, Premier of Prince Edward Island; the Hon. S. L. Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick; the Hon. Charles Tupper, Premier of Nova Scotia, and the Hon. Edward Whelan, Prince Edward Island. The Hon. George Brown was called for and also spoke. The speeches of all these gentlemen produced a very favourable impression.

The next day the distinguished party were taken to all the principal places of interest in Toronto, and a grand *dejeuner* was given in honour of the delegates at the Music Hall at two o'clock. The principal speeches at this festival were made in the following order: General Napier, England; Hon. G. W. Allan, M.L.C.; Hon. Jonathan McCully, N.S.; Hon. Charles Fisher, N.B.; Hon. Edward Palmer, P.E.I.; Hon. F. B. T. Carter, N.F.; Mr. James Ross, Red River, Manitoba; Hon. George Brown, and the Hon. A. T. Galt. These gentlemen made an unusually fine display of after-dinner oratory, and their eulogies of the coming Canadian confederacy were rapturously received by the brilliant assemblage present. A grand ball in the Music Hall the same night successfully closed the festivities.

The visitors next proceeded to Niagara Falls. At the city of Hamilton they were received at the railway station by the Mayor, councillors and citizens, with gay decorations, bands, and the customary address, which was replied to by the Hon. J. Ambrose Shea, of Newfoundland, who proved a pleasing orator;

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and at St. Catharines similar rejoicings were appropriately responded to by the Hon. W. H. Pope, of Prince Edward Island. The distinguished visitors were delighted with the wonders of Niagara Falls, and after being entertained at a closing public dinner within sound of the great cataract, the party dispersed, some returning to their homes in the Maritime Provinces *via* New York, and others by way of Montreal and Portland.

This memorable year closed with another excitement—the raid made by Lieut. Bennet H. Young, an officer of the Southern Confederacy, and twenty-five associates, upon the town of St. Albans, in the State of Vermont, a short distance over the Canadian border. It was a scandalous abuse of the hospitality this country had shown to the many Southerners who had sought the protection of the British flag, and in this case led to the death of one American, the wounding of others, and a robbery of \$233,000 from the St. Albans' banks. Such an outrage naturally produced great excitement, and for a short time fears arose that it might produce war between the United States and Great Britain.

Our Government, however, promptly disavowed the wild act of these hot-headed Southerners, and as promptly arrested and held for trial all the raiders they could catch. The Americans demanded their extradition, but Lieut. Young boldly declared their act to be justifiable by the laws of war, and engaged Messrs. Abbott, Laflamme and Kerr, of Montreal, as well as other eminent counsel, in defence of himself

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and co-raiders. After several trials the Government, not only found itself unable to secure their conviction under the provincial laws then existing, but the prisoners recovered the money, which the law officers of the Crown had seized, and finally the Government considered itself obligated to refund the amount stolen from the St. Albans' banks, as well as to pay a considerable sum in damages and expenses.

In consequence of this raid, and of the large number of Southerners who took refuge in Canada during the American war, the opinion was propagated that Canadians generally favoured the South more than the North at that time. Even the historian Dent says: "Canadians generally favoured the Southern cause." I never believed this view to be correct. There was a noisy jingo section in our cities and towns strongly in favour of the South, but the Reciprocity Treaty was still in force, and among the farmers, merchants, artisans and masses of the Canadian people there is good reason to believe that a decided majority, from first to last, favoured the Northern States and the great principle of human freedom inextricably mixed up with the other issues of their desperate struggle.

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VIEW OF QUEBEC.

CHAPTER XXIII

DARK CLOUDS THREATEN THE UNION

NO SESSION of the Parliament of Canada ever was looked forward to with deeper interest than that called by Lord Monck to meet at Quebec on the 19th February, 1865. The famous Coalition Government and its Confederation policy had to meet the people's representatives for the first time. His Excellency came from Spencerwood to open the session with special pomp and ceremony. The Speech from the Throne contained little else besides references to the all-important issue—the union of the Provinces as decided upon at the Quebec Conference. It was evidently to be a Confederation session *par excellence*, and such, indeed, it proved to be.

The parliamentary struggle over Confederation was one-sided numerically, but not so in regard to debate. The discussion of the whole question took place on the following motion, made by Attorney-General Macdonald: "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island into one

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Government, with provisions based on certain resolutions, which were adopted at a conference of delegates from the said colonies held at the city of Quebec, on the 10th October, 1864." Then followed the conference resolutions in full.

Some of the ablest and most brilliant speeches ever listened to in Canadian legislative halls were made for and against this motion. Five of the leading ministers spoke consecutively, in the following order: the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, Brown and McGee, and, as the official report of this great debate proves, very powerful and eloquent were the speeches they delivered. It has been generally conceded that the speeches of the Conservative and Reform leaders,* each from his own point of view, were specially conspicuous—that of Mr. Brown, who

* The Hon. John A. Macdonald's peroration was as follows: "In conclusion, I would again implore the House not to let this opportunity pass. It is an opportunity which may never recur. At the risk of repeating myself, I would say it was only by a happy concurrence of circumstances that we were enabled to bring this great question to its present position. If we do not take advantage of the time, if we show ourselves unequal to the occasion, it may never return, and we shall hereafter bitterly and unavailingly regret having failed to embrace the happy opportunity now offered of founding a great nation under the fostering care of Great Britain and our sovereign lady Queen Victoria." (Loud cheers, amidst which the hon. gentleman resumed his seat.)—*Confederation Debates*, page 45.

The Hon. George Brown closed in the following words: "Sir, the future destinies of these great provinces may be affected by the decision we are about to give, to an extent which, at this moment, we may be unable to estimate—but assuredly the welfare for many years of four millions of people hangs on our decision. (Hear, hear.) Shall we then rise equal to the occasion? Shall we approach this discussion

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had just returned from a special mission to England, probably being the greatest effort of his life.

The Hon. L. H. Holton was first to give his reasons for opposing the Government scheme, which he did in his usual lucid and effective manner. He was followed by the Hon. A. A. Dorion in an able and elaborate effort, then came Mr. Joly de Lotbinière, Mr. Matthew Crooks Cameron, Mr. Christopher Dunkin, the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, Mr. L. S. Huntington and others. Mr. Dunkin's speech was an exceedingly remarkable one. It lasted two days and two nights—was probably the longest speech



L. S. HUNTINGTON

without partisanship, and free from any personal feeling but the earnest resolution to discharge conscientiously the duty which an overruling Providence has placed upon us? Sir, it may be that some of us may live to see the day when, as the result of this measure, a great and powerful people may have grown up in these lands—when the boundless forests all around us may have given way to smiling fields and thriving towns—and when one united Government under the British flag, shall extend from shore to shore; but who would desire to see that day if he could not recall with satisfaction the part he took in this discussion? Mr. Speaker, I have done. I leave the subject to the conscientious judgment of the House, in the confident expectation and belief that the decision it will render will be worthy of the Parliament of Canada." (The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst long and continued applause.)—*Confederation Debates*, page 115.

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ever made in a Canadian parliament—and it was admitted on all sides that he sustained his argument against Confederation to its close in a remarkably able, learned and, at times, eloquent way. Among other memorable speeches made in reply to these gentlemen were those of the Hon. Joseph Cauchon, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie and Mr. Richard J. Cartwright.*

Whilst the great debate was in progress, the telegraph flashed the unwelcome intelligence that the Tilley Government had been defeated at the general elections in New Brunswick, and a large majority of Anti-Confederates returned. The Opposition hailed this as the precursor of the break-down of the Coalition policy, and the Hon. John A. Macdonald promptly announced on the 6th March that the Government had now decided to use every parliamentary means to press the Quebec resolutions through the House at the earliest possible moment, to prorogue Parliament for a few months, and send a commission to Great Britain immediately to consult the Imperial Government on the Confederation, Defence and other questions urgently requiring settlement. He followed

* The speeches of the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald and Brown at the opening of the Confederation debates have been widely circulated and do not need repetition, but the excellent addresses of many other eminent parliamentarians on the memorable occasion have been largely overlooked. These can be found *in extenso* in the official report of the Confederation debates, 1864, which are or ought to be in every Public Library throughout the Dominion. But readers who cannot avail themselves of these sources of information, will find a few of the bright things said for and against Confederation by some of the principal speakers, by consulting Appendix II.

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this up the following day by moving the "previous question," the formula of which is, "Shall the main motion be now put?" and which has the effect of preventing amendments and irrelevant discussion. This motion raised the debate to a still more excited plane, in fact created for a time something of a scene, Messrs. Holton, Sandfield Macdonald, Dorion and others contending that the Government was violating their solemn promise in shutting off amendments, and some of the warmest and most brilliant speeches of the debate took place at this point in the discussion.*

The first vote on Confederation was taken on Saturday morning, the 11th March, and it was carried by 91 to 33.† On the Monday following, when Attorney-General Macdonald moved the usual committee to frame an address to Her Majesty on the subject, the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, seconded by Mr. M. C.



JOHN HILLYARD CAMERON

* The cleverest speech of the Hon. John A. Macdonald during the Confederation debates is said to have been made in reply to the Opposition attacks upon the Government and himself for moving "the previous question," as described above. For the salient points of this bright speech, as well as the Hon. Mr. Holton's remarks, see Appendix III.

† The names of those who voted for and against Confederation, both in the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, may be found in Appendix IV.

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Cameron, both strong Conservatives, opposed the motion with an amendment, which prayed that His Excellency the Governor-General "should direct that a constitutional appeal shall be made to the people, before these resolutions are submitted for final action thereon to the consideration of the Imperial Parliament." This proposed appeal to the people was defeated, after a sharp debate, by 84 to 35. Subsequent amendments by Hon. Messrs. Holton and Macdonald (Sandfield) were defeated by still larger majorities, after which the address to Her Majesty, praying for the passage of the Confederation Act, was finally adopted, and the great measure was strongly endorsed and approved so far as the Canadian Parliament had power to do so.

As had been announced to Parliament, several questions had arisen urgently requiring consultation between the Imperial and Canadian Governments at this time. These were (1) Confederation; (2) Canadian Defence, and the share of the expense each country should bear; (3) the Reciprocity Treaty, which was about to expire; and (4) the acquisition of the North-West Territories. Parliament was, therefore, almost immediately prorogued after the Confederation resolutions were sanctioned, and the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald, Brown, Cartier and Galt sailed from Boston on April 11th, for Great Britain, it being agreed that Parliament should be convened again in the autumn on the return of these gentlemen from their mission.

Up to this period the Confederation policy had basked in the sunshine of success. But a succession

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of dark clouds now rapidly appeared, and for a time bore a very threatening aspect.

Besides the set-back to Confederation from the defeat of the Tilley Government in New Brunswick, Newfoundland had taken no action in favour of the proposed union. The Prince Edward Island Legislature not only passed resolutions condemning it, but also repudiated the action of the Hon. Colonel Gray and his colleagues at the Quebec Conference. Even in Nova Scotia its indefatigable premier, Dr. Tupper, was unable to get the Legislature to pass the Quebec resolutions. So unhopeful were the prospects of carrying Confederation during this spring, that many believed the whole project was fatally shattered and would never be realized.

It was this ominous change in the prospects of Confederation, conjoined with the dangerous position of Canada in case of trouble with the United States—still excited and restless over the war and its closing scenes—which were the principal reasons for the somewhat hurried departure of the Canadian Commission for Great Britain.

The state of our colonial relations had not been quite satisfactory for a considerable time. The imprudent publication in England of the report of the military expert sent out by the Home authorities—Colonel Jervois—declaring the defencelessness of Western Canada at that time, as well as the friction with the United States arising out of the depredations of the cruiser *Alabama* and the St. Albans' raiders, had created not a little alarm throughout Great

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Britain, and widespread feeling had arisen there that Canada should cease to be a colony and assume Independence! In some instances, both in Parliament and the press, we were rather bluntly told

“To loose the bands and go.”

The Hon. George Brown had been in England during the previous December, on a special mission *re* Confederation, and on the 22nd of that month wrote to the Hon. John A. Macdonald on this point as follows :

“I saw all the members of the Government who were in town, and received much kindness and attention from them. Indeed, from all classes of people you hear nothing but high praise of Canadian statesmanship, and loud anticipations of the great future before us. I am much concerned to observe, however, and I write it to you as a thing that must be seriously considered by all men having a lead hereafter in Canadian public matters—that there is a manifest desire in almost every quarter that, ere long, *the British American colonies should shift for themselves, and in some quarters evident regret that we did not declare at once for Independence.* I am very sorry to observe this, but it arises, I hope, from the fear of invasion of Canada by the United States, and will soon pass away with the cause that excites it.”*

This was an unsatisfactory position for both parties, and before Parliament prorogued, the Canadian Government asked and received a vote of \$1,000,000 for immediate expenditure in defensive purposes. This strengthened the hands of their commissioners very

*Pope's "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. I., page 274.

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considerably, and the ultimate success of the measures to effect the union of British America, as well as the return to sounder views as to the value of the colonies, soon obliterated the unpatriotic and unwise talk in Great Britain as to severing our colonial relations.

This agitation was, in fact, only temporary, and at the time I write I fear there is real danger of the pendulum swinging too far in the opposite direction. Instead of cutting the colonies adrift, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, the most masterful Colonial Secretary of modern times, aided by jingoes big and small at home and abroad, seems to have entered upon an active crusade to hurry the colonies into some undefined form of Imperialism or Imperial Federation, which is not practicable without taking from self-governing colonies like Canada constitutional rights we at present possess, and which, in my humble judgment, instead of binding the Empire more firmly together, would speedily develop antagonistic interests and possibly rend it asunder.

Scarcely had the Canadian ministers set sail for Great Britain, when the whole American continent—it may almost be said, the entire world—was convulsed by excitement as it never had been before.

This was caused by circumstances attending the close of the gigantic American Civil War, the evacuation of Richmond, the rebel capital, and the surrender, on the 9th April, of General Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia to General Ulysses S. Grant and his forces at the Appomattox River. Shouts

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of joy and rejoicing arose all over the United States at the prospect of peace, the jubilant feelings of the nation being fitly expressed by its energetic War Secretary, the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, who immediately ordered a salute of two hundred guns to be fired from every military post throughout the Republic, and sent the following congratulatory despatch to General Grant and his army:

"Thanks be to Almighty God for the great victory with which He has this day crowned you and the gallant armies under your command! The thanks of this Department of the Government and the people of the United States—their reverence and honour have been deserved—will be rendered to you and the brave and gallant officers and men of your army for all time!"

But whilst the nation was still celebrating the termination of its terrible conflict, sudden as a flash of lightning from a clear sky the universal rejoicing was turned into universal lamentation.

There was one man in the United States who had never stood so high in the estimation of his fellow-countrymen and the world as on the day when the Southern Confederacy collapsed in the surrender of the brave General Lee and his army. Never even in the darkest hours of the war had he faltered in his faith that the Union must and should be preserved, never had he wavered in his adherence to the great principles of human freedom underlying the war, and never did any other man, under such terrible trials and vicissitudes, develop and rise more quickly into the very highest regions of statesmanship. Indeed,

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it may safely be said that, far more than General Grant or any other officer or citizen, he stood forth and was already recognized by his own nation and the world as the saviour of his country.

That man was Abraham Lincoln, and on the night of the 14th April the terrible news was flashed by electric currents throughout the whole world, that this grand man—the President of the United States—had been cruelly assassinated by one John Wilkes Booth, whilst sitting in his box at Ford's Theatre in Washington, enjoying the pleasures of the play!

The next day, as the astounded people read the particulars of this atrocious crime, including the wild exclamation of Booth as he jumped from the gallery to the stage of the theatre, "Sic semper tyrannus," and also the wounding of the Secretary of State, the Hon. William H. Seward, and two of his sons, by another assassin on murder bent, a wave of horror and lamentation surged over the United States and throughout Europe and the whole civilized world, probably more widespread and intense than any ever before experienced.

Not in my time did I ever know Canada so profoundly stirred as by the assassination of President Lincoln, and there was scarcely a city or town which, in public meeting assembled, did not express the sorrow and sympathy felt by its citizens at this tragic and deplorable event.

Thirty-seven years have now elapsed since the close of the war and the occurrence of these painful circumstances. There has been ample time to form

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a calm judgment, and every year since then the fame of Abraham Lincoln as a statesman and a man has risen higher and higher. After undergoing the fiercest lights of research and criticism, the world, not less than his own countrymen, has already awarded to Lincoln equal rank with George Washington among the Presidents of the United States, and it is possible, in my humble judgment, that future generations may elevate him to the premier place.*

Messrs. Brown, Cartier and Galt returned from their British mission about the 1st of July; Attorney-General Macdonald, who remained behind to receive

*The growing appreciation of Lincoln is grandly voiced in the following lines from "Lincoln, and Other Poems" (1901), by Edwin Markham:

" The color of the ground was in him, the red earth ;
The tang and odor of the primal things—
The rectitude and patience of the rocks ;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn ;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea ;
The justice of the rain that loves all leaves ;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars ;
The loving-kindness of the wayside well ;
The tolerance and equity of light
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed.
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky. . . .

And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a kingly cedar green with boughs
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

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the degree of D.C.L. from Oxford University, not till a week later. The Imperial Committee they met in London was composed of the Right Hon. Messrs. Gladstone and Cardwell, the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl de Grey and Ripon. These gentlemen strongly urged upon the Canadian delegation to persevere in their policy of Confederation, and agreed to recommend the Maritime Provinces to adopt it. They immediately instructed Sir Frederick Bruce, the Minister in charge at Washington, to open negotiations for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty; they promised to expedite the annexation of the North-West Territories to Canada, and renewed the promise of an Imperial guarantee for the bonds necessary to construct the Intercolonial Railway. On the important question of the Defence of Canada a better understanding was arrived at, which was to the effect that if Canada undertook certain measures of defence farther west, the British Government would complete the fortifications of Quebec and would use the whole resources of the Empire in the defence of Canada in case it were attacked.

The delegation returned home pleased with the success of their mission, and much more hopeful of carrying Confederation than when they went away. Parliament was soon afterwards called together again as previously arranged.

CHAPTER XXIV

RECIPROCITY VAINLY SACRIFICED ON THE ANNEXATION ALTAR

MUCH interest was manifested at this time, both in Canada and adjacent parts of the United States, in the renewal of the famous Reciprocity Treaty, which had been in existence since 1854. The United States Government had given notice for its abrogation, but Canadians and Americans generally, particularly the citizens of Buffalo, Detroit, Oswego, Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and other cities, considered the free exchange of the articles embraced in the treaty had been a great benefit to both countries, and desired its continuance.

It was resolved, therefore, by the American friends of the treaty, to hold a great commercial convention in the beautiful City of the Straits—Detroit—to discuss the commercial relations of the two countries, and help to secure the continuance of this beneficent measure in some shape or form.

It assembled on the 11th July, 1865, and was the largest and most influential purely Commercial convention which ever took place on this continent. All the principal states of the Union and all the British American provinces were represented. The Hon.

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Hiram Wallbridge, New York, was chosen permanent chairman, and the Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, formerly Vice-President of the Republic; Hon. Charles Walker, Illinois; Hon. Joseph Howe, Nova Scotia; Hon. William McMaster, Toronto; Hon. Thomas Ryan, Montreal, and many others, as vice-chairmen.

Among the more eminent Canadian delegates who attended were the following: Hon. L. H. Holton, Sir Hugh Allan, C. J. Brydges and Walter Shanley, Montreal; Hon. W. J. Stairs, Halifax; Hon. Isaac Buchanan, Donald McInnes and Adam Brown, Hamilton; Hon. John McMurrich and Erastus Wiman, Toronto; Hon. George Coles, Charlottetown, P.E.I.; Hon. Charles Fisher, St. John, N.B.; Hon. James Skead, Ottawa; Hon. J. G. Currie, St. Catharines; Hon. E. Leonard, London. There were also a great many other representative Canadians present.

Having shortly before won a prize offered in Montreal for an essay on the Reciprocity Treaty, which was widely published in the press, I received an unexpected but warm invitation from the delegation of the city of Hamilton to attend this Convention, and therefore had the honour and pleasure of being present during the whole proceedings.

I never had seen an absolute tyrant until I witnessed General Wallbridge wielding the baton as chairman at this Convention. With hundreds eager to speak, however, it was quickly perceived that but for his tyranny the delegates would be there for weeks instead of days, and a very few minutes sufficed to make the tyrant's will law and the fall of his gavel

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irrevocable. The flood-gates of discussion were then opened, and the tide of eloquence flowed on unceasingly for four days.

The best argument in favour of the continuance of Reciprocity—in fact, the speech of the Convention—was delivered by the Hon. Joseph Howe. Few



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present had ever seen the eminent Nova Scotian before. His presence was prepossessing, and he quite maintained his high reputation as an orator. His speech was exceedingly brilliant and eloquent, and when during the peroration he told with deep emotion of the large number of young Canadians who had shed their blood—and that even his own son had

served under General Sheridan—to uphold the cause of the Republic, hundreds of the delegates were so moved by his eloquence that they jumped upon their seats, and the whole convention became a scene of vociferous and tumultuous applause lasting for several minutes.

Mr. Howe's speech produced a good effect, but the Convention was naturally not a little divided in opinion. Some were for the old treaty, some were against it; some wanted a new treaty with new conditions; and almost every city skirting the great

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international lakes and rivers had some commercial or transportation project of its own which it wanted included in any new arrangements to be made. The point which seemed to evoke the most unanimity was, that Canada ought to deepen and make free its Welland and St. Lawrence canals, so as to cheapen the cost of transporting the productions of the great North-Western States to the eastern markets! This great undertaking was, of course, to be done wholly at Canada's expense, but there was much less unanimity as to what commercial advantages this country was to receive in return.

The American delegates evidently embraced two classes—business men and politicians. The former were, generally speaking, as outspoken as the Canadians in declaring that Reciprocity was a blessing to both countries. This could not, as a matter of fact, be truthfully gainsaid, as the statistics both of the United States and Canada completely proved it.

The very first year of the treaty proclaimed its success. The aggregate trade—both imports and exports—of all the British provinces with the United States, during the previous eight years, only averaged \$14,230,763 per annum. During the first twelve months under reciprocity the value of our transactions ran up to \$33,492,754. The second year the figures had advanced to \$42,942,754, and on the thirteenth and last year they reached the grand volume of \$84,070,955—an increase of nearly 600 per cent. According to the statistics of the various provinces, the aggregate value of our international trade during

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the eleven years of the treaty reached the magnificent total of \$623,000,000 (in round numbers), and the "balance of trade," as it is called, was \$95,765,000 in favour of our neighbours.

American statistics did not materially differ from ours as to the value of our aggregate international trade, but made the balance in their favour at the end of ten years, \$62,000,000, and when the treaty closed, one year later, \$20,000,000. The large purchases made and the inflated prices paid by them for Canadian productions during the war, no doubt reduced the (so-called) "balance of trade," but that the United States had the best of it to the extent of \$95,765,000, as our statistics showed, there is very little reason to doubt.

With such splendid results as these figures prove, there could be no uncertainty as to the success of the Reciprocity Treaty in promoting the commercial prosperity of both nations, and the business men of both countries at the Convention were quite outspoken in their declarations to that effect.

Not so the politicians, however. They did not look at the question solely from the commercial point of view. They had, to use a common phrase, other fish to fry. Without openly opposing the object of the Convention, many of them were at heart hostile to the continuance of Reciprocity, and their indirect opposition was probably more injurious than if their opinions had been openly avowed. It soon began to make itself felt. Before the close of the second day's proceedings mysterious influences were evi-

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dently at work. Some mystical handwriting seemed to be on the wall, and no Daniel in Babylon to interpret the meaning thereof!

The Hon. J. W. Potter, the United States Consul-General for the British Provinces, whose headquarters were in Montreal, finally undertook the task of interpreter—in other words, to let the cat out of the bag. He announced that he would deliver an address on the commercial relations of the United States and the British Provinces, at the Board of Trade rooms on the morning of the third day of the Convention, at half-past eight, and all Canadians were cordially invited to be present. Expectation ran high as to what this meeting meant. There was consequently a large attendance, the British Provinces being particularly well represented, and Mr. Potter certainly gave their representatives a genuine surprise.

After some pleasant preliminaries he bluntly told them that Canada, especially the Province of Quebec, now favoured Annexation to the United States. This statement was received with American cheers and Canadian expressions of dissent. His next offensive statement was, that the United States was not willing to renew the Reciprocity Treaty again, but "we will give you complete free trade if you come and join in the responsibilities of our own government." This announcement was greeted with cries of "No! no!" from the Canadians. Mr. Potter then went a step farther. He declared: "It is not our policy as Americans to continue the treaty, and within two years after its repeal the Canadians themselves will

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apply for admission to the United States." Indignant cries of "No! no!" now loudly resounded throughout the Chamber. This opposition quite flustered the consular orator, and in his excitement he again called out, "I repeat, that in two years they will ask admission."

By this time the meeting was in considerable uproar—the Canadians naturally being indignant—and an unpleasant scene appeared imminent. The Hon. J. G. Currie, of St. Catharines, however, having manfully risen and denied the speaker's Annexation statements and vindicated Canadian loyalty to Great Britain, most of the Canadians got up and retired, and the meeting soon afterwards came to an unpleasant termination.

When Mr. Potter's escapade became known throughout the city, it created a short-lived sensation. At first it was thought that no person standing so high in the United States Consular Service would have dared to make such a speech without being promoted from Washington. The Consul-General's conduct, however, was promptly disavowed, and although it did not come before the Convention, many of the American delegates were just as strong as the Canadians in denouncing the bad judgment and worse taste which he had displayed on the occasion.

The festivities to which the city of Detroit invited the members of the Convention and their wives and families, as well as hundreds of other distinguished guests, were unusually magnificent and costly. The Americans excel in such *fetes*. But seldom has there

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been anything of the kind grander and more enchanting than when the Detroiters lashed three of their largest steamboats together and sailed up and down the sparkling waters of their beautiful river in the summer's moonlight, whilst their numerous guests spent a night of music, dancing, feasting and speechifying, almost without a parallel for its magnificence and enjoyment. The entire festivities reflected the highest honour upon the charming City of the Straits, and helped not a little to bring the Convention to a harmonious and happy termination.

After speeches innumerable in the Convention, during which the fortunes of the battle seemed to rise and fall, the commercial element proved stronger than the political. Among other conclusions arrived at, the delegates finally passed a resolution strongly advising their Government to negotiate a new Reciprocity Treaty with the British American Provinces, this result being hailed with great cheering by the friends of the measure. The Reciprocity question being thus disposed of, the rest of the business was quickly despatched, and the proceedings were brought to a close with three cheers for President Johnson and an equal number for Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Whilst the commercial men were successful at Detroit, however, the politicians afterwards completely triumphed at Washington. The views so rudely outlined by Consul-General Potter ultimately captured both branches of Congress, and became the settled fiscal policy of our neighbours towards this

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country. The enlightened Reciprocity Treaty, so beneficial to both nations, was vainly sacrificed on the Annexation altar, and at the time I write—over a third of a century after Detroit's famous convention—the prospects of agreeing upon any measure of reciprocal free trade do not seem any brighter than they were at that time.

CHAPTER XXV

SPLIT IN THE CABINET—GEORGE BROWN RESIGNS

PARLIAMENT had been summoned to meet again on the 8th August, and the preceding week an unexpected ministerial crisis arose. This seriously imperilled the existence of the Coalition Government, and caused much uneasiness for several days.

Sir Etienne P. Taché, who had for a considerable time been in poor health, died on the 30th July. Being Prime Minister, his death dissolved the Cabinet as a whole, and it being a coalition, the future premiership became a very important and delicate question.

Official etiquette required that Lord Monck should offer the position to Attorney-General Macdonald first. He undertook the reconstruction of the Government, received Mr. Cartier's consent, and then requested Mr. Brown's. The latter replied, in effect, that he was quite prepared to continue the Government as constituted under the late Premier, but that to make either Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier or himself Prime Minister, all three being active political leaders, would be to change its coalition character, and he could not see his way to consent to that. To Mr. Cartier as Prime Minister, after consulting Messrs. Macdougall and Howland, he raised similar objections, but lest

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their action might jeopardize the plans of the Coalition on the Confederation question, he desired time to consult his political supporters in Parliament before finally deciding.

As Parliament was called to meet in a few days, and there was theoretically no Government in existence, the only practicable solution of the difficulty left open to Mr. Macdonald was to meet Mr. Brown's views and preserve the coalition character of the Ministry as originally agreed upon. This he finally did, proposing that Sir Narcisse Belleau, a member of the Legislative Council, and not an active politician, should become Prime Minister and Receiver-General. This offer was accepted by Mr. Brown, on condition that the new Premier should distinctly declare his acceptance of the policy upon which the Coalition was formed in 1864, and as modified in 1865. This pledge was given, Sir Narcisse took the place of the late Premier, and the dangers of this unpleasant crisis were at least temporarily overcome.

This session, which was the last one held in Quebec, lasted barely six weeks, the Government being all-powerful. Underneath the surface, however, some of the circumstances of the recent crisis rankled a little in the breasts of the two rival political leaders, and subsequent events clearly proved that their relations were never quite the same afterwards as they had been during the temporary truce of the previous fifteen months. Sir E. P. Taché's death was unfortunate, therefore, politically as well as personally.

Much misrepresentation in connection with this

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unpleasant episode, especially of the Hon. George Brown, was subsequently indulged in by several writers, whose partisanship was fortunately so blind and stupid as to serve as an antidote to their statements. There is no necessity for impugning the motives of either of the gentlemen concerned in the matter. They both acted very naturally from their own points of view. It was not unnatural that Attorney-General Macdonald, being the senior Minister, should aspire to become Premier, and that he should be somewhat chagrined, as he undoubtedly was, not only that Mr. Brown refused his consent, but that Mr. Cartier and he had finally to accept the former's terms.

But it was equally natural, and amply justifiable on the grounds of public policy (as the correspondence clearly discloses), that the Reform leader should insist on the coalition character of the Government being maintained, and that no ascendancy should be given to Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier or himself, as leaders of the three great political parties to the compact. Had the former gentleman become Premier and leader, the Coalition would have been merged into a Conservative ministry, and instead of Mr. Brown being accused of jealousy and hatred in refusing his consent thereto, he should never have been asked to accept a change in the coalition compact so radical, and which, if assented to by him, would have been injurious alike to the prestige and future of the Reform party and himself.

The fall of this year was signaled by the removal

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of the seat of Government and all the public offices and archives from Quebec to Ottawa, the new capital. The magnificent new Parliament and departmental buildings were sufficiently completed for occupation, and much interest was felt by all classes, not only in the arrival of His Excellency Lord Monck and family at Rideau Hall, the new vice-regal residence, but in looking forward to the next session of Parliament, which would be at once the first held in Ottawa and the last of the late Province of Canada.

Threats of a Fenian invasion of Canada were freely made in the United States at this time by some of the horde of soldiers let loose by the close of the civil war. They were not taken very seriously either by Government or people, but much interest continued to be felt by both in regard to the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, which was timed to expire on the 17th March, 1866, at midnight.

Both the Imperial and Canadian Governments actively interested themselves in this important matter. Immediately after the Detroit Commercial Convention, the Hon. Messrs. Galt and Howland were chosen by the Cabinet to proceed to Washington to endeavour to negotiate a new treaty. They met, however, with very little encouragement. Late in the fall Mr. Galt went again to Washington and discussed the subject with the Secretaries of the State and Treasury departments, more particularly the Hon. W. H. Seward. These gentlemen held out no hopes of a treaty, but thought some system of reciprocal legislation might be accepted by the Senate

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and House of Representatives. Under this system the reciprocity agreed upon would be subject to abrogation or alteration annually by the legislative bodies of either country.

Mr. Galt returned to Ottawa about the middle of December, to consult his colleagues on this new proposition of reciprocal legislation, and the Cabinet was considerably divided upon it. Not a little warm discussion took place. Mr. Galt and some others were inclined to try reciprocal legislation rather than let reciprocity lapse altogether. Among those strongly opposed thereto was the Hon. George Brown, who stoutly maintained that any system of reciprocity which could be changed by legislation from year to year would be useless, and keep Canada constantly watching and dependent upon Washington legislation. He also objected to Mr. Galt's having renewed negotiations at Washington without reference to the delegates of the Maritime Provinces, and considered it impolitic that so many visits should be made to that city on a question in which the United States was interested equally with us.

The Cabinet came to a decision on the 18th. They erased from Mr. Galt's memorandum a clause favourable to reciprocal legislation, on account of Mr. Brown's opposition thereto, but they at the same time decided that Messrs. Galt and Howland should go to Washington again, and while they did not clothe them with power to agree on behalf of the Government to a measure based on reciprocal legislation,

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they left it an open question, to be determined as future circumstances might suggest.

There was no member of the Administration, Conservative or Reform, more attached to Great Britain and to British institutions than George Brown. He was, in fact, an extremist on this point, and that he felt strongly that a grave mistake was being made by the Cabinet in contemplating the regulation of the commercial relations of the United States and Canada by reciprocal legislation, and subject to annual change by the legislative bodies of Washington and Ottawa, I can confirm with some authority, as I had it from his own lips.

Mr. Galt having expressed himself favourable to at least a trial of reciprocal legislation, and the Government having sent him again to renew the negotiations, Mr. Brown came to the conclusion that the interests both of Canada and Great Britain required that he should take a strong and decided stand before the country was committed to it. The only point which caused him any hesitation was the uncompleted state of the great scheme of Confederation, and having persuaded himself that he could assist it in its final stages as well outside the Cabinet as in it, he determined upon and sent in his resignation as a minister of the Crown, shortly after the Cabinet meeting at which the above decision was arrived at.

Mr. Brown's resignation very naturally caused a commotion both in Ottawa and throughout the country. The Hon. Messrs. Cartier and Campbell,

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doubtless with the approval of their colleagues, wrote to and waited upon him the following day, expressing their deep regret at his resignation, and endeavouring by every means in their power to induce him to retrace his steps. He was not, however, a man to be moved after he had taken a stand. To use his own words: "He desired to leave the Cabinet in perfect harmony, and if they adhered to the compact made with him when Sir Narcisse Belleau came into the Government, they would receive his best aid in carrying the constitutional changes they were pledged to," but he would not withdraw his resignation and continue in office.

I unexpectedly met Mr. Brown at Hamilton railway station immediately after his return west. He had made a hasty visit to the neighbourhood of Brantford in connection with his proposed Bow Park farm, and had driven from there rapidly over the muddy December roads in order to catch the (then) Great Western Railway for Toronto. His overcoat was, in consequence, not a little sprinkled with mud, and he still showed traces of the mental and physical excitement through which he had recently passed. I had, indeed, never seen him so excited before, and during an hour or more that we walked the platform at Hamilton, detained by a belated eastern train, he spoke with marvellous energy and characteristic freedom as to the causes of his resignation and the results likely to flow therefrom.

No seal of secrecy was imposed on this interview, and my recollections of it, which are tolerably dis-

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tinct, may be compressed as follows: Mr. Brown declared that he felt it to be his duty to resign because he considered any attempts at Reciprocity by means of concurrent legislation would be a great blunder for Canada, as it would make our agricultural and other interests constantly dependent on United States legislation and virtually increase American tendencies.

He considered the chief object of his entering the Coalition Government, namely, Confederation, would not be imperilled by his withdrawal, as he would support it as heartily without a seat in the Cabinet as with one, and that the dangerous action of the Government on the Reciprocity question was a fitting opportunity for him to withdraw from a position which he accepted against his will, which would never have been justifiable except as a means to extricate the country from its difficulties, and which, of late, had become to him almost intolerable.

Whilst his resignation was caused by the difference with his colleagues on the Reciprocity negotiations, however, he frankly admitted that other circumstances had had some influence in determining his course. For several months, but especially since the unpleasant events of the late crisis, he said his position in the Cabinet had become increasingly difficult and disagreeable.

Sir Narcisse Belleau had been chosen Premier as a mere figurehead. He indicated this at the time, as the correspondence disclosed, but after refusing to agree either to Mr. Macdonald or Mr. Cartier as

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Prime Minister, he had felt reluctantly compelled, in view of the Confederation question, to accept their nominee, Sir Narcisse. If not Premier *de jure*, Attorney-General Macdonald thus became Premier *de facto*. He and not the Prime Minister arranged for the entrance of Mr. Howland into the Cabinet, and Mr. Brown felt that the relations between himself and the Conservative leader—at no time perfectly cordial on either side—had greatly changed since he refused to consent to the latter's elevation to the leadership of the Administration.

He did not complain of the action of the Cabinet in passing him by and sending Mr. Howland with Mr. Galt on the Washington mission. The Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, however, in his *Life of Brown*, says he regarded this as a "personal slight," and considering that he was probably the most influential member of the Confederate Council of the British North American colonies, a body formed at the request of the Imperial Government only a few months before, and specially charged to look after the renewal of the Reciprocity and other commercial treaties, it must be admitted that it is difficult to avoid such an interpretation.

Whilst not mentioning this, Mr. Brown referred to sectarian grants and other matters pressed through the Executive Council against his will, and contrary to the general understanding when the Coalition was formed, and which were calculated, and he believed intended, to make him inconsistent with his previous political record and weaken his influence throughout

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the country. In short, and as a matter of fact, whether correctly or not, Mr. Brown had come to the conclusion that for some time Attorney-General Macdonald had been endeavouring to make his position in the Cabinet untenable, unless with humiliation and loss of popularity on his part.

Such are, in substance, the reasons given by Mr. Brown during this Hamilton interview for his withdrawal from the Coalition Government, and it is deemed proper, as well as interesting, to give them in his own language as nearly as it can be recalled.

There are, however, two sides to this as to most other questions. The Conservative opponents of Mr. Brown at the time, and in after years the authors already referred to, declared that his resignation was unjustifiable. They alleged that the real cause thereof was not the Reciprocity question, but his jealousy of the ascendancy and influence of, and even hatred toward, his astute rival, the Hon. John A. Macdonald, and that he should either not have entered the Coalition to carry Confederation, or he should have remained until that question was carried, whatever the consequences might be.

This latter view was also taken by a section of the Reform party under the leadership of the Hon. Messrs. Howland and Macdougall, who, although both had been taken into the Ministry on Mr. Brown's nomination, declined to follow his lead in retiring from it.

Those who have thus far followed the history of the illustrious Reform and Conservative leaders and

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of their famous Coalition Government, will not be surprised at the rupture of the latter. The surprise will rather be, that even under the patriotic desire to extricate Canada from its political difficulties, Mr. Brown and Mr. Macdonald had harmoniously worked together so long.

It was inevitable, however, that as soon as the success of Confederation was tolerably certain, no Cabinet would be large enough to continue to hold them both for any lengthened period. Both gentlemen were too forceful, too ambitious, too different personally and in their political ideas, and too ardent players of the political game, to long act together. Both were active party chiefs, in the prime of life, whose respective parties long had been bitterly opposed to each other, and as soon as the coalition truce ended, expected to be opposed again. Under these circumstances it was no evidence of jealousy or hatred on the part of either of them, to object to the political ascendancy of the other in the Government, or to warmly resent any slight or discourtesy, if such were inflicted upon him.

The real point in the case before us is this: Was Mr. Brown so slighted when Mr. Galt and Mr. Howland were twice sent to Washington in regard to Reciprocity, when the latter gentleman was not even a member of the Confederate Council on the Reciprocity Treaty? Considering Mr. Brown's prominence in this influential body, as already mentioned, the action of the Cabinet was certainly open to this objection. It was clearly a slight, but whether it was uninten-

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tional, and therefore only a blunder, or whether it was one of those old-time, astute moves of Attorney-General Macdonald to make his rival's position in the Administration untenable, as Mr. Brown believed, are points on which men of opposite politics may naturally differ, and in regard to which the reader can be safely left to draw his own conclusions.

Two days after Mr. Brown's resignation, the Hon. John A. Macdonald wrote to Mr. Howland as follows: "I ask you to take G. Brown's position in the Government, and you have *carte blanche* in the choice of a gentleman of your party to fill the vacant seat in the Council."

Mr. Howland immediately convoked a confidential meeting of the Upper Canada Reform supporters of the Government, which meeting was held in the town of Guelph on Christmas day, Mr. Galt and he being anxious to set out for Washington as early as possible. This meeting resulted in the Presidency of the Council, the vacant portfolio, being offered to Mr. Alex. Mackenzie, M.P.P. for Lambton. That gentleman took time to consider this offer, but after consulting Mr. Brown in regard to his reasons for resigning, he wrote Mr. Howland stating that he felt unable to sustain the Government's position in regard to Legislative Reciprocity, and therefore declined to accept office.

The position was then offered to the Hon. A. J. Fergusson Blair, of Guelph. He accepted the offer, and the Coalition Government had again its complement of three Reform members.

CHAPTER XXVI

PROSPECTS OF CONFEDERATION BRIGHTEN

IMMEDIATELY after the holidays (1866) the Hon. Messrs. Galt and Howland proceeded again to Washington to endeavour to secure an extension of Reciprocity in some form. Their mission, however, proved a complete failure, the Senators and Representatives of the United States having almost unitedly taken up the position foreshadowed at the Detroit Commercial Convention the preceding year, and which in blunt language was, that Canada could have complete commercial intercourse with them by means of Annexation, but not otherwise.

This action on the part of the United States was almost universally regarded at the time as very unfortunate for Canada. Time has proved it, however, to have been a blessing in disguise. It utterly failed to produce the slightest Annexation feeling in any of the provinces, but it was highly successful in some other respects. It greatly promoted Confederation and the early construction of the Intercolonial Railway; it set our legislators at work with redoubled energy to encourage the development of our immense natural resources; it stimulated our efforts to search out and open up new avenues for Canadian

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commerce. In short, it made Canada independent, and in a few years completely dispelled the illusion that this rising young nation was dependent on the United States or any other one country for a market for its productions. These were lessons which both the United States and Canada much needed to learn, and it has done us both a great deal of good.

During this spring the prospects of carrying Confederation brightened, although some of the means used were hardly above criticism. The Lieutenant-Governors of the Maritime Provinces, spurred on by the Imperial authorities, rather exceeded in some cases the constitutional limits usually assigned to them in pressing Confederation upon their respective legislatures and peoples.

When the New Brunswick Legislature assembled, the Smith-Hatheway Government, which was anti-Confederate, and had been decisively sustained by the electors the year before, found the Hon. A. H. Gordon, the Lieutenant-Governor, apparently determined to force them to declare in favour of Confederation or effect a rupture.

The Legislative Council having radically amended the Ministry's Speech from the Throne in favour of Confederation, His Excellency went so far as to reply thereto, commending their action, not only against the advice of the Premier, the Hon. A. J. Smith, but without giving his Ministers time to examine his reply.* No self-respecting government could

* "On Tuesday last, the Government tendered their resignation, and in doing so complained of the action of the Governor, with a view of

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continue in office under such circumstances, which were equivalent to dismissal, so they tendered their resignations.

Having a large majority in the House of Assembly, the anti-Confederate ministers not only denounced His Excellency's course as being contrary to responsible government, but gave formal notice of resolutions strongly condemning his conduct, and asking the Queen to recall him. Governor Gordon, however, forestalled their proposed censure of his conduct by promptly dissolving the recently elected Parliament, and entrusting the Hon. R. D. Wilmot and the Hon. Peter Mitchell with the formation of a new Confederate ministry. Many considered His Excellency's exercise of the prerogatives of the Crown during this crisis as hard, consistent with New Brunswick's rights of self-government, or defensible on constitutional grounds, but this did not prevent Messrs. Wilmot and Mitchell from successfully filling up their cabinet slate. They were greatly aided in this by the Hon. S. L. Tilley, who accepted office under his former colleagues, and the Province was speedily immersed in a second general election within twelve months, the chief issue again being Confed-

getting a cry in the country and taking the public mind away from the real question, viz., Confederation. This is their only hope of success, and they are making the most of it. *Where the Governor erred was in not giving them time to consider his reply.* They say he has violated the principles of responsible government, and has insulted them, and they call upon the House and the country to resent the insult."—*Letter of the Hon. S. L. Tilley to Hon. J. A. Macdonald, April 14, 1866. Pope, Vol. I., page 297.*

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eration, but embittered by the unpleasant circumstances which had recently taken place.

Whilst these events were transpiring in the sister province, Nova Scotia was in a ferment on the same question. After strenuous and prolonged efforts the Hon. Dr. Tupper secured the passage through the Legislature, on the 17th April, of a short resolution in favour of union. This resolution authorized the appointment of delegates "to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of union which will effectually ensure just provision for the rights and interests of this province." The House of Assembly carried this motion by 31 to 19, but as the ensuing general election proved, public opinion throughout the Province was at that time overwhelmingly against it. However, this vote gave the Nova Scotia Government power to agree to Confederation, and they acted accordingly. It was a dangerous course, however, under the circumstances then existing in that province, to pass so important a measure without reference to the people. But it ultimately and fortunately succeeded, although in the meantime it brought the Province to the brink of rebellion.

After an acrimonious contest New Brunswick completely reversed its verdict at the elections of the previous year, and sustained the new Confederate ministry of Messrs. Wilmot and Mitchell by a handsome majority. Among the principal circumstances which brought about this result was the threatened danger at that time of a Fenian invasion of the Province, which caused widespread alarm and led many

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New Brunswickers to perceive how much stronger our scattered British provinces would be, if united under one Government, to resist the attacks of such lawless marauders.

This New Brunswick contest proved the turning-point of Confederation. Its new Parliament promptly passed a resolution similar to that of Nova Scotia, in favour of the Union, and thus furnished the Imperial Parliament with the only remaining endorsement by the four provinces considered necessary to the passage of the proposed measure.

The projected Fenian attack on New Brunswick proved a fizzle, but a few weeks later these ruffians assembled in large numbers at Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence River; at St. Alban's, Vermont, near the Quebec frontier; and at Buffalo, near the Niagara River. This attempted invasion aroused intense indignation, but not much alarm, throughout Canada, and measures were set on foot by the military authorities to checkmate whatever hostile attempts might be made.

The principal attack of the Fenians in the west was made by an adventurer named General O'Neill with about 1,200 men. They assembled at Black Rock, on the Niagara River, at midnight, on the 1st of June, and crossed over before daylight in scows hauled by a tug-boat, effecting a landing on Canadian soil one mile below the village of Fort Erie. They were mostly well armed with rifles and pistols. They took possession of Fort Erie, levied rations on the citizens and adjoining farmers, and during the day com-

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mitted not a few depredations on the railway track, bridges and telegraph wires.

In the meantime, Colonel George Peacock, of the 16th Regiment, with a small number of regular troops, the Governor-General's Body Guard, the 10th Royals, and a few volunteer companies, was despatched to the frontier at Chippewa. Lieut.-Colonel Booker, with the 13th Battalion of Hamilton, and Major Gillmore, with the Queen's Own Regiment of Toronto, joined by a few volunteers, were also ordered to proceed to Port Colborne, the special duty assigned to them being to guard the Welland Canal.

The next morning (June 2nd) Colonel Booker and Major Gillmore's forces, whilst on their way to join Colonel Peacock at the village of Stevensville, came into contact, near the village of Ridgeway, with the Fenian forces under O'Neill, who had set out from Fort Erie that morning to destroy some of the adjacent locks on the Welland Canal. This meeting was a surprise on both sides, but Colonel Booker and Major Gillmore gallantly decided to attack the invaders, and a sharp engagement ensued, with varying fortune.

This has since been known as the battle of Ridgeway. In the early part of the engagement the Fenians were steadily driven back for nearly a mile. They were then rallied by O'Neill, who told them they had better stand their chance of being shot in the field than to be captured and hanged, and having thus been induced to advance again to the attack, they recovered the ground which they had lost.

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After not a little severe fighting the battle finally terminated in the retreat of Colonel Booker and his force of volunteers to Port Colborne, and the return of O'Neill and the Fenians back to Fort Erie. Both forces retired in considerable disorder.

During the same day Colonel Peacock, with the force under his command, marched from Chippewa and reached the outskirts of Fort Erie at nightfall. All arrangements were quickly made for an attack early the next morning. When daylight appeared, however, they found that the Fenians had undertaken to recross the Niagara River into the United States during the night, and had been arrested by the U. S. gunboat *Michigan*, for infringement of the American neutrality laws, and were then in tow of that vessel as prisoners.

About sixty Fenians and stragglers, who failed to make their escape, were captured by the Canadian forces. After a fair trial many of these were ultimately sentenced to the provincial Penitentiary for life, but the hasty and cowardly retreat of the main body across the river prevented that drastic punishment which these rascally marauders so richly deserved.*

The Fenian attacks at the eastern points mentioned were still greater failures. At Prescott and Cornwall they did not succeed in crossing the St. Lawrence River at all, and some 1,800 of them who did cross the Canadian boundary near St. Alban's were met by our

* I am chiefly indebted for this brief synopsis of the Fenian raid to Dent's "Canada Since the Union of 1841," Vol. II., 459-464.

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forces and quickly driven back across the lines in a demoralized state, where United States officers arrested their ringleaders and held them for trial.

Thus ended this much-talked-of Fenian invasion. It proved a complete failure, although nine young Canadian volunteers, mostly Toronto University students, were killed and thirty-one wounded at Ridgeway, and about an equal number of the Fenians. This country was, it must be admitted, poorly equipped to repel such an attack at that time, and Colonel George T. Denison, in his "Soldiering in Canada," clearly shows that the Government and Militia Department were not only warned of the coming of the Fenians, but were very slow and remiss in making preparations to resist them. But if such a wanton and wicked crime were attempted at the present day, the invaders would find Canada in a state of military preparation certain to ensure them a hot reception.

The last session of the Parliament of the late Province of Canada, and the first to be held in our new Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, was opened with great *éclat* by His Excellency Lord Monck, on the 8th June, 1866. The Speech from the Throne spoke confidently of Confederation being soon accomplished, which statement was fully justified by the union resolutions passed by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and also promised the following among other important measures :

(1) To provide for the Local Legislatures and Governments of Ontario and Quebec ; (2) to make several financial changes, including liberal reductions

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OTTAWA, FROM THE DUFFERIN AND SAPPERS' BRIDGES.



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in the tariff, it being the opinion of both Conservatives and Reformers at that period, that the best interests of the projected new Dominion would be promoted by making it as great a contrast as possible to the United States in regard to low taxation and being a cheap country to live in; (3) a measure guaranteeing to the British minority in Lower Canada certain rights in regard to education, and especially the right of having Protestant schools.

Although a close secret at the time, it has since transpired that there was a threatened rupture between Her Majesty's representative, Lord Monck, and the Government, shortly after this session opened. The ostensible reason given was, the course of the Ministry in pressing their financial legislation (which was strongly opposed) to the delay of their Confederation measures, which His Excellency considered might endanger the latter.

There is reason to believe, however, that there were other and stronger reasons at the bottom of his Lordship's unusual action at this time. It is too widely known to be any secret, that during the lengthened political agitation the customs of the period led to a good deal of conviviality* among a small circle of

* Pope's (authorized) "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. I., page 325, makes the following reference to this point :

"It is not to be denied that, for some years prior to his second marriage, Mr. Macdonald's habits of life were marked by an occasional irregularity similar to that which, in a much greater degree, characterized Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and many other eminent statesmen. Of my late chief's failings in this respect I have no personal knowledge. As was both natural and fitting, he whose life was a succession of triumphs

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leading statesmen both at Quebec and Ottawa, and at this time the Opposition press raised a great outcry that the Militia Department of the Government, then in charge of Attorney-General Macdonald, had been partially paralyzed from this cause at the very time when General O'Neill made his Fenian raid and the battle of Ridgeway was fought. In the excitement still existing these charges caused a widespread sensation throughout the Province, and it is believed that Lord Monck became alarmed and aggrieved lest these unfortunate incidents might prejudice the position of the Government, and in some way at the last moment endanger the remaining Confederation measures still awaiting the sanction of Parliament.

Whatever his reasons may have been, Lord Monck evidently felt it to be his duty as Governor-General to assume a decided attitude. On the 6th June, five days after the Fenians crossed the Niagara River, he addressed a strong memorandum to the whole Executive Council, in which he pointed out the danger of further delay, discussion and criticism on the Union measures, and "the strong opinion he entertains as to the imperative necessity which exists for concluding what remains to be done in the Canadian Parliament in order to complete the plan for the union of the

over others, eventually gained the mastery over himself. This happened long before I knew him. At the same time it would be futile to ignore the fact, that there was a period in the life of Sir John Macdonald when excess in the direction I have indicated interrupted his usefulness, gave pain to his friends, and furnished his enemies with a weapon of which they never hesitated to avail themselves."

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provinces during the present session." After several other reasons for thus pressing this matter upon the Executive Council, he concludes with the following paragraphs, which are noteworthy as throwing official light on some of the influences which induced the Hon. George Brown and the Reform party to take part in the famous Coalition of 1864:

"There were also circumstances connected with the formation of the present Administration which made the Governor-General feel himself personally bound to press upon the Council his views on this point.

"The coalition of parties which was formed in 1864, was—at least in some measure—brought about by the exercise on certain parties to that measure, of the personal influence of the Governor-General. When that influence was used, the Governor-General felt he was in some measure overstepping the strict line of his constitutional duties. He trusted, however, to the importance of the object sought to be gained, as a sufficient excuse for the steps which he then took. The Administration which was then formed was constituted avowedly for the purpose of passing at the earliest possible moment the measure for the union of the provinces.

"It was for this purpose alone that the Liberal section of the Cabinet yielded to the Governor-General's persuasion to join the Administration, and it is for this reason that the Governor-General feels personally bound not only to that section of the Government but to the people of the Province, to press for the speedy completion of the plan of Union."

This memorandum to the Executive Council was

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followed by Lord Monck, on the 21st June, by a confidential but very sharp letter to the Hon. John A. Macdonald, in which he warmly complained of, and pointed out the danger of, the Government's delay in bringing forward and passing the Confederation measures. The unusual and significant character of this letter will be seen at a glance by the following extracts therefrom : *

"I see a great many accidents, as I have already mentioned to you in conversation, which might change the mood of the House, and so render it impossible to keep the members together and complete the scheme this session. I entertain so grave an apprehension of the evil results which might flow from such an occurrence, that I feel bound to take the strongest measures to dissociate myself personally from all responsibility for it.

"Under ordinary circumstances my *constitutional course would be to break up the Ministry and have recourse to other advisers.* I am quite aware, however, that I have it not in my power to adopt this line. * * * * After reviewing all the circumstances of my position here with the most anxious care, I have come to the deliberate conviction that, if from any cause this session of Parliament shall be allowed to pass without the completion of our portion of the Union scheme, a similar crisis in my career will have been reached, and that my sense of duty to the people of Canada and myself *would leave me no alternative except to apply for my immediate recall.*"

Mr. Macdonald replied to this disturbing letter with his usual cleverness, frankly saying, "It has

*All these quotations from letters are from Pope's "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. I., pages 299-303.

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distressed me greatly," but contending that it mattered little whether the financial or the Union measures of the Government were pressed first, so long as both finally became law. His Excellency, however, in a second letter, whilst conciliatory, stoutly maintained his ground, as the following paragraph therefrom clearly shows :

" I most fully admit your right as leader of the Government to take your own line in a matter of party or parliamentary management, but I felt, and still feel, that you would have a good right to complain if I had permitted you, without remonstrance, to take a course of conduct which I consider injudicious, and then made the results of your course of action *the ground for strong measures on my part.*"

This threatened rupture fortunately blew over without further complications, and had the effect of quickening the activity of the Administration in passing their remaining Union measures. The principal Opposition motion on this question was made on this occasion by the Hon. Mr. Dorion, of Montreal, and declared that the measure should be ratified by the people before becoming law. So overwhelmingly was the House, however, in favour of the Union, that this apparently reasonable resolution only received nineteen votes.*

*The strongest argument against referring the Confederation question to the people was that made by the Hon. George Brown in reply to the motion of the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron the previous session. The latter gentleman was a warm friend of Confederation, and, from a Conservative standpoint, made one of the ablest addresses delivered in favour of the Government measure ; but he considered that, on consti-

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That the spirit, if not the letter, of the constitution was ignored in adopting Confederation without consulting the people of the various provinces at the polls, was charged during the debates upon the measure. It is true the referendum has never been recognized by the Imperial Parliament, but grave constitutional changes have seldom or never been made there in modern times without taking the sense of the people upon them at a general election. This is now so well understood that it may be considered part of Britain's unwritten constitution. But when British America was confederated in 1867, except in the case of New Brunswick, where a new election had to be held after the Quebec Conference, neither the people of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, or Nova Scotia had any opportunity at a general election, let alone a referendum, to declare whether they desired the proposed changes or not.

The question, therefore, naturally arises: In a province having responsible government, popularly supposed to recognize the people as the source of

tutional as well as on grounds of public policy, the electorate as a body ought to be consulted. Mr. Brown's reply to Mr. Cameron was admittedly one of the most powerful and brilliant speeches of the whole debate, and being delivered immediately before the vote on the Quebec resolutions, made a deep impression upon the House. Nevertheless, there are good reasons for holding the view that such sweeping constitutional changes should not have been made without directly consulting the people as a body in some way, and that the precedent then made was hardly in accord with modern British practice, and might easily become dangerous. That both sides of this important constitutional point, however, may be properly understood, a condensed but ample report of Mr. Brown's speech has been given in Appendix V.

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power, is it constitutional for its Parliament to destroy, or petition the Imperial Parliament to destroy—which is practically the same thing—the constitution under which it was elected, and to construct and substitute another, without receiving any mandate from the people to that effect? And if it is constitutional, what guarantee have the people that some fine morning they may not find their dearest civil and religious liberties abridged or cancelled without their sanction or approval?

Fortunately, in the case of Confederation, no harm actually resulted in Upper and Lower Canada, as the people were generally favourable to the measure. But it was different in Nova Scotia. On the strength of a bald resolution, rushed through the Legislature under whip and spur, it was legislated out of existence as a separate province and merged into the Dominion, the resolution, too, being notoriously passed in defiance of the popular will. This was clearly proven at the ensuing elections, when the Tupper party were almost annihilated, its irrepresible leader being the solitary survivor elected to the first Dominion Parliament to tell the sorrowful tale.

The intense bitterness which afterwards prevailed among the Nova Scotians was largely caused by the fact that they felt Confederation was being thrust upon them, whilst they were denied the right to express in the usual constitutional manner at the polls any opinion upon the question. So keen was their sense of the wrong and injustice of this, that they were for the time being completely blinded to

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the great future before them under Confederation, which I have always considered must in time make the Maritime Provinces the New England of Canada, and for months Nova Scotia was on the brink of rebellion, and annexation to the United States was openly and widely advocated.*

In view of all the circumstances connected with this important constitutional point, the following conclusions seem naturally suggested :

1. That the passage of so far-reaching a measure as the Union of British America without any reference of the question to the people either by a general election, plebiscite or referendum, was an undue stretch of the powers of the Provincial Parliaments.

2. That the denial of this right to the people was a principal factor in producing the grave complications which arose in Nova Scotia, and had this dangerous difficulty unfortunately arisen with the two Canadas under the same circumstances as existed in

*"It is perhaps to be regretted that you were not prepared to submit, in official form, the explanations and proposals made to the Committee of the Convention, because in the absence of any definite proposition matters have drifted for a month, until the excitement has increased, and the cry for Repeal or Annexation is heard all over the Province. The visit of General Butler and his friends, made for the purpose, scarcely disguised, of encouraging the Annexation feeling with offers of men and money, has added new complications, and we have just escaped collision between the Governor and the local Legislature, which, whatever the result of a dissolution might have been, would, if a rupture had been forced, have increased the feeling of bitterness and exasperation."—*Letter of the Hon. Joseph Howe to the Hon. John A. Macdonald, dated Halifax, 15th September, 1868; Pope, Vol. II., page 303.*

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the smaller province. Great Britain might have been threatened, for the second time, with the loss of her American colonies.

3. That the precedent made at Confederation was a dangerous one, which would hardly have been possible had it not been for the all-powerful coalition of the Reform and Conservative parties at that time, and will hereafter be more honoured in the breach than the observance.

4. That the whole circumstances are well fitted to impress upon all Canadian statesmen the vital importance of always scrupulously observing and acting within those constitutional limits popularly supposed to safeguard the liberties of the people.

Resuming our reference to the proceedings of the session of 1866, towards its close a temporary crisis occurred in the Government ranks. It arose over the Lower Canada Education Bill, which was intended to guarantee certain rights as regards schools to the Protestant minority,—the Lower Canadian Conservatives refusing to allow it to pass unless a similar measure regarding the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada were adopted at the same time. The Upper Canada members objected to this, on the ground that their law as to Separate Schools had been recently passed and was working well. The contest quickly became very warm, especially between the Hon. A. T. Galt and the Hon. H. L. Langevin, and the Hon. John A. Macdonald finally announced that the Government had decided to withdraw the bill. Mr. Galt, who was regarded as the champion of

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the Protestant minority in Lower Canada, thereupon resigned his position as Finance Minister and retired from office.

All the Confederation and other Government measures, however, as well as the necessary supplies for carrying on the public service, were passed by the 15th August, when the last Parliament of the troubled Union of Upper and Lower Canada closed for ever, and nothing remained but the passage of an Imperial Act to bring about the Confederation of British America, for which so many sacrifices had been made and so many difficulties overcome.

CHAPTER XXVII

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT PASSES THE UNION ACT

THE summer of 1866 was signalized by the final accomplishment, after several disappointments, of what many regard as the greatest scientific achievement of the nineteenth century.

On the 26th of July, Mr. Cyrus W. Field, whose name must ever stand foremost in connection with the Atlantic Telegraph Cable, was able to telegraph from Heart's Content, Newfoundland, "Thank God, the cable has been laid and is in perfect working order." These words again sent a thrill of joy throughout the whole civilized world, but on this occasion public feeling was tempered with the fear lest the disappointment of 1858 might in some way be repeated.

The history of this great enterprise is interesting, and may thus be briefly stated: Mr. Field and other enterprising citizens of New York, among them the philanthropist, Peter Cooper, after hundreds of experiments with sixty different kinds of cable, decided in 1856 to start the Atlantic Telegraph Company, of which Mr. Cooper became President and Mr. Field Vice-President and Manager. In 1857 they made their first attempt to lay the cable. It failed. In

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1858 they made two further efforts. The first failed also, and the second was only successful from the 14th August to the 4th September, when the signals became unintelligible and remained so. These discouragements, which involved a large expense, prevented anything further being attempted for several years.

On the 13th of July, 1866, the mammoth steamer *Great Eastern*, accompanied by a small fleet of British vessels, set sail from near Valentia, on the Irish coast, having on board the cable and paying-out apparatus. After a favourable but exciting voyage of fourteen days, during which hopes and fears alternated, the *Great Eastern* reached the shores of Newfoundland on the morning of the 27th, when Mr. Field was able to telegraph, as already stated, that the great work of connecting Europe and America by electricity had been at last successfully accomplished.

Congratulations on this great scientific achievement came from all parts of the globe. Among the most appropriate were those of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and President Johnson of the United States. The former cabled as follows: "The Queen congratulates the President on the successful completion of an undertaking which she hopes may serve as an additional bond of union between the United States and England." To this President Johnson replied: "The President of the United States acknowledges with profound gratification the receipt of Her Majesty's despatch, and cordially reciprocates the hope that the cable which now unites the Eastern

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and Western hemispheres, may serve to strengthen and perpetuate peace and amity between the Government of England and the United States."

The whole civilized world was for once agreed. They hailed this great undertaking as the glory of the age! Mr. Cyrus Field and his coadjutors, and the principal nations which backed them up, Great Britain and the United States, deserved to be honoured as benefactors of the race.

Since the festivities at the inception of the policy of Confederation, political dinners seemed to have temporarily become a lost art. But this old British custom was revived during this fall by a grand banquet given in the city of Hamilton on the 29th October. The delegates chosen to represent Canada at the London Conference on Confederation were about to proceed to Great Britain, and Reformers as well as Conservatives united in the demonstration, which was professedly in the interests of Confederation rather than of either political party. It proved a large and successful affair. The Ministers of the Crown who attended were the Hon. John A. Macdonald and the Hon. William Macdougall, but there was an unusually large number of Legislative Councillors and M.P.'s from all parts of the surrounding country.

Chas. Magill, Esq., who was then Mayor of Hamilton, presided, and the principal speech was made by Attorney-General Macdonald. He confined himself almost entirely to the questions of Confederation and Reciprocity, but in answer to cries of "Brown!

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Brown!" evidently from Conservatives present, he was magnanimous enough to make the following reference to his great antagonist :

" An allusion has been made to Mr. Brown, and it may perhaps be as well for me to say, that whatever may be the personal differences which may exist between that gentleman and myself, I believe he is a sincere well-wisher and friend to Confederation. I honestly and truly believe him to be so, and it would be exceedingly wrong and dishonest in me, from personal motives, to say anything to the contrary."

The Hon. William Macdougall, who was at this period one of the most forcible and polished parliamentary and platform speakers in Canada, was well received by the banqueters. He evidently held the ministerial gun which was shotted for Mr. Brown. As a consequence, his clever speech was marred by reflections upon his late leader which were not relished by most of the Reformers present, and if fitting at all, would have been more so at a strictly party gathering. As a sign of the times, it may be mentioned that the Hon. Matthew Crooks Cameron of Toronto, Dr. Parker, of Guelph, and other gentlemen in public life, who formerly opposed Confederation, took advantage of this banquet to announce that they had at last decided to give their adherence to the measure.

The final struggle over the Confederation of British America now shifted from this continent to the British metropolis—the city of London.

Time and circumstances had rendered necessary

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many amendments to the plan of Confederation as drafted at the Quebec Conference. It was decided, therefore, that delegates representing Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should meet again in conference in London, to amend the Quebec resolutions and prepare the Act to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament. The delegations were composed as follows: Canada—Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, Howland, Macdougall and Langevin; Nova Scotia—Messrs. Tupper, Archibald, Henry, McCully and Ritchie; and New Brunswick—Messrs. Tilley, Mitchell, Wilmot, Johnson and Fisher.

Through some misunderstanding or change of plan at Ottawa, the Maritime delegates sailed for Britain on the 19th July, whilst those representing Canada did not start until nearly four months afterwards. This caused a tedious and annoying delay to the Maritime delegates, which all the courtesies extended to them by London society did not fully relieve.

This important Conference finally assembled at the Westminster Palace hotel on the 4th December. The Hon. John A. Macdonald was unanimously chosen chairman, and the delegates were assisted by the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon, His Excellency Lord Monck, and several of the law officers of the Crown. The body was an imposing one, and that they were engaged in laying the foundations of a new nationality was generally felt. There was steady work till near Christmas, but still a few changes, additions and emendations remained for final consideration. All the principal features of the

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Quebec resolutions, however, remained without much alteration. After transmitting the resolutions, as far as amended, to the Imperial Government, the Conference adjourned over the holidays.

Immediately on its reassembling, the Conference and the law officers of the Crown began work on the proposed British North America Act. It proved no easy task. No less than seven amended drafts of the bill were made before the Conference considered the measure sufficiently perfect to submit to the House of Commons, and some warm discussions and a few troublesome "hitches" occurred before the final stage was reached.

The chairman of the Conference, Mr. Macdonald, was naturally its most influential member. He was this by his abilities and experience as well as his position, and his valuable work in assisting to frame the new constitution has been universally recognized. He was, however, naturally conservative in his views, and more inclined to increase the powers of the Crown than the rights of the people. Reference has already been made to his motion at the Quebec Conference to set aside Canada's elective Legislative Council (which he had himself placed on the statute book) in favour of Senators nominated by the Crown for life, and which, being also warmly supported by the Hon. George Brown,* was carried without much difficulty.

* Mr. Brown frequently declared in private conversation his position on the Senate question to be this: He was opposed to a second elective chamber, as either being unnecessary or likely to come into conflict

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This feature of the proposed Confederation Act was popular neither in Great Britain nor in Canada, and opposition thereto was revived in the London Conference. From the bald reports permitted to appear it is evident there was opposition both to life tenure and the limitation of the number of Senators. Sir William P. Howland, who was at the London Conference, informed me that both Mr. Macdougall and he were opposed to nomination by the Crown for life. We have already seen the Prince Edward Islanders were against it, and doubtless there were others who regarded this provision as a blemish on the proposed new constitution.

Immediately after the Quebec Conference, the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, then Colonial Secretary in the Palmerston Administration, in a despatch to Lord Monck, dated the 3rd December, 1864, generally approved of the Quebec resolutions, but expressed the desire of the Imperial Government that this feature of the proposed constitution should be reconsidered. His words were: "It appears to them to require further consideration whether, if the members be appointed for life and their number be fixed,

with the more popular elective body. But if it had been practicable he would have preferred the Federal Parliament to consist of a single chamber elected by the people as in the case of the Ontario Legislature. Objection has been taken, and I think very properly, to both Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown's action in this matter, on the ground that they reverted to the Crown-nominated system, after the people of Canada had long agitated for and succeeded in getting an elective Legislative Council, and that, too, without the people being granted any opportunity at the polls to express their opinions upon it.

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there will be any sufficient means of restoring harmony between the Legislative Council and the popular Assembly, if it shall ever unfortunately happen that a decided difference of opinion shall arise between them." A few months before the London Conference (June 28th, 1866), the Whigs had given place to the Derby-Disraeli Administration, and the same objection was revived during the later stages of the Conference by no less a person than the new Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon. Although the Conservative secretary of a Conservative Government, he evidently doubted the wisdom in this democratic age of so retrograde a step, and the Hon. John Bright not only voiced this view when the bill came before the House of Commons, but predicted some of the evils which have since become manifest.

Lord Carnarvon's objections were almost identical with those of his predecessor, Mr. Cardwell, and that there were discussions and differences on this and other points appears certain from the changes made in the different drafts of the bill when before the Conference, which were as follows: In the rough draft of the resolutions the clauses referring to the Upper House stood practically as decided upon at the Quebec Conference; in the first draft of the bill the tenure of the members' seats was changed from life to ten years; in the third draft, dated February 2nd, 1867, the word "Senate" appears, the power to appoint is vested in the Governor-General, the limitation in the number of Senators is removed, but the

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term "for life" is restored. In the final draft the number of Senators (72) is restored; the Queen by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual is to summons the first 72, but "three or six members," on recommendation of the Governor-General, may on emergency be added, the number at no time to exceed 78.

In the end, therefore, the Conference got back to where it started, namely, the nomination of 72 Senators by the Crown for life, with the solitary new provision, that the number might be increased to 78 if the Senate and House of Commons got into conflict which could only be settled in that way. This provision was accepted as a sort of "safety valve," but would evidently prove quite inadequate in case of any serious difficulty.

Lord Carnarvon and his colleagues doubtless felt that on a question so essentially colonial it was within their province to suggest but not to insist, and the delegates in attendance at the Convention, who represented the Governments of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, had probably gone too far in their arrangements for the proposed Upper Federal Chamber to retrace their steps. At any rate, it is well known that life-Senatorships had already been directly or indirectly promised, and it is safe to say that most of the politicians who hoped to take part in the future Government of Canada were too alive to the power which this immense patronage would place in their hands to think lightly of giving it up. It therefore remained part of the bill by a decided

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majority, as the people of Canada have since had cause to regret.

The name which should be given to the united provinces also gave rise to a pointed difference of view. Mr. Macdonald desired the designation to be "the Kingdom of Canada." He considered this name would proclaim our connection with the British monarchy, and would help to maintain the monarchical character of Canada as distinguished from our Republican neighbours. In the third draft of the bill the expression "Kingdom of Canada" appeared, and in the fourth draft it still held its ground. But it was unfavourably regarded by the Imperial Government, and the same may be said of the people of the various provinces. When the proposed name, "Kingdom of Canada," was cabled to the press of Canada, it came as a surprise and was not regarded favourably. In the later drafts of the bill this name was erased, and in a letter written by Mr. Macdonald to Lord Knutsford in England, dated River du Loup, Canada, the 18th July, 1889—twenty-two years afterwards—he not only expressed the regret he still felt that this name was not adopted, but reflected upon Lord Monck and the Duke of Buckingham, the latter of whom had succeeded Lord Carnarvon at the Colonial Office, for not rising equal to the occasion.*

*His ill-omened resignation (Lord Carnarvon) was followed by the appointment of the late Duke of Buckingham, who had as his admirer the then Governor-General of Canada—Lord Monck—both good men certainly, but quite unable from the constitution of their minds to rise to the occasion. The Union was treated by them much as if the B. N.

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It was the Earl of Derby, however, then Premier and Foreign Secretary, and not the Duke of Buckingham, who objected most strongly to the name "Kingdom of Canada." Mr. Macdonald made this correction himself in a footnote to his letter referred to, so there can be no uncertainty on that point. Notwithstanding his strenuous efforts to have our designation as a Kingdom retained, Lord Derby finally decided against it as being not unlikely to be considered offensive by the neighbouring Republic, and it was, consequently, very properly and prudently struck out. The name "Dominion of Canada" was then decided upon,* and it is already dear to every true Canadian at home or abroad.

The Conference was still busy revising the later drafts of what was to become the British North America Act, when the Imperial Parliament assembled on the 5th February, 1867. The measure was, however, promised in the Speech from the Throne, and was soon afterwards introduced into the House of Commons, where, in consequence of the excitement caused by the discussion of Disraeli's famous Reform

Act were a private bill uniting two or three English parishes. Had a different course been pursued—for instance, had united Canada been declared to be an auxiliary kingdom, as it was in the Canadian draft of the bill—I feel sure (almost) that the Australian colonies would, ere this, have been applying to be placed in the same rank as the "Kingdom of Canada."—*Pope's "Life of Sir John Macdonald," Vol. I., page 303.*

*To be exact, the provision made in the Act is: "That the three Provinces heretofore known as Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall form and be one Dominion under the name of Canada."

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Bill, this great measure to found a new nation, composed of one-half of the whole North American continent, excited comparatively little debate or attention!

Its principal opponent was the Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia. He had for some time been the bitter assailant of Confederation, and by speeches, pamphlets and canvassing sought to convince the Imperial Government and Parliament that the proposed measure would inflict a gross injustice upon the



HON. DR. TUPPER

Maritime Provinces. The Hon. Dr. Tupper, his old political opponent, was nothing loth to champion the Union cause, and rendered it eminent service at this time. A sort of political duel took place in England between the two Nova Scotia gladiators, which manifested much cleverness and versatility on both sides.

Mr. Howe had had a very distinguished career in Nova Scotia politics. He was at once a polished writer and eloquent orator, and the energy and enthusiasm he threw into his opposition to Confederation enlisted the sympathy of Mr. John Bright and a few other members of the House of Commons, as well as a small section of the British press and people.

His present hostile attitude to the union of British

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North America was, however, totally inconsistent with his previous record. Not long before he had been the champion of such a measure. Proofs of this abounded. In 1861, when Premier of Nova Scotia, he had a resolution carried by the Legislature, which declared that "many advantages may be secured by such a union of the colonies," and in 1863 he was still more pronounced. After an inspiring lecture by Mr. D'Arcy McGee in Halifax during the same year, he made a speech in which he declared "he was for a union of all the British American provinces," and on a still later public occasion (1864), he spoke of it as "the dream of his childhood," and that "he was pleased to think that the day was approaching when the provinces would be united, with one flag over their heads, one thought in their bosoms, with one sovereign and one constitution."

These former utterances of Mr. Howe, and numerous others which might be quoted, were too forcible and eloquent to be forgotten, and greatly weakened his energetic efforts to prevent the passage of the Confederation bill. The great measure, therefore, passed the House of Commons and the House of Lords almost unanimously, and on the 29th March the Royal assent was given thereto.

Subsequently, an Act was also passed giving the Imperial guarantee to a Canadian loan of £3,000,000 to construct the Intercolonial railway between Quebec and Halifax, and thus at last, after encountering so many dangers and delays, all the measures necessary for the confederation of the Provinces of Ontario,

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Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into the Dominion of Canada, became law, and only awaited the Queen's proclamation to go into effect.

The Royal proclamation for this purpose was issued by Her Majesty from Windsor Castle on the 22nd May, and it appointed the 1st of July, 1867, as the date when the British North America Act should come into force, and the new nation start upon its untried but promising career.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PREMIER MACDONALD FORMS HIS CABINET

THE colonial delegates returned to America naturally elated over the success of Confederation. Their mission had been successful, they had been received with the greatest honour and hospitality during their sojourn in Great Britain, and the close of the labours of the Conference had been signalized by the holding of a special Court at Windsor Castle by Queen Victoria, at which the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, Tupper and Tilley were graciously received by Her Majesty, and their services in connection with Confederation highly commended.

Lord Monck having rendered conspicuous services in bringing about the union of British America, the Imperial Government decided to appoint him the first Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada. Soon afterwards His Excellency informally made known to the Hon. John A. Macdonald that, having been unanimously chosen and having acted as chairman of the recent Conference, he had decided to entrust him with the Premiership and the formation of the first government of the new Dominion.

When Mr. Macdonald returned to Canada, early in May, he found himself master of the situation, and

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with patronage so vast at his disposal as to be almost dazzling. There were thirteen Cabinet portfolios, four lieutenant-governorships, seventy-two life senatorships, and numerous permanent offices to which early appointments were absolutely necessary. He was, however, a Past Master in the use of patronage to promote his party purposes. He therefore set about the work of preparation to start the machinery of the new government in motion, *con amore*, although the task was by no means easy, and a man of less resource and experience might have hesitated in view of the difficulties which lay in the path before him.

Confederation having now been accomplished, and the specific object attained for which the Coalition Government was formed, the position to be taken by the different political parties throughout the Dominion became an exceedingly interesting one.

The Hon. Mr. Macdonald, as leader of the Conservative party, left no uncertainty as to the course which he intended to pursue. His plans for the future, and especially for the formation of the first Dominion Cabinet, had been mapped out long before. He took the ground, that with Confederation Canada was entering upon a new political existence, that the old party questions and controversies were wiped out, and that the principal men in the several provincial ministries who had been chiefly instrumental in carrying Confederation, whether previously Conservatives or Reformers, should permanently unite to form the first Dominion Government and carry on the business of the country.

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This was certainly good tactics from a Conservative point of view, as a purely Conservative administration was at that time impracticable—it might almost be said, impossible. This course, too, if successful, would certainly divide and weaken for many years the Reform parties in the various provinces. But it would continue and extend the coalition system of government to the whole Dominion, and as coalitions were no more popular in Canada than in Great Britain, the foreshadowed programme immediately raised a political issue sufficiently important to become the gage of battle between contending parties at the approaching general elections.

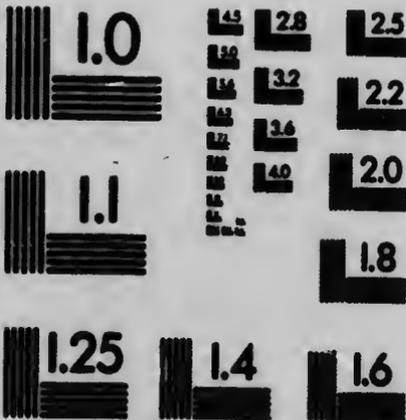
That the breach caused by the resignation of the Hon. George Brown from the Government would rapidly widen was inevitable. No one acquainted with the circumstances expected anything else. He fulfilled his pledge, however, to support the Confederation measures submitted during the late session, but on other questions, more particularly Mr. Galt's financial projects, he was generally found opposing the Administration. After the session closed his opposition became more pronounced, and the winter and spring of 1867 found him strongly condemning and opposing the proposal to continue the Coalition Government and extend it to the whole Dominion, instead of returning to the well-understood principles of party government as practised in the Mother Country.

Briefly stated, Mr. Brown's position was as follows: He maintained that the coalition between the Hon.



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John A. Macdonald and himself had never been justifiable except as a temporary expedient to carry Confederation ; that there was a distinct understanding on both sides that it was to terminate as soon as that great object was attained ; and that now, when Confederation was accomplished, to continue the Coalition and extend it to the new Dominion for ordinary administrative purposes, was not only a breach of the original compact, but a mere office-holding device on the part of the Conservative leader, which was certain to prove of an extravagant and demoralizing character. The union of Conservatives and Reformers merely to hold office he considered immoral, and therefore the best interests of the new Dominion demanded that in forming its first Cabinet there should be a return to party government, which it was claimed experience both in Britain and Canada had proven to be much the best in the public interests.

The Reformers of Upper Canada generally disliked coalitions, and fully agreed with their leader's views on that point. It soon transpired, however, that the party was not entirely united. The Hon. Messrs. Howland, Macdougall and Blair, who were in the Administration as representatives of the Reform party, not only did not share Mr. Brown's opinions, but had, in fact, already consented as Reformers to accept portfolios in the first Dominion Cabinet soon to be formed.

When this became known it occasioned much surprise and regret throughout the Reform party, and, it must be admitted, considerable indignation. These

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gentlemen were supported, however, by a portion of the Reform members then in Parliament, and by a small but respectable section of the rank and file of their party. The overwhelming majority of the Reformers of the Province, however, were strongly opposed to their course, and had been too long and too earnestly opposed to the measures and methods of the Conservative leader and his party to favour the continuance of the Coalition in any shape or form.

The din of preparations for the first Dominion elections now began to be heard in some ridings. Several candidates, both Conservative and Reform, had already taken the field, and in view of the new and uncertain political situation the Hon. George Brown, Hon. Wm. McMaster, Alex. Mackenzie, M.P.P., John Macdonald, M.P.P., Arch. McKellar, M.P.P., Edward Blake, Q.C., and other leading Reformers, deemed it advisable that a general convention of the Reform party throughout the Province should be held in Toronto at an early day.

The Executive Committee of the Reform Association of Upper Canada promptly acted on their suggestion. They sent private circulars to all Reform members, candidates, editors, presidents, secretaries, etc., asking their opinion as to the advisability of holding the proposed gathering. The response was almost universally favourable and enthusiastic, and the Executive Committee thereupon issued their call for a general convention of the Reformers of Upper Canada to be held in the Music Hall (now the Public Library), Toronto, on the 27th June.

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The principal objects of the Convention were stated to be :

“ To re-unite all sections of the party, and to rejoice over the great success that has attended their past labours, and to adopt measures for securing the correction of the abuses so long deplored by the Reform party, and for the diffusion of those sound Reform principles into the daily administration of public affairs—to secure which the constitutional changes now achieved were so long and so earnestly struggled for.”

Turning now to Ottawa, there was unusual activity there during May and June, preparing for the new order of things. Much was done by correspondence, and with late hours and hard work on the part of the Civil Service, the plans of the embryo Premier of the Dominion were sufficiently advanced by the middle of June to enable him to send for the Hon. Messrs. Tupper and Archibald, of Nova Scotia, and the Hon. Messrs. Tilley and Mitchell, of New Brunswick, to assist in completing the arrangements.



HON. LEONARD TILLEY

These gentlemen arrived at the capital towards the end of the month. Although they could not yet be sworn in, their advice was taken as ministers *de facto*, and an understanding was readily reached on several important points. Among these may be mentioned

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the appointment of the first Lieutenant-Governors of the four provinces, the selection of the first Premiers of the Provincial Ministries, and the fixing of the number of ministers to compose the first Dominion Cabinet at thirteen—Ontario to have five, Quebec four, and the Maritime Provinces two each.

When Premier Macdonald, however, came to arrange which gentlemen should be his first colleagues, an unpleasant difficulty arose. It afterwards became known—although the veil of secrecy enshrouded it for months—that something like a deadlock occurred and for a time threatened serious consequences.

It arose in this way. The French Canadians numbering one-third of the population of the Dominion, the Hon. Mr. Cartier claimed that they should be represented by at least three members in the Cabinet. The fourth seat having necessarily to go to a Quebec Protestant, Mr. Galt, this arrangement would leave Mr. D'Arcy McGee out in the cold. It was at the same time considered absolutely necessary that the Cabinet should contain one Irish Catholic representative, and a stiff problem thus arose, requiring immediate solution.

Mr. Cartier refused point blank to budge from his position, which was in truth not at all unreasonable, and it having already been decided that the Ontario section of the Cabinet should remain without change, it appeared as if one of the proposed Maritime Province ministers would have to be an Irish Roman Catholic. Very naturally none of the four gentlemen summoned from these provinces wished to retire for

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this purpose, especially at the eleventh hour, and a very difficult and delicate situation resulted.

To overcome this difficulty, a strong effort was made to have Lower Canada allotted an additional minister, which would at once have secured Mr. McGee's services and an Irish representative. But the three Upper Canada Reform ministers insisted on their province, in accordance with the principle of representation by population, having one more representative than Lower Canada, and if both provinces received an additional minister the Cabinet would be increased to fifteen members. This solution of the difficulty failed, the Hon. Mr. Macdonald finally and very properly deciding that he would not under any circumstances increase the Cabinet beyond thirteen, as originally agreed upon.

According to Pope's "Life of Sir John Macdonald" (Vol. I., page 331), it was not until "Mr. Macdonald was on the point of advising the Governor-General to send for Mr. Brown," that this unpleasant difficulty at the threshold of the new Government was successfully overcome.

Mr. McGee finally withdrew his claim, and the Hon. Dr. Tupper stood aside and allowed Mr. Edward Kenny, a prominent Irish Catholic of Halifax, to be appointed in his place. It was generally conceded that no one had stronger claims for a position in the first Government of the Dominion than the sturdy Nova Scotian, but the unmistakably bitter feeling in his province at that time against the Union and his party doubtless contributed to induce him to temporarily waive his claim for official recognition.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE REFORM PARTY DECLARES FOR PARTY GOVERNMENT

WHILST these circumstances were occurring at Ottawa, in preparation for the inauguration of Confederation, the day came round for the general Convention of the Reformers of Upper Canada. It proved to be an unusually large and influential assemblage. It surpassed the notable convention of 1859, and in fact any other political gathering of a similar kind ever held in the Province up to that time. The delegates who attended represented all sections of the Province and all classes of the people. Having been present at every provincial convention held by the Reform party since 1853, I am in a position to say that this was one of the most conspicuously successful, and that for influential attendance, earnestness of purpose, and hearty enthusiasm, it has never been excelled by any of the much larger gatherings which have since taken place.

When the Convention was called to order at two o'clock, William Patrick, Esq., of Prescott, was chosen chairman, and Mr. James D. Edgar and Mr. Samuel Sproule, Toronto, joint secretaries.

The list of delegates in attendance who were eminent, or afterwards became so, is somewhat remarkable.

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Among the more conspicuous names were the following: Hon. George Brown, Hon. David Christie, Alex. Mackenzie, M.P.P., Edward Blake, Q.C., Hon. J. G. Currie, Archd. McKellar, M.P.P., Hon. W. McCrae, Æmilius Irving, Q.C., Charles McGill, M.P.P., T. B. Pardee, Q.C., Hon. Wm. McMaster, Christopher F. Fraser, John Macdonald, M.P.P., Adam Crooks, Q.C., Joseph Rymal, M.P.P., Henry S. Howland, Thomas Hodgins, Q.C., A. S. Hardy, J. P. Wells, M.P.P., John White, M.P.P., Hon. John McMurrich, Kenneth Mackenzie, Q.C., Colin Macdougall, David Stirton, M.P.P., B. M. Britton, Henry Monro, M.P.P., David Thompson, M.P.P., Hon. D. McDonald, Joseph Gould, ex-M.P.P., John Bell, Q.C., James D. Edgar, Amos Wright, M.P.P., William Eccles, A. M. Smith, M.P.P., David Blain, James Cowan, M.P.P., James Lesslie, L. Burwell, M.P.P., Thomas Bain, Dr. Fraser, ex-M.P.P., and Warren Rock. There were several other members of Parliament present and still more delegates who afterwards attained to that distinction.*

The proceedings of this important Convention, which throw so much light on the state of public affairs in Canada at that time, deserve more than the brief outline which can be given to them here.

*The intense interest taken in public affairs throughout Upper Canada before and at the time of Confederation is strikingly attested by the number, influence and respectability of the delegates who attended this Convention, representing so largely as they did the agricultural, commercial, mechanical and professional interests of the Province, and it has been deemed interesting and fitting to compile and publish the names of all who registered with the secretaries on the occasion. They may be found, alphabetically arranged, in Appendix VI.

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The three largest committees were on Credentials, Arrangements and Resolutions. The latter was the most important, and the Hon. George Brown, its chairman, reported for consideration fourteen resolutions on the state of political affairs then existing. The principal of these may be summarized as follows :

1. Declared the meeting's gratification at the triumphant success of the Reform party's long agitation for Representation by Population and control of our own local affairs, and claimed the gratitude of the people of Upper Canada for peacefully achieving constitutional changes seldom attained in other countries without sad scenes of armed revolution ; proposed by Mr. Edward Blake, Q.C., Toronto, seconded by Mr. Æmilius Irving, barrister, Hamilton.
2. Declared that whilst the new Federal Constitution was not without defects, it was joyfully recognized as removing the barriers which had heretofore stood in the way of the good government of the provinces, and the Convention heartily accepted the new constitution and pledged itself to work it loyally and patiently ; proposed by Hon. George Brown, seconded by Hon. J. G. Currie, M.P.P., St. Catharines, and also spoken to by Mr. David Wyllie, editor, Brockville.
3. Declared that during the long and earnest struggle of the Reform party for Representation by Population and other reforms, they were only regarded as the means of securing good and efficient government, and putting an end to the reckless misrule which had entailed on the country a "heavy public debt, burden-

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some taxation, great political abuses and universal dissatisfaction"; proposed by Mr. David Stirton, M.P.P., Guelph, seconded by Mr. John Macdonald, M.P.P., Toronto, and spoken to by Mr. Christopher F. Fraser, Brockville.

4. Declared against coalition governments for ordinary administrative purposes, as inevitably resulting in abandonment of principle, the lowering of public morality, lavish public expenditure and widespread corruption; proposed by Mr. John McKeown, barrister, Hamilton, seconded by Mr. James Young, editor, Galt.

5. Declared that the Convention fully recognized the grave responsibility resting upon the Reform party to use its increased influence under the new constitution, to sweep away the abuses under which the country had so long laboured, and vigorously and promptly carry into effect the numerous reforms in the practical administration of public affairs which they had so long advocated; proposed by Mr. Adam Crooks, Q.C., Toronto, seconded by Mr. T. B. Pardee, Q.C., Sarnia.

6. Declared that the separation of Church and State, now and ever, is one of the fundamental principles of the Reform party, that the Convention heartily rejoiced that the new constitution swept from the Federal arena questions of a sectional and sectarian character, and that the Protestant electors of Upper Canada would have the opportunity of showing their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects that generous consideration which a minority ought ever

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to receive in all free countries at the hands of a largely preponderating majority; proposed by Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, Q.C., Toronto, seconded by Mr. David McCulloch, Hamilton, and supported by Messrs. Geo. S. Wilkes, Brantford; H. D. Smith, North Leeds; Daniel Cotteril, Esquesing; Donald Sinclair, North Bruce, and M. O'Hanly, Ottawa.

7. Declared that it was the duty and desire of the Canadian people to cultivate the most friendly relations with the neighbouring people of the United States, and whilst looking diligently around for new and profitable markets for the Dominion, to meet frankly and cordially any overtures from the Washington Government for a new treaty of commercial reciprocity between Canada and the Republic, extending over a fixed term of years, based on equitable principles and consistent with the honour of both countries; proposed by Mr. John Smith, Hamilton, seconded by Mr. Colin Macdougall, barrister, St. Thomas.

8. Declared the Convention's great satisfaction that the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were hereafter to be united with the people of Canada under one Government and Legislature, "because it will be remembered that the same long battle for popular rights and social and material progress was fought and won in these Provinces, as in Canada, by Reform statesmen, against the bitter opposition and hostility of the Tory party," and hoped that Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia would soon form part of the Dominion; proposed by Mr.

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Thomas Hodgins, Q.C., Toronto, seconded by Dr. Bull, West York.

9 to 15. Declared for the opening up and settlement of the great North-West Territories, thanks to the Liberals of Lower Canada for aid received from them in days of trial, for the encouragement of mining operations and of immigration, the enforcement of economy, and several other desirable reforms; the movers and seconders of these resolutions were: Messrs. Joseph Rymal, M.P.P., Barton; Warren Rock, barrister, London; Hon. J. G. Currie, St. Catharines; B. M. Britton, barrister, Kingston; Peter Moyer, editor, Waterloo; Dr. Fraser, ex-M.P.P., Monck; Dr. McGill, South Ontario; E. Jackson, editor, Newmarket; A. McKellar, M.P.P., Kent; R. M. Rose, Kingston; Wm. Eccles, barrister, St. Catharines; Mr. Radcliffe, South Ontario; Robert Dalgleish, South Grey, and Malcolm Campbell, West Middlesex.

The fourth resolution, which condemned coalition governments and upheld the party system, proved to be the supreme issue before the Convention. This was rendered the more inevitable by the fact that the Hon. William P. Howland and the Hon. William Macdougall, who had agreed to join the new Dominion Coalition Ministry, were then in Toronto, had been asked to attend the Convention, and had consented to be present on the evening of the first day.

No anxiety was felt by the party managers as to the attitude which the hundreds of conventionists would take on the Coalition question. Public feeling

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ran too high, and the delegates were too pronounced in their views, for any doubt to exist on that point. But the promised appearance of these two ministers of the Crown, before what was well known to be a hostile convention of the party they had heretofore represented, created widespread and unusual interest. A lively battle between them and Messrs. Brown, Mackenzie and other leading Reformers was inevitable, and as they entered the Convention and were assigned seats on the platform, the scene and the excitement which arose would require a more eloquent pen than mine to adequately describe.

The question, "Party Government *vs.* Coalitions," quickly became the storm centre of discussion. The speeches on nearly all the motions seemed to revolve around it, and it became the principal issue dividing the Reform and Conservative parties at the general elections which followed. The resolution on the subject was in the following terms :

Resolved: 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 ; that the Coalition of 1864 could only be justified on the ground of imperious necessity, as the only available mode of obtaining just representation for the people of Upper Canada, and on the ground that the compact then made was for a specific purpose and for a stipulated period, and was to come to an end as soon as the measure was attained ; and while this Convention is thoroughly satisfied that the Reform party has acted in the best interests of the

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country by sustaining the Government until the Confederation measure was secured, it deems it an imperative duty to declare that the temporary alliance between the Reform and Conservative parties should now cease, and that no Government will be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is formed and maintained by a coalition of public men holding opposite political principles."

Mr. Howland was the first of the two ministers called upon to speak. He was respectfully received. In the course of his remarks he frankly admitted that the compact of the Coalition of 1864 was at an end. He moderately but firmly maintained, however, that Mr. Macdougall and he were justified in acting with Mr. Tilley and other Reformers of the Maritime Provinces in aiding the Hon. John A. Macdonald in forming the first Government of the Dominion and setting the machinery of the new constitution in motion, leaving party movements aside until questions arose on which they might differ. This position he supported by various arguments, presented in a calm, forcible manner, but which evidently did not satisfy the Convention, and occasionally elicited marks of disapproval.

The speech of Mr. Macdougall in vindication of his course in agreeing to join the new Coalition Administration was a notable one. It was gracefully delivered—able, clear, fearless, defiant. He denied that coalitions were immoral, contended that the work of the existing one was not yet completed, and assailed Mr. Brown's course right and left, rather caustically representing him as "having taken to the jolly-boat,

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leaving to his colleagues the task of getting the ship and its cargo safely into port." He maintained that the Toryism and Reform of the past were buried, that politically the Dominion was beginning with a *tabula rasa*—"a clean slate"—and there were no good reasons why Reformers and Conservatives should not act together in setting the new constitutional machine in motion, and even working it after it had been started.

This was in substance Mr. Macdougall's line of argument. Unlike the speech of his colleague, it was decidedly aggressive and defiant, and, very naturally in so large and hostile a convention, evoked frequent and loud expressions of disapprobation during its delivery and on the speaker resuming his seat.

It was now midnight, and although the Convention had been, with one adjournment, continuously in session since two o'clock, Mr. Brown immediately arose and replied to the speeches of his two former colleagues, taking up their principal arguments and answering them one by one. He was more argumentative and moderate than during the powerful and exciting address he had delivered earlier in the evening. Both were highly characteristic, however, one passage in his first speech, although rather inflated in language, being memorable on account of the enthusiasm to which it aroused the Convention, and the light it threw upon the attitude of the Reform party and its leader at that trying time.

At this point in his speech, evidently impelled by a sudden inspiration, Mr. Brown advanced across the

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platform near to where Messrs. Howland and Macdougall were seated, and with head erect, eyes sparkling, and his long arms outstretched, burst forth in the following impassioned strain :

“After such a victory as this, which the great Reform party have accomplished—talk to me and to my friends, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. McKellar, Mr. Stirton, Mr. Gould, Mr. White, Mr. Rymal, and many others whom I see around me—tell us that we are now to condescend—(great and repeated cheers)—tell me that we are to condescend at this day, when we stand before our country claiming credit for one of the noblest records public men could display before a country—that we are now to go down upon our knees to Mr. John A. Macdonald! (Great cheering.) Tell me we are to cast reproach upon everything we have been doing for the last fifteen years—that it may be said the whole thing we wanted was office, because no sooner did we accomplish this great boon for our country than we were prepared to make terms with the enemy and go into a Coalition Administration! (Cheers.) A gentleman told you I have called this meeting in order that I might be made the head of the Reform party. If, sir, there is any large number of men in this assembly who will record their votes this night in favour of the degradation of the public men of that party by joining a coalition, I neither want to be a leader nor a humble member of that party. (Cheers.) If that is the reward you intend to give us for all our services, I scorn connection with you. (Immense cheering.) Go into the same Government with Mr. John A. Macdonald! (Cries of ‘Never! never!’) Sir, I understood what degradation it was to be compelled to adopt that step by the necessities of the case, by the feeling that the interests of my country were at stake, which alone induced me ever

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to put my foot in that Government, and glad was I when I got out of it. None ever went into a Government with such sore hearts as did two out of the three who entered it on behalf of the Reform party—I cannot speak for the third. It was the happiest day of my life when I got out of the concern. (Cheers.) But tell me that, after we have gained the end, when we have bought it from our opponents by giving them three years of office—that we shall now renew that hateful compact, and put John A. Macdonald at the head of the Government! And these gentlemen are to come in as followers—his meek followers! (Cheers.) If that is to be the position, gentlemen, blot out your resolutions, and throw your record in the fire, before you let the Reform party take the contemptible position which this course would reduce it to.” (Loud cheers, and cries of “Never! never!”)

One o'clock had struck before Mr. Brown concluded his reply to the two Cabinet ministers, but so great was the interest and enthusiasm that the Music Hall remained packed until that late hour, and the applause which greeted his remarks clearly indicated that the Convention was overwhelmingly opposed to any further coalition of the Reform and Conservative parties in forming the first or any other Government of the Dominion or Provinces.

The proceedings of the second day of the Convention were opened by Mr. Alex. Mackenzie, M.P.P., who very ably and logically discussed the whole political situation, and specially criticised the course of Mr. Macdougall, whom he accused of deserting his party for office and its emoluments. His speech was one of the most effective made during the Convention,

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and was quite a revelation to many of those present as to Mr. Mackenzie's cleverness and skill as a debater.

Several other speeches quickly followed, during which two amendments to the main motion were moved, one by Mr. A. Diamond, Belleville, and the other by Mr. John Idington, Stratford, to make the resolution against coalitions still stronger—indeed, condemnatory of all such governments. But after a full and free discussion these amendments were finally withdrawn, and when the main motion was put by the chairman, the Convention rose almost *en masse*, the result being hailed with enthusiastic and tumultuous cheering. Only three or four hands were held up against the motion.

Towards the close of the Convention a memorable incident occurred. It was in relation to the leadership of the party. Since Confederation had been carried, Mr. Brown had at various times, and again during this Convention, intimated a desire to retire from Parliament and devote his time entirely to his newspaper and personal affairs. Opinions differed as to whether he really desired to give up the leadership at this time, or took this course in order to give the Reform party in convention assembled *carte blanche* to deal with that important question as they considered best. However this may have been, there was no uncertainty as to the opinion of the delegates, as the incident about to be narrated proves.

During Mr. Brown's temporary absence from the chamber, the Hon. J. G. Currie, of St. Catharines,

REFORM PARTY FOR PARTY GOVERNMENT

brought up the subject of the leadership of the party, and concluded by moving the following resolution :

"That this Convention cannot separate without expressing to the Hon. George Brown the gratitude of the Reform party, of which he has been so long the able leader, for his services to the people of Canada, and also the earnest hope that he will reconsider his intention of retiring from parliamentary life, and accept a position in the Legislature of the country."

This motion was carried by acclamation—the members of the Convention rising to their feet in a body, and when it was afterwards read to Mr. Brown by the chairman, amidst vociferous cheering, that gentleman was completely overcome. One writer states that he hastily retired to an ante-room for a few minutes, in a vain endeavour to conceal his emotion. What is certain is that he was quite unable to reply for several minutes, and when he did recover his self-control, it was under deep emotion that he thanked the Convention for their resolution, which he declared he regarded above all the testimonials he had received during his life.

As to whether he would stand again for Parliament he did not positively say. "I had looked forward," he said, "to the triumph of Representation by Population as the day of my emancipation from parliamentary life, and now that it has come I resolved to take advantage of it. But I am free to admit that what has now taken place, the announcement of the new Coalition—this secession from our party—some-what alters the case. (Great cheering.) Where work

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is to be done for the Reformers of Canada, and the people of Canada, I shall not shrink from it. (Cheers.)" He promised he would consult the Reform members and new candidates, that if they considered his further services for a short time in Parliament would be of use to the Reform party, he would not refuse; although, as it would be absolutely impossible for him to assume any official position, he was not clear that it would not be better for him to retire at once.

This episode was, in accordance with the political customs of the time, seized hold of and mercilessly satirized by the Conservative press, some of whom declared it to be a mere bit of hypocritical stage-play. There is no reason to doubt, however, that it was natural enough.

No man had made greater sacrifices for the Reform party and the rights of Upper Canada than Mr. Brown. No man had been more unmercifully assailed and unjustly traduced. Nor was any man ever prouder of being accounted the faithful champion of the people's rights. And after long years of hard labour, pecuniary sacrifice and systematic contumely—not to speak of occasional discouragements from a few of his own party colleagues—that this large, representative convention of the Reformers of Upper Canada should not only express their gratitude for his able leadership and services to the people of Canada, but request his continuance as leader in Parliament, was a compliment which would have touched the heart of a man of much less frank, generous and impressionable nature.

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The labours of this memorable Convention closed on the night of the second day. Mr. Mackenzie, Q.C., in moving the usual closing votes, rather aptly said of the gathering: "It was the finest sight he had ever seen, and was composed of the best mechanics, the best farmers, the best merchants, the best editors and the best lawyers in the country." This sally produced much laughter, and after rounds of cheers for the Dominion of Canada, Mr. Brown, and Her Majesty the Queen, the delegates dispersed, brimful of enthusiasm for the general elections which were then supposed to be very close at hand.

CHAPTER XXX

THE NATION'S BIRTHDAY

THE birthday of the Dominion of Canada—the 1st July, 1867—was ushered in amidst somewhat mingled feelings.

The attitude towards the Federation of the four provinces united on that historical morning may be described as follows: Ontario was jubilant, Quebec satisfied, New Brunswick divided, and Nova Scotia hostile and bitter. The general feeling of the masses of the people was, however, that Confederation would prove a blessing to British America—that we were truly laying the foundations of a new nationality, and that the Union would usher in an enlarged and brighter era. Although not universally, the natal day of the Dominion was generally observed as a public holiday, and in many cases honoured with public and private rejoicings.

The inauguration proceedings took place mainly in the Executive Council Chamber of the magnificent Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, and were of a very simple and unostentatious character.

The installation of His Excellency Lord Monck as Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada was the primary proceeding. The Hon. W. H. Draper,

THE NATION'S BIRTHDAY

C.B., Chief Justice of Ontario, administered the oath of office.

Immediately after being sworn in, His Excellency performed his first act as Governor-General by carrying out the commands of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, as conveyed to him by the Colonial Secretary, to distribute certain royal honours to mark the auspicious occasion. He then conferred the title of Knight Commander of the Bath on the Hon. John A. Macdonald, and of Companion of the Bath upon the Hon. Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Macdougall, Howland, Tilley and Tupper, for the distinguished services they had rendered in bringing the policy of Confederation to a successful issue.



LORD MONCK

Then Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., accompanied by all his colleagues, except the Hon. Edward Kenny, of Nova Scotia, who had not yet arrived, appeared before His Excellency the Governor-General, and were sworn into office as members of the first Privy Council and of the first Government of the Dominion of Canada. The names of these gentlemen and the portfolios they were appointed to were as follows:

Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., Premier and Minister of Justice; Hon. Geo. E. Cartier, C.B.,

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Minister of Militia and Defence; Hon. Samuel L. Tilley, C.B., Minister of Customs; Hon. Alex. T. Galt, C.B., Minister of Finance; Hon. Wm. Macdougall, C.B., Minister of Public Works; Hon. Wm. P. Howland, C.B., Minister of Inland Revenue; Hon. A. J. Fergusson Blair, President of the Privy Council; Hon. Peter Mitchell, Minister of Marine and Fisheries; Hon. Alex. Campbell, Postmaster-General; Hon. Jean C. Chapais, Minister of Agriculture; the Hon. Hector L. Langevin, Secretary of State for Canada; Hon. A. G. Archibald, Secretary of State for the Provinces; and the Hon. Edward Kenny, Receiver-General. The latter gentleman was sworn in on the 4th of July.

Thus was born the Canadian nation! Quietly and modestly, its sky not altogether free from clouds on its natal morn, but with immense resources and possibilities!

Few Canadians, not even all the statesmen who are deservedly known as the "Fathers of Confederation,"* then realized the greatness of the work which

* It is sad to reflect, that of the thirty-three grand men who composed the Quebec Conference of 1865, and who are justly regarded as the Founders of Canada, only seven have lived to see its 35th birthday—the 1st of July, 1902. Their names are as follows: Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, G.C.M.G., born July 20th, 1820; Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B., born July 2nd, 1821; Hon. Wm. Macdougall, C.B., born January 25th, 1822; Hon. R. B. Dickey, K.C., Senator, born November 10th, 1811; Hon. A. A. McDonald, Senator, born February 14th, 1829; Hon. Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G. (Newfoundland), born 1818; Hon. Sir Hector Langevin, K.C.M.G., C.B., born August 25th, 1826. The Hon. Sir W. P. Howland, K.C.M.G., and the Hon. John W. Ritchie (N.S.), having been members of the

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was accomplished and involved in the union of British America on that ever-memorable morning. But now that the grand project may be said to be complete, what a vista dazzles the imagination when its immense area and almost boundless natural resources are thoughtfully considered !

Canada has for over a quarter of a century embraced all British North America, save Newfoundland. Its area is no less than 3,519,000 square miles, close upon one-half of the whole North American continent. It is larger by 469,000 square miles than the United States without Alaska, forty times the size of Great Britain, and double that of France, Germany, Austria, Spain, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland and Turkey-in-Europe, all combined ! Its climate, if we except the extreme north, is healthful and invigorating, and, with possibly one exception, its natural resources are the richest, most varied and inexhaustible of any land on the face of the globe.

Besides the extensive wheat areas of Ontario and the Eastern Provinces, it possesses in the great North-West prairies the largest and most fertile undeveloped wheat zone known to exist ; its vast forests stand unrivalled for extent, value and beauty ; its deep-sea

last Confederation Conference, held in London, in December, 1866, though not at the Charlottetown or Quebec Conference, it is claimed they should be included among the "Fathers of Confederation." This would make the number of Canada's founders thirty-five instead of thirty-three. Sir William Howland was born May 29th, 1811, and still resides in Toronto. Some interesting particulars about the deceased Founders of Canada may be found in Appendix VII.

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and inland fisheries are admittedly the best in the world; and its mines of gold, silver, iron, nickel, copper and coal contain fabulous wealth awaiting development. Its mercantile marine is larger than those of Italy, France, the Netherlands, Turkey or Spain—is surpassed, in fact, by only four or five of the larger sea powers—and its 5,388,000 of hardy, energetic, intelligent Canadians have already established commerce with foreign countries to the value of \$414,500,000 per annum, or nearly \$77 per head of the entire population.*

Such is the Dominion of Canada—without exaggeration, a young giant in size and resources. Even to the present time, however, many Canadians have not risen to a full realization of its magnitude and possibilities, and it is not surprising, therefore, that on the first Dominion Day, with the noise and tumult of old political struggles still ringing in their ears, few then looked much beyond the moment. Its responsibilities and difficulties helped to shut out the bright vision of the future. But as time slowly passes on, it

* According to an estimate made up from the census returns just before Confederation, the population in 1865 of the two Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland was 3,787,750, and the total trade of the first four provinces mentioned above for the last year before Confederation, which ended on the 30th June, 1866, was only of the value of \$147,222,275. The great progress made since that time will be understood by the following official statement (unrevised) from the Statistical Bureau, Ottawa, of the trade and population of the Dominion at the present time: Total imports and exports of Canada for the twelve months ending on the 30th of June, 1902, \$414,517,318; estimated population to the 30th of June, 1902, 5,388,017; amount per head of our foreign trade, \$76.93.

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THE NATION'S BIRTHDAY

will be more clearly seen that on the 1st of July, 1867, were laid the foundations of a second great power on the North American continent, one possessing such immense developed and undeveloped resources in lands, forests, mines, fisheries, shipping, manufactures, railways, canals, banks and other sources of wealth, that with wise statesmanship and just laws, a wide rein may be given to the imagination without exhausting Canada's possibilities as a nation before the present century closes.*

This concludes the story of the foundation of our great Canadian Confederation, and makes a fitting termination to the present volume.

I have dwelt upon it lovingly and at length, for it must long remain the greatest event in Canadian history, and as the wheels of time revolve, all the remarkable circumstances which led up to its formation

* "Hitherto, in common with the rest of my countrymen, I suppose, I have thought Canada, or to speak more accurately, British America, a mere strip lying north of the United States, easily detached from the parent state, but incapable of sustaining itself, and therefore, ultimately, nay, right soon, to be taken on by the Federal Union, without materially changing or affecting its own development. I have dropped this opinion as a national conceit. I see in British America, stretching as it does across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and occupying a belt of the Temperate Zone, a region grand enough for the seat of a great empire—in its wheat-fields in the West, its invaluable fisheries, and its mineral wealth. I find its inhabitants vigorous, hardy, energetic, and protected by British constitutional liberty. Southern political stars must set, though many times they rise again with diminished beauty, but those which illumine the Pole remain forever shining, forever increasing in splendour."—*Hon. William H. Seward, when Secretary of State in Lincoln's Administration.*

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will grow in importance and deepen and widen in interest.

It is especially desirable that the lessons to be drawn from the long conflict between Upper and Lower Canada, the dangerous racial and religious strife which brought their union to a deadlock, the long and disinterested struggle of the Reformers of Upper Canada for Representation by Population and other constitutional reforms, which finally led to the remarkable but patriotic union of the Hon. George Brown and the Hon. John A. Macdonald to carry Confederation, should never be forgotten by Canadians.

In the remembrance of the difficulties and dangers of the past, of the enlightened statesmanship which surmounted them and led us upward and onward to Confederation, we have, fortunately, many beacon lights to assist us in the noble task of guiding our young Nation off those treacherous rocks and shoals which would retard, and might possibly destroy, the realization of the grand destiny which beckons us onward.

THE END.

APPENDIX I

SPEECH OF THE HON. GEORGE BROWN ON JUNE 22ND,
1864, WHEN THE COALITION GOVERNMENT WAS
ANNOUNCED TO PARLIAMENT.

[*Abbreviated.*]

Hon. GEORGE BROWN then arose, evidently labouring under the deepest emotion, which for a time almost choked his utterance. He said: "Did I conceal from the House that I feel in all its force the painful position I now occupy, I should be deceiving hon. members. For ten years I have stood opposed to the hon. gentlemen opposite in the most hostile manner it is possible to conceive of public men arrayed against each other in the political arena. I am well aware that in dealing with Ministerial coalitions I have used language and spoken in tones such as would forbid my standing in the position I occupy to-day with any hope of justifying myself before the country had the agreement you have just heard read been signed under the conditions usually attached to political alliances. I do not conceal from myself how directly exposed I am to the suspicion that what I do this day I have done from personal motives, from a desire to raise my position in the country. (Cries of "No, no," from all sides of the House.) I am free to confess that, had the circumstances in which we are now placed been one whit less important, less serious, less threatening than they are, I could not have approached hon. gentlemen opposite, even with a view to these negotiations. But I think the House will admit that, if a crisis has ever arisen in the political affairs of any country which would just justify such a coalition as has taken place, such a crisis has arrived in the history of Canada. (Hear, hear.) It is well known that for many years I have held that, in consequence of the sectional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, it was absolutely impossible that the Government of this country could be carried on with peace, harmony and usefulness—that there was but one way of obtaining good government and legislation for this country, and that was by such a step as has been proposed by gentlemen opposite

APPENDIX I

and to which I have acceded. . . . We have two races, two languages, two systems of religious belief, two sets of laws, two systems of everything, so that it has been almost impossible that, without sacrificing their principles, the public men of both sections could come together in the same Government. The difficulties have gone on increasing every year. The larger counties in the west have continued to increase in population, until now Upper Canada has 400,000 souls unrepresented in this Legislature, and pays an enormous proportion of the taxation, and yet we have but an equality of representation with Lower Canada. But from the first day I took my position in this House on the subject—and my hon. friend from Kamouraska (Mr. Chapais) will bear witness to the fact—while I have always claimed for my own section a just share of representation, I still conceded that the feelings of Lower Canada must be consulted, and I declared that I was prepared to go with gentlemen from Lower Canada into an honest and fair consideration of all the remedies that could be proposed, and endeavour to find a basis just and equal for both sections. (Hear, hear.) That day which I have long expected has now arrived, and I think had I not listened to the approaches made by gentlemen opposite I would have shown that I was one of the vilest hypocrites that ever entered public life. Mr. Speaker, I have already said that it was not without great pain that I listened to the approaches made by gentlemen opposite. For many years I have been connected with a body of gentlemen from Lower Canada whom I had learned warmly to esteem—gentlemen who stood by me in times of great difficulty, and whose kindness and friendship I hope never to forget. It is most painful to rend, aye, even to weaken the bonds which have bound me to these gentlemen; but, Mr. Speaker, party alliances are one thing and the interests of my country are another. (Enthusiastic cheering.) For my hon. friend from Hochelaga (Mr. Dorion), and my hon. friend from Chateauguay (Mr. Holton), I have no terms to express the personal attachment that exists between us, and deeply would I regret were our warm friendship to be diminished from the occurrences of this day. . . . And my hon. friends will do me the justice to say that, when the invitation to enter on the discussions that have resulted as we have seen this evening, was first addressed to me, I took the earliest opportunity of finding out whether even then I could hope to receive assistance from my hon. friends. I went to them as old friends, telling them what I proposed to do, and asked their co-operation in the movement, but without success. I think, at all events,

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they must feel that in taking the course I have taken I have done nothing to sever those bonds of personal friendship which have so long existed between us.

Mr. HOLTON—Hear, hear.

Mr. BROWN—When we look at the long record of able public men who have been sacrificed by the system under which we have been governed ; when we look back on the discords and agitations of the last ten years, I do say, that if by any means we can find a solution of the difficulties, every man who has the slightest stake in the country will have cause to be grateful to those who accomplish it. (Cheers.) Can they fancy that it is to gain anything personal any of us have taken this position? Can it be in any shape an object of ambition to sit down in the same Cabinet with gentlemen to whom you have been opposed for a lifetime, or to stand in opposition to old friends with whom you have acted cordially for years? Nothing but the most stern sense of duty could have brought me into such a position. I have struggled to avoid entering the Cabinet. I wished to stand outside and give hon. gentlemen opposite that hearty and loyal aid which, I think, every true Canadian is bound to give them in bringing our sectional difficulties to a permanent settlement. In this I was overruled. I have been forced to accept office against my wishes and to the serious injury of my personal interests, and I think I am in a position to say to every hon. member of this House, let us try to rise superior to the pitifulness of party politics in the interests of our country ; let us unite to consider and settle this question as a great national issue in a manner worthy of us as a people. (Enthusiastic cheers.) . . . I am sure I speak the sentiments of everyone who is a party to the agreement in saying that we have had no desire in becoming parties to it, to attain any object but a just settlement of our difficulties and the elevation of our country out of its present distracted position. (Cheers.) . . . It is on that ground, and that ground alone, that I put my justification. If the question is asked, how is it that you go in with only three members of your party in the Cabinet? I say that, except for the assistance I would get from the ability and hearty co-operation of the two gentlemen who will accompany me, I am so thoroughly satisfied of the sincerity with which the gentlemen opposite have approached the question, that I would fearlessly have gone in by myself to accomplish it. (Cheers.) I may be told that I am of a credulous disposition. I would rather be deceived easily and often than live constantly in an atmosphere of suspicion. (Cheers.) . . . I have already said that, in urging repre-

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sentation by population, I have never anticipated that that principle, pure and simple, would be carried; but have said that it should be accompanied by provisions for the protection of the local interests of the two sections, and I apprehend that the basis we have approached is, to all intents and purposes, the basis arrived at by the Toronto convention of 1859, and by the convention in Montreal of the same year, at which my hon. friends, the members for Hochelaga and Chateauguay, were prominent members.

Mr. MCGEE—Yes, substantially the same.

Mr. DORION—There was nothing then about a federation of all the provinces.

Mr. BROWN—That may be true. What was said at the Toronto convention was this: It was unnecessary to enter upon the consideration of a federation of all the provinces, because that was then too remote a question to be practically dealt with, although, I believe, if a vote had been taken on that scheme at the Toronto convention it would have been largely supported. . . . So far as I am concerned I have gone into the Cabinet expressly for the settlement of this question, and by the settlement of this question I and the two other gentlemen who go with me shall stand or fall. No man who enters the service of the Crown has a right to fix a limit to the period during which he shall render his service. I do not mean to commit a breach of that rule. But I do not hesitate to say that, as our only justification for entering the Cabinet is that we may thereby attain the settlement of the sectional question, my duty will have ended when I see that that settlement can no longer be advanced by my remaining in the Government. (Hear, hear.) I am sure all of us must feel that if ever there was a grave question submitted to the public men of any country, the question now under consideration is one of that character, and I think we may congratulate our country that we have among our public men on both sides, a large number of honorable gentlemen who have shown themselves prepared to sacrifice party and personal feelings in order to meet on common ground of patriotism, and, Sir, I think we may find additional cause for rejoicing in the position we now occupy, when we look at the present situation of the great nation alongside of us, arising out of their great sectional difficulty—one of a still graver character than ours, because pecuniary interests were much more deeply concerned in it. If we look, however, at the several interests involved in our present movements—and social questions after all affect the mind of a people much more than those which are merely pecuniary—I

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think we shall have much cause for thankfulness if next session there is presented to this House a solution of our great difficulties that will be acceptable to the country. (Hear, hear.) I do frankly confess, Mr. Speaker, that if I never have any other parliamentary success than that which I have achieved this day in having brought about the formation of a Government more powerful than any Canadian Government that ever existed before, pledged to settle, and to settle forever, the alarming sectional difficulties of my country, I would have desired no greater honour for my children to keep years hence in their remembrance than that I had a hand, however humble, in the accomplishment of that great work. (The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud and prolonged cheers from all parts of the House, and many members crowded around him to offer their congratulations.)

APPENDIX II

BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES OF LEADING STATESMEN DURING THE CONFEDERATION DEBATES, 1865.

HON. GEORGE E. CARTIER, ATTORNEY-GENERAL EAST.

The time was opportune, as his hon. colleague (Attorney-General Macdonald) had so ably stated last evening; the opportunity might never offer itself again in such a facile and propitious manner. We knew we had, in all our proceedings, the approbation of the Imperial Government. So, if these resolutions were adopted by Canada, as he had no doubt they would, and by the other Colonial Legislatures, the Imperial Government would be called upon to pass a measure which would have for its effect to give a strong central or general government and local governments, which would at once secure and guard the persons, the properties and the civil and religious rights belonging to the population of each section. (Loud cheers.)

HON. A. T. GALT, FINANCE MINISTER.

I trust the House will not permit the question to be judged of in a small, contracted manner. I trust it will keep in view the desire the country manifests for the utmost possible development of its resources. Let us endeavour by this measure to afford a better opening than we now possess for the industry and intelligence of the people. Let us seek by this scheme to give them higher and worthier objects of ambition. Let us not reject the scheme, with the bright prospect it offers of a nobler future for our youth, and grander objects for the emulation of our public men. Let us not refuse it on small questions of detail, but judge it on its general merits. Let us not lose sight of the great advantages which union offers, because there may be some small matters which, as individuals, we may not like. Let us trust that this machinery, however faulty it may be, will yet under Providence open up for this country a happy career ;

APPENDIX II

while at the same time the House must not forget that it will forever remove the great and crying evils and dissensions which have existed in Canada for the last ten years, and which have threatened to plunge the country into the most disastrous and lamentable state of discord and confusion. (Cheers.) Surely this last fact alone will commend the project to the House. It should induce the Legislature and the people to make every allowance for the men who have been engaged in the work, and lead them to approach the result of their labours as now submitted, not in a hypercritical spirit, so that the public mind may be led astray on mere matters of detail. Let the House frankly and kindly look at it as a great measure brought down for the purpose of relieving the country from distress and depression, and give it that consideration which is due, not to the arguments of the Government, feeble as they may be in view of the great interests involved, but to the fact that the country desires and cries for, at the hands of the House, some measure whereby its internal prosperity, peace and happiness may be developed and maintained. (Loud cheers.)

HON. D'ARCY MCGEE, MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE.

I said in this House, during the session of the year 1861, that the first gun fired at Fort Sumpter had "a message for us." I was unheeded then; I repeat now that every one of the 2,700 great guns in the field, and every one of the 4,600 guns afloat, whenever it opens its mouth, repeats the solemn warning of England—prepare—prepare—prepare! (Cheers.) . . . When I can hear our young men say as proudly, "Our Federation," or "Our Country," or "Our Kingdom," as the young men of other countries do, speaking of their own, then I shall have less apprehension for the result of whatever trials the future may have in store for us. (Cheers.)

HON. A. A. DORION (HOCHELAGA).

It is but natural that gentlemen with the views of hon. gentlemen opposite want to keep as much power as possible in the hands of the Government—that is the doctrine of the Conservative party everywhere—that is the line which distinguishes the Tories from the Whigs—the Tories always side with the Crown, and the Liberals always want to give more power and influence to the people. The instincts of hon. gentlemen opposite, whether you take the Hon. Attorney-General East or the Hon. Attorney-General West, lead them to this—they think the

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hands of the Crown should be strengthened and the influence of the people, if possible, diminished, and this Constitution is a specimen of their handiwork. With a Governor-General appointed by the Crown ; with local governors also appointed by the Crown ; with Legislative Councils in the General Legislature and in all the provinces, nominated by the Crown, we shall have the most illiberal Constitution ever heard of in any country where constitutional government prevails. (Hear.) . . . We are now legislating for the future as well as for the present, and feeling that we ought to make a Constitution as perfect as possible, and as far as possible in harmony with the views of the people, I maintain that we ought not to pass this measure now, but leave it to another year, in order to ascertain in the meantime what the views and sentiments of the people actually are. (The hon. gentleman was loudly cheered on resuming his seat.)

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, M.P.P. (LAMBTON).

I believe then, Sir, in the first place, that Confederation is desirable, in the second, that it is attainable, and in the third place, that it is the best thing we can get, and this last is perhaps the strongest reason of all for accepting it. It is quite clear that we must have a settlement of our difficulties in some way, and I think the scheme proposed is a very favourable settlement of them. I think it is more than perhaps some of us expected at the time when the present Government was formed to bring about a settlement, and I do think, Sir, that it would be the greatest act of madness that western members of this House could perpetrate, to vote against it. (Hear, hear.) I am not, however, afraid that it will be voted against by them. I believe that under it we have obtained representation by population, that we have obtained what we have long contended was justly due to us, that we have obtained our legitimate influence in framing the financial policy of the country, and that beyond this we have obtained the prospect of building up a great British Union on this continent. We should, therefore, I think, in view of these great advantages, overlook those objections which may be regarded as antecedent to the scheme, and endeavour heartily to carry out the work successfully. I shall willingly yield my support to the scheme, and I believe it will be acceptable to the people I represent—not only to the people of the locality, but to those who surround me in Upper Canada. (Cheers.)

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MATTHEW C. CAMERON, M.P.P. (NORTH ONTARIO).

In adopting the scheme before us, I feel we would be sowing the seeds of discord and strife, which would destroy our Union, instead of its being cemented by this measure. I am therefore opposed to the scheme, because I believe that politically, commercially and defensively, as a matter of economy or of sectional benefit, it will not be one tittle of service to this country, but, on the contrary, will inflict on it a vast and lasting injury. (Cheers.)

HON. JOSEPH CAUCHON, M.P.P. (MONTMORENCY).

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I may be allowed to say to the House, that in a debate of such a solemn character, and when such great destinies as regards the future of the whole of British North America are at stake within these walls, let us have the courage to rise superior to passions, hatreds, personal enmities, and a miserable spirit of party, in order to allow our minds to soar more freely in the larger sphere of generous sentiments, and of great and noble national aspirations. We possess all that we want—all the necessary elements of greatness and prosperity to found an empire in America. Let us boldly set to work, sheltered by the flag and protected by the powerful ægis of the Empire, which leads us on to undertake the task. (Prolonged applause.)

HON. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD (CORNWALL).

But I hope the House will believe this, that I am not actuated by any factious motives in this matter. (Hear, hear.) I stand here as one who has no vote of his to recall; as one who has always maintained that, under our Constitution as it is, prosperity and enjoyment might be secured, with all their concomitants, were we free from demagogueism, which has produced a very large proportion of the difficulties by which we are surrounded. (Hear, hear.) . . . It is no wonder that the people there refuse to cast their lot with ours after hearing the opinion of the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches have so frequently expressed of each other. And what will be the consequence if an attempt is made to coerce them? Why, they will be like the damsel who is forced to marry against her will, and who will in the end be most likely to elope with someone else. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) With the tricks which the gentlemen on the Treasury benches know so well to play, we

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will only hasten the day when the Lower Provinces will perhaps endeavour to withdraw from the Mother Country and seek another alliance. I resume my seat, Sir, regretting the manner in which the Government have tried to stifle the full and free discussion of this great question. (Cheers.)

RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT, M.P.P. (LENNOX AND ADDINGTON).

My own years are not very many, Mr. Speaker, but yet even I can remember when Canada was but a petty province, an obscure dependency, scarce able to make its voice heard on the other side of the Atlantic without a rebellion, forgotten or ignored, as if, as the French Minister said when he signed the treaty for its surrender, "it mattered not what became of a few barren acres of snow!" And yet, Sir, in less than thirty years I have lived to see Canada expand into a State equal in numbers, in resources and power of self-government to many an independent European kingdom—lacking only the will to step at once from the position of a dependency to that of an ally—a favored ally of the great country to which we belong, and to take that rank among the Commonwealth of nations which is granted to those people, and to those only who have proved that they possess the power, as well as the wish, to defend their liberties. This, Sir, is what I think Canada can do; this is what I think Canada ought to do; and if, as I believe, this project of Confederation would contribute most powerfully to enable us to do so, there are few sacrifices which I would refuse to make for such an object—much more, forgive me, hon. friends yonder for having in time past spoken somewhat over-harshly and hastily of each other. Let them only persevere, let them only go on and complete the task which they will say they have so nobly begun, and they will have made good their claim—I do not say to the forgiveness—but to the regard, the affection, the esteem of every man who shall hereafter bear the name of Canadian. (Cheers.)

JOSEPH RYMAL, M.P.P. (SOUTH WENTWORTH).

In conclusion, I think hon. gentlemen will agree with me that in 1850 Canada was the admiration and envy of most of the people who were acquainted with our position. I would compare the position of Canada at that time—and I think may without impropriety—to that of a young man of eighteen or twenty, handsome in figure, with a good constitution

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of robust strength, and under the care of a tender and loving parent (as I presume England is to Canada), and this parent has committed the health of this child of his, this lovely youth, to the care of a family physician who, however, has transferred him from time to time to the care of other physicians of different schools. Some of them were allopaths, some were homœopaths, some were hydropaths—but they all bled—(laughter)—they all blistered, they all sweated. (Continued laughter.) Under such treatment this lovely youth became pale and sickly. The ruddy hue of health passed from his countenance, and instead of his step being firm and bounding, he began to stagger in his gait. Then the parent began to call the physicians to account, for they were acting, or pretending to act under responsibility, for the result of their treatment. And what answer did they make? Each one of them protested that his own nostrum was sufficient to cure the malady, although it was evident that he was sinking under the treatment. But in order that he might have the benefit of the craft, and themselves not be dismissed for want of skill, they agreed to join, and, making an admixture of their several nostrums, to administer that to the patient. (Great laughter.) . . . But believing the evil rather than cure or alleviate it, I feel it to be a duty I owe to my constituents and to my own conscience, to vote against the scheme, be the consequences what they may. (Cheers.)

HON. JOHN HILLYARD CAMERON (PEEL).

Everyone who is a well-wisher of his country—who desires to see it go on and prosper—who believes that the concentration of power in one Executive over all these colonies will place us in a position to assume the name and status of a nation upon the earth, will be glad to find our power in that way consolidated. And if we base the structure, as it ought to be based, on the expressed will of the people themselves, then I think we will be offering to those who come after us, as well as to ourselves, a heritage which every man should be proud of, and which will bring to our shores, from Great Britain and other parts, people who will be desirous to obtain here, along with all the favourable circumstances attendant upon the settlement of our lands, the advantages of our free constitution, which we have made as nearly as possible a *fac-simile* of that of the motherland. But though I am myself in favour of the Confederation resolutions, and anxious to see them carried out, I am

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desirous that they shall be carried out in a manner which will be conducive to the best interests of the country, based on a heartfelt expression of opinion by the people by means of a general election. I promised I would not detain the House, and having presented such arguments as seem to me to require the passage of this resolution, and the submission of Confederation to a vote of the people, I resume my seat. (Cheers.)

HON. L. S. HUNTINGTON (SHEFFORD).

The Hon. Attorney-General, as the leader of his party, may look with favour upon the Conservative reaction which seems to await us. He can afford to go back to that dark period of English constitutional history, when Toryism, profiting by the unstable politics of France, ruled England for fifty years, created the public debt and stifled the progress of free opinion. It is from this period that the Hon. Attorney-General quotes precedents against an appeal to the people—a dark period in which the rights of the people were sacrificed to a want of faith in them. Shall we copy such examples? Shall we attempt to hold up the terrors of the American war—the dreaded instability of American institutions—to frighten ourselves into dread of our own people? Shall we copy the reactionary abuses of the times of Pitt, to the extent that we refuse to consult the people upon the great revolution proposed here? (Hear, hear.)

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SPEECH OF THE HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD ON MARCH
7TH, 1865, IN REPLY TO HON. L. H. HOLTON.

[*Abbreviated.*]

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said—With the consent of my hon. friend from Cornwall, I desire, before the debate is renewed, to call the attention of the Hon. Attorney-General West to the matter of the previous question which he has moved, to recall to his recollection the statements that were made when the agreement was come to that this debate should be conducted in all respects as if the House were in Committee of the Whole, and to appeal to his sense of justice to adhere to the letter and spirit of that agreement. . . . Now, the hon. gentleman says that we may not move amendments, and none can be moved if he succeeds in getting the previous question affirmed by the House. I state—and I am sure I have only to state it to him to convince him of the justice of it—that a persistence in moving the previous question will be simply a violation of the assurance the hon. gentleman gave to the House, and of the distinct understanding arrived at by the House at the opening of the debate, and stated by you, Sir, from the Chair. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Attorney-General MACDONALD—I will, Mr. Speaker, on reflection, make a few remarks in answer to the hon. gentleman. He speaks as if it was a great concession to the majority of this House and to the Government that the arrangement was made at the opening of the debate. Why, Sir, it was no concession whatever to the Government or to the majority of the House. (Hear, hear.) . . . On the contrary, it was a concession of the Government to the minority in the House; for I stated, of my own mere motion, that although I had a right to proceed in the ordinary manner with the Speaker in the Chair, and to restrict hon. gentlemen to a single speech in accordance with the rules that govern debate—that although this was my undoubted right according to parliamentary practice, yet, for the purpose of allowing the fullest and freest discussion, I suggested that the same rule should obtain as if the House were in Committee of the Whole, when

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every member could speak twenty times if he felt so disposed, and present his views fully on all the points of the scheme. . . . And how have we been met by hon. gentlemen opposite? Has it been in the same spirit that actuated the Government throughout the debate? We asked them to come forward, and honestly and fairly, in the presence of the House and country, to discuss the scheme; but instead of so doing, they have deliberately trifled with the question and wasted the time of the House. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—No, no!

Hon. Attorney-General MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman as a man of honour cannot deny it, as a man of candour he cannot deny it; and if he should deny it, his character as a man of honour and candour would sink in the estimation of this House. (Hear, hear.) . . . The policy of the Opposition was just this—they wished to spend the whole of March and the best part of April in the general discussion upon my motion; and, then, when they could do nothing more to nauseate the House and disgust the country with the subject, when they had wearied the members and made the reporters sick with their talk—(laughter)—they were to spend the remainder of April, all May and June, and run the debate well into summer upon the amendments they intended to propose one after another. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) . . . We are not going to allow that, nor should we be worthy of the position we hold as a Government if we did allow it, and, Sir, I should be unworthy of the character the hon. gentleman (Hon. Mr. Holton) gives me of being a good parliamentary strategist, if I allowed this plot of preventing the House coming to a vote to succeed. (Hear, hear.) Sir, there has been some little misapprehension as to the effect of the motion I have proposed to the House, which it is as well should be removed. It has simply and only this effect, that it does not prevent hon. members expressing their views fully and freely upon the subject, but calls upon every hon. gentleman to give—if I may use an Americanism—a straight and square vote upon the question, and to state plainly whether or not he approves of the scheme of Confederation as a whole. (Hear, hear.) As I stated when I opened this debate upon my motion, and as has been over and over again stated by several of my colleagues, we agreed with the governments of the sister provinces upon a future Constitution for the whole of British North America, and we ask this House to approve or disapprove of that Constitution. We told the House that we had made this treaty with the sanction of Her Majesty and of the Imperial Government.

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Hon. Mr. HOLTON—With some qualifications.

Hon. Attorney-General MACDONALD—No ; we told the House that we had the previous sanction of Her Majesty and of Her Majesty's representative to our meeting. The Conference met and sat under this authority, and we worked out a scheme for the Constitution of the provinces. That scheme may be a good or it may be a bad one ; but whether it be good or bad, we have a right to ask this House to approve or disapprove of it, to accept or reject it. . . . This, Mr. Speaker, is the position of the Government ; and what though amendments should be carried—what though the amendment of which the hon. member for North Ontario has given notice should succeed, and the House should declare in favour of a Legislative instead of a Federal Union (supposing the hon. gentleman did present and carry such a motion)—what good could it possibly do ? The contract that we entered into with the other provinces would be broken, this Legislature would be violating the solemn engagement under which we are to the other colonies, and we would have a Constitution drawn up which none of the other provinces would adopt. We know that they would reject it—we know that Lower Canada would go as one man against it. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Well, the other provinces go against this.

Hon. Attorney-General MACDONALD—At all events, the governments of the other provinces will submit the question to their legislatures and take their opinion upon it, and we have a right to ask this House, "Do you or do you not approve of it ? If you disapprove of the scheme altogether because of its general principles, why vote it out. If you think it wrong to create a life peerage instead of an elective Legislative Council, why vote it out. Vote it out for any or all of these reasons if you like, but give us at once an honest, candid and fair vote one way or the other, and let the sister colonies know without delay whether you approve of the arrangement or not." (Hear, hear.) And, Sir, amendments are a mere matter of folly and absurdity. (Hear, hear, and ironical cheer from the Opposition.) Hon. gentlemen opposite cry "Hear, hear." I do not, of course, speak of the merits of any proposition in amendment for a legislative union, or an elective Legislative Council, or for any other change in the provisions of the scheme ; but I state this in all earnestness, that for all practical purposes the carrying of any amendment to this scheme is merely to lose the only chance of union we can ever hope to have with the Lower Provinces for the

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sake of some fancied superior Constitution which we cannot get any of the colonies to agree to. (Hear, hear.) . . . All this motion will do is to prevent hon. gentlemen opposite playing the trick which I have spoken of—drawing the discussion away from the main question before the House, getting up debates upon the powers of the General Government and of the local governments, upon an elective or appointed Legislative Council, and upon all sorts of side issues upon which the changes would be rung night after night, and week after week, through the spring and summer, till the House became weary with the surfeit of talk, and the country disgusted. (Hear, hear.) That, Sir, is the aim and object of hon. gentlemen opposite, but I hope this House will not be so foolish as to fall into the trap they have laid, and I know hon. members are fully aware of the designs of these hon. gentlemen. They cannot complain that they have not had an opportunity of moving amendments. They have had three weeks to do it, and they have not yet moved one or given notice of one. Then, Sir, what will be the consequences, on the other hand, if the previous question is not carried? If it is rejected, and the main question is not put, Confederation is defeated. And I will at once inform the House that to vote that the main question be not put, will throw Confederation over forever, and forever destroy the last hopes of a friendly junction between the colonies of British North America. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Why the last hopes?

Hon. Attorney-General MACDONALD—Because if we reject now the agreement come to by all the governments of all the provinces, we can never expect to get them to meet again to make another.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—But one of these governments has ceased to exist.

Hon. Attorney-General MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman knows perfectly well that the governments of all the provinces are pledged to the scheme, but that the legislatures have not yet expressed themselves upon it. If any of them appear now to be hostile to it, that feeling may disappear when it is fully explained to them. Even the Hon. Attorney-General Palmer, of Prince Edward Island, may himself become convinced of its desirability and vote for it. We cannot say how these legislatures will vote, but what we propose to do is to lay our action before the Imperial Government and ask it to exercise its influence with the other colonies in securing the passage of the scheme. And I have no doubt that if the Mother

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Country gives friendly advice to the sister colonies in that kindly spirit in which she always gives it, if she points out that, in her view, this scheme is calculated to serve, not only our interests, but the general interests, welfare and prosperity of the Empire, I am quite satisfied that the people of those colonies, whatever may be their local feelings, will listen, at all events, with respect, and perhaps with conviction, to the advice so given by the Imperial Government. I have no doubt, indeed, I am satisfied, that if the Imperial Government gives that advice, it will be in the spirit of kindness and maternal love and forbearance, and that if England points out what is due to ourselves as well as to the Empire, and shows what she, in her experience and wisdom, believes to be best for the future interests of British North America, her advice will be accepted in the spirit in which it is offered, and sooner or later with conviction. (Cheers.) For all these reasons, I think, the members of the Government would be wanting in their duty in this great strait, this great emergency in our affairs, if they did not press for the decision of this House as quickly as possible. (Hear, hear.) Why, there is the question of defence, which the hon. member for Cornwall admits to be of the most pressing importance, that requires immediate attention and demands that further delay in dealing with this scheme should not be allowed. . . . When I say that there is an intimate connection between these two questions of defence and Confederation, I mean this: that the progress of recent events—events which have occurred since the commencement of this debate—has increased the necessity of immediate action both with regard to defence and to this scheme. Hon. gentlemen opposite have been in the Government—they have been behind the scenes—and they know that the question of the defence of British North America is of great and pressing importance, and they know that the question of the defence of Canada cannot be separated from it. And hon. gentlemen have been informed, and will find by the scheme itself, that the subject was considered by the Conference, and that it was arranged that there should be one organized system of defence for the whole of the provinces, and at the cost of the whole. Well, it is now of the greatest importance that some members of the Government should go home immediately in order that England may know what the opinion of Canada is upon this question of Confederation, as well as upon the question of defence. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. J. S. MACDONALD—Is that what you want them to go for?

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Hon. Attorney-General MACDONALD—Yes. The season is fast approaching when it will be necessary to commence these works—the only season during which they can be carried out at all, and that man is not true to his country, that man is not a true patriot who, for the sake of a petty parliamentary triumph, for the sake of a little party annoyance—for the conduct of the Opposition amounts to nothing more—would endeavour to postpone some definite arrangement on this important question of defence. (Hear, hear.) Yes, Mr. Speaker, this opposition is either one or the other of two things—it is either for the sake of party annoyance, or it is a deliberate desire to prevent anything being done to defend ourselves, in order that we may easily fall a prey to annexation. (Cheers.) I do not like to believe that hon. gentlemen opposite entertain any wish to become connected with the neighbouring Republic, and therefore I am forced to the conviction that they are actuated by the miserable motive of gaining a little parliamentary or party success. There are only two alternatives of belief, and one or the other of them must be correct. (Hear, hear.) I believe the hon. member for Chateaguay is in his heart strongly in favour of a Federal union of these colonies ; but because it is proposed by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, he cannot and will not support it. (Hear, hear.) So long as my hon. friend the Hon. Finance Minister sits here on these benches, so long as Mordecai sits at the King's gate—(laughter)—and so long as the hon. gentleman sits on the opposite instead of this side of the House, so long will he find fault and object. Hit high, or hit low, like the flogged soldier, nothing will please him. (Renewed laughter.) But I believe the House will not sanction such pitiful conduct as hon. gentlemen opposite exhibit. I believe we will have a large, an overwhelming majority, to sustain us in the course we have adopted ; and that we should be highly blamable were we to exhaust the patience, not only of ourselves, but of our supporters, by allowing this conduct to be pursued much longer unchecked. These, Sir, are my answers to the questions of the hon. member for Chateaguay. (Cheers.)

APPENDIX IV

THE VOTES IN THE PARLIAMENT OF CANADA ADOPTING CONFEDERATION.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The question was then put on the main motion, which was carried on the following division :

CONTENTS.—Honourable Messieurs Alexander, Allan, Armand, Sir N. F. Belleau, Bennett, Fergusson Blair, Blake, Boulton, Bossé, Bull, Burnham, Campbell, Christie, Crawford, De Beaujeu, Dickson, A. J. Duchesnay, E. H. J. Duchesnay, Dumouchel, Ferrier, Foster, Gingras, Guévremont, Hamilton (Inkerman), Hamilton (Kingston), Lacoste, Leonard, Leslie, McCrea, McDonald, McMaster, Macpherson, Matheson, Mills, Panet, Price, Read, Renaud, Ross, Ryan, Shaw, Skead, Sir E. P. Taché, Vidal and Wilson—45.

NON-CONTENTS.—Honourable Messieurs Aikins, Archambault, Armstrong, Bureau, Chaffers, Currie, Flint, Letellier de St. Just, Malhiot, Moore, Olivier, Proulx, Reesor, Seymour and Simpson—15.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The question being put on the main motion (of Hon. Mr. Attorney-General Macdonald), it was agreed to on the following division :

YEAS.—Messieurs Alleyn, Archambeault, Ault, Beaubien, Bell, Bellerose, Blanchet, Bowman, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burwell, Cameron (Peel), Carling, Attorney-General Cartier, Cartwright, Cauchon, Chambers, Chapais, Cockburn, Cornellier, Cowan, Currier, De Boucherville, Denis, De Niverville, Dickson, Dufresne (Montcalm), Dunford, Evanturel, Ferguson (Frontenac), Ferguson (South Simcoe), Galt, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gibbs, Harwood, Haultain, Higginson, Howland, Huot, Irvine, Jackson, Jones (N. Leeds and Grenville), Jones (South Leeds), Knight, Langevin, Le Boutillier, Attorney-General Macdonald, MacFarlane, Mackenzie (Lambton), Mackenzie (North Oxford),

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Magill, McConkey, McDougall, McGee, McGiverin, McIntyre, McKellar, Morris, Morrison, Parker, Pope, Poulin, Poupore, Powell, Rankin, Raymond, Rémillard, Robitaille, Rose, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Scoble, Shanly, Smith (East Durham), Smith (Toronto East), Somerville, Stirton, Street, Sylvain, Thompson, Walsh, Webb, Wells, White, Wilson, Wood, Wright (Ottawa County), and Wright (East York)—91.

NAYS — Messieurs Biggar, Bourassa, Cameron (North Ontario), Caron, Coupal, Dorion (Drummond and Arthabaska), Dorion (Hochelaga), Duckett, Dufresne (Iberville), Fortier, Gagnon, Geoffrion, Holton, Houde, Huntington, Joly, Labreche-Viger, Laframboise, Lajoie, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Macdonald (Toronto West), O'Halloran, Paquet, Perrault, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Rymal, Scatcherd, Taschereau, Thibaudeau, Tremblay and Wallbridge (North Hastings)—33.

APPENDIX V

SPEECH OF THE HON. GEORGE BROWN IN REPLY TO THE HON. JOHN HILLYARD CAMERON'S MOTION TO SUBMIT CONFEDERATION TO A VOTE OF THE PEOPLE, MARCH 13TH, 1865.

[*Abbreviated.*]

Hon. Mr. BROWN—I do not rise to detain the House from the division beyond a very few minutes. But I think it would not be desirable that the debate should close without a few words from this part of the House. And first, a word with reference to the speech of the hon. member for North Ontario (Mr. M. C. Cameron). That hon. gentleman, in the course of his remarks, said he had no personal feeling toward myself. I quite believe that, and I am entirely willing that the hon. gentleman should enjoy all the little relief he evidently obtains from his fierce assaults on myself and the Hon. Provincial Secretary (Hon. Mr. Macdougall). I do not think that any of the other remarks of the hon. gentleman require notice—(laughter)—as they were only a repetition of what had frequently come from other hon. members in the previous part of this debate. But as regards the hon. member for Peel (Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron), I do say that anything more extraordinary than the line of argument he took up here to-night I never heard from any hon. member of this House. What was the position taken by the hon. gentleman from Peel? He commenced by saying that justice to Upper Canada required the granting of Parliamentary reform, and that this scheme gave that measure of justice to Upper Canada. He said the Province must be defended; that the question of the defence of this Province was the most urgent and the most important question we had to consider at this moment, and that this measure provided the best way of meeting that question of defence. He said that the threatened abolition of reciprocity with the United States required to be met—that the best interests of this Province would be imperilled by the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty—and that he conceived that this measure supplied the very best way of meeting that difficulty. He said also that we

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cannot go on as we are—that it was quite impossible that the state of things which has existed in Canada should continue—that there must be a change—and he conceived that what was proposed by this measure was a most desirable change. He said we had but one of two alternatives—a dissolution of the Union, or the adoption of the Federal principle—and that for his part he considered a dissolution of the Union was the last thing to be adopted, and that the Federal system is the best remedy that can be applied under our particular circumstances.

. . . Yet, after having passed this high eulogium on the measure, what does he say? Why, that he won't have it now—that he won't have it until it has been sent to the country, and the opinion of the electors has been obtained upon it! He says there is danger of annexation to the United States if these difficulties are not met, that annexation is hanging over us, that this measure will deliver us from that dire fate, and yet he is not prepared to apply the remedy now! And what are the reasons of the hon. gentleman for refusing to give effect to a measure of which he professes to be so enamoured? Does he, like the hon. member for North Ontario, deny the power of Parliament to pass such a measure? Not at all; he admits we have full power to pass it. Does he personally entertain any doubt as to the benefit from passing it now? On the contrary, he is enthusiastically for the measure, and declares that he would vote for it, just as it stands, as an elector at the polls. Does he want delay? On the contrary, he demands that the measure shall be urged on with all speed. (Hear, hear.) He says the sooner the members of Government are in England the better for the people of Canada, that this question of federation, and the question of defence, and the question of American reciprocity, should be urged on the British Government without one hour's unnecessary delay. He protests that on the fate of this measure some of the most vital interests of the Province depend, and yet he will not have it until months of valuable time have been lost, until the country has been forced to pass through all the turmoil and confusion and uncertainty of a general election, and until a new Parliament has been summoned and given its sanction to the measure.

. . . But does the hon. gentleman pretend there is any doubt as to the feeling of the people of Canada on this measure? Not at all. On the contrary, he is quite confident that if submitted to the people there would be a vast majority in its favour—a complete sweep over the country. Nay, strange enough, he gives this very fact of the certainty of approval as the chief argument in favour of an election. He says "Send

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it to the people ; there is no fear of the result. The very men who now sit here to-day, or others who think as they do, will come back and adopt it!" Could anything more absurd than this be imagined? Is not the argument clearly in the opposite direction? Should not the hon. gentleman have said—"The people approve of this measure ; their representatives approve of it ; if you had an election the same men would be sent back, or others like them ; a vast sum would be uselessly expended ; much valuable time would be lost ; partisan broils might be revived ; don't, then, lose a moment, but put it through at once?" (Cheers.) But, Mr. Speaker, the most curious part of the proposal of the hon. member for Peel is the attitude he would have us occupy in addressing the Queen. We have already adopted an address praying Her Majesty to pass an Imperial Statute giving effect to the resolutions of the Quebec Conference, and the hon. member for Peel now asks that we shall pass a second address praying that the said Imperial Act shall be subject to the approval, and it shall not be law until it obtains the approval of their high mightinesses the one hundred and thirty gentlemen who may happen to sit in the House of Assembly of the next Canadian Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He would have us approach the Throne, saying—"May it please Your Majesty: Here is the Constitution which has been adopted by the Governments of the five British American provinces ; we declare to you that this is the new Constitution we want for British America ; we pray Your Majesty to give effect to it ; we pray that the Imperial Parliament may pass an Act enforcing this new Constitution on all these provinces, and that Your Majesty will assent to it. But at the same time we ask Your Majesty to do this only on one condition, namely, that the Legislature of Canada—not the present one, but the next Legislature that may be chosen—shall have the opportunity of criticising and dissecting the work of the Imperial Parliament, and of kicking Your Majesty's bill out of the chamber on the first day it meets." (Hear, hear, and great laughter.) The hon. member for Peel will permit me to tell him, that if he fancies this would be a decorous mode of approaching the Sovereign, he has a strange idea of the respect due from loyal subjects to the chief magistrate of the Empire which it is their happiness to form a part. (Hear, hear.) But another most singular part of the proposal of the hon. member for Peel is that while he is trying to pass this vote of want of confidence in the Government—for if it is not that, it would, if carried, be at least a direct defeat of the policy of the Government—he professes at the same moment an immense

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desire to strengthen the hands of the Administration. (Hear, hear.) He fancies, or professes to fancy, that if this motion of his were carried, the Government would take their dose placidly, and go meekly to England with the record of their defeat in their hands. He tells us in effect,—“I don't want you, notwithstanding this vote, to hesitate about going to England—not at all. Your presence is wanted in England as quickly as possible. You ought to go immediately; you ought to talk strongly to the Imperial Government; you ought to tell them how they are to settle the defence question, how the reciprocity question, and so on. You must speak for the people of Canada in a bold and firm tone that will do justice to the people of this country.” It is the hon. gentleman's idea that we should go very strong to England, and his way of strengthening us is by passing upon our policy a direct vote of censure the hour before we start. (Hear, hear.) He wants us to go home strong, with an address to the Sovereign in one hand, and a defeat by the people's representatives in the other. (Hear, hear.) If the hon. gentleman thinks he is sustaining the Administration by his present motion, I can only say that I for one do not thank him for his support. (Hear, hear.) If there were any doubt about public feeling, there might be propriety in going to the people. But is there any doubt about it? I am not opposing the hon. gentleman's resolution on constitutional grounds. I am not denying the rights of the people; if I had any doubt whatever about what would be the verdict of the people, I should be the first to say that we ought to go to the people. But it is simply because I am satisfied there would be a sweeping verdict of the people in favour of the measure that I think it unnecessary to take it to the country. What would be the verdict of the people may be judged from what has been the vote of their representatives here, who are responsible to them. Never has there been such a verdict in this Parliament on any matter of grave importance as we have had in favour of this measure—in the Upper House a majority of three to one, and in the Lower House also a majority as nearly as possible of three to one. And of the six hon. members who were absent from the vote—the Speaker and the five hon. members who were absent—five would have gone for it and only one against it—the House being divided, 94 for and 36 against. And as regards those 36, more than one-half of them have risen in this House and declared themselves in favour of the general principle, and only opposed to some of the details. I say there never has been such a unanimous verdict from any Parliament in favour of

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any great constitutional change. And since the policy of the Government has been announced, no fewer than 50 out of our 130 constituencies have been appealed to by elections for the one House or the other—and in the whole of these, only four candidates offered themselves in opposition to this policy, and but two got elected—and I think one of those two did actually vote in favour of the measure. (Hear, hear.) . . . Mr. Speaker, I might detain the House much longer in replying to what fell from hon. members who have spoken during this discussion. But I do not desire to keep the House from the vote. I would simply appeal to the members of this House, that if ever there could be a case made out for action—immediate action—it has been made out with reference to this measure. . . . The hon. gentleman will admit that we have been wonderfully, unexpectedly successful in the policy we initiated in July last, and I am prepared to say, as I have always been prepared to say, that if practicable, this measure is a better one than the smaller scheme. But so far from its being a different remedy from ours, I say it is but an extension of our plan—that we who have contended for representation by population for so many years, are getting all that we asked and something more. (Hear, hear.) It is true that our Lower Canada friends have obtained security for their local institutions. For my part, I am glad they have got it. (Hear, hear.) I have always been willing they should have it. I can appeal to my hon. friend from Kamouraska (Hon. Mr. Chapais) whether I have not always yearly, for thirteen years past, said to him that I was willing to consider the position of Lower Canada with reference to her local institutions, and to give any protection to them which might be thought to be reasonable. (Hear, hear.) And I say this is an admirable compromise under the circumstances—and I say it will be a sad day for the people of Canada if anything should happen to defeat this measure. I do say that the man who looks back upon the last twelve or fifteen years, and the agitation we have gone through, and who would risk throwing us back into that state again, is not—to use the language of the hon. member for Peel—a true lover of his country. (Cheers.) . . . And as to consulting the people, I tell hon. gentlemen that the people will laugh to scorn their pretended zeal for popular rights. The people want the kernel and not the shell. They want not, for the sake of a constitutional form, to risk the success of this measure—to risk the breaking up of the combination formed to carry it, and to risk the bringing back of all those discords and difficulties from which, by the maturing of this scheme, they thought we had happily escaped. (Cheers.)

APPENDIX VI

NAMES OF THE DELEGATES WHO REGISTERED AT THE
GREAT REFORM CONVENTION HELD IN THE MUSIC
HALL, TORONTO, ON THE 27TH JUNE, 1867.

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|---|---|
| <p>Adams, Joshua, solicitor, Sarnia.
 Agnew, J. N., M.D., Toronto.
 Armstrong, Philip, J.P., Tp. York.
 Appelbe, James, J.P., Oakville.
 Allan, Geo., J.P., merchant, Glen Allan.
 Aikins, W. T., M.D., Toronto.
 Ansley, J. H., barrister, Simcoe.
 Arkell, Wm., merchant, Fingal.
 Aikins, David, Markham.
 Allison, Thomas, East Flamboro'.
 Armstrong, James, Belleville.
 Ago, A., Stafford.
 Adamson, William, newsdealer, Toronto.
 Aikins, M. H., M.D., Toronto Tp.
 Brown, Hon. Geo., M.P.P., editor <i>Globe</i>, Toronto.
 Blake, Edward, Q.C., Toronto, Reform candidate for Commons, West Durham, and Local, South Bruce.
 Boston, Robert, Treasurer Lobo Reform Association.
 Bowman, Noah, J.P., Woolwich.
 Badgerow, Martin, farmer, Scarborough'.
 Bolton, L. R., J.P., notary public, Bolton.
 Bolster, Lawrence J., Supt. Water Works, Toronto.
 Burns, W. H., barrister, Toronto.
 Beach, Robt., Holland Landing.
 Blain, David, barrister, Toronto.
 Bugg, John, lumber dealer, Toronto.</p> | <p>Beatty, W. H., lumber merchant, Reform candidate for Commons, Toronto.
 Burriil, Chris., J.P., Stanley Mills.
 Brown, J. G., editor <i>Globe</i>, Toronto.
 Bowman, I. E., M.P.P., North Waterloo.
 Barclay, Francis, merchant, Georgetown.
 Burwell, L., M.P.P., East Elgin.
 Bell, John, Q.C., barrister, Toronto.
 Bowlby, J. W., barrister, Brantford.
 Begue, A. T. H., barrister, Dundas.
 Barber, Robt., Reform candidate for Commons, Streetsville.
 Baldwin, Geo., merchant, King.
 Brown, Calvin, barrister, St. Catharines.
 Boulton, H. J., mill owner, Humberford.
 Bull, E., M.D., Weston.
 Blain, George, J.P., Toronto Tp.
 Bull, T. H., barrister, Toronto.
 Boyd, John, merchant, Toronto.
 Brenner, John, East Williams.
 Burk, D. F., merchant, Reeve of Oshawa.
 Bowman, J. L., J.P., Freeport, Waterloo.
 Buck, W. K., J.P., Bowmanville.
 Beith, Alex., J.P., Orono.
 Bowman, J. S., Preston.
 Boomer, Alfred, J.P., Linwood.
 Blue, Archibald, Dewart.
 Burns, John, East Middlesex.
 Bruce, John, Co. of Bruce.</p> |
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APPENDIX VI

- Bruce, John, Thorah.
 Badgerow, Geo. W., Markham.
 Burgess, James, Durham.
 Burritt, E., Wolford.
 Boak, Charles.
 Book, Jacob, Cooksville.
 Blain, John, South Easthope.
 Binkley, David, Dundas.
 Bain, Thos., North Wentworth.
 Benedict, Erastus, Paris.
 Belton, Wm., London.
 Burrow, G. F., Dundas.
 Binkley, Wm., Wentworth.
 Brill, J. F., Guelph.
 Becker, A. A., Brighton.
 Baldwin, Wm., Bowmanville.
 Baker, Joseph, Brock Township.
 Brown, R., Paris.
 Burns, John, Manvers.
 Betts, Daniel, Whitby.
 Brown, W. C., Paris.
 Bowbeer, W. S., Trafalgar.
 Britton, B. M., barrister, Kingston.
 Butler, Jas. P., merchant, Toronto.
- Cockburn, A. P., timber merchant,
 Reform candidate for Local, N.
 Victoria.
- Carruthers, John, merchant, Re-
 form candidate for Commons,
 Frontenac.
- Crooks, Adam, Q.C., Reform
 candidate for Local, W. Toronto.
- Coterell, J. D., farmer, Esquesing.
 Cowan, J. W., merchant, Oshawa.
 Cummings, J. P., barrister, Bram-
 pton.
- Cox, W. G., editor *Signal*, God-
 erich.
- Card, John L., mill owner, Albion.
 Chisholm, Wm., builder, Hamilton.
 Chisholm, K., merchant, Brampton.
 Carmichael, James, merchant,
 Oshawa.
- Chcate, Aaron, J.P., Tp. Hope.
 Campbell, Jas., merchant, Whitby.
 Chisholm, R., builder, Hamilton.
 Currie, Hon. J. G., ex-M.L.C., St.
 Catharines.
- Campbell, Malcolm, Reform candi-
 date for Local, W. Middlesex.
 Christie, Hon. D., Senator, Brant-
 ford.
- Cruikshank, Jas., cabinet maker,
 Weston.
- Corson, J. W., M.D., Brampton.
 Clark, Nathan, farmer, Caledon.
 Clewett, J. D., Reform candidate
 for Commons, North Brant.
- Cameron, Alex., barrister, To-
 ronto.
- Climie, W. R., editor *Statesman*,
 Bowmanville.
- Clarke, W. F., editor *Canada
 Farmer*, Toronto.
- Cameron, John, editor *Daily Ad-
 vertiser*, London.
- Christie, Robt., Reform candidate
 for Local, West Flamboro'.
- Campbell, R. S., Tp. Pickering.
 Cryderman, Wm., Darlington.
 Cann, Thos., J.P., Darlington.
 Creighton, John, J.P., Tp. Ham-
 ilton.
- Cascaden, James, J.P., Orono.
 Collins, Joseph W., J.P., New-
 market.
- Chittenden, George, Brantford.
 Carling, Edward, Middlesex.
- Corran, Isaac.
- Corrigan, C. S., London.
- Clarke, W. Q., Toronto.
- Colcleugh, Geo., Mount Forest.
 Cushman, Jacob, Gainsboro'.
- Cummer, John, Waterdown.
 Calder, James, Hamilton.
- Clarke, John, M.D., Gwillims-
 bury.
- Clarke, Charles, Hamilton.
- Colquhoun, F., North Waterloo.
- Campbell, James B., Reach.
- Crow, Jacob, Pelham.
- Craig, James, North Dorchester.
- Callaway, Joshua, Stanley.
- Coad, Richard, Enfield.
- Cowan, Joseph, London.
- Green, James, East Easthope.
 Campbell, John, Blanchard.

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| Dickson, Andrew, late sheriff, mill owner, Pakenham. | Fraser, C. F., barrister, Reform candidate for Local, Brockville. |
| Dayfoot, P. W., merchant, Hamilton. | Freel, J. G., M.D., Markham. |
| Dewar, John, jr., barrister, Milton. | Fleming, Jas., barrister, Brampton. |
| Drummond, J. W., lumber merchant, Toronto. | Farewell, J. E., barrister, Oshawa. |
| De Cosmos, Hon. A., Mem. Leg. Council, British Columbia. | Finlayson, Hugh, harness maker, Paris. |
| Dawson, John, grocer, Toronto. | Fysh, Hewitt, wholesale confectioner, London. |
| Dalglish, Robt., merchant, Reform candidate for Commons, South Grey. | Field, John C., merchant, Cobourg. |
| Doan, Chas., merchant, Aurora. | Fraser, Robert, barrister, Toronto. |
| Douglas, John, harness maker, Woodstock. | Frazer, John, M.D., ex-M.P.P., Reform candidate for Commons, Monck. |
| Diamond, A., editor <i>Chronicle</i> , Belleville. | Fummerfelt, Wm., tanner, Markham. |
| Dawson, Geo., J.P., Malton. | Ford, Wm. N., conveyancer, St. Mary's. |
| Dryden, John, Brooklin. | Fraser, John, Reform candidate for Local, Frontenac. |
| Dunlop, James, Plympton. | Farewell, Abraham, J.P., Oshawa. |
| Davidson, Alex., Guelph. | Fisher, A., bank manager, Toronto. |
| Dawson, George, Brampton. | Fleming, John, merchant, Galt. |
| Davis, A., St. Catharines. | Fulton, John, M.D., Professor Victoria College, Toronto. |
| Davis, J. G., Hamilton. | Fisher, John, J.P., Grafton. |
| Dobbin, John, Grafton. | Fielding, Wm., J.P., Newcastle. |
| Dickey, Heron, Clarke. | Fullarton, Adam, J.P., Brougham. |
| Dobson, James, J.P., merchant, Yorkville. | Foreman, Thos. C., J.P., Prince Albert. |
| Edgar, J. D., barrister, Toronto. | Forster, Wm., J.P., Brampton. |
| Echard, Wm., J.P., Unionville. | Fraser, Wm., County Bruce. |
| Elmaley, R., Clover Hill, Toronto. | Flanagan, C., Paris. |
| Erb, John L., Waterloo. | Fisher, John, Plympton. |
| Elliott, Henry, J.P., Hampton. | Fields, Reuben, Prescott. |
| Eccles, John D., Warwick. | Fleming, Alfred, Galt. |
| Elliott, John, Scarboro'. | Fraser, John, Brighton. |
| Echardt, Thomas P., Markham. | Farley, Irwin, Nissouri West. |
| Easterbrooke, Thos., Wellington Square. | Farren, Aster, Newcastle. |
| Echardt, Salem, Brighton. | Ferris, J. M., Yorkville. |
| Edwards, Henry, Lobo. | Fawke, Thomas, Bowmanville. |
| Eddy, C., Brantford. | Forrester, Andrew, St. Mary's. |
| Ellis, G. S., Mitchell. | Foley, George F., Thorold. |
| Echardt, James, Markham. | Grayson, J. W., editor <i>Evening Times</i> , Hamilton. |
| Eccles, Wm., barrister, St. Catharines, Reform candidate for Local, Lincoln. | Greig, Geo. Major, Beachville. |
| | Gardner, Thos., commission merchant, Toronto. |

APPENDIX VI

- Gorham, Nelson, woollen mills, Newmarket.
- Gage, Peter, J.P., East Flamboro'.
- Gould, Joseph, J.P., ex-M.P.P., Uxbridge.
- Gould, Joseph E., mill owner, Uxbridge.
- Greeley, A., editor *Times*, Picton.
- Gurnett, J. S., editor *Chronicle*, Ingersoll.
- Gardhouse John, merchant, Bolton.
- Gibson, Jos., merchant, Yorkville.
- Grant, Wm., merchant, Bowmanville.
- Goslin, John, St. Catharines.
- Graham, Jos., farmer, Toronto Gore.
- Green, Wm., farmer, Colborne.
- Gemmell, J. R., editor *Observer*, Sarnia.
- Gardiner, Robt., J.P., Britannia.
- Gibson, David, York Township.
- Grey, Alex., Waterloo.
- Gibson, Alex.
- Gordon, Adam, Reach.
- Gakin, Wm., Markham.
- Grislaw, Donald, Bruce.
- Greely, Horace, Hogg's Hollow.
- Ghent, David, Nelson.
- Gamble, A. W., Moore.
- Graham, Alex., London.
- Griffith, James, Brantford.
- Grant, R., Toronto.
- Gould, J. H., Blanchard.
- Grubb, Wm., Etobicoke.
- Gumer, Joseph, Pelham.
- Hutcheson, Alex., miller, St. Catharines.
- Hamilton, Sidney S., wharfinger, Toronto.
- Hunter, James J., M.D., Reeve, Newmarket.
- Hardy, A. S., barrister, Brantford.
- Hall, Thos., merchant, Paris.
- Hewitt, Wm., merchant, Toronto.
- Hardy, H. A., barrister, Brantford.
- Hubertus, H. J., newspaper correspondent, Ottawa.
- Halley, Wm., merchant, Toronto.
- Holmes, C. D., alderman, London.
- Hubertus, H. S., refiner, Toronto.
- Howard, B. W., farmer, East Gwillimbury.
- Harrison, Emanuel, Chinguacousy.
- Heggie, David, M.D., Brampton.
- Haggart, J., iron founder, Brampton.
- Hill, A. G., barrister, Welland.
- Hogg, Wm., miller, York Tp.
- Henderson, Wm., merchant, Toronto.
- Howland, Hon. W. P., M.P.P., Toronto.
- Holman, Joseph, Tp. Whithy.
- Henderson, John, J.P., Tp. Hamilton.
- Haines, Geo., J.P., Pres. Reform Association, Bowmanville.
- Holliday, Daniel, J.P., Brooklin.
- Heron, Wm., J.P., Ashburn.
- Hutton, Jas. P., J.P., Brampton.
- Hinman Smith, J.P., Cramahe.
- Hossie, D., Moore.
- Hannon, Joseph, Glanford.
- Hughes, J. W., Moore.
- Harcourt, George, Kingston.
- Hannon, D. M.
- Henderson, Dr. D.
- Harris, J.
- Hall, Henry, Vanbark.
- Hall, J. C., Peterboro'.
- Hughes, Samuel W., Moore.
- Hunt, H., Malverton.
- Hershey, Edwin, Bertie.
- Hostetter, H., Brantford.
- Hossie, David, Brantford.
- Hoke, Geo., East Gwillimbury.
- Henderson, Wm., Trafalgar.
- Henderson, W., Beverly.
- Herriman, W. L., Clark Tp.
- Hastings, W., Hamburg.
- Home, George, Brock Township.
- Harris, C., Hope.
- Haight, H., Scarboro'.
- Hurrenne, Hamilton.
- Hall, J., Paris.
- Hall, R. S., Esquensing.

APPENDIX VI

- Holden, James, Whitby.
 Hancy, Dr., Pelham.
 Hazelwood, James, Howick.
 Hodgins, Thos., barrister, Toronto.
- Irving, Æmilus, Q.C., barrister,
 Hamilton.
 Irvine, Wm., builder, Kingston.
 Irwin, E. G., merchant, New-
 market.
 Idington, John, barrister, Strat-
 ford.
 Irvine, Joseph, Lobo.
- Johnston, Wm., Toronto Tp.
 Jackson, E., editor *Era*, New-
 market.
 Johnson, W. S., editor, Toronto.
 Jones, Mathew, J.P., Darlington.
 Jardin, Robert, Plympton.
 Johnston, Edward, Acton.
 Johnston, Robert, Chatham.
 Jennett, R., Malverton.
 Jeffrey, Wm. D., Gainsboro'.
 Jaffray, R., Milton.
 Jackson, S. A., North Dorchester.
- Kennedy, W. (John Macdonald &
 Co.), Toronto.
 Kennedy, A. S., bootmaker, Co-
 bourg.
 Kennedy, Jas., town clerk, Hol-
 land Landing.
 Kennedy, Alex., lumber merchant,
 Atherley.
 Kennedy, Jacob, Bosanquet.
 Kennedy, Jacob, Gainsboro'.
 Kennedy, A., Bosanquet.
 Kilgour, Robert, manufacturer,
 Mount Forest.
 Kempson, P. T., M.D., Reeve,
 Fort Erie.
 Kempt, C. B., Brighton.
 King, Charles, Cheltenham.
 King, Thomas, Cookstown.
 Kerr, John, Stamford.
 Kerr, Alex., Westminster.
 Kerr, W., barrister, Cobourg.
 Keller, Henry, Stamford.
- Kempsey, C. B., Brighton.
 Kay, Jas., carriage maker, Galt.
- Lundy, J. B., M.D., Beverly.
 Lawrie, Robt. (of R. & J. Lawrie),
 St. Catharines.
 Laurie, Jas., J.P., Scarboro'.
 Lawson, W., merchant, Hamilton.
 Lawson, Edw. (of Lawson Bros.),
 Hamilton.
 Lillie, John, merchant, Wallace-
 burg.
 Lillie, John, Chatham Tp.
 Lyons, Wm., merchant, Simcoe.
 Leslie, Geo., nurseryman, Toronto.
 Leys, John, barrister, Toronto.
 Leys, George, merchant tailor,
 Sarnia.
 Leys, Alex., merchant, Sarnia.
 Lauder, A. W., barrister, Toronto.
 Lockard, Wm., King.
 Lyman, Chas., Esquensing.
 Lindsay, James, Esquensing.
 Lastall, D. L., Hamilton.
 Lockart, Allan, Orono.
 Law, N., Markham.
 Little, Robert, Bowmanville.
- Moore, Hugh, merchant, Dundas.
 Moore, Wm., J.P., merchant,
 King.
 Moore, D., merchant, St. Cath-
 arines.
 Moore, Nelson W., St. Thomas.
 Moore, Allen, Brampton.
 Mathews, W. D., produce mer-
 chant, Toronto.
 Martin, C., M.D., Lindsay.
 Maguire, John, Manvers.
 Mundy, E., editor *Standard*, Port
 Perry.
 Mowat, Wm., J.P., bookseller,
 Stratford.
 Magill, Chas., merchant, Ham-
 iltion.
 Maughan, N., farmer, Eglinton.
 Murray, Geo., barrister, Toronto.
 Malcolm, Wm., brass founder,
 Hamilton.

APPENDIX VI

- Munro, Henry, M.P.P., West Durham.
- Munro, John, Toronto.
- Manning, Alex., alderman, Toronto.
- Modeland, Joshua, farmer, Chinguacousy.
- Metcalfe, Jas., Reform candidate for Commons, East York.
- Maitland, Robert, land agent, Toronto.
- Miller, Hugh, druggist, Toronto.
- Mendell, Geo., furrier, Guelph.
- Merritt, Isaac B., Tp. Oakland, Brant.
- Moyer, P. E. W., editor *Chronicle*, Waterloo.
- Michael, W. D., merchant, Oshawa.
- Middleton, John, J.P., Clark.
- Mallory, C. R., J.P., Tp. Haldimand.
- Mitchell, Alex., J.P., Orangeville.
- Munsie, Wm., J.P., Nobleton, King.
- Morden, M., Brighton.
- Murdoch, Wm., Adelaide.
- Malcolm, Geo., South Easthope.
- Mullin, Wm., South Dumfries.
- Muligan, B., Kingston.
- Murdock, W. M., London.
- Mathews, Robert, Brantford.
- Mowrie, James, Caledonia.
- Moston, M., Brighton.
- Metcalfe, James, Brock Tp.
- Moyle, Mr., Brantford.
- Mitchell, James, Haldimand.
- Mahon, J. J., Toronto.
- Mackenzie, Alex., M.P.P., Sarnia.
- McKellar, Arch., M.P.P., Chatham.
- Macdougall, Hon. Wm., M.P.P., Toronto.
- McMurrich, Hon. John, Reform candidate for Local, N. York.
- McLeod, John, Reform candidate for Local, West Durham.
- McDougall, Colin, Reform candidate for Commons, West Elgin.
- McColl, S., Reform candidate for Local, West Elgin.
- McGill, Wm., M.D., Reform candidate for Local, S. Ontario.
- Macdonald, John, M.P.P., merchant, Toronto.
- McLean, John (late Hudson's Bay Co.'s Service), Elora.
- McMurrich, W. B., barrister, Toronto.
- Macdonald, Jas., builder, Toronto.
- McMullen, James, J.P., Yorkville.
- McLennan, John, merchant, Lindsay.
- McLay, Murdo, Warwick.
- McMaster, Wm., merchant, Newmarket.
- McCrossen, Thos., merchant, Toronto.
- McInnes, George, manufacturer, Fergus.
- Macpherson, Malcolm, J.P., mill owner, Kincardine.
- Mackenzie, Kenneth, Q.C., barrister, Toronto.
- McLean, Thos., merchant, Brantford.
- McMahon, James, M.D., Dundas.
- McMillan, A. G., barrister, Elora.
- McBride, Saml., alderman, London.
- McKeown, John, barrister, Hamilton.
- McCrea, Hon. W., Senator, Chatham.
- McDougall, J., iron founder, St. Mary's.
- McLaren, Alex., township councillor, Caledon.
- McLean, John, newspaper correspondent, Hamilton.
- McNaughton, Thos., editor *Sun*, Cobourg.
- McCuaig, James, St. Mary's.
- McLaughlin, John, J.P., Darlington.
- McDougall, John, J.P., Waterloo.

APPENDIX VI

- McGregor, John, J.P., Sligo.
 McVicar, George, Brampton.
 McCall, Thomas, Cowell.
 McAlpine, Alex., Euphemia.
 McLean, D. C., Brock.
 MacKay, A. G., Toronto.
 McGuire, James, London.
 McArth, Malcolm, Dundas.
 McArden, John, London.
 McAllany, Wm., Humberton.
 McCrindle, James, Huron.
 McIntyre, Alex., Guelph.
 McLachlan, Alex.
 McFayden, Chas., Owen Sound.
 McCulloch, J., Hamilton.
 McCosh, Alex., Huron.
 McKinnon, A., Bosanquet.
 McLean, Robert, Galt.
 McLennan, Arch., Brantford.
 McPherson, Alex., Dundas.
 McMurray, J., Wentworth.
 McLeod, D. W., Darlington.
 McLaws, David, Dunwich.
 McQueen, Jas., Beverly Tp.
 McPhail, A., Milton.
 McConnell, Arch., Chinguacousy.
 McCranney, Wm., Trafalgar Tp.
 McDougall, John, Bowmanville.
 McIntyre, John, Crowland.
 McBean, A., Ingersoll.
 McDougall, Jos., St. Mary's.
- Norris, Capt. (of Norris & Neelon,
 millers), St. Catharines.
 Nixon, Thos., produce merchant,
 Toronto.
 Noble, John, Parkhill.
 Nicholls, Robert, Brampton.
 Nilley, M., Elgin.
 Niles, W. H., North Dorchester.
 Nelson, A., Esquesing.
- Osborne, J. B., merchant, Beams-
 ville.
 Osborne, Wm., produce merchant,
 Galt.
 Oliver, Adam, Reform candidate
 for Local, South Oxford.
- O'Hanley, J. L. P., Reform candi-
 - date for Local, Russell.
 Olmstead, M. J., Saltfleet.
 Ogden, W. W., M.D., Toronto.
 O'Connor, P., mill owner, Paris.
 O'Hara, Henry, insurance agent,
 Bowmanville.
 O'Loane, R. J., postmaster, Strat-
 ford.
- Patrick, W., late M.P.P. for Gren-
 ville.
 Purvis, Jas., farmer, Scarboro'.
 Powell, E. W., M.D., Cobourg.
 Powell, W. G., editor *Star*, Paris.
 Parker, Henry, merchant, Wood-
 stock.
 Pattullo, Alex., M.D., Brampton.
 Power, Edw. G., J.P., Darlingford.
 Pane, John, Adelaide.
 Pane, Mr., London.
 Pollock, Joshua, Brampton.
 Palliser, Robert, Owen Sound.
 Playter, Thomas, Port Perry.
 Parnham, James, Granby.
 Playter, George, Newmarket.
 Phelps, R. R., Malverton.
 Pellett, W., Haldimand.
 Pettitt, John B., Brampton.
- Robinson, Chas., J.P., Beaverton.
 Robinson, C. Blackett, editor *Post*,
 Lindsay.
 Robinson, Robt., merchant, To-
 ronto.
 Robson, Geo., Robson House,
 Whitby.
 Rymal, Joseph, M.P.P., South
 Wentworth.
 Rock, Warren, barrister, London.
 Redfield, James, J.P., Stratford.
 Richmond, S., J.P., Brighton.
 Ratcliffe, John, J.P., Columbus.
 Rae, Robt., Warden of Lambton,
 Bosanquet.
 Rawling, Albin, Bosanquet.
 Rankin, David, Georgina.
 Ross, C. W., Strathroy.
 Roy, Wm., Darlington.

APPENDIX VI

- Richardson, C. W., Morpeth.
 Rolph, Mr.
 Ross, John, alderman, London.
- Stirton, David, M.P., Guelph.
 Smith, H. D., iron founder, Reform candidate for Local, N. Leeds.
 Sinclair, Donald, Reform candidate for Local, North Bruce.
 Smith, A. M., M.P.P., E. Toronto.
 Smith, Robt., Reform candidate for Local, Peel.
 Smith, John, Sec. Reform Association, Hamilton.
 Smith, John, Reform candidate for Local, Kent.
 Smith, Geo., merchant, Milton.
 Smith, John (of Smith & Arthurs, wholesale grocers), Toronto.
 Smith, R. H., J.P., merchant, Newmarket.
 Smith, J. H., Flamboro'.
 Smith, Russell, Brantford.
 Smith, W. H., Brighton.
 Simpson, C. P., barrister, St. Catharines.
 Spreull, Saml., accountant, Toronto.
 Surtzer, Samuel, farmer, Toronto.
 Snarr, John, builder, Toronto.
 Stewart, Alex., builder, Toronto.
 Stock, Jas., merchant, Toronto.
 Scaget, S. C., merchant, Owen Sound.
 Stevenson, George, land agent, Sarnia.
 Sangster, John A., J.P., Stouffville.
 Sovereign, Chas., J.P., Bronte.
 Stewart, C. E., *Expositor*, Brantford.
 Severn, John, brewer, Yorkville.
 Snider, Capt. Elias, Eglinton.
 Speight, Jas., farmer, Markham.
 Stork, Chris., druggist, Brampton.
 Spohn, J. V., barrister, Hamilton.
 Solomon, Mark, tobacco manufacturer, Toronto.
 Snarr, Thos., builder, Toronto.
 Snell, John, J.P., Edmonton.
- Spohn, P. H., Ancaster.
 Shaw, Henry, Toronto.
 Scott, John, stone cutter, Galt.
 Simpson, Wm., Durham.
 Stewart, Robert, Fergus.
 Stafford, D., Picton.
 Scott, John A., Stratford.
 Sutherland, John, Galt.
 Spears, Adam, Brampton.
 Snider, N., York.
 Seaton, Donald, Lobo.
 Snider, John B., Hamilton.
 Shaw, John M., Hamilton.
 Sherrard, Aaron, Uxbridge.
 Stevenson, W., Alnwick.
 Stock, W., Newcastle.
 Scott, Warren, Murray.
 Somerville, Jas., W. V. anosh.
 Stewart, Peter, North hope.
 Stauffer, J., Waterloc
 Sharpe, Thos., J.P., Chinguacousy.
- Thoroughgood, R., editor *Reformer*, Simcoe.
 Taylor, Emer., J.P., Toronto Tp.
 Taylor, Richard, Elora.
 Taylor, John, paper manufacturer, Toronto.
 Taylor, Chas., painter, Sarnia.
 Taylor, G. W., Stamford.
 Tennant, Geo., Reform candidate for Local, South Leeds.
 Thomson, W. A., Reform candidate for Commons, Niagara.
 Thompson, David, M.P.P., Co. Haldimand.
 Thomson, J. H., Reform candidate for Commons, North Ontario.
 Thomas, S. M., merchant, Brooklin.
 Trow, Jas., Reform candidate for Local, South Perth.
 Thayer, Edwin S., Montreal.
 Tearly, J. B., Uxbridge.
 Thompson, R., Mitchell.
 Turris, Mr., West Flamboro'.
 Tyrall, Edward, Haldimand.
 Timbine, B., Yarmouth.
 Tufford, John, Brantford.
 Terry, John, East Granby.

APPENDIX VI

- Urquhart, D., Scott.
 Urquhart, Dr. S. F., Toronto.
 Uran, Thos., Nissouri West.
 Verner, James R., Newmarket.
 Williams, J. M., Reform candidate
 for Local, Hamilton.
 Wright, Amos, M.P.P., E. York.
 Wylie, David, editor *Recorder*,
 Brockville.
 Wilkes, C. R., editor *Advertiser*,
 Owen Sound.
 Whitehead, Wm., J.P., Bramp-
 ton.
 Wilkes, J. C., J.P., Moupt Forest.
 Walker, Geo. L., editor *Courier*,
 Perth.
 Wells, Jas. P., M.P.P., King.
 Wheeler, Geo., mill owner, Ux-
 bridge.
 Wickson, Samuel, barrister, To-
 ronto.
 Wilkes, G. S., agent, Brantford.
 Wilkes, Geo. H., foundry, Brant-
 ford.
 Wass, Wm., agent, Oakville.
 Waugh, Christopher, Tp. London.
 White, Trueman P., J.P., Miller,
 Whitevale.
 Ward, Thos., J.P., Grahamsville.
 Windatt, Richard, Town Clerk,
 Bowmanville.
 Willey, Wm., Owen Sound.
 Waddell, John, Sarnia.
 Windsor, Edward, Clarksburg.
 Wardlaw, Robert, Toronto.
 Wilson, John, Westminster.
 Webster, P. B., Malverton.
 Wynn, John, Stamford.
 Wheaton, John, London.
 Wheaton, Joseph, Nissouri.
 Wilkinson, James, Christie.
 Warren, P., Hamilton.
 Wright, John, London.
 Walker, E., Whitby.
 Walker, L., Tavistock.
 Wood, Peter, Yorkville.
 Wilmott, Mr., Hamilton.
 Widderfield, J. H., Hamilton.
 Watson, James, York Tp.
 Wanless, James, Stanley.
 Young, Jas., Reform candidate for
 Commons, Galt.
 Young, Hon. E., Mem. Leg. Coun-
 cil, Prince Edward Island.
 Young, Arch., merchant, Sarnia.
 Young, John B., J.P., Brighton.
 Young, N., Trenton.

APPENDIX VII

The following is a complete list of the "Founders of Canada" who have died up to the 31st July, 1902, with the dates of their births and deaths, as far as ascertainable, as prepared by George Johnson, F.S.S., of the Statistical Bureau, Ottawa :

- Hon. Sir E. P. Taché, Quebec, born 1795; died July 30th, 1865.
Hon. Ed. Whalen, Prince Edward Island, born 1824; died December 10th, 1867.
Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, Quebec, born April 13th, 1825; died April 7th, 1868.
Hon. J. M. Johnson, New Brunswick, born October, 1818; died November 8th, 1868.
Hon. Sir George E. Cartier, Bart., Quebec, born September 6th, 1814; died May 20th, 1873.
Hon. W. H. Steeves, New Brunswick, born May 20th, 1814; died December 9th, 1873.
Hon. George Coles, Prince Edward Island (birth not given); died August 21st, 1875.
Hon. Mr. Justice J. McCully, Nova Scotia, born 1809; died January 2nd, 1877.
Hon. W. H. Pope, Prince Edward Island, born May 29th, 1825; died October 7th, 1879.
Hon. E. B. Chandler, New Brunswick, born 1800; died February 6th, 1880.
Hon. George Brown, Ontario, born November 29th, 1818; died May 9th, 1880.
Hon. Charles Fisher, New Brunswick (birth not given); died December 8th, 1880.
Hon. J. Cockburn, Ontario, born February 13th, 1819; died August 14th, 1883.
Hon. J. C. Chapais, Quebec, born September 21st, 1812; died July 17th, 1885.
Hon. Col. J. H. Gray, Prince Edward Island, born 1814; died August 13th, 1887.
Hon. Mr. Justice Henry (Wm. A.), Nova Scotia, born December 30th, 1816; died May 3rd, 1888.
Hon. Mr. Justice Gray (J. H.), New Brunswick, born 1817; died June 5th, 1889.
Hon. E. Palmer, Chief Justice Prince Edward Island, born 1809; died November 3rd, 1889.

APPENDIX VII

- Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, G.C.B., Ontario, born January 11th, 1815; died June 6th, 1891.
- Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell, K.C.M.G., Ontario, born 1821; died May 24th, 1892.
- Hon. Sir Adams Archibald, K.C.M.G., Nova Scotia, born May 18th, 1814; died December 14th, 1892.
- Hon. Sir Alexander Galt, Quebec, born September 6th, 1817; died September 19th, 1893.
- Hon. T. Heath Haviland, Prince Edward Island, born November 13th, 1822; died September 11th, 1895.
- Hon. Sir Leonard Tilley, K.C.M.G., C.B., New Brunswick, born May 8th, 1818; died June 25th, 1896.
- Hon. Peter Mitchell, New Brunswick, born January 4th, 1824; died October 25th, 1899.
- Hon. Sir Frederick B. T. Carter, K.C.M.G., Newfoundland, born February 12th, 1819; died March 1st, 1900.

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