



J. M. Schuyler

(From a painting by Groselier in 1855.)

Three Premiers of Nova Scotia

The Hon. J. W. Johnson
The Hon. Joseph Howe
The Hon. Charles Tupper, M.D., C.B.

BY
EDWARD MANNING SAUNDERS
A.A., O.D.



TORONTO
WILLIAM BROWN
1905

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TO THE MEMORY OF
SIR FENWICK WILLIAMS

A NATIVE OF NOVA SCOTIA, THE HERO OF KARS, AND
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF HIS NATIVE PROVINCE AT THE
TIME OF CONFEDERATION, AND AN INTIMATE
FRIEND THROUGH LIFE OF THE
HON. JUDGE JOHNSTONE,
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

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PREFACE.

WITH many others I have waited for years for the appearance of a biography of the Hon. J. W. Johnstone. This distinguished jurist, peerless advocate and able and eminent statesman ought not to be forgotten. Indeed, he was one of Nova Scotia's greatest men. Throughout his professional life he in every way, more than any man of his day, wrought his Province lasting good, and should be classed with the "Makers" of Canada.

Could Judge Johnstone have had a Judge Longley to write his life, as he has written the life of the Hon. Joseph Howe, Mr. Johnstone's character and public services would now be in full and clear light before the public, and he, too, would have a statue on the grounds of the Provincial Building, a worthy companion to that of Mr. Howe, thus exhibiting these two distinguished men as peers in their devoted labours for their country.

But as no one came to the front to do for Judge Johnstone what Judge Longley has done for Mr. Howe, I was induced to write a sketch of the life and times of this eminent man. I found, however, that Judge Johnstone's life was so interwoven with Mr. Howe's that the one could not be given without the other; and that from 1855 to 1873 Dr. Tupper took so prominent a part in the political life of the Province that sketches of the lives and labours of Judge Johnstone and Mr. Howe, apart from Dr. Tupper's, were not practicable. I therefore decided on the title, "Three Premiers." Although my main object at the beginning was to write a life

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of Judge Johnstone, I have endeavoured to sketch impartially the labours of these three distinguished Premiers of Nova Scotia.

However imperfectly I have performed my task—and of this I am quite conscious—I offer to the public the result of my labours, trusting that it may prove a contribution to the history of this Province, distinguished, as it is, for its large number of eminent men.

THE AUTHOR.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, September, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume comes well commended by the work of its author in other fields of historical research. His "History of the Baptists" of the Maritime Provinces is not only a gallery of portraits of the fathers of the Baptist denomination, nor even a mere record of the growth and development of a single religious communion. It is really a history of the religious life of the Maritime Provinces for the period which it covers, written not only with the author's warm affection for the church with whose labours it especially deals, but with a genuine catholicity which accords the most generous appreciation to all other labourers in the same great field.

The gift of true and lifelike portraiture which distinguished the earlier volume will be found in equal degree in the present work, in which the author traces the careers of three great pre-Confederation premiers of the Province of Nova Scotia. One of them is still with us, and if indefinite length of days could be conferred by universal suffrage, the time would never come when his countrymen would be willing to part company with his vigorous and *puissant* personality. The name of Sir Charles Tupper is "writ large" in the history, not only of the Province of Nova Scotia, but of the great Dominion of which it forms a part. His achievements are well known to the present generation of his countrymen, and although he has reached an advanced old age, there are many persons yet living who can recall his first appearance on the political stage, and who could recount from their own personal knowledge the salient events of his long

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and distinguished career. Precisely the same statement could not, perhaps, at this late day, be made with reference to the late Joseph Howe. Yet even in the minds of the present generation of Nova Scotians there is an approximately adequate conception of the character and career of that eminent statesman. He is known to us from the collection of speeches and public letters printed during his lifetime under the editorial supervision of his colleague, Mr. Annand, and the running historical comment connecting the speeches and letters, given under the authority of Mr. Annand's name, but which exceedingly well-grounded tradition ascribes to the subject of the biography himself. What manner of man he was would be still more widely known to his fellow-countrymen if the exceedingly entertaining and lifelike portrait from the hand of Mr. Justice Longley had as wide a popular circulation as it is desirable that such a work should have. It has remained for the author of the present volume to rescue from comparative oblivion the record of Mr. Johnstone's achievements and make known to the present generation the merits of one who well deserves to be had in remembrance of his countrymen, whose memory might easily have ceased to be a national treasure had it not been for the labour of love which the author has brought to so successful an issue in the production of the tribute which constitutes the special value of the present volume.

It seems a little singular that one who occupied so large a place upon the stage of politics and public life should have become so imperfectly known to the generation that has come after him. His intense force and vehement eloquence as an advocate, as well as his incorruptible integrity, his wide learning and his patient and painstaking industry as Judge in Equity for the Province of Nova Scotia, are among the cherished traditions of the profession of which he was, in his lifetime, the most distinguished ornament. But to his parliamentary record

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and his achievements as a statesman full justice has never heretofore been done. It is the crowning merit of the work of Dr. Saunders that he has made a thorough and impartial examination of the record, and presented, in a form that must arrest and enchain the attention of his readers, a correct and clearly drawn outline of the part played by Mr. Johnstone in the eventful drama of our pre-Confederation history.

But while this seems to the writer of these introductory sentences the chief merit of the interesting pages that follow, it is far from being their only merit. The long political duel between Mr. Howe and his young antagonist from Cumberland is described in a vivid and convincing manner—convincing, as it will probably happen, to some who would have preferred not to be so convinced. For the events narrated are, many of them, comparatively recent, and it may well happen that these are yet live coals beneath the ashes of controversy, over which the feet of the historian have undertaken to walk. More than one passage in the life of the reputed father and founder of responsible government is dealt with in the present volume, which will be the subject of future controversy, as it has been the occasion of violent conflict in the past. Of one thing the reader may rest assured. There is no controverted subject with which the author has undertaken to deal as to which he has not been prepared to give a reason for the faith that is in him. He has examined the record with painstaking industry, with great thoroughness of research, and with a very evident disposition nothing to extenuate nor set down aught in malice. His judgments, if in some instances severe, are always discriminating and never lacking in charity. But he has throughout endeavoured to be faithful to historical truth, and his researches have shed a flood of light on more than one of the enigmas that have perplexed the casual inquirer into the history of the period covered by his volume.

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The history of Nova Scotia, while not as tragic as that of some other provinces of the Dominion, is as interesting as that of any. The men who played the principal parts, it is no mere provincial conceit to imagine, were the equals if not the superiors of those who played the like parts in the other provinces; the subjects selected for treatment by the author were among the foremost in the great constitutional struggles that were the principal events in the history of them all, and no pen could have treated those subjects more adequately than they are dealt with in this volume.

BENJAMIN RUSSELL.

Halifax, N.S., September 20, 1909.

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THREE PREMIERS OF NOVA SCOTIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE JOHNSTONE FAMILY.

THE Johnstone genealogy goes back to the estate and hereditary title of Annandale, Scotland. The father of James William Johnstone, Judge in Equity, was Captain William Martin Johnstone, M.D. He was the son of Lewis Johnstone, M.D., whose father, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, came to America from Scotland in the early history of that colony. J. W. Johnstone's mother was Elizabeth Leichtenstein, only daughter of Captain John Leichtenstein, who held a position in the British army and at an early day was sent to Georgia, where he married Catherine Delegal, a young lady of Huguenot descent. Captain Leichtenstein was a son of Philip Gustavus Leichtenstein, an Austrian Jew, who, with his wife, went from England to Cronstadt, Russia, where he taught a school for boys.

Letters written by these grandparents from Russia to the Judge's mother when she was an infant, and until she was eight years old, are preserved. They are filled with expressions of parental love and piety. Their little granddaughter was very dear to them. Warm and tender were the greetings and the love borne from distant Russia to this Georgian home, at a time when the country was distracted by the Revolution. They were like a breath of summer across the face of an ice-bound winter. "We embrace thee," "we kiss thee, sweet creature, for thy charming, agreeable letter," said these pious grandparents of the mother of the Judge in Equity, when she was only eight years old.

Little Elizabeth lost her mother at the age of ten, but a

THREE PREMIERS

pious aunt took the mother's place and faithfully cared for the child.

On the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, William Martin Johnstone, a student of medicine in Philadelphia, threw aside the scalpel and girded on the loyal sword, as subsequently did three of his brothers. He was a man of noble instincts, high temper and fearless courage, a worthy son of Lewis Johnstone, of the Royal Navy. William Martin was made captain of the New York volunteers. For a short time he remained with his regiment at New York, where he mingled in gay and fashionable society. From New York his regiment was sent to Savannah.

Elizabeth Leichtenstein, anglicized Lighenstone, then fifteen years old, was on a visit to the Johnstone family when the captain arrived at Savannah from New York. Here he and his future wife first met. An account of this meeting was given by his wife when she was seventy-two years old and a widow for forty-one years. The following is her story:

"I appeared a young, unsophisticated girl, quite new to the world, its customs and usages. On my arrival, Mrs. Johnstone's son, William Martin, came hastily into the room, which he had left a little before, for his watch. When he entered he merely glanced about the room and retreated. I, a little rustic in my simple dress, which I and my fond aunt had made at her place, called 'Mount Piety,' must have looked strange to Captain Johnstone, who had lately been among the dashing fashionables of New York, then remarkable for its elegance and dissipation."

On the 21st of November, 1779, when this girl was only fifteen years old, she became the wife of Captain William Martin Johnstone, ten years her senior. From that day until she departed this life at Halifax in 1848, loved and honoured, her life was one of adventure and vicissitude, in which her rare talents and grand character were tested and matured. For five years previous to her marriage the country had been distracted by the ravages of the Revolutionary War, which, breaking out in the north, passed rapidly to the south, until the whole country was in a blaze. From her tenth to her fifteenth year this young girl at "Mount Piety," her aunt's home, had heard the accounts of the carnage and the atrocities which character-

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ized that terrible conflict. The battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill had been fought; a half-circle of raw New England troops had been thrown around Boston by Washington, holding back the English army stationed in that city; Howe's fleet, menaced by cannon mounted on Dorchester Heights, had left for Halifax, carrying among its many refugees John Howe, the father of the distinguished Honourable Joseph Howe. About the time the father of J. W. Johnstone was girding on his sword to fight the battles of his king, the father of Joseph Howe, with his young wife, sought Halifax as a refuge from the terrors of the revolution. The withdrawal of Howe's fleet heartened the patriots and added fuel to the conflict. The capture of New York by the English, the wintering of the British troops at Philadelphia, watching Washington at Valley Forge, the capture of Burgoyne's army, were matters of history before Elizabeth Leichtenstein became the wife of Captain Johnstone.

Social life was rent and distracted and the institutions of the country laid in ruins. An alliance with the French had been effected, and the prospects of the patriots were brightened as the dreary months wore away. The stress of events and dark outlook did not weaken the courage and immovable purpose of the Johnstones to fight the battle through to the bitter end, let the consequences be what they might. At this date, when the terrors of war thickened at Savannah, this girl of fifteen linked her fortunes in matrimony with this gallant young captain. The French fleet, under D'Estaing, laid siege to Savannah. Most of the women of the city were removed to an island; but this brave young woman, not yet married, chose to remain with Captain Johnstone's mother in the city, where she would be within reach of her adored lover. She became accustomed to the screech of shot and shells, their crash through the buildings, their plunging into the earth and terrific explosions.

An instance is related by Mrs. Johnstone of her mother-in-law's courage and loyalty. Captain Johnstone, having learned that a desperate effort was to be made on a certain day to take the city, hastened to direct his mother, Miss Leichtenstein and his young brothers to leave the city at once and go to the island where so many had already taken refuge. Mrs. Johnstone had at this time two sons in the loyal army, and two younger ones

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wanted to join their brothers; but the mother, feeling that she had already made sufficient sacrifice, would not give her consent. On the occasion of their flight to the island the cannonade began before they got out of the city. The missiles screeched over their heads, tore through the buildings and tossed the earth into the air. In the midst of this terror Mrs. Johnstone stopped and said to her two young sons, "Go back and join your brothers and assist in putting down this wicked rebellion."

James William Johnstone's courage in public life, which all admired and which none excelled, can be traced not alone to his father and mother, but to this courageous paternal grandmother. A woman who could stop in that storm of shot and shell, in the terrific thunder of artillery, and tell her two young sons to gird on their swords and fight for king and country, was no ordinary woman. She is worthy to be ranked with the world's greatest heroines.

An incident will illustrate the courage of the brave man, husband of Elizabeth Leichtenstein.

At one time the general in command wanted to send a verbal message to the fort at Columbia, South Carolina, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles. The country was swarming with lawless patriots; but Captain Johnstone volunteered to undertake the hazardous task. He eluded the enemy, reached his destination, delivered his despatch and returned in safety. On this long ride he was but once out of the saddle. He, however, so overtaxed his strength that, although he fought through the war, yet he never wholly recovered from it, and it was no doubt the remote cause of his comparatively early death, which left his young wife for forty-one years to battle with the world without a husband. Another instance related by Mrs. Johnstone illustrates the terrible character of the revolution as well as of the life led by the young wife. William Almon, M.D., Senator, has given the following account of a conversation he had in his father's house with his grandmother, Mrs. Johnstone:

"Captain Johnstone had two brothers, Andrew and John, killed during the war. Andrew was killed while successfully leading a company who were taking provisions to Fort Johnstone, which was besieged by the rebels. John was taken pris-

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oner and put to death in cold blood. Upon one occasion," says Dr. Almon, "when I asked my grandmother how my great-uncle Jack was killed, she reluctantly told me that he had been captured by the rebels and put to death in an ignominious manner. I was a child at the time, and asked if they had hanged him, not regarding her when I was told that little children should not ask questions. She acknowledged that I was correct. I said to her, 'Grandmother, when I become a big man you must give me grandfather's sword, and I will put the rebels to death who killed him.' The old lady replied that that was very wicked; that we should love our enemies and those who spitefully use us. 'Besides,' she added, 'the debt has already been paid, for your grandfather, who was not then so good a Christian as he afterwards became, took it very much to heart, for Jack was his favourite brother. For some days he was absent on horseback, and returning one afternoon, said to me, "I expect some friends here to-night and would like supper for them about eleven o'clock. Tell the negroes to have fodder for their horses. I expect about twenty men." I accordingly had supper provided, and about eleven o'clock the company rode up to the house, dismounted and came in. Some of them were gentlemen I knew, friends of your grandfather, but others, William, were bad-looking men, not gentlemen. After supper they remounted their horses, and your grandfather stopped a moment to put on his sword and make ready his pistols and bid me good-bye. I asked him when he would be back. He answered, "Bet, if I return at all, I will be back in twenty-four hours." I slept little that night, and spent the next day in anxious prayer for his safe return. Twelve o'clock arrived, but no tidings of him. At last, about two o'clock, I heard the sound of horses passing by the house and saw your grandfather dismount and come in. He embraced me and threw his sword and pistols on the table, both of which I could see had been used. I said to him, "William, where have you been?" He replied, "Bet, never ask me where I have been or what I have done, but we don't owe the rebels anything for Jack."'"

Those smoke-covered pistols and that blood-stained sword were some of the terrible memories of the revolution carried from youth to old age by this saintly, heroic woman.

Captain William Martin Johnstone had ten children, three of whom died in infancy. Four sons and three daughters survived. The sons were Andrew, Lewis, John and James

THREE PREMIERS

William. The daughters were Catherine, Eliza Wildman and Laleah.

At the close of the war, the Johnstones' Georgia estates were confiscated and the family moved to Jamaica. After completing at Edinburgh his medical studies, broken off at Philadelphia, William Martin Johnstone returned to Jamaica, and soon found himself in a lucrative practice. As soon as his children were of sufficient age to attend school, both Dr. Johnstone and his wife agreed to make a great sacrifice for them. Mrs. Johnstone accompanied the children to Edinburgh, and remained there to make them a home and superintend their studies. Before the completion of their education Dr. Johnstone died. His death took place at Jamaica on the 9th of December, 1807.

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CHAPTER II.

JOHNSTONE'S EARLY LIFE.

JAMES W. JOHNSTONE was born in Jamaica, August 29th, 1792, and, as has been stated, was educated at a high school in Edinburgh. References already made to his mother indicate that she was a woman of rare endowments. From early life to the end of her days, her intellectual strength, her moral and religious sentiments, her noble and heroic spirit were taxed and perfected in experiences and vicissitudes that rarely fall to the lot of woman. Dark and dangerous though they might be, she never quailed before them. On and on she went, discharging every duty of wife, mother and friend, until the end came in a good old age. The possessions of this life, whether material, intellectual or social, were to her as vapour unless associated with sound character coupled with well-trained and finely cultured manhood and womanhood. This ideal she always held up before her children. In this, as in all matters, she was in agreement with her husband.

These views of life came down to them from their ancestors, and were passed on by them in full force and measure to their children. It was the goal of their ambition. Nor did they fail. Although the husband died before the work of training their children was completed, yet the bereaved wife went bravely on with it, and lived to see the rewards of her self-sacrificing labours.

Andrew, a noble young man, after finishing his medical studies, died in early life of yellow fever in Jamaica. Lewis, her second son, also studied medicine, and succeeded his father in Jamaica. After twelve years of practice, having secured a competence, he removed to Halifax, where his mother, brothers and sisters had made their homes. He had a large family and lived to a good old age. One of his daughters married Sir R. L. Weatherbe, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, and

THREE PREMIERS

two of them became wives of missionaries to India. John was for a time a representative of Annapolis County in the House of Assembly. He died in England in 1836. Eliza Wildman married Thomas Ritchie, a barrister, and a member of the House of Assembly for Annapolis at the time of their marriage. He was subsequently appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. They had five sons and two daughters. The Hon. J. W. Ritchie, senator of Canada and afterwards the second Judge in Equity of Nova Scotia (the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, his uncle, having been the first), and Sir William Johnstone Ritchie, Chief Justice of Canada, were two of the sons.

In 1808, the year after his father's death, James William Johnstone, then sixteen years of age, came to Annapolis and engaged as a law student with his brother-in-law, Thomas Ritchie. As he did not reach his majority until 1813, his admission to the bar was not made until that time. After practising law for a short time at Annapolis and Kentville he removed to Halifax and entered into partnership with Simon Bradstreet Robie, then Solicitor-General, afterwards Speaker of the House of Assembly, member of the Legislative Council, and Master of the Rolls.

James William, at school in Edinburgh, at Annapolis, while a student at law, and in Halifax as a man in public life, was under the direct influence of his mother. Having inherited much of his mother's talent and character, and in boyhood being away from his father, he was most indebted to his mother for his training. Dr. Duncan, the originator and founder of the savings bank, whose name will ever be honoured for this valuable institution, was his instructor at Edinburgh. So careful was his mother about her son's training that she declined to engage Henry Brougham, afterwards Lord Brougham, as her son's tutor, having heard that his views of religious doctrine and his personal habits as a young barrister were loose, and would be liable to have a bad influence on her son. At the time Mr. Johnstone entered into partnership with Mr. Robie, there were a number of distinguished men at the bar in Halifax—S. G. W. Archibald, who also reached the position of Master of the Rolls; William B. Bliss, subsequently Judge of the Supreme Court; Richard John Uniacke, then Attorney-General; Beamish

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JOHNSTONE'S EARLY LIFE

Murdoch, author of "The History of Nova Scotia," and others, all men of talent, learning and culture.

Under the shadow of these distinguished men, Mr. Johnstone began his professional career. His resources were equal to the occasion. He was accorded social prestige, a matter of no little importance to a professional man of that day. His relatives moved in the select society of the city. His native talents, integrity and phenomenal industry soon commanded recognition. Being a partner of a leading barrister was in his favour. From the beginning to the end of his career he was ever noble. Concentration, which Mr. Gladstone judged to be his own special talent, was an element of strength in him. When a given object was to be gained, he laid all his forces under tribute and servile subjection to his iron will. To him in such circumstances, discouragement, fear, obstacles had no existence. He was persistent, eager, assured. His seniors soon saw that the profession would not suffer at the hands of this young barrister. His attitude toward them was ever that of deference and respect, but their great abilities and commanding influence, instead of repressing him, acted as a spur to his ambition. What had been accomplished by them he believed to be within his reach. The moral courage and strong religious convictions of his mother and the fearless, impetuous bravery of his father were ever-present forces bearing him on in the work of his profession. His erect, graceful figure soon became a familiar sight in social life, at the bar and on the streets of Halifax. His appearance was striking and his manners courtly. He was about six feet high, straight, lithe, and quick in his movements. He had a high, finely-moulded forehead, crowned by a thatch of kinky raven black hair, closely cut in youth, but allowed to grow long in advanced years, falling like a snow cloud under the brim of his glossy silk hat, giving him a venerable, patriarchal appearance. His nose was Grecian, inclined to the Roman type; his eyes jet black, glowing like mellow flames in social conversation, but flashing and glittering in moments of earnestness, especially when his soul was on fire with righteous indignation at some wrong he might be denouncing. His mouth was large and his chin well-defined. His face, having the tint of the tropics, was mobile and expressive—just such a countenance as adds force to the burning words of the orator.

THREE PREMIERS

A trifling incident gave the Johnstone family to Nova Scotia, from which has come a number of distinguished men and a larger number of useful citizens. Through inter-marriage the blood flows in an ever-widening circle, even where the name does not appear. Mr. Johnstone's mother gave the following account of the occasion which directed her steps to Nova Scotia. While in Jamaica and before her husband's death, she was about making arrangements to go to New York for the benefit of the health of one of her daughters. A gentleman who had learned her purpose said to her husband: "I have heard that you are a Loyalist. Why do you not send your family to Nova Scotia, a loyal colony? There is now a ship in port bound for Halifax, which will sail in a few days."

Dr. Johnstone acted upon this advice, and his wife and daughters came to Halifax, where they found congenial society. The marriage of one of the daughters to Thomas Ritchie followed. On this incident turned the selection of Nova Scotia, after the death of her husband, as a home for Mrs. Johnstone and family; and so the giving to Canada of a number of honourable and distinguished men.

The Hon. D. McN. Parker, M.D., who met J. W. Johnstone for the first time in 1838, and who afterwards became his son-in-law, says of him: "Mr. Johnstone was courteous and genial to all, not excepting the young and poor."

In a brief sketch of his life, written shortly after his death by Arthur Calnek, is found the following:

"In Halifax he soon began to make his presence felt in the courts. His unflinching integrity, untiring industry, fertility of resource in managing cases, his thorough knowledge of the law, and the occasional bursts of eloquence in his addresses to the juries on important occasions, soon elevated him to a first place at the bar, and gained for him the ear and respect of the judges; and the lapse of each succeeding year witnessed an augmentation in the volume of his practice and an increase to his growing fame. His name soon became associated as counsel with every case of importance tried in the capital or on the circuits which he usually travelled."

Mr. Johnstone's ardent and courageous nature knew nothing of cowardice. The duelling sentiment had not disappeared when he entered public life. R. J. Uniacke had settled a matter of honour according to this code, and unfortunately

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JOHNSTONE'S EARLY LIFE

killed his antagonist. He and the two seconds were tried in the courts of law, but were acquitted. In Judge Longley's life of Joseph Howe, it will be seen that that democratic gentleman had his turn in this now extinct method of settling disputes. Mr. Johnstone found such a crisis in his life. He did not shrink from what was regarded as a test of honour and courage. Mr. Calnek gives the following account of this appeal to arms:

"Shortly after his removal to Halifax, at a trial in court, some words having been used by Charles Rufus Fairbanks, attorney on the opposite side, which reflected on Mr. Johnstone's honour, that gentleman at once demanded an apology. Failing this, the duel, of course, followed. Its scene was in or near the garden at the corner of Spring Garden Road and South Park Street. The late Judge Hill, then barrister, was Mr. Johnstone's second, and the late John Lawson acted in like capacity for Mr. Fairbanks. The preliminaries having been arranged, the signal was given, and both discharged their weapons. Mr. Johnstone was unharmed, but his antagonist was hit in the heel, from which injury he was lame for life. The tradition is, that Mr. Fairbanks fired first, and that Mr. Johnstone, finding himself uninjured, said, on discharging his pistol, 'I will stop your dancing,' and fired at his antagonist's heel. This spirit, as the narrative will show, gave place in these two men to one of a totally different character. The combatants, to the credit of both, be it said, afterwards became warm and sincere friends. When, in 1834, Mr. Fairbanks was elevated to the bench as Master of the Rolls, Mr. Johnstone succeeded him as Solicitor-General."

A son of Mr. Fairbanks remembered that his mother received Mr. Johnstone cordially when his father was lying in his coffin. He saw his mother and Mr. Johnstone weeping together over his father silent in death. They fought like gentlemen, as it was then judged, and forgave each other and acted like Christians afterwards.

CHAPTER III.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

THE history of England, or of any of her colonies from the American revolution until 1850, in which the religion of the people is ignored would lack an element essential to a correct and full understanding of the history of that period. The omitting of the religious character in the life of any public man would result in a corresponding deficiency.

Among the problems in England and in the colonies then pressing for solution was the vexed and irrepressible subject of the relation of religion to the State.

In 1838, the Duke of Wellington said, "People talk of war with Spain and the Canadian question; but the real question is, Church or no Church?" John Morley says that Gladstone as Colonial Secretary had before him the legal standing of the clergy in the Colonies. In 1840, Lord Aberdeen said there was "more bigotry in England than in any other country in Europe."

The religious conditions in Nova Scotia at that time were peculiar, and in general were an echo of the corresponding conditions in England.

John Morley, in his life of Gladstone, says:

"Strange social conditions were emerging on every side. The factory system established itself on a startling scale. Huge aggregations of population collected with little regard to antique divisions of diocese or parish. Colonies over the sea extended in boundaries, and members and churchmen were zealous that the infant societies should be blessed by the same services, rites and ecclesiastical ordering as were believed to elevate and sanctify the parent community at home. The education of the people grew to be a formidable problem, the field of angry battles and campaigning that never end. Trade, markets, wages, hours and all the gaunt and haggard economics of the labour question added to the statesman's load. . . .

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CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Brougham, a more potent force than we now realize, plunged with the energy of a Titan into a thousand projects, and taking for granted that ignorance is the disease and useful knowledge the universal healer; all of them secular, all of them dealing with man from the outside, none touching the imagination or the heart."

Political considerations led the King of England to make the colony of Connecticut practically independent. A like urgent expediency induced the British Government to guarantee religious liberty to the people of Nova Scotia, which, in its early history, included New Brunswick.

When the war with the French on this continent finally came to an end, it became necessary to re-people the lands vacated by the expatriated French. The Puritans of New England would not listen to liberal offers of land unless they were assured that the Episcopal Church, then in the ascendant in Nova Scotia, would have no civil authority to interfere with their religious liberty. Up to this time the power of the State and the Church in the New England Colonies had been in the hands of the Puritans. They would not, therefore, put themselves in circumstances to have this state of things reversed. Accordingly they demanded entire freedom in religion, should they migrate to Nova Scotia. This was promised them. All except Roman Catholics were granted religious liberty. The disabilities suffered by this body of Christians in England were kept in force in Nova Scotia.

Induced by this guaranteed freedom in religion and the wealth of the soil, large numbers of New Englanders, in 1760 and subsequently, left their homes and took up the French lands in Nova Scotia.

At Halifax and Annapolis the Church of England occupied all the civil offices. This came necessarily from the previous history of the Province. Before Nova Scotia was ceded to the English in 1713, Episcopal clergymen had been sent to its shores; and had done religious work at the military stations held by the British Government. After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supported chaplains at the military posts in the Province, who laboured not only for the soldiers, but also for the civilians settled about the forts. Among the colonists who

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came in 1749 with General Cornwallis to found Halifax, were two ministers sent by the S. P. G.—Rev. William Tutty and Rev. William Aynwell—also Mr. Halshead, a schoolmaster. Rev. J. B. Moreau and Rev. Paulus Brazilius were sent to the Germans, English and French at Lunenburg.

The coming of the twenty thousand Loyalists, mostly Episcopalians, between 1776 and 1783, marked an epoch in the history of the Province. The population was nearly doubled. All of the Loyalists were imbued with loyalty to the Crown, and detestation for those who had destroyed English authority in the revolted Colonies. It was not alone the disloyalty of their compatriots and their own devotion to the English Government which caused these strong prejudices to settle in their hearts. During the war, and especially at its close, passion ruled in the councils of the conquerors; and injustice, hardship and cruelties were endured by the Loyalists, begetting in them great bitterness of spirit.

On arriving in this country they found the Puritans, who were in the majority outside of Halifax, cherishing veiled sympathy with the victorious revolutionists. This increased the mutual aversion of the two parties, and caused rivalry and discord in the spheres of both religion and politics. Many years passed before the new and old settlers worked together harmoniously in developing the rich resources of the country, and in moulding its political institutions.

Rev. Charles Inglis, one of the Loyalists, was ordained bishop of what is now the Dominion of Canada, having his home in Halifax.

No time was lost by the Loyalists in founding institutions for the higher education. Windsor, in Nova Scotia, and Fredericton, in New Brunswick, were selected for these schools. In 1803, King's College, Nova Scotia, enacted laws requiring students before graduating to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. To the credit of Bishop Inglis, it should be said that he opposed this action of the governors. Many of these Loyalists were learned and cultured. They had been foremost in the State, the Church, the army, and the judiciary of the lost Colonies; and, therefore, had had valuable training in these departments of life, and were prepared to take the lead in founding and developing

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colonial institutions. They gave to the Province what other countries in their early history are not likely to have—a high intellectual and social standing.

The arrival of the Loyalists gave Nova Scotia an impulse which will be felt throughout her entire history. The year after the close of the war New Brunswick was erected into a Province. Those who in the Old Country had seceded from the Established Church of Scotland sympathized to some extent with the dissenters, that the State church of that country had a strong affinity with the Episcopalians.

The New England immigrants were mostly Congregationalists. During the latter part of the eighteenth century both Methodists and Baptists, few in number at first, carried on an aggressive propaganda. Many of the Congregationalists united with the latter body. In 1827, the census gives the population, classified by churches, as follows:

Baptists	19,790
Roman Catholics	20,401
Church of England	28,655
Lutherans	2,968
Presbyterians	37,647
Methodists	9,408

CHAPTER IV.

RUPTURE IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, HALIFAX.

IN 1824, a phenomenal religious movement took place in the congregation of St. Paul's Church at Halifax, which became the remote cause of convulsing the church and producing a schism in which J. W. Johnstone took a leading part. It was an event which largely shaped both his religious and political future. To it can be traced his entrance into politics, first as a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils, and at a later day as a representative in the House of Assembly, where he became for a quarter of a century the leader of the Conservative party, and the able opponent of Joseph Howe. To omit, therefore, an account of his experience at this stage would confuse and obscure the whole account of his life.

Formalism at that day was dominant in the State churches in both the Mother Country and in the Colonies. Mr. Gladstone gives an account of the deplorable condition of the English establishment. So unspiritual was it that the way was paved in one direction for Romanism, and in the other for the Broad Church movement.

The following are Mr. Gladstone's words:

"The spectacle of some of the most gifted sons reared by Oxford for the service of the Church of England hurling at her head the hottest balls of the Vatican, and along with this strange deflection on the one side a not less convulsive rationalist movement on the other—all ending in contention and estrangement and in suspicions worse than either, because less excusable and more intractable."

A similar condition of things existed in the branch of this Church in Halifax. The Scottish State Church was much like its sister of the English establishment. At this time the Rev. Mr. Temple was private chaplain to Lord Dalhousie, then Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. He was a clergyman of remarkable zeal, devotion and piety. His labour and that of

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RUPTURE IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, HALIFAX

his associate, the Rev. Hibbert Binney, among the young people of Halifax was very successful. The late Revs. James C. Cochran, R. F. Uniacke, and J. T. Twining, Episcopalians; the Revs. Dr. Crawley and John Pryor, the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, J. W. Nutting, Dr. Lewis Johnstone, and others were among his converts. The cold intellectual services in St. Paul's did not satisfy the cravings of their renewed natures. They, therefore, were accustomed to meet on Sunday afternoons in each other's houses, where they read the Scriptures, sang praises, prayed, and edified each other by godly conversation. They looked forward hopefully to the time when there would be a vacancy in the rectorship. Should that event occur, it was their purpose to have the Rev. John Thomas Twining, one of the converts and curate of St. Paul's, appointed to this position.

The Rev. Mr. Stanser was Bishop of Nova Scotia at this time, and Rev. John Inglis, son of Bishop Charles Inglis, was rector. As Bishop Stanser was absent in England, Dr. Inglis discharged the duties of bishop as ecclesiastic commissary, but there could be no confirmations or ordinations. After seven years Bishop Stanser resigned, and Dr. Inglis, who was in England at the time, was appointed in his place. The spiritually-minded members of St. Paul's Church then undertook to secure the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Twining as rector; but Bishop Inglis had set his heart on having the Rev. Robert Willis, formerly chaplain of the flagship on the station, and at this time rector of Trinity Church, St. John, N.B., to fill this position.

As Mr. Twining was very popular in the congregation, the parishioners of St. Paul's, regarding Dr. Inglis's selection of Mr. Willis to the rectorship as an act of ecclesiastical tyranny, resolved, if possible, to have Mr. Twining appointed. The churchwardens, vestry and parishioners held a meeting, and appointed Henry H. Cogswell, J. W. Johnstone and Edmund A. Crawley a committee to frame a petition to be sent to His Majesty and to the S. P. G., requesting that the person whom the parish might present to the office of rector might be appointed by the society as their missionary at Halifax, and confirmed by His Majesty. However, before their next meeting was held, word was received from Earl Bathurst, His

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Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, announcing that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to select the Rev. Robert Willis, of New Brunswick, to succeed Dr. Inglis. On receiving this notification, the churchwardens, vestry and parishioners resolved "that Mr. Twining be and is elected rector of the parish of St. Paul's in the place of the late rector, Dr. Inglis." This was signed by the clerk of the meeting, and was ordered to be immediately forwarded to Bishop Inglis, who was still in London; and petitions in harmony with this appointment were sent to His Majesty and the venerable S. P. G. A petition was forwarded to the bishop also, urging him to use his earnest endeavours to obtain the fulfilment of the wishes of the parishioners. Regret was also expressed by the meeting that the appointment of Mr. Willis had been so hastily made as to exclude the parish from any opportunity of expressing its wishes on a subject of such vital interest to the church. A letter from the churchwardens was addressed to the president of the S. P. G. also, declaring that the parish was resolved not to admit the induction of any person as rector of the church until the right of the parishioners to nominate a rector be either acknowledged or judiciously determined. Mr. Willis, of St. John, was informed of these proceedings. This done, the bishop had to fall back upon an ecclesiastical law, that the authority to appoint rectors was in the Crown.

The contest became more and more severe. It broke through the bounds of the congregation and spread through the city. It threw into the shade every other matter of conversation and discussion. Violent partisanship was in the ascendant and ruled the day. The leading men of the time took part in the agitation. In the various gatherings—social, political and religious—the people debated and wrangled over it. But the bishop, supported by those in authority, persisted in the course upon which he had entered. Mr. Willis came from St. John to Halifax to take his place. The authorities of St. Paul's, however, would not allow him to be inducted. But what could not be done in order and openly was accomplished in another fashion. Failing to obtain the keys to the church, the induction services were held at the church door. Having been inducted, the Rev. Robert Willis addressed the following com-

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RUPTURE IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, HALIFAX

munication to William Pryor and Richard Tremaine, churchwardens:

“DECEMBER 16, 1824.

“*Gentlemen*,—I have to notify you that by virtue of a mandate from His Honour the President I have been this day formally and fully inducted into the real, actual and corporal possession of the Church of St. Paul's and the benefits and emoluments thereof, and that I am now ready and desirous to enter upon the duties of rector of the parish. For this purpose I have to request from you the key to the said church, or that it may be opened for me, that I may be enabled to discharge the functions and duties of my situation as rector of the parish.”

As Mr. Willis was not permitted to enter upon his duties, legal action was taken in the Court of Chancery to enforce his right. The dissidents, however, employed J. W. Johnstone to conduct their case against the Crown, which was in charge of the Hon. R. J. Uniacke, Attorney-General. The struggle was continued until word came that the petitions of the majority of the parish had not been granted, but that the Crown had exercised its right to appoint a rector to succeed Dr. Inglis, and that Rev. Robert Willis had accordingly been duly appointed. This ended the conflict. The Rev. J. T. Twining resigned, and Mr. Willis entered peaceably upon his duties as rector. A memorial, however, written by Mr. Johnstone, was sent to His Majesty, which carefully reviewed the whole case. In this paper the congregation did not recede from the stand it had taken in claiming its right in all circumstances of presenting a rector for appointment. The following is the closing paragraph of this memorial:

“Solemnly, therefore, against any surrender of the right which they believe belongs to them, they feel themselves in humble submission obliged to abstain from that attempt, and to endeavour by such other means as may consist with entire deference and the most loyal obedience to your Majesty, to ensure themselves the advantages which, as connected with their right claim, they fear they have lost, and which they deem of particular import to them under the present circumstances of the parish.”

In these closing sentences may be discovered two features of Mr. Johnstone's character and conduct seen throughout his

THREE PREMIERS

long and strenuous life—loyalty to the Crown and fidelity to the claims of justice in all circumstances, in this case pressing on the attention of his Sovereign the claims of the latter while observing the former.

The Rev. G. W. Hill, D.D., who succeeded Mr. Willis as rector of St. Paul's, and from whose history of that church the foregoing facts have been largely obtained, says:

“The vexed question of the right of presentation to the vacant rectorship, as we learn from the records, was finally though not amicably settled. Not only had much ill-feeling been engendered, but a disruption of a most serious nature ensued, and the parish of St. Paul's was for a time a mere wreck of its former self. Many of its members forsook the old building in which they had worshipped for years and united with the congregation in St. George's, which was almost immediately constituted into a parish; and a large number, among them some of the most prominent and influential men of the day, not only abandoned the old building, but severed themselves from the Church of England, and joined the Baptist denomination.”

The correspondence in connection with this controversy lasted for many months; but at last, when the parishioners who had contended for a spiritually-minded rector found themselves at the end of their resources, they left the congregation and met in Mr. Marchinton's meeting-house, which happened to be unoccupied at the time. After this they purchased a site on Granville Street, and erected thereon a stone building, since occupied for many years by the Baptists, and now known as Orpheus Hall. Their purpose was to possess what is known in England as a proprietary Episcopal chapel, independent of the bishop of the diocese. They, however, failed to secure a minister to occupy such a position. A number of the dissidents found refuge in St. George's Church, and others returned to St. Paul's, leaving about a score who could not be induced to again submit to Episcopal Church government. Provision was made for Mr. Twining by appointing him garrison chaplain.

The rights of the parish, for which the church contended with commendable zeal and heroic persistence, and in which they were led by J. W. Johnstone, were secured. It was the last time the Crown exercised the arbitrary authority of

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RUPTURE IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, HALIFAX

appointing rectors in Nova Scotia. Dr. Hill says of his own election it was "by unanimous vote of the parishioners."

Among those who, having left the Episcopal Church, were organized into a Baptist Church, were E. A. Crawley and J. W. Johnstone, devoted friends through life, and two of the greatest men whose services Nova Scotia ever enjoyed, the one in the Christian ministry and the sphere of education, and the other in the profession of the law, public education, and in the government of his country.

In September, 1827, a number of the men and women who seceded from St. Paul's, purchased the building on Granville Street, erected for a proprietary Episcopal chapel, for their church home. They invited the Rev. Ira Chase, D.D., then president of Newton Theological Seminary, to visit them and discuss with them the principles and practices of the Baptists. He responded to their invitation, and brought with him Professor Alexis Caswell, late professor in Columbian College, Washington, D.C., and who afterwards became professor and president of Brown University, Rhode Island. The result of the consultation with these former members of St. Paul's was a decision to be organized into a Baptist Church. After their baptism this was done, and Alexis Caswell was ordained their pastor. In the following year this church induced the Baptist denomination to found Horton Academy. Ten years later they performed a similar service in establishing Acadia College. For many years the church was known as the Granville Street Church. It is now the First Baptist Church of Halifax, and worships in the chapel on Spring Garden Road.

CHAPTER V.

HOWE ENTERS PUBLIC LIFE.

THE secret cause of the conflict and schism in St. Paul's Church was the matter of vital personal religion so much emphasized by the Rev. Mr. Temple. It was indeed a revival of religion without the ordinary demonstrations of such a movement. It has coloured the religious life of Halifax and the Maritime Provinces until this day.

This long contest in church life took place thirteen years before Mr. Johnstone, in 1838, was appointed a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils. Once conscious of his strength, Mr. Johnstone soon made his way to the front in his profession. His ability and success were recognized and admitted. It was conceded that at the bar he had no superior. In cases which required clear, moral discernment and the advocacy of justice against injustice, especially when it was the obscure and weak who suffered at the hands of the men of wealth and standing, his moral nature would be aroused, his mental powers excited to swift and vigorous action. In such instances his hatred of injustice, particularly when inflicted upon the feeble and innocent, was poured out in torrents of irresistible eloquence.

The first public recognition of his great talents and eminent success at the bar was in his appointment to the position of Solicitor-General in 1834. Four years after this, Sir Colin Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor, by the use of much persuasion, induced him to enter the re-formed Legislative and Executive Councils. Up to this time he had given himself chiefly to the duties of his profession, taking only the interest of a private citizen in the political affairs of the Province.

At this stage it is necessary to look back and seek for the antecedent causes, and consider the person and labours of the chief actor in the reform movement in Nova Scotia, which

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HOWE ENTERS PUBLIC LIFE

issued in the political crisis in which the Lieutenant-Governor felt that he needed in his Cabinet a man of Mr. Johnstone's attainments and masterful tact and power. Such a review is essential to a knowledge of the political condition of Nova Scotia at the time Mr. Johnstone entered into public life. By such a glance at the past there may be clearly seen the character, ability and labours of his chief opponent for a quarter of a century—the Hon. Joseph Howe—and also the political affairs of Nova Scotia, and the circumstances in which Mr. Johnstone found himself when, yielding to the persuasions of the Lieutenant-Governor, he was appointed to the Legislative and Executive Councils as re-formed at that time. Indeed, for a quarter of a century the public life and labours of Howe and Johnstone were so intermingled, that an account of the one without the other would be neither full nor impartial. The sphere in which they acted was comparatively small. All other public men were the followers of either the one or the other, and were thrown into the shade by their distinguished talents and towering personalities. In their lives for the twenty-five years of their public services is found the history of this Province, and to some extent of their times in a larger sphere.

While it is interesting to note the driftings of destiny which led the Johnstone family to settle in Nova Scotia, observing in doing so the apparently trifling incidents which repeatedly turned and shaped the course of this household until a number of its members adopted Nova Scotia as their home and country, it is no less interesting to note the history of another family cast upon an uncertain future by the upheaval of the Revolutionary War in the American Colonies.

At the time William Martin Johnstone, the father of J. W. Johnstone, discontinued his medical studies to join the Loyalist army, John Howe, the father of Hon. Joseph Howe, with his young wife, *née* Miss Minns, embraced the opportunity of leaving Boston when Lord Howe's menaced fleet sailed for Halifax. With many others they landed in the capital of Nova Scotia, "refugees" from the fury of the revolution.

Here John Howe's children were born and reared, and among them Joseph Howe—a son by his second wife, who at the time of her marriage with John Howe was a widow by the name of Austen, a daughter of Captain Edes. John Howe was a

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devoutly religious man and the soul of honour. He received from the Government the appointment of King's Printer and Postmaster-General for Nova Scotia. Both offices afforded him but a small income, which was heavily taxed by his hospitality and his phenomenal kindness to the poor. His home was on the North-West Arm, not far from where Pine Hill College now stands.

For four or five years before he was sixteen years old, James W. Johnstone enjoyed the advantages of the best schools in Edinburgh. The corresponding period in Mr. Howe's life was spent in the Halifax schools, in his father's printing establishment and in the post-office. From these employments he graduated as part owner and sole editor of a small newspaper. This proved a stepping-stone to something higher. He became proprietor and editor of a weekly journal—the *Nova Scotian*—a paper which has continued until the present day. He was now twenty years old. His first years on this paper were spent in training himself as a writer, and in making the acquaintance of his constituency. Up to this time he had not been far beyond the city. These were bounds too narrow for his restless energy and insatiable ambition. His natural self-assertion was so strong that proper deference to his superiors was more of a studied than an instinctive habit. His emotional nature was tender, full and as deep as the sea, to which must be added the element of an imaginative and poetic temperament. A capacious and retentive memory was another part of his natural outfit for public life.

At this time the roads in the Province were rough, many of them mere bridle-paths. Young Howe took to the saddle. By this means he soon made himself acquainted with a larger part of the Province, and also with the constituency of his paper. His buoyant spirits, beaming face and inexhaustible humour made him a welcome guest. The dullness of manual labour vanished in the sunshine of his exuberant spirits, easy manners and everflowing conversation. His power to adapt himself to all classes, putting them at their ease and instructing them by lively conversation, was as natural as it was perfect. From the first he was a diligent, voracious reader. He spiced his paper with poetic effusions, some of which were his own composition. They soon attracted the attention of persons of

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literary taste. In this way he both enriched the *Nova Scotian* and became a well-known public man. His talents were recognized and admired. At first his paper was mostly devoted to literature and general news; but being of an essentially public spirit, Mr. Howe soon began to discuss city and provincial politics.

Instances of resistance to irresponsible government had arisen from time to time; but no leader qualified for continuous and successful work had appeared. In the matter of Mr. Barry's exclusion from the House of Assembly, the *Nova Scotian* took a middle course, indicating clearness of judgment and self-reliance. In 1830, Joseph Howe gave reports of the House of Representatives in his paper. The discussion in the Assembly and the reading of the English papers gave Mr. Howe insight into popular government. The political vision soon became clear to his intellect. Once seized by a definite conception of the principles of responsible government, his heart was warmed and his ambition inflamed. The rights of the people, like the visions of an old prophet, was a fire shut up in his bones.

A collision between the House and the Council, known as the "brandy dispute," occurred in 1830. S. G. W. Archibald became leader of the popular party. The conflict was fierce and uncompromising. It was finally referred to the people in an election. Every one of the prominent Liberals was returned except Beamish Murdoch. Judged by appearances, the struggle, so thorough in its beginning, gave promise of continuance, until it should be settled on sound principles. But for want of a leader equal to the demand of the occasion it proved a flash in the pan. Mr. Archibald was made Speaker of the House, and Mr. Uniacke, his opponent, was made Chief Justice. Mr. Howe, through his paper, gave a vehement support to Mr. Archibald, and was chagrined when he saw the undertaking, which promised so much, collapse so ingloriously. Huntington's and John Young's motion for retrenchment was defeated with ridicule. The old conditions seemed to settle down into greater complacency and increased assurance of power. But the *Nova Scotian* was tireless, and by argument and stinging humour kept the matter of popular rights alive. Through his paper the people received their political education. After the disappearance of Mr. Archibald as a reform leader,

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Alexander Stewart, supported by Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, came to the front. Stewart moved, and Doyle seconded, a resolution having for its object a radical change in the constitution of the Council. This, too, proved a failure. But Howe did not lose heart. The instruction of the people was kept up in the *Nova Scotian*, which by this time had a large circulation both in the city and in the country.

At this date both the city and Province had been under the control of irresponsible governments for more than eighty years. Fortunate, indeed, it was for the country that the men who were called to the discharge of these duties were men of honour and integrity, otherwise political corruption would have been in the ascendant. The men of culture, learning and experience given to the Province during and at the close of the Revolutionary War strengthened and confirmed the public honesty in the Government of the country. There was, indeed, a House of Assembly first elected by the people in 1758, but the Council above this body, having both legislative and executive authority, was appointed by the Crown. The twelve magistrates governing the city were also appointed and perpetuated in the same way. It was natural that the *Nova Scotian*, Mr. Howe's paper, should question and severely criticize the principles by which both the city and country were governed.

A letter, believed to have been written by John Young, a man of talent and an immigrant from Scotland, attacking the honesty of the twelve magistrates who governed the city, was published in Mr. Howe's paper. The magistrates resigned and placed the case in the hands of the Attorney-General. Criminal proceedings were forthwith taken against Mr. Howe. As the case in the eye of the law was an undoubted libel, and perhaps somewhat on account of Mr. Howe's social position, no lawyer in the city could be induced to undertake his defence. They, however, lent him books on the subject of libel. He spent a fortnight on his lounge preparing to defend himself. For six hours and more he faced the court; and it took courage to stand undaunted and deliberate before the Supreme Court of that day. Although but thirty-one years old, and with no practice as a public speaker, young Howe met the emergency, and with an air of independence and power worthy of a trained and able lawyer, went through the ordeal, hitting his prosecutors with

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blows harder than those given in his paper by the anonymous writer. He made light of his personal concern in the trial; but magnified the importance of his country and the independence and freedom of the press. In the early part of his address he saw tears running down the cheeks of one of the men in the jury-box. This gave him heart. He was assured by this incident that a unanimous verdict could not be found against him. After being informed by the judge that it was a clear case of libel, the jury retired, and, in about ten minutes, returned a unanimous verdict of "Not guilty." This event called forth general sympathy, both in the city and country. The finding of the jury was like a spark of fire to a train of powder. The shouts in the court-house corridors, taken up by the crowds outside, were rolled along the streets of the city. On appearing at the door, Howe went to the shoulders of the excited crowd, and was in this fashion borne to his home. During that night and the following day, the city was hilarious with uncontrollable delight. The power of the ruling clique was smitten to the death. In the words with which Mr. Howe opened his address to the jury may be seen a prophecy of his future greatness:

"My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury.—I entreat you to believe that no ostentatious desire for display has induced me to undertake the labour and responsibility of this defence. Unaccustomed as I am to the forms of courts and to the rules of law, I would gladly have availed myself of professional aid; but I have felt that this case ought to turn on no mere technicality or nice doctrine of law, but on those broad and simple principles of truth and justice, which an impartial jury can clearly comprehend. I have felt besides, that if the press is to be subjected to a series of persecutions such as this, it is indispensable to the safety of those who conduct it, that they should learn to defend themselves. . . . I have too strong a sense of what I owe to my profession and to the well-being of the community in which I reside, to shrink from any peril, from any responsibility or toil that the vital interest of my favourite pursuits and the public faith impose."

He did not fail in his speech to draw upon his inexhaustible fund of humour. The following is a sample of the rougher sort which through life he delighted to fling at the heads of men of stilted and dignified claims. He complained that his

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prosecutors, in resorting to a criminal process, had shut out evidence of which he could have availed himself had the proceedings been civil instead of criminal. For this he hit the magistrates with the following:

“There is a certain part of a ship through which, if a seaman crawl, he subjects himself to the derision of the deck, because it is taken as an admission of cowardice and incompetence; and had not these jobbing justices crawled in here through this legal lubber hole of indictment I would have sent them out of court in a worse condition than Falstaff's ragged regiment. They would not have dared to march, even through Coventry, in a body.”

Perhaps in no scene in the lives of J. W. Johnstone and Joseph Howe do their marked difference and contrast of character and gifts as types of men appear more clearly than in their first attempts at public speaking, which, in both cases, happened to be in courts of law. The first attempt of Mr. Howe eclipses that of Mr. Johnstone. Although the latter had been trained for the bar, yet his first speech in court was hesitating and feeble. It was given in a plain court-room in a country town—Kentville. Timid and embarrassed, he could not be plainly heard. The clerk of the court, William Chipman, afterwards the Rev. William Chipman, and a life-long friend of Mr. Johnstone, called out, “Speak louder.” This both aroused and heartened the young lawyer. He raised his voice and proceeded with more confidence until the case was closed. But beginnings of public speaking do not determine certainly future success. The Rev. Robert Hall, the greatest pulpit orator of the first half of the nineteenth century, utterly failed in his first two attempts at public speaking.

This was the first of a series of scenes in which Howe was destined to be the principal actor, and which finally issued in substituting for an irresponsible government in the city and country “a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

At that time the Baptists, Roman Catholics, and seceding Presbyterians, a large number of Methodists, and the various smaller sects, making in all more than half the population, were opposed to class government. This constituency was dissatisfied with the principle by which the Province was

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governed. The conflict between the House of Assembly and the Council of Twelve, long kept alive, fostered the sentiment for the people's rights throughout the Province. Before Mr. Howe took his pen or raised his voice for the rights of the people, there was popular agitation throughout the Province. The Baptists, mostly descendants from the Puritans who came into the Province in 1760 and subsequently, had intelligent convictions relative to the rights of the people as a whole. The denial to them until 1832 of equal rights with the Episcopal clergymen in performing the marriage ceremony induced them to study the principles of civil government.

The government of their churches being in the hands of the members suggested to them the rights of the people in civil life. With them, the separate existence of the Church and the State was a sacred principle and a cherished tradition. They regarded it as a part of their mission to contend for this principle for which their predecessors fought through scenes of suffering and death.

The Presbyterians, who had seceded from the Scotch State Church were well conditioned to embrace and advocate government, not by the classes, but the masses. In the eastern part of the Province the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, who came to this country from Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had clear views and decided convictions on this subject. As he met opposition from members of the two State Churches in his demands for the support of the Pictou Academy, an institution which he was instrumental in establishing, his voice was heard in the matter of the rights of the people. Intelligent men learned these principles from him. Mr. Howe admitted that he had got the first clear view of responsible government from a Pictou man; and it is almost certain that Mr. Howe's teacher had been taught by Dr. McCulloch. Mr. Howe, in his rides through the Province in 1828 and subsequently, in the interests of his paper, discussed this matter with the people to their mutual advantage.

As both in England and the Colonies Roman Catholics had been proscribed, the only place for them was among reformers.

The news of Mr. Howe's victory in the libel suit was carried by the Nova Scotian to every part of the Province. The rejoicing in Halifax was echoed wherever the paper was read. The

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great Liberal constituency, which had long waited for a leader, was led to believe that he had appeared in the person familiarly known as "Joe" Howe. Not a little satisfaction and high hopes were the result. The day for the triumph of the people's rights had arrived. The outburst of joy was as sudden as the victory of the man destined to be the great tribune. The trial at Halifax was a double revelation of Joseph Howe—to himself and to the people. His first taste of power and popular applause whetted his appetite for more of this luxury. From that day forward the *Nova Scotian* was the people's paper, and Mr. Howe was the people's leader. Before Mr. Howe appeared in the Assembly in 1837, he had by diligent and extensive reading acquired large stores of information, also a good degree of mental discipline, and a vigorous, flowing style in both writing and speaking. His reading had covered fiction, poetry, the English classics, political economy, and general history. His views of the principles of government, responsible to the people, through their representatives, were now clear and decided. But in the matter of the details of the practical application and operation of these principles, securing to the Sovereign, the Executive, the Legislative Council, the House of Assembly, and the people their respective and just rights and authority, neither Mr. Howe nor any of his followers was as yet able to present an elaborated scheme. Indeed, in this matter there were confusion and fears even in the minds of English statesmen. The British Cabinet was responsible to the House of Commons. Howe said, "Let this principle be applied in the government of Nova Scotia." Here he stood. It was his one great argument. "Let Nova Scotians have the rights of Englishmen. Trust British subjects on the west of the Atlantic as well as the British subjects on the east side of the Atlantic." This plea he made, not for his native Province alone, but for all the British-American Provinces. He had made himself familiar with the reform campaign in England, and knew well the men who had fought for the people's rights, as well as those who had opposed them. So zealous and untiring was he, that it is said he would read and write for four or five days together without leaving his house.

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CHAPTER VI.

HOWE ADVOCATES RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

AFTER the miscarriage of the resolution initiated and supported by the Reformers before Mr. Howe had a seat in the Legislative branch, and which were intended to effect a change in the constitution of the Council, Mr. Howe took a bolder stand in his paper. His editorials attracted much attention, and he was denounced by the old school. In his newspaper work he evidently resorted to the device of writing anonymous articles, purporting to come from different parts of the Province. This awakened much interest in the places where they were supposed to have been written; and men in these localities not wishing to be outdone by their neighbours, tried their hand at writing for the press. By this stratagem the people were aroused, and latent talent developed. By this and various other schemes Mr. Howe rapidly gained influence with the people. As his opponents became bolder, his friends and popularity increased.

About this time the currency question was a burning subject in the minds of the people. Neither the bank then established in Halifax nor the Government was by law bound to meet their paper by specie payment. This principle soon produced its legitimate fruits. Gold and silver were withdrawn from circulation, and paper money was depreciated. Mr. Howe denounced both the bank and the Government as enemies of the people. In this he was not alone. Among prominent men, Bliss, Huntington, Fairbanks and others stood with him. This abuse, after a short struggle, was removed.

At this time every Colonial legislature was a political storm-centre. In 1827, twenty-one bills were passed by the Lower House in Quebec, most of them reformatory, but not one of them was approved by the Council. In Upper Canada the

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state of things was the same. Mr. Howe took a lively interest in the struggles of the sister Colonies. Through his paper first, and subsequently by his speeches, as well as by his writing, his influence was felt and recognized in all the Colonies.

About the time the reform movement, under the leadership of Howe, had reached a hopeful stage of advancement, William Lyon Mackenzie in Ontario, and Papineau in Quebec, who up to that time had received the moral support of the Nova Scotia Reformers, rushed to extremes. Blood was shed and reform gave place to rebellion.

Mr. Howe was now a member of the House of Assembly, having been elected by the County of Halifax in 1836. The Canadian rebellions were greatly to the disadvantage of Mr. Howe and his supporters. Mr. Chapman, then in London, and agent of the Reformers of the two Canadas, had written Mr. Howe a letter in which he disclosed the ulterior purpose of the Canadian leaders. It was fortunate that Mr. Howe had kept a copy of his reply to Mr. Chapman. At a meeting in Mason Hall, called for the purpose of raising money for the support of the families of soldiers who, in mid-winter, went through the snows of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to Quebec to suppress the Papineau rebellion, and at a time when, of course, suspicions were rife in respect to the real purpose of the Nova Scotia leaders, Mr. Howe read the copy of his reply to Chapman, which put his loyalty beyond question or doubt; from this meeting the letter went to the press, and the people soon learned that Howe was as firm in his loyalty as the most pronounced Tory in the country. This meeting was held in the first year of Mr. Howe's political life. An extract from his letter, in reply to Mr. Chapman, will make apparent his views of the reform then agitating all the British-American Colonies. The letter was written in October, 1835, two years before the meeting in Mason Hall, at which Mr. Howe gave it to the public:

"Though feeling no sympathy for the official faction in Lower Canada, and hating and despising as intensely as you do those men and measures that have in all the British North American Provinces excited opposition and complaint; and although labouring to reform the public affairs of this my native country, I have for some time past shared the suspicion, which

I assure you very generally prevails in the lower Colonies, that the party with which you act, are determined at all hazards to precipitate a contest with the Mother Country; and in order to effect this object, the redress of real grievances, the existence of which is admitted, has to be sought in a spirit the most uncompromising and offensive. I will not conceal from you that this suspicion was strengthened by the falling away of John Neilson, a man of great experience, one who had given the most trying proofs of his adherence to principle, and that it has checked the ardour with which I formerly sympathized with all that was done and said by Mr. Papineau and his friends. The language of the late numbers of the *Vindicator*, the acknowledged organ of your party, leaves no ground for doubting on this head. In a certain number of that paper the desire for independence, the anxiety to follow the example of the United States and shake off the connection with England, is openly and candidly avowed; and though perhaps the declaration of these sentiments may have been hastened by some foolish publications on the other side, still they are abundantly sufficient, coupled with other indications of the feelings of the majority of the leaders, to convince me that an independent existence or a place in the American confederation is the great object which, at least, some of the most able and influential of the Papineau party have in view; and that a redress of grievances as a colony is with them a matter of secondary importance.

“I allude to it with a very different purpose; that you may understand how Canadian affairs are viewed in Nova Scotia, and that Colonial reformers may not misunderstand each other. I am quite aware that I run some risk of losing your confidence by this avowal, having seen enough of the spirit of party to teach me that men like not those who question their infallibility; but frankness and candour may save us all much trouble, and we owe it to the great interests involved to deceive neither ourselves nor each other.

“Assuming, therefore, that a sudden and forcible breach of the connection with Great Britain is the wish of the whole or a large part of the Papineau party in Canada, I may state with confidence that at least seven-eighths of the population of the Lower Provinces would be opposed in sentiment to any such movement. Though cordially opposed to the little knots of councillors, lawyers and placemen, who stand in the way of improvement, the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are sincerely attached to the Mother Country, and disposed to cultivate towards her inhabitants the most friendly feelings. We do not blame the people of Great Britain for the

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various acts of misrule of which we complain, because we have seen them struggling against the same enemies which have oppressed us. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that, surrounded as we are by adjoining states, many of them now possessed of almost national resources, we must be more or less subject to influences beyond our immediate control; and that the time may not be very distant, when the question of independence, or of a federal union with the adjoining Colonies, may come to be considered, not as one forced upon us by any neglect or oppression of the Mother Country, but as a natural consequence of our position, and the necessity it imposes of having an efficient and prompt government upon the spot, whose vigilant eye and protective hand may be required. When this time comes, the leading minds of the Colonies must endeavour to lay the foundations of a rational system, suited to the circumstances under which they are to undertake the task; but our people have no disposition to hasten on this period, nor of themselves to precipitate or to aid any rupture, which shall compel us to enter upon the business of self-government before we are prepared, and with the enmity of a powerful nation, from which we have sprung, and to which we are sincerely attached, as a drawback to the exertions. We would rather, if the separation comes, that it should be the result of an amicable agreement founded on the enlightened views of the circumstances by which all parties must consent to be controlled. We wish to steer clear of that feeling of bitterness towards each other's manners and institutions which so generally prevails in England and the United States, and which is the fruitful parent of much error, and prevents two nations from doing much good to the rest of the world, that might be accomplished by mutual confidence and co-operation.

"Though a student of Canadian affairs for some years past, I have never been in Canada, and, therefore, may have but an indifferent estimate either of resistance to British fleets and armies, should resistance become necessary, or of your capacity for self-government, should a contest terminate in your freedom. But my own impression is, that without the cordial co-operation of the other Colonies, even with the aid of the United States, Lower Canada could not achieve a forcible independence."

Now that Mr. Howe had a place in the representative branch of the Legislature, and was the occupant of the editorial chair of the only paper that reached the people, he was conditioned to exert his influence to the fullest possible extent. A radical reform in the Legislative Council toward which he should lead

the Liberal party was the goal of his ambition. Immediately on the opening of the House in 1837, he moved for the appointment of a dissenter to the position of chaplain. This was a bold innovation. The debate was long and resulted for a time in having no chaplain, then three, some of whom would not serve. Finally it was again given to an Episcopalian. One of Mr. Howe's active lieutenants, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, a Roman Catholic, a brilliant young man and a graduate of Stonyhurst, England, brought forward a resolution which was seconded by Mr. Howe, the purpose of which was to give the public the right to be present, as in the House of Assembly, to hear the discussions in the Legislative Council. The conflict became more and more strenuous, if not fierce. Mr. Howe seemed to have outrun his own plan. He plunged into the struggle with an abandon which tried the courage of his most stout-hearted followers. In the twelve resolutions submitted to the House, he contemplated an address to His Majesty, in which it would be shown that while the Episcopalians were but one-fifth of the population, they had eight members of the Council of Twelve; that the Presbyterians, who outnumbered the Episcopalians by nine thousand, had but three; the Roman Catholics, nearly equal in numbers to the Presbyterians, had but one; that the Baptists, numbering about twenty thousand, and the Methodists, ten thousand, and other sects, were altogether unrepresented; that the Episcopal bishop had a seat in the Council, while not another clergyman was found there. The fourth complaint was that a like favouritism existed in all departments of the public service. The Assembly put forward its claims to control the casual and territorial revenues, whether arising from fees of office, the sale of Crown lands or royalty on the product of mines. The presence of the Chief Justice in the Council was represented as so mixing the enacting and the administration of law, as to lead to distrust and corruption; and in general that the irresponsibility of the Executive Council to the Assembly made it impossible for the people to enjoy the right of governing themselves. A liberal system of education, it was said, was obstructed by the old Council.

In his tenth resolution Mr. Howe stated "that the evils arising from the structure of His Majesty's Council and the

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disposition evinced by some of its members to protect their own interests and emoluments at the expense of the public are heightened and rendered more injurious by the unconstitutional and insulting practice still 'pertinaciously adhered to' by that body, of shutting out the people from their deliberations."

This was resented by the Council, and the reply was that no business could be done with the Assembly until it was withdrawn.

Here it may be stated, that although the Council had not been responsible to the Assembly, yet it was subject to His Majesty's representative. Indeed, such was the constitution of the government then existing, that the Governor could arbitrarily disregard the advice of his Council without dismissing them. This form of government was at first necessary.

The Council admitted that it was the right of the Assembly to propose any changes of the constitution that they might judge to be in the interests of the people. The language complained of was a charge of dishonesty by one branch of the Legislature against the other branch. In courteous and firm language the Assembly was informed that no business could be done while that obnoxious sentence remained in the resolutions.

At this day, such a charge against the Council seems unjust and not at all essential to the pleas for responsible government. But after the charge was made, Mr. Howe saw that to admit that this sentence was unjust would stamp him as a rash and unsafe leader. The Council had the power to stop the supplies, and the notice to do so was plainly intimated in their reply to the Assembly. Mr. Howe here exhibited the tact of an astute leader. He carried a motion to rescind all the resolutions, and had a committee appointed to frame a petition to the British Government seeking the changes contemplated by the twelve resolutions. Late in the session, and after the revenue bills had been passed, the petition to the Crown was adopted by the Assembly.

These petitions brought from the Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, important despatches, which were considered at the next session of the Legislature. They proved the begin-

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ning of reforms which, in 1840, resulted in the adoption of responsible government.

In the summer of 1837, the New Brunswick Assembly passed resolutions demanding reforms; but they did not go as far as did the memorial of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. This is what that body said:

“The Executive Council should be composed of persons possessing the confidence of the country at large, and that the cordial sympathy and co-operation of that body are absolutely indispensable to the existence of any system of administration. The House, however, should repudiate the claim set up by another Colony, that the Executive Council ought at all times to be subject to removal on address for that purpose from the popular branch of the Government.”

At the time Mr Howe and his party were making their extreme and urgent demands upon the parent State, the Reformers of New Brunswick repudiated the claims set up by Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER VII.

BEGINNING OF JOHNSTONE'S POLITICAL LIFE.

WHEN the House opened in 1838, there existed a reconstructed Council. Instead of the old Council of Twelve, there was a Legislative Council of nineteen and an Executive of twelve members; but nothing in the new constitution made the Executive Council responsible to the representative branch of the Legislature. As the Governor, Sir Colin Campbell, saw the necessity, and felt that it was right and in accordance with his instructions to make changes in the direction of securing popular rights, he looked about him for a man who had the ability and qualifications to act as his chief adviser, to be in fact his Premier. He decided to select J. W. Johnstone for this position, and for two reasons—first, on merit, and second, on expediency. Mr. Howe had complained, and had with vehemence urged the grievance in the press, in the House of Assembly and in the memorial of the House to the King, that dissenters had but little share in the Council governing the country. In fact, he had said the Baptists, then a large percentage of the population, were not represented in the Government. Sir Colin knew that Mr. Johnstone was cautious, learned, eloquent and head of the bar as a peerless advocate. He was a dissenter and a member of one of the largest Christian bodies in the Province.

Mr. Johnstone had refused tempting offers to enter the House of Assembly. His practice was large and continuously increasing. His unwillingness was, however, overcome by the Governor, whose plea was that he required the services of a first-class legal mind, and a dissenter to assist him in the delicate and perilous undertaking of changing from the old to the new principles and form of government. Mr. Johnstone yielded to the urgent request of the Governor, and accepted a seat in both Councils.

James Boyle Uniacke, one of the old school and a member

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of the Church of England, and so by right of the exclusive social class in the city, a lawyer and a member of the House of Assembly, was also appointed to a seat in the Executive Council.

It is highly probable that the chagrin of being compelled to take a second place in the Executive, of which, by his commanding talents, Mr. Johnstone was easily Premier, had to do with Mr. Uniacke's subsequent resignation from this Council, and his going over to the Reformers under the leadership of Mr. Howe, who eight years afterwards showed his tact in putting Mr. Uniacke forward to form a Government, while he took a subordinate place under him. The iron will, clear intellect and dominating personality of Mr. Johnstone made him the governing spirit in Sir Colin Campbell's Cabinet.

It seems that some correspondence had taken place between Sir Colin Campbell and Mr. Howe on the matter of reconstructing the Council.

To show the wealth of men in the Province qualified to act as councillors, Mr. Howe had suggested to Sir Colin Campbell two sets of names for each Council. The plea of the old school had been that in the country there were not enough men sufficiently qualified to take positions in the proposed Councils, which corresponded with the British Cabinet and the House of Lords. But Mr. Howe denied this, hence the suggestion of names.

There was a substantial gain by the division of the Council of Twelve; but responsible government was yet to be secured. The Council as reconstructed, Mr. Howe contended, left the power in the hands of those previously in control, and was as independent as ever of the representative branch.

From 1837 to 1838, events, local and general, under the control of no man or body of men, conspired to effect changes in the condition of all the British North American Colonies. The confusion and conflict, especially in the two Canadas, induced the British Government to select Lord Durham, who belonged to the radical wing of the Whig party in England, at least at times, as High Commissioner to the two Canadas and the Maritime Provinces. This was in 1838. He was clothed with plenary powers, supposed, of course, to be exercised in harmony with the principles of the British constitution.

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When word came to Halifax that one of his duties was to dissolve the Council of Twelve, and substitute for it a Legislative and Executive Council, he was face to face with the fact that the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Colin Campbell, had already disposed of the old Council, and in its place had organized a Legislative and an Executive branch. The Legislature was in session when Lord Durham's decision became known—that the organization of the Councils by Sir Colin Campbell, in accordance with the despatch of Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, was to be ignored and new Councils to be formed.

The Governor then saw that he was fortunate in having as an adviser, J. W. Johnstone, a man especially qualified for such a crisis. To leave the Governor perfectly free in the circumstances, he immediately resigned, but was, under pressure from the Governor, induced to withdraw his resignation.

What was to be done? What about the legislation under the first organization? Mr. Johnstone's knowledge of constitutional law, his clear understanding and firm grasp of essential principles, his calmness in exceptional circumstances made his advice and help at this time invaluable. The House adjourned for a few days. Conflicting events and interests were adjusted and reconciled. Yielding to strong pressure, Mr. Johnstone again consented to take a seat in each Council formed in accordance with Lord Durham's order.

Mr. Howe admitted that much had been gained, but he contended that more concessions must be made before the people would have their just dues. He said:

"I think that every man who hears me will feel that we have made a considerable advance, and that much ultimate benefit will be the result. What, then, have we gained by the labours of the last session—1837? In the first place we have received the thanks of our Sovereign for bringing to his notice measures which are alike conducive to the honour of the Crown and the welfare of his faithful subjects inhabiting this part of His Majesty's dominions; also the separation of the Executive and Legislative Councils and the removal of the Chief Justice from both of them. We now have eight dissenters in the two Councils, and the doors of the Legislative Council are now open to the public."

Again the Reformers went with an address to the throne. Dutiful acknowledgments were made for the concessions

BEGINNING OF JOHNSTONE'S POLITICAL LIFE

already secured by the late Sovereign, and which had been confirmed by the young Queen; but it was stated that the wholesome principles announced in Lord Glenelg's and Lord John Russell's despatches had not been carried out. It was a matter of complaint that five of the nine composing the Executive Council were members of the Church of England, and eight of the fifteen in the Legislative Council belonged to the same body, His Lordship the Bishop being one of them. The memorial stated that the general interests of the Province were not represented in the Council; that one-half of the Legislative Council lived in Halifax; that the legal profession had six members in the Council, while the agriculturists had but two. The civil list and the Crown revenues were also matters of complaint in this address. The preponderance of the Church of England in the Councils was defended or explained by the Conservatives on the ground of scarcity of material. The members of the Church of England who came into the country after the close of the Revolutionary War, gave that body a large proportion of men qualified to take part in the government of the country. But, no doubt, Mr. Howe was correct in his estimate of the number of dissenters equally well qualified for public life. Among the descendants of the Puritans were many intelligent and independent men. In addition to these, a number of men had come into the Province from the Old Country, among them John Young, father of the late Sir William Young.

The Councils, as re-formed by Lord Durham, as Mr. Howe admitted, were an improvement on the first reconstruction. This being the case, Mr. Johnstone's plea was for reasonable delay. The British Government had just authorized Lord Durham to make further concessions to the demands of the Reform party, and he had acted in good faith and in accordance with the Royal instructions. Now the rational and prudent course was to give a reasonable time of trial to the new arrangement, and not to make an immediate rush for further changes. Moreover, the Home Government, as Mr. Johnstone urged his views, was then ill-conditioned on account of its critical relations with other powers, which might lead to war, to deliberate on further changes, so soon after the two changes already effected. Mr. Howe had been generous and statesman-

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like in ceasing his agitation in 1837, and giving his influence to suppress the Papineau Rebellion, also in taking the same course in connection with the invasion of New Brunswick by United States troops. Progress had been made. "Let there be an exhibition of patience before another demand was made for further change," said Mr. Johnstone. But the leaders in the Reform party were inexorable, and after a number of protests and demands were made, the Home Government, as already stated, was memorialized and a delegation was appointed to carry protests and further demands to Downing Street. William Young and Herbert Huntington were chosen by the Assembly for this mission. The Legislative Council selected L. M. Wilkins and Alexander Stewart, two of its members, to proceed to England with the delegates from the Assembly to present the views of that branch of the Legislature to the British Government. While considering the vote of money by the Assembly to bear the expenses of their delegates, the Council coupled with their sanction of this vote the condition that an equal amount be voted by the Assembly to pay the expenses of the delegates of the Upper House. This the Assembly refused to do, and an unyielding contention was the result. However, both delegations went on their mission, and were heard at the Colonial Office.

The ground taken by Mr. Johnstone was so reasonable, and the rash haste of Mr. Howe's party was so apparent, that no material advantage came to it as the result of its mission to England. But the political war was drifting to a crisis. Up to this date Mr. Howe's course had been commendably moderate, and his writings comparatively mild. More space is now given in one week to politics in party papers when a campaign is urgent than was given by Mr. Howe at this time in a whole year. But the repulse, as it was considered, given to the Assembly's delegates was oil on the fire. Patience was dismissed. The next attack was made upon Sir Colin Campbell. He stood firm, as became an old soldier, by the instructions he was under from the Imperial Government. Not an inch would he yield to any pressure when he was, as he avowed, defending "the Royal prerogative." The Assembly, led by Mr. Howe, fell upon him with two votes—one in condemnation of his course, and the other for his recall by the British Government.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL'S ADMINISTRATION IN NOVA SCOTIA.

IN 1839, a despatch from Lord John Russell, then Colonial Secretary, to the Governors of the several Provinces, seemed to warrant giving more power to the representative branches of the Legislatures, and to justify the Governors in making their Executives responsible to the House of Assembly; but the language of these instructions was not clear and specific. Mr. Howe gave to it a liberal interpretation, while Sir Colin Campbell and his Cabinet did not regard it as warranting any action on the part of the Governor, which was not found in the instructions of Lord Glenelg, Sir John Russell's immediate predecessor. Lord Normanby occupied for a short time the position of Colonial Secretary between Glenelg and Russell. This gave room for serious differences of opinion. Mr. Howe and his party in the Assembly demanded action according to the language, as they interpreted it, contained in Lord John Russell's despatch; but Sir Colin Campbell, advised by his Executive, held to his interpretation. The heat increased, and the conditions became more and more acute, caused by the demands made by the House of Assembly, and which were refused by the Government. Here Mr. Johnstone, as Sir Colin Campbell's chief adviser, and Mr. Howe, as leader of the popular movement, took opposite sides.

Up to this time, Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone had declared and defended their respective views and policies, the one in the Lower, and the other in the Upper House. The time now arrived when they met face to face in a popular assembly—the first of a large number of such meetings extending over a quarter of a century.

It is difficult to defend the Reform party from the charge

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of rashness and haste at this stage. Mr. Howe had acknowledged that concessions had been made by the English Government by which large gains had been secured to the Reform party. The ground taken by Sir Colin Campbell and his Cabinet was, that the despatches from England had been fully acted upon. This the Liberals denied. Then the Governor said:

“I will refer the matter to the British Cabinet, and if your interpretation of the despatches is sanctioned by the Crown, I will then govern myself accordingly.”

But this reasonable offer was abruptly rejected by the Reformers, who proceeded to pass a memorial to the Crown requesting the recall of the Lieutenant-Governor. It was this issue that brought Mr. Johnstone and Howe face to face.

Sir Colin Campbell was an honest, manly soldier, and had a profound regard for directions received from his Sovereign. According to the best of his judgment he had carried out the instructions of the despatches received from the Colonial Office. Judging, however, from some statements made by Mr. Johnstone, it might be inferred in this case that Mr. Howe did not act upon his own judgment, but was compelled to take an extreme course to satisfy the demands of some of his followers. In comparing Mr. Howe's conduct on this occasion with his policy for the following four years, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that Mr. Johnstone's intimation was correct. Be this as it may, the matter was one on which he and Mr. Johnstone took opposite views. Mr. Johnstone found nothing to say against the agitation conducted by Mr. Howe for responsible government, a subject on which they held substantially the same sentiments. That was one thing, but the attempt to degrade Her Majesty's representative was quite another. It aroused Mr. Johnstone's chivalrous spirit, love of fair play and honourable dealing. To strike down the Lieutenant-Governor, when he had most explicitly stated that, in his own judgment and in the judgment of his advisers, the instructions received from Her Majesty had been fully carried out, and that the difference of opinion between his Executive and the House of Assembly would be submitted to the English Cabinet, and that

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he would be governed by the decision whatever it might be, was altogether another matter and a most serious one, too.

To express sympathy with Sir Colin Campbell in this crisis and to defend him the Conservatives called a meeting at Mason Hall.* There a protest was made against the action of the Assembly in a needless attempt to humiliate and degrade the Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Johnstone did not speak at this meeting, but, as it afterwards appeared, his feelings became so deeply moved that he was induced to address a subsequent meeting held a few days later in the same place, called by the Liberals. At this meeting Mr. Johnstone followed Mr. Howe in a long and powerful address, in which he reviewed the courses taken in this matter by the respective parties. He made it the occasion of declaring his own sentiments in regard to the principles on which the country should be governed. He made it plain that he was neither a believer in nor an advocate of irresponsible government. His life for the fifteen previous years had committed him in a most emphatic manner to the sacred rights of the people. In that time he had led a large body of dissidents in St. Paul's Church, in their efforts to secure the right of the congregation to present a rector for appointment. He had been defeated only by the intervention of the Crown, against which, however, he made a strong but loyal protest. Then, having cast in his lot with the Baptists, he had been active in advocating and carrying out the enterprises of that denomination. Here the most thoroughly democratic principles prevailed, and he had been among their warm and faithful supporters. Indeed, he stated that in early life his views of civil government had been radically democratic, but observation and experience had modified his opinions. His subsequent life proved that he was neither a believer nor an apologist for Tory principles.

In his speech in Mason Hall he said:

“The epithet of ‘High Church and Tory party’ has been applied to the Councils indiscriminately. It has been unjustly applied. I certainly do not belong to any such party. I am

*Mason Hall was to Halifax what Faneuil Hall was to Boston. Here light and liberty were sought by the people. In it a banquet was given to T. C. Haliburton, author of “Sam Slick.”

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a dissenter, and ever have entertained political principles and feelings different from those I presume to be denominated by that term."

In connection with disavowing the principles of Toryism, Mr. Johnstone took occasion to refer to his disinclination to enter into political life. Following are his words on this point:

"It was not my wish to engage in politics. From deliberate choice I have abstained from seeking a seat in the Assembly, although occasions offered when I had no apprehensions about my success. My professional engagements gave full employment to my time. My happiness I sought and found in the bosom of my family. When His Excellency, in forming the new Council, required my services, I felt it my duty to obey, and submitted to him the mode of disposing of those services. Before the arrangements he was making had been completed he said that he must have one of the law-officers at least in the Executive Council, and as the Attorney-General—S. G. W. Archibald—had declined a seat there, it would be necessary for me to accept an appointment at the Board. Eventually he saw fit to place me in both Councils. When despatches came out which, owing to some misapprehension, made a reduction in the number of members of the Councils necessary, knowing the embarrassing position in which this circumstance placed the Lieutenant-Governor, I hastened to tender my resignation. His Excellency was pleased to urge me to continue, and required me at least to take time to consider. I did so. Having persevered in my request to be allowed to retire, my resignation was accepted. But on the afternoon before the appointments came to be gazetted, His Excellency informed me that, as I was a dissenter connected with a large class of people in the country, he felt it proper under the circumstances of the Province to require my continuance in office. I yielded to his commands. I was, therefore, placed in the Council as a law-officer to advise on points involving legal difficulty, and was retained there under the circumstances referred to as a dissenter."

In Lord Glenelg's despatches, the Liberals were assured that His Majesty—and this was confirmed by Her Majesty—cordially granted the concessions sought by the petition to the Crown, which embodied the substance of Mr. Howe's twelve resolutions; and that it was the purpose of His Majesty to act in accordance with the wishes of the people of Nova Scotia; that further, the names to be selected for the Councils should

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not be in the interests of the Church of England, nor any other religious denomination. But to one request of the petition, Her Majesty's Government could not consent. This is the language of the despatch:

"That the Assembly of Nova Scotia ought to exercise over the public affairs of that Government a control corresponding with that which is exercised over the ministers of the Crown by the House of Commons. To any such demands Her Majesty's Government must oppose a respectful, but, at the same time, a firm declaration that it is inconsistent, with a due advertence to the essential distinctions between a metropolitan and a colonial government, and is, therefore, inadmissible."

At the Mason Hall meeting, Mr. Johnstone called attention to the root of the difficulty in obtaining responsible government, as it was enjoyed in the Mother Country. He pointed out to Mr. Howe that, although he and his party might have the selection of the Executive Council, yet he could not have responsible government.

In the concessions which had been granted, and they were many and vital, this principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Assembly, as the Ministry in England was accountable to the House of Commons, was not to be found.

The sixth section in Lord Glenelg's despatch put this matter beyond question. The Liberal party, therefore, in first passing in the House of Assembly a vote of want of confidence in the Executive Council, following this with a vote of censure of His Excellency and a petition to the Crown for his recall, was turning its efforts in the wrong direction. Instead of attacking Sir Colin Campbell, they should direct their appeals and heap their censures upon the British Government. The Lieutenant-Governor had done all that was constitutionally in his power to do. He had offered to send their resolution, in respect to the resignation of his Cabinet, to the British Government, and had declared his willingness to be governed by the reply that might be returned to him. But this course, the only one open for the Governor to follow, was scouted by the Liberal party, and instead of co-operating with His Excellency in carrying it out, the party had censured a high-minded and honest official, and sought to degrade him in the eyes of the

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public on both sides of the Atlantic. Mr. Johnstone agreed with Mr. Howe in respect to the rights of the people to enjoy responsible government, "but," he said, "attack the British Government and not the Lieutenant-Governor. He is not to blame. In good faith he is endeavouring to carry out the instructions contained in the despatches from the Colonial Office." -- In the British Government and not in Sir Colin Campbell was to be found the Toryism of which the Liberals so justly complained, and against which they fought so heroically.

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CHAPTER IX.

JOHNSTONE CONDEMNS HOWE'S TREATMENT OF THE GOVERNOR.

In his Mason Hall speech Mr. Johnstone further stated:

“The Hon. Mr. Howe has said—and I heartily respond to the cheer with which you greeted that sentiment—that he wishes to see the principles of the constitution so carried out that the most humble individual may reach the highest office under government. (Cheers.) Sir, I heartily respond to that cheer. It is my desire that these high privileges should be open to the industrious and talented in every station.” (Loud cheering.)

Mr. Johnstone then referred to the names of men in the Legislative Council—Mr. Robie, Mr. Collins, Mr. Cogswell, Mr. Cunard and Mr. Tobin—who had raised themselves to wealth and positions of trust and responsibility.

Referring to the injustice done to the Lieutenant-Governor in the vote of the Assembly demanding his recall, Mr. Johnstone further said:

“Gentlemen, I cannot approve of the address of the House of Assembly, condemnatory of the Lieutenant-Governor. It was adopted unadvisedly and without reason. Instead of adopting this course, the House of Assembly, consistently with their own views and desire, should have gone to the throne with an address, saying to Her Majesty: ‘We have asked your representative, the Lieutenant-Governor, to change the Executive Council on a vote of the Assembly, according to what we understand your Majesty to have meant by the despatch of Lord John Russell. He has referred us to his Sovereign. We, therefore, pray that instructions may be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor to carry out the views and wishes of the majority in the House of Assembly in this important matter.’ That seems to be the course almost forced on them, in consistency with their own views and objects. I believe the honourable gentleman (Mr. Howe) has sacrificed his personal feelings in moving that

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address. I would believe that to be the case with any man of feeling, and I have reason, from conversation with that gentleman during the session, to be assured that he performed an office most painful to him in making this attack upon the Lieutenant-Governor. I cannot help thinking that that gentleman, if left to himself, would not have prosecuted the course that has been adopted in this particular; but when men are bound together in a party, they must often be actors in particular measures which they individually do not approve of, and must regard the voice of them with whom they are connected. In this case it has thus been, that His Excellency had not time allowed him to obtain the opinion of the Home Government."

In a series of articles in the *Nova Scotian*, Mr. Howe replied to Mr. Johnstone's Mason Hall address. But he was not able to show that Mr. Johnstone's view of the action of the Assembly was incorrect or unsound. All that he said against Mr. Johnstone's arguments was on the assumption that the Reformers' interpretation of the despatches was correct, and that the interpretation of Sir Colin Campbell and his Cabinet was false, and that the Governor was arbitrarily obstructing the work of the representative branch of the Legislature.

The views advocated by Mr. Johnstone were fully sustained by the British Government. The Lieutenant-Governor was justified in not dissolving the House because of the passing of a vote of want of confidence in his Government; also in declining to accede to the demand of the Reformers to reconstruct the Councils after they had been reorganized under the direction of Lord Durham.

Indeed, S. G. W. Archibald, Attorney-General and Speaker of the House, who had been classed with the Liberals, addressed a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, in condemnation of the course of the Assembly.

Lord John Russell's official reply, as published in the *Gazette*, was as follows:

"We understand that the Lieutenant-Governor has received a despatch from Lord John Russell, intimating his regret that it has not been in his power to submit to Her Majesty the recent address of the House of Assembly, forwarded for that purpose by the Speaker; the same having been transmitted without the intervention of His Excellency, and the proceeding being unusual, irregular and inconvenient; and His Lordship, there-

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fore, considered it his duty to assert, on behalf of Her Majesty's representative in the Province, the strict adherence to those observances to which his station gives him an indisputable claim; and which cannot be disregarded without derogating from the respect due to his power and authority.

"We are also informed that Her Majesty's Government has expressed its approval of His Excellency's determination not to assent to the address of the House of Assembly for the change of the members of the Executive Council collectively without the previous sanction of Her Majesty, and has distinctly signified that His Excellency would not have acted in conformity with his instructions, by making, on his own authority, the change demanded by the House."

Mr. Howe, in an editorial, replying to this deliverance of the Colonial Secretary, said:

"Lord John Russell mistakes the stuff of which Nova Scotians are made, if he supposes they will be content with this evasion.

"The Reformers will naturally ask, What is to be done now? We answer, think only of the elections. . . . Our advice to the country is, trust not in governors nor in secretaries of state, but in yourselves, and remember that all now depends on the elections."

In this rebuff and bitter disappointment, Mr. Howe adhered to his fixed purpose of holding to a loyal and constitutional course. While this is so, it also illustrates the superior pre-science and sound statesmanship of Mr. Johnstone. He had clearly seen and eloquently expressed his views, not alone in the Legislative Council chamber, but at the popular meeting in Mason Hall and elsewhere. He had pointed out to Mr. Howe and his party that, notwithstanding their interpretations of the despatches of Lord Glenelg and Sir John Russell, the Imperial Government had never granted Nova Scotia responsible government as they have it in England; and, therefore, instead of directing their censures against the Lieutenant-Governor, they should hold the Imperial Government responsible for the state of things of which they complained. The characterization of the doings in the House of Assembly in an attempt to address Her Majesty through the Speaker instead of the Lieutenant-Governor, is another fact that puts beyond doubt the soundness of the principles held by Mr. Johnstone—that, while he

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would have the ultimate authority lodged in the hands of the electors, he also insisted on the Imperial Government, the Lieutenant-Governor and his Executive Council being held, respectively, responsible for their doings. His views were clear and strong as to who were and who were not responsible for the political condition of the Province. It is, therefore, a matter of no wonder that Mr. Howe could find no just grounds on which to attack the principles held and advocated by Mr. Johnstone. He fancied that, had Mr. Johnstone exercised his great influence in the Legislative and Executive Councils for the Liberals, he might have directed matters in harmony with the course taken by the Reformers. Here are Mr. Howe's words:

"Mr. Johnstone says he did not seek a seat in the Councils—that it was forced upon him. I can well believe it, but I wish I could believe that, in accepting and holding a seat in the Councils, in defending the principles upon which they were formed, and the conduct of Sir Colin Campbell in departing from his instructions, he has not left some of those who highly respect him, and would gladly see him take the independent position which he might occupy, to search in vain for motives sufficiently strong to induce a public man to sacrifice so much even from the sense of obligation which the tenure of a Crown office might seem to impose. Had he said to Sir Colin Campbell, 'As a Crown officer, I cannot lend myself to any glaring and systematic violation of the instructions of the Crown. As a dissenter, I cannot consent to the galling and unnecessary preference which you contemplate giving to one-fifth of the population over the four-fifths, who are entitled to the same consideration and the same honours; and as a man who thinks with the House of Assembly upon a number of important questions, and who differs with the high Tory party upon many more, I protest against the formation of an administration, in which the majority in the former are to be shut out from any influence in the Government, and the same overwhelming preponderance is to be secured to the latter which the House and Her Majesty's ministers have already alike deprecated and condemned.'

"If this language had been used by Mr. Johnstone, the Solicitor-General, to Sir Colin Campbell, and if he had been firm in his determination to have no part in the matter, not because the situation was foreign to his habits, but because he would not seem to sanction a violation of instructions which

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he did not approve—an insult to the great dissenting interest, with which, to a certain extent, he sympathized, and an exaltation of that party to which he certainly owed no respect—my own belief is, that Sir Colin Campbell never would have dared to have violated his instructions in the manner he did, nor to have disregarded advice from such a quarter, thus independently tendered. Had he done so, and had he ventured to deprive Mr. Johnstone of his office on account of his independence, I believe that that gentleman would have been reinstated by the express command of the Colonial Minister, and have strengthened his claim to the respect both of the people and the Government.

“It is mere mockery for Mr. Johnstone to tell us that he ‘agrees in the eulogy upon Lord Glenelg’s despatch,’ and desires to see its principles in operation. He knows, or ought to know, that it has been the systematic violation of some, if not all, of the principles laid down in that despatch, in the first instance; and the pertinacious consistency with which that violation has been aggravated rather than atoned for, in the recent appointments, that has led to events which, I believe, we both equally deplore, and which has forced the Reformers to assert and maintain the principle of executive responsibility in local affairs, as the only remedy to prevent the perpetuation of a system of exclusion and injustice, which they have struggled against in vain, and which no strength of language can sufficiently condemn. . . .

“‘What Englishman,’ Mr. Johnstone has said, ‘would deny that the representative body should govern to a great extent? The practice is English, and I would not be an Englishman if I wished to cripple the power of the Assembly. . . . The governor was not bound to take the advice of his Council, or to consult with it, but in few matters.’”

The foregoing is from the editorial of the *Nova Scotian*, written in reply to Mr. Johnstone’s speech in Mason Hall. In it Mr. Howe’s estimate of Mr. Johnstone’s great ability and dominating influence is evident beyond a doubt. Virtually his plea is, that could Mr. Johnstone have taken the radical course pursued by himself and his party, the paternalism of the Imperial Government, and the nervous fear in the breast of the Lieutenant-Governor, lest “the prerogative” committed to his hands should be invaded, would have vanished, and the people would have their full and just rights in the government of the country. But on the other hand, had Mr. Howe joined

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hands with Mr. Johnstone in a demand that the Crown should confer, in clear and unequivocal language, upon the Lieutenant-Governor the authority to give the people responsible government as they had it in England, assuring the British Government that the "Royal prerogative" would be as safe in Nova Scotia under such a system as it was in England, the end sought would have been attained, and the friction and bitterness begotten in the Province would have been avoided. The only course possible to a great statesman, always inflexible in his adherence to justice and consistency, was the course marked out by Mr. Johnstone. But the elements of the agitator, and at times, of the demagogue, were so strong in Mr. Howe that impatience sometimes impelled him to courses not dictated by sound principles and his better judgment. If the Governor and his Cabinet were between him and the Imperial Government, and it was the latter who should be attacked, he would attack the former because near at hand, and more sensitive to the impact of his onsets. This course Mr. Johnstone denounced and resisted with all his might.

Mr. Howe further says:

"I do not gather from the learned Solicitor-General's speech that he is a determined opponent of this system, and I should think it very strange if he was, when the Solicitor-General of Upper Canada, recently appointed, has declared that he has joined Mr. Thompson's administration, because he has reason to believe that the Government will be conducted on the principle of responsibility, and that the moment he feels that there is a diminution of parliamentary confidence, he shall resign not only his seat in the Council, but his Crown office also."

CHAPTER X.

LORD DURHAM'S MEETING WITH DELEGATES AT QUEBEC.

At this crisis remote events contributed to the settlement in British-American Colonies of the burning question of responsible government. The rebellion in both Upper and Lower Canada, in 1837, penetrated the obtuse apathy and disturbed the indifference of the British Cabinet, the Commons and the House of Lords. It was not the protests of Baldwin, Howe and other Reformers which opened the eyes of the Government and stirred Downing Street into honest activity. It was the crack of Papineau and Mackenzie muskets—a desperate logic in pleading for civil rights—and not the eloquence of Colonial Reformers and the importunate demands of delegations from the oversea Provinces that resulted in the taking of the active measures about to be described. The armed resistance in Canada suggested a repetition of the experience of George III. and Lord North. Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, with neither imagination nor prescience, proved a failure in acting between the Imperial and Colonial Governments. He was succeeded by Lord Normanby and Lord John Russell. Some of the demands of the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces were conceded, but while the Legislatures represented the people, the authority still remained in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governors and their Cabinets. The taking up arms in both Ontario and Quebec created an acute stage in Colonial affairs. Up to this time, the Melbourne Ministry, weak and inefficient at home, had been a failure in its treatment of England's dependencies. But the fear of a second revolt of American Colonies, the first being now only about sixty years old, changed self-reliance and stolid indifference into paternal zeal and a commendable effort to redress the grievances which for years had fallen upon dull ears. Lord John Russell looked about him for a suitable agent to undertake the difficult task of

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restoring quiet, and of giving satisfaction to the disturbed Provinces in America.

The Earl of Durham, at this juncture, had just returned from Russia, where, as ambassador, he had gained the reputation of a wise statesman and a skilled diplomatist. He was offered the position of High Commissioner and Governor-General of Canada with extraordinary powers, which, after due consideration, he declined; but he finally yielded to the urgent solicitations of both the Queen personally and her Cabinet.

On the 24th of April, 1838, with Lady Durham and a well-selected staff, he sailed for Quebec, where, on the last of May, he safely landed. He took up his residence in the ancient Castle of St. Louis, and made it the centre of five months of phenomenal labours for all the Provinces of British North America.

Before the arrival of Lord Durham, Sir John Colborne, a Waterloo veteran, had suppressed the rebellion in both the Canadas. But there still remained in the hearts of those who had taken part in the uprising, or had sympathized with it, much bitterness and sullen opposition. Lord Durham, as an advanced Liberal in British politics, was acceptable to the Liberals in all the Provinces. He was eminently qualified to placate the people, moderate the civil strife, also the antagonisms of race and religion.

He found in the Quebec jails a number of political prisoners, untried; also a condition of public sentiment, making it impossible to look for impartial verdicts from any jury that might be selected. Relying upon his own delegated authority, he decided to expatriate the prisoners to another Colony. This was acceptable to the prisoners, and an expedient that evoked popular favour. In addition to this act of clemency he proclaimed on the coronation day of Queen Victoria a general pardon for all other political offenders. As Bermuda was a Crown Colony, Lord Durham had looked to the British Government to implement his authority in sending the eight prisoners to that Province over which, of course, he had no jurisdiction. But personal hostility and party politics bitterly disappointed the Earl in this matter. Instead of the co-operation of the British Cabinet, which had been lavishly promised, in its weakness it quailed before the violent protests of personal enemies

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and political opponents. The Duke of Wellington, then leader of the Opposition, and Lord Brougham smarting, it was believed, for having been omitted in the construction of the Melbourne Cabinet, united in denouncing the acts of the Governor-General as those of a high-minded dictator. The Government weakened and yielded to this storm of protest, and disallowed Earl Durham's ordinance of sending the political prisoners to Bermuda. Previous to this, with characteristic energy and executive skill and ability, he had obtained from the most reliable sources the true state of matters in all the Colonies. He had summoned the Governors from the Maritime Provinces to meet him at Quebec. He had also asked for delegations from their legislatures.

Sir Colin Campbell was at the time Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir John Harvey of New Brunswick, and Sir Charles Fitzroy of Prince Edward Island. The Legislature of the latter Colony sent as delegates George Dalrymple, J. H. Haviland and Joseph Pope. From New Brunswick the delegates were Charles Simonds, Henry Peters, E. Botsford, Hugh Johnston, James Kirk and John Robertson. The names of the delegates from Nova Scotia were J. W. Johnstone, J. B. Uniacke, William Young and M. B. Almon. H.M. steamship *Media* was sent to take the delegates to Quebec. In his report to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Durham says: "These delegates were selected and sent for the purpose of conferring with me on the subject of the general arrangement for the future government of the North American Colonies."

Mr. Howe's name does not appear in the list of the Nova Scotia delegates to Quebec. Why this was the case is a pertinent enquiry.

Anticipating the coming of Lord Durham, William Young had moved in the Assembly for the appointment of a Committee to confer with the Governor-General either at Halifax or at Quebec. Mr. Howe, for no valid reasons given, opposed this motion. It was, however, carried by a small majority. Mr. Howe secured the passage of a resolution rescinding it, and dismissing the Committee of which he was a member. As soon as the House was prorogued, he left for the Old Country, and did not return until the 15th of November. In his absence Lord Durham came, delegates were appointed by the Execu-

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tive, met the Governor-General at Quebec and returned to Halifax. About the time Mr. Howe reached home, Lord Durham landed in London. In Mr. Howe's obstructive opposition at this time, an opposition not heartily shared in by his party, may be found the seeds of the conflicts which subsequently he had, first with Sir Colin Campbell and later with Lord Falkland. On himself alone was the responsibility of not being one of the delegates from Nova Scotia to meet the Governor-General in 1838.

Word first reached Lord Durham, through New York, of the action of the British Government in the matter of sending prisoners to Bermuda. He well understood that he had no authority to expatriate Quebec citizens to this Crown Colony; but he assumed that what he lacked in authority would be supplied by the Home Government. No jury in Quebec would render an impartial verdict against their fellow-citizens then in jail on the charge of treason. Indeed, Lord Durham's policy was to pacify the entire population, and thus create conditions favourable for responsible government. So keenly did he feel his treatment by the Imperial Government that on one occasion while addressing the assembled delegates, his feelings so overcame him that he was unable for a time to proceed with his address.

Strong sympathy in these circumstances was expressed for the noble Earl and Lady Durham by all classes of citizens. Without conferring with the British Government he decided to surrender his commission and return to England. Becoming aware of this the delegates from the Maritime Provinces resolved to present him with an address. In this address the policy of Lord Durham is approvingly referred to. It was regarded as sound and satisfactory by all the delegates from the Maritime Provinces. The following is an extract from this address:

"In a review of the short period of the Government under your Lordship's personal direction, we behold your Lordship, with that feeling so congenial to Englishmen, which turns with repugnance from the shedding of blood on the scaffold, blending mercy with justice; while returning tranquillity had already rewarded an administration conducted without the sacrifice of human life, and we were aware that improved laws and institutions were in preparation, which, under a Govern-

LORD DURHAM AT QUEBEC.

ment firm, mild and impartial, gave to the future the reasonable prospect of restored confidence and renovated prosperity.

“For the Provinces with which we are more personally connected, we saw in the warm interest, the enlightened and comprehensive views, and extrusive powers of your Lordship, the dawning of vigour and improvement hitherto unknown. With your Lordship’s departure, these anticipations will, we fear, fade away; but though it should be our lot to see these Provinces continue feeble and nerveless, compared with the conditions at which their natural advantages entitle them to aim, yet we shall ever remember with gratitude the statesman who, exalted in the first rank, and treading on the highest eminences of political life in our common country, hesitated not, at the call of his Sovereign, with disinterested zeal to undertake an office of unparalleled difficulty, and has given to these distant territories the benefit of his enlarged experience and vigorous conceptions. Your Lordship’s comprehensive mind has opened to our view the animating prospect of great public improvements advancing our common welfare, and which will ever associate your Lordship’s name with the highest prosperity of the Colonies.

“We are unwilling to abandon the hope that your Lordship may yet continue in the administration of your high office.”

J. W. Johnstone heads the list of names appended to this address. Those familiar with his style, and who have a just appreciation of his gifts, acquirements and culture, cannot fail to discern that he was the author of this document. He carefully avoids an open rebuke of the British Ministry in its treatment of Lord Durham. That, on no grounds, could have been justified; but he must not fail to express such sympathy with Lord Durham as, in the circumstances, necessarily implied a condemnation of the treatment he had received. Indeed, from the time that Sir Colin Campbell pressed J. W. Johnstone to enter his Cabinet to the end of his public, political life, so distinguished were his talents and so dominating his great personality that no other man from the Maritime Provinces could have been selected to write the address in the special circumstances, fraught as they were with interests at once most delicate, important and far-reaching. Earl and delegates together were clearing away the rubbish and laying the foundations of the great Canada of to-day, and the greater Canada of the future, to be, let it be hoped, an integral part of the Empire of Great Britain for all time.

CHAPTER XI.

LORD DURHAM'S REPORT.

LORD DURHAM, in the report of his mission to Canada, says:

"I have obtained useful information from the communications which I have had with the Lieutenant-Governors of the Eastern Provinces, as well as with individuals connected with them; but, above all, from the frequent and lengthened discussions which passed between me and the gentlemen which composed the deputations sent to me last autumn from each of the three Eastern Provinces, for the purpose of discussing the principles as well as details of a plan of general government for the whole of the British North American Colonies. . . . The delegates with whom I had the good fortune to carry on the discussions were gentlemen of so much ability, so high in station and so patriotic in their views, that their information could not fail to give me a very fair view of the working of the Colonial constitution under somewhat different circumstances in each.

"In my account of Lower Canada, I have described the general characteristics of the system common to all, and adduced the example of the Eastern Provinces in illustration of the defects of the common system. In all these Provinces we find representative government coupled with an irresponsible Executive; we find the same constant collision between the branches of the government; the same abuse of the powers of the representative bodies, owing to the anomaly of their position, aided by the want of good municipal institutions, and the same constant interference of the Imperial administration in matters which should be left wholly to the Provincial Governments."

Of the Maritime Provinces, Lord Durham says:

"That in them there has been recently a considerable departure from the ordinary course of the Colonial system, and a nearer approach to sound constitutional practice. This is remarkably the case in New Brunswick, a Province which was till a short time ago one of the most constantly harassed by

LORD DURHAM'S REPORT

collisions between the executive and legislative powers; the collision has now been in part terminated by the cession of the revenues of the Province to the Assembly. . . . The policy of the Government in this matter has, at any rate, put an end to disputes about the revenue. . . . But a more important advance had been made toward the practice of the British constitution, in a recent change which has been made in the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Colony, whereby I found from the representatives of the present official body in the delegation from New Brunswick, the administrative power of the Province had been taken out of the hands of the old official party and placed in those of the members of the former Liberal opposition. The constitutional practice has been, in fact, fully carried into effect in this Province; the Government had been taken out of the hands of those who could not obtain the assent of the majority of the Assembly, and placed in the hands of those who possessed its confidence.

"In Nova Scotia some, but not a complete, appropriation has been made to the same judicious course."

William Young, afterwards Sir William, one of the Nova Scotia delegates, wrote Lord Durham a personal letter. Of this letter Lord Durham says: "The questions at issue, though doubtless of very considerable importance, involve no serious discussion between the Government and the people. The majority of the Opposition is stated by the official party to be very uncertain, and is admitted by themselves to be very narrow." Mr. Young said in part:

"Abuses in Nova Scotia have never reached the same irritating or fearful height which we have witnessed in other Provinces. The substantial blessings of an enlightened, and, upon the whole, an impartial and upright administration of law, of perfect freedom of conscience and the unfettered exercise of industry, of the absence of oppression in every form, have been long enjoyed by us, and have doubtless largely contributed in fostering that ardent attachment to the British Crown and institutions, which may be fairly said to be a universal feeling."

Mr. Young complained (1) of the administration of Crown lands; (2) the encroachment of the Americans on our fisheries; (3) the expense of the customs; (4) the matter of free ports; (5) salaries paid some officials too large; (6) the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils, and the Church of England's influence in both Councils.

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In his report Lord Durham unwittingly sustained the position taken by Mr. Johnstone in contending against Mr. Howe. Mr. Johnstone said, "Let us have responsible government by all means, but do not hold Sir Colin Campbell responsible for not introducing it. You attack the wrong party—attack the British Government." "The same constant interference of the Imperial Administration in matters which should be left wholly to the Provincial Governments," was Lord Durham's criticism on this point. He also shows that responsible government, as enjoyed in England, had not been granted to any one of the Provinces.

Again, in referring to the Maritime Provinces, Lord Durham says:

"If in these Provinces there has been less formidable discontent, and less obstruction of the regular course of Government, it is because in them there has been recently a considerable departure from the ordinary course of the Colonial system and a nearer approach to a sound constitutional practice."

Reference is here made by Lord Durham to the state of the Legislative and Executive Councils after Mr. Johnstone had been appointed to them.

At Quebec two distinguished men found themselves standing at the same viewpoint from which to study Colonial and Imperial affairs. Lord Durham had examined them in the House of Lords from the standpoint of an English Liberal; J. W. Johnstone, as was his invariable habit, by a searching examination, had considered in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, the interests both of the parent state and of her Colonies. But now at Quebec, with the other delegates, in a succession of meetings with the Governor-General, the whole matter was reviewed. All came to a substantial agreement. It was the verdict, growing out of these prolonged conferences, that the people of the Colonies should be entrusted with self-government—responsible government.

With this intelligent conviction the Governor-General returned to London and the delegates to their homes. Lord Durham's report on the one hand, and the subsequent public life of J. W. Johnstone on the other, are proof of the prescient statesmanship of these two men. Lord Brougham got a taste

LORD DURHAM'S REPORT

of the sweetness of revenge in the success which attended his efforts to humiliate Lord Durham, to whom he seemed to owe nothing but enmity. The disallowance of his ordinance in sending prisoners to Bermuda had so weakened and discouraged the Governor-General that he resolved to return to England. On the first day of November, with a wounded, heavy heart, he left Quebec, but not without marked and general demonstrations of sympathy and confidence from all classes of citizens. The ship in which he and his attendants embarked was towed down the St. Lawrence in a blinding snowstorm.

On his arrival in England he seemed to be careless respecting the justification of his Canadian policy, and gave himself up to the laborious task of framing from the mass of his accumulated material the report which has been called the *Magna Charta* of Canadian liberty.

On leaving England for Canada, Lord Durham took with him two Englishmen of unsavoury reputation. One was Thomas Turton, who, at the time, was a member of the Calcutta Bar. The other was Gibbon Wakefield, who had been concerned in an abduction case, for which he was imprisoned for three years in Newgate. He took both of them into his service, making Turton one of his secretaries and a member of his Executive Council. Viscount Melbourne, then Prime Minister, in writing to Lord Durham, said:

“It is incredible that a man of common sense should show such ignorance or such disregard of public feeling and opinion as you have done in the selection of these two gentlemen. If their abilities and powers were superhuman, they would not counterbalance the discredit of their characters.

“Only consider how you injure your own private character by the association of such men with yourself and your family. Only consider how you injure the Queen, whose age and character command such respect and reverence.”

This plain speaking is somewhat modified by other utterances of Lord Melbourne. In writing to Lord John Russell, he delivered himself in this fashion:

“Now Durham has so run at me with those letters of his, and I dislike him so much, that there is no course that would please me so well as setting him at defiance.

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"It is very odd to see the terror that Durham inspires. Everybody has always been afraid of him. They seem to fear him much more than they do Brougham."

To an earl seeking a marquissate, Lord Melbourne wrote:

"My dear —,

"How could you be such a d——d fool."*

In a despatch to Charles Poulett Thompson, Lord Melbourne, when in a judicial state of mind, has this to say about the High Commissioner:

"Whether Durham's resignation was right or wrong is a question which may be viewed in different lights, and upon which there may be much difference of opinion. His provocation was great, and though I think he brought it upon himself by his rash and imprudent measure of doing things in themselves right, it required much prudence and forbearance to submit to it."

It is flattering to Nova Scotia that at the time Charles Poulett Thompson was Governor-General, it appears that the Government of the Province had been for eighty years and was then, in the character of the men who governed it—in their integrity and efficiency—in sharp contrast with the Government of Ontario, of which Poulett Thompson said:

"The Government has never taken the slightest lead in the introduction of measures of legislation or attempted to guide the proceedings of Parliament; the result is that the Assembly has usurped many of the rights of the Crown, that the most disgusting jobbery has prevailed, the finances have been ruined, and not a measure beneficial to the Province has been carried through. The department of administration is, if possible, worse still. There is no system, no control. The public officers are most of them defaulters, and the business is in the utmost confusion."†

William Young, an opponent of the Nova Scotia Government, in a letter to Lord Durham, made these statements:

"The respectability and private virtues of the gentlemen who

* Melbourne Papers, page 493.

† Melbourne Papers, page 446.

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sit at the two Colonial Boards are admitted by all; it is their political and personal predilections that the people complain of; they desire reforming and liberal principles to be more fully represented and advocated there, as they are in the Assembly. Religious dissensions are, happily, unknown among us.”*

For the eighty years previous to the adoption of responsible government, the history of legislation in Nova Scotia had been of uniform integrity. Men having control at the time Lord Durham came to Canada—such men as Enos Collins, Joseph Allison, Samuel Cunard, J. W. Johnstone and Joseph Howe—made anything approaching the corruption in Ontario utterly impossible. Had responsible government been able to maintain this high standard of honesty and honour in all the Provinces, they would now have a history in this respect of which they cannot boast, especially in their united capacity.

* Lord Durham's Report, page 140.

CHAPTER XII.

NEW ERA IN CANADIAN POLITICS.

THE brief stay of Lord Durham in Canada marked an epoch in Canadian politics. At this date each Colony started out on a new career. In looking at the beginning of this era, it is well to take into account the prevailing sentiment among British statesmen.

Lord John Russell had stated that an Executive, which should be responsible to the representative assembly in a British Colony, and not to the English Government, was inconsistent with the relations which ought to subsist between a Colony and the Mother Country; and that it would be better to say at once, "Let the two countries separate rather than for us to pretend to govern the Colony afterwards."

The Duke of Wellington said: "Local responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain are completely incompatible."

In harmony with the foregoing was the reply of the British Cabinet to the memorial of 1837, embodying the substance of Mr. Howe's twelve resolutions: "The responsibility of the Executive in a Colony to the Assembly as the Executive in England is to the Commons is inadmissible."

Charles Buller, who was chief secretary to Lord Durham as High Commissioner and Governor-General of Canada, said that indifference to the Colonies in England was such that "the appeal to the Mother Country was in reality an appeal to the Colonial Office."

Stuart J. Reid, author of the life of Sydney Smith, Lord John Russell and the first Earl of Durham, gives this as his opinion about the sentiment in England towards the Colonies at that time: "Members on both sides of the House of Commons show a curious apathy, which amounted at times to positive indifference, when matters of vital interest to the Colonies came up for discussion. Statesmen who ought to know better,

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like Lord John Russell and Lord Glenelg, seem inspired by a belief in the omniscience as well as the omnipotence of Downing Street."

The report of Lord Durham, if it is to be understood in these days, should be read in the light of the sentiment prevailing at Downing Street and in the British Parliament, as well as in the lurid light of the rebellion in the two Canadas. In it the sentiment of the English Government, tenaciously held up to that time, is reversed, and made to harmonize with the views advocated by Reformers in all the Colonies.

At this time, so far as can be learned by the reports of the delegates which met Lord Durham at Quebec, New Brunswick was farthest advanced on the way to responsible government. The Executive in that Province was made up chiefly of Reformers, and thereby was in harmony with the representative branch. Whether the principle of such responsibility had been adopted before the change to practical harmony had been secured, does not appear; but the Liberals in the working of the Government had nothing of which to complain.

In the two Canadas, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, the Executives were under the control of the Conservative or Tory party, and in the representative branches the Liberals or Reformers had majorities. Tradition in Nova Scotia would lead one to believe that Mr. Howe, previous to this time, had been the dominating mind, not in his own Province alone, but in the other Provinces of British North America as well. But the records of that period do not sustain these traditions so grateful to Nova Scotians. He seems to have been one of a number who contended manfully and wisely for reform, and doubtless contributed a large share of influence in that direction. It is, however, nowhere evident that he was the outstanding and ruling mind among the Colonists before the coming of Lord Durham. Indeed, New Brunswick was now in advance of all the other Provinces in the pursuit of the people's rights.

In Nova Scotia, however, the Executive was so imbued with the responsible principle that there was but little to complain of in the matter of Executive obstruction. This is granted by William Young in a letter to Lord Durham, as one of the delegates who met him at Quebec.

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Responsible government and the confederation of the British North American Provinces were the fundamental recommendations of Lord Durham's report, in which the Maritime delegates had heartily concurred.

It was at this juncture that Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone appeared as opposing leaders. They both looked out upon the future of Great Britain and her Colonial possessions—especially her dependencies in North America. It was an occasion in which seers and doers had a grand opportunity for employing their gifts. British statesmen, as far as they saw and uttered their views, respecting the importance of Britain's oversea possessions and the policy for their government, had clouded visions and pursued an obstructive course. No better occasion could be imagined in which genuine statesmanship could show itself. Lord Durham frankly admitted that his knowledge gained in Canada carried him to the findings recorded in his report. At this stage in the history of Britain and her Colonies, J. W. Johnstone was on trial as a prescient and able statesman and a wise leader. Let his talents and claims be determined by the record he made then and afterwards.

The views of Mr. Johnstone may be found in a speech delivered by him in the Legislative Council in 1841, of which a report appeared in the press, condensed, no doubt, and perhaps not a full and fair presentation of his political opinions:

"The Solicitor-General said that he would take a much humbler position than that followed by the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, and who was so capable in dispensing the flowers of rhetoric; he would give a simple narrative containing some views of the situation of the country at the present time, and a comparison with the past. There were few feelings more unworthy of men, or more calculated to retard his usefulness than subserviency to political opinion and the yielding of his views to the changing views of those around him; yet, on the other hand, the mind was ill-constituted that did not value the esteem and respect of its fellows. The House and the country had a right to expect from each of its members his opinions on matters of importance at the present time, and some remarks on the principles which might be expected to mark his course.

“ He would commence his review with the session of 1837. The address of that year lay at the foundation of all the changes spoken of. The object in passing the resolution on which that address was based was to effect great changes in the constitution of the country, or the mode in which its government was to be administered. They contained complaints of the combination of legislative and executive functions in that House and of its secret deliberations. These produced the memorable despatch, which stated that the Councils were to contain representatives of all the great interests of the country, that members were to be introduced from the rural districts, and that, as regarded religious denominations, all appearance of invidious distinctions was to be carefully avoided. These important principles were recommended to the Governor's attention in the construction of his Councils. The next despatch of the same year stated that the opinion contained in the address of the Assembly, that that body should exercise a control corresponding to that of the Commons over the Ministry, was incompatible with colonial government, and should be denied; the right of refusing the supplies, in extreme cases, the defence of the privileges conferred by the constitution, was admitted; the opinion respecting two Councils instead of one was deferred to, although not without some doubts of its wisdom; and it is stated that a possession of a seat in the Assembly enhanced the claim to a seat in the Legislative Council. Another despatch, dated October, in the same year, followed, based on the same principles, but carrying them more into detail. The principles for the formation of the Councils were more fully laid down, and respecting the civil list, an offer was made to surrender the casual and territorial revenues for a yearly provision of £8,000, which was to be appropriated by Her Majesty, certain salaries being made permanent. The Council then consisted of twelve persons, who had grown up in the country, and had by industry and integrity gained fortune and influence. The Governor retained these gentlemen, intending to distribute them so as to prevent the undue influence complained of. His Excellency was forming Councils containing a limited number of members, having twelve already appointed, who had long held their office, and were not expected to retire. Many circumstances regulated His Excellency's choice at that

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time. He was constrained to take a sufficient number from the town of Halifax, for the transaction of the judicial as well as political functions which belonged to the Executive Council, and difficulty occurred in getting persons from the country, able and willing to reside in town during the session, bearing their own expenses. Several declined the honour. It appeared by recent explanations that a seat had been offered to the leader* of the popular party, who by his talents had attained to much influence, and another to another gentleman on the same side. These were declined. Thus the whole matter became involved in difficulties which were beyond the control of the Governor. These conditions should modify views respecting the constructions of that period. Efficiency, influence, the proportion of interests, the provisions and denominations, had all to be taken into account, and made the selection a difficult task. He had no hesitation in saying that it was the earnest desire of Sir Colin Campbell to carry out his instructions, and if, in endeavouring to do so, the balance was lost, such was not his intention, and was caused by circumstances beyond his control.

“In this state of things the session of 1838 commenced. In that session the address passed, complaining that the Councils had not been modelled agreeably to the instructions, and also complaining respecting the civil list. It stated that Her Majesty’s Councils were unfavourable to reform, but that the evils arose from causes which were in operation before His Excellency came to the colony, and his conduct generally met with approval. In that session several measures of a leading character came before the Assembly, and it might be well to inquire how far collision between the branches occurred on these. One of these was the Oaths’ Bill. That House concurred in the measure, and passed an address on the subject. Another was the Quadrennial Bill. That was rejected in consequence of the necessity of changes in the election law. It mattered not, however, whether it passed in that session or in the one subsequent, or the next subsequent; the Assembly term did not expire until 1840. There was no collision on principle respecting that. The Judiciary Bill was another of these measures. A bill was sent up which went to impair the power

* Mr. Howe.

of each of the courts to take from each one judge. The Legislative Council thought it unwise to make both courts ineffective, and considered that the change that was to be made should place the administration of justice on a broader basis. The bill was thrown out and another sent to the Assembly abolishing the inferior part. The principle of that bill had its origin in that House, and it had been since protested in the Assembly. The Civil List Bill had been instanced as one of the evidences of a want of harmony. But that bill was not based on the terms specified in the despatch which submitted the revenues, and in rejecting it that House only carried out the views of the Government.

“ In 1839 came Lord Glenelg’s answer to the remonstrance of the Assembly respecting the Councils. Changes had been propounded, and even then the minister put his hand on the dawning of responsibility. Respecting the Councils, the Assembly was told that the Governor would not be advised to take further steps at that time, they having been but recently appointed. On the civil list, advice was withheld that reductions should be made, or that certain salaries should be subject to annual votes. “ Having failed in obtaining what they desired, the Assembly in 1839 determined to send a delegation to England. The principal objects of that mission were a change in the Councils on the principle of responsibility, as developed in their resolutions; the arrangement of the civil list question; of the union of customs and excise and other minor matters. During that session the Civil List Bill had not been sent to the Legislative Council, the Judiciary Bill had been dismissed in the Assembly, and the Quadrennial Bill failed there. The only subject of collision between the branches was the expense of the delegation. Difference occurred on that, because that House considered it had equal rights with the Assembly respecting the expression of its sentiments, and desired corresponding provision to be made.

“ At the close of 1839, the subjects in controversy had been withdrawn from the Provincial Government, and taken to the foot of the throne; and a result to be final between the contending parties was to be looked for. Lord Normanby transmitted a despatch, on the matters which had been brought to his

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notice by the delegates. Respecting the Councils, His Lordship adopted the principles of Lord Glenelg's despatch; he could not advise a reconstruction, but recommended the offering of seats in the Legislative Council to leading members of the House of Assembly. The Assembly remained unsatisfied. The report of Lord Durham appeared, and an important despatch from Lord John Russell respecting the tenure of office of Executive Councillors. In 1840, at an early part of the session, the Assembly passed a resolution declaring their want of confidence in the Executive Council. It was brought to His Excellency's notice, who had the previous steps of the House and the action of the Home Government on the subject before him. He answered that the subject had been submitted to the Government, and all that he could do was to refer to the despatch which resulted. This answer produced an address in which the views of the Assembly were more distinctly stated, and which pointed out the despatch of Lord John Russell instead of that of Lord Normanby, alluded to by the Governor, as that by which the Province was to be governed. They considered that that despatch gave power to change and remodel, so as to produce harmony between the branches. Their object was to induce the adoption of immediate responsibility, and to cause the dismissal of the Council by His Excellency. The Assembly had not, up to that time, laid before the Home Government any request that such a change should be conceded. By the address the Governor was called on to dismiss his advisers as a result of a vote of want of confidence; that would be a recognition of direct responsibility. Would anything justify His Excellency in conceding such a request? He replied that he felt it his duty to ascertain the opinion of the Home Government on the subject. This produced the address for His Excellency's recall, on the ground, as it appeared, of his not consenting to accede to the views of the Assembly on their vote of want of confidence. The point at issue was not the mere mode of constructing the Councils, it was direct responsibility in the forcing of that principle on the representative of Her Majesty. The next inquiry was, in what position were the political affairs of the Province at the present time—how far had responsibility been conceded?

“In point of fact, it was not the intention to recognize the

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direct responsibility which had been developed in the address. To concede such would be inconsistent with colonial relations. The Governor was responsible to the minister, who was responsible to the Crown and Parliament. If responsibility had not been conceded, what had? He felt in attempting to answer that question, that the subject was incapable of exact definition. The responsibility of the House had grown up from circumstances. No statute or resolution contained any clearly defined limits of the powers of the Lords or Commons. The constitution of which British subjects were so proud depended on the operation of principles reduced to practice, regulated, not by defined rules or statutes, but by the good sense and intelligence of the people. If the prerogative pressed hard, it met with a counter-balancing check; if the claims of the people pressed on the prerogative, opposite checks were called into action. The principles were undefined, but adapted themselves to exigencies. So should it be here and everywhere, where it was desired to have similar results. The moment attempts at defining were made, principles difficult to be controlled and calculated to cause dangerous conflicts would be called into existence. They should be allowed to operate, practically regulated by the good sense and good feeling of all the branches. Direct responsibility was inconsistent with the circumstances of the country. What were the characteristics of the great country to which the Province belonged, and which possessed responsibility? The orders of society there were various and well-defined. There were the manufacturing, agricultural and moneyed classes; the popular feeling was modified, and undue claims repressed by the operation of those classes, one or the other. The Province was in very different circumstances. Except the large towns the whole country was united in feeling. None were much elevated above others; all had nearly the same interests, and if direct responsibility existed here and undue power were sought, corresponding checks would not appear. The whole pressure would come on the Crown, and a collision between the people and the Government would be produced. Independent of colonial relations, that responsibility could not be safely possessed.

"The changes could not be defined in specific terms. It was not a change of constitution as had been said elsewhere. The

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three branches continued as before; the change simply was, that it became the duty of the representative of Her Majesty to ascertain the wishes and feelings of the people through their representatives, to make the measures of government conform to these, as far as was consistent with his duty to the Mother Country. This was not to be effected by any declaration that he should do so, not by any power of the Assembly to see that it was not done, but by calling to his Councils individuals possessing influence in the Legislature, who might advise measures that would secure confidence and harmony. Suppose they did not command that confidence, was the Governor bound, at the bidding of the people, to change his Councils? If that question were put in writing it would receive a negative from the Home Government. Yet who but would say that in the present position of the Executive some such power existed? If the Assembly passed such a vote, the Governor would do more than inquire whether that was the fact—he would ask the grounds of it; if he found that sufficient, he might feel it requisite to make such changes as would comport to the general well-being and cause harmony; but if he found the complaint not of that character, it might be presumed that changes would not be made, but that he would appeal to the people, place himself on their good sense, and ask would they return men inclined to perplex and harass and make unreasonable claims.

“He (the Solicitor-General) could not lay his hand on any theoretic change. The system was not that sought last year by the action of the Assembly on the vote of want of confidence. Lord John Russell, by his despatch, refused that form of government, and he (the Solicitor-General) could not but retain his opinion, that the Assembly then was pressing for principles that could not be wisely conceded.

“The power of the Executive was heretofore very indefinite. How far they would now be considered responsible would depend upon the discretion of those who administered the government. The Governor would take their advice when he considered it expedient to do so. And he would think it expedient in most cases, or they would be placed in difficulty respecting measures which were beyond their influence. Nothing would more tend to preserve the harmony desired than that the responsibility of measures in the House of Assem-



HON. J. W. JOHNSTONE.

(At the age of 50 years.)

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bly should be thrown on the Executive Council. They should have the burthen of as much responsibility as consisted with the exercise of the duties of government. They would thus be more at liberty to vindicate than they could be if advice had not been sought and taken.

“What, it might be inquired, were the duties which devolved on the people? Was it wise, under circumstances, to offer anything like unnecessary opposition to the administration of government. Could any doubt that it was the object of desire of Her Majesty’s ministers to promote the welfare of Nova Scotia? What interest had they in anything but the prosperity of the country? In measures proposed by them which did not meet the views of the people, it would be well to think that they were directed by better judgments than their own. It was the duty of every man to do what he could to promote public harmony, satisfied that the Government had conceded a valuable change, which could only be exhibited in practice. The people should exercise a sound discretion, feeling that in their connection with the Mother Country they possessed the richest blessing, receiving strength which could not be otherwise obtained. To check that connection would be greatly prejudicial to peace and good order and prosperity. If Great Britain did not extend her protection and benefits, the Province would sink into insignificance, into dependence on a country which had many things adverse to provincial feelings. If the people did not know when they should be content, who could predict the result? Government had again attempted to remove dissatisfaction; if it should fail, what was to be hoped for? A collision that was most to be deprecated, not between the representatives of the people and the representative of the Sovereign, but between the people and the Sovereign.

“He felt much satisfaction, in reviewing political proceedings of late years, that none of the principles maintained by himself, in that House and elsewhere, had been disapproved by the judgment of Her Majesty’s ministers. The principles now in force were those he had sustained throughout. Respecting responsibility, no man could object to the principle; the only question was the application of that principle for the best interests of the whole people.”

CHAPTER XIII.

BEGINNING OF STEAMSHIPS AND DAWN OF CONFEDERATION.

IN 1838, steamships and confederation eclipsed all other subjects, both in Britain and her American Colonies.

On his way to England, in the summer of that year, on board the ten-gun frigate *Tyrian*, Mr. Howe saw the *Sirius*, from New York, on her trial trip. The *Tyrian* was rolling about in a dead calm. The steamer stopped and took the mails from the packet, Mr. Howe and the captain going on board the steamer to have a chat with her captain and other officers. After an interesting conversation and a glass of wine, the *Sirius* steamed away out of sight, leaving the sail packet idly floating on the waves. This was an object lesson keenly felt and never forgotten by Mr. Howe.

In England he met Henry Bliss and William Crane, from New Brunswick. Uniting with them, he exerted himself among the colonists in England to create a sentiment in favour of immediate communication by steam between England and Halifax. Mr. Howe also addressed a letter to Lord Glenelg, then Colonial Secretary, strongly urging upon the Government the importance of the undertaking. He felt assured that the days of the ten-gun packets—coffins afloat—were numbered, that they would soon be supplanted by steamers. More than this, he, as well as others, had the vision of boats propelled by steam in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, around the coasts of Nova Scotia, and in the Bay of Fundy. In Glasgow, Mr. Howe saw men working on the machinery of the *British Queen*. The enterprising merchant of Halifax, Samuel Cunard, about this time joined with other men, and entered into a contract for a line of steamers from England to Boston and Halifax.

Mr. Johnstone, too, came under the influence of the exciting prospect of travel and transportation by steam. The little steamer, a mere tugboat, was sent by Lord Durham from Que-

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bec to carry Sir Colin Campbell and the delegates to the ancient capital to meet the High Commissioner. Like the telegraph and the telephone of later birth, steam vessels seem to have come into existence as if by magic, and soon ceased to be a novelty.

In the Governor's speech in 1839, the contemplated steamship service had a prominent place. Sir Samuel Cunard received the pledge of £60,000 sterling a year for seven years for the line of steamers from England to Halifax and Boston. They were to commence their service May 1st, 1840. So great was the excitement over this subject that it was estimated that fifty thousand people assembled to see a few steamers leave New York for England and France.

After arriving in Canada, Lord Durham received a despatch from the Colonial Secretary informing him that the Government was considering this matter of a line of boats between Britain and the Colonies. Doubtless the Colonial Secretary believed this intelligence would be an element of strength in Lord Durham's mediatorial labours at Quebec. Mr. Howe's letter, too, may have influenced the Secretary.

Statesmen and political geniuses in 1838 taxed their inventive skill in devising plans for the confederation of the North American Provinces. Judging in the light of Confederation, now actual for forty years, John S. Thompson, father of the late Sir J. S. D. Thompson, seems to have a good claim for foresight in outlining plans for the union of the Canadas and the Lower Provinces.

Mr. Howe left him in charge of the *Nova Scotian* during his absence in the summer of 1838. As Lord Durham's discussion of the subject at Quebec with the delegates was made public, it soon became a vital and interesting question in all the Provinces. Mr. Thompson gave his opinions in an editorial of the paper of which he had charge. He certainly in this article exhibits keen foresight and constructive skill of a high degree of merit.

He considered the whole subject under five schemes:

"I. Colonial representation direct in the House of Commons.

"II. A new branch of Imperial Government, consisting of a Colonial Board, and which should not be subject to the charges attending other departments of the Cabinet.

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"III. A complete union of the Colonies, so that there should be only one legislative body for the whole.

"IV. A federal union which would admit of the present Local Assemblies with one controlling Legislature common to all.

"V. A union between Upper and Lower Canada, leaving the Lower Provinces as they now are." (That plan was perfected in 1840 and lasted until 1867.)

Of the fourth plan he said:

"The continuance of the Local Legislatures for local matters and a general Assembly of representatives, made up of members from all the Provinces, with its concomitant branches of Legislative Council and Governor-in-Chief, for the purpose of arranging all general matters, will, perhaps, finally have the greatest number of advocates. The local bodies each performing the local business of each Province, without being distracted by abstract politics and general questions—and the general body for the consideration of questions involved in states of peace and war, and affecting commerce and general improvements, controlled only by the British Government, form an outline of a system which, to the casual observer at least, recommends itself strongly. . . . The two Canadas have questions which, perhaps, cannot be satisfactorily decided by any other tribunal than that which union would give."

It is evident that Mr. Thompson was in favour of his fourth proposal, the one which has now had forty years of trial. Coupling with this his second proposal, in which is found the germ of the plan now discussed, to have the High Commissioners form a Colonial Board in London to represent Colonial matters and give information and act in harmony with the Colonial and Imperial Governments, he saw, seventy years ago, what Canada has to-day, or what she is now striving to obtain.

In the session of the Legislature of 1839, this burning question of Confederation of the Colonies came before both Houses. William Young and J. B. Uniacke reported to the Assembly and Mr. Johnstone to the Council. No formal report, however, was submitted, but simply the information gained by the delegates who had met the High Commissioner at Quebec.

Mr. Johnstone had decided convictions on the subject, and gave utterance to them in the Legislative Council. He told the Council that the objection to Confederation by the Lower Prov-

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inces for the reason that they would be a comparatively small part of the whole, was met by Lord Durham, who said their interests should be guaranteed by the provisions completing the undertaking. He also stated that they were loyal and dutiful, and should not be made to suffer in any arrangement that might be completed. In regard to his own views, Mr. Johnstone stated:

"It had been said that Halifax would be injured and the revenue of Nova Scotia drawn away by the union suggested; but he did not see how that could be, nor why the assertion had been made. Supposing that the interests of each could be preserved, and the Local Legislatures as now, how could the union of the five Provinces for the purposes of general government be injurious? The union would confer the power of removing many of the evils that now existed. For instance, there was the monetary system, and the regulation of trade and revenue, which required a general arrangement that was very difficult at present. If the means could be found for carrying on the government suggested, he had no doubt that it would be beneficial. This was his deliberate opinion, not formed by an interview with Lord Durham, but long before. All the delegates entertained the same views before reaching Quebec. . . .

"For many purposes of trade and material defence, the American Colonies had scarcely any feelings in common. If all were united, and, besides the Local Legislatures, contributed certain members each for a general Government, where general measures in which all were interested might be discussed, and where arrangements might be made in promotion of unrestricted intercourse and other matters, who could deny that the Provinces would be greatly advanced? He would not believe that the union would weaken the connection with the Mother Country. If he thought so, he would be against the scheme. He did not agree to the argument that the Colonies could be made strong at the cost of dependence. He contended that union and strength would not weaken dependence, because the Mother Country sought to rule the Colonies by sound constitutional principles only, with a due respect for the British rights of all the inhabitants, as if they lived in England. Unhappily, that was not the case in former days, when the principles of Colonial government were but ill-understood. If that course were to be repeated, he would say keep them weak, for if they became strong, independence will follow. But when he saw a better spirit showing itself more and more, he said, 'Make the Colonies strong and prosperous, and they will con-

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tinue bound from principles of interest and pride and affection.'

"He agreed that Nova Scotia was prosperous and happy; but it was in a small way compared with the field which wise confederation might present. The ability to repress a common enemy would be thus possessed, and, compared with the present state, was also an important consideration.

"The time should be expected to arrive when these Provinces should, to a great extent, support themselves, and when Great Britain would feel the burden too great of sending troops year after year to guard our frontier. If the Provinces were to be retained for any length of time, would it not become necessary that the inhabitants of them should themselves come to the struggle at the peril of property and life? They would meet an enemy much more effectively if united than as now, when they have no common bond of union. If the question had been opposed on its supposed impracticability and its known difficulties, he could easily understand that, but he was much astonished to find it put down on a wrong principle. If the Provinces were to develop their resources, strength to do so should be given, and it was self-evident that union was strength. How false was the argument that asserted that the Confederation would not be for the benefit of the Colonies, while it was also asserted that it would cause such an increase of strength that they would throw off British connection."

The whole address of Mr. Johnstone in the Council was in harmony with the foregoing—a part of the report published in the newspapers.

It appears that he was replying to objections. Who were the objectors? Among the more prominent of them were L. M. Wilkins and Alexander Stewart, both of whom, subsequently, were appointed to judgeships—the latter becoming Master of the Rolls.

At this date (1839), when the subject of Confederation was for the first time thrust upon public attention by the coming of Lord Durham, J. W. Johnstone was found holding definite and matured views respecting this projected plan. Not only were its general features clearly defined in his mind, but the details also, and he had in hand effective replies to all the objections conceived by such fruitful minds as those of the two judges named above.

In the foregoing extracts from Mr. Johnstone's speech, made

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in opposition to the distinguished men who opposed the scheme in the Council, is exhibited the foresight in the apprehension of sound principles of colonial government, the self-reliance and constructive skill of a great statesman.

Mr. Howe, it is true, gave some attention to the projected measure, but it was coupled with hesitation and the fear, even belief, that the Lower Provinces would be at a disadvantage and suffer injustice from the larger Provinces. Indeed, he seems not to have seized the subject as a practical one; but to have looked upon it as academic and theoretical. Mr. Johnstone, on the other hand, was seized with its great importance, and the probability of its issuing in a practical measure at an early date. He had faith in sound principles, in British statesmen and in each of the several Colonies that might be united. From this first view of Confederation by Mr. Johnstone at that early day, it will be interesting to note his attitude toward this great scheme from 1838 to 1864, when he withdrew from public life to become judge in equity in the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. It is true that the Colonies travelled slowly to the fulfilment of Mr. Johnstone's dream of Confederation; but when it did come, it was not too late for him to give it a helping hand and to express his assurance of its signal success.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOWE AGGRESSIVE.

THE session of the Nova Scotia Legislature of 1839 was an important one. The delegates, who had discussed Colonial matters with Lord Durham at Quebec, were able to inform the House that on two subjects Lord Durham had arrived at settled and final conclusions. The first was that responsible government, as enjoyed by England, from every point of view was essential to the welfare of the British American Colonies. Without it, the sad effects of the uprising in the two Canadas could not be effaced. Without self-government it would be in vain to look for the development of the many and rich resources of the Colonies essential to the prosperity, union and happiness of the people. In its absence jealousies would continue, and the Provinces would look across the border and see communities having no greater natural advantages than themselves, thrifty and happy, while with them would be the stagnation of arrested progress, heart-burnings and political contentions. Indeed, it was the inalienable right of each Colony to enjoy self-government rather than continue the policy of paternalism centred in Downing Street.

The other subject which had engaged the attention of the High Commissioner, and one essential to the best interests of the Colonies, was Confederation. Responsible government and Confederation would be the main features of his report. Without them the High Commissioner saw in the future no possibility of prosperous and happy Colonies. The published report was not yet to hand, but it was an open secret that the foregoing principles would be embodied in it. This knowledge, together with the concessions already made through Lord John Russell, brought the boon of responsible government within easy reach. To obtain it, it was only necessary to await the coming of Lord Durham's successor. In view of the concessions already made,

and the recommendations of Lord Durham, it would have been madness on the part of the British Government to have reversed its policy and to send out a Governor-General to enforce such a decision. That would have added fuel to the flame by kindling anew the fires of rebellion in the two Canadas, and in increasing resistance to Downing Street dictation in the eastern Provinces. No one saw this more clearly than Mr. Howe. His vision of cause and effect in this sphere especially was clear and definite. But what course did he take? Did he put the true state of the case before the Assembly and rejoice that they were within a step of the prize for which they had fought many a hard battle? He did nothing of the kind. He shut his eyes to all that had been done at Quebec in his absence in the Old Country, and again became the agitator when the cause for agitation had disappeared. He ignored the work of the delegates at Quebec. In his letter to Lord Durham, Mr. William Young had stated that he usually voted with the Reformers; that as things then were, there was not much of which the country could complain. But on his return, no sooner does he appear in the House of Assembly than, under Mr. Howe's masterly power as an agitator, he waxes as vehement and as indignant as the most violent of the party. He accepted the appointment to go to England as one of the two delegates to press the demands of the Assembly on the British Government, having for his associate Mr. Herbert Huntington, perhaps the most restless and extreme Reformer then in the House. Mr. Howe and the men who came to his help ignored all that the mission of Lord Durham promised, and renewed the struggle for responsible government as if nothing had been accomplished.

Mr. Johnstone made a plea for delay on the ground that the circumstances were not urgent, and that the British Government was just then dealing with foreign complications which might lead to war; but all in vain. The Assembly persisted in its demand for a delegation, but so embarrassed was Mr. Howe by the conditions in which he found himself, that a demand for responsible government was not put in the instructions given to the Assembly's delegates. In fact, one of the two delegates from the Legislative Council, who was sent, as Mr. Howe said, to oppose responsible government, while in England wrote a letter to Lord Normanby, then Colonial

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Secretary, advocating the principle of responsible government for Nova Scotia; and in the following session of the Legislature Mr. Howe used what Mr. Wilkins had said in his letter to the Colonial Secretary to strengthen his argument for the immediate demand upon Sir Colin Campbell for an Executive responsible to the Assembly.

Mr. Howe could not have been more impassioned and urgent had a despatch just arrived from Lord John Russell utterly denying to the Province the boon of self-government. In casting about for motives which dictated the course taken by Mr. Howe, those found are so unworthy of a great man and a skilful statesman that a generous feeling would lead a writer to pass over this period from 1838 to 1840, indulging the belief that the representations given in the volumes of Mr. Howe's speeches and public letters, now known to have been written by himself, are the correct ones. Such would be the course pursued at this time, were it not that the doings of Mr. Howe as the leader of the Reformers created the conditions and circumstances in which J. W. Johnstone was obliged to discharge his public duties.

Following Mr. Howe, from the time he entered public life until the session of 1839, barring his one act in the session of 1838 of opposing the appointment of a delegation to meet Lord Durham, no person at this day can possibly have for him feelings other than those of admiration for his courage, abilities and success; but from 1839 no intelligent and impartial eulogy can be given unless materially qualified at certain stages of his public career. But it should always be borne in mind that in all circumstances, at home or abroad, in adversity or prosperity, Mr. Howe was ever an ardent patriot. His father was an honest, intelligent Loyalist. The son's early lessons were from him. A son so appreciative of parental excellence, and himself having a warm, poetic temperament, could not fail to imbibe the sentiments of loyalty to the British throne. The same elements of character which easily produced devotion to the Crown, wrought in him a patriotism which never ceased to burn as an altar fire in his heart.

Neither Burns, nor Campbell, nor Scott loved old Scotland more than Joseph Howe loved his native land. Its bays, rivers, meadows, mountains, forests and flowers were dear to

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him, as corresponding natural objects were to poets of Scotland. In England or the United States, serious or humorous, he always had a good and impressive word for Nova Scotia.

But he went further than the bounds of the little peninsula in which he had his birth. His heart was as true to the British throne as it was to his native land. His imaginative talent and robust intellect carried him to the ever-expanding bounds of the Empire, and to the union of all Imperial interests as England's grand and possible destiny. At no stage in his chequered and eventful life can an act or word be found contrary to love of country and devotion to the Empire. When word came that the Reformers of Quebec were drifting to armed rebellion, notwithstanding the heat and fierceness of the struggle in Nova Scotia for the people's rights, he, in a letter to a representative of the Quebec Reformers, had nothing but condemnation for such a mad policy. In 1839, when the strife was acute in the House of Assembly over Provincial rights, the heated discussion ended when news came that Governor Fairchild, of the State of Maine, had sent troops into the territory in dispute between that State and New Brunswick. That the Act had been sanctioned by Congress, which had voted \$800,000 for the expenses of the struggle, did not intimidate Joseph Howe. At this time he was neither Liberal nor Conservative. He was British to the core. With unanimity and cheers that echoed through the halls of the old building, New Brunswick got the offer of the Nova Scotia militia, accompanied by a vote of \$400,000 to bear the expense of the help offered.

In any present or future adverse criticism of Mr. Howe's acts, the narration of which may be essential to the main object of this history, it should be borne in mind that Mr. Howe is ever regarded as a patriot and an Imperialist without blot or stain. Events, Provincial and Imperial, had drifted to a stage, and had evolved conditions most favourable for the employment of statesmanship in the best interests of the Colonies and of the Empire. What were they? Lord Durham startled the indifferent and the bungling statesmen of England by his phenomenal five months' work in Canada, and by his still more striking phenomenal report of it to his Sovereign.

Confederation at once of the two Canadas was absolutely essential to the arrest of armed rebellion and the peace and

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prosperity of the country. This, as is well known, followed immediately after the report of the High Commissioner. More than this, if the Colonies are to advance and keep pace with the States to the south of them, they must be confederated, and, in their united condition, form a great Colony of the Empire. To end the strife in all the Provinces, and to lead in the day of prosperity and secure strength to Her Majesty's North American possessions, the people in each Colony must govern themselves, in harmony, of course, with Imperial interests, was the further deliverance of Earl Durham. Among British statesmen he was the great outstanding seer, clear in his vision, bold and assured in his utterances, and also grand in self-effacement. Lord Brougham, fierce and revengeful, to wreak his enmity on Lord Durham, had browbeaten and intimidated a weak Administration, leaving only one man of strength, Lord John Russell, sufficiently bold and independent to defend the High Commissioner; but the grand character of Lord Durham rose above all this. Quietly, as if he had met no adversity, he wrote his report, and in the House of Lords defended it and urged its provisions on the Government.

The Reformers, of whom J. W. Johnstone was one, had secured concessions from the British Government up to the point of entire executive responsibility to the representatives of the people. These were the conditions in which statesmanship was offered a grand opportunity such as rarely occurs in the evolution of a free State from the dictates of paternalism. Here was the golden opportunity of combining the two great recommendations of Lord Durham—responsible government and Confederation—in a forward movement.

We look through the House of Assembly for the man to seize the occasion and lead the Legislature and the people into this grand future. Mr. William Young and J. B. Uniacke had felt the touch of Lord Durham's great personality and his heroic proposals for the betterment and salvation of all the Colonies. Their names had been signed to an address of appreciation of the great talents and great labours of this noble statesman, and of sympathy for him in the treatment he had received from the British Cabinet. But did either of these two men rise to the occasion? There is no evidence that they even attempted to do so. Littleness and violent passion seem

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to have held in thrall all the statesmen of the House of Assembly.

Never before had there been created such an opening for Mr. Howe's leadership. Had he seen it as the dawn of the day ardently anticipated from the time that he came before his fellow-citizens as the champion of their political rights, the oration that such a vision would have called forth from him would have been unequalled by any that ever came from his eloquent lips. To see how he could have carried the House with him in a resolution urging the British Government to act, and act at once, on the recommendations of Lord Durham, needs but little discernment. That would have been worthy of Mr. Howe as a great statesman. But did he do this? Mr. Young and Mr. Uniacke may be excused for lack of prescience and ability. Not so Mr. Howe. Imperialism and responsible government—the two great subjects of the day—were bound up together, and such advocacy as Mr. Howe's great talents could have given them might have carried them to an early completion. In any case Mr. Howe would have earned for himself the credit of foresight and the courage of convictions worthy of the occasion and of a distinguished statesman. But what did he do? He ignored what had been accomplished, shut his eyes to the golden opportunity then before him, and led in a vehement discussion of the matter of sending a delegation to England about the disputed matter of salaries (Mr. Johnstone, as Solicitor-General at the time, got \$400 a year), free ports and the like.

Look through the Assembly and the Legislative Council for a man equal to the emergency, and is there one to be found? Not a word from Mr. Howe about the vital, essential subject of Confederation. But in the other Chamber a statesman appears. J. W. Johnstone, almost alone, stands up with convictions, with a matured judgment on the great question. The speech then made by him compares favourably with the best that was heard twenty-eight years later, when Confederation became the all-absorbing question in the British North American Provinces. There he stands, with the vision and courage of a statesman—advocating and defending Confederation against all the objections adduced by the fertile minds and timid spirits who opposed it.

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Had Mr. Howe joined hands with J. W. Johnstone, a movement might have been inaugurated which would have secured responsible government as early as it was obtained, and would have brought lasting honour to Joseph Howe, as it did to J. W. Johnstone, the only man in any of the Provinces that measured up to the full stature of Lord Durham in the matter of advocating Confederation at that early day.

CHAPTER XV.

CRISIS IN NOVA SCOTIA POLITICS.

IN excitement and conflict of opinions, both in and out of the Legislature, 1840 wholly eclipsed that of the preceding year. Whatever may be said in defence of the course pursued by Mr. Howe in 1839, little or no ground for justification can be found for his policy in 1840.

The delegates to England returned with some concessions—four or five free ports, and the importance of the union of Customs and the Excise. The sudden return to England of Lord Durham threw upon the British Government the responsibility of appointing his successor. Charles Poulett Thompson, a man not distinguished as a statesman, but who had exhibited an unusual amount of business ability as President of the Board of Trade, was chosen as the next Governor-General. As soon as he accepted this offer he put himself in communication with Lord Durham. His commission was similar to that of his predecessor. Lord Durham offered him all the assistance in his power. This was gladly and thankfully accepted.

Under Lord Durham's roof in London, Mr. Thompson had the advantage of a careful reading and a thorough discussion of Lord Durham's elaborate report. Indeed, by the help of the maps of the Colonies, and the accumulated papers in Lord Durham's possession, Mr. Thompson came into easy possession of his predecessor's knowledge and experience. He adopted his policy. Therefore, when he sailed for Canada, he was prepared to take up the work where Lord Durham had laid it down. In this he was successful.

Like his predecessor, he received full power to deal with the demands of the Colonies. He arrived in Quebec, his purpose was published, and his words were used by Mr. Howe in the House of Assembly. His plan was to organize Governments

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responsible to the Assemblies. Mr. Howe had read Lord Durham's report, and had publicly declared himself fully satisfied with it.

Steamship communication between the old and new worlds had been established, and thereby the time taken to pass despatches between Nova Scotia and the British Cabinet had been greatly reduced. Measures taken by the British Government and the inevitable trend of events had brought the long-sought-for right of self-government to the doors of the Colonies. Remonstrance, protest and petition, once justifiable, had served their purpose. To continue agitation and demands for self-government was now uncalled-for and factious.

Mr. Howe, by a wrong move in 1838, in opposing the appointment of a committee to meet Lord Durham, excluded himself from leadership. Having made this false move, he seems to have resolved to have leadership or to defeat the undertaking. In the matter of obtaining responsible government, he finally bowed to the inevitable with becoming grace, and accepted a place in the Government, under Mr. Johnstone, as leader of the first responsible Cabinet organized in Nova Scotia; but he took good care to keep Mr. Young in the background—treatment which, as will appear further along in this history, Mr. Young hotly resented, and in doing so he gave Mr. Howe no little trouble. What was Mr. Howe's course in 1840?

Lord John Russell, in passing through Parliament a measure for settling the troubles in Canada, had used words which seemed to indicate the purpose of the British Government not to concede self-government to the Colonies; but Mr. Howe knew that the Colonial Secretary was dealing with the case of Lower Canada when he made the statements to which Mr. Howe made objections, and which he used to justify himself in the course he was pursuing. He also well knew that in reporting the conditions in Lower Canada, Lord Durham had shown that in Quebec the racial hostility was so unreasoning and unyielding that an anomalous state of things existed in that colony. The English controlled the Executive, and were also foremost in the general trade of the Province; and therefore were most anxious for public expenditures to open up the country and develop its resources; but the French, having control of the Assembly, blocked every progressive measure,

because it emanated from the hated English. The House of Assembly, therefore, were the Tories, and the Executive the Liberals. In these conditions, Confederation, recommended by Lord Durham, was the only deliverance in sight. It took place; but before it was accomplished, Lord John Russell made his statements in the British Parliament. To have granted responsible government in such conditions would have been to establish the worst sort of government. But it was used by Mr. Howe as a justification of his policy in 1840. He inflamed the members of the House as no other man could have done. Ignoring all that had been accomplished by the sending out of Lord Durham and his successor, and the certainty of obtaining responsible government in the then near future, he rehearsed the past struggles of the Reformers, their defeats and victories, and thereby became factious and obstructive.

The following is the statement made by Lord John Russell, and objected to by Mr. Howe:

“While I thus see insuperable objections to the adoption of the principle as it has been stated, I see little or none to the practical views of Colonial government recommended by Lord Durham as I understand them. The Queen’s Government have no desire to thwart the representative Assemblies of British North America in their measures of reform and improvement. They have no wish to make these Provinces the resources of patronage at home.”

It may here be stated, that in view of the policy of Lord Durham, then published and before the world, and the acceptance of it by Lord John Russell, the latter stood in but slim need of the light which it is supposed he received at the time from the letters addressed to him by Mr. Howe. Before Lord John Russell read the letters of Mr. Howe, he, Lord Durham and Lord Sydenham seem to have come to the conclusion that responsible government was the only remedy for the grievances of the Colonies. Lord Sydenham had assured the Houses of the two Canadas that “he had received Her Majesty’s commands to administer the government of the Provinces, in accordance with the well-understood wishes and interests of the people, as expressed through their representatives, the deference that is justly due to them.”

It would seem incredible, in view of all this, that Mr. Howe

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could have led the House of Assembly in an attack upon Sir Colin Campbell, instead of waiting a few weeks for the arrival of Lord Sydenham from Quebec, authorized, as he knew he was, to assume authority over the local governors, and to hear and arrange differences, as he afterwards did.

In his despatch, previous to Lord Falkland being sworn into office as successor to Sir Colin Campbell, Lord John Russell says:

“ I have stated to the Queen that, seeing the complications of disputes which have now been going on for a long time in Nova Scotia, the distrust of the Executive Council expressed by so large a majority of the Assembly, and the difficulty of coming to any satisfactory termination of the matter in the present situation of affairs, I thought the best course would be that Her Majesty would appoint a new Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, with power to dissolve the Assembly upon his arrival in the Province. Her Majesty was pleased to approve of this advice, and on my recommendation has authorized me to offer the post of Lieutenant-Governor to Lord Falkland.

“ I stated to Her Majesty at the same time that should any post become vacant suited to your rank and station in Her Majesty's service, I knew of no one more established for zeal and devotion to the Crown than yourself. Her Majesty was pleased to signify that she would listen favourably to any recommendation I might make.”

In a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, Lord John Russell says:

“ I wish, therefore, to ask you, before I proceed further, whether you are inclined to continue in active service, and if so, whether the government of Ceylon would be agreeable to you ?”

The members of the committee appointed by the House of Assembly to meet Charles Poulett Thompson, the Governor-General, of which William Young and Joseph Howe were members, were seen individually by him on his arrival in Halifax. He landed with Governor Fitzroy, of Prince Edward Island, on the 9th of July, from the steamer *Unicorn*, from Quebec. Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Howe were necessarily the most important men to consult. For the last two sessions of the Legislature, 1839 and 1840, Mr. Howe, as it has been seen, led in an agitation which rendered advanced legislation

impossible, and Mr. Johnstone, by advising the Lieutenant-Governor, guided the Province through the confusion, and was sustained by the British Cabinet in everything he did; but the policy and course of Mr. Howe were condemned. As a matter of expediency, Sir Colin Campbell was recalled, but was overwhelmed with addresses from the city and from many counties in the Province. The despatch and letter from Lord John Russell are proof of this. Both Sir Colin Campbell and his chief adviser earned and received the approbation of the Cabinet and the Queen.

Mr. Thompson, after being sworn into office in the Provincial building, Sir Colin Campbell being present, and after prolonged interviews with the leading men of both parties, virtually formed a new Government, which was formally organized by Lord Falkland, after his arrival by steamer on the 15th of September. Sir Colin Campbell still remained in the city.

Lord Falkland arrived in Halifax on the *Britannia*, eleven and a half days from England. He was the first Governor who came to Nova Scotia by steam. In England he was known as a Liberal, and his arrival was hailed by the Liberal party with manifest pleasure. The moderate Conservatives received him with formal courtesy, but the extreme Tories vented their dissatisfaction in the press.

On the 6th of October, 1840, Lord Falkland made it known that it was the Queen's pleasure that Thomas N. Jeffery, Enos Collins, Henry H. Cogswell, Samuel Cunard and Michael Tobin, in retiring from the Legislative Council, made necessary by the formation of a new Government, should retain the rank of honourable. Lord Falkland said also that he had command from Her Majesty to admit the Attorney-General, S. G. W. Archibald, J. B. Uniacke and Joseph Howe to be members of the Executive Council.

It was a Coalition Government. The principal stipulation was that it should be directly responsible to the House of Assembly, all of which would have come about had Mr. Howe satisfied himself in the last two years by waiting for the arrival of the Governor-General, as the other Provinces had done, and were spared the confusion which took place in Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER XVI.

COALITION GOVERNMENT.

THE coming of Charles Poulett Thompson from Quebec in the summer of 1840 was oil on the troubled waters. The return of the delegates from England in the previous year, with a report unsatisfactory to Mr. Howe and his party; the action of the Assembly in its censure of Sir Colin Campbell, and a memorial to the Queen for his recall; the justification of the course taken by Mr. Johnstone, and the condemnation of the action of Mr. Howe and his party by the British Cabinet, and the polemical duel at the Mason Hall meeting between Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone had carried excitement in the city and country to a stage of extreme heat, and everywhere evoked the question, What next?

Mr. Thompson had successfully mediated between the contending parties in the other Provinces. In Upper Canada, Mr. Baldwin, a well-known Reformer, had been appointed Solicitor-General and a member of the Executive Council, the principle being granted that the Executive should be responsible to the representative branch. Victory in the west assured the Governor-General that he would not fail in the east.

Mr. Johnstone was classed socially by the mass of the people with the exclusive section of the community. Mr. Howe was of the people, and took pains to keep the people informed that his feelings and sentiments were the same as when, behind his apron, with ink-stained fingers he built up "sticks" of type. For the second time, at the close of the meeting at Mason Hall, the crowd shouted, and escorted Mr. Howe to his home. The first time was five years before this, when he escaped from the grip of the law in the libel suit.

He would have been a bold seer who, at the meeting in Mason Hall, would have predicted that before eight months had passed Howe and Johnstone would be quietly working together at the

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same Council board, controlling and guiding the Government of Nova Scotia, and unitedly giving advice to Lord Falkland, the new Lieutenant-Governor. It is a law of the natural as well as the political world that great calms follow the greatest storms.

On his arrival in the city, the Governor-General expressed the wish to meet representative men of both sides individually, giving as his reason that this method would be of most advantage to himself in gaining fuller knowledge, and in forming an impartial judgment. This seemed to the men of both parties a reasonable request; but, as will be seen, it opened the door for jealousies which greatly embarrassed Mr. Howe.

Mr. Johnstone was the principal man on one side and Mr. Howe on the other. Of course, other men from both parties had interviews with His Excellency. From the first his object was to bring the two parties together. The circumstances he thought favourable for a solution of the vexed problem.

From the time of the reorganization of the Councils, in 1838, until the coming of Mr. Thompson, the influence and power of the Solicitor-General had been growing. During the same time Mr. Howe had become the unquestioned leader of his party, having in it men of talent and learning. No member in the Legislative Council or in the House of Assembly attempted to challenge the leadership of either Mr. Johnstone or Mr. Howe. That jealousies existed in both bodies those acquainted with the lives of public men can easily believe; but leadership in respect to the two men had been settled by the consensus of public opinion, more powerful than that of either political party in the Legislature. The Governor-General, flushed with his success in having placated the political parties of both Upper and Lower Canada by a reconstruction of their Governments, came to believe that if he could bring Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Howe to an agreement, his work was virtually accomplished. His efforts were crowned with success. The settlement of the matter of other ports becoming free, the salaries of officials, the civil list, the disposal of the casual and territorial revenues, the union of the Excise with the department of Customs, and the removal of the Post Office from the Imperial to the Provincial Government, were waived for the time being, and their consideration and settlement left

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to the future. Mr. Howe made some concessions of his advanced views on responsible government, but the principle of the Executive being responsible to the House of Assembly was granted, and, having secured this vital principle, it was believed that everything in harmony with it would naturally follow. Mr. Howe regarded the conceding of this essential demand of taking the power from the hands of the representative of the Crown and placing it in the hands of the people's representatives as a concession of the essential principle for which the Reformers had long contended. The will of the people was now to be supreme, abuses would one after another disappear, and the country would in time receive all the advantages and blessings of responsible government—party government. Mr. Howe stipulated that a bill should be introduced into the Legislature for the incorporation of the city of Halifax, and thus finish the work he had undertaken in his paper, which resulted in the libel suit.

An arrangement was made by which Mr. Howe, James McNab and James Boyle Uniacke, the latter a little before this having left the ranks of the Conservatives and united with the Liberals, entered the Executive Council, having as Premier, as far as premiership was at that time understood, J. W. Johnstone. It was also supposed, with more or less definiteness, that as vacancies occurred in the Executive, Liberals should be appointed until there should be an equality of representation in the Cabinet. Having brought to a successful issue the conflicts in the political affairs of the Provinces, Mr. Thompson was duly honoured by his Sovereign. He was raised to the peerage and became Lord Sydenham. He did not live long to enjoy the rewards of his successful administration as Governor-General of Canada. The preliminary arrangements made by Mr. Thompson were perfected by Lord Falkland. The long struggle for responsible government ended in a victory for the people.

The time between the departure of Mr. Thompson in the summer and the coming of Lord Falkland in the autumn was a period of prophecy—mostly pessimistic. The extreme Tories saw ruin ahead—the Royal prerogative trampled in the mire of republican violence. Those eligible for office and who had the ear of Downing Street, saw their prospects blasted and their

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hopes dashed to the ground. Howe's followers would fill every position from magistrate to that of Prime Minister.

Neither were the extreme Reformers satisfied. The Tories should have been driven out of every office, and power wrenched from their hands, and put into the hands of the people's Liberal representatives. While it was true that the Executive would be accountable to the Assembly, yet in the Executive there were only three or four men to represent the Liberals. This would continue Tory rule in a new guise. Mr. Johnstone cared little for the mutterings and evil forebodings of selfish Tories. Indeed, he had no sympathy with them. Mr. Howe was not so happily conditioned. He saw the beginning of new trouble—trouble with his own followers. One thing, however, can be said. Howe never quailed before a difficult task. He was never accused, and rightly, of cowardice. What he feared came to pass; but he grappled with it and conquered.

Mr. Howe declared that the results of the elections would be the reply of the Liberals to the course taken by Sir Colin Campbell and Lord John Russell. Had there been no change in the state of political affairs, the elections in the autumn of 1840 would have been by far the most excited and violent of any that had been held in Nova Scotia. The Coalition Government saved the Province from political concussion that, in many ways, would have been disastrous. Instead of this, the polling operations dragged their slow lengths along over a number of days in each county, being conducted in comparative moderation. Two new members were added to the forty-nine of the last House, one having been given to Clare and one to Inverness. The Liberals claimed thirty-one of the forty-nine members of the Assembly that expired in 1840. The result of the elections under the Coalition Government left the parties in the House with about the same relative strength.

Mr. Howe addressed a letter to his constituents, and kept up the struggle in the interests of the Liberals just as if a coalition government had not been formed. As the experiment of a united government had not been tried, he was wise in the course he pursued. In case of failure it would give him a large following. Should he at any time become dissatisfied and be led to test his views in the representative branch, followers would be there in larger numbers to sustain him. Mr. John-

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stone took the opposite course. He made no effort to influence the constituencies, but left the people to select candidates on their merits, or as they might think best.

The introduction of the principle of making the Cabinet depend for its existence on the will of a majority of the representative branch and having Mr. Johnstone as a leader, and Mr. Howe and two of his colleagues in the Cabinet, made a decided change in the complexion of the Government of the Province.

Sir Colin Campbell's term of office having expired, he returned to England some time after the arrival of Lord Falkland. Had there been no collision between Sir Colin Campbell and the Liberal party, the Crown might have extended the period of his governorship. With no better reason than may be found in the foregoing facts, it has been the boast of Mr. Howe's admirers that he drove Sir Colin Campbell from the country. Whatever may have been the merits of the case, it is certain that S. G. W. Archibald (a moderate Liberal), J. W. Johnstone, a large number of the people in Nova Scotia, and the British Cabinet condemned the extreme action of the Liberal party as hasty and unconstitutional.

Before the coming of Lord Falkland, when it became known that a coalition government had been formed, as has been stated, mutterings of discontent were heard from the extremes of both parties. They all agreed in the prediction of evil results—results differing, however, according to the vision of the respective seers. The Tories saw the Royal prerogative disregarded and constitutional government at an end, followed by general conflict and confusion. The radical wing of the Liberals saw Tory rule continued, aggravated by the sanction of their party leaders. Personal interests and feelings coloured the views of these dissatisfied parties. As far as the unsatisfied Liberals were concerned, there was soon no room left for doubting that unworthy interests inspired the opposition of some of them.

Before the House assembled, several names had been discussed as suitable candidates for the Speakership, made vacant by the resignation of S. G. W. Archibald, who was appointed Attorney-General, it being judged at least inexpedient that he should occupy the Speaker's chair. Joseph Howe and J. B.

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Uniacke were two of the candidates for this office. Mr. Howe was elected by a small majority.

Mr. Huntington was free from personal jealousy and unworthy ambition. He was an uncompromising Liberal, and would not have been satisfied with anything short of a Liberal Executive to harmonize with the Liberal majority in the House of Assembly. This, however, cannot be said of William Young. His talents and learning were unquestioned. He saw no reason why he should be thought inferior to Mr. Howe. His loyalty to Mr. Howe broke down, and a conspiracy against the new arrangement was the outcome. Mr. Howe now learned the truth of Mr. Johnstone's prediction, made at the Mason Hall meeting, that when Mr. Howe came into power and had the responsibility of forming a Cabinet, he would not be able to satisfy his adherents.

As soon as the opposition of Mr. Young and those associated with him appeared, Mr. Howe, in the Assembly, gave a detailed statement of the course taken by himself in the negotiations with Mr. Poulett Thompson. He also took pains to state that the essential principle of responsible government had been conceded—that it had been his wish not to be a member of the new Cabinet, and that he had been desirous that Mr. Young should be appointed in his stead.

Thinly veiled is the fact that Mr. Howe from the first saw trouble ahead. As time went on, criticisms of his course in the discussions in the House naturally became more and more open and pronounced. Among the many things said by Mr. Howe, who spoke with much moderation in defence of the course he had pursued, was that as vacancies occurred in the Cabinet they should be filled by Liberals until justice was done to the Reformers. This, however, did not satisfy the opponents in the Liberal ranks, who were banded together under the assumed designation of "the constitutional party." They stigmatized the Government as a mongrel Government. Mr. Howe retorted that the dissidents were a mongrel party.

That Mr. Young regarded himself as "sacrificed" by Mr. Howe, to use his own word, in the formation of the Cabinet, can be put beyond dispute by extracts from the debates in the Assembly.

In the long struggle for responsible government, Mr. Howe

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had taken strong ground in certain demands respecting the civil list; but the action taken on this subject by the British Cabinet was such that it left Lord Falkland's Government no power, except to discuss the matter with the Colonial Secretary. In this Mr. Young saw the opportunity to put Mr. Howe's consistency and fidelity to principles to the test. A bill, therefore, respecting the civil list in harmony with former deliverances of the House under Mr. Howe's leadership, was introduced and urged upon the judgment of the Assembly. There was nothing now left for Mr. Howe but to try the strength of the new combination against him. The result was an overwhelming defeat of the clique. This widened the breach. Six months before this, Mr. Howe had been the honoured and uncompromising leader of the Liberals. Now he is calling upon Liberals and Conservatives alike in the House to stand by him in crushing a combination led by his former supporters. He says:

"If the House should pass a bill containing an Act of Parliament and His Excellency refuse his assent, and the House proceed to pass a vote of want of confidence on that account, that would be stepping beyond the limits of local influence, and the Governor would be justified in resisting it, although in local affairs the Government was bound to carry with them the opinions of the Assembly."

This is precisely the ground taken by Mr. Johnstone from the first. By constitutional agitation secure from the Crown the right of self-government. Begin by accepting the principle, then as experience warranted, apply it in detail. Let this be done gradually, giving the people the skill to govern the country through their representatives. But this course was too great a step backwards to satisfy all of Mr. Howe's supporters, and he had on his hands a most difficult task in acting with the Government, and in keeping in check and defeating the recalcitrant Reformers in the Assembly who planned, if possible, to break up the coalition.

On another occasion the matter came up when the House was in Committee on the subject of the Executive originating money votes, and it became apparent that "the constitutional party" was still active. Mr. Howe again reviewed the history of reform, and sought to justify his presence in the Execu-

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tive Council. A few extracts from the debate exhibit the disturbed condition of the Reform party. Mr. Howe said:

"He should be sorry to part company with his old friends. They could do most when together. While they acted with him they advanced from triumph to triumph; but within the past fortnight they had fallen from defeat to defeat."

"A formal agreement," said Mr. Young, "had been made without my knowledge, and the instant that Howe signified his acceptance of a seat, I asserted my dissent."

"On the ground," retorted Mr. Howe, "that you yourself had been sacrificed."

In the meantime, Mr. Johnstone calmly looked upon the conflict. As Mr. Howe had defined his position and the character of the new arrangement to the Assembly, so did Mr. Johnstone give his views on the same subject in the Legislative Council.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROMINENT FIGURES IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

MR. HOWE, in his speeches and published letters, tells the public, through Mr. Annand, what he was obliged to face on entering the Coalition Government:

“That of a responsible Minister to a Colonial Governor—Lord Falkland—tolerably ignorant of the principles he was sent out to administer, and surrounded from the moment of his landing by a good many persons not disposed to give him a fair trial. Hitherto he (Mr. Howe) had been a Colonial Reformer as the fearless leader of a progressive party; as a popular favourite, doing battle against the Government; he must now be seen playing a new part with suddenly changed relations to all around him. His difficulties were great. He had to instruct, satisfy, and control within constitutional limits, a nobleman of his own age, bred in the school where pride and heady impulses are spontaneously developed, married to a King's daughter, and remarkably good-looking. He had to assert and maintain in the Cabinet the general principles which he had advocated outside; and he had to satisfy the country that he was doing so, and that his interests would not be jeopardized by his acceptance of the seat.”

Sixteen or seventeen years after entering this coalition Cabinet, Mr. Howe looked back, and, in the review, wrote the foregoing of himself. He had at the time been four years in public, political life, and was thirty-six years old. In the Council he had for associates J. W. Johnstone, twelve years older than himself, who had been twenty-seven years at the bar, had attained by common consent to leadership in his profession, and was regarded as the best constitutional lawyer in the Province, and for the past six years had been Solicitor-General, and had just been made Attorney-General; also J. B. Uniacke, a lawyer of note and acknowledged ability, who had

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lately been appointed Solicitor-General, beside other men, venerable and well-seasoned in public labours—such as S. G. W. Archibald, who became Master of the Rolls and Judge of the Admiralty Court; Alexander Stewart, who also attained to the distinction of Master of the Rolls, and James McNab. Three of these distinguished men were in open and pronounced sympathy with the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Assembly. Having all these men—lawyers, statesmen and men of business, and all pledged to hold themselves accountable to the people's representatives—it would seem that Mr. Howe had unnecessarily burdened himself with the entire responsibility of teaching an “ignorant lord, married to a King's daughter and tolerably good-looking,” and managing J. B. Uniacke and James McNab and S. G. W. Archibald, Reformers, out and out, beside other progressive men, such as Johnstone and Stewart. Why he was compelled to carry the whole burden of Executive responsibility is not apparent. He should have called upon his colleagues to give him some assistance. But, no! The people looked to him and held him responsible for contributing the wisdom, power and authority in the Government of Nova Scotia. He seems well satisfied with his success in the discharge of his duties in these difficult circumstances.

Mr. Howe never shirked work or responsibility, and we shall follow him through the ordeal of performing his difficult task, and shall endeavour to be generous in the matter of giving him praise and full credit for all he did.

Reference has already been made to the definition and defence given by Mr. Howe in the Assembly of his position in the Government, in reply to the accusations of his former colleagues. Mr. Johnstone also, in his place in the Legislative Council, declared his views on the same subject. After briefly reviewing the history of the Government of the Province, Mr. Johnstone gave his views at length, which appear in a speech in an earlier chapter of this history.

The principles of Government advocated by Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone were essentially the same. Mr. Howe, impatient and hating the régime of the few, who overawed and resisted the many, whose views had for years been expressed in the House of Assembly, said in effect: “Give us an Executive

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responsible to the elective branch of the Legislature. We will trust the people. When cases emergent and acute arise they can be dealt with. Let the people and not the 'Family Compact' rule the country." Mr. Johnstone's reply was as follows:

"The principle of responsibility is sound. Let it be introduced as soon as possible, but if there are to be—as there were after the old Council was reconstructed—four parties to the enacting of law and the government of the country, the Assembly, the Legislative Council, the Executive Council and the Imperial Government, then there must be a delicate and wise adjustment of power among these bodies, in order to have harmony and efficiency."

Mr. Johnstone, with the discernment of a constitutional lawyer and the prescience of a statesman, looked into the complex machinery of government, holding in mind the basal authority of the people, and also the checks and guards necessary to the harmonious working of the whole and the greatest good of the many.

The ancestral element in both these men was loyalty and conservatism. But the sources in which they originated present some contrasts. The Johnstone family in the Old Country was not of the people, and its history on this side of the Atlantic had confirmed heredity and its traditions. Up to the time of coming to Nova Scotia, their residence had been in the Southern States and the West Indies, where social conditions kept the cultured, learned few distinct from the mass of the people. The Revolutionary War and the experiences of the Johnstones in that prolonged struggle confirmed the conservatism of the family. But experience had so modified the opinions and views of J. W. Johnstone that he had, in more ways than one, identified himself with the many. This had been done at no little sacrifice of feelings, but none of dignity or influence, it being evident that in all things he had followed his conscientious convictions.

Mr. Howe's father, on the other hand, was a man of the people—a noble and incorruptible character, standing four-square and firm against seductions to all unworthy ways and doings. Mr. Johnstone's endowments were those of a great man, but of an order quite different from those of Mr. Howe,

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who also possessed the parts which make for greatness. Mr. Johnstone's mind was incisive, analytical, logical, philosophical, and he himself the soul of integrity. He hated dissimulation and dishonesty in any form. A passion for the defence of the right in human affairs was with him instinctive, and by long exercise in his profession it had become an irresistible force. Once commit to him a case of suffering from injustice or oppression, especially if the oppressed were poor and weak, and indignation would burn like fire in his soul. Every conceivable aspect of the wrong suffered became plain to his inflamed imagination. He could draw upon a vocabulary of invective with which to characterize the oppressor, and also of soft words with which to express pathetic tenderness for the sufferers. When engaged in such cases, all hesitation, all fear were absent. In his bursts of eloquence, denouncing the conduct of those who outraged the principles of justice and disregarded the rights of the weak and helpless, his black eyes glittered with flames of indignation, and when he turned his attention to the commiseration of the wronged and downtrodden, then his whole soul melted into tenderness, his tones became sympathetic and the wrong-doers would seem, if possible, in a worse light than when he poured upon their heads his torrent of scathing invective. On such occasions it might safely be said that superior oratory—*oratory of the highest type*—has never been heard in Canada. The exhaustive analysis of his subject, his clear apprehension of all the principles involved, and the grandeur and thrilling power of his moral conceptions carried away all opposition.

A notable case occurred in the Supreme Court in Halifax about the year 1850.

A Congregationalist minister of the city was about to take a steamer for England. On some flimsy suspicion he was arrested on the charge of theft at the instance of an official of the dockyard, and was taken to the police court, where the suspicions on which he was arrested immediately disappeared. He took the steamer as he had planned, but his church entered an action against the man who had caused the arrest of their minister. This case so appealed to Mr. Johnstone that it enlisted his warmest sympathies. His portrayal to the court of the sensitiveness of a Gospel minister's reputation, the sacredness

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of his calling, the indebtedness of people of every class to the heralds of Divine revelation, and the consequent obligations of people in every walk of life to defend and protect the members of this sacred profession, prepared the court to listen to the graphic description of the Rev. Mr. Geikie's arrest, his being led through the streets in the hands of a policeman, a gazing-stock of a crowd of rough and idle men, and also his appearance in the court of the city to be tried for the crime of stealing. "Pass this matter over lightly, and no man, no minister of the Gospel would be safe. The unblemished character, the sacredness of his profession were of no account, when the caprice of a morbid fancy begot the suspicion that the innocent minister of the Gospel was a criminal. He must be arrested and ignominiously treated until the caprice of a diseased imagination was swept away in a court of justice."

These appeals were not lost upon the jury. A heavy fine was their verdict.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JOHNSTONE AND HOWE ON EDUCATION.

DURING the time of the Revolutionary War in America, there were born in Britain a number of poets and other men of letters, as well as men of affairs. Among others that might be named were Steele, Thomas Campbell, Wordsworth, Sydney Smith, Thomas Moore, Southey, Lord Brougham, Francis Jeffrey, Samuel Coleridge and Sir Walter Scott. In the disappearance of thirteen stars from England's western sky, and their re-appearance in the heavens of a new Republic, there was some compensation in the gift of more than that number of poets and men of genius to light and lead Britain on her way out of darkness into a higher civilization.

The arrest of intellectual progress and the brutalizing of the nations by the prolonged wars of the last of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries were, in a measure, neutralized by the labours of these men of letters. Those literary lights of Edinburgh, Robert and William Chambers, and also Lord Byron, who, for a time, attracted the world's attention, although born a little later, were contemporaries of the other celebrities named, and helped to arouse the English-speaking people to a renewed intellectual life. Their influence was felt wherever the English language was spoken. Halifax, remote as it was from the world's literary centre, felt the throbbing of this *renaissance*.

Two of the most responsive spirits in Nova Scotia were Joseph Howe and Thomas C. Haliburton. Indeed, the cultured life, brought to our shores by the Loyalists—clergymen and laymen—was touched into new activity by the productions of these men of letters across the sea. A spirit aflame with thought and purpose is philanthropic and diffusive. That element of life, so thrilling and ethereal, was not confined to the select few. To give to others is its passion and its purpose.

From the time that the philosophers taught the people, gathered in groups in the gardens and parks of Athens, until

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the days of Howe and Haliburton, all prophets sent of God to call to life communities and nations dead in stupor and ignorance, have felt in their hearts this impelling force, essential to genius in unburdening its soul to all peoples. The songs of Burns rang in Scotch homes, from the palaces of the rich to the humble cottages of the poor, giving life and pleasure to both alike.

No better illustration of this could be wished than is found in young Joseph Howe. After drinking in the new life at the fountains opened to him, and feeling that he had thrown off the limitations and feebleness of ignorance, his first impulse, after getting under his hand a weekly newspaper, was to stir in his own countrymen an ambition for learning and culture. The *Nova Scotian*, in his hands, was first a newspaper and a literary periodical. The political element came later.

J. W. Johnstone lacked the poetic temperament of Howe, but heredity, his early education and a nature finely imaginative made him responsive to the claims of education. He had, perhaps, even a broader and better adjusted view than Mr. Howe of plans for elevating the people intellectually. Mr. Howe had a strong sympathy, growing out of his own experiences, with those who had not within their reach the means of a liberal education; but, as Mr. Johnstone had taken his academic training under the eaves of a great university, and had seen the influence of the universities working downward to the common schools, and these schools returning fresh and enlarged supplies to the universities, he rightly emphasized the importance of academic and collegiate education in the qualifying of men to go into the country and work in common schools as well as in other spheres. For the thirteen years before he became associated with Mr. Howe, this had been Mr. Johnstone's experience. Impelled by a strong conviction that a religious education was essential to the welfare of the people, he had assisted with others in founding an academy for the western part of Nova Scotia to do work similar to that done in the Pictou Academy, under the able management of Dr. McCulloch. Two years before he and Mr. Howe came together in the Coalition Government, that academy, by a process of evolution, had produced a college, into the founding of which Mr. Johnstone

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had put his money, time and energy. In these thirteen years he had been deeply interested in the education of the Province. Mr. Howe, too, had felt and expressed a corresponding interest. One cause of dissatisfaction declared by him in his well-known resolutions of 1837, was that the Council of Twelve obstructed laudable efforts to educate the people. His apparent lack of interest in collegiate education, seen in his treatment of this subject, both in his paper and in the House of Assembly, may be accounted for in the light of his own experience, which did not give him a view of the subject of education from the primary school to the college, such as that held by Mr. Johnstone, who, with his logical, philosophical and constructive mind, had shaped for himself the same policy for public education which prevails at the present time.

At the end of the first session, Lord Falkland told the Legislature that he had been able to give his assent to every bill passed by that body. Free common schools, supported by assessment, had been advocated by a series of letters in the press by the Rev. Dr. Crawley and others. As the battle for responsible government was now at an end, and as Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone were working in harmony, something was required of them to wipe away the reproach of illiteracy by which one-third of the population was enslaved, and to elevate the people by a system of efficient schools. Mr. Howe, in the Committee of the Assembly, where he was relieved from his duties as Speaker, gave an address on the subject, which, like many of his speeches, was able and convincing. He told the Committee that the King and Prime Minister of Prussia, in 1817, had given that kingdom the boon of free schools, and that it was now reported that there was not an uneducated family in that country; that the New England States, wise in appropriating to the public advantage anything new, had copied Prussia, and for years had had free schools, from which young men were going into the wilderness on their western borders, carrying with them the blessings of free education with which to enrich their new settlements. But, judging from his able speech, he had not the remotest hope that the House would act upon the principle advocated by him. Whether the Government had discussed the subject does not appear. Certain it is they had no bill to introduce for free education.

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But it must not be assumed that the Executive did nothing for the schools of the Province. Already schools existed in certain places, in which advanced subjects were taught. This gave them the right to be known as grammar schools and to receive a special grant from the public treasury. Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone were able to unite, and to carry the Legislature with them, in arranging for the establishment of an academy in every county in the Province. It was, perhaps, as much as could have been safely obtained by them in the matter of public education. Be this as it may, it proved a stimulus. Marked improvement was seen in the state of common education for the years immediately following. From 1841 to 1843 the increase in schools was 141, in pupils 4,897.

The Government was not deaf to the cry of intellectual hunger. Had Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Howe possessed the courage required to introduce a system of schools supported by assessment, they could have had four years to carry it into effect before the people would have had the opportunity to record their judgment of it. Had the matter of Confederation not been added to the system put in operation a quarter of a century ago by Dr. Tupper's Government, it is altogether probable that the author of the bill would have been left in a minority in the following election, as he expected to be, but his defeat would not have been as complete as in the circumstances it was. Could Mr. Howe have shaken off the faction which harassed him in the Coalition Government, he and Mr. Johnstone would probably have fared better than the Tupper Government would have done with only the common school system to defend.

It was not possible for the Nova Scotia leaders to be indifferent to the education of the people, when the intellectual life, stimulated by the pulpit, by books and the press, urged them to the discharge of their duty in this respect.

Burns and the old ballad writers, Campbell, Sir Walter Scott, the Chamberses, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, the Reviewers and Essayists kept the people of the Old Land from stupor and indifference. United to other agencies, this influence swept like an intellectual wave over the world.

Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone, with the cultured few in the Province, felt its influence, and were borne along on its cur-

rent. Henry Brougham, Sydney Smith, Francis Jeffrey, and others in the *Edinburgh Review*; and later the *Chambers's Journal*, with its regular issue of eighty thousand, together with the *London Quarterly*, kept afloat by Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Ellis, gave to the English-speaking world literature for every class. It fell everywhere like gentle, refreshing showers. Well it was that Nova Scotia had at that time in her Government men who caught the spirit of their time and wrought well to diffuse abroad the blessings of all degrees of culture and learning. The literary life of that period stirred Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone. They had united in opening Dalhousie College in 1838, fifteen years after its building was completed; also in giving a charter to Acadia College. They co-operated in giving grants to grammar schools, academies and colleges as they came into existence, St. Mary's, in Halifax, for instance. Coincident with the forming of the Coalition Government, the Methodists established their Sackville Academy. As it gave the advantages of the higher education to that body of people in Nova Scotia, substantial grants towards its support were made from the public funds, although the school itself was located in another Province.

Howe and Haliburton amused and instructed the people of Nova Scotia. The latter, literary genius and humourist, first became known to the public through the *Nova Scotian*. The Youngs, Uniackes and Doyles are some of the men, cultured and learned, who were associated with Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone in guiding the work of public education.

Judging from the fact that Mr. Howe gave the Assembly an address on free schools, it may be inferred that the subject had been considered by the Executive, but that the two leaders quailed before the undertaking of adopting it as the policy of their Government, if it was, indeed, discussed by that body, is a most reasonable assumption. Immediately after this time, Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Howe began to separate, and in 1844 were found as leaders of the two political parties in the Province. From that day on it was the standing apology of each of them for failing to give the Province free schools—that the people were not prepared for them; that public sentiment, which was against them, must be educated up to the point of demanding them. Dr. Crawley, in his letters to the press,

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had told the Government that the time would never come when the people would compel the Government to give the country schools supported by taxation. He was a true prophet.

Just as the governments of to-day reply to all requests for prohibition of alcoholic drinks, either by the Provincial or Dominion Governments, so this apology was made to do duty in the matter of free schools in Nova Scotia until 1865. The public at last got the great boon of a good school system before they asked for it. They never demanded the favour of being taxed for the support of common schools. It came as soon as a Government appeared which was willing "to take its life in its hand" to secure for the country an educational system free to all classes and accompanied by compulsion for those unwilling to secure its benefits.

When the Legislature heard the first speech in favour of free schools and taxation—the one given by Mr. Howe—it will appear that in the country and city there was a deeply-rooted aversion against taxation. This was natural. The struggle for existence was severe, and markets for produce were poor and money was scarce. Taxation was terror in the ears of the farmers. Then again, that faction, led by William Young, in the Liberal party, was lingering about the flanks of the Government, ready and eager to seize the occasion for its embarrassment or defeat. The Government, and especially Mr. Howe, knew this, and had regard for the self-styled "constitutional party." Mr. Young's loyalty to Mr. Howe at that time, and, indeed, through life, was not so strong and sacred that he would not have enjoyed an attack on Mr. Howe, which would have issued in his own leadership. A free school bill would, at that day, have offered a tempting chance to Mr. Young, which he probably would have seized, to enlarge his little party into a majority, and so take into his own hands and out of Mr. Howe's, the work of perfecting responsible government until it should be the ideal of the Liberals—unqualified party government.

Let the condemnation of Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone for not giving Nova Scotia free schools in 1841 be tempered by an appreciative knowledge of the obstacles which obstructed such an undertaking.

CHAPTER XIX.

HOWE'S IMPORTANT POSITION IN HISTORY OF NOVA SCOTIA.

A LIFE of Mr. Howe could be written, in which this great Nova Scotian could be made to appear as a richly-endowed humourist, litterateur, popular speaker, orator and statesman, and such a view of Mr. Howe could be sustained by data and arguments drawn from his life and labours. On the other hand, another life could be written in which, as an offset to such an unqualified eulogium, mistakes and blunders as a leader and statesman, scattered all along the path of his public career, could be recounted and established by indisputable facts, which would make the Hon. Joseph Howe appear as a statesman of inferior rank, and his life marred by a series of stultifications and irrational and eccentric movements. In either case the account would be partial and unjust.

No man of inferior gifts could have shot up, meteor-like, into public life, as he did in 1835, and have kept himself before the public as leader and statesman in his native Province, Canada, the United States and Great Britain, and continue to be a potent force with which leading men were obliged to reckon, unless he had extraordinary gifts and acquirements of the highest order.

Three instances may here be given illustrative of his unique and masterly power as a popular orator. The audiences and circumstances differ so widely that the test of his power is all the more satisfactory. In the first instance, he spoke to a large assemblage in the United States; in the second, to an audience in London, and in the third case to a meeting of farmers in Nova Scotia, among whom he had lived for years, and who were mostly his personal and political friends.

The writer will here reproduce from memory, as nearly as possible, first, the account of the meeting at Musquodoboit,

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given to him by the late Hon. A. G. Jones, who, at the time, was co-operating with Mr. Howe and others in opposing Confederation. The leaders of this undertaking had just come from the adjoining county. As the procession passed through the neighbourhood to the place of meeting, the women in front of their houses gave Mr. Howe a welcome by excitedly waving their white linen tablecloths. Ten years before he and his household had been one of the families in this place, going in and out of their homes, making their lives bright and happy with his humour and good cheer. Their hearts now gushed with gladness as they saw his face once more. Tear-brimming eyes and glowing faces greeted Mr. Howe when, in the hall where the meeting was held, he in turn rose to speak. In looking over the audience he referred to the faces of old and loved neighbours not with them on that occasion. This suggested bereavements. Mr. Howe sketched in melting tones and pathetic words the excellencies of these men he knew and loved so well. Men were unable to keep their seats. They rose to their feet and, where possible, advanced toward the speaker, drawn by the charm of his eloquence and his dominating personality. They were one with him in conviction and purpose. To them, Joe Howe was the best man on earth, and Confederation was the blackest crime.

On another occasion he proved his mastery power over a congregation of men holding sentiments strongly opposed to those he advocated. I received an account of this from the Rev. J. M. Buckley, D.D., now editor of the New York *Christian Advocate*. At the time he heard Mr. Howe, he was pastor of a large Methodist Church in Detroit. The occasion was a meeting of the Boards of Trade. Mr. Buckley, by request, opened the meeting with prayer. At the close of the Civil War, irritated by the sympathy which had been expressed for the South, both in England and Canada, the people of the North were resolved not to renew the Reciprocity Treaty, which expired at that time. It was Mr. Howe's task to reverse this sentiment. A number of men, known for their ability to interest and instruct a meeting of business men, preceded Mr. Howe. The day was warm and the audience large.

In his early statements he used the Trinity to illustrate the unity and oneness of England, Canada and the United States.

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This called forth hissing from some of the hearers. His quick eye and alert thought detected at once that his language had offended some rich Jewish bankers and merchants from New York and other cities. A spice of humour, of which he had an inexhaustible fund, soothed the irritation and dissolved the audience into a laughing mood. It was no easy task to disarm this company of business men, held in the grip of strong prejudice. All the material within reach was laid under tribute. His father, he told his hearers, abandoning his every possession, except the pretty girl who became his wife, fled from Boston to Halifax before the terrors of the Revolutionary War, but neither he nor his descendants had failed in their love and admiration of the great Republic. One of his own sons had shouldered his rifle and had fought in the army of the North to defend and preserve the integrity of their constitution. If melodrama served Mr. Howe's purpose, then he could be melodramatic. At the time the Civil War broke out, he was in England, and at a public meeting, being in a mood for flippancy, had said that the Southerners were very fond of duck shooting, but were then varying their sport by shooting Yankees. This the audience happily did not know. His humour was no less empty and meaningless than his son fighting with the purpose of saving the Republic. On both occasions he gratified himself and his audiences. Now he became a large-minded, discerning statesman. Fact was piled on fact, argument on argument, for a renewal of the reciprocity. That audience of business men carried with them to their homes the conviction that Joseph Howe, among "stump orators," was the brightest star of the day. Speakers who preceded and followed him were forgotten; but Howe was remembered, and the tumultuous applause given him always rang in his ears. Vociferous cheers were given for Mr. Howe and for his fighting boy. The Canadian delegates decided that no other Canadian should speak, but that the matter of renewing the treaty should be left where it had been carried by Mr. Howe's eloquent address.

The other occasion was in London, an account of which I got from the late Sir Leonard Tilley, then Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick.

Sir Leonard and Mr. Howe were mutually interested in im-

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migration to their respective Provinces. To help forward this undertaking, a meeting for the purpose had been called in a large hall. On their way to the meeting, Sir Leonard, as advocating immigration to the two Provinces was virtually the same, requested Mr. Howe to take the half hour allotted to him. In his judgment, Mr. Howe, with double time, could alone do better justice to the subject. He, however, declined the offer. An agent from Australia had the first half hour. As soon as his time was up, the chairman rapped him down, having previously stated that no speaker could be allowed to overrun his allotted time. Sir Leonard came next. In a few sentences he explained to the chairman and the audience that Mr. Howe, who was to follow him, could do ample justice to the subject, and he, therefore, requested the chairman to allow Mr. Howe to use the time assigned to both of them. The chairman acquiesced.

Up to this stage the people had been seriously interested in what had been said. But as soon as Mr. Howe began, a change came over the audience. Under his humour this phlegmatic English audience was dissolved into irrepressible laughter. Women waved their handkerchiefs and men applauded tumultuously. On and on Mr. Howe went until he had overrun his time; but, as Sir Leonard said, the chairman had forgotten all about time, and from his chair, to which he seemed transfixed, he had gazed at Mr. Howe, utterly forgetting his promise to keep the speakers within their allotted limits. On Mr. Howe saying that he must be overrunning his time, "Go on, go on!" came from the excited audience, to all of which the chairman seemed in perfect accord. It might be safe to say that, not in England, nor in Canada, nor in the United States was there a man at that time who, in similar conditions and circumstances, could have equalled the Hon. Joseph Howe in these oratorical efforts.

If anyone entertains a doubt about his great ability as a literary man and a statesman, let him read one of a number of his published speeches and his letters to Lord John Russell, and doubts will certainly vanish.

Mr. Howe had the temperament of the poet, the popular gift of a first-class humourist, and readiness of sympathetic speech ever at his command. His inexhaustible fund of humour,

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varying from stinging satire to drollery, was an element of power, especially in those days in which he swayed popular assemblies. His gleaming eyes, looking out from a face radiant with fun and good nature, by a kind of hypnotic power, drew all in his presence into the sphere of his dominating personality. Opponents as well as followers were caught and held by his irresistible, personal magnetism. His emotional nature was an ocean, and in his day it was more of a force than it would be at the present time. In harmony with the dictum of Horace, when he wished tears from his audience, tears first flowed down his own cheeks.

Mr. Howe, by wide reading and careful study, had an easy command of a graphic, flowing style, both in writing and in speech. A retentive memory for words and facts enabled him to prepare his speeches in an incredibly short time. Even in the excitement and confusion of public discussion, he could collect and marshal his data, give retorts and make replies to opponents with phenomenal success. But give Mr. Johnstone time to thoroughly examine his subject, and make preparation for its discussion, and then his great ability appeared. In the destructive criticism of his opponent's views, the sweeping away of all objections, yet, in the full mastery of his subject, his wit was ready, his replies telling and the hearer would be at a loss which to admire most, his power to demolish opposing arguments, or the masterly sustaining of his own contentions. No one was more ready to accord to him greatness in efforts of this character than Mr. Howe himself.

Mr. Johnstone's mind had a strong, sympathetic preference for the legal profession; Mr. Howe's chief gifts and sympathies were for public and political life.

Such were the two men who for three years worked together in the first responsible Cabinet of Nova Scotia, and then finally parted, each to be the leader of his own political party.

CHAPTER XX.

JOHNSTONE AND HOWE IN CONFLICT.

IN 1843, a collision between Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone occurred which turned the current of the political life of the Province into new channels, the effects of which can be seen to the present day and will never disappear.

The Coalition Government had been in existence for three years, and the outward conditions seemed favourable for its continuance. Mr. Howe, for a part of that time, had been Speaker of the House, but subordinate to Mr. Johnstone, who in 1841 had been made Attorney-General, and was chief adviser of His Excellency Lord Falkland. After Mr. Howe resigned the Speakership, on account of being appointed collector of customs, he still continued his membership in the Assembly and in the Cabinet. As Mr. Johnstone was in the Legislative Council, he depended on Mr. Howe to defend and support all Government measures in the representative branch of the Legislature. This Mr. Howe did with skill, power and signal success. The school law, improved in 1841, by which grants to common schools were increased, and an academy provided for each county, bore good fruits. Schools multiplied and the attendance increased by nearly five thousand. The number of students, however, at Dalhousie continued small, and the institution was weakened by the death of the president, the Rev. Dr. McCulloch. King's College, too, had but a slim attendance of students. Neither Dalhousie nor King's made any report to the Government, as in view of the yearly grants from the public funds they were required to do. Acadia College and Horton Academy, however, sent in detailed accounts of their work. The Academy reported sixty-nine pupils—forty-seven Baptists, nine Methodists, five Presbyterians, six Episcopalians, one Catholic and one Congregationalist. Acadia College reported thirty students in attendance.

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At this time an effort was made to unite the Kirk and Free Church Presbyterians in rehabilitating Pictou Academy. The Methodists were prospering in their academic work at Sackville. St. Mary's Roman Catholic College at Halifax continued in operation.

Before this date, Mr. Howe had taken no particular interest in collegiate education. His sympathies were with the common schools. The Coalition Government had done good service in advancing the education of the country. In addition to the existing grammar schools, they had provided an academy for each county. Dalhousie, King's, St. Mary's and Acadia Colleges were open to students who might wish to take an extended course of study.

The Government had passed what was called the "Qualification Bill," by which men not holding property in a county could be its representatives. Mr. Howe had some difficulty in carrying this measure through the Lower House. But his great influence enabled him to secure for it a small majority.

After the defeat of "the constitutional party" in the Assembly, there appeared evidences of other combinations growing out of the dissatisfaction of the extreme Liberals against the Government. Mr. Howe, in view of this opposition, tested the strength of the Cabinet in the House by getting one of his friends to move a vote of confidence in the Government. After one of his best speeches, when the vote was taken, only eight voted against the Government.

At this stage, and in the conditions and circumstances described, acting for Mr. Howe, William Annand introduced into the Lower House a resolution in condemnation of the policy of fostering the existing colleges, and in favour of establishing one in their stead. This called forth a keen and long debate. It finally passed by a majority of seven. This slim majority and the strong religious feelings exhibited by the large minority should have ended the undertaking with the first vote.

Later in the session a resolution in favour of sustaining the colleges then existing was defeated by a majority of only two or three, showing that time was working in the Assembly a change against Mr. Howe's college policy.

But those who introduced the measure for a change seemed resolved to force their plan upon the minority.

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A little looking back at this point is essential to an impartial and rational judgment of this projected educational scheme, for which Mr. Howe never attempted to shirk full responsibility.

As the history of this Province unfolds itself, it will appear that matters of much moment were involved. Two great men, well qualified for larger spheres, in the drifting of events, exchange co-operation for vigorous and, at times, violent opposition in political life. Care should be taken to do justice to each of these in the succession of scenes leading to the results indicated. Fortunately a large accumulation of well authenticated facts exists from which the truth may be learned and justice done to both men.

From 1837 to 1840, Mr. Howe printed the *Christian Messenger*, a weekly newspaper, for the Baptist Association of Nova Scotia. During this time, John Ferguson and J. W. Nutting, editors of this paper, gave him the use of their names in obtaining money from the banks. At the time the paper began to do its own printing, there were a number of outstanding notes. Mr. Howe called upon Nutting and Ferguson to assume responsibility for their payment. This they declined to do, on the ground that their names had been given simply in the way of accommodation. Mr. Howe attacked them in the *Nova Scotian*, and charged them with dishonourable dealing. They replied in their own paper that they had been both fair and honest. To prove this, they published the correspondence between themselves and Mr. Howe, showing that they gave their names as friendly endorsers. These letters prove beyond a doubt that the editors were perfectly honest in the transactions.

The Association, no doubt, was blameworthy in failing to pay Mr. Howe promptly. The editors and the denomination they served were indignant, and determined to justify themselves before the public. A meeting of the Association was called in midwinter, and ministers and laymen, young and old, travelled long distances to attend it. The matter was discussed in a calm and intelligent manner.

A vote was passed, justifying the course taken by the editors. No severe words were employed in censuring Mr. Howe, neither in this meeting nor in the press. John Ferguson, J. W.

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Nutting, E. A. Crawley, Professor Chipman and others were incapable of unwarranted invective. Mr. Howe was paid.

The doings of the Association reacted heavily on Mr. Howe, and he took his own way to resent it.

In a review of Mr. Howe's public career one fact stands out clear and bold—his illimitable self-confidence, his colossal egotism. Few men lived who had greater reasons and larger grounds for justifying and sustaining this characteristic. Another element of his character is equally evident—an uncontrollable passion to overwhelm opponents, especially when he himself was evidently in the wrong, with horse-play arguments and ridicule and sometimes that of a very low character. The editors of the *Christian Messenger* and the leading men in the denomination got from Mr. Howe a liberal supply of this treatment. If ever men lived, who, because of their culture, integrity, nobility of mind, learning and distinguished talents, should have disarmed Mr. Howe of his terrible weapons, J. W. Nutting, John Ferguson, E. A. Crawley and others were the men. Those who have read Mr. Howe's account of his treatment of Lord Falkland, in both prose and rhyme, will find no difficulty in believing that editors and representative Baptists fared no better at his hands.

Had Mr. Howe thought of the past, he would have called to mind that, from 1828, when he embarked in the enterprise of journalism, and from 1836, when he began his political life, his paper was taken by Baptists, and every Baptist vote in the country was for him and his party. Exception should be made of about a half dozen voters in Halifax, whose training had been in the Episcopal Church. But egotism necessarily has for its twin brother, ingratitude. Illustrations of the one and the other are plentifully scattered along the public life of the Hon. Joseph Howe. On the other hand, he had no superior in shaking hands over past conflicts and in saying, "Let bygones be bygones—life is too short for this kind of warfare." In this he was unlike the inflexible J. W. Johnstone, who would have apologies precede the renewing of old friendships and the re-establishing of harmony. Only four years before the introduction of the college resolutions by Mr. Annand, Mr. Howe had voted for a charter for Acadia College. In the meantime, large sums of money had been raised for its

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support. It then had about as many students as any other two colleges in the Maritime Provinces, and material was then collected for the erection of a large building for its better accommodation.

The passing of this resolution by the House produced a sensation among the constituency of Acadia College. A request was made for a delegate from the college to be heard at the bar of the House. This would have been Rev. E. A. Crawley, now that Dr. McCulloch had passed away, the most able and distinguished educationist in the Province. This request was denied.

As the Presbyterians had no college at this time, their union in the support of Dalhousie would have been both wise and commendable; but more time was required to remove sectarian differences imported from Scotland, and which then blocked the way to such united action. Dalhousie, therefore, was not named as the proposed central college.

CHAPTER XXI.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE COLLEGE QUESTION.

INTO the building and fostering of Acadia College, whose very existence was now threatened by Mr. Howe's new plan for collegiate education, Mr. Johnstone had put much time, money and sympathy. This was well known to Mr. Howe. The conflict with the editors of the denominational paper had alienated a large portion of the Baptists from Mr. Howe, and, as a matter of course, attached them to Mr. Johnstone, who was the intimate friend and admirer of those who had been so roughly treated, and for no good reason, by Mr. Howe.

What effect Mr. Howe thought his college plan would have on the Baptists politically it is now difficult to determine. A plan, if carried into effect, which would relieve the people of the support of Acadia College, not yet popular among the masses of the Baptists, it was not unreasonable to assume would lead many of them to forget the late conflict, and resume their political allegiance to Mr. Howe. As Dalhousie College was prostrate on account of the death of the president, Dr. McCulloch, and Pietou Academy reduced by the withdrawal of half its yearly public grant, which was given to Dalhousie, to the grade of a grammar school, the way seemed open to unite all Presbyterians in the one college proposed. If this could have been done, the Kirk part of that body would be separated from Mr. Johnstone and won over to the support of Mr. Howe. The Episcopalians, Roman Catholics and Methodists seemed at first but little interested in the project, regarding it, perhaps, as visionary and doomed to failure.

Mr. Howe, of course, entered into this undertaking as a private member, and not as a Cabinet Minister. As has been stated, the resolutions passed the Assembly by a small majority. The Legislature was prorogued, and Mr. Johnstone took time to thoroughly consider the whole matter. There was no little

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consultation between him and his friends. To him the obvious outlook was this: For another year Mr. Howe would keep this college scheme agitated, but not settled. From a letter to Messrs. Howe, Uniacke and McNab, written by Lord Falkland at a later stage of the development of Mr. Howe's scheme, it is found that at this time the Cabinet was, as Lord Falkland says, "hopelessly divided on the question of party government."

Mr. Johnstone therefore saw that at the end of the coming year (1844), when the full time of the Assembly would expire, Mr. Howe could go to the country with the scheme of one college and purely party government.

It took no prophet to foretell the result. Mr. Howe, with Mr. Johnstone shut up in the Legislative Council, would return with a substantial majority, eject Mr. Johnstone from the leadership, take the reins of government into his own hands, and the college matter might be settled according to the drift of public sentiment. At this time, Mr. Johnstone was not destitute of experience, gained at the bar, in managing men and affairs. He had the reputation of being a man of consummate skill and tact in dealing with the schemes of opponents.

He met the issue squarely—the destruction of existing colleges and the establishment of one on their ruins, and party government with patronage.

After the battle was over, in his correspondence with Mr. Howe and his party, Lord Falkland reminded Mr. Howe that in Halifax, on the eve of the election, he had said, that if he and his party succeeded in obtaining a majority, he should expect those who differed from him to retire, and that he would retire if he found himself in a minority. Mr. Johnstone at Annapolis unquestionably denounced the system of party government, and avowed his preference for one in which all parties should be represented.

It is here put beyond doubt that Mr. Johnstone interpreted Mr. Howe's ulterior purpose—the ending of the Coalition Government, the reconstruction of the Cabinet, the retirement of Mr. Johnstone and his supporters, and the appointment of himself as leader of the Government, literally or otherwise.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE COLLEGE QUESTION

Mr. Johnstone attended the Baptist Association, held at Yarmouth in the month of June, 1843. As yet the dissolution of the House and the resignation of his seat in the Council had not taken place; but it was evident that Mr. Johnstone sooner or later planned to meet Mr. Howe in the larger arena. Mr. H. Huntington and Samuel Chipman, the former a representative of Yarmouth, and the latter of Annapolis, who were present at the Association, saw from the well-managed discussion of the college question that Mr. Johnstone's plans were either maturing or matured.

To Mr. Huntington especially, there was evident a master hand in the management of the college business at the Association. Mr. Johnstone kept his seat until the old men and representative men of middle life had spoken. He then rose and reviewed the history of collegiate education—the Legislature in good faith had voted for a charter for Acadia College. In good faith the constituency had raised large sums of money, laid the foundation, and were then collecting material for the erection of a new building. But the proposed champion of the political rights of the people had now projected a scheme for the destruction of a college, for the charter of which he had given his vote. Mr. Johnstone's closing sentences were evidently designed for effect. He said:

“The very existence of Acadia College might depend on the issue of that day, for at a time when they were violently and systematically assailed, the views and feelings of the Baptists assembled at Yarmouth must powerfully influence their prosperity and continuance.

“In glancing at the history of the denomination from the days of Henry Alline up to this day, it is evident that the early ministers were men of strong bodies and vigorous intellects. . . . They were made the honoured instruments of diffusing through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the principles and morality of the religion of Christ to an extent but little appreciated, and which can never be fully known until the great day of accounts.

“When the Academy was founded, the aged ministers, with noble disinterestedness that entitles them to enduring honour, rose superior to all contracted views, and with comprehensive judgment, seeing the promised benefits, adopted the plan, took it to their hearts, and sanctified it by their prayers, and have ever since laboured to advance its interests. The State college,

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the dream of a party, it has been said, will serve the many wants of the country, promote common schools, advance general education and shed a radiance of literary honour around the Province. Instead of this, I believe it would not only fail in every one of these particulars, but would produce effects the very reverse of what it promised. It was an undertaking as hopeless as it was idle and useless. There had been a plan for the establishment and support of such an institution laid before the Legislature of the country. It was represented in vague generalities, obviously deceptive and inconsistent with the usefulness of such an institution. There had been guarded and studied concealment of even the place in which it was to be located.

"Great and noble have been the efforts of the founders of Horton Academy and Acadia College in the cause of education, and without a parallel in Nova Scotia. If these institutions are to be destroyed, let not the unhallowed work be wrought by enemies from without. Let Baptists do it. Let them deliberately plan and fearlessly fulfil the baseness of destruction. And while they apply the torch, and the flames fly up as a swift witness to heaven, let it be remembered that the foundations of these walls were laid in the counsels and prayers of the denomination, some of whom are now in heaven, and might look down upon such a reckless deed. And when they turn away from the smouldering ruins, let them not forget that they leave there the graves of their hopes of moral and intellectual improvement in this country—hopes long cherished by many who, bound by the strongest ties of affection and brotherhood to the denomination, sought its welfare and elevation as the highest object of their ambition and desire."

At this day it is impossible to realize the effect of Mr. Johnstone's address on that packed audience in old Zion Church. That was a memorable day. The college question gave it a political complexion.

An unusually large number of leading men were present: Rev. E. A. Crawley, D.D., Professor J. L. Chipman, J. W. Nutting, Dr. Sawers, John Ferguson, Dr. Lewis Johnstone, brother of the Attorney-General, and many others.

A few sentences from the addresses of the men who preceded the Attorney-General will shed light on the state of feeling then prevailing. Rev. T. S. Harding, the veteran pastor at Horton, said:

"I was present in 1828, when the Academy was started,

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and every minister then present, old and young, concurred in the undertaking. Some of them are now in heaven. The institution, under the evident and peculiar blessing of God, has gone on, and has flourished ever since. Like Moses in the bullrushes, it must be preserved. The child must live. It is the child of Providence, and who can destroy it? During the period of its existence I have witnessed seven revivals connected with the institution. . . . Who would dare lift up his hand against such an institution so favoured of God? . . . We must keep step with the times, and with other societies of Christians. We must have men prepared to meet and refute the sceptics and other advocates of errors, and men to go forth and preach to the heathen. We need men who can stand on the floors of the House of Assembly and contend for our rights. We need men who can write on divinity, who shall be able to stand beside those of other denominations."

It has been common since that day for the constituency of Acadia College, by taking a phrase from the speech of this eloquent pulpit orator, to call the college "The Child of Providence."

Here are a few sentences from the patriarch of Cornwallis—the Rev. Edward Manning—an Irishman. He said:

"I attended the last anniversary before coming to this association. It was a blessed day—the college in full operation, the foundation laid for a new college building, a vessel coming up the river loaded with the material for the frame of the building. The college must succeed. . . . The brethren who have struggled so much to sustain it have borne great trials in the face of the opposition of men in power; but still it will go on and prosper. The struggle in which we are now engaged reminds one of the building of the temple by Ezra. Tobiah and Sanballat wanted to build with them, but the nature of the work forbade such co-operation. The good men have been maligned. Let them not be afraid, but trust in God."

It was an audience, aroused and heated by such speeches as these from which the preceding extracts have been taken, that Mr. Johnstone addressed. His eloquent and impassioned oration confirmed their purpose to resist the foes of Acadia College in Parliament and out of Parliament.

Mr. H. Huntington and Mr. S. B. Chipman, who in the last

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session of the Legislature had supported Mr. Howe's scheme for one college, addressed the Association. But their words seemed as chaff to the audience and fed the flame in the hearts of the people.

The Attorney-General at this gathering struck the key-note of the campaign on which he had resolved at whatever cost to enter.

Echoes of this association were heard on every hand. There was no ear keener to catch them than that of Joseph Howe. He had by this one-college scheme touched the match and the heather was on fire. It was now too late to retreat. He girded himself for the struggle. Greek was now to meet Greek. As never before in this little Province the tug-of-war was to be seen.

As in 1837 Mr. Howe used twelve resolutions, so in his attack upon the college he employed the same number. But the second twelve lacked the character and charm of the first twelve, and deservedly failed in their mission. They contained elements unworthy of the great Joseph Howe. In them was an appeal to motives of material against intellectual wealth; of common school against collegiate education; an appeal to unreasoning ignorance in the matter of increasing the number of college graduates.

An English writer, in considering the eligible names from which a possible successor to the present Prime Minister could be selected, said that the distinguished John Morley could not fill the place of a political leader, except in the land of Utopia. Mr. Howe belonged to that class. Let anyone read his long, brilliant speech on education on this occasion—follow him in reviewing the history and work of the colleges and universities of both the Old and New Worlds—statistics piled on statistics, the survey of the works of art and nature; and Utopia would be a rational reply to all the flashing rhetoric and bewildering accumulation of every conceivable kind of material. The prayer would be, let us look into our own circumstances and conditions; be reasonable and practical, and not build air castles and spend strength in attempting impossibilities.

But a word from Mr. Howe is in order just here. In the first volume of his speeches, through Mr. Annand, Mr. Howe says:

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"When the professors of Acadia College, who were ever Mr. Johnstone's bosom friends, took the field as politicians, and wrote and lectured publicly against the Government, it was impossible to make any of the Liberals believe that they were not doing so with the Attorney-General's sanction. During the summer the educational war went on. It was largely inflamed when the Attorney-General, at a meeting of the Baptist Association at Yarmouth, stigmatized, for their action upon an open question, the conduct of the parliamentary majority, whereon the Government, of which he was a member, rested for support."

Mr. Howe continues, that hitherto he had made no attempt to carry by excitement his peculiar views of education, but now thought it was his duty, as Mr. Johnstone had addressed public bodies upon it in one or two sections of the Province, to do the same. A meeting was called at Halifax at Mason Hall, at which the sectarian college system was condemned almost without a dissenting voice.

At this meeting Mr. Howe made a brilliant campaign speech. He said:

"Others exhibited as much ambition and persecution as Roman Catholics; and if they were to have a Pope, he would as soon have one in Rome as at Horton. If persecution was to be tried, it might as well come under solemn Pontificals as under black coats and tights.

"On the broad question of one college or six, he would not avoid a direct collision of opinion.

"The agitation must be met—met it should be, not only here, but if necessary in every county in the Province, until the system of misrepresentation resorted to, to serve a purpose, was efficiently exposed and put down."

Against the charge of personal ridicule and abuse of the professors of Acadia College and other worthy men, Mr. Howe said:

"I may as well plead guilty of the charge and confess to having kept the House laughing for an hour at these grand professors.

"We will give them meeting for meeting, speech for speech, and if necessary carry the war into Cape Breton. . . . I do not fear the result."

Howe and Johnstone never met in one of these popular

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educational meetings. But Mr. Howe and Dr. Crawley met at the one in Onslow. It was held in a church, owned in common between Baptists and Presbyterians, and it was called by Mr. Howe's party. The audience, divided on the subject, was seated according to their views on each side of the house. Two chairmen were appointed. The discussion began at eleven o'clock in the morning. The house was taxed to the utmost capacity by men and women, all eager for the duel between Mr. Howe and Dr. Crawley, both in the prime of life. Other speakers were heard. But Mr. Howe and Dr. Crawley were the chiefs in the debate.

In no way, perhaps, can a true idea be obtained at this day of the deep, tense interest on that, as on similar occasions, better than by simply stating that this meeting, which began at eleven o'clock, continued without intermission until it was too dark to count hands when the vote was taken.

The packed audience went out of doors, and, being lined up in two columns, were counted, the result being that denominational colleges had a small majority.

Dr. Crawley, with consummate tact, managed his side of the discussion. Again and again, he rose and replied to Mr. Howe and his assistants. His personal appearance, standing six feet three or four inches, lofty brow, keen, piercing eyes, a voice melodious and powerful, a mind analytical, logical and alert, a gift for language like that of Gladstone, offered to Mr. Howe a foeman worthy of his best weapons. He did not try ridicule on Dr. Crawley at that meeting. It would have fallen flat before such grandeur; but others did not fare so well.

At their expense, Mr. Howe, by the exercise of his unsurpassed wit and humour, again and again delivered himself from corners into which he had been thrust by Dr. Crawley's exact and cogent logic.

One man from Truro, whose voice was heard against Mr. Howe's views, was known to deal largely in shingles. Mr. Howe, to the amusement of his friends, called this man "the sap-headed shingle merchant." Again and again, Dr. Crawley appealed to the audience:

"Gentlemen, look out for your rights. This champion of popular rights four years ago judged it to be your right to build and carry on a college. He gave his voice and vote for this.

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“ Now, after you have invested your money in it—sent your sons to its halls, and have seen them return educated men—this great leader and defender of the rights of the people has decided that you have no right to have, to hold, and support this college.

“ Now he has the right, as he plans to exercise the power, to take it away from you, overthrow it, and trample its ruins in the dust. Is he a safe guide to contend for and defend the rights of the people? Your rights he would have depend on his own caprices. He will give, and he will take away, as it may seem to him to suit the occasion. If four years ago you had the right to have a college, has that right been forfeited by your expenditure of money and sympathy upon your college? All colleges must depend, not upon Royal charters and faithful labours and unquestionable rights, but upon the wish of this champion of the people's rights. Gentlemen, look out for your rights.”

The religious element in denominational colleges, the impossibility of a State college to provide it, the distance then so great that students must travel to attend one college, and the certainty of educating more young men in Christian colleges and other arguments, were urged by the one side; and that of economy and efficiency were among the reasons given by the advocates of a State college to support their views.

CHAPTER XXII.

JOHNSTONE ENTERS THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

THE Baptists were so well led and fought so heroically that other bodies of Christians, whose college policy they defended, had little else to do than to mildly co-operate in the contest, and quietly give their votes when the election of 1843 took place.

Mr. Howe, no doubt, thought one college would be best for the Province. He, however, failed to discern the religious element in the hearts of the founders of Acadia College. By a deep, personal, religious experience, Mr. Johnstone had in this respect the advantage of Mr. Howe. His prescience interpreted aright the character and strength of the sympathies of those who originated the institutions at Horton. No other conceivable reason than that a huge injustice was about to be inflicted upon the colleges of the Province would have induced Mr. Johnstone at his time of life—fifty-one years of age—to resign his place in the Legislative Council and enter upon the uncertain and stormy life of a leader of a political party. But when he was confronted with the issue of the destruction of Acadia and other colleges, to the former of which he had given much of his time, his money and sympathy, no reasonable sacrifice and no personal risks were too much for him to make. No doubt existed in his mind as to the fidelity and courage of large numbers of the people of the denomination to which he had attached himself. Nor was he disappointed.

But it was not for one college alone that he threw himself into the struggle. It was for all colleges. The higher education, under the influence of religious teachers, was the sacred principle held in the grasp of his masterly intellect and by the deep religious convictions of his heart which shaped the policy he emphasized, for which he took his stand, and for which he fought and won.

Mr. Howe, it is certain, had no such vision. To him it

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appeared reasonable and economical that in Nova Scotia there should be but one college. He took risks in attempting to destroy those in existence and to put one in their place. However clear his vision may have been in other matters, in this it was blurred and distorted. Had he seen all that was involved in his scheme, he would not have wasted the ink used in writing his twelve resolutions embodying it. Indeed, he seemed never to have learned that he could not accomplish impossibilities.

A collegiate course in the higher education under denominational—that is, religious—influence of the respective churches conducting colleges may seem to be for Nova Scotia simply accidental. It might be assumed that if Mr. Howe had secured a majority in 1843, there would now be one university controlled by the State and no college owned and directed by any religious body. A careful and thorough examination of this problem will lead to a different conclusion.

So firmly and deeply rooted in the convictions of Roman Catholics is the belief that their education should be under their own management and control, that in every Province of the Dominion they have not only their own colleges, but for primary education either separate schools or free systems, so adjusted to their sentiments that they have in their own hands the teaching of Roman Catholic pupils. But while the several Protestant bodies by common consent unite in the lower grades of education, they own and direct their own colleges. To test in thought the depth and strength of this sentiment, fancy the task of inducing the Roman Catholic and Protestant bodies of this Province to give up at this day their own colleges and unite in one founded and controlled by the State. Anything in legislation more hopeless could scarcely be imagined.

All this Mr. Johnstone saw, and, in the full persuasion of its permanency, took his stand, fought his battle, obtained the verdict of the people, which no man since has had the folly or temerity to undertake to reverse.

In the examination of the whole matter, it is impossible to drive away the suggestions of sinister purposes. On what ground can an impartial judgment rest, that zeal for the higher education induced Mr. Howe to project the one-college scheme? Had he been driven to this course by demands from the people, then the case would be clear and in his favour.

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But no such conditions existed. More than this, as has been stated, his zeal was for primary education—education in common schools for all the people. Added to this is the well-known state of his own county. In the very year in which he started this movement the Rev. G. J. McDonald, a Presbyterian minister and an agent of the Government, reported that at Jeddore there was a population of three hundred, and since its first settlement, forty years before, there had been no school. One had just been started at the head of the harbour, where a few children were beginning to learn to read words of one or two syllables. Only two schools could be found from Sheet Harbour to St. Mary's. From St. Mary's to Canso two thousand people were in a state of ignorance. The same state of things existed all along the shore of Halifax County, from Lunenburg to Guysboro—the people without schools, and ignorance and drunkenness prevailing.

Had Mr. Howe, instead of convulsing the country with his Utopian one-college scheme, made a demand for the education and elevation of the people of the county he represented, which, leaving out Halifax and Musquodoboit, was one of the counties in which the greatest illiteracy prevailed, then no one could have questioned the sincerity and saneness of his undertaking. Had he proposed large grants for his constituency and all other neglected places, and the importing of teachers from the Old Country, all would have said this is philanthropy, this is statesmanship. This would have given support to Dr. Crawley and others who were pleading with the Legislature to lift the illiterate parts of the Province out of their besotted ignorance. But this was not his purpose. Indeed, with the example of New England before their eyes at that day, no valid defence can be made for any member of the Government or Legislature for the failure to provide for the education of the neglected one-third of the people. Let not Mr. Howe bear all the blame.

Had Mr. Howe known the sentiment of the Baptist and other Christian bodies as Mr. Johnstone knew them, he was too wise a man to have undertaken the task of college destruction. Added to this were the character and ability of the men whom Mr. Howe met in his futile attempt to found a State college on the ruins of those then in existence. Had he fully considered this element in the undertaking, he certainly would

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have held his hand from a labour so impossible. No man of that day could have been found whom it would have been more difficult to defeat than J. W. Johnstone. The challenge was a bold and daring one. The Baptists had begun to see and feel their great responsibility in the matter of the higher education. For fourteen years they had enjoyed the uplifting and refining influences of Horton Academy, and for four years that of Acadia College. They had too high an estimate of the importance of their college and too keen an appreciation of its value to thoughtlessly surrender it to the tender mercies of contending politicians. They were bound by conscience and judgment to educate their young men and young women under the best possible religious influences. Of this right and duty they would not be robbed without a vehement protest and all possible resistance. Had the advocates of the State college understood and appreciated these conditions, they would have shrunk from a course upon which they entered with apparent lightness of heart and certainty of success. Other religious bodies felt as the Baptists did.

The contents of a series of letters by Dr. Crawley on the question of a State college, as summarized by himself, contained sixteen reasons why there should not be a State, provincial college instead of those then in existence. The last of these reasons was this:

“The extreme danger to religion on the plan projected by Mr. Howe of one college in Halifax without any religious character, and which would be liable to come under the influence of infidelity.”

This has ever been, and will ever continue to be, the insurmountable objection to merging denominational colleges into a State university. Dr. Crawley concluded his newspaper articles with an appeal, first to the public, and then to his own denomination. To the general public he said:

“People of Nova Scotia, you are witnesses of the conflict to which I allude. Nay, you are more—you are deeply interested in it, for if I have succeeded in establishing to your conviction the position I have in these letters maintained, you then per-

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ceive that the Baptists are called in the providence of God to fight your battles while they fight their own. Bid them, then, God-speed. Give them your encouragement and your aid, and you may reap to the full all the happiest results."

His closing appeal to the Baptists was decidedly impassioned. Here it is:

"By the pureness of the principles you profess, by the holy tie of Christian union, by the integrity of your churches, by your rights as subjects and citizens, by your love of liberty which the very nature of a Baptist Church implies and cherishes, you are called upon to persevere in your aims. Be collected and calm, indulge in no agitation of passions, encourage no harshness of spirit, but at the same time be united as one man, and with increasing confidence in God and one another move steadily forward in the maintenance of your institutions and the assertion of your rights."

In the Baptist Association at Yarmouth in 1843, resolutions relative to the college question, after a long and earnest debate, were passed. In substance they were as follows:

The abolishing of Christian colleges and the establishment of a State college would result injuriously to the cause of education. Halifax is not a convenient or desirable place for students from the country. The principle of denominational colleges, now recognized in practice, is best suited to the people of Nova Scotia; the proposed State college is premature and unsuited to the circumstances of the country; the present system is better adapted to enlist the sympathies of the people of the country in favour of liberal education, to attract students and to extend the blessings of Christian education among the people; the one-college plan would be attended with lasting mischief to the best interests of the country, and ought to be opposed. And, in view of the blessings already received from Almighty God by the schools at Horton, the denomination should continue to seek the Divine favour in their behalf.

Mr. Johnstone was now in a new sphere, in which Mr. Howe had more practice than himself. He faced a crisis in which he saw the plan for his own political overthrow by the daring venture of a great popular leader. To Mr. Howe's mind, Mr. Johnstone was satisfied with his seat in the two councils, and if relieved of services in the Cabinet, he would still be

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content to remain in the Legislative Council and practise his profession.

But to the astonishment of Mr. Howe, Mr. Johnstone resolved on two quick, sharp, radical moves. He decided to resign his seat in the Legislative Council and offer as a representative of the County of Annapolis, provided he could induce Lord Falkland to dissolve the House of Assembly. The dissolution was discussed in Cabinet meetings. Of course, Mr. Howe opposed it. Mr. Howe went to New Glasgow. He was summoned to a meeting of the Cabinet, but remained to fulfil engagements. Before he returned to the city, Lord Falkland had dissolved the House, and Mr. Johnstone's resignation of his seat in the Legislative Council had been accepted. It was now a foregone fact that the Attorney-General would try his chances as a representative of Annapolis. From Cape North to Cape Sable the very air palpitated with excitement. The Province had never known anything like it. Johnstone resolved not to be defeated by the college flank movement. If defeated at all, it would be by a frontal attack and after a heavy battle.

Mr. Johnstone's temper in matters of this kind came out in a reply made by him to a delegation in 1863. The circumstances were these: His normal majority in Annapolis County, in which for about a quarter of a century he was never defeated, was between two and three hundred. In 1859, however, on account of a prohibitory bill introduced by him in the previous House, and his supposed alliance with Roman Catholics, his majority went down to seventeen. Because of this narrow escape from defeat, his friends thought, especially in view of his advanced years, that in 1863 he should have a safe constituency and so be saved the heavy work of canvassing in the face of such peril. He listened to the proposal of this kind delegation, but when all was said, he compressed his lips, stamped his foot and said, "Never, never, never!"

The result was, in the election of 1863, he rolled up his majority above the normal standard. This was his last election. For the time being all the other subjects were thrown into the shade by the college question. The great majority of Baptists, of course, supported the policy advocated by Mr. Johnstone; but in doing so they did not leave Mr. Howe, because both he

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and Mr. Johnstone were in Lord Falkland's Cabinet. The result of this struggle seems to have settled for all time to come the policy of collegiate education for Nova Scotia.

At this election some Liberal members of the House of Assembly, previously supported by Baptists, were left at home, and were never after able to gain a seat in the Legislature. The cry was raised that the Baptists had united with the Tories, and had thereby stultified themselves. But responsible government had already been secured. For three years Mr. Howe and two of his chosen associates had helped administer it. Both parties had come together in one Government; and the Baptists were not only faithful to their own interests in the college matter, but they had fought for responsible government until it was secured.

It is true that party government, with the heads of departments as a Cabinet, had not come into operation. But the essentials of constitutional government had existed for three years, and Mr. Johnstone had been the leader of it. The Baptists met the accusation of abandoning their principles by accusing Mr. Howe, their former leader, with injustice and ingratitude. They had supported him in his efforts to reform the government of the country; and as soon as he had obtained responsible government, he turned upon them and led in a campaign to destroy their college. It was in their judgment a wanton attack upon old friends, an attempt to rob them of their just and dearly bought rights.

Mr. Johnstone's resignation in the Legislative Council was to Mr. Howe a bolt out of the blue. The impossible had happened. His experience with Mr. Johnstone had taught him that he now faced on the broader arena of political life, and for the first time, an opponent who would tax his resources as they had never been taxed. The college scheme which he had introduced to play but a subordinate part and help to keep his followers in leash for another year until the end of the term of the existing House, had already produced two results unlooked-for, unthought-of—the dissolution of the House of Assembly and the coming down of Mr. Johnstone from the Legislative Council to the conflicts and uncertainties of the more public sphere. The action of the Baptists and the course adopted by Mr. Johnstone lifted the college question

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from its relatively small importance into a place in which for the time it overshadowed all the other political subjects. Nor was it in Mr. Howe's power to make it otherwise. It was of his creation, and he was obliged to follow whither it went. Late in the autumn the election took place. Both Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Howe claimed a majority. No such doubt had hung over the two previous elections. The issue of both these contests was a large majority for the Reformers. Now the result was a matter of doubt and dispute. At this day the spectacle of two members of the same Cabinet opposed to each other as leaders in a general election would be absurd, if not grotesque.

While united with Mr. Johnstone in the same Cabinet, consistency, usage and principle held Mr. Howe bound to refrain from projecting any important measure without the co-operation of his colleagues. Nor can a plea of the lack of knowledge be urged in his defence. It was as well known to him as to every man in the Legislature, that in England the custom was for the Cabinet to be a unit on every important measure. While individual members of Parliament had the right to introduce any measure, no such right was either claimed or exercised by Cabinet ministers. Resignation preceded a course of this kind. When Mr. Howe, without the co-operation of the Government, undertook to reverse the policy of the higher education, which involved the rescinding of college charters and the granting of a new one, he ignored and outraged one of the principles for which he had been contending—responsible government. A Cabinet responsible to the Assembly, to be true and normal, must be composed of men who would maintain the unity of the Government by being faithful and responsible to each other. Responsible government had existed but a short time when Mr. Howe practically asserted his right to ignore the existence of the Cabinet and proclaim himself dictator and manager of measures which naturally belonged to the Ministry to which he had pledged faithful services and united action.

At such a crisis there was work for a man of sound judgment, clear apprehension of essential principles, firmness of purpose, skill in leadership and calmness in the confusion of the conflict of contending parties. In Mr. Johnstone such qualities were found. Of him the words of Mr. I. N. Ford, lately

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applied to Edward VII. as peacemaker, could be adopted: "Absolute truthfulness, capacity for work, shrewdness of judgment, persistency of purpose, high-minded patriotism and consciousness of moral obligations."

Mr. Johnstone's convictions of fidelity to Cabinet colleagues and of consistency of public and political conduct rendered such a course as that taken by Mr. Howe abhorrent, both to his judgment and conscience. His sense of chivalrous loyalty ever barred the way to any such course for himself. To the class of statesmen to which Mr. Johnstone belongs is Canada most indebted for the integrity of her public servants, the solidity of her institutions, and the assurance of future prosperity. To this class such statesmen as Mr. Howe are indebted for the saving of the country from the results of their own erratic and incoherent public careers.

Years after the defeat of the college scheme the question came up again in an informal way in the House of Assembly. In both parties there were at that time members holding different opinions respecting it. The debate was heated, and some members spoke with much violence, especially Mr. Huntington, of Yarmouth. Among other things said by Mr. Howe on that occasion is the following:

"The very corner-stone on which we went to the country in 1843 has been removed. The principle we advanced then was in favour of a central college, but when Mr. Johnstone had his majority in 1844 we called a halt, because these colleges were then in existence, and have been sustained, and cannot be swept away without violence to a part of the population. You cannot sweep them away. You may withdraw your public money, but there will be more socks and mittens knit on the hills of Wilmot, more tubs of butter made, more fat calves killed, and more missionary travellers sent through the country, and Acadia College will stand on the hillside in spite of the withdrawal of the grant, and no free college be opened."

The only recorded instance in which Mr. Howe made admission of responsibility for his political college blunder was in connection with the following statements, made some years afterwards in the Assembly by Mr. Dodd, afterwards Judge Dodd, who said: "Both Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone should have been dismissed for agitating the country."

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"I admit it," said Mr. Howe, "and if we had been, I should not have complained. Had we both been expelled, our mutual misfortune might have made us mutual friends, and induced us to give our old friends who remained a pleasant time of it by a constitutional opposition."

In this sally of humour Mr. Howe does not discriminate between his own responsibility in unwarrantably launching the one-college scheme and Mr. Johnstone's masterly skill and power in saving the Legislature from a blunder, the ill consequences of which no one could have foretold.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HOWE IN CONFLICT WITH LORD FALKLAND.

In the election of 1843, to further strengthen himself in Halifax, Mr. Howe took for his colleague the brilliant young Roman Catholic, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, instead of William Annand, his former partner. Both were elected, but one seat was lost, which Mr. Howe attributed¹ to retaliation of some Roman Catholics because of failure to secure certain offices. It is not improbable that disapproval of Mr. Howe's college policy was the real cause of the defeat. This is what Mr. Howe says:

"A few leading men among Irish Roman Catholics were determined to force themselves into positions upon the Catholic vote, for which they were not better qualified than a great many other people, and to which they had no peculiar claims."

He further states:

"That the Catholics had one member in the Legislative Council and none in the Executive, and but three or four in the Assembly."

This does not show Catholic ascendancy, when out of a population of 277,000 they numbered 69,000. The one member lost in Halifax gave Mr. Johnstone his majority of one on a division of the new House on a vote of want of confidence.

After the election Mr. Howe first offered to form a Cabinet, leaving out Mr. Johnstone and his stronger supporters. This offer Lord Falkland declined to accept. But, instead, Mr. Howe was urged to remain in the Cabinet. After consulting his friends, he consented to do so. Respecting the importunities he was obliged to resist while in the Coalition Cabinet, he says:

"I believe few persons would have risked as much and borne as much as we did from the jealousy and distrust of our own friends in order that the Government might be aided under trying circumstances in carrying out a new and beneficial system.

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"Had Mr. McNab and I felt inclined to intrigue against our colleagues, we need only to have yielded to the earnest solicitations addressed to us by Mr. Huntington and by Mr. Goudge during that session, who repeatedly urged us to join them, or even to stand aside and let them sweep out of the way the weaker portion of the Council."

Down to this period Mr. Howe said:

"I never contemplated the formation of a party Government. I had never pressed it upon the Governor, though the subject had been urged in the newspapers. I had invariably told my friends that neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives were in a condition to form a strong Government of themselves."

Mr. Howe continues:

"As the results of the election were unfavourable to the Attorney-General on the college question, the only one that had been fairly before the country; as it was evident that he and Mr. Stewart had not brought back such a majority as would enable them to carry on the Government without the Liberals, I suggested that if they would retire a Council could be formed which, if His Excellency presented no insuperable difficulties, should carry on the business of the country with a respectable working majority."

Mr. Howe had expressed his willingness that M. B. Almon, Mr. Johnstone's brother-in-law, should be appointed to the Legislative Council, but strongly objected to his having a seat in the Executive Council. The college venture, in the estimation of Mr. Johnstone, rendered Mr. Howe and his Liberal associates doubtful supporters of the leader of the Government. To increase this number by appointing another Liberal in the Cabinet would virtually make an equal division of power. To him this was not satisfactory. Mr. Almon, who was a "Conservative with Liberal leanings," was selected. Again Mr. Howe consulted his friends. He found that his colleague, L. O'C. Doyle, and William Young, both of whom had previously advised him to remain in the Executive, and neither of whom had ever urged the expulsion of Mr. Johnstone, gave it as their decided opinion that for Mr. Howe to remain after Mr. Almon's appointment would forfeit the confidence of the entire Liberal party.

This was the final decision. Mr. Howe, Mr. Uniacke and Mr. McNab resigned, and, on being required by the Governor

*all was left
in - strongly
"Joseph Howe
and myself -
"Tribune of
Nova Scotia"*

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to give their reasons in writing, they assigned the appointment of Mr. Almon as the sole cause.

Lord Falkland, in his correspondence with Mr. Howe, said that during the three years of the Coalition Government nearly all Government appointments had been to Liberals. Every seat in the Executive Council and every one but one in the Legislative Council had been given to Mr. Howe's political friends. This Mr. Howe admitted. Eighty-two Liberal magistrates had been appointed, a larger number, said Mr. Howe, than had received commissions in the last twenty years.

In his own defence Lord Falkland showed his weakness in such statements as the following: "Mr. Almon's relation to Mr. Johnstone would be proof of my confidence in that gentleman."

After the quarrel between Lord Falkland and Mr. Howe had reached extremes, in a despatch to the Colonial Secretary—Lord Stanley—Lord Falkland took the ground that he would not have Mr. Howe in his Cabinet. On referring to this decision of the Governor, Mr. Johnstone said it was "unpalatable" to him. The Governor's reference in declaring his confidence in Mr. Johnstone by appointing his brother-in-law must also have been "unpalatable."

Mr. Howe said, in the matter of the dissolution of the House in 1843, that he "pronounced it, for Lord Falkland's future success and peace of mind, an unwise and fatal step."

As soon as the final separation of the Liberals from the Cabinet took place, Mr. Howe lost no time in fulfilling his prophecy that Lord Falkland's "success" and "peace of mind" should end. He kindled fires all around him. If by chance he got out of the fire, it was to find himself in hot water. If ever a colonial governor went through the fire and through the water, that governor was Lord Falkland. At length, in 1846, after the British Cabinet had sanctioned all he did, and commended him for his course toward Mr. Howe in refusing to accept him as a member of the Executive, Lord Falkland requested the Queen to permit him to resign, which prayer Her Majesty was graciously pleased to grant; and his successor, in the person of Sir John Harvey, soon took his place.

Mr. Howe has left a plain statement of the relations of the Liberal party to the Governor before the election of 1843 and previous to his conflict with him. It is as follows:

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"Lord Falkland came here in the summer of 1840, comparatively ignorant, it was to be assumed, as all trained and educated as he was must be supposed to be, of the administration of colonial affairs. The Liberals had at this time a decided majority in Parliament; their leaders are said by their opponents to have had the chief influence in his Council for the first three years of his administration. Assuming this to be true, without asserting it as a fact, let us enquire how this power was used, how that influence preserved and strengthened the prerogative, and how far His Excellency's personal dignity and independence were maintained.

"His lordship professed to be a Liberal in politics as they were practically developed to his eye; he also professed to be a true believer of the applicability of the principles of Executive responsibility to colonial government. Whatever since may have occurred to bias his mind, or to change his views, we believe his reliance on the infinite superiority of the new system over the old was almost as great and enthusiastic as our own. His Government, though nominally a Coalition, was a Liberal one, the general principles being those of responsible government as recognized in the North American Colonies; and the rule of patronage being to bestow all offices falling vacant—former occupants not being disturbed—upon those who either did, or appeared to, cordially support the Government, nearly all being given upon the advice of, or in such a way as was supposed would be satisfactory to, his Council.

"During all this time how fared it with the prerogative? It was exercised in harmony with the wishes of the great majority of the people, but yet was ever vigorous and respected. . . . The Queen's name was a tower of strength; the Colonial Office was not besieged by hostile delegations, but was fast acquiring a new character in the eyes of the Colonists; and thus did the Liberals of Nova Scotia work out their own principles in harmonious subordination to the Imperial authorities; thus did they uphold and carry Lord Falkland, while his Government enjoyed the confidence of their leaders and maintained a Liberal character. . . . Thus for years was the prerogative guarded, and the Governor's personal comfort and dignity maintained by the Liberals; the occasional divisions in their own ranks and the miserable blunders of some with whom they were associated to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mr. Johnstone's first victory in the broader sphere of politics was the changing of a standing Liberal majority into a Conservative majority. His opponent was Mr. Howe, at the zenith of his power. This is in evidence of his prescience, strength and

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greatness. When aroused—and aroused he was in this campaign as perhaps never before or afterwards—it was found that J. W. Johnstone, as well as Joseph Howe, was an orator. His burning eloquence held crowds of unseated farmers and others spellbound for hours. On such occasions his eye was “the falcon’s eye of strange imperious flash.” The stream of his fervid eloquence was like an electric current turned upon his audience, stirring their hearts, flashing in their faces, and being returned to the speaker, kindled into greater heat the fire of his burning speech. As time went on Mr. Johnstone’s majority increased until it amounted to three or four.

Mr. Howe’s retirement from the Cabinet was orderly and without passion. At his request Lord Falkland gave him liberty to exercise his discretion in using Cabinet secrets in defending himself against accusations from either former friends or opponents.

Such expressions as the following convey an impression of Mr. Howe’s ecstatic pleasure in finding himself free from the worries and restraints of a Cabinet Minister.

The freedom he now felt was some compensation for the reverses he had suffered. He had been an eagle in the cage, now he is at home in the blue.

Howe returned to the editorial chair of the *Nova Scotian*, which had been purchased by his colleague, William Annand; also to the editorial conduct of the *Morning Chronicle*, established by Mr. Annand about this time. On his return to editorial work Mr. Howe wrote:

“ We love it, we love it, and who shall dare
To say that we love not this old arm chair?”

After pointing out that, as Speaker of the House and as a member of the Executive, he was bound to silence in the press so far as freedom to criticise the doings of the Government or the conduct of its members was concerned, he says:

“ Thus hampered, it was impossible that we could continue to wield a bold, impartial pen; accustomed as we had been to plain speaking and independent action, we could wield no other. . . . Thank Providence we are once more unfettered and free to call things by their right names, and exhibit men in their true character, independent of the trammels of hon-

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rary or official station, and utterly regardless of those considerations which weigh upon the free thought and ingenuous expression in the various phases of public life through which we have lately passed. . . . For three years and a half our individuality was lost, and we sometimes doubted our own identity; we were part of a nine-stringed instrument, which sometimes produced harmonies and sometimes discord, but in which there was no clear ringing tone, either modified or subdued. But now, like a lark, we can rise on our own wing and pour forth our own strains, rejoicing in a sense of freedom that we have not felt for years. . . . Hardly had we taken our seat upon our old acquaintance when we fancied that ten thousand ties which formerly linked our name and daily labours with the household thoughts and daily amusements of our countrymen, aye, and countrywomen, were revived as if by magic. We stepped across their social circle, went with them to the woods and the field to enliven their labours or their homes, to shed a salutary influence over their midday meal. . . . Why, here is Mr. Howe amongst us again, not Mr. Speaker Howe, nor Hon. Mr. Howe, but Joe Howe."

The thrill of delight felt by the Liberals throughout the country when it was learned that Howe was again free, is impossible of realization at the present day. The return of a father after a long absence from his home would not have produced greater ecstasy:

"We—Howe and Annand—were together much of the day and far into the night. Nothing could exceed the buoyant and cheerful spirit with which Mr. Howe applied himself to the task which he had assumed of routing Lord Falkland and his Government, horse, foot and artillery, at the next election. . . . His arm-chair became the centre and rallying point of the whole party. Our office was rarely empty; his house, when he was at home, never. We have often seen him dashing off an editorial, which was to set the whole Province laughing or thinking, surrounded by a mob of friends planning some movement or preparing for some meeting. . . . And he thought as little of galloping over two or three counties and addressing half a dozen public meetings as others would think of a drive round 'the Point.'"

Any person seeing Mr. Howe as he was from 1828 to 1840 would not need the gift of prophecy to know that, in a Coalition Government, led by a master mind like that of Mr. Johnstone,

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he would be both unhappy and weak. Out of it, as he said, he had a free wing to rise and sing, and revel in the glories of the new day.

Lord Falkland did not exhibit the discretion of a tactful Governor at the head of a responsible Government. He gave opportunities for personal collision with Mr. Howe. Of this Mr. Howe was not slow to take advantage. But the session dragged along, and the vacancies in the Cabinet remained for a time unfilled.

Mr. Howe found himself again in the whirl of the restless and excitable element of the Liberal party. Chafed and chagrined at the firmness and the steady course pursued by Mr. Johnstone, and the headiness of Lord Falkland, he turned loose all his forces against this titled Governor. Prose and rhyme, mixed in all proportions, went to the public through the press, some of it certainly unfit for the public eye. Of his rhymes the following is an example of the cleanest and most moderate:

"The lord of the bedchamber sat in his shirt,
And D—dy, the pliant, was there,—
And his feelings appeared to be very much hurt,
And his brow overclouded with care.

"How dare they delay when a peer of the realm
And a lord of the bedchamber, too,
To govern them all has been placed at the helm
And to order them just what to do."

There was added to the above a long series of doggerel verses and another stinging, low pasquinade, purporting to be a private report by Lord Falkland to the Colonial Secretary. Here is a sample:

"When you read it, you'll think I have nothing to bore me,
But I'm driving Bluenoses, like poultry, before me.
I am sorry to own, yet the fact must be stated,
The game is all up, and I am fairly checkmated."

William Young, while in England, took an interest in the formation of a company to build provincial and intercolonial railways, a subject agitating the public mind both in the North American Colonies and in Great Britain since the policy was suggested by Lord Durham in 1838. The financial standing of

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the men who professed to have the purpose of embarking in this railway scheme was such as to involve the honour of the Speaker of the House—Mr. Young. Papers from the Colonial Office—then filled by Mr. Gladstone, who afterwards explained that it was not his intention that the Governor should give them to the Legislature—in reply to despatches from Lord Falkland, were submitted to the Assembly. They reflected on the Speaker. Mr. Howe was indignant to the boiling point. In some remarks he said that if Lord Falkland continued to asperse and insult members of the House in this manner someone would give a black man a shilling to horsewhip him. This produced a sensation, both in the House, the city and the country. The galleries were cleared, and the matter dealt with behind closed doors.

It needed a steady hand to guide and control the Government through such wild storms as this. Mr. Johnstone remained calm, prudent and strong. In his tactful manner he advised—and indeed rebuked—both Mr. Howe and Lord Falkland.

While Mr. Johnstone regretted the attack on Mr. Howe and the personal references made by the Governor in his despatches to the Colonial Secretary, his fine sense of propriety in both language and conduct, his chivalrous spirit and indignation at the vulgar abuse heaped upon Her Majesty's representative, left no course open for him but to rebuke the wrong-doer and defend His Excellency against these unjust assaults. Mr. Howe descended to the rôle of a demagogue, and in so doing used his popular talents to destroy the standard of propriety essential to men in public life.

All that Mr. Howe was able to gather up in self-defence was that someone near the Governor's person was the author of the communications sent to a New York paper signed "Scrutator," in which Mr. Howe was freely attacked; that the editor of the *Gazette* also defamed him. Added to this was the complaint that the Governor, in his despatches to the Colonial Secretary, had named him as one man whom he would not have in his Cabinet, and the reasons given were that Mr. Howe, in the *Nova Scotian*, of which he had again become controlling editor, had heaped upon him such low, personal abuse as to make it impossible to preserve a proper respect for his office while presiding over the Executive with Mr. Howe as a member. The Governor in no way retaliated, except in taking this stand.

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This state of the political life of the Province is here introduced that the wisdom and tact of Mr. Johnstone may be seen in their true light. In the House, while the matter was under discussion, Mr. Johnstone frankly admitted that the course taken by the Governor to omit Mr. Howe in any attempt to reconstruct the Executive after the withdrawal of the Liberals was to himself not acceptable.

By carefully reading the speeches of Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Howe throughout that most painful chapter of the politics of Nova Scotia, it is evident that notwithstanding their differences the two men held each other in mutual esteem; and it justifies a remark made by Mr. Howe to a gentleman now a judge of the Supreme Court, after Mr. Johnstone had been made judge in equity, that "Johnstone was the only man I feared in political warfare." His references to Mr. Johnstone all through their political career, although at times touched with caustic or droll humour, were always respectful, and especially so when compared with his treatment of other men. On the other hand, Mr. Johnstone saw in Mr. Howe the promise of great usefulness. His elements of greatness, his popular talents, his aspirations, and his passion for public life, and especially his patriotism and zeal for the rights of the people, were fully appreciated by Mr. Johnstone. He was, perhaps, over-anxious to retain Mr. Howe in the Cabinet, for he knew that in opposition he would not be able to withstand the temptations to take an obstructive course and play the demagogue. Cultured and courtly though Mr. Johnstone was, and utterly incapable of courses sinister or cunning, yet he had infinite patience with Mr. Howe in his vulgarities and reprehensible personal abuse of men like Lord Falkland. It is no matter of wonder, then, that Mr. Johnstone, while the conduct of Mr. Howe toward Lord Falkland was under discussion, discoursed with serious earnestness upon the virtue of gratitude. He reminded Mr. Howe of his pleasant relations with the noble lord from the time he set foot on Nova Scotia soil until Mr. Howe, by his own act, thrust upon the Cabinet the college question, a subject on which he well knew there would be certain and radical disagreement. That unlooked-for event was the source of the distraction and disorder into which the business of the country had been plunged. It was no demand for any enlargement of the alleged rights of the people;

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but Mr. Howe's course was a wanton disturbance of the operation of responsible government, secured chiefly by the agency of Mr. Howe himself. This was all plain and unquestionable. Now, in the course of events thus initiated, could not Mr. Howe remember his personal indebtedness to the noble lord; could he forget that, in taking final leave of the Governor as one of his Council, he had received from his lordship verbal permission to use, at his own discretion, any or all the secrets of the Executive in self-defence, that there was such an element to be seen in conduct as gratitude; and that its opposite, ingratitude, had been rightly stamped "base"?

"For myself," said Mr. Johnstone, "I approve of no article on any side which went to slander or defame any person, no matter what his rank or station; and I will avail myself of this opportunity to state that I regretted the appearance of an article in the *Post*, of which the Hon. Mr. Howe complained. . . . It is unfair, unmanly, unjust," continued Mr. Johnstone, "to wantonly assail an individual who, from his position, was necessarily defenceless, and it exhibited a want of respect for the Queen's representative. . . ."

"When Mr. Howe a few years ago," said Mr. Johnstone, "was reading from one of those scurrilous effusions, he came to some lines which were so indecent that even he was ashamed to read them. I have often been at a loss to conceive how Mr. Howe could send forth to the country a paper containing such low vulgarities. Mr. Howe had adverted to indecencies found in the works of Sterne, Swift and Sam Slick; and while he cannot deny his own writings to be indefensible, he shelters himself under the plea that they were no worse than what was to be found in the books of others. Instead of imitating such examples, he should have employed his talents in striving to improve the taste of his party in the country."

Taking into account Mr. Howe's temperament and political labours previous to entering the Coalition Government, the intriguing of his powerful political associates after he entered it, the new labours of an apologist as a member of the Cabinet, the silence imposed on him in the Speaker's chair, and the uncongenial society of the leading members of the Executive Council, and the breaking up of intimacy and the partial alienation from his old friends, his unconstitutional course and reckless plunge in the college venture can be at least accounted for, but their

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justification is sought in vain. When, however, he found the final outcome was confusion and defeat, he next turned to the matter of reconstruction, and made no secret of his purpose to hold the Liberal party together and reinstate himself with his old political friends. To make his case as popular as possible in the circumstances, he and his colleagues finally made the sole cause of the Cabinet rupture to be the appointment of Mr. Almon, although he and others well knew that this was but an incident in a series of reasons largely traceable to his college blunder.

Moreover, he took the attitude of a martyr, but he was a martyr to his own rashness and folly.

Mr. Johnstone, in contrast with Mr. Howe in this respect, was simply grand. His friendship was deep and warm, and, once formed, remained permanent. By him friends were never forgotten. His noble nature responded to all appeals of this kind. No sacrifice was sufficient to restrain him from acting in accordance with the dictates of a noble, generous heart.

With impassioned but restrained eloquence Mr. Johnstone appealed to Mr. Howe for the exercise of the manly virtue of gratitude in his treatment of Lord Falkland, to whom he had, on a former occasion, acknowledged himself a debtor indeed. But the appeals found no response in Mr. Howe. If he possessed gratitude at all, it was not exercised toward Lord Falkland.

A few old men survive who remember the struggle from 1843 to 1847. For little Nova Scotia it was titanic. Will opposed will, tactician pitted against tactician, talent against talent and orator against orator. J. W. Johnstone introduced responsible government and conducted it for seven years, in four of which he faced Mr. Howe as Opposition leader. - most books

maintain it was Joseph Howe who died.

CHAPTER XXIV.

JOHNSTONE AND HOWE CONTRASTED.

THE period from 1838 to 1844 was one that brought the politicians of Nova Scotia into clear, full light. Being the time of the change from the old to the new principles of government, there were necessarily large demands for definition of terms, elucidation of politics, the settling of the best courses to be pursued, and the selection of men as leaders and directors for the future. It was the application of the principle of natural selection and survival of the fittest. Such was the process that brought to the front in undisputed leadership Joseph Howe and J. W. Johnstone. The verdict of public opinion in and out of the Legislature was that the learned, cultured and strong men, like William Young, Herbert Huntington, James McNab, James Boyle Uniacke, Alexander Stewart, S. G. W. Archibald, E. M. Dodd, William Annand, and others must fall into line under the leadership of Johnstone and Howe. As the years wore away, and political conflicts came and went, this decision in the matter of leadership became so pronounced and confirmed that anyone who would have attempted to dispute it in the case of either of these men would have made himself an object of derision.

As exhibited in the light of these six years, contrast or comparison may be instituted between these leaders. Both were endowed with limitless capacity, resourceful imaginations, dynamic individualities and other forces, subtle and dominating. As with all men of this class, leading rather than following was instinctive and congenial. As it was in England in the days of Gladstone and Disraeli, so it was in little Nova Scotia in the day of Howe and Johnstone. Had their lot been cast in a larger sphere, such as that of the United States or Great Britain, their gifts would have easily carried them to the front.

Indeed, Nova Scotia seemed too small a domain for their

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energies and labours. Had it not been that great principles of universal interest and application engaged their attention, the government of Nova Scotia by them would have been the employment of giants to do the work of weak men. They stood in relation to their respective parties as Sir John A. Macdonald and George Brown did in the later years of the history of the United Canadas.

Great ability and tactful management were employed in the discussion of the principles of the higher education and of sound self-government in the session of the Legislature of 1844. The views of the respective leaders were clearly defined, defended and enforced.

Religion in the higher education was a subject on which Joseph Howe and J. W. Johnstone took opposite views. In matters of State, apart from religion, the former had clear vision, but when the subject involved religious as well as political principles, as a seer he was J. W. Johnstone's inferior. He did not sympathize, as his opponent did, with the convictions of duty in the matter of the claims of faith and piety in solving the problem of the higher education. The views then held and advocated by Mr. Johnstone are now held by almost every denomination of Christians. They feel bound, in loyalty to their conscientious convictions, to give their children a religious training. Here Mr. Johnstone was the philosopher, the seer and the statesman. To deny the people this right was to him a virtual denial of religious liberty. The enjoyment of this right, he said, would ensure success in the higher education—success not possible of attainment under exclusive Government control.

Could Mr. Johnstone stand to-day in the old Province building, in the place he occupied for a quarter of a century, with his grand eloquence, laying under tribute logic and fact, as was his custom, and always with skill and cogency, he could justify the principle for which he fearlessly contended seventy years ago. Now the clearness and soundness of his views are held and defended in every Province in Canada—indeed, in every country in the civilized world. After resisting the claims of the Roman Catholics in Ireland for more than a century, the British Parliament has, in 1908, made concessions which acknowledge the demands of the Irish to be just. A university at Dublin, having for its head a Roman Catholic layman, is the

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belated acknowledgment of an injustice inflicted through many weary years. If the plea is made that religion and politics are mixed, the reply to this is, separate them in the universities of England and Scotland, and compel each denomination to take its hand out of the national treasury, and draw support from the voluntary source found in the respective religious bodies.

Fearless, and with rock-like confidence, Mr. Johnstone stood at the point where partizan government was introduced into Nova Scotia, saw its consequent evils, its cumulative corruption, and its appalling moral ruin. Partizanship yoked to patronage—the demand of Mr. Howe and his party—was the object of Mr. Johnstone's strong invective. In trumpet tones he warned the country against entering upon a course inevitably ruinous and suicidal.

Had the history of Great Britain, the United States, the Dominion of Canada and its Provinces, for the last seventy years been spread out before him, he could not have been more assured or more vehement than he was in his condemnation of the principle, then just beginning to bear its evil fruits in the older communities.

If any other statesman in that formative period of the history of the British North American Colonies saw this evil, now menacing the liberties of Canada and her Provinces, and pointed it out with the clearness and assured conviction of J. W. Johnstone, then the name or names of such persons may be brought forward and associated with his, otherwise the name of Mr. Johnstone will stand in splendid isolation.

His moral and philosophical insight was that of a great statesman. What Goldwin Smith sees, abhors and condemns to-day, J. W. Johnstone saw and condemned seventy years ago, at a time when the evil existed only in its germ.

The last deliverance on this subject of Dr. Smith, publicist and scholar, is this:

“It is needless to say that nothing like this (party government) was contemplated by the framers of the American constitution. Washington sought, by putting Hamilton and Jefferson together in his Administration, to stifle partyism in its birth. . . . You see what party has come to in England.”

Either the application of remedies must be applied to the evils of party government in Canada, as has been done in part in

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England and the United States, or the principle itself must be abandoned, else the end will be moral decay and the ultimate overthrow of the State.

On this subject, as on that of the higher education, Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Howe took opposite sides.

To-day the several denominations in the United States are engaged in devising plans for giving religious instruction to students attending their State universities.

Up to this date, the question may be asked, did Mr. Howe suffer from his oblique proceedings in the political arena? In one sense there was no escape from serious damage. Men whose lives were regulated by principle could not follow Mr. Howe through his tortuous and stultifying courses in the matter of the higher education and of the Coalition Government, without losing confidence in him as a man of clear insight into the moral elements of State problems, of fidelity to principles and loyalty to political associates.

But, on the other hand, he possessed a phenomenal gift for ignoring his damaging deficiencies, and a special talent for turning them to his own personal and party advantage.

In his college fiasco, he directed his abuse and ridicule, among others, against J. W. Nutting, E. A. Crawley and John Ferguson, not so virulent, it is true, as what he poured upon Lord Falkland. The wounds he then made remained for a quarter of a century. In this he led and gratified a part of the people. Such were his droll and piquant humour, his brilliant audacity and disregard of the scrupulous in his conduct toward the authors of damaging opposition, that he rather gained in popularity and control, especially over that part of the community which delighted in blind hero-worship and in seeing those of the higher social classes humiliated. The injustice and the outrage of the principles of honourable dealing were no barriers to his unrighteous mode of warfare with men utterly incapable of repaying him in kind. Loyalty to Cabinet Ministers and to the Queen's representative had no claims upon him when these men stood in his way. By ignoring facts and covering his critics with ridicule, he appealed to his followers with a reckless abandon, delightful to the hearts of the masses, who had for generations been made to feel their social and political inferiority to the ruling class.

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It seemed not to have occurred to him that he was demoralizing taste and sweeping away the rules by which communities are held together while making progress in fine fellowship and in the amenities of all forms of social life.

On one occasion Mr. Johnstone, while referring to Mr. Howe's attempts to introduce party government and patronage, said:

"Does the honourable gentleman wish to see such tyranny renewed as existed in the olden times—the eighty years of irresponsible government in Nova Scotia? After assisting in breaking up this system, does Mr. Howe want to return to it again? Let there be equality for all," continued Mr. Johnstone, "no matter in whose hands power is placed—Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative. In this Province, party government, with its patronage, would be dangerous in the hands of any class of politician. In England, great world-wide interests made party government necessary. Here it would be false, unjust and oppressive to govern by patronage. I charge the Liberals with keeping up party, and making differences which should not have existed. I am of no party," continued Mr. Johnstone, "and could not belong to either. As a Dissenter, I have never entertained any views or held any principles but those which were liberal in the broadest sense of the word. From youth up I have been a Whig, a Liberal in my predilections. Do you want the spoils system of the United States, in which, at every change of Government, every officer goes out, from the pettiest official to the President?"

About forty years after Mr. Johnstone put down these sound principles, to save the Republic from utter moral rottenness the United States bowed themselves to the task of ending the spoils system. Sixty-four years after this prescient and grand statesman rang out this prophecy, what do we see in regard to its fulfilment? In Ontario, for thirty-two years Government patronage, like a maelstrom, drew into its death-tide the honour and the integrity of that country, in spite of the Mowats and the Blakes, until the people rose up and ended the Liberal rule; and, if patronage still survives, it will not be thirty-two years before the people will be obliged to repeat the same operation. Now, in the early life of this Dominion, a Royal Commission has unearthed wholesale corruption—alarming, indeed, to the honest millions of Canada. During the long terms of party

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government one-half of the people get all the patronage. This is true of every Province in the Dominion.

What is to be said of the men who, sixty-four years ago, faced each other on the floor of Nova Scotia's little Parliament? To this process of slow suicide for every Province and for the Dominion, one was blind and indifferent; to the other it was a burden, an appalling vision. With the clearness and force of his fervid eloquence, Mr. Johnstone pointed out the gigantic evil, and, like an Old Testament prophet, lifted up his voice against it, and warned the people of the results sure to follow.

The Provinces and the Dominion, while tasting the gall-bitterness of patronage, are now devising ways to extricate the country from the mire of which the people had due warning from Mr. Johnstone sixty-four years ago. He had no doubt of it then. Canada has no doubt now. He foresaw it then, the people see it now.

In reading even the Liberal literature of that memorable time from 1842 to 1844, one cannot keep away the impression that the scheming of William Young, Mr. Goudge and Huntington to cast aside Mr. Howe was not the sum total of the scheming of that period. The college plunge of Mr. Howe, and his declaration just before the election that, if he got a majority, he would expect Mr. Johnstone to retire, and if he failed he would retire, bears the marks of a plan utterly lacking in chivalrous loyalty to his Premier under whom he served. Like it is his open offer to the Governor, after the election, to form a Government. In his calm greatness, Mr. Johnstone seemed not to have seen this, but aimed to perpetuate an honest Government, securing the rights of all the people. When Lord Falkland, because of Mr. Howe's rough treatment, proscribed Mr. Howe as a Cabinet Minister, Mr. Johnstone publicly expressed his disapproval of it, and held steadily to his policy and the principles it involved.

John Hall, a lawyer and a representative of King's County, during the general discussion, in his characteristic plainness of speech, after telling Mr. Johnstone that, in his opinion, the appointment of his brother-in-law to the Cabinet was "highly injudicious," said: "I cannot speak in terms too strong of my disapproval of the attempt made by Mr. Howe to induce Lord Falkland to discharge Messrs. Johnstone and Stewart, and offering himself and Mr. Uniacke to fill their places. I cannot but

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think there was some combination, some preconcerted plan, some intriguing, for the displacing of Mr. Johnstone and substituting Mr. Uniacke in his place." This was promptly denied by both Mr. Howe and Mr. Uniacke. "But," retorted Mr. Hall, "by intuition you imbibed the opinions of each other, and perfectly knew the workings of each other's minds."

Mr. Johnstone saw the principles of government rooted in the deep convictions and essential rights of the people, and to-day these views are held in greater clearness and strength than at any time in the past. Had Mr. Johnstone's warnings been heeded, Nova Scotia would not to-day present the sad spectacle of one-half of the people shut out from any participation in the honours and emoluments in the government of their country.

Patronage, as it has existed, is virtual bribery. Mr. Johnstone foretold this, and warned his countrymen against it. If character and honesty mean anything in political life, then the Dominion and the Provinces face the crisis when, for the safety of the country, the ugly patronage tumour must be cut out, and means provided for preventing its growth again.

What, in this matter, has been the history of Canada? Every Province gives evidence of alarming demoralization. The forty years of the life of the Dominion has been marked by a rapid decrease in political morality. A halt is now called, and reform demanded.

As party government has been irrevocably fixed as a policy, then, to save the country from moral decay, patronage must be removed from the control of partizanship and put under the control of a just and impartial administration.

CHAPTER XXV.

SIR JOHN HARVEY AS MEDIATOR.

On the 3rd of August, 1846, leaving the Administration in the hands of Major-General Sir Jeremiah Dickson, senior commander of Her Majesty's forces in America, Lord Falkland took his leave of Nova Scotia. As he was borne away from the confusion, conflicts and perplexities of his last four years in Halifax, he must have indulged in a sigh of relief as the good ship increased the distance between him and his tormentors.

On the 29th of August, Sir John Harvey, directly from Newfoundland, was welcomed to Halifax as Lord Falkland's successor. He brought with him, as Governor, the precious experience of two terms in other Colonies—New Brunswick and Newfoundland. His knowledge of Colonial administration was, therefore, large. Moreover, he had gained the reputation of a successful representative of his Sovereign. This was important, especially in view of the duties before him as Lord Falkland's successor.

Sir John Harvey, on entering upon his duties, lost no time in announcing himself as a "mediator and moderator."

Earl Grey, then Secretary of the Colonies, was well acquainted with the troubles through which Nova Scotia had been passing. His advice to the new Governor was: "Identify yourself with no party; be a mediator and moderator among them."

In Mr. Pope's life of Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir John, in referring to the part Mr. Howe took in the anti-confederation movement in Nova Scotia, calls him "that pestilent Howe." Mr. Howe's life, as a rule, was not that of a disturber of the peace. His was a voice of clarion note in the ears of his fellow-countrymen, demanding unqualified liberty for the citizens of Nova Scotia and all other parts of the British Empire. At times, no doubt, he was an agitator and a demagogue, but his

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mission was to end the old "family compact"—the inherited class régime, and to introduce the new régime of free, individual citizenship. For that work he was mighty. During eighty years before his day, Nova Scotia had been in the iron grip of Toryism. This had been so because of the genius of the age and the nature of Colonial conditions. Paternalism had been the essential element of government.

In passing from the old to the new, Mr. Johnstone would have secured entire freedom by degrees. His plea was for an orderly, evolutionary process. On the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Assembly, he and Mr. Howe were in agreement. But Mr. Howe's policy was to make sudden and sweeping changes. In the end he adopted substantially Mr. Johnstone's policy. He could not ignore his great influence and powerful arguments. A clear, impartial review of their public lives shows that there was between them mutual indebtedness, imparting strength and wisdom, which enriched their labours.

Before the appointment of judges and other civil officials could be transferred from the Imperial to the Provincial Government, an adjustment of the revenues of the Crown—casual and territorial—was essential. This and other kindred matters took much time. In practice, therefore, the Liberal Government, led by Mr. Howe (virtually led—he was not always the literal leader) held to a reasonably conservative course. The settlement of the salaries of the men on the civil list was one of the matters that called out various opinions and took much time for readjustment.

Changes of this kind not infrequently come suddenly. Nor are all the results evil. Revolution breeds courage and individuality. Stirred by such events, men begin to think clearly and deeply, and come to a knowledge of their individual strength. The larger portion of the people of Nova Scotia had been accustomed to look with deference and awe upon inherited conditions.

It was assumed by the learned, cultured few—the leaders in the civil, social and religious spheres—and somewhat by those whom they overawed—that the power exercised by them was like that arrogated to themselves by kings—a divine right. This was abhorrent to Joseph Howe. It is very uncommon to find a man so thoroughly loyal to a monarchy, and at the same time holding

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in such utter contempt its highest officials when they came in the way of his democratic demands. Every drop of blood in Joseph Howe's veins was exceedingly mad against the stubbornness of the long-favoured class when they resisted what he claimed to be the rights of the people. Under his leadership, therefore, the "squires" went into eclipse, and justices of the peace became as numerous as schoolmasters.

After Mr. Howe came into power in 1847, by one Act he dismissed over one hundred Conservative magistrates by issuing a new "Commission of the Peace." This was a proceeding unworthy of a great statesman flushed with victory. Petitions and memorials against it and praying for the annulling of the Act and the restitution of the magistrates dismissed were sent to the British Government, who took up the matter warmly and censured Sir John Harvey, the Lieutenant-Governor, in a despatch which, however, did not reach the public until Mr. Johnstone laid it on the table of the House after his return to power ten years later. Most of the dismissed J.P.'s were one by one reappointed, and the despatch informed the Governor that, but for his assurance that all, except a few against whom charges of inefficiency and improper conduct had been established, would be reappointed, Her Majesty's most severe token of displeasure would have been visited on him; in other words, he would have been recalled. No such discreditable Act in connection with the introduction of responsible government appeared in the other Provinces.

Latent in the Puritan stock in the centre and west of Nova Scotia was the conviction of individualism and its righteous claims. As they witnessed their popular leader lash unmercifully the young lord, "married to a king's daughter," the old inherited Cromwellian spirit found a new birth, and it was simply instinct for them to cheer a man of their own class who dared undertake this audacious task. The driving of old Tory incumbents from civil offices, and the filling of their seats with enterprising democrats, was to them the new wine of a new political life. If Joseph Howe could lay aside the compositor's apron, and become the teacher of Governors and Colonial Secretaries, what might not any boy or young man in town or country do? The means used in rising to the position he had reached, or in discharging its

duties, were of little account to them. For him they had no adverse criticism. He was their leader. He amused, instructed and led them. What did it matter to them how the old was overthrown while the new order of things was taking its place? The levelling up of the masses with the classes, of course, delighted a part of the people. It is not surprising that Mr. Howe's following was so large, but rather that it was not larger. The governing class was not a fifth of the population.

Intellectual life was quickened, school teachers and evangelists multiplied, books and newspapers increased and illiteracy began to vanish. To Joseph Howe must be granted the honour of leadership in this Renaissance in his native Province.

J. W. Johnstone, too, by giving his influence, time and money, did his part nobly in establishing institutions of learning, and in improving the system of common schools. He was well aware of the backward, illiterate state of the country, and by wisely devising means, sought its improvement and elevation. Individual liberty and the equal rights of all citizens seemed to monopolize Mr. Howe's thoughts and limit his vision. It is true that the diffusion of general knowledge through books and the press did engage his talents, but education, as a whole, to be secured by a system of schools from the university down to the country school house, was not to him a plan and purpose as it was to his distinguished opponent.

By example and precept Mr. Johnstone kept before the public mind high ideals, exquisite taste, honourable dealings, and, indeed, general conduct true and sound. Gradual passing from worn-out systems to those that were new, holding together and unifying all the elements of society, avoiding the conflicts of class with class, treating the people in every station with deference and respect, and encouraging devotion and fidelity in the discharge of every duty, were the sentiments of J. W. Johnstone. They adorned his character and labours, and now in the retrospect lend a charm and radiance to his dynamic personality and grand life.

The ending of the conflict between the two political parties was, for Sir John Harvey, no mean task. He informed the Cabinet and other leading men whom he met that his policy in other colonies in which he had served as Governor, and the one which he proposed to follow in Nova Scotia, was the

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"formation of a mixed Government, including the talented of all parties." To accomplish this purpose it was plain to him that the first thing to do was to bring together the two acknowledged leaders.

After communicating with Mr. Howe and his friends, the Governor was encouraged to believe that he could make peace between the conflicting parties. He came to the conclusion that the heart of the trouble was social rather than political. He therefore suggested that there should be occasional meetings of the leaders at his table.

A suggested horse-whipping of Lord Falkland by the Hon. Joseph Howe on the floors of the House of Assembly, and "ribaldrous," scurrilous writings in both prose and rhyme, published in the city press and directed at his lordship, had excluded their author and some who sympathized with him from the hospitality of Government House. Sir John Harvey, as a preliminary to political co-operation, sought to neutralize this hot antagonism.

After talking with Mr. Howe and others of that party, he informed Mr. Johnstone that he had obtained good grounds for believing that a reunion of the leaders of the two parties in a new Cabinet could be effected.

Out of the experience of the last seven years, Mr. Johnstone had, however, drawn inferences in the light of which he shaped his course in co-operating with Sir John Harvey in his praiseworthy undertaking.

It is clear that there was one thing which Mr. Johnstone was resolved not to do. Mr. Howe would get no proposal directly from him which he might throw back into his face; but he would co-operate with Sir John in his task of moderating and mediating. A communication was, therefore, sent to the Governor from the Executive Council, to the effect that Mr. Almon would resign his position in the Executive—his appointment was the sole ground put forward by Mr. Howe, Mr. McNab and Mr. Uniacke for the resignation of their seats in the Executive—and that E. M. Dodd, Solicitor-General, would also resign his office, if thereby leading Liberals would enter the Cabinet to help in perpetuating the union Government advocated by Mr. Johnstone and strongly desired by both Sir John Harvey and the Colonial Secretary.

SIR JOHN HARVEY AS MEDIATOR

In his negotiations with Mr. Howe, His Excellency would have these two positions to offer, making four out of the nine seats in the Executive Council.

Armed with these documents, coupled with his own personal and official influence, Sir John Harvey's hopes were strong to the point of assured success. Not so Mr. Johnstone. He knew Mr. Howe as the Governor did not know him, either at the beginning or end of his official career. The horse, lassoed on the prairie and confined in stall for four years, once freed and again enjoying wild life, could not have more repugnance to return to his stall than Joseph Howe had to get back to his place in the Executive Council. In reply to his overtures, Sir John Harvey received from Mr. Howe and his colleagues an elaborate State paper. A number of pages were given to a detailed account of how a similar matter would be conducted between the Queen and her Cabinet. Sir John Harvey, now presiding over the third colony as Governor, was the pupil and Joseph Howe was the teacher. Implicit in these instructions was the assumed fact that either because of his own official ignorance, or because of being misguided by his Premier (Mr. Johnstone), Sir John Harvey was mixed and muddled in his first attempt as Governor of Nova Scotia to bring order out of the confusion. Here was a tempting, open door. The Governor, in entering it, could have reminded Mr. Howe of his college adventure and all that grew out of it. He could have been told that no Cabinet Minister in England would, without the concurrence of the Government, introduce virtually a Government measure into the House of Commons, carry it through, and thereby cause a dissolution of the Commons and an election, and after finding himself defeated in the country, boldly propose to the Queen the dismissal of her Premier and other principal members of her Cabinet, and that he would form a Government, and all that, done before the new House had come together, this member in the meantime clinging to his place in the Cabinet. This, Mr. Howe could have been told with stinging sarcasm, was not English custom.

In addition to other instructions, the Governor was told that Mr. Howe and his colleagues would not return to the Cabinet, and in a long and wordy paper the alleged reasons for the refusal were given.

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The Governor's humiliating disappointment may be imagined. Mr. Johnstone's disappointment—if disappointment he had—however, was exceedingly slight. His seven years of intercourse with these men had not been forgotten, nor was its lesson in vain.

This paper, of course, was passed over to the Executive Council, and to it a reply was given, evidently the composition of J. W. Johnstone. Mr. Howe's long reply to the Governor was clearly intended for campaign literature in the coming election, then not far in the future, and for this purpose it was effectually used.

In controversy, Mr. Johnstone always wielded a Damascus blade. He declined to either follow Mr. Howe in his unfair and partizan recital of past events, or "to emulate him in instructing His Excellency in the secrets of the Royal closet," but he would say that

"Vanity and self-interest may magnify beyond their due proportion the affairs of a small colony, and the ability necessary for advising the Lieutenant-Governor on their conduct, but the experience of many years, during which at different times most of us have been associated with many of the leading men on the other side, has given us moderate views on this subject. Therefore, in seeking a union of parties, the evils to be averted formed our paramount consideration, and the suppression of a debasing agitation, calculated only to disturb the peace and retard the welfare of the country, was to us an object of far more controlling importance than the advantages to be expected from the talents of any set of men."

With a touch of fine sarcasm, Mr. Johnstone continues his reference to Mr. Howe's reply to Sir John Harvey by saying:

"Five pages are occupied in instructing your Excellency in the etiquette of the Royal closet, discanting on the duties that attach to the Prime Minister of England and in exposing the derelictions of duty into which they assume our ignorance has led us.

"We are not ambitious of the credit to be derived from the display of knowledge on matters of no very deep erudition, and shall, therefore, leave these gentlemen in undisturbed possession of the high places they emulate, content to believe that the course we pursued was that best suited to the humble circumstances in which we are placed."

SIR JOHN HARVEY AS MEDIATOR

Continuing, Mr. Johnstone says:

"Here a ready key is furnished to the extravagant comparison between the Government of Nova Scotia and that of Great Britain, and the overstrained and unsound analogies attempted to be deduced from English precedents which overspread the documents" (sent by Mr. Howe and his colleagues to the Governor as a reply to his overtures) "and which we are considering to a degree calculated to give it an air of burlesque and caricature in the eyes of those acquainted with the real nature of both governments and the circumstances of the two countries."

In rejecting the proposals of Sir John Harvey, Mr. Howe forced partizanship and patronage on Nova Scotia. No course was left open but to fill the vacancies in the Executive and accept party government. Thus Mr. Johnstone yielded to the inevitable.

During the session of the Legislature following the arrival of Sir John Harvey, the Earl of Elgin landed at Halifax on his way to Quebec as Governor-General.

In the first volume of his speeches, Mr. Howe gives a most surprising account of this event. He says:

"The Solicitor-General (Mr. Dodd) moved a complimentary address in the Lower House. Mr. Howe rose, and approving of the suggestion as quite in accordance with the usual practice, and imposing an agreeable duty from the high character of the Earl of Elgin, and the success he had achieved elsewhere, approved of the address on another ground; because as the Earl was nearly connected with the late Lord Durham (having married his daughter) it would give to the House an opportunity of paying to his memory a tribute of respect and admiration which that lamented nobleman had earned by his imperishable report. The administration were excessively embarrassed by this suggestion. One after another the members and supporters of the Government rose and protested against any allusion to Lord Durham; and one after another of the members of the Opposition declared that a compliment to His Lordship's memory, clear and unequivocal, should be an essential element of an address presented on such an occasion. . . . The Government at last gave in, and Lord Durham's services were recognized in a passage of the address."

As it is well known that J. W. Johnstone was one of the delegates sent to meet Lord Durham at Quebec in 1838, and

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that he had given ample proof of his agreement with the principle of government, the suggestion of the confederation of the Colonies and the building of the intercolonial railway, advocated by the Earl, and in general had expressed himself greatly pleased with Lord Durham and his mission, it is unaccountable that he and his party could have opposed a reference in the address in question to the noble lord and the work he had done for Canada, and especially as Mr. Johnstone would fully appreciate such a delicate compliment to so deserving a nobleman.

The journals of the House of Assembly contain this record: "J. W. Johnstone, Joseph Howe, L. M. Wilkins, Lawrence O'C. Doyle and Mr. Holmes were appointed a committee to draw up a suitable address to the Governor-General—the Earl of Elgin. In due time it was submitted to the House and passed unanimously. The Assembly went in a body to Government House, where the Earl was entertained, presented the address, and received a gracious reply."

It is difficult to harmonize Mr. Howe's memory of this event and the record on the journals of the House of Assembly.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

SIMULTANEOUS VOTING.

MR. HOWE did not content himself with instructing Sir John Harvey in respect to his duties as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia; Earl Grey, who at the time filled the position of Colonial Secretary, shared in the benefits of his tuition. The Colonial Secretary, among other things, was told that the time would come when, in England, the purchase of commissions in the army would be regarded as pernicious as the purchase of judgeships. This to Mr. Howe's prescient judgment was sure to follow the application of sound principles. The fulfilment of this prediction lingered, but finally it came.

The correspondence between Sir John Harvey, the Provincial Executive Council, and the Opposition was sent to the Colonial Secretary. In reply he said:

"There is much to admire in the ability with which the representatives of both parties argued in favour of their respective conclusions.

"It is, therefore, the more to be regretted, that precautions were not taken to prevent those communications from exhibiting that tone of acrimony that unfortunately disfigures them. Indeed, it would have been far better and more in accordance with our practice in similar cases had the communications of each party been addressed to you in strict confidence, and withheld from the other. Your efforts to moderate the amenities of party and strengthen your Government were rather exertions of personal influence than part of the duties of administration as such. They, like all other exertions of such influence, should have been the subject of confidential communication rather than a kind public discussion.

"While I regret the want of success in efforts prompted by anxiety for the efficiency of the public service, I must add that I am not surprised at the result."

"Coalition governments," says Earl Grey, "rarely succeed. No attempt should be made to renew the negotiations." The Earl added, that six members in the Executive Council would be a number sufficiently large to give advice to the Lieutenant-Governor; and that he discovered no indication in the discussion that Mr. Johnstone wished to weaken in any way the respon-

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sibility of the Executive Government to the Legislature. "The two parties," says the Earl, "agree substantially."

"In any change of administration," Earl Grey further says, "the number of officials to retire with the Government must be determined by the Council and the House. Enough to give public expression through the Executive is all that is necessary." In the Earl's opinion, "the Attorney-General, the Provincial Secretary, and perhaps the Solicitor-General would be sufficient. If more are required by succeeding governments, I leave this to your discretion. But I rely on your using your influence to resist that disposition which a party in succeeding to power often exhibits to throw open the various offices of emolument to their friends without sufficient regard to the mischief thereby permanently entailed on the public service."

The correspondence relating to the last effort to avoid party government, and the opinions and advice of the Colonial Secretary growing out of it make plain two important matters. In the judgment of Earl Grey, the Government, led by Mr. Johnstone, was true to the principle of responsibility, the difference being one of policy in matters of method and process. Added to this is another fact equally apparent. The British Cabinet had been convinced that Nova Scotia was sufficiently rich in men of wisdom to sustain and efficiently conduct a government responsible to the people's representatives. All this had been secured between 1838 and 1847, the time in which J. W. Johnstone was Premier. It was chiefly by his prescience and sagacity that responsible government was introduced and established in Nova Scotia.

Incidentally there appears in the correspondence with the Colonial Office the delimitation of the spheres of authority between the Governor-General and the local governors. When the former was present in any Province, then the Lieutenant-Governor surrendered his place and power to the Governor-General, who, for the time he might continue in the Province, would be responsible to the English Cabinet; but, in his absence, the local governor would have full authority, and be directly responsible to the Home Government. In matters of more than local interest he was directed to consult with the Governor-General.

The regret of Earl Grey that the correspondence between the two parties had become public, is a noteworthy aspect of this

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interesting episode in the history of Nova Scotia politics. He assumes that it was a matter of indiscretion, attributable to the inexperience of the men then in charge, that discreet diplomacy and privacy—the practice in Great Britain—had not been observed in Nova Scotia. His mistake was natural and no matter for wonder. But had he known how radical was Mr. Johnstone's want of confidence in Mr. Howe as to his real and ultimate aim, had he known how thoroughly resolved Mr. Howe was to have everything done by himself spread out before the people that it might become even more apparent that he was, not only the leader of a political party in his native Province, but that he was also a teacher of governors and colonial secretaries—had Earl Grey seen all this as it actually existed, he would not for a moment have indulged the belief that, with a little precaution on the part of Sir John Harvey, the correspondence could have been confined to the privacy of the Governor's judgment and discretion. No earls, no cabinets, Provincial or Imperial, could have confined to privacy this literature upon which Mr. Howe largely depended for his success in the pending election. No one could have known Mr. Howe's ulterior purpose more thoroughly, more exactly, than J. W. Johnstone, who must have smiled complacently as he read the Earl's commentary on this point. His blissful ignorance Mr. Johnstone did not disturb.

A few sentences from a proclamation for a day of fasting and prayer show the difference of religious opinion of that and the present time.

The bishop of the Episcopal Church, then a member of the Legislative Council, was the author of the proclamation. This was in 1847, a time of great distress. The Government sent to Inverness 100 barrels of cornmeal, 4,000 bushels of oats and the like amount of barley. At Whyccomagh, 200 cattle and 500 sheep starved to death. From seven to eight hundred families were living, some on one meal and some on a half meal a day.

On the 14th of May, 1847, the fasting and prayer were ordered by the Government. It was

“To be a day of public fasting and humiliation, that we may humble ourselves before Almighty God in order to obtain pardon for our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner, send

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up prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for the removal of those heavy judgments which our manifold sins and provocations have most justly deserved, and under which, at the present time we are suffering, and as we would avoid the wrath and indignation of Almighty God."

From 1843 to 1847, with a small majority and Mr. Howe and his enthusiastic party in front, Mr. Johnstone was not in favourable circumstances for aggressive and constructive legislation. There was, however, one urgent demand for reform in addition to the ordinary routine of government to which he addressed himself with zeal and purpose.

The custom from the time of the introduction of representative government had been to give a number of days to the polling of votes in each county. The larger and longer the county, the greater the number of days required to complete an election. Elections in counties even were not simultaneous. Illiteracy and the habit of excessive drinking made the election scenes of continued carousal and brutal conflicts. Mr. Howe had been through two and Mr. Johnstone one general election. A common desire existed for a change. Simultaneous voting was the law in Canada and New Brunswick. Mr. Johnstone introduced a bill for such a law into the Nova Scotia Legislature. The counties were divided into sections and other arrangements were made to secure the efficient working of such a law. No opposition to the principle of the bill was encountered; but in other respects it was opposed. Mr. Johnstone, however, had no special difficulty in carrying it through both Houses and making it the law of the Province in perpetuity.

An impartial review of Mr. Johnstone's public labours should effectually contradict the tradition—a floating unfounded belief started at first by violent partizanship—that he was a Tory and an obstructionist. The history of legislation in Nova Scotia from 1838 to 1864, the period in which Mr. Johnstone was in public life, proves clearly that he was a constitutional, progressive, Liberal Conservative.

In 1843, Mr. Johnstone saw for himself the abuses and evils attending the old system of holding elections. The reports from other places were even worse than anything he witnessed in his own county, before or at the general election of 1843.

A man who has had an honourable public career, and who

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now lives in retirement, gives the following account of what he recollects of scenes in elections before Mr. Johnstone's simultaneous voting bill came into operation. In the County of Pictou, the polls were held at three centres, Pictou town, New Glasgow and Merigomish. At the first point, voting continued for about a week. The polling was held in the second storey of the Court House, which was reached by a broad staircase. One party hit upon the device of packing this stairway with its own men, who overflowed into the corridor above and the room in which the votes were given. The process of voting was made slow by protests and other means. This forced monopoly of space stirred resistance in the hearts of the other party. From a number of outlying sections the voters had not arrived. Messengers were, therefore, sent to let them know the state of things at the polling place. The result was that in a short time about one hundred men appeared, each having a dangerous-looking stick in his hand. In an incredibly short time the stairway and upper space were cleared. The imagination can supply the character of the operation while this clearing process was going on. When the struggle was over, in one house, near the polling place, there were seventeen men in the hands of the doctors.

To storm and take the stairway was not enough, it must be held day and night by all means. A man now living remembers that with other boys he walked upon the shoulders of the men holding the fort, carrying them food and pails of rum and water, to keep up their strength and spirits day and night in defending this vantage ground gained in a violent struggle.

The brave efforts and the inconveniences of carrying on elections, before simultaneous voting became the law of the Province, may be learned by another instance which happened in Cape Breton. Mr. Dodd, afterwards Judge Dodd, having had experience in the navy sufficient to make him superior to ordinary difficulties, rallied a large number of voters in and around Sydney, and conducted them through the woods about one hundred miles to Port Hood to cast their votes for a friend, in whose election he was specially interested.

These are some of the scenes, perhaps exceptional, which took place before Mr. Johnstone's simultaneous bill became the law of the land.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE.

THE English Government, at the time Lord Durham was appointed Governor-General, had not forgotten the rebellions in the Canadas, then burning and smoking like a fire of a previous night drenched by city engines. A military road from Nova Scotia to Quebec was suggested by the British Government in Earl Durham's commission. Railroads were then in their infancy, as was marine transportation by steam. Instead of a military road, suggested by the English Government, Lord Durham recommended a railroad.

At this time there was a railroad through the interior of New York State, and it was found that this road could be operated in the winter. This was evidence that a road could be kept open through the snows of Canada. This led to correspondence between the Governments of the Maritime Provinces and Canada and the British Cabinet about an intercolonial railway. It fell to the lot of Mr. Johnstone, as Premier of Nova Scotia, to conduct the correspondence for this Province. As early as 1846 the Imperial Government had put on a staff of engineers to make surveys for this trunk line, the expense of which was to be borne in common by the Colonies and the Imperial Government. This has been known as the Major Robinson survey.

Coincident with this survey for a railroad, there appeared a new phase of the burning question between New Brunswick and Quebec, respecting the boundary line separating these two Provinces. The former Province had been unfortunate in regard to the delimitation of her boundaries. No part of her borders seems to have been exempt from such disputes except her southern coast resting on the Bay of Fundy. The line across the neck of land uniting that Province to Nova Scotia, the line separating her from the United States, which, as is well known, came perilously near precipitating a war between



Joseph Howe.

(From a painting by T. Debaussy, London, Eng., in 1851.)

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THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE

Great Britain and the United States, and the boundary between her and Quebec entailed disputes extending back for more than a half century. To Major Robinson and his staff, engaged in the survey of an intercolonial railroad, was committed the additional duty of determining the true boundary between Quebec and New Brunswick. This opened a field for the exercise of the distinguished talents and skill of the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, who at the time (1846) was Attorney-General of Nova Scotia.

From a very able paper, found in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, written by Professor W. F. Ganong, of Smith's College, at Northampton, Mass., information concerning the part taken by Mr. Johnstone in settling this boundary dispute may be found:

"These international contentions," says Professor Ganong, "had exhausted the power of the highest diplomacy. This subject, which was interlocked with the general history of the Province, had been discussed by weighty commissioners."

As early as 1792, Quebec called upon the British Government to settle this dispute. Surveyors, Colonial and British Governments, had wrestled with the subject, which stubbornly refused to be settled. The Ashburton treaty, signed in 1842, renewed the contention, and introduced a new phase of it, which added to its complexity and confusion. In 1846, there was a deadlock, and the British Government was requested to intervene and end the dispute.

It can be seen by reading a paragraph from a despatch from the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to Earl Cathcart, Governor-General of Canada, that the complications were not matters of mere fancy. Mr. Gladstone says:

"The long-pending controversy between the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick respecting the settlement of their boundary line, has been the subject of a correspondence already much protracted. So far as it is possible to throw light on such a question by the mere interchange of despatches and explanatory reports, nothing remains to be done for the elucidation of it. But the result of the study of those documents is to show that the reconciliation of their seeming contradictions is unattainable at this distance from the territory to which the discussion refers. In fact, the accumulation of documents on the subject

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has been so great as to perplex, rather than assist, any inquiries by Her Majesty's Government, into the various topographical and other details into which they so copiously enter. And yet, without the intervention of Her Majesty's Government in this country, the prospect of any adjustment of the dispute seems entirely hopeless; so opposite are the views both of principles and of fact, on which the disputants on either side have proceeded.

"To render the intervention effectual, I have, therefore, thought it necessary to delegate the task of examining this dispute, and of reporting on it, to two officers of Her Majesty's Royal Engineers, Captain Pipon and Lieutenant Henderson, assisted by Her Majesty's Attorney-General of Nova Scotia. To the two former it will especially belong, to ascertain, by actual inspection, aided by their professional science, all the facts in dispute respecting the natural formation, and the military and other advantages of the territory in question. To these gentlemen, aided by their legal colleague, will then belong the duty of considering, and reporting for the information and guidance of Her Majesty's Government, whether there is any line which could be drawn for the demarcation of the two Provinces, which would satisfy the strict legal claims of each. If they should find it impossible to discover such a line, their next duty will be to consider and report how a line could be drawn which would combine the greatest amount of practical convenience to both Provinces with the least amount of practical inconvenience to either; adverting, at the same time, to such interests (if there be any such), as the Empire at large may have in the adjustment of this question. These reports, when complete, will be made to Her Majesty's Government, and, I trust, will form the basis of an early and satisfactory decision of this controversy."

Captain Pipon was drowned while engaged in this survey, and the engineering work fell into the hands of Major Robinson and Captain Henderson. The legal labour fell, of course, to Mr. Johnstone. It was nearly two years before the arbitrators reported to the Imperial Government. The accumulated reports and judgments in the hands of the office of the Colonial Secretary were put into Mr. Johnstone's hands. For additional surveys, he looked to Major Robinson, who had taken Captain Pipon's place, and Captain Henderson.

As has already been seen, the former reports and findings, adding perplexity and confusion to the whole subject, and the

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despair of Mr. Gladstone, as well as an independent examination of the history and merits of the entire question, confronted Mr. Johnstone. He knew, too, that his judgment would be judged by the highest legal talent in Canada and Great Britain. Such was the task that then confronted the Attorney-General of Nova Scotia.

To Mr. Johnstone it was instinctive to master the data, the details and the principles involved in any subject referred to him for adjudication. His patience in research, his thoroughness in sifting all evidence, were well known. After he had exhausted every source of information, no accumulations could confuse his prescient talents, for analytical, synthetical arrangement and skilful combination of the material in hand. Upon all preparations he would turn his masterly talent for logic and philosophy, and, however complicated the subject might be, the result would be the deductions of his acute and profound reasoning. In the case now under consideration, the conclusion reached was that a large tract of land between New Brunswick and Quebec had never been granted to either Province by the British Government. Having arrived at this decision, he then, in a review of the whole matter, in which he, taking into account topographical conditions, historic occupation by each Province, and all other considerations of justice, convenience and expediency, divided this ungranted tract of land between the two Provinces. New Brunswick accepted the decision of this report, and expressed her willingness to abide by it. Quebec, however, took a different course. The question, therefore, remained for a time unsettled.

Respecting Mr. Johnstone's report, Professor Ganong says:

"It is one of the most interesting documents in all our voluminous boundary literature. It is written with remarkable literary skill, clearness and logic, and is, no doubt, the work of that accomplished lawyer, Johnstone."

In 1850, the whole case was again in the hands of the Home Government for settlement. The Colonial Secretary proposed that the matter should be disposed of by mutual agreement.

Says Professor Ganong:

"Earl Grey proposed that each Province choose an arbitrator, and these two should choose an umpire, or, if unable to agree,

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he should be appointed by Her Majesty's Government. They should point out the line which they consider the most convenient and the most equitable, without being held to the interpretation of the law as it stands; and their decision would be made law by Parliament. If, however, the parties could not agree, then Her Majesty's Government would decide the question on the basis of the report of the Commission of 1848."—*Mr. Johnstone's report.*

It is here noteworthy that Mr. Johnstone's report had so impressed the English Government that the following declaration is made respecting it:

"That in case it, the final action, should be left to the Cabinet, their adjudication should be made on the basis of Mr. Johnstone's report."

To this proposition both Provinces agreed. New Brunswick named Dr. Travers Twiss, of London, and Quebec named Thomas Falconer, barrister, of London. In December, 1850, these two agreed upon the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, judge of the Admiralty Court, and a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as umpire, or third arbitrator.

On the 17th of April, 1851, the arbitrators submitted a decision concurred in by Lushington and Twiss, with Falconer dissenting.

Accompanying this are the reasons by Dr. Lushington for his opinions. It is a remarkably clear and concise document. It praises the report of the Commission of 1848 (Johnstone's), and states that he was inclined to adopt this line.

When the disagreement of the other Commissioners made it necessary for Judge Lushington to suggest a line, he took the Johnstone line as a basis, and "resolved not to depart from it without good reasons."

It is a matter of profound satisfaction to have such proof as that found in the foregoing account of the part taken by Mr. Johnstone in the settlement of the prolonged dispute between Quebec and New Brunswick. Although Mr. Johnstone's talents had been mostly confined to the politics and judiciary of a single Province, yet it appears that they were of such an order as to make him rank with such jurists and statesmen as Judge Lushington.

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It no longer remains a matter of conjecture or speculation as to the character of the judicial talents of the Hon. J. W. Johnstone. We have in this instance the most irrefragable proof that he stood among the foremost jurists of his day.

It would be difficult to imagine a test of his ability as a lawyer more complicated and difficult than the one here under consideration, and in which he proved himself equal to the trial, and out of which he emerged admired and approved by men of the highest talents in the two Colonies, by English Cabinet ministers and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

NEW GOVERNMENT.

THE election of 1847, for which the writs were returnable on the 31st of August, resulted in the defeat of the Government. The counties were divided into sections in preparation for the first election in the Province under the law providing for simultaneous voting. Although the final result was against Mr. Johnstone's Government, it was at first sufficiently uncertain to justify him in retaining power until after the next meeting of the Legislature.

On the 28th of January, 1848, the Executive tendered their resignations. Sir John Harvey told the retiring ministers that he had ever held a high opinion of their ability, zeal, integrity and honour.

The House met on January 22nd, 1848. The strength of each party in the new House was tested by the election of Speaker. William Young, Liberal, received twenty-eight votes, and the Conservative nominee twenty-one.

On the death of S. G. W. Archibald, which occurred before the resignation of the Government, Alexander Stewart was appointed to his place as Master of the Rolls. This desirable position would naturally have fallen to Mr. Johnstone as leader of the Government and Attorney-General, but his obligations to the country, especially in the matter of legislation for the higher education, were such that he could not feel justified in withdrawing from public life at that time. Although he had been sustained in his college policy, yet the division of opinion in the Legislature and in the country was such that he believed it was not beyond peril, especially as Mr. Howe had pledged himself to the principle of one college supported by the State. In addition to his personal convictions, he was strongly influenced by the persuasions of his party.

Years after the appointment of Mr. Stewart as Master of the

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Rolls, and when the matter of education was under debate in the House of Assembly, Mr. Howe said:

“Mr. Johnstone might have been on the bench. I cannot but admire the consistency with which he has maintained his opinions at every personal hazard. His peculiar views of 1844 on education created his embarrassment, and have cost him all that he has lost. His opinions are shared by many others, and it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that the denominational principle has its advantages as well as its evils.”

No better testimony than the above to the unselfishness and self-sacrifice of Mr. Johnstone in the discharge of his public duties could be desired. It is also an evidence of Mr. Howe's appreciation of the moral worth of his distinguished opponent.

Instead of finding himself the leader of the Opposition at this time, Mr. Johnstone might have been discharging the duties of a Judge of the Supreme Court—a calling for which he had rare talents and strong personal preference.

There appeared in the new Executive Council the names of James Boyle Uniacke, leader of the Government and Attorney-General, and Joseph Howe, Provincial Secretary and Clerk of the Council. The others were Hugh Bell, James McNab, Herbert Huntington, William F. DesBarres, Solicitor-General, Lawrence O'C. Doyle and G. R. Young.

Mr. Howe was, in reality, at the head of the new Government, as is well known, although not the literal leader. The fact that he put Mr. Uniacke above himself, strengthened the conviction expressed years before by John Hall, that it was a well understood matter, that when Mr. Uniacke seceded from the Conservative party, of which he was a very pronounced member, a desirable place would be opened to him when the Liberals should come into power. Indeed, when Mr. Uniacke was on the Conservative side of the House, he not infrequently drew upon himself Mr. Howe's rollicking humour. On one occasion, after Mr. Uniacke had finished a speech, Mr. Howe said: “I never knew a man who could make so much froth out of so little cream as the honourable gentleman who has just taken his seat.”

But Mr. Uniacke could retort, as he did on one occasion: “When Mr. Howe finds himself unable to sustain a position

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he has taken, he then gives an eloquent speech on responsible government."

For the four following years Mr. Howe and his Government found Mr. Johnstone a persistent and uncompromising critic. The new Government had on its hands the difficult task of carrying into effect the details of responsible government, the principle of which had been secured seven years earlier. The casual and territorial revenues, the appointment of the judges and the payment of their salaries, the management of postal service, the appointment of all civil servants and some other matters were to be relinquished by the Imperial Government and assumed by the Provincial Government. This took time and made heavy demands on patience, as is always the case when old customs are supplanted, and when full liberty and responsibility pass from the few into the hands of the many.

Sir Rupert De George, Bart., for many years had been Provincial Secretary. He was appointed by the British Government, and was in no way responsible to the Governor-in-Council. On the coming in of the new Government, he was dismissed to make room for Mr. Howe. The outcome of the correspondence with Downing Street, and the adverse criticism in the Legislature and the press, was that Sir Rupert received a pension, in accordance with the principle advocated by Mr. Johnstone from the first. It took years to perfect the change in the bringing about of which the Liberal party, led by Mr. Howe, exhibited a commendable conservatism.

In 1849, a clear note on responsible government may be found in one of the despatches of Earl Grey, then Chief Secretary for the Colonies. He says:

"The opinion of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia in favour of the law (as expressed through their representatives in the Assembly), ought to prevail, even though Her Majesty's ministers may not concur in thinking that it is framed in the manner best calculated to promote the real interests of the Province."

In the matters of legislation for the Province, that for education held an important place, nor was the Government negligent of its obligations in this respect.

The slim majority sustaining the late Government after the

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election of 1843, made it impossible for Mr. Johnstone to do more than protect the principle on which the colleges had been founded, give them reasonable support and foster the common school system of the country then in existence.

Mr. Howe's majority was not much larger. He would have found it impossible to force upon the country his state-college plan. Indeed he made no attempt to do so, but frankly admitted that the country had rejected the principle and had adopted that advocated by Mr. Johnstone. He was also lacking the courage to submit a Government system for common schools to the Legislature, founded on assessment and in harmony with his speech on education given years before this.

But in the early days of the new Government, the matter of appointing a Superintendent of Education was discussed in the House. In 1848, the secretary of the Committee on Education of the House of Lords reported, suggesting normal schools for training masters and superintendents. In their report of 1849, the duties of superintendents are defined. This report was sent to all the Colonies to encourage their work in education. For years before that date superintendents had been employed in Canada. In 1848, a normal school was established in Fredericton, N.B., and a teacher from London was placed at the head of it. The name of J. W. Johnstone appears on the Committee for Education in the Nova Scotia Legislature of 1848. It is evident from the report of this committee that the matter of schools sustained by taxation was at that time a vital question. This is what was reported:

"The committee are unanimously of the opinion that if the principle of assessment were introduced, it would give our schools an improved and more permanent basis, and secure to them in a higher degree the care and affections of the people. The public mind may not yet be ripe for this change, but it would have a useful tendency and ultimately hasten its introduction, if the members of the House were to exercise their legislative influence among their constituencies and direct their attention during the coming recess to this very important subject."

In 1849, Mr. Johnstone, in a powerful speech, urged upon the Government the importance of bringing down a scheme for the better education of the country. Like the eloquent speech

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of Mr. Howe, which went before, it was a contribution to the advocacy of this great subject, but brought forth no immediate results.

The *Nova Scotian*, the paper sustaining the Government, was so deeply impressed with Mr. Johnstone's address, that in an editorial the following expression is found:

"We agree with J. W. Johnstone that a question of such magnitude and involving such important interests should not have been flung into their midst like an apple of discord, and the unseemly spectacle of members of the administration differing among themselves and upbraiding each other with a change of sentiment, exhibited before the public. We have carefully noted the speeches and votes of members on the college question in its several phases, and we cannot for the life of us discover any good reason why it should not have been made a Cabinet question."

As a result of the discussion of normal schools, James William Dawson, afterwards Principal of McGill University, and later Sir William Dawson, was in 1850 appointed first Superintendent of Education for the Province.

Mr. Howe's reasons for not introducing a Government measure providing for a free common school system founded on taxation, given in the debate on this subject in 1850, may be taken as the real reason why neither party ever made it a Government measure until 1865. Mr. Johnstone, as in the report, had made the state of public opinion his apology for such a bill not being introduced, and Mr. Howe pointed to the sure result that would follow should his Cabinet adopt taxation as a principle for a school bill. His words leave no room for doubting the reason existing in his mind for omitting assessment from his school measures.

Mr. Howe said:

"I could not, as a member of the administration, take the responsibility of introducing the principle of assessment into this bill. If introduced, the next House may come in pledged to overturn the system."

In his report to the Government in 1850 on education, J. W. Dawson outlined a plan for a normal school and for a system of education founded on assessment. A bill to found a normal school, introduced in accordance with this recommendation, was

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defeated. No action was taken to apply the assessment principle. Shortly after this, a normal school was established at Truro, and the Superintendent was made its principal.

Various modifications of the system of schools passed by the Coalition Government were made from time to time. Dr. Forrester, an eminent educationist from Scotland, was made Superintendent and Principal of the Normal School, in succession to Dr. Dawson, who accepted the principalship of McGill University. These two men were able advocates of schools supported by assessment. They did much to educate the public in favour of such a law.

Before 1865, when Dr. Tupper, now Sir Charles, introduced the assessment bill as a Government measure into the Legislature, permissive taxation according to which any school district could, by a majority of votes, adopt assessment and support its school by it, had become a part of the educational law of the Province.

CHAPTER XXIX.

RAILWAY UNDERTAKINGS.

AFTER the publication of Lord Durham's report, the subject of Colonial railroads engaged the attention of the British and Provincial Governments and, to some extent, the public on both sides of the Atlantic.

From 1839 to 1848, as head of the Nova Scotia Government, Mr. Johnstone had much to do in carrying on the correspondence relating to this great undertaking. For three years, as has been shown, Mr. Howe was associated with him in the Executive, and so shared in the discussion of the subject of railways for British North America.

As early as 1835, Joseph Howe and Judge T. C. Haliburton (author of "Sam Slick") advocated in the press and elsewhere the building of a road from the capital to Windsor, so as to connect the Annapolis Valley with Halifax and make a shorter route to St. John, New Brunswick.

While Mr. Johnstone was Premier of Nova Scotia, its public funds had been pledged, to share with the other Colonies the expense of the Robinson-Henderson survey. The correspondence with the Governor-General and the Colonial Secretary shows that the subject was then engaging the attention of all the British North American Provinces, as well as that of the British Government. Meetings where strong convictions and stronger feelings were evoked, were held in Halifax and in other parts of the country, thus indicating a growing and serious interest in the subject.

"As early as 1845," says Mr. Howe, "some gentlemen proposed to build a railroad from Halifax to the St. Lawrence, and communications were sent to the Provinces interested, inviting co-operation."

At the next session of the Nova Scotia Legislature, communications were received from the English promoters of this

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road, from the Colonial Secretary and from the governors of Canada and New Brunswick. Nova Scotia's pledge to bear its share of the expense of the Robinson-Henderson survey was fulfilled. This survey was submitted to the Legislature in 1849.

Ten miles of Crown lands on either side of the road and one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000) a year until the road was able to pay its running expenses, were pledged by the Nova Scotia Legislature.

Mr. Howe says:

"The belief was general that substantial aid would be given by the British Government, and . . . hopes were entertained in all the Provinces that a work recommended by a Royal Commission, countenanced by Governors and Secretaries of State, which had been surveyed at a cost to the Colonies of forty thousand dollars (\$40,000), and in aid of which two hundred and forty thousand dollars (\$240,000) per annum and large tracts of land had been granted by the Colonial Legislatures, would be of sufficient importance to command the attention of the British Parliament. This had been the general belief of many from 1846 to 1849."

Acting upon the adverse report of a royal engineer, the English Government declined its aid in the enterprise. Up to this time Mr. Howe says he "had taken no particularly active part in the advocacy of the railroad to the St. Lawrence." There is no evidence to the contrary. Other men in the Legislature had taken a leading and deep interest in the matter.

Mr. Howe and Mr. DesBarres having been appointed a commission to examine the country between Halifax and Windsor for the purpose of determining a line of railway, reported to the Legislature in 1849 that they had employed engineers whose report was favourable to the plan of building this road.

Mr. Howe admits that previous to 1849 he did not take a leading part in the matter of the building of railways. He says:

"Outsiders discussed it a good deal, but those whose first thought was to establish securities of wise internal administration, naturally felt that they must do one thing at a time"—defeat the Government led by Mr. Johnstone. Until Mr. Johnstone's Government was overthrown, his whole attention and strength were given to this end.

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Local railroads were not secured for Nova Scotia until 1854, and the Intercolonial was not built until after 1867. At that date, it was made one of the conditions of Confederation.

The history of the subject of railroads from 1838 to 1854, for Nova Scotia, and from 1838 to 1867 for the Dominion would require a large volume.

Before the first term of the Liberal Government ended—1851—the matter became an urgent and burning question. The construction of railroads as early as 1849 was referred to in the speech of the Governor in opening the Nova Scotia Legislature.

When it became evident that the credit of the Province would be overtaxed in the matter of railway construction, formidable opposition to the enterprise as a Government work appeared. The Cabinet became hopelessly divided on the subject. Not that building railroads with Provincial money was wrong in principle, but the ground taken was that the Province was not able to bear the expense. Those who opposed the plan of Government construction, contended that the work should be done and the road owned by companies. If necessary, the companies might receive State subsidies. But the credit of the Province should not be imperilled in such undertakings.

Mr. Johnstone took strong ground and threw the whole weight of his influence against the Government of Nova Scotia building railroads. In a matter of such radical importance as this, it was his habit to enlist in the advocacy of his own views, all his talent, zèal and energy. Herbert Huntington, hitherto one of Mr. Howe's most able and zealous supporters, parted company with his leader and supported Mr. Johnstone's policy.

The movement that arrested the attention of all the Colonies, seized the popular imagination and created wider interest in the subject, was the calling of a meeting at Portland, State of Maine, in 1850. The delegates from Nova Scotia who met at this convention were J. B. Uniacke, Attorney-General J. W. Johnstone, leader of the Opposition, and others. Great enthusiasm prevailed.

The project then set forth was to construct a road from Portland to the borders of New Brunswick, through that Province to Nova Scotia and from Halifax to that point. From this main line beginning near Moncton, an intercolonial road might

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be continued to Quebec along the line surveyed by Robinson and Henderson.

On the return of the delegates a meeting was held in Mason Hall, Halifax, at which the delegates reported.

The refusal of the British Cabinet to aid in the proposed line of 1849 dashed to the ground the sanguine hopes in that direction. This had opened the way for the Portland convention.

At the time, British capital was flowing into the United States to establish manufactories and develop the resources of that country, and emigrants were following the capital to do the work provided by these funds. Many statesmen in British America saw and appreciated the rich and extensive resources of the American Colonies. The British statesmen and Colonial ministers had no such convictions. Had England seen her welfare bound up in her American possessions at that day, as it was seen by many on this side of the Atlantic, notably by Joseph Howe, and had an intercolonial road been built in 1850 instead of 1870 as it should have been, and as it would have been had the English Ministry and Parliament not been narrow and blind, instead of the Dominion now having a population of six or seven millions, it would have fifteen or twenty millions.

At this stage of the history of the railway agitation, the talents and courage of Joseph Howe appeared in their true proportions. In no period of his political career was he so great, so grand, as at this time. One scheme after another had broken down. England had proved a broken staff; the hopes of the Portland Convention, which promised so much, were not realized.

In 1850, Joseph Howe was sent as a delegate to London, authorized to pledge the public funds of his Province and to make what arrangements he could for the construction of railways in Nova Scotia. In fulfilling this mission, he extended his sphere to the interests of an intercolonial road for all the Provinces. After arriving in England, he addressed two letters to Earl Grey, chief Secretary for the Colonies, in which he ably discussed the project of railway building in the interests of the colonies themselves, and also in the larger interests of the Empire. He published these letters in pamphlet form and distributed them to members of the Government, the Parliament and in the country.

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To help forward his mission, he visited Southampton in January, and there, at a public meeting at which the Mayor presided, made the speech which may be ranked as one of the greatest ever given by him. He said on his return to Nova Scotia that in the preparation of his letters to Earl Grey and in the speech at Southampton he "read a cartload of books." The reading of these letters and that speech will convince anyone that his research in preparation for his work was phenomenal.

The following are extracts from his Southampton address:

"In twenty-two years, from 1825 to 1846, inclusive, only one hundred and twenty-four thousand, two hundred and seventy-two persons went from the United Kingdom to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand. In the same period seven hundred and ten thousand, four hundred and ten went to the United States, to strengthen a foreign and rival power; to intrench themselves behind a hostile tariff, ranging from fifteen to one hundred per cent. over British manufactures; to become consumers of American manufactures instead, and of foreign productions, sea-borne in American bottoms; they, and the countless generations that have already sprung from their loins, have been unconscious of regard for British interests, and of allegiance to the Crown of England.

"But England's political, as well as her moral and industrial interests, demand that her North American possessions should be strengthened and improved. We hear a good deal occasionally about the balance of power in Europe; and, one would suppose, by the excitement created by some paltry continental intrigue, or petty principality in Germany or the Mediterranean, that the very existence of this great nation was often involved. The people of British America, in their simplicity, are sometimes apt to think that if half the trouble was taken about the territories which belong to us, that is wasted on those which do not, our British brethren would be nearly as well employed. I am no alarmist, but there appear to be many in England, and some of them holding high military and social positions, who regard England as defenceless at this moment, from the assaults of any first-rate European power. Now, suppose that France or Russia were to combine her naval and military forces with those of the United States, to attack England, hopeful as I am of the destiny and confident in the resources of these islands, I doubt not but they would, in the end, come gloriously through the struggle. But who can deny that the contest would be perilous for a time, and, under the most favour-

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able circumstances, very expensive? . . . But, suppose the northern Provinces neglected and ultimately lost; imagine the territories of the Republic extended to Hudson's Bay, and that the spirit generated by two wars, and which, at a word, a single act, so readily revives, pervaded the continent. . . . The picture, Mr. Chairman, is too painful to be dwelt on even for a moment, and I gladly turn to the measures which, I believe, by strengthening and inspiring the northern Provinces with grateful confidence in the policy and maternal forethought of the United Kingdom, will render the Empire impregnable and secure."

Railroads and colonization were the twin subjects running like a double thread of gold through Mr. Howe's urgent advocacy of provincial railway building.

This will appear from a passage in the *Hampshire Independent*, referring to his memorable speech at Southampton in 1851:

"This was a point strongly impressed upon the meeting by Mr. Howe, whose distinguished position as a minister and member of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, not less than his extensive and correct information, gives weight and authority to his opinions, and if we can only induce the Government and Parliament of this country to devote a sufficient sum of money annually to carry his excellent suggestion into effect, his mission to England will be followed by more important consequences than any that have occurred since Benjamin Franklin made the fruitless endeavour to repair the breach between this country and her revolted American Colonies. By encouraging emigration to our own dependencies, we secure the twofold advantage of strengthening the Empire, and obtaining good customers for our manufactured goods. We should not be doing our duty if we did not express what we so sincerely feel, that the town is highly honoured by the visit of Mr. Howe, and deeply indebted to our public-spirited and enterprising chief magistrate and the trade committee, for their assiduous and praiseworthy endeavours to point out to the Government and the country the great natural advantage of Southampton as a port of emigration."

At the banquet given Mr. Howe at Southampton, he said, in response to the toast to his health:

"That, in the North American Colonies, they were in the habit of speaking of England as their home, and if he had not

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found a home in Southampton, he did not know where it was. Never had he expected, except by the death of a near relative or friend, to have had his feelings stirred within him as they had been that night. He had always had faith in the people of England. He came amongst them a stranger, and already he felt as an inhabitant of Southampton. The object he had come here to advance was one on which he sought to unite all parties; one which lay at the bottom of their common Christianity—to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to people the waste places of the earth, and to make two blades of grass grow where, not one, but none, grew before. He had that morning visited, in the company of their mayor, some of their charitable institutions, and he could wish he had some of the lads he saw in one and the females he saw in another with him in the colony from which he came, where they would be removed from the necessities of either poverty or crime.”

His letters to Earl Grey and this speech at Southampton surprised and interested the British Cabinet, the Parliament and the people. But a crisis in Imperial politics and the defeat of the Ministry rendered it impossible for the subject to receive the careful attention that it deserved.

The matter of railway building in Canada and the other American Provinces had attracted the attention of Sir Morton Peto, William Jackson and Thomas Brassey. They corresponded with Mr. Howe, but the failure of the Colonies to heartily and harmoniously unite in the enterprise of the inter-colonial road resulted in turning their attention to the Grand Trunk scheme, terminating at Portland. This raised the question, of which the last has not yet been heard, that this city of the State of Maine, and not a Canadian city, would be the principal port into Canada.

CHAPTER XXX.

RAILWAY UNDERTAKINGS—(Continued).

On his return to Halifax, in 1851, Mr. Howe found his Executive disorganized. Herbert Huntington had resigned his seat in the Cabinet as Financial Secretary. The Attorney-General, J. B. Uniacke, and G. R. Young were in a hot personal conflict, still further embarrassing the Government. They both resigned. As all efforts to reconcile them failed, Mr. Young's resignation was accepted, but Mr. Uniacke remained in the Executive.

Mr. Howe's policy was not in harmony with the Portland scheme as a separate undertaking. This engendered division. A road built on the Robinson-Henderson survey did not please the St. John Valley and Fredericton. The Legislature of New Brunswick opposed Mr. Howe's scheme, and two strong men from the Liberal Cabinet joined hands in opposing the large demands upon the Provincial Treasury required by Mr. Howe's policy. This added to the strength of the Opposition in Nova Scotia. A bill introduced into the Nova Scotia Legislature, adopting the building of a road to Portland and the granting of a moderate subsidy, had been held over until the result of Mr. Howe's mission to England should be known. It was ascertained in the meantime that Canada was favourable to the intercolonial scheme—a road from Halifax to Quebec, along the Robinson-Henderson line.

In these circumstances, about the middle of May a public meeting was held in Mason Hall, Halifax, where, as at Southampton, Mr. Howe's watchword was "railroads and colonization." The British Government had offered the British North American Provinces seven million pounds sterling, at the lowest interest for which money could be obtained, to build the road to Quebec, and, as Mr. Howe understood it, to the borders of the State of Maine also. Here is a sentence found in Mr. Howe's advocacy of the undertaking on that occasion:

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"This money is offered for the purpose of enabling these Provinces to complete in an incredibly short space of time, and with security and ease, great internal improvements which their advanced condition renders desirable, which will bind them together in one prosperous community, animate them with new hopes and aspirations, and ultimately elevate them from the Colonial condition to that of a great and prosperous nation, in perpetual amity and friendship with those glorious islands to which we trace our origin, and to which, through this great boon, so much of our material prosperity will in all time to come be traced."

At this meeting Mr. Howe did not oppose the Portland scheme, but, as the following extract will show, rather included it:

"Halifax has been formed by nature, and selected by the dictates of sound policy, as a common terminus for these inter-colonial railways. Three hundred and thirty miles will connect us with Portland, and all the lines which interlace the American Republic and bind together the prosperous communities of the South and West. Six hundred and seventy miles more, opening up the central lands and settlements of New Brunswick, will not only connect us, as we originally contemplated, with Quebec and the St. Lawrence, but passing through one hundred and eighty miles of settlements on that noble river, will place us in communication with the populous city of Montreal, which will soon be in connection with Portland on the other side; the circle will be thus complete, and chains of intercommunication established, easily accessible, by shorter lines, to all the rising towns and settlements which that wide circuit will embrace.

"Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are but the frontage of a territory which includes four millions of square miles, stretching away behind and beyond them, to the frozen regions on the one side and to the Pacific on the other. Of this great section of the globe all the northern Provinces, including Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, occupy but four hundred and eighty-six thousand square miles. The Hudson's Bay territory includes two hundred and fifty thousand square miles. Throwing aside the more bleak and inhospitable regions, we have a magnificent country between Canada and the Pacific, of which five or six noble Provinces may be formed, larger than any we have, and presenting to the hand of industry, and to the eye of speculation, every variety of soil, climate and resource. With such a territory as this to overrun, organize and

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improve, think you that we shall stop even at the western bounds of Canada? Or even at the shores of the Pacific? Vancouver Island with its vast coal measures lies beyond. The beautiful islands of the Pacific and the growing commerce of the ocean are beyond. Populous China and the rich East are beyond, and the sails of our children's children will reflect as familiarly the sunbeams of the south as they now brave the angry tempests of the north.

"I am neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, yet I will venture to predict that in five years we shall make the journey hence to Quebec and Montreal, and home through Portland and St. John, by rail."

A year before this, at a meeting held in the same place to hear the report of the delegates to the Portland Convention, the feeling prevailed that the work could not be accomplished by a company.

The issue between Mr. Howe and his opponents was this: Mr. Howe's plan was to build concurrently the lines to Portland and Quebec. Those in opposition to this plan proposed to build the line to Portland first. Mr. Howe did not attend the Portland Convention. Mr. Dickey, of Amherst, was the leader in an attempt to carry out the Portland scheme. Mr. Howe was sent to Toronto to meet delegates from New Brunswick and Canada to discuss the whole matter of railway construction in the British American Provinces.

On the 2nd of June, 1851, he addressed a public meeting at Amherst. This was intended to neutralize the influence of Mr. Dickey. It resulted in Mr. Howe giving up his Halifax constituency for that of Cumberland, where he was, through a compromise, elected by acclamation in 1851. It was Mr. Howe's purpose to show the public, before going to Toronto, that the Portland scheme, taken alone, was insufficient and unworkable. Having weakened Mr. Dickey by his speech at Amherst, he proceeded to New Brunswick and lectured at a number of important centres. At St. John he found that the leaders and agents of the Portland scheme who resided in that city had turned the public sentiment in their favour. He, however, got his views before a large meeting, and turned the tide of sentiment in favour of his project.

At Fredericton he persuaded the Hon. Mr. Chandler that the New Brunswick Legislature had made a mistake in its adoption

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of the Portland plan. Mr. Chandler co-operated thenceforward with Mr. Howe in New Brunswick, and went with him as a delegate to Toronto. Against the charge that the Nova Scotia Government had broken faith with the advocates of the Portland plan, Mr. Howe averred that the Government had not even sent delegates to that Convention. While it was true that a member of the Cabinet attended at Portland, he was not the authorized delegate of the Government, but was sent by the city of Halifax. The Cabinet had "declined to send delegates to that Convention." But afterwards it had sent Mr. Howe to England, empowered to pledge the revenue of the country and to raise all money required to build that part of the road belonging to Nova Scotia. The outcome of this plan was that his scheme embraced the road to Portland and the intercolonial one as well.

Already much time had been wasted in Nova Scotia in laboured attempts to build railroads by companies. To finance Mr. Howe's scheme, the proposal was to get money from the British Government at the least possible rate of interest and proceed with the work. Because the late election in New Brunswick had left the matter of the railway policy for the country in doubt, no delegate was asked to accompany Mr. Howe to England. This was Mr. Howe's defence in New Brunswick. He put under tribute all his arts of public speech to placate that Province. The Portland line alone would not meet the demands of northern New Brunswick, and the intercolonial alone would fail to satisfy the southern part of that Province. The two lines were, therefore, expedient as well as essential to the best interests of all the Provinces.

Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, received Mr. Howe and Mr. Chandler most cordially at Toronto.

Railroad building was by this time somewhat advanced in Canada. This made it all the more important to have a line extending to the Atlantic. After a thorough discussion with the Canadian Cabinet, an agreement was entered into and reduced to writing and duly signed. It was in harmony with the offer of the Colonial Secretary to supply the money at a very low rate of interest. The delegates returned through Montreal and Quebec, where much enthusiasm was evoked. At banquets and public meetings Mr. Howe discussed, among

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other matters, the subjects treated in his letters to Earl Grey and his great speech at Southampton. He also boldly condemned the sentiment of annexation which had lately disturbed Montreal and Quebec, and did justice to Lord Elgin, who had been driven out of Montreal. The burning of the Parliament buildings and the pelting of Lord Elgin's carriage were then exciting facts in the public mind.

In the introduction of Mr. Howe's speech at Quebec is found a passage of descriptive literature locally coloured:

"Ten years ago I passed a delightful week in this city. I have since travelled much in the old world and the new, but I have forgotten neither the scenery nor the hospitality of Quebec. In returning to it again there is but one drawback of which I am conscious—I fear your expectations have been too highly raised. I have no eloquence to display, as a morning paper kindly anticipates, for if I have had any success in life, it has arisen from the unadorned simplicity with which I have spoken plain common sense to masses of people. But if I were all that my friend imagines, there is inspiration here in everything which surrounds me. Here the great Creator Himself has been most eloquent, stamping His sublime and original conceptions on the bold promontories and mountain ranges around us; and pouring into the beautiful vales they enclose or diversify, rivers, whose magnificent proportions never weary, whose sonorous music elevates the soul. Yet it is not from the works of nature alone that a poet or an orator might here catch inspiration; he might catch it from the moral aspect of Quebec, from its noble educational and charitable institutions, from the arts of life successfully cultivated, the social virtues well illustrated, and preserved; and from the pleasing variety, which, to a stranger's eye, is so attractive, afforded by the commingling of races once hostile and distinct."

CHAPTER XXXI.

CONFUSION IN RAILWAY BUILDING.

"JACKSON, Peto, Betts and Brassey," well-known railroad contractors in England, having learned that the British Government had offered to guarantee seven million pounds sterling for building a railroad through the American Colonies, and that large land subsidies along the line might be obtained from the Governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada, sent Charles D. Archibald to America, to work on their behalf in securing the right to construct the proposed roads.

At the time the delegates were in session at Toronto he appeared on the scene, but as he had at that time nothing to show that he was authorized by the contractors to make a specific offer, he was not able to embarrass Mr. Howe's undertaking. The delegates went forward with their work. But subsequently, in a letter to Lord Elgin, Mr. Archibald, on behalf of the English contractors, submitted a proposal to build a road from Halifax, through New Brunswick, Quebec and Montreal to Detroit. As the standing of the contractors was well known on this side of the Atlantic, the suggested scheme seized the attention of the public and became a serious obstruction to Mr. Howe's labour. It was a heavy blow to the principle of building railroads with Government money. Mr. Johnstone took advantage of it in a renewed attempt to have the projected roads built by a company. He published a letter favouring the scheme submitted by Mr. Archibald. To this Mr. Howe wrote a reply. At this stage Mr. Archibald contributed a letter to the controversy. He paid into a bank in St. John a large deposit, to enable this English company to claim all the stock in the Portland line. This fascinated and secured many men of business, especially in New Brunswick. To the proceedings of these contractors, Mr. Howe attributed the ultimate failure of his plan.

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About this time Mr. Howe's undertaking received another staggering blow. A letter to Sir John Harvey from Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, informed the Government of Nova Scotia that the guaranteed English capital could not be used in the building of the Portland road. His words were:

"The only railroad for which Her Majesty's Government will think it right to call upon Parliament for assistance, would be one calculated to promote the interests of the whole British Empire, by establishing a line of communication between the three Provinces of British North America."

In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec, Mr. Howe had pledged the help of the Imperial Cabinet to the road through New Brunswick to Maine, as well as to the inter-colonial to Quebec. In a letter to Earl Grey and in other ways, he contended that in all his negotiations with the British Government and members of Parliament his understanding was that the money to be loaned by the British Government could be applied to the building of the Portland road as well as to the trunk line up the St. Lawrence. The Portland line did not interest Nova Scotia and Canada as it did New Brunswick. Both roads were of great importance commercially to that Province and were essential to the harmonizing of her sectional interests.

Beginning on the 17th of September, 1851, Boston had for three days a grand celebration on the completion of her railway system with the West. The President of the United States and the Governor-General of Canada were present. At a dinner in a tent on Boston Common, at which five thousand sat down, the speakers were the President, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Mayor of Boston, the Hon. Edward Everett, Lord Elgin, Francis Hincks and Joseph Howe.

In that tent, looking upon that sea of eager faces, Mr. Howe told them that he, the son of a banished Loyalist, had come to rejoice with them in the prosperity of a city of which his father was a citizen.

"We desire," said Mr. Howe, "to see you work out in peace the high destiny which your past achievements and free institutions promise. . . . I hope that many years will not pass before you are invited to a railroad celebration on British soil,

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and this I promise you, that when that day comes, even although our railroads should not be as long as yours, the festival shall be as long and the welcome as cordial."

At this time the Grand Trunk, from Portland to Montreal, was in process of construction. Another road, from Hamilton to Detroit, had been commenced. Added to these was Mr. Howe's project of a line from Halifax to the borders of Maine, and the intercolonial line from Halifax, through New Brunswick to Quebec.

Adversity, however, was darkening around his scheme, but undismayed he went bravely on with his titanic undertaking. On his way home from Boston, Mr. Howe addressed a meeting at Portland, explaining and advocating the work then on his hands.

On the 6th of October, the House, newly-elected in Nova Scotia, met for business.

In the Governor's speech the conditions of help from the Imperial Government, outlined and advocated by Mr. Howe, were set out in plain terms and commended to the Legislature by the Government, whose shattered condition on Mr. Howe's return from England had been remedied by the addition of new material. The speech went on to say that negotiations with the Colonial Minister had "resulted in a generous offer from Her Majesty's Government to construct both these lines upon certain conditions."

At the session of the New Brunswick Legislature, in January, 1852, Sir Edmund Head, in his speech commended the scheme of railway building advocated by Mr. Howe and Mr. Chandler.

It is not important to ascertain what grounds Mr. Howe had for his understanding that the amount of money promised by the British Government was to be applied to the building of the Portland as well as the intercolonial road. It is enough to know that he acted in good faith, and that the Imperial Cabinet held to the view that their help was to be applied to the trunk line to Canada only.

At this juncture a meeting of delegates at Fredericton was suggested. Mr. Howe declined to attend. This meeting was held at Halifax instead. There it appeared that Montreal and the principal cities of New Brunswick would combine to have

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the line built through the St. John Valley instead of on the line surveyed by Robinson and Henderson.

At Toronto, Mr. Howe had agreed that Nova Scotia, in addition to building the road through her own territory, would construct and own thirty miles of the road in New Brunswick. A proposal was made to the Nova Scotia Government to hold to the agreement to build the thirty miles beyond her border, as in the first bargain. This was declined, but the Government decided to build the trunk line to the New Brunswick frontier, leaving the other Provinces to complete the road by any route upon which they might agree, provided the consent of Her Majesty's Government should be obtained to the change.

At its session in February, 1852, the New Brunswick Legislature accepted the change. Francis Hincks, of Canada, and E. B. Chandler, of New Brunswick, went to England, to secure the consent of the Imperial Government to the new plan. Mr. Howe declined to go. He had been unseated in Cumberland on account of the violation of the election law at his nomination. He was facing an election in midwinter in a county a long distance from Halifax.

The British Government declined to accept the change of route through the St. John Valley. Sir John Parkington and Mr. Hincks got into a violent contention. Contracts were entered into by Mr. Hincks and Mr. Chandler which ultimately failed, and which cost New Brunswick a large sum of money before she could get herself disengaged from the bargain.

A glance over Howe's labour from the time he went to England, in 1850, as Nova Scotia's delegate, to the time when his plan, apparently on the eve of success, collapsed and left Provincial and intercolonial railway building in chaos, exhibits the special talents of this great Nova Scotian with a clearness and fulness found in no other period of his public life. His letters to the Colonial Secretary are worthy of any statesman of that day. Although the political parties in England were in a desperate struggle for place and power, Cabinets falling to pieces, going out of power and coming back to office, yet in this state of things he got the ear of England's statesmen, stirred into life an interest in Colonial possessions and their prospective importance to the Empire, and thrilled both the Parliament and the people with his Southampton speech. On

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his return, a shattered Cabinet and adverse combinations did not daunt him. He attacked opposition, and with consummate tact and great power overcame it in his own Province, in New Brunswick and in Canada, and succeeded in uniting the Cabinets of all these Provinces in an effort to accomplish his purpose. All that could have been done he did to carry the undertaking to a successful issue; but by combinations impossible to resist he was defeated, not, however, until he had reached the limits of possible power. After a view of his labours in the breadth of their range, the multiplicity and formidable character of the obstructions overcome, and the standing and talents of men he met and convinced, it is safe to say that these labours could not have been accomplished by any other man then living in the British North American Colonies.

That spirit of restlessness that never slumbered in Joseph Howe was particularly active during this period. Joined to this was a mania for progress and improvement. The conservative element in him was powerless to bridle this strong force. At no time in his life did the way open for him into a larger or more difficult field. Statistics, data and facts gathered through life by observation and reading, seemed to come as by magic at his call and marshal themselves in his writings and public addresses to serve him in the accomplishment of his herculean labours. His object was lofty and broad. It was not only Colonial, but Imperial. Nor did he see alone the present and immediate future; his vision covered his own and that of distant generations. Not so much the welfare of the Empire and its Colonies in that day, but their welfare in the centuries to come, warmed his heart and called forth streams of eloquence that thrilled and captured all classes. He saw and strove to direct the forces which would cover the seas and the continents with the commerce of England and of her Colonies, grown into national greatness. No horizon could be wider than that which limited his vision. Facts flashed in his orations like jewels in a regal crown. He was always optimistic and confident. The fertility of his brain supplied him with arguments, and the magnetic touch of his warm heart with power to convey them in speech to his hearers and in writing to his readers. The zeal of his own soul went into others and made them one

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with him in his purpose to accomplish the task he then had in hand. His oratory, coming from a glowing heart, seized the audiences which delighted to hang on his words. Before assemblies not capable of abstract thinking, he was a demagogue; before audiences responsive to facts and arguments, logically treated, he was an orator of the Webster and Gladstone type.

This campaign, begun in the face of many and insuperable difficulties, carried over obstacles that would have discouraged and defeated an ordinarily great man and which seemed destined to success, gave Joseph Howe the opportunity to employ his talents—an opportunity such as he never had had before and never afterwards embraced. Could nothing more be found in his public life to distinguish him, this heroic undertaking to build a railway for Britain and her North American Colonies would rank him as one of the greatest men of his time.

One fundamental principle advocated by Mr. Howe in this campaign was the responsibility of the Colonies. In his addresses in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada, when he sought to get the people and the Colonial Cabinets to accept the money guaranteed by England at a low rate of interest, he scorned to take as a gift money raised by the taxes of British hard-handed toilers in mines and factories. Let the Colonies look after themselves. They were able, and as time went on would become more able. Years before this, Mr. Johnstone had expressed the same sentiment. The time would come when England should not tax herself for the expense of an army and navy to protect her American Colonies. In 1864, Mr. Gladstone adopted and advocated the same doctrine when he said:

“As for our fellow-subjects abroad, we have given them practical freedom. It was our duty to abstain, as far as may be, from interference with their affairs, to afford them the shelter and protection of the Empire, and at the same time to impress upon them that there is no greater mistake in politics than to suppose you can separate the blessings and benefits of freedom from its burdens. In other words, the Colonies should pay their own way, and if the old dream of making their interests subservient to those of the Mother Country had passed away, it was just as little reasonable that the Mother Country should bear charges that in equity belonged to them.”

CHAPTER XXXII.

RAILROADS, MANHOOD SUFFRAGE AND ELECTIVE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

MR. HOWE and his colleague, Mr. Fulton, after having been unseated in Cumberland, were successful in an appeal to their constituency. Before the election of 1851, Mr. Howe claimed a majority of seven supporting his Government, but by the election of that year it was very much reduced.

Although the two parties seemed equally divided in the House of Assembly, Mr. Johnstone made no special effort to try the strength of the Government. It appears that he had no strong purpose in this direction even before the election. To his constituency previous to the election of 1851, he said that he would support C. D. Archibald's scheme for railroad building, and pledged the Province for eighty thousand dollars a year subsidy for, say, twenty years. He also stated that if Mr. Howe's proposal should be accepted by the Legislature, he would seek by amendments to modify it before it was finally passed.

Mr. Johnstone had seen and fully appreciated Mr. Howe's great efforts for building railways in his own and other Provinces, and was evidently unwilling to take a course that might be construed into an obstructive and partisan policy.

As the election of 1851 had left the Government very weak, the occasion was favourable to Mr. Johnstone for party purposes. The divisions in the Lower House showed that the parties were at about equal strength. Mr. Johnstone, however, still moderately maintained his policy of building railroads by corporations, but he stated that he would co-operate with Mr. Howe in making his bill as acceptable as possible to the entire Legislature.

In a division of the House on Mr. Johnstone's motion for accepting Mr. Archibald's plan, there appeared for it nineteen and against it twenty. He was more moderate than some

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members who had left the Liberal party. Mr. Howe was also not extreme in his course, and did his best to unite both parties in the undertaking. He stated in the House that men on both sides should share alike in the honours and emoluments in constructing the railways. Mr. Johnstone replied that he believed Mr. Howe entirely sincere in his offers, but that it had placed him and his friends in a situation of great delicacy, and he therefore warned his friends that just in proportion as such considerations were presented to them, just so much more reason there was to beware of them and to adhere to those conclusions which sound principles have commended, with unflinching determination. "We must remember," said Mr. Johnstone, "that human nature is frail and the situation is dangerous, when duty to the public may be influenced by private interests. We must be prepared to vindicate our course by reasons strict and plain."

Mr. Johnstone saw that as Mr. Howe had carried by great and prolonged efforts the railway enterprise to a certain stage, it was expedient that he should go forward, notwithstanding the humiliating position into which he had been thrown by the despatch of Earl Grey, who said that the British Cabinet had never pledged help for the road through New Brunswick to the borders of the State of Maine. Mr. Howe received in the circumstances more sympathy than blame, but it was evident that he should have had with him in his delegation to England in 1850 at least one wise and sound business man. His poetic temperament and his efforts to awaken the British public to an interest in his mission blinded him to the importance of exact business form. It was easy for him to take for granted that which he desired. However, after his project had fallen to the ground, he was able to get a vote through the House, pledging the public revenue to build roads in the Province by the expenditure of a fixed amount. On the 25th August, 1852, the Government passed a Minute of Council to proceed with the building of railways in accordance with the vote of the House.

This was advertised, and two companies made application for the contract. The one was "Jackson, Peto, Brassey and Company," and the other was "Sykes, King and Brookfield." Before leaving for England in November, 1852, to further

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examine these companies and their proposals, Mr. Howe asked Mr. Johnstone to read these applications for the contract. Mr. Johnstone did so, but not being asked for an opinion, gave none. In 1853, Mr. Howe submitted the tenders of the two companies to the Legislature, also a bill to authorize the Government to undertake the building of the roads, but not to expend an amount greater than four million dollars.

At this stage the Government was able to proceed with the work. In April, 1854, Mr. Howe was made Chairman of the Commission appointed for carrying forward the work of railway building. He resigned his seat in the Cabinet.

While the enterprise of railway building was going on through this long and tedious process, other matters seized the attention of both political parties. As it was in the English House of Commons fifteen years later, so it was in the Nova Scotia Legislature. The British Liberals had been endeavouring to extend the franchise by an attempt to get a law passed for what was called household suffrage. While they were discussing this advanced legislation, a private member moved an amendment to the bill then being discussed. It was in advance of the provisions of the bill. Mr. Disraeli, to the astonishment of the Parliament and the country, accepted this amendment. It was carried in the House of Commons. He forced it upon his party, and, with some modifications, it was carried through the House of Lords and became law. With this stroke of policy, which astounded his opponents, Mr. Disraeli nearly doubled the number of voters, having added to the list about one million names.

Nova Scotia also had a gentle surprise when Mr. Johnstone made good his oft-repeated repudiation of the charge of being a Tory. He introduced a bill providing for what was called manhood suffrage.

Before the election of 1851, the Liberal party changed the franchise law. Hitherto, what was called the "forty shilling freehold" had been the qualification for voting. In accordance with the principles of Liberalism, as it was judged, this qualification was changed to a rate-paying basis, which was strenuously resisted by Mr. Johnstone; but it passed, and became the law for the election of 1851. It proved, however, so unsatisfactory that both parties were ready to make changes.

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Mr. Johnstone saw that it would not be expedient at the time to enact the old law or any slight modifications of it, and so, in harmony with his Liberal sympathies, and also in harmony with the professed principles of the Liberal party, he introduced his bill for manhood suffrage and advocated it with his usual ability. There was no course open to the Government, then in a weak state, but to co-operate in putting this bill upon the Statute Book as the election law of the Province. It continued through the elections of 1855, 1859 and 1863, when there was a change to a property qualification.

The election of 1859 gave the Conservatives an alleged victory. The manhood suffrage was to their advantage on this occasion, because of the quarrel of Mr. Howe with the Roman Catholics, which turned the vote of that large body against the Liberal Government. In 1863, an effort was made by the Liberals to supersede this law by one requiring a certain amount of property as a qualification. The new law passed in both Houses, but on the final reading in the Upper House a motion prevailed to defer the operation of the Act until after the coming election of 1863. At this election, as in the previous one, the Roman Catholic vote was given to the Conservatives, virtually led by Dr. Tupper. That, together with other considerations, led to the humiliating defeat of the Liberal party. This was the last election held on manhood suffrage.

In 1851, Mr. Johnstone appeared again as the leader for advanced Liberal legislation. At that time he introduced a bill for an elective Legislative Council. It did not become law, but correspondence was held with the Colonial Secretary to ascertain the judgment of the English Cabinet on the matter. New Brunswick and Newfoundland were also considering the same subject and corresponding with the British Ministry with respect to it. Mr. Johnstone introduced it again into the House in the session of 1852. Mr. Howe, then Provincial Secretary, led his party in opposing it. His principal speech on this occasion was selected by himself as one of the greatest, to be published in a work professedly edited by William Annand and entitled, "Mr. Howe's Speeches and Public Letters."

The Cabinet was divided on this subject, and in advocating it Mr. Howe was supported by a slim majority. The debating on these two subjects occupied a good deal of time and exhibited

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much talent on both sides of the House. Mr. Johnstone having, to the surprise of all, taken this advanced position, was obliged to conduct his part of the discussion circumspectly, to avoid contradictions, inconsistencies and stultifications. It was necessary for Mr. Howe to be equally careful, but as Mr. Johnstone had always avowed democratic sentiments, he had less trouble in making his course consistent with his past than had Mr. Howe. That the principle involved in both measures was a liberal one, no one could deny. One was a bold extension of the franchise, the other added power to the electorate to determine the character of the Upper House by their own direct choice.

As this was before the rush and hurry of telegraph, telephone and railroad times, there was no pressure to be brief in the discussions. A number of the members of the Lower House were men of erudition, men of classical taste and oratorical gifts. The House directly, and the country indirectly through the newspapers, were greatly enlivened and not a little profited by the debates on these subjects, which did much to awaken thought and stimulate intellectual activity. The preparation for the principal speeches was careful and thorough. Facts and illustrations were gathered from a very wide range, the sources of information being those of related subjects in all time and in all places.

The sphere in which these men acted was not in proportion to their talents and industry. A number of them were well endowed and well qualified for first rank in any English-speaking Parliament of the day. The limited sphere not infrequently brought the leading men into heated collision. William Young, afterwards Sir William Young and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was a man of fine literary tastes and large ability for discussion. He, however, was not a favourite of the leading men of either party. This offensiveness to his compeers was doubtless largely constitutional. To no one in the House was he more repugnant than to J. W. Johnstone. The lack of affinity held them apart in the Legislature. During the debates on these advanced measures introduced and supported by Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Young, for lack of arguments on the merits of the subject, indulged in some personal reflections in his attempt to belittle Mr. Johnstone's speeches.

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A young man who had been lately elected, also J. B. Uniacke, the leader of the Government, referred in an objectionable manner to some features of Mr. Johnstone's address. Here may be given an instance of the caustic character of personal encounters of that day. Mr. Johnstone, evidently having in mind the purpose to reprove his chief antagonist, Mr. Young, led the way to it in the following manner. He apologized for Mr. Uniacke on the ground that it was not his custom to descend to unworthy means in Parliamentary debate. For the young man, he made an apology in a very humorous illustration:

"In Burmah," he said, "in taming a young elephant it was the custom to harness him between two old and well-trained elephants. The young man between Mr. Uniacke and Mr. Young had, he thought, acted tolerably well, but in respect to Mr. Young's language he had this to say:

"The Honourable and learned Speaker (Mr. Young) indulged in the same strain, and with him I must deal more at large. I cannot say that he does not usually descend to this style of reply. It is a common practice with him, and I have often been astonished that any man accustomed to the intercourse of gentlemen should allow himself to descend to criticisms of this nature, for they who partake in public discussions generally allow the public to be the judge of their own and their opponents' oratorical powers. He so often and so flagrantly violates the laws which regulate public discussion that I fear he is incorrigible. He has been often reproved—but no permanent improvement, it seems, has as yet been effected in him, and I must, therefore, attribute these derelictions to an innate defect in his nature, and a want of that propriety and refinement so necessary to the character of a gentleman. And I only now condescend to notice it, because I believe there is no other way of teaching the Honourable and learned Speaker, that if he offend in this way punishment will certainly follow. When he tells me that my speech is not enlivened with touches of eloquence or enriched with manifestations of research, I may reply that so far as my powers of speech go he cannot estimate them more humbly than I do myself, and let me tell him that when he wields this weapon he uses a blunt arrow—an ineffective instrument, that can neither mortify nor annoy me. But why refer to such a circumstance at all? Can anything be more childish for either of us than such a reference? I have been hackneyed at the bar for forty years—and there compelled to prove myself whatever I may be—and he must know that we

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have judges who will decide upon our merits, who will deal with us as we deserve. But I must say I have an innate repugnance to artificial display of knowledge upon any subject beyond what the occasion demands. My addresses are almost always entirely extemporaneous—the expression in language formed at the moment of opinions and ideas previously considered. Let it not, however, be imagined that I undervalue true eloquence. It is my admiration, when it springs from native genius, and is not the spurious and mushroom effect of the midnight oil—brought forth for the mere occasion of display. I have with unfeigned delight and admiration listened to the eloquence which once resounded here and in our courts of justice from a former Speaker of this House, and a distinguished member of our bar—the late Mr. Archibald—there were eloquence and wit flowing without effort, in living streams, from the native fountain of the soul. I remember another whom I perhaps ought not to mention, for he is still a member of this House. Who that heard can forget as about the close of the seventeen days' debate, the learned gentleman I now refer to stood beside that pillar, and whilst the light of those lamps shed their lustre upon us, delivered an address replete with classic beauty, brilliant with the pure gushings of eloquence and enriched from the resources of a mind redolent of historic and constitutional information. To these I have listened with admiration, and truly can I say that I admit no superior power without envy. But when I see an individual past the meridian of youth, when the trifling feelings which I may excuse in the young may be supposed to have passed away, not content to rest his reputation upon his past exertions and real merit, but labouring to establish a character for oratorical ability by such vain displays of forced and turgid declamations and superficial information as we sometimes see exhibited here, I feel that the true genius of eloquence is not there; all is artificial and forced, and the more repulsive when these exhibitions are delivered with childish gestures and vainglorious self-congratulation. If I fail in imitating this example or earning the meed of praise from such critics, I am content. The learned Speaker proffered me advice, let me give him a little—for if he lectures others he must expect sometimes to be lectured. Let me advise him to show less of the pedantry of a half-taught and illiterate pedagogue and to display less of the evolutions of an ill-bred dancing-master. Let him recollect the great maxim of the ancient author, 'He never can affect others who does not forget himself in his subject.' We shall not then see his glance directed first to the one gallery and then to the other. We shall

not then see his eye raised to the reporters at the completion of some laboured sentence, with a look which says, 'See, gentlemen reporters, that you notice this.'

"If the Speaker attend to this, though he shall fail to reach the character of an orator, he will approximate more closely to the refinement of manner of a gentleman debater."

In 1849, the Government appointed a committee and voted a small sum to commence the work of connecting the Province with the outside world by telegraph. Mr. Howe was made chairman of this committee. After the enterprise had proceeded to a certain stage, the Government remitted its work to a telegraph company. Before this took place, and when Mr. Howe was in England, he was assailed for alleged dishonesty in dealing with the funds put in his hands for this work.

Here is submitted a sample of Mr. Howe's exceptional style, indulged in on the floors of the Assembly about the time the work of constructing lines of telegraph was transferred from the Government to the company. He said:

"For the last six months, two of the men who signed this petition—without better evidence than I now have in my possession, I will not implicate the third—have unceasingly slandered and abused myself and others. For the present, I will not name them—they are already well known to this House, and before I have done I will make them better known. . . .

"The first charge contained in that petition is a base falsehood; and the only regretful feeling now animating me is that the Centenary Post, which for the honour and credit of our country we did spend £20 to decorate with flowers to celebrate the hundredth return of the day on which our Pilgrim Fathers settled on this portion of the American continent—a day which all classes and grades of people united to celebrate with every charitable society—I regret to say but one thing, that the Post is not standing wreathed with the flowers that crowned it on that day, and those two highly ornamental individuals capping the column. . . .

"If any of that old generation were to inspect them so situated, they could not fail to think that the Nova Scotians of modern times—judging by the sample—were a queer-looking race. But they dare to say that the £4,000 was not accounted for. I shall not condescend to answer them here by wading through all the papers connected with the transaction and showing how baseless this fabrication is—but let either of the vaga-

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bonds meet me on the street and dare to repeat the charge, and my word for naught if I don't teach him a lesson which will not improve the complexion of his countenance."

The Hon. Speaker (Wm. Young)—"But be calm."

"I am deliberately teaching these men a lesson who, for six months, while my back was turned and three thousand miles of water rolled between us, slandered and maligned my character, and I have never had them face to face until now. True, they are not on these benches, but is there a man in this House or country who believes that I would not wither the creatures into silence if they were. Intellectually I would give them work for a week, and physically I would be ashamed to set a dog at them."

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONFEDERATION.

THE railway confusion ended in the Government building lines west from Halifax toward Yarmouth and east toward Amherst. This was done through a Board of Commissioners, of which Mr. Howe was made chairman.

In the session of 1854, after the railway discussion had become a matter of history and the policy of the country determined, Mr. Johnstone introduced a resolution in favour of the Confederation of the Provinces. The way was now clear for a discussion of this subject.

Mr. Howe's course from the time Confederation was first considered as a practical subject in the British North American Provinces and in England, until the close of his life, needs to be carefully and impartially examined. A review, therefore, of his public utterances extending over this period is necessary, if justice shall be done to this eminent Nova Scotian.

Before the report of Lord Durham's mission to Canada in 1838 was given to the world, the Confederation of these Provinces had been a subject far away from practical politics, and was discussed as a theory and in an academic manner. But as soon as this report was read by representative men of British North America, Confederation, treated by Lord Durham as a matter urgent and essential, took to itself an importance it never before possessed. Among those who were influenced by it was Joseph Howe, who at the time had become a prominent figure in Colonial politics because of the leading part he had taken in the campaign for responsible government. He read Lord Durham's report with care and satisfaction. As it discussed Confederation as an essential means to the successful government of Canada, it could not have escaped Mr. Howe's attention, nor could he do otherwise than give it the thorough examination which its importance demanded.

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It is stated in an earlier part of this history that Mr. Howe seemed to oppose the appointment of a delegation by the House of Assembly to meet Lord Durham at Quebec, and instead of allowing himself to be one of the number to meet him, left the country for an extended visit to Great Britain and the Continent.

An informal report of the delegation, composed of J. W. Johnstone, J. B. Uniacke and William Young, made to both branches of the Legislature, was an occasion embraced by Mr. Johnstone for giving an able address on the subject of Confederation in the Legislative Council, of which he was then a member. The careful and thorough discussion of the subject with Lord Durham and delegates from the other Provinces had so commended it to his judgment that he had no doubt of its importance and of its being essential to the welfare of the Colonies. His arguments were cogent, his convictions strong and his judgment for the proposed union clear, assured and sympathetic.

Mr. Howe, in the Lower House, confined his remarks to an expression of his fears that while in principle Confederation might be sound, yet in practice the small Provinces by the sea would likely suffer injustice at the hands of the two larger Provinces. It may be assumed that at this stage his views were not settled, and that what he held was an expression of surface thoughts. His failure to discuss the subject at that time, and thereby give the country the benefit of his matured conclusions, as Mr. Johnstone did, may be dismissed without prejudice. In the Colonial press the subject was considered to a limited extent, but with an evidently increasing interest. Ten years after the appearance of Lord Durham's report, "The British-American League" at Toronto discussed the subject and framed a plan for the Confederation of the Provinces. Not, however, until 1854, was Mr. Howe brought face to face with the subject and compelled by the circumstances to take sides one way or the other. It was at this time that Mr. Johnstone introduced into the Lower House his resolution referred to in the beginning of this chapter. His resolution was:

Resolved.—That the Union or Confederation of the British Provinces on just principles, while calculated to perpetuate their connection with the parent State, will promote their ad-

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vancement and prosperity, increase their strength and influence, and elevate their position."

The second part of Mr. Johnstone's motion was to authorize the Governor of Nova Scotia to correspond with the Governments of the other Provinces, and also with the Imperial Government, respecting the proposal, "which, if matured on principles satisfactory to the several Provinces, was calculated to secure their harmony and bring into action their consolidated strength, and must result in lasting benefit of incalculable value."

Mr. Howe, with strict attention and profound respect, as was his custom, listened to Mr. Johnstone's speech in support of his resolution.

Mr. Johnstone referred to the able discussion of the subject five years before by the British-American League at Toronto. He submitted to the House the scheme laid before the country at that time by the able body of men composing this League. The House being in Committee, addressing the Chairman, Mr. Johnstone said:

" . . . That the dispositions and tendencies of nations are moulded and directed by their government and institutions, is a truth which reason approves and nature confirms. Yet national characteristics being but the concentration of the prevailing propensities of individuals, they become reflex of each other, and alike derive tone and complexion from the habits of thought and feeling and action engendered by the laws.

"I do not forget that religion is the great minister—the effective agent in the amelioration of man, and the exaltation of nations. Yet do her influences, like rays of light passing from one medium into another, fall more or less directly and powerfully according to the moral atmosphere that surrounds the subjects of her action.

"But I freely admit that the obligations resulting from these traits are controlled by a duty no less plain—which forbids needless alteration in the Government and laws. The occasions which call for fundamental changes should be grave and the conclusions sought free from reasonable doubt.

"If, therefore, a view of the condition and prospects of the British North American Provinces does not justify the conviction that in all their relations—political and material, social and moral—their union is called for, or at least a measure demanding deliberate examination, then the objects for which I

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solicit the favour of the Committee are unwise and ought to be rejected promptly and decisively. But if the condition and prospects of these Colonies do force that conviction, then it is the duty of every man according to his influence and ability to be an instrument in urging the accomplishment of their union.

"This is a question that reaches beyond the present moment and oversteps the boundaries of sectional claims. Not that I would be taken to mean that the palpable interests of the present are to be sacrificed to the visions of a distant and uncertain future; or any rights, however small, disregarded for the sake of theory and speculation. No, the future of these Colonies that we have especially to deal with, is that which the shadows of the past distinctly portray; and which the analogies of nature and the testimony of experience with clearness reveal; the interests to be sacrificed, if there shall be such, are those that shall be compensated by larger benefits and greater good.

"The adage that 'Union is strength,' and the homily illustrative of that adage in the bundle of sticks, lie at the foundation of the proposal before the Committee—the beginning, the middle, and the end of the argument. Hence they who oppose the measure should rightly assume the burden of sustaining their views—unless there be something in the nature, situation and circumstances of the several parties to be amalgamated, unsuited for effective union.

"If nothing be found to show that the Provinces are unsuited for union, then the way is clear for the question; and the comparison will present itself between the Provinces severed and disunited, and the Provinces combined and one.

"In the preliminary enquiry the obstacles to union, arising from distance, dissimilarity of race and habits—the difference in their public debt—opposing interests of trade and revenue—geographical obstructions—seem the most obvious and serious.

"The impediments resulting from distance, and from the unhappy circumstances of both the Canadas, at the time, were those chiefly felt by Lord Durham in 1838, when the subject was discussed at Quebec by that distinguished and acute statesman and his able advisers—among whom were the late Charles Buller and Mr. Turton—and the delegates attending from the Provinces.

"These impediments have passed away. Since that time railroads have been introduced into Canada, and the time, I believe, will not be long before the works of the Grand Trunk Railroad Company will unite Sarnia on Lake Huron with Rivière du Loup on the banks of the St. Lawrence, below Quebec. . . .

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" Since 1847, the almost magic power of the electric telegraph has been called into use, to annihilate time and distance in the communication of thought and intelligence—and thus the objection from the distances that separate the inhabitants of these Provinces no longer offers any sound reason against their union.

" The condition of Upper and Lower Canada was in 1838 unable for union, while the circumstances of these Colonies conduced to make a union most desirable if not necessary.

" Both Provinces, still heaving and agitated under the effects of recent troubles, and divided into parties embittered by a struggle of no ordinary character, were in a condition the worst imaginable for adjusting a new constitution, or carrying a union into operation.

" Besides, differences in language, laws, habits and modes of thinking and feeling, and the rivalry naturally growing out of these differences, placed an obstacle in the way of the union of Lower Canada with the Upper or the Lower Provinces, which in the nature of things is, perhaps, the most difficult to be overcome.

" This barrier was not sufficient to prevent the amalgamation of the Canadas, and the successful result of that measure not only proves adequately that no dissimilarity that exists in the habits and feelings of different sections of the population of the various Provinces is a just reason against entertaining the question of their union; but affords encouragement to its extension to the other Provinces.

" The geographical relations of the Colonies can, I think, be no hindrance. The line separating Canada and New Brunswick creates no separation between the people inhabiting on either side. The Canadian inhabitants there have long found it to their advantage to deal principally with New Brunswick, and to avail themselves of the conveniences afforded by that fine river, the St. John. The people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (once united in the same Province) know no distinction."

After considering with much care and thoroughness the obstacles to union which he had enumerated, Mr. Johnstone proceeds:

" But when I reflect on the immense resources of Canada, I apprehend the obstructions to the union may arise from causes very different from the fastidiousness of the Lower Colonies, in view of the Canadian debt.

" Let us then assume that if the union of the British North

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American Provinces be a measure calculated to consolidate their strength, improve their institutions, accelerate their progress, and promote their well-being, there exists no insuperable objection to that union, either in the distance that separates, the diversities of races and of habits and sentiments, from geographical impediments, or financial or fiscal difficulties, or other causes of an individual nature.

“This places us on the broad field of inquiry to which the subject invites. The difficulties are to select and arrange the materials within a reasonable compass, rather than to find matter for observation.”

Mr. Johnstone then enumerated a number of instances illustrative of the union of the Colonies—the Confederation of the New England States in 1643, for protection against the encroachment of the French, the Dutch and the savages; the proposal of William Penn, in 1697, for an annual congress of all the British Provinces then on the continent; the attempt made for Confederation more than a half century later by all the Colonies at Albany, where, in 1694, commissioners from every Colony north of the Potomac assembled. “Every voice declared a union of all the Colonies to be absolutely necessary.”

“In the above instances,” said Mr. Johnstone, “schemes were devised by wise and practical men for protection against foreign invasion and for internal improvements. . . . England rejected it, and reflective men there, as Bancroft says, were jealous lest it should lead to the independence of the Colonies.”

Mr. Johnstone also referred to the following facts: Chief Justice Sewall, of Lower Canada, in 1814 formed a project for the union of the North American Colonies, and submitted it to His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, who approved of it, his knowledge of the Colonies giving his opinion great weight. The union of the United States of America was the last illustration employed by Mr. Johnstone in his powerful address. He then continued:

“It would be as vain as ignoble to attempt to decry the national position of the United States. America stands high among the nations; and vigorous in youth, pressing onward and upward. Well may her sons be dazzled in the prospect of her destiny. Year after year the wilderness retires before the energy and endurance of her people; and her commerce spreads

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more widely over every sea. Her ægis guards her humblest citizen in the remotest lands, until the title of an American citizen is as secure a passport as of old was that of Roman.

"What has achieved this great result? Union—effective, confederate union.

"Would it have been thus had the state of imbecile and imperfect confederation continued, that Lafayette deplored, and Washington mourned over, reproved and redressed? Assuredly not.

"Let it be remembered that when Washington showed the evils of disunion on the commercial relations of his country her population did not very greatly exceed that of the British North American Colonies at the present day.

"The dissimilarities in the circumstances of the United States and the British Colonies do not, I think, prevent the application of this example. Foreign negotiation was necessary for the commercial arrangements required by the United States, and with us the Imperial Parliament exercises this duty. But it is clear that the commercial relations of the Provinces will demand a special consideration controlled by their own circumstances and interests, and union may be found requisite to give efficacy to these considerations. The subject naturally leads to the inquiry whether the North American Provinces possess a strength and capacity suited for union."

At this point, Mr. Johnstone gave the population of Scotland and Ireland at the time of their union with England; the number, resources and ability of the revolted Colonies at the time of their independence, of which before the Revolution Bancroft says:

"Looking forward for a quarter of a century, the population of the North American Colonies may be assumed to reach over seven millions, and in another quarter to be pressing on to eighteen millions.

"As to territory, we have but again to look to the map to perceive that, vast as is the extent of the United States, the British domain exceeds it, and although much of this large territory lies in the inhospitable region of the north, yet more than enough for accumulated millions of people remains of lands of the best quality for settlement. The extent of the several Colonial limits I have already stated; and beyond Canada to the West onward to the Pacific and Vancouver Island lies a vast country destined to be the home of multitudes."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONFEDERATION—(Continued).

AFTER stating the amount of revenue of the Provinces at that time and the extent of territory under British sway, larger than that of the United States, Mr. Johnstone proceeds:

“In view of all these facts, it may be assumed that the British North American Colonies possess a strength in population, territory, commerce and material resources that entitle them to a higher national position than they occupy, and that would justify their union as a means for attaining that position.

“I shall, therefore, proceed to offer some remarks on the motives to union, in addition to what has already been incidentally said.

“The union may be presented in a twofold aspect: The benefits it will yield, the evils it will avert.

“Looking at each Colony as possessed of some advantages, some resources peculiar to itself, it seems a conclusion almost inevitable and self-evident that combination must increase their effectiveness; and that the whole, developed and directed by one governing power, representing all the Colonies, must produce a result greater than the aggregate of product under the separate unassisted agency of each separate Colony. As an example, Nova Scotia, with her eastwardly position and excellent harbours, offering the first stopping-place in the navigation between Europe and America, surrounded on every side by the sea or extensive bays, furnishing great facilities for commerce and navigation, possessing unrivalled mines of wealth, in fisheries and minerals, needs a larger, a greater strength than her own to give full efficiency to these elements of advancement.

“Canada, vast in her dimensions, unexcelled in her agricultural powers, equal to unlimited immigration, and teeming with the materials and means of progress, almost without a precedent, is shut out from navigable communication with the sea, by the rigours of winter, for a large portion of the year.

“Without union, the Colonies will not minister, as they

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might, to each other's benefit. At present they feel not the disposition; if they would, they cannot without a united Government and a common system and policy.

"The smallest interest felt in each other by the Colonies would be almost incredible to strangers. They confound us as one. We as communities are not only several in fact, but in feeling.

"Union, giving us a common interest, and making us fellow-workers in advancing that interest, would remedy this great evil; and a uniform system would remove impediments which the regulation and partial interests of the Colonies will, while separate, ever be presenting.

"If it be objected that union would be distracted by opposing interests, I answer that union is not anticipated except on the basis of mutual benefit and the assumption that no large interest would be sacrificed.

"If, again, it be urged that the United States afford to the Colonies many of the facilities that are presented as reasons for union, the reply is, that to a large extent that is impossible—that as far as the fact does extend, the continuance cannot be relied on; and, above all, that one of the chief objects of union is to concentrate Colonial interests and to augment Colonial strength, and thereby avert the otherwise inevitable consequences of gradual absorption into that republic which, I believe, must result from keeping our interests detached, while each Colony is gradually drawing itself closer to the United States.

"It is impossible to enter into details. The occasion permits only the consideration of general principles, and on good general principles I cannot but assume that the balance of good as regards each portion of the union would predominate over partial inconvenience.

"Rising to a higher point of view, and turning from the influence of union on the internal improvements of the Colonies to the effects of the union in external aspects, the relations of the Colonies to Great Britain and to the United States present themselves as the principal subjects of consideration.

"In these relations the weakness of the Colonies, separate, their strength, united, present a contrast that strikes the mind instantly and with irresistible force. This contrast gathers power as it is carried forward, and let it not be forgotten that undeviating smoothness in the progress of events as little characterizes the existence of communities as of individuals.

"Times will come and occasion will arise when these Colonies

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in whole or in part will find emergencies demanding all their strength and forcing to united efforts, when perhaps the opportunity and means of effective union may be wanting.

"We may find some illustrations at the present time in the cases of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, sought by the United States—reciprocal trade between the Colonies and the United States—and the fisheries on our coasts.

"United, the Colonies would have a common interest, sustained by consolidated strength, and promoted by undivided counsel. Divided, each pursues its own views, on its own strength and according to its own judgment, possibly at conflict with others, and, it may be, with results at the moment considered for the benefit of one, but which, had a united interest compelled to more enlarged views, would have been rejected by all.

"Let us consider for a few moments the case of the fisheries, which peculiarly affects us in Nova Scotia.

"Within the limits of three marine miles the coasts of Nova Scotia abound with fisheries of incalculable value. The law of nations and sanctions of treaties give to the Queen's subjects as clear a right to their exclusive enjoyment as they have to any merely territorial possession; and this right is essentially Colonial, because its enjoyment is inseparably incident to Colonial residence. Yet it may be that at this very moment this birthright and property of Colonists is being the subject of treaty and of traffic at Washington—nay, they may have already been surrendered for some partial compensation, adding insult to wrong. I will not say that Nova Scotia has not been consulted, but has her voice been invited or been heard as the voice of a free people ought in such a matter?

"Who has most influence in this affair—the manufacturers of Manchester, sustained by a Parliamentary host, or Her Majesty's loyal subjects of Nova Scotia, unaided by one vote, whose geographical position, if not existence, is, it may be, unknown to one-half the assembled Commoners of the parent State?

"If it shall be said that exclusive possession requires protection against encroachment beyond what we can afford, I might in the present relations of the Colonies question the conclusion, but admit its correctness. It is the consciousness of this weakness that prompts me. From this injurious imbecility I would see my country delivered by a union that would give the North American Colonies in matters affecting themselves a prospect of having weight proportioned to their rights in the Councils of the Empire and in the deliberations of foreign

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HON. JOSEPH HOWE.

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States. I would see it raised to the dignity and possessed of the ability of contributing towards expenditures incurred for its benefit. I attempt not to conceal the fact that the United Colonies would be called to assume burdens and responsibilities greater than they have yet been accustomed to. No! Enlarged privileges must bring increased obligations, and no man worthy of the name would evade the privileges of manhood that he might escape its duties.

"It may be objected that interests prized by some Colonies would be lightly esteemed by others—Canada, for instance, may be supposed to care little for our fisheries. The answer is that what promotes the common welfare cannot be presumed to be disregarded by any of the members of the union; and that what is valuable to one is an accession to the common stock, not likely to be inconsiderately sacrificed by their united Government.

"But, however this might be, if any surrender should be made after due deliberation by the supreme Colonial Government, none—dissatisfied though they might be with the act of their own Government—could complain that their rights had been disregarded without having enjoyed the privileges of constitutionally vindicating their claims, and they would be relieved from the humiliating consideration so often forced upon them in their present condition.

"No part of this subject is, in my mind, more important than the bearing it has on the systems of government and administration of justice, especially in the smaller Colonies. The consequences affect society in its vital interest—the moral sentiment of a people.

"How far the artificial means of administration through a Parliamentary majority, as in England, is well adapted to any country free from the complications of an Imperial State and ancient institutions it is not necessary to inquire, as I assume the Government of the united Colonies, if a Legislative Union should be effected, would be modelled after the British form. But quite sure I am that for a Colony with a small population, scattered thinly over its surface, a large proportion of them scantily educated, having no men of leisure, comparatively few of much wealth, and still fewer distinguished by literary attainments, such a system of administration is unsuited alike to the moral elevation and to the material progress of the people.

"That it is British proves nothing, unless to prepare us to expect that what suits a country circumstanced as England would not be fitted for communities such as ours. There exist the opposite principles of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy,

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and there, too, are large classes of landlords, and men of property, whose interest is alive to preserve the balance necessary for the security of the State; while learning, refinement and leisure abound to assist the interests of property in creating, fostering and preserving those sentiments of public virtue essential for the well-being of society, and in guarding against and checking the abuses and corruptions to which Governments are prone.

"Hence a public opinion, which through the medium of a free press, is able alike to control the Crown, nobles, Parliament, statesmen and the people when strong occasion calls it forth. In such a country conflicting elements require to be combined, harmonized and kept in check, and the means exist to effect that object. But here we have not and cannot have the presence of the influence of monarchy or nobility, and all attempts at imitation will but produce spurious and incongruous results. We have, and can have, but one element of government—the democratic, and that it is our interest so to regulate and check as to preserve a simple, an incorrupt and an economic system of government.

"The great want in a small community such as Nova Scotia, under the system of government instituted among us, is the free working of a healthy public opinion. The party divisions which will exist under this system, and which indeed may be deemed necessary for its effective operation, leave no middle class to adjust the scale and check the violation of public faith and personal honour in public men, and the circumstances of the country furnish not men of education and leisure adequate to control and direct the public sentiment.

"We have but to examine the system in its operation to trace the influences of the Executive on the Legislature, and of the Legislature on the Executive, and of both on the people, to perceive that its tendencies are to imbecility of Executive action, to defective legislation, and, above all, to corruption, and that there exists no influence to stay the evils.

"It was my intention to have gone into this branch of the subject more largely, but I pass over my notes on this topic, because I shall, without further enlargement, more than sufficiently occupy the time of the House and tax its patience, and because I might awaken feelings opposed to the calmness essential to the proper consideration of the question before us.

"The evils to which I allude must reach the administration of justice, and gradually but inevitably deteriorate the intelligence and professional knowledge and the independence of the judges, not only because the system makes to a considerable

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extent political position the path to the Bench, but because the causes that lead to the toleration of corruption in private and public men will be fruitful of evil throughout society in all its relations.

"The union of the Provinces, with one general movement, would at least diminish the evil consequences inevitable in communities too small, too poor, too little advanced for the advantageous exercise of the system.

"A wider field would give greater scope to the aspiring, and larger and perhaps more generous influences would be required for success. Party action, operating in an extended circle, would become less personal in its nature, and be consequently mitigated in its acrimony and less powerful in suppressing a wholesome public opinion.

"There is another consideration not yet touched, but which lies deep in the foundations of the subject, and pervades it in all its relations, awakening emotions too powerful not to make themselves practically operative—the anomalous position of a Colonist.

"The Englishman, Scotchman and Irishman has a country by which he calls himself, and claims a nationality that commands respect.

"The United States citizen has a national character that is a passport over the world. The eagle of his country follows him in the remotest regions, and he is sure of the vindication of his violated rights at all hazards and any expenditure.

"The Colonial subject of Great Britain may indeed find similar protection and redress in the case of flagrant wrong. But his national standing as he realizes it in the ordinary occurrences of life is dubious and unsatisfactory.

"Let him go to England, and he perhaps discovers his cherished home to be there an unknown land, or in some strange geographical confusion confounded with distant and unconnected places; and when his countrymen have clearly ascertained the fact that he is indeed a Colonist, he perceives that he has sunk in estimation, and that he occupies, in their consideration, a standing of inferior order to that accorded to the citizens of the United States or other subjects of a foreign State. It fares not much better with him anywhere else. He carries nowhere a recognized name or acknowledged national character.

"It is true, communities, as well as individuals, may be virtuous and happy in secluded and inferior stations; but in this age of progress and change, those who are pressing on our footsteps, and will presently occupy our places, and for whom it

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is our duty to think and to act, will not be contented to hold the equivocal and hybrid relation of Colonists, unless their own standing shall become elevated and shall give them an acknowledged name, and at least a quasi nationality. This the united Provinces of British North America, by whatever name denominated, are able to do.

“This leads to a different branch of the subject, the influence which the union of the North American Colonies would have in their connection with the parent State.

“I cannot perceive that the form which the inhabitants of a colony may prefer as best suited for the management of their own affairs can of itself affect their relations with the Imperial State; still less than ever now that the principle of Colonial self-government is clearly acknowledged and practically adopted.

“The mode in which the Colonies expand and advance toward maturity leaves untouched the principle on which the Colonial relation depends, and in proportion to their happiness and prosperity would naturally be their reluctance to dissolve a connection fruitful of results so desirable, while their increasing strength and importance would give them a weight and consideration in the councils of the Empire that would render improbable any unhappy and injudicious interferences with their rights, and so avert the cause of dissatisfaction.

“It is interesting in this view to look back upon the past. Some of the Colonies in their early history received constitutions so independent as to be quite startling, in contrast with the policy in after years advanced by the British Government. The American historian tells us that ‘In Pennsylvania human rights were respected. The fundamental law of William Penn, even his detractors concede, was in harmony with universal reason and true to the ancient and just liberties of the people.’

“But Connecticut, as early as 1662, presents the most peculiar spectacle in this respect. The charter of that State created a simple democracy, and gave to the people, without reference to or control by the Imperial Government, the unmodified power to elect all officers, enact laws, administer justice, inflict punishments and pardon offences, and, in a word, to exercise every power, deliberative and executive; and yet this charter was granted by Charles II. It is true it emanated from no just principle on his part, but from the unusual coincidence that the favourite (a Winthrop) whom he desired to reward was a man of noble nature, who, unlike the usual recipients of Royal bounty, sought not the advancement of his own fortunes, but the benefit of his country. Still the fact that nearly two

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centuries ago such powers of Colonial self-government were not imagined to infringe Colonial independence may make those pause who, in the present advanced state of political science, see in the union of the North American Colonies danger to British connection.

"It may be said that these instances are not happy illustrations of my argument, seeing that revolt and separation followed. Long previously, however, the early charters had been violated, and practices introduced and claims advanced inconsistent with their principles.

"Who that regards the earnest desire to avert separation, which at first animated many of the most distinguished actors in the American Revolution, will venture to declare that revolt and separation would have ensued had the principles of early charters never been interfered with?

"Suppose, again, that the Albany Union had been effected under the sanction of the British Government. May it not be questioned whether even capricious and inconsiderate and obstinate statesmen would have urged the same claims, acknowledged now to have been arbitrary and unconstitutional, upon the Thirteen Colonies, compact and strong in union, which was ill-advisedly thought might safely be ventured upon with separate Colonies, weak in themselves, and apparently without the elements of consolidated power? This revolt and separation, humanly speaking, probably would have been averted had there been a union of the Colonies.

"Let me not forget one significant fact. Not only has the union of the North American Colonies been advocated by able British statesmen, but we have seen that it was a subject of mature consideration and found favour with a Prince of the blood, the father of our revered Sovereign. He could have seen in it no tendencies to rend an Empire, the maintenance of whose undiminished glory and power must have been so dear to him.

"Before leaving this portion of the subject I feel myself constrained to mention a sentiment which I hope will not be misapprehended or misapplied.

"If a union be necessary for the happiness and prosperity of these Colonies, it is no legitimate ground for withholding it that it may possibly tend to a severance of the connection with the parent State. Justice demands alike from Imperial and Colonial statesmen that on such a question the primary, the controlling, consideration should be the essential and permanent well-being of the Colonies.

"It only remains that a few words should be said on the nature of the union. This may be either by, first, Confedera-

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tion, or, secondly, by Legislative Union, including the Lower Provinces, with confederation with Canada.

"In all the instances I have quoted, we do not meet with the scheme of Legislative Union until Lord Durham's report in 1838, and therefore example favours Confederation.

"I stated at the outset that I did not think this was the time to spend much consideration on details; but though the mode of union is hardly the question for present deliberation, I will not here withhold my strong conviction that a Legislative Union would best promote the common interests and the objects to be attained.

"But with this there must be connected a mature and perfect system of Municipal Corporations, giving to the people in every country not only the entire control and management of their own immediate affairs, but much which is now the subject of Legislative and Executive functions.

"Thus in the concentrated strength and energy and progress of these Colonies, in an enlarged and more wholesome public opinion, a wider range for talent, and more extended scope for the aspirations of ambition, might be found a remedy for the evils that seem inseparable from the condition of Colonists at present; and a theatre of action for British subjects be prepared, worthy of British energy and suited to British feelings.

"I cannot conclude without acknowledging how far short I feel I have fallen of the capacity of the subject—I will not say of its requirements, for the measure I have advocated needs little aid of argument or eloquence. The principle on which it rests is so simple, so truthful, so practical, so acknowledged, that argument and eloquence seem superfluous.

"*Union is strength*; reason, philosophy and experience declare, illustrate and confirm the truth. Religion and civilization demand its aid.

"It upholds the sovereignty which God has given to men over creation, and is the basis on which rests all the agencies for fulfilling the Creator's designs for the amelioration of our race.

"Supported on this principle, the question seems no longer open to debate so soon as the practicability of union is affirmed. And yet the subject affords ample scope for reasoning the most rigid and eloquence the most exciting. Here at one moment the mind is embarrassed to find valid objections to oppose, at another oppressed by emotions difficult to utter.

"I trust and believe my deficiencies will be lost in the more perfect and able exposition the subject will receive from those around me, and that, graced by the aids of reasoning and

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eloquence, it will be placed in the light it ought to occupy before this Province, our sister Colonies and the Empire.

"I offer no apology, or, if any be required, my interest as a Colonist, my duty as a citizen, my country's welfare, and the well-being of our posterity must plead my excuse for inviting this discussion. Called in the providence of God to take part in the councils of my country, I have now fulfilled a duty I should have been ill-satisfied to have left undone when my public career shall terminate.

"If it be destined that no such union as that contemplated shall be effected, and those who succeed us shall feel the stern alternative of exiling themselves from the land of their birth because it satisfies not the exigencies of their nature, or of transferring that land to a foreign nationality, I at least shall have done what in me lies to avert these consequences; and if it shall please God to raise up in the northern portion of this great continent a nation of free men, acknowledging British sovereignty and advancing with the expansive energy of which Britons are capable and the age demands; rivalling, but with no mean jealousy, rather with a friendly and co-operative spirit, the progress of our republican neighbours, and giving to our children a place among men which their fathers possessed not, then will it be reward enough for any man that his memory shall be recalled as having been one, although among the humblest, of the pioneers in so great a work.

"I move the adoption of the resolutions which I read at commencing, and which I now present for the deliberation of the Committee."

CHAPTER XXXV.

HOWE ON CONFEDERATION.

To Mr. Johnstone's able address on "Confederation," Mr. Howe replied in a well-prepared speech on "The Organization of the Empire." He said:

"I trust that the day is not yet far distant in Nova Scotia when questions of transcendent importance will not be entangled in the meshes of party, or fail to challenge, no matter whence they emanate, earnest and thoughtful investigation in this Assembly. . . . Come from whose hand it may, the resolution before the Committee opens up for discussion the broadest field, the noblest subject, ever presented to the consideration of this Legislature. A day, or even a week, may be well spent upon such a theme."

The following sentence may be taken as an illustration of the far-afield search to which Mr. Howe and others wandered at that period to find matter with which to ornament their orations:

"When the prophets and orators of old were about to discourse of the destinies of nations, they retired to the mountains, or by the streams, to meditate; they communed, in the abundance of their leisure, with God, and caught their inspiration alike from the tranquillity which enabled them to penetrate the dispensations of His providence, as from the phenomena of nature around them, and which tinged with beauty the 'thoughts that breathe, and words that burn,' which have come streaming down, like lines of light, even to the present hour."

Mr. Howe's belief in the soundness of his views and the extent to which they would be made known, appears in an extract, here given:

"I wish that my leisure had been greater, that I might have brought before you the ripened fruits of meditation, the illustrative stores of history, which research can only accumulate. In no vain spirit do I wish that the sentiments I am about to utter might be heard and pondered, not only as they will be by those who inhabit half this continent, but by members of

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the British Parliament, by Imperial statesmen, by the Councillors who stand around, and by the gracious Sovereign who sits upon the throne. Perhaps this may not be. Yet I believe that the day is not distant when our sons, standing in our places, trained in the enjoyment of public liberty by those who have gone before them, and compelled to be statesmen, by the throbbing of their British blood and the necessities of their position, will be heard across the Atlantic, and will utter to each other and to all the world sentiments which to-day may fall with an air of novelty upon your ear. I am not sure that even out of this discussion may not arise a spirit of union and elevation of thought that may lead North America to cast aside her Colonial habiliments, to put on national aspects, to assert national claims, and prepare to assume national obligations. Come what may, I do not hesitate to express my hope that from this day she will aspire to consolidation as an integral portion of the realm of England, or assert her claims to a national existence."

Mr. Howe then gave the area of the country now comprised in the Dominion; the inhabitants of the several Provinces; the population and history of England and Europe; the exploits in war of small populations, from Thermopylæ to the latest achievement in arms. South America came in for an examination of her history and resources. All this accumulation of material was used as a background for his subject, the representation of each Colony in the British Parliament.

He then summed up the results of his many excursions into the history and resources of the nations great and small, and continued:

"I think, then, it is obvious that whether we take extent of territory, rivers and lakes, extent of sea coasts, natural resources, shipping, imports and exports, revenue, ratio of increase, physical strength, size of cities, the enjoyment of freedom, general education, and activity of the press, we are entitled to form a nation, if so disposed, and to control our foreign relations as well as our domestic affairs."

Then came suggestions of the several courses the country might take in securing nationhood—"annexation to the United States," which he believed would "be unwise"; and "the organization of the Colonies into a nation." He then said:

"I agree with Mr. Johnstone that there would be great advantages arising from a union of these Colonies. . . .

"By a Federal Union of the Colonies we should have some-

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thing like the neighbouring republic; and if nothing better, I would say at once, let us keep our local Legislatures and have a President and central Congress for all the higher and external relations of the united Provinces. We should then have a nationality with purely republican institutions.

"But before we can have this organization, or any other, we must have railroads. . . . It is clear we cannot have a united Parliament without railroads first. Then, take my word for it, the question we are now discussing will assume a form and shape that will soon lead us to a tangible solution."

Mr. Johnstone held the very opposite opinion. His conviction, deduced from principles inherent in the subject of the union of the scattered Colonies, was, first unite them, then their united interests, centralized authority and facilities for examining the resources and ability of the country for undertaking great public works, such as railways and canals, and the service they would render to the united Provinces, controlled by a Federal Government, would assuredly lead to success in the shortest possible time. The conflicting interests of the several Provinces, the difficulty of securing united and harmonious action in any attempt at railway building, as illustrated by what had already taken place and in which Mr. Howe had taken a leading and laborious part, convinced him that Mr. Howe's policy was foredoomed to failure.

The history of the intercolonial road, and that was the one that had been under special consideration, proved with emphasis that Mr. Johnstone had in this matter the vision of a wise and sound statesman; that his conclusions were the natural product of his subjective, philosophical mind; and that Mr. Howe's policy was the natural product of his objective and sentimental temperament. It more than ever shows that the two men should have worked unitedly in that period of Colonial politics. Mr. Howe with his popular talents overbore Mr. Johnstone, and instead of hastening the union of the Colonies the better to fulfil their mission, he was unwittingly a hindrance to the accomplishment of that object.

Added to this, Mr. Howe ought to have known that because the Provinces were not united, Ontario opposed the building of a trunk line for their mutual service. The Hon. George Brown, at the banquet given the Charlottetown delegates when they visited Halifax, made this statement:

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"It has been said that we have had the opportunity before now of entering into closer union with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but we did not avail ourselves of it; that we were offered an intercolonial railway, but refused to undertake it."

Mr. Brown then spoke of the trouble in Canada, Upper and Lower, united in 1840, and said:

"A systematic agitation for the redress of the great wrong was commenced in Upper Canada, and as the only means of enforcing justice, we resisted all schemes of improvement, we refused to enter into any new undertakings involving an increase of our public debt, until a reform of our constitutional system was obtained and we knew what our future as a people was to be. We regarded the apparently far-off scheme of Federation of the whole Provinces as no remedy for our present wrongs, and we scouted the idea of building more railroads from the public chest until the taxpayers, who were to bear the burden of their construction, had their just share of control over the public purse. Long and earnestly did we fight for the justice we demanded, but at last light broke in upon us."

Below is another utterance of Mr. Howe's:

"Let us, as far as we can, lend ourselves to the realization of this grand idea. Let us suppose that our railroads were finished and we had the rapidity of intercourse necessary for union. Are there no difficulties in the way? First, the French-Canadians may not favour a union. I should like to be assured that they did, but certain facts have given me a contrary opinion. Upper Canada favours a union, because the people there think it would tend to keep the French-Canadian influence down. That view of the matter has been propagated in Lower Canada, and it has raised prejudices which cannot, perhaps, be easily overcome."

The selecting of the seat of government was another difficulty in the way of Confederation referred to by Mr. Howe; another, the diversity of interests of the several Provinces. He then entered upon a discussion of the great subject of "The Organization of the Empire."

"There is yet another position which North America may aspire to, and to my mind it presents a solution of all the difficulties which attach to this question in other directions. I think the time is rapidly approaching when there must be

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infused into the British Empire an element and strength which has scarcely yet been regarded. North America must ere long claim consolidation into the realm of England as an integral portion of the Empire, or she will hoist her own flag."

Referring to Mr. Johnstone's resolution, Mr. Howe said:

"The union of the Colonies is the subject of the resolution, but in my mind such a proposition covers but a limited portion of the ground which the mere agitation of the subject opens up."

He said in effect that if each Colony had its representatives in the British House of Commons, it would be to the advantage of the whole, securing trade relations with other countries; in settling the questions of the fisheries, so important to the Maritime Provinces; the opening of positions in the Army and Navy to Colonists as well as the men of the British Isles; the holding together and strengthening of the Empire.

He further referred with feeling to his mission to England to obtain assistance from the British Government for building an intercolonial railway. Here he introduced the sentence enigmatic to the reader of the present day, but at that time plain to Sir Francis Hincks:

"The secret history of this wretched transaction I do not seek to penetrate. Enough is written upon stock books and in the records of the courts of Canada to give us the proportions of the scheme of jobbery and corruption by which the interests of British America were overthrown."

When Mr. Howe's speech containing this dark writing was circulated in England, Sir Francis Hincks published a reply to his arguments for "The Organization of the Empire," and in doing so took occasion to refer at length to the sentence given above. He accepted it as a reference to himself in connection with the termination of the negotiations with the British Government for an intercolonial road and the arrangement with an English company for building railways in Canada.

Anyone who may desire to know the merits of this quarrel between Mr. Howe and Sir Francis Hincks can find what each has to say on the subject in a pamphlet containing Mr. Howe's speech on "The Organization of the Empire," Sir Francis Hincks' criticism of it and Mr. Howe's rejoinder.

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Mr. Howe contended further that representation in the British Parliament would open an inviting field for Colonial men of special talent, and take away the invidious distinction then prevalent between a subject of the Queen residing in Great Britain and another residing in an oversea colony.

Mr. Howe said:

"Here is work for the highest intellect, for the purest patriots on both sides of the Atlantic. Here is a subject worthy of the consideration of the largest-minded British statesman now figuring on the stage of human life. In presence of this great theme, how our little squabbles sink into insignificance, as the witches' cauldron vanishes from the sight of Macbeth. How insignificant are many of the topics which they discuss in the Imperial Parliament compared to this. I have seen night after night wasted while both Houses discussed the grave question of whether or not a Jew should sit in the House of Commons, a question that it would not take five minutes to decide in any Legislature from Canada to California. How often have I said to myself: I wonder does it never enter into the heads of these noble lords and erudite commoners, who are so busy with this poor Jew, that there are two millions and a half of Christians in British America who have no representative in either House. A little consideration given to that subject, I have thought, would not be a waste of time. When I have seen them quibbling with the great question of a surplus population, mendicancy and crime, I have asked myself: Do these men know that there are within the boundaries of the Empire, within ten days' sail from England, employment for all, freehold estates for all, with scarcely a provocation to crime? I have often thought how powerful this Empire might be made, how prosperous in peace, how invincible in war, if the statesmen of England would set about in organization, and draw to a common centre the high intellects which it contains.

"With our maritime positions in all parts of the globe, with every variety of soil and climate, with the industrial capacity and physical resources of two hundred and sixty million people to rely on, what might not the Empire become, if its intellectual resources were combined for its government and preservation? If the whole population were united by common interests, no power on earth ever wielded means so vast, or influence so irresistible. But let the statesmen of England slumber and sleep over the field of enterprise which lies around them—let them be deluded by economists who despise Colonists, or by fanatics

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who preach peace, at any price, with foreign despots, while no provision is made to draw around the throne the hearts of millions predisposed to loyalty and affection, and the results we can pretty surely calculate. Should the other half of this continent be lost, for the want of forethought and sound knowledge, there will be trouble in the homestead. 'Shadows, clouds and darkness' will rest upon the abode of our fathers, the cradle of our race."

In closing his letter to Sir Francis Hincks, a rejoinder to that gentleman's adverse criticism, his speech on "The Organization of the Empire," given in the House of Assembly, was used to reaffirm his confidence in his plan:

"If I sought to 'dismember the Empire,' I would be silent, and let these contrasts work their way. I point them out because I desire to keep the Empire together—to organize and strengthen, to rally round the national flag the energies of millions who now strike no blow in its defence, to bulwark the British Islands with natural allies, to make them independent of Turks and Austrians and Sardinians, to draw into the Imperial employments the high intellects which embellish the energies which control the destinies of its distant Provinces, to make Queen Victoria's service a service of love and emulation everywhere, to enable her to command every sword within her dominions. To teach Englishmen to value their own flesh and blood, to teach Colonists to look to this great metropolis as to an arena, which at any moment they may be called to tread; to Westminster Abbey, not as to an antique pile of masonry covering the bones of their fathers, but as the sacred depository where their children may be laid, when they have discharged in open and fair fields of emulation the higher duties of Empire and won its proudest distinctions. When that day comes, and come it will, when the good sense that extended Parliamentary representation to Manchester and Birmingham shall have extended it to Canada and Jamaica, to Australia and the Cape; when the men of the east and of the west, of the north and of the south, speak with authority and fulness of knowledge, from the noblest forum to the largest civilized community in the world, then we shall have a camp at Aldershot, and an army that, unaided by foreign alliances or mercenaries, can protect the civilization of the world."

In his proposal, Mr. Howe did not even suggest a plan by which his scheme could be worked. He erected his structure, the fancied results to Great Britain and all her oversea posses-

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sions represented in a central parliament located in London, but the principle on which the representation should be made and the formidable obstacles in the way of Colonies, scattered over the wide seas, doing their State business successfully in London, he left untouched. No statesman before that day or since, has been able to formulate a plan by which a London Parliament could transact the business of the wide British dependencies upon which the sun never sets.

The drift of opinion at the time, and which has become clearer and stronger as the years have passed away, was against Mr. Howe's scheme. It contains in itself its own condemnation—impracticability.

At this day a statesman who might accept the proposal as within the limits of practical politics would get no response either in the parent State or in any of the Colonies. It did not seem to appear in this light to Mr. Howe, who, when he delivered himself in the Provincial Legislature, like Horace, believed that the world would read his proposal, see it carried into operation, and that it would be to him a monument more enduring than brass, and would live after the pyramids had become dust. In this scheme and in others already referred to, and in others yet to be considered, Mr. Howe was betrayed into the conception and adoption of plans, having for their foundation nothing more stable than his own imaginings and his fervent desire to have them carried into operation. He did not always see every side of a subject, and in some instances he altogether neglected to examine the foundation. Men greater than Mr. Howe have frankly acknowledged faults of this kind.

When the Civil War was raging in the United States, Mr. Gladstone visited Lancaster, where there was much suffering among the factory operators. Lord Palmerston, the Premier, gently reminded him of the importance of great caution. But before his visit closed, he set the heather on fire. The head and front of his blunder was that he had said before an excited audience that "Jefferson Davis had made a great nation." Years afterwards, when referring to this matter, he gave as his apology his failure to see all sides of the subject. His plan for an Irish Parliament—a colossal blunder—is accounted for in the same way.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

TUPPER'S ADVENT INTO POLITICAL LIFE.

THE Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper is a descendant of Thomas Tupper, who emigrated from England to America in 1635. He removed to Sandwich, on Cape Cod, April 3rd, 1637. He was elected a member of the select committee at that place. When the church had no pastor, he conducted worship on the Lord's Day. He also laboured for the conversion of the Indians in the neighbourhood. He succeeded in establishing an Indian church at Herring Pond, and built for them a place of worship. A number of missionaries of his name preached to the Indians in this house for many years. Eliakim, son of Thomas Tupper, was the grandfather of the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., father of Sir Charles Tupper. He was born June 20th, 1711. He married Mary Bassett on March 28th, 1734. Their youngest child, born August 19th, 1748, was Charles Tupper, father of the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., whose grandfather came from Connecticut, where he last resided, to Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, in 1763. He was one of a number who took possession of lands vacated by the deported Acadian French in 1755. These lands were granted to immigrants by the Government of Nova Scotia.

The mother of the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., was Elizabeth West, born at Martha's Vineyard, February 9th, 1754. Her parents, William and Jane West, came to Cornwallis in 1763. Elizabeth West and Charles Tupper were married October 24th, 1771. They had ten sons and four daughters. The Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., was the twelfth child. He entered the Baptist ministry, and was married to Mrs. Lowe, widow. He removed from River Philip, Cumberland County, where he had settled as pastor of the Baptist Church, to Amherst, March 31st, 1821. He had three sons; one died in early

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childhood; the others, Nathan and Charles, entered the medical profession. The latter was born at Amherst, July 2nd, 1821. Rev. Dr. Tupper was pastor of the Baptist Church for a short time in the city of St. John, New Brunswick. On account of ill-health, he returned to Amherst on October 1st, 1826. From May, 1833, to the following May, he was pastor of the Baptist Church at Tryon and Bedeque, Prince Edward Island. For one year, beginning July, 1834, he was principal of the grammar school at Amherst. During this time he discharged the duties of a minister of the Gospel to the church in Amherst. A paragraph in his journal reads thus:

"Having decided on mature deliberation to give my son Charles an education in order that he might be prepared to enter the medical profession, on August 1st, 1837, I sent him to our educational institution at Wolfville" (Horton Academy and Acadia College).

On the 14th of July, 1838, the Rev. Dr. Tupper was called to the principalship of an academy at Fredericton, New Brunswick, for one year, to take the place of the principal who was absent on a visit to England. He preached for the church in that city during that year. At the end of the year he returned to Amherst.

Sir Charles Tupper's grandmother was a woman of extraordinary talents. A number of descendants have been distinguished for their gifts and especially for their aptitude for acquiring languages. Among them was the father of Sir Charles who, in addition to his other remarkable endowments, had this special gift for languages. Had he received a university training in the Old Country, he would have been one of the greatest linguists of his time, and a commentator of the Holy Scriptures, ranking with the most distinguished men in that department of learning. Once a word was in his mind, it mattered not how many were there before it, there it remained for service whenever needed. Although his labours as pastor were hard and incessant, yet by his phenomenal industry he acquired a reading knowledge of thirteen languages and a critical knowledge of some of them. The Rev. Silas Tertius Rand, D.D., LL.D., a cousin of Sir Charles, a dis-

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tinguished orator and faithful labourer as a preacher, acquired an extensive knowledge of seven languages.

Charles Tupper took advanced studies at Horton Academy, and his preliminary professional studies with Dr. Harding, of Windsor, Nova Scotia. He took his medical course at the University of Edinburgh, and graduated M.D. in 1843. In the same year, before graduating as M.D., he was admitted to the Royal College of Surgeons in that city.

Immediately after finishing his professional course, he returned to Nova Scotia and began practice in his native county, Cumberland, making Amherst his headquarters. His superior talents, dominating personality and efficiency in his profession soon attracted public attention. That large county became the field of his medical labours.

In person he was of medium height, straight, muscular, wiry and had intense nervous energy, which gave him quickness of movement and ceaseless mental activity. The county was large, and in both winter and summer the roads were good, bad and indifferent. In his sleigh, carriage or saddle he went from place to place, sometimes in deep and drifted snow, and at other times in mud more difficult than the worst snow-drifts. In his twelve years of practice, before he was called into the sphere of politics, mountainous obstacles became a level plain, and toil and exposure the highest enjoyment. With a spirit that knew no discouragement, saw no difficulties, and a body well seasoned by these twelve years of labour, he carefully examined the political arena into which he was invited as a contestant.

On October 8th, 1846, he married Miss Frances Morse, a daughter of Silas H. Morse, Esq., Prothonotary of Amherst. He had a pleasant home and a most lucrative practice. Had he desired to escape the arduous toil of the country, he knew that Halifax, St. John, or any other city was an open field in which he need entertain no fear of the results of fair competition. It was at this epoch that he considered the matter urged upon him of entering into political life. It is of interest to know how this was brought about--to know its genesis.

In 1851, Mr. Howe and Mr. Fulton, the latter a Conservative, were elected by a compromise for Cumberland by acclamation. But it soon became known that Mr. Fulton had decided

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to abandon the Conservative party and support Mr. Howe. It was also ascertained that there had been an obvious failure to comply with statute law in the election of the two candidates. Their election was, therefore, protested, and by a committee of the House they were unseated. As a result of this, a most exciting contest followed in March, 1852.

Mr. Howe and Mr. Fulton were now the Liberal candidates, and Mr. A. Macfarlane and Mr. Thomas Andrew De Wolfe, of Halifax, were the Conservatives. Mr. De Wolfe was a gentleman of high standing as a business man, and a local preacher in the Methodist Church, and an accomplished public speaker. As Mr. Fulton was a Methodist, it may be surmised that Mr. De Wolfe, of Halifax, was selected as an offset to influence the Methodists of the county. Before nomination day, Dr. Tupper drove to River Philip, twenty miles away, met Mr. De Wolfe and cheered him on in finishing his one hundred and twenty or more miles' weary journey in March. On the evening of Mr. De Wolfe's arrival, a meeting was held in the schoolhouse at River Philip. There, in introducing Mr. De Wolfe to the meeting, Dr. Tupper made his first political speech. No one then knew to what that small beginning in a country schoolhouse would grow.

At a meeting of the Conservative leaders at Amherst, the question was raised as to who would propose Mr. De Wolfe as candidate on the following morning. All assented to Mr. De Wolfe's request that Dr. Tupper should perform this service. The doctor's speech in the schoolhouse was still ringing in the ears of the candidate. Before ten o'clock the gathering of about three thousand men around a platform, in the street opposite the hotel at which Mr. Howe was staying, testified to the excitement felt in the pending contest. Electors thirty miles and more, east and west, from Wallace and Parrsboro', were at the hustings to listen to an excited discussion of politics in the open air in March—no building in the place would hold the thousands.

The sheriff declared the time for the nomination had arrived. Dr. Tupper, courageous as he was in other matters, had not slept much that night. So intense was the nervous strain that his vigorous digestion quailed before a light breakfast, and refused to perform its morning duty. Spurgeon, in

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his early ministry, was not able to retain his food before preaching.

The thousands present had a gentle surprise when they saw "our young doctor" on his feet to nominate Mr. De Wolfe. He had got through with the formal part of his duty, and had entered upon a criticism of Mr. Howe's politics, when Mr. Howe himself came to the platform. Dr. Tupper said at once, "Mr. Howe, as you were the former member, I will now give place to your proposer."

"Go on with your speech, doctor," replied the veteran politician.

But as Mr. Howe saw that the vehement utterances of the young man were damaging to his cause, he interrupted him by saying, "The candidates should speak first." This touched the match to the powder. "Hear the candidates," shouted the Liberals. "Hear Dr. Tupper," shouted the Conservatives. Over this difference of opinion confusion reigned for more than an hour, and then the matter was settled by a committee, whose report was that the candidates should speak first, to be followed by Dr. Tupper and others.

The following graphic and interesting account appears in the *Halifax Herald* of June 8th, 1909, from the pen of George Johnson, D.C.L., and gives a glimpse into one of the many scenes of those stirring times:

"My first acquaintance with Mr. Howe was (so to speak) at a prayer-meeting. Mr. Howe had come over to Point de Bute (now by fiat of the Geographical Board of Canada called Pont a Bout), to visit my father and make him acquainted with the issues of the struggle then 'on' in the adjoining County of Cumberland. He had hardly begun to 'open out' when Dr. Tupper came in. The two antagonists in the great fight of the early fifties were, by accident, under the same roof. They stayed to tea, and at nine o'clock my father informed them that it was his custom to close the day's doings with family prayer. Both cheerfully assented to the invitation to remain, and as we kneeled I was between the two. I remember, think it something to remember in after life, that these two should be thus brought together—though, of course, Howe seemed to me immeasurably the greater man, for he was the older man and had made his mark upon the political history of the Province, while

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Tupper's day was in the future. My father invoked the blessing of heaven upon the two strangers within the gate, and asked that each might be animated with a strong sense of duty in their public life.

"Subsequently I met Howe frequently. In the streets of Halifax, as, twirling his light cane, he stepped jauntily along Granville Street as Railway Commissioner, he always stopped me when we met and asked after 'that good man, your father.'"

This touch of the charm of political warfare lingered with the Amherst physician for the next three years, the time intervening before the next general election. The Conservatives did not fail to discern in him a good candidate for the coming election.

The Government, its candidates being sustained in this contest of 1852, went forward with its ordinary labours and the building of a local railway from Halifax to Windsor, and toward Truro.

Dr. Tupper's practice gave him large opportunities to discuss with the people the politics of the day. The suggestion that he should be Mr. Howe's opponent, ripened into a fixed purpose before the arrival of the time for the following election. On the eve of this event, a number of the leading Conservatives came to his office and urged him to accept a nomination, stating that unless he did so they saw that opposition to Mr. Howe would be of no service. Indeed it was the opinion of the party that, should he decline the offer, Mr. Howe should be allowed to go in by acclamation. He accepted the offer thus urged upon him. Of how he laboured from that day until the people cast their votes, the truest account may be seen in his subsequent life.

Dr. Tupper had not, in 1855, forgotten his tussle with Mr. Howe in 1852. Mr. Howe, too, had a memory. He had taken the measure of his youthful opponent.

Howe and Fulton went through a series of ovations from Amherst to Halifax after the victory of 1852. At the capital a procession and a shouting demonstration gave them a welcome. Much had depended on that contest. Had they been defeated, a weak Government would have been rendered weaker, and perhaps overthrown. The ability and leadership of Mr. Howe centred the attention of the entire Province on this election of

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1855. In this election Howe and Fulton were opposed by Dr. Tupper and Mr. McFarlane.

After the candidates had been duly nominated, brief speeches were made by Mr. Fulton and Mr. McFarlane. Mr. Howe and Dr. Tupper spoke alternately until sunset. Dr. Tupper humorously reminded Mr. Howe that on a like occasion in 1852, not being a candidate, his right to speak had been questioned, but he had now qualified himself for the honour, and was glad to meet his friend on equal terms.

On the eve of the great contest, these able debaters did not fail to keep up an interest in the assembled electors, who were well warmed up for the week's campaign and for casting their votes. Even the deliberate old Conservatives, when it became known that Dr. Tupper had defeated the popular idol of the Liberal party, shouted as they never before shouted. The contagion of it went like an electric wave, east and west, over the Province. When Mr. Howe returned to Halifax, he told his friends that he had been defeated by the future leader of the Conservative party. *

No preceding defeat of the Conservative party had been as great as that of 1855. The triumph of Dr. Tupper over Mr. Howe was the only consolation—a consolation indeed.

Dr. Tupper was Mr. Howe's junior by seventeen years and Mr. Johnstone's by twenty-one years. Having passed the half-century mark, the freshness and pungency of earlier years had lost their raciness in Mr. Howe's public addresses. His style and manner did not move an audience as in early years. Especially was this the case when contrasted with the fearless self-reliance of the young man, whose bell-toned voice, dogmatic manner and trenchant criticisms begat in all who heard him a fighting mood, either for or against the speaker.

There was for a man of a new type at this time an inviting field. Dr. Tupper had, in an eminent degree, the gifts and endowments to meet these conditions. The studied and ornate oratory of J. B. Uniacke, William Young and others in the House of Assembly had become monotonous. The gathering of material from all sources, ancient and modern, science and literature, from the records of all time, with which the public speakers of that day seasoned their deliverances, had lost its charm for the public mind. There was an unconscious longing

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for a man who, with terse, forcible words, could strip off political shams, and set out political truths in language that would touch the hearts of the people, and compel them to think and act in political matters as they did in the ordinary business of life.

Never before had Mr. Johnstone felt, as he did at this time, the need of a man of special talent among his followers. The brave fight of the young Doctor and his victory over Mr. Howe was carried on the wings of the wind to every part of the Province. This was the first time that the sun of the great Nova Scotian went into partial eclipse.

For years Dr. Tupper, who held firmly to the Liberal principles advocated by both Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Howe, had indulged the ambition to help Mr. Johnstone, the lifelong friend of his father. In his home, Mr. Johnstone's name had been a household word. When a mere child he had gathered wild strawberries, and had presented them to Mr. Johnstone, who was his father's guest. Anyone who knew Mr. Johnstone can imagine the kind, courtly manner in which he would take this token from any child, especially from the little son of his friend and admirer, the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D.

The time for the meeting of the Legislature arrived. The elected members assembled in Halifax. Representative men of the party were invited to meet Mr. Johnstone in Mr. Thorne's lodgings in Hollis Street. There they talked over the reasons for the great defeat they had just suffered. Immediately after hearing of Dr. Tupper's victory, Mr. Johnstone had sent him the following letter of congratulation:

"I congratulate you and sympathize with your wife in your triumph. Howe, I hear, concurs with all others, in giving credit to your ability in the field in the various pitched battles and skirmishes that occurred during the short but active campaign that preceded the 22nd.

"I incline to the belief that Young in his secret heart thanks you for extinguishing Howe's political life, at least his legislative existence. Howe may live on, but a defeat like that he has suffered affects his prestige as a man of the people in a way not to be restored."

The reference to Mrs. Tupper can be interpreted by the fact that she was unwilling to change her quiet domestic life, as the

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wife of a popular physician, for that of the wife of a politician. But after listening from a window to the speeches of Mr. Howe and her husband on nomination day, she said to her husband, "I do not want you to draw back now."

After the older men had given their views respecting the defeat of the party, Mr. Johnstone called on Dr. Tupper for his opinion. It was to this effect, that in two respects the party should make at once a public declaration of its principles and future policy. First, in regard to the Roman Catholic part of the population.

Unfortunately, the Conservative party had been embarrassed with the charge of hostility to this large, religious body, then numbering about eighty thousand out of a population of three hundred and thirty thousand. Dr. Tupper, with the assurance of a veteran statesman, declared at this meeting his belief that the party had made a fatal mistake in taking a hostile attitude towards the Roman Catholics; that the true policy was, equal political rights to all, without regard to race or creed.

In the second place, while building railways by companies was sound in principle and perhaps the better policy, yet he thought all hostility to the railway policy of the Government should be abandoned.

Evidences have come down to us that at that time strong prejudices against the rights of Roman Catholics did exist. It will be remembered that the election of 1847 was a victory for Mr. Howe and the Liberal party. Lord Falkland, who at that time was succeeded as Governor of Nova Scotia by Sir John Harvey, corresponded in a most friendly way with Mr. Johnstone. Before going to Bombay, of which he was appointed Governor, in reply to a letter from Mr. Johnstone, he says:

"I need hardly say that I deeply regret to learn that the party of which you are the able leader, have been beaten at the recent elections (the election of 1847). I think it a great misfortune for Nova Scotia. I hope you will not be squeamish in your opposition, but will conduct it with your usual energy and talent.

"I much fear that Nova Scotia will be politically convulsed for some few years to come, *i.e.*, until the Protestant population become united. This must necessarily be the case after the lapse of a very few years, and probably the next general election will see a change. The Roman Catholics will not be content

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without *more* than the lion's share of the spoil, and the Radicals will not long be able to satisfy their demands. Moreover, the exceeding tyranny and overbearing conduct of the Roman Catholics will naturally arouse Protestant feelings. My successor's position, in my opinion, is anything but enviable whatever he may think of it himself.

"As you know the deep interest I take in Nova Scotia politics, I beg you will keep me informed from time to time of all that goes on, and that you, yourself, feel assured of my sympathy and good wishes."—*Falkland*.

In these extracts from Lord Falkland's letter are mirrored the sentiments of many Nova Scotia Conservatives of the old Tory school. The suggested remedy of the alleged evil merits equal condemnation with the prejudice itself. Protestants must combine against Roman Catholics. To the credit of the Conservative party, it may be said this was never done by them; but it remained for the Liberal party to carry into effect this vicious principle advocated by the ex-Governor of Nova Scotia. Worse still, the Liberal party, led by Joseph Howe, as it will appear further on in this history, did this very thing.

It was well known that Mr. Johnstone was likely to be impatient with the assumptions of young politicians. In more than one case such conduct on the part of young men who were fresh arrivals in the political arena had called forth his serious rebuke. The older men at this informal gathering looked for an uncomplimentary reply to the young Doctor. But they were surprised when Mr. Johnstone said that there might be too much truth in what Dr. Tupper had said, but that he was too old to lead in a changed policy, and that the best thing that he could suggest was to give Dr. Tupper *carte blanche* to reconstruct the Conservative party. He then referred to his long and laborious life; that he was now sixty-three years old, and that his health, never firm, forbade him entering upon a campaign of opposition to the Government, then supported by a large majority of the House of Assembly, especially if the policy of the party were to be varied, as suggested by Dr. Tupper. He, therefore, proposed to step aside and make the opportunity for the party to select Dr. Tupper as leader before entering upon the work before them. To this not a man would consent, and no one was more emphatic in his protest to such

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a course than the member for Cumberland. Then Mr. Johnstone modified his proposal. In case Dr. Tupper would take the virtual leadership of the party and become responsible for carrying into execution the suggestions he had made, together with assuming the hard, outside labour of an Opposition leader, he would remain the acknowledged leader of the party. No formal agreement was made, but this was the understanding arrived at by the discussion at this meeting.

At that time the individuality of Dr. Tupper was as unique and pronounced as it ever has been in any stage of his long, political life. Then, the fear of man, fear that engenders submission or cowardice, was to him a mere sound, utterly without meaning. His courage was leonine and unyielding. It is enough to say that he was endowed with his father's memory. His prescience never trod the slow, weary way of the logician. He got to his conclusions by a process so swift that it may be called intuition. His mental equipment was of such a character that no side of a subject was out of sight or obscure. Apparently, without being logically conscious of it, essential principles were the pillars of his political heavens. He would not attempt to undermine them; and against any man or party that did undertake it, in the twinkling of an eye his mental artillery's hottest fire was trained.

Accumulations of the knowledge of Provincial politics were packed away in his capacious memory, ever ready to serve him, both in private and in public. In his mind the law of suggestion was sensitive, alert and vigorous. In action, he belonged to the present throbbing days of steam and electricity. As he first appeared on the streets of Halifax, his erect, symmetrical person and rapid motion attracted public attention. No words were wasted in his business transactions, and there was with him in that day of leisure a marked economy of time. Mr. Howe was not in the House during the session of 1856. The leadership fell into the hands of William Young. New life, new action, appeared along the red benches and throughout the country. Promptitude, swiftness, energy, directness were called into life by language flowing from a reservoir under high pressure. Howe did not envy Mr. Young his task of beating back the Tories led by this daring youth, whose speech was as rapid as a Maxim gun, and whose metallic voice carried his

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positive and emphatic utterances into all ears, quick or dull. Every syllable was pronounced, and every word was distinctly heard.

When the House assembled on the 31st day of January, 1856, confronting the Government was an Opposition of only fifteen members. This made the work of the session appear easy and plain, but in this, as in many another case, appearances were deceptive. A new element had entered into this deliberative Assembly. On the fourth day, Dr. Tupper made his first speech in the new House. It was in connection with the appointment of a railway committee.

The Conservative party, not having confidence in the financial ability of the Government to bear the expense of railway construction, had for the last five years determinedly opposed the policy of the Government. Now, however, the country was fully committed to it. The Opposition changed front, and, according to Dr. Tupper's declaration at the private meeting of the Conservative party, gave its support to the Government's plan, and at once entered into the advocacy of wise and economical methods. The substance of Dr. Tupper's first speech is given here as an expression of the stand he took from the first in the deliberations of the Assembly.

"While I am addressing the House, I may say that if this Committee is to be appointed, I trust that its functions may be properly understood. I trust that if the railroad is now to proceed—as for our own credit it must proceed—this House will not be denuded of its power of regulating the route which shall be chosen. I have no idea that the Committee now to be chosen shall interfere with the question of cutting down a hill or going round it; but I do ask that their duties shall be of a substantial character. The Legislature has given to the Government the power to construct the railway, and the Government have appointed the Commissioners; therefore, as regards the question of accounts, I take for granted this House will hold both responsible, and neither absolve the one nor relieve the other. And I trust it will not be found, as has been asserted in the press, that Cumberland is to be excluded from the benefit of this new accompaniment of civilization—the railroad. That we are to have it now is no longer a question. The policy of having railroads, and railroads by Government, is now settled; but I trust that policy may be made subservient to the interest of

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the country at large. I have been happy to hear a rumour (of which the Government may give us more information than I possess, but which, I hope, may be correct) that the hon. and learned Attorney-General of New Brunswick, who passed through this city a few days ago, has tangible proof that New Brunswick will soon be ready to proceed with a railway through that Province, to connect us with our brethren there—with the United States and Canada; and I hope that before any minor matter as to whether the track shall go through Stewiacke or Gay's River be taken into consideration—the great question of connecting us with the whole continent shall employ our earnest attention. I approve of the Committee, and trust that the eastern part of the Province will be well represented on it."

Mr. William Young, the Premier, was light-hearted in looking forward to the work of the session. With keen sarcasm, enquiries were playfully made whether or not the Opposition were in existence or not, but at an early day in the session this humour had an end. The impact on the Government's policies by the new debater produced a seriousness felt by every man on the red benches, whether an opposer or a supporter of the Government. In discussing the dismissal of a sheriff of Cumberland County, Dr. Tupper made an early declaration of his principles, while at the same time he warned the Government of the danger of pursuing a high-handed course in dismissing men from office. He said:

"I did not come here to play the game of follow my leader. I did not come here the representative of any particular party, bound to vote contrary to my own convictions, but to perform honestly and fearlessly to the best of my ability my duty to my country. In the past, I have seen measures which lie at the root of all our prosperity and freedom burked because they emanated from the leader of the Opposition, nor have the measures of the Government always received a dispassionate hearing from the Opposition. Whenever the measures of the Government commend themselves to my judgment, I shall not hesitate to support them; if a different course is pursued by honourable gentlemen opposite, they may find that some of the independent supporters of the Government will feel it necessary to withdraw from them their support, and at all events, that in acts of tyranny and oppression the Government, strong as they may be on general questions, will find that they will not be sustained."

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At the close of a speech of two and a half hours' length, in which the actions of the Government were rigidly scrutinized, Mr. Johnstone made public what had taken place in Mr. Thorne's lodgings before the House opened. He told the House and the country in the following words that Dr. Tupper should be regarded as the virtual leader of the Conservative party:

"The honourable gentleman made a statement at the close of his speech which was listened to with marked attention—to the fact that he considered himself to a great extent absolved from the ties and duties of party—that it was impossible not to feel the infirmities of age creeping on, and the excitement of worldly affairs passing away—that even if the Conservatives, or the party with which he had acted had been returned to power, he should not have accepted a place in the Government of the country; but would hereafter leave the trials and responsibilities of statesmanship in the hands of more youthful and vigorous men."

In an earlier Parliament, Mr. Johnstone had introduced a bill for an elective Legislative Council, which had received the favourable consideration of the House. When the Legislature had been in session scarcely four months in 1856, "Dr. Tupper moved the House into Committee of the whole on the general state of the Province, with a view of taking up the Legislative Council bill."

The Government was at once put on the defensive, and its weakness became apparent. The warmth and power of the debate by Opposition members may be gathered from a paragraph taken from a speech of Mr. Johnstone:

"A measure affecting the seats of members of the Executive is introduced, and the Government quietly sit on these benches without troubling themselves to affirm or disaffirm the principles it contains. One of the pillars of responsible government, if not entirely overthrown, is shaken to its foundation, and the Executive gaze at the efforts made to destroy it, calmly, seemingly unmoved."

The effect produced on the Cabinet by the attack led by Dr. Tupper appears in the following quotation from one of his speeches:

"I do not wonder that the Honourable Attorney-General feels the necessity of defining his position. After the extra-

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ordinary scenes of the last two days, wherein one member of the Government rose to propound principles only to be denounced and repudiated by another, I do not wonder that the honourable and learned Attorney-General should long for an opportunity to reconcile the contradictions of a large and prominent section of his Cabinet. I do not wonder, that feeling the ground crumbling beneath his feet, he should hastily seek a division of this House, in order, if possible, to secure a majority before honourable members here have had an opportunity of ascertaining how far the dissensions in the Council extend, or the character of the measures the Government is prepared to submit for the action of this Assembly. I wonder not that an early opportunity has been chosen by the learned Crown officer to achieve, if possible, and loudly proclaim, a party victory."

The result of storming the Government's citadel in the first month of the Assembly's duration came to light when the vote was taken, a vote understood to be one of non-confidence in the Administration. Mr. McKeagney voted against the Government. Mr. McKinnon resigned his seat in the Government and voted with the Opposition. Mr. James McLeod, who at the time was ill at his lodgings in the city, wrote a letter, which was read in the House, in which he also resigned his seat in the Cabinet and expressed his decision to vote with the Opposition.

This division, at an early stage under the new leader, showed the relative strength to be twenty-eight for the Government and twenty-two for the Opposition. This was the outcome of Dr. Tupper's leadership at the end of his first month in the House of Assembly. It is most unusual, if not unheard of, for a young man to be forced into leadership on entering an old Legislature in which, on both sides of the House, were men of marked ability and long experience. It is unnecessary to mention names, further than to say that Martin I. and Lewis M. Wilkins, William Young and J. W. Johnstone were still in the arena. There is no other case resembling it, except that of the Hon. Joseph Howe. He, too, in the beginning of his Parliamentary career in 1837, was compelled to take a similar position. Between these two distinguished men, striking resemblances and differences are apparent, both in the men themselves and in the conditions of Parliamentary life. When

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Mr. Howe first appeared in the House, he found a majority holding his views and ready to support him. Dr. Tupper went into the Assembly having over fifty members, with only fifteen to support him. But before one month had passed, the fifteen had increased to twenty-two. Mr. Howe's special work was the overthrow of the Council of Twelve and the creation of an Executive responsible to the Assembly. Dr. Tupper's task was to defeat a responsible Cabinet and clear the way for bold and efficient legislation. Mr. Howe found the Liberal party without a leader. Dr. Tupper found the Conservative party led by a man distinguished for talents which would have shone in any Legislature, and who was so impressed with Dr. Tupper's ability to lead the party in a House, now nearly a century old, that he not only in a semi-private way, but also in his place in the House, resigned the virtual leadership in favour of the member for Cumberland. Both Mr. Howe and Dr. Tupper had large self-reliance. Power over men, although of a different order, was in both of them a marked talent, but in the matter of political sagacity and soundness of judgment they were as far apart as the poles. Could Mr. Howe have had Dr. Tupper's clear views and profound confidence in the essential principles of statecraft, and the assurance of their unconquerable assertion of themselves, at least in the long run in the government of a country, it would have saved him from blunderings which marked his public career and wrecked his reputation for wise statesmanship. With these talents the one was richly endowed, while the other was so lacking in them that his course was marked with irregularities, and his policies were incoherent. It was this that made the last years of Mr. Howe's political life both pathetic and tragic. By these gifts both Mr. Johnstone and Dr. Tupper were held to consistent policies throughout their entire public lives.

Dr. Tupper could give his attention to small undertakings, even to their minutest details; but he could also seize national subjects of the largest proportions, of world-wide application, and thoroughly examine them to the last analysis, never confusing one part with another, never obscure, always clear, forceful and emphatic. His insight, passion and concentration were phenomenal. His plans were often far outreaching and daring, but never visionary or fanciful, always rational. In

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this respect there has been no actor in Canadian history his equal. He stands alone. He waited not for occasions. He made them. In his acts of intrepid initiation he was not ignorant of the swinging of the political pendulum. He planned to be swung out of political life; but he believed he would be swung in again. He saw no terror in the Opposition benches. Through the heat and dust of battle he discerned the goal, the accomplishment of a great purpose.

Mr. Johnstone knew Dr. Tupper's father. He saw in the son that wealth of endowment, that prudence, that power exhibited in his revered father. It was not a blind impulse which induced the venerable leader of the Conservative party to commit its acting leadership to Dr. Tupper, before his foot had crossed the threshold, or his voice had been heard within the walls of the old parliament building.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

HOWE ANTAGONIZES ROMAN CATHOLICS.

ALTHOUGH having a good majority after the election of 1855, William Young signally failed as a leader. Mr Howe continued in his place as Chairman of the Railway Commission. The building of the road to Windsor made some progress. His defeat in Cumberland did not increase his love for William Young. Although he took no public part in controlling the party, yet he allowed himself in private to freely and strongly criticize the Government, led by Mr. Young. At this time Mr. Howe got for himself the soubriquet of "Government Cooper." He had said that the Government was a "barrel without hoops." While he was in this mood, Dr. Tupper suggested, during the session of 1856, as a consistent course for him, that he should unite with the Opposition and defeat the Government. But this scheme was not carried into effect; the affair was subsequently ventilated in the House.

L. M. Wilkins, the member for Hants, was appointed to a judgeship. Mr. Howe was elected to take his place, and so appeared again in the House in 1857, and shared in the struggle between the parties in connection with the defeat of the Government on the Roman Catholic question. Excitement ran higher then than it would now under similar circumstances. From Cape North to Cape Sable, Tupper's praises were proclaimed. The rank and file of the Conservatives, knowing that Mr. Johnstone had been Mr. Howe's inferior in popular address, were now jubilant over the appearance of Tupper, "Howe has got his match," was everywhere heard. Mr. Howe saw this, and being defeated by a majority of two hundred and twelve, his policy was to undermine the popularity of this young competitor. He knew the task was a difficult one; but Joseph Howe never under-estimated his personal resources. He was therefore hopeful, perhaps assured.

To make plain the part Mr. Howe had played in bringing

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on the crisis of 1857, it is essential that there should be a brief recital of plain facts connected with this affair. This may be done by reproducing the substance of Mr. Howe's own account, given in the Assembly during the long and excited debate which followed Mr. Johnstone's resolution of want of confidence, proposed immediately after the reading of the Governor's message.

The British Government was engaged in the Crimean war. There was an urgent demand for more troops. Word had been received from trustworthy persons in New York that many British subjects in that city and elsewhere would be glad of the chance to enter the British army. The English Cabinet, or members of it, had in some occult way expressed a desire that the army at the Crimea should be strengthened by enlistment in the United States. The Nova Scotia Government, of which, it must be borne in mind, Mr. Howe was not at that time a member, through the Lieutenant-Governor urged Mr. Howe to accept a mission to New York for enlisting recruits. He complied with this urgent request and took a sailing vessel for that city. Because of the chronic troubles in Ireland, the Crimean war was unpopular with Irishmen, both at home and in other countries. Those in Halifax and New York were no exception to the rule,

Some time after Mr. Howe had been engaged in his work, and, as it was reported, was securing men to labour on the Provincial railways, but having as his real object service in the British army, a zealous Irishman in Halifax, by the name of William Condon, employed by the Government as a gauger, telegraphed to New York the nature of Mr. Howe's mission. This produced great excitement among the Irishmen of that city. They banded together to vent their displeasure through mob violence. Of that mob, Mr. Howe said in the House in 1857: "If any man animated by a desire to do me injury had pointed that mob to my hotel door, I do not believe my life would have been worth an hour's purchase."

Mr. Howe escaped from his hotel in New York as Paul did in a better cause from Damascus, through a window, but unlike Paul, without the use of "a basket."

More trouble of the same kind awaited him. Both Protestants and Roman Catholics were employed by him in

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the construction of the railroad to Windsor and Truro. A band of Roman Catholics attacked what became notorious as the "Gourlay Shanty."* Protestants were beaten and bruised. Some were brought to the city, and others were cared for in country houses. The Protestant labourers were terrorised, and the whole countryside lived in a state of quaking apprehension. Ordinary means proved insufficient to subdue the rioters and protect the helpless. Soldiers from the Halifax garrison were employed to put an end to these acts of violence. Nor did the matter stop here. Mr. Crampton, the British Minister at Washington, was dismissed because of his zeal or supposed connection with the breach of international law by Mr. Howe's mission to New York. On his way to England he called at Halifax. For the purpose of presenting him with an address, his ardent sympathizers called a meeting at Temperance Hall. Mr. Howe was not one of the number, but he attended the meeting, and after listening to a speech from an Irishman attacking Mr. Crampton, found himself at the end of his forbearance. He forgot that he was the virtual leader of the great Liberal party, and that in his constituency there were about eighty thousand Catholics. When he lost his patience, Mr. Howe was the perfection of indiscretion. He rose and replied to this attack on Mr. Crampton at Temperance Hall, and his writings in the press immediately following this meeting were not so much a reproof of William Condon and the zealous Irishman who attacked Mr. Crampton, and the brutal conduct of a mob of navvies, as it was an arraignment of the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1843, for an attack on the Baptists for which he had no just grounds, Mr. Howe, as a political leader, had lost about three-fourths of that body; but now, smarting from the causes above mentioned, he seemed to have forgotten his former injustice and indiscretion, and once more launched with reckless abandon into another campaign of the same character. Roman Catholicism, being a sensitive organism, and having in Halifax a large mass of inflammable material, would, as Mr. Howe ought to have known, resent his attacks in a manner stormy and violent.

* This was a temporary lodging for men working on the road. It was on the Windsor branch.

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As in his attack on the Baptists, his generous spirit, if he possessed one, was for the time paralysed. It seems not to have occurred to him that the Roman Catholic body for twenty years had been his ardent supporters. Out of this unfortunate episode came three years of the bitterest strife that Nova Scotia has ever known. Before the Legislature came together in 1857, Michael Tobin, coming into the office of Dr. McN. Parker, an intimate friend of Mr. Johnstone, told him that the Roman Catholic members of the House and one or two others who had Roman Catholic constituencies had decided to sever themselves from the Liberal party as soon as the Legislature should meet. He wished him to convey the intelligence to Mr. Johnstone. When Mr. Johnstone received this news, his expression was not one of pleasure. He was instinctively displeased with the prospect of a return to power as the result of a fierce religious quarrel. He held no communications with the dissidents.

Immediately after the deliverance of the Governor's speech, Mr. Johnstone, without waiting for the customary introduction of a bill *pro forma*, rose and moved a vote of want of confidence in the Government, which he supported by a vigorous speech, in which, however, he made no reference to Mr. Howe's quarrel with the Catholics. Dr. Tupper waited to hear Mr. Howe before he spoke, but as Mr. Howe did not break his silence until the fourth day, Dr. Tupper made a brief address, in which he alluded to Mr. Howe's silence. After spending many days in this heated debate, the vote was taken, and the Government was defeated by a majority of six.

From this on, the Conservatives held power for three sessions, 1859 being the last one. The contest lasted through this period, growing more and more excited with the passing years. A Protestant Alliance, politically inspired, was formed in Halifax. The counties, settled by immigrants from the New England Colonies, never having been in conflict with Roman Catholicism, felt but little antagonism to it. This was the state of public sentiment in the counties west of Halifax, including Annapolis and Cumberland, represented by Mr. Johnstone and Dr. Tupper. Not so that part of the Province peopled by Presbyterians, who had brought with them their Old World prejudices, generated in Highland and Lowland

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scenes of terror and bloodshed. The Episcopalians, too, cherished opposition to Romanism, largely, however, ecclesiastical. Mr. Howe's appeal found perhaps less to work on in the Baptists than in any other body. Mr. Johnstone had now been a prominent member of the Baptist body for thirty years. A conflict with ecclesiasticism had resulted in his withdrawal from the Episcopalian Church. Religious and civil liberty—"soul liberty"—had been forced on his attention. He had, therefore, definite and firm convictions on this subject. From his father Dr. Tupper had received a similar education.

The conflict between Mr. Howe and the Roman Catholics involved an attack on the principles of civil and religious liberty.

As it has been shown, Dr. Tupper in 1855, at a private meeting of his party, declared his principles on this subject, little thinking that in one year from that time he would be called upon to defend them, having as his opponent Mr. Howe, the leader of the great Liberal party.

It will be sufficient for the purpose of these biographies to quote Mr. Howe on the one side and Mr. Johnstone on the other during this discussion. But before doing so, Dr. Tupper's esteem for Mr. Johnstone and the reaffirmation of his views on religious liberty may be given. He said:

"I can well understand the feelings under which the speech of Mr. Johnstone was given yesterday, for I have studied his character well. He, unlike some other honourable gentlemen, is not animated and moved by the consciousness of power. No emotions of swelling pride induce him to trample under foot every feeling; but it is when a principle is to be contended for against fearful odds that he buckles on his armour and springs to the fight moved by the dictates of duty. But when backed by numbers and triumphant in position, he exhibits those generous and ennobling emotions which every truly great mind feels, and which great men know how to appreciate.

"On the threshold of this discussion, I have no hesitation in boldly asserting that, as a Dissenter, a Liberal and a Baptist, I shall ever maintain the cardinal principle of civil and religious liberty—justice to all without respect to sect or creed."

Mr. Howe, who had brought on the storm, remained silent until the fourth day. In the speech that he then made he

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recited the facts, as given above, of his connection with the genesis of the hot conflict then raging. In the next session of the Legislature he had evidently settled upon a course to be taken in preparation for the election of the following year. It is at this time difficult to believe that as a leader of a party he could have decided upon a policy subversive of the principles of the reformers of that day, and of religious and civil liberty. That, in moments of violent passion, he could attack the whole Roman Catholic body, as he did, because of the acts of a few individuals, is believable; but that, after more than a year for reflection, he could publicly declare his purpose to array Protestants and Catholics against each other in a political campaign, is a matter most difficult to accept as a well-established fact of Provincial history. At this time Mr. Howe was fifty-four years old, and had been in public life for twenty years. In obtaining material for proving the soundness and importance of responsible government, his investigations had been thorough and exhaustive. Of the principles involved in it, he had expressed his convictions in terms clear and convincing. He had made himself familiar with political history, especially that of England and the United States. In his extensive travels in the old and the new world, he had met, heard, and conversed with many eminent statesmen, and had enjoyed the fullest opportunities of obtaining a clear apprehension of the fundamental principles of self-government, and the rights of religious sects and of all other classes in the State. No excuse of ignorance or of momentary impulse can be made for him in his virtual attack on civil and religious liberty, the plunging of the Province into a scene of bitter religious strife, to say nothing of the loss of prestige and power from which he never wholly recovered. Impossible as in the circumstances it now seems to be that Mr. Howe could have so trampled on sound principles, and made himself a popular demagogue, yet the records of the day prove all this against him.

Lest Mr. Howe should suffer injustice, his own words, spoken in the House of Assembly, are hereby quoted:

“An armed band took possession of our public works, committed atrocious outrages on a body of unoffending Protestants, they were protected by a Catholic combination carried by perjury and intimidation through the courts, and then to boast

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that all this was done in the name of religion, was hurled in our face as a warning for the future.

"At length came the crowning outrage and indecency, when, in midsummer last, a body of Catholic prelates assembled in the heart of this Protestant Province, denounced the Scriptures, and hurled defiance at the spiritual guides of the great mass of the people. . . .

"Now, when this letter was published, this defiance given, when all that we hold sacred was treated as reprobate and untrue, when this open attempt was made to break down the authority of that volume upon which all our hopes of happiness hereafter, all our religious liberties in this world rest, can the Solicitor-General (W. A. Henry) be surprised that Protestants everywhere should see the necessity of organization, that those prelates should be rebuked and the country protected from insult hereafter? These gentlemen have given expression to their feelings in the document put forth by the (Protestant) alliance. I desire to give expression to mine in the resolution which I now lay on the table, and which I shall move at a future day. . . .

"Whereas, Christianity is the only true basis upon which a sound system of education can repose;

"Resolved,—That no school within this Province shall be entitled to aid from the public funds until it shall have been made to appear that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are daily read therein. . . .

"Protestants have been compelled to combine, as they have combined here, in the United States and in Canada, and in all the British Provinces which surround us. The aggressive spirit of Catholicity which has aroused our people is everywhere the same. In Upper Canada, Protestants of all shades of political opinion have been compelled to combine to protect their common school system, and to rebuke the priests by whom it was assailed. . . .

"We all know perfectly well the efforts which the Catholic hierarchy have made in the United States and in Canada to overthrow and destroy the common school system. And we all know that they have signally failed in the United States, though their failure is not so signal in Canada; when, therefore, the Catholic bishops assembled in Halifax put forth their manifesto declaring 'that no effort should be spared to secure for them (the Catholic children), if possible, the blessings of a thorough Catholic education in the schools of the district in which they live,' the public were justified in believing that an attempt would be made in this Province when the Government

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proposed to remodel the school system, to introduce a system of separate sectarian schools. If this was not meant by the manifesto, it meant nothing, and that it did not mean nothing was shown by the language of the organ of the hierarchy in this city, which told us in its usual off-hand tone of impudence that it published the manifesto 'in order that any views of the Catholics might be clearly understood and that trouble might be avoided.' . . .

"Is it not clear, then, that the aggressive spirit displayed by the Catholic priests all over the continent has created, and is creating, a necessity for Protestant activity in organization? The Solicitor-General fancies that this alliance will not last; perhaps not, but he may be mistaken. So long as the spirit displayed at Gourlay's shanty is rampant here, so long as treason to our Sovereign is openly preached and rewarded, so long as governments are thrown down that Catholics may show their power or gratify their revenge, so long will this alliance endure. When the necessities in which it originated have passed away, if ever they do, it may pass away also. But the learned gentleman may be assured that this 'monstrous' combination, as he was pleased to call it, will endure until its work is done. As the learned gentleman seemed fond of Hebrew illustrations, let me remind him that the Catholics at home, having secured emancipation for themselves, have recently combined to deny it to the Jews. . . .

"But the Solicitor-General tells us that Protestant clergymen should keep out of politics. Why? Are they less intelligent, or less interested in the prosperity of the Province than the Catholic priests, who have no families, no social ties, and yet are ever dabbling in politics where they happen to be? Are Protestant ministers to stand by and see treason preached, education perilled, its sacred graves violated, and criminals going unpunished? Are they to bear scoffing and insult, and see their Bible denounced, and hold their hands while Catholic priests lead their flocks to the hustings and overturn and form governments as they please?"

These extracts, taken from a speech of great length made by Mr. Howe in the House in 1858, leave no one in doubt respecting his policy for the election of 1859. It is important to know at this stage the ground taken by Mr. Johnstone in rebuking Mr. Howe and opposing his sentiments.

As a substitute for Mr. Howe's resolution, afterwards withdrawn, that the Bible should be read in every school receiving Government money, Mr. Johnstone submitted the following:

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"That this House records its respect and veneration for the Holy Scriptures, and its desire to facilitate and encourage their use in all the schools of the Province. This important object is essentially in the power of the people under the existing common school system, and the House believes that the use of the Bible in our schools is at present very general and is steadily increasing; and the Rev. Dr. Forrester, the Superintendent of Education, in his report, has declared, in relation to this subject, that it is 'well and wisely provided for in the present educational arrangements of the Province,' and this House is of opinion that to interfere by special and coercive legislation would retard the object which it is the professed design of the resolution before the House to advance."

Brief quotations from the able speeches given by Mr. Johnstone in the acrimonious discussion, which extended over more than three years, are sufficient to exhibit the principles defended by him both in and out of the Legislature. It may be said that it was a mere political quarrel in a small Province, tinged with the fierceness of sectarian strife. That would be an unworthy and narrow view to take of the matter. A comment of like character might be made of the battles of Louisburg and Quebec in 1758 and 1759; but such a criticism would fall far short of indicating the nature and importance of those comparatively insignificant conflicts. They involved a struggle for power between two great nations of the world. Civil and "soul liberty" were implied in this contest. In this party exigency, when they were prostituted for mere partisan purposes, Mr. Johnstone and his followers stood for their defence. Viewed in this light, the sphere in which the contest took place must be expanded to a world-wide range. The sentiments of the extracts from Mr. Johnstone's speeches, here submitted, may be contrasted with those taken from the speech of Mr. Howe. Mr. Johnstone said:

"You who may profess to believe that among the blessings of man, in his social relations, none stand so high as liberty of conscience and equality in civil, political and religious rights.

"Nova Scotia gives to her children these blessings in their fullest perfection; and as they are possessed neither in the parent State, nor in any community in the Old World of which I am aware, and the opposition was of audacity that would be

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incredible were it not enacted before our eyes to urge the Protestants of Nova Scotia by voluntary combination to subvert the fundamental principle of civil and religious liberty, and in that violation to inflict on their fellow-subjects a present indignity, injustice and outrage, while they would by the same act undermine the foundation of their own most valuable privileges, by creating a precedent under which any other denomination would be exposed to similar indignity and wrong, should the vicissitudes of political affairs, or the movements of religious jealousies induce like combinations against them.

“Unhappy the condition of those whose civil and religious freedom is abridged by a power they cannot control; but what folly and baseness would be theirs, who would themselves impair the blessing; and by their own act inflict a wrong against their highest constitutional privilege, which were a foreign power to attempt, they would resist to the last extremity. Yet such is that which the Protestants of Nova Scotia are asked to do. To delude them into compliance religion is prostituted, temperance made an engine of party, the public works and provincial progress and improvement opposed; and calumny and falsehood are the means employed. . . .

“Without the excuse of acrimonious religious controversy the exasperated, with no reasons beyond the promptings of their own selfish and disappointed ambition, now raise the ‘wicked cry.’ They go much further, they urge Protestants against Catholics in a rancorous enmity in the unworthy endeavour to strip one portion of their fellow-subjects of their constitutional privileges as the penalty of their religious opinions, that they may themselves step into power. On their own showing, as contrasted with themselves, can degradation be deeper, and can we listen to the mockery of their Protestant cry now? Deprived of office and seeking only to return to power, regardless of truth and reckless of consequences, forgetful of former obligations and mindful only of their own sordid interests, the opposition would excite throughout the Province strife, rouse the fiercest passions of men’s nature, and array fellow-citizens and fellow-subjects against each other in the deadliest hatred. Let us beware, now they sow the serpent’s teeth, but by and by comes the harvest of armed men, and then will the fruits of this most wicked combination be matured in the worst evils that can distract a country. They will not succeed; the people of Nova Scotia will not, cannot be so forgetful of their own and their children’s welfare as to bring back to power a set of men holding doctrines and pledged to a policy so pregnant with direful consequences to the present and future peace of the country, so

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destructive of civil and religious liberty, so opposed to the spirit of our constitution and the rights of conscience."

In the session of 1860, during the long debate before the resignation of the Government, William Young made a plain statement in respect to the proscription of Roman Catholics, with which the Opposition was charged. It was after three years' discussion of the subject that he used these words:

"Suppose a new Government comes into power, we cannot invite a Roman Catholic into the Government, and do not intend to do so, as they are all in opposition. . . .

"But we do not engage and will not consent to admit them to a participation in political power which they cannot employ as free agents, and which we think they abused when they had it."

As Mr. Howe had always been a great favourite with the galleries, their hostile demonstration during this period disturbed and unsettled him. At one point there was a flash of humour from Mr. Johnstone, humour quite characteristic. Mr. Howe had stopped speaking while the Speaker of the House endeavoured, by threats to clear the galleries, to put an end to the noisy demonstrations against Mr. Howe. Before resuming Mr. Howe said: "I have seen just such demonstrations against the hon. member for Annapolis. But," he continued, "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." "To which of the sexes does the hon. gentleman conceive that I belong?" interjected Mr. Johnstone. A laugh followed, relieving the acrimonious tension.

Mr. Howe referred to scenes in the galleries about 1852, when Mr. Johnstone blocked his plan for building local railways by Government, by his counter plan of having it done by companies. Mr. Johnstone's views were sustained by a majority of the House. Mr. Howe for a time was obliged to abandon his plan. This greatly irritated the labouring classes of the city. They filled the galleries and corridors of the Parliament building, and at one time, when Mr. Johnstone was passing out through the crowd, threatened him with personal violence. His protest against this conduct was characteristic of his temper and fearless, imperious character. The rights of members of Parliament must be defended. He brought in

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a resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Howe, to summon the mayor of the city to the bar of the House, for the purpose of learning from him officially whether the police force under his command would protect members of Parliament while in the discharge of their duties. Alexander Keith, President of the Upper Chamber, was Mayor at this time. Mr. Johnstone said there were three methods by which order could be maintained. (1) By the police; (2) by the military in the city; (3) by a band of young men employed for the purpose. It was undesirable to have the military called upon for such a duty. But he had set his mind on maintaining order, and, had the other sources failed, there is no doubt that the young men of the city would have engaged for the service. Mr. Howe, in his remarks connected with seconding the resolution, reminded the House that, however improper such demonstrations were, they had occurred in the British House of Commons. Many a member of that great and honourable body had been "bonneted." Here, as on other occasions, he stood for order, and had words to palliate the rough and reprehensible doings of the mob. Mr. Keith obeyed the summons of the House, walked in beyond the bar,* and, hat on his head, took his seat among the members, and gave the Assembly every assurance that, in future, order would be maintained. No further trouble was experienced.

As has been shown, the foreign enlistment undertaking called forth strong feelings and much dissension; but another incident in connection with the Crimean war produced a contrary effect—pacific temper and perfect harmony. General Williams became suddenly famous by his defence of Kars. As he was a native of Nova Scotia, his countrymen felt a special pride in his winning military laurels which gave him a world-wide fame. He was a native of Annapolis. There he and Mr. Johnstone in early life formed an intimate friendship. In that historic town, so beautifully located, they had received lasting and ennobling impressions. North of Florida, it was the spot where civilization had first planted its institutions. There the French raised the flag which at that time bid fair to wave above every other flag over the face of the whole earth.

* Mr. Keith being President of the Legislative Council, this irregularity was ignored by the Assembly.

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These two young men went out from Annapolis to their life-work. The incident in the Nova Scotia Assembly, in 1856, makes it plain that their early friendship had ripened into permanent and mutual esteem, although they were acting in different spheres and at long distances from each other.

The Attorney-General proposed in the House the following resolution, in connection with which Mr. Johnstone, in a speech of rare merit, exhibits not only his warm friendship for General Williams, but also his fine appreciation of British loyalty, military genius and courage:

“Resolved unanimously,—That His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be respectfully requested to expend one hundred and fifty guineas in the purchase of a sword to be presented to General Williams, as a mark of the high esteem in which his character as a man and a soldier, and more especially his heroic courage and constancy in the defence of Kars are held by the Legislature of his native Province, and this House will provide for the same during its present session.

“Hon. J. W. Johnstone—I rise, Mr. Speaker, with great pleasure to second the motion which has just been made. It has been the singular fortune of Nova Scotians—when we consider the comparatively small population of our country—to mark with pride and view with unmingled satisfaction the achievements of their fellow-countrymen abroad; and, sir, although we have been called upon to mourn their loss, we have mourned them as heroes who have fallen covered with glory; we have mourned them, but there has been pride of country in our sorrow, for they have braved danger and met death with an undaunted front and unwavering courage. Thus we have felt the loss of Welsford and Parker, to many of us familiarly known. This resolution acknowledges the merit of General Williams, the hero of Kars. We are not called on to mourn him as numbered with the dead—though we have occasion for sorrow when we reflect that, from circumstances over which he had no control, he, with his gallant band, has fallen into the hands of the enemy. But we find him only a victim to a misfortune which, if indomitable courage and consummate skill had been able to avert, would never have overtaken him. With General Williams, sir, I have had a personal and friendly acquaintance; a boy in his home, with his mother and sisters, in his native town, Annapolis, many of us can remember him. He has frequently visited his relations

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and friends in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with that love of country which characterizes the Nova Scotian; and, on the last occasion, I had the pleasure of spending a most agreeable evening in his company; and those who know him personally will concur in the justice of the remark I have lately seen in an English newspaper; that his amiable qualities and unassuming manners scarcely prepared his friends for the development of the stern courage and enduring fortitude exhibited in the defence of Kars. I regard the achievements and position of General Williams as unapproached and unequalled in the history of the present war. Many have exhibited an heroic courage not to be surpassed, but he has united to the bravery of the man the skill and military capacity of the distinguished leader. His professional skill in perfecting the defence of Kars may best be judged by their terrible effectiveness on the day of assault; his talents in organizing and inspiring troops have the highest testimony in the spectacle of defeated, dispirited, and ill-disciplined bands winning laurels that veterans might envy, and achieving a triumph in the defence of Kars that will go down immortalized to posterity—a defence carried on and sustained by no mere animal courage, but with cool, unalterable determination, united with provident precaution, and conducted with consummate skill.

In reading the history of that memorable day, as contained in the graphic and eloquent despatch of General Williams, which may well compare with many of the classic accounts of ancient battles, one cannot fail to be impressed with a sense of his genius and ability. When the enemy concentrated an overwhelming force on one point, and poured in almost unrestricted numbers on a famine-stricken garrison, and a fatal success was almost accomplished, here, as the fortunes of the day hung on a perilous issue, at that critical moment reserves arrive, and the enemy are driven back; at another point the Russian bands, strong in superior numbers, and desperate in energy, had again won the object of attack, and another moment's critical point had arrived, and again the reserves were found prepared for the emergency, and snatched the half-won victory from the foe. But whose eye, amid the din of conflict, calmly surveyed the battlefield, and whose judgment had provided the reserves to meet each emergency? It was *General Williams*.

“Now, sir, under these circumstances, we are paying to General Williams no vain compliment, no empty honour in passing this resolution—we are paying that tribute which, as Nova Scotians and the descendants of Englishmen, we feel

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due to a native of our Province whose achievements abroad have been characterized by a courage so exalted, a fortitude so invincible and an ability so great. We are paying this compliment to one who, though compelled to yield to a dire necessity against which neither strength nor courage nor intellect can contend, is yet covered with glory, and who is endeared but the more to the hearts and sympathies of all true Britons, and we are but claiming for our own Province a share in his glory by claiming him as our own."

The letter which here follows gives a glimpse into the life of General Williams after the fall of Kars:

"ST. PETERSBURG, May 14th, 1856.

"My Dear Mr. Johnstone:

"Baron Plessen, the Danish minister, called yesterday and gave me the packet containing your kind and acceptable letter of the 27th March, together with the *Gazette*, which gives the resolution of the House of Assembly, *à propos* to the sword which it has done me the honour to present or rather to vote.

"Although I believe my friends in England and America have frequently written to me since they heard of my captivity, yet yours is the only one which has reached me.

"When the fitting moment arrives I will endeavour to express my feelings on this occasion, but those who moved and seconded the resolution need not, I am sure, be told the nature of those feelings, nor that I would willingly endure greater trials for a tittle of those flattering and encouraging words uttered on that occasion. More especially by you, my dear Mr. Johnstone, with whom, in connection with that best and earliest friend, Judge Ritchie, I have always earnestly desired to stand well.

"You will all be glad to hear of the flattering reception I have met with in all parts of this vast Empire through which I have passed (first as a prisoner and more recently as a guest). I got here just in time to see the grand review of 50,000 of the guards day before yesterday; before it began I was presented to the Emperor at the Palace, and, being mounted on one of His Majesty's horses, followed him with his staff. When the troops were about to pass the Empress, *who received the military honours of the day*, His Majesty called me to the front, presented me to the Empress, and kept me by his side, and explained the nature and history of each corps as it went by. I will not repeat all he said to me, of my defence of Kars, nor the still more flattering words addressed to me by the

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Grand Duke Constantine, supposed to represent the old Russian party. I scrawl these lines surrounded by visitors.

"My best compliments to your circle, and believe me ever faithfully yours,

"W. F. WILLIAMS."

The following extract from a letter received by Mr. Johnstone from General Williams, in 1857, indicates the esteem in which Mr. Johnstone was held by him:

"I congratulate Nova Scotia in having you once more at the helm. I have every hope of getting out after Parliament breaks up in August. I will then shoulder my crutch and be as garrulous as any old soldier ever was or could be. So there is an affliction in store for you in prospect."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PROSCRIPTION AND STRIFE.

"THE proscription of the Roman Catholics by combining Protestant sects," was the ugly battle-cry emblazoned on the Liberal standard from 1857 to 1860, at which time the Liberals were again returned to power, but weak and hysterical. Having taken ground so indefensible, and having adopted a principle so opposed to Liberal teaching, it followed that the means employed in a canvass to advocate them would be of a kindred character. It is, therefore, scarcely necessary to name them. They are easily imagined. Instinctively the leaders went to ecclesiastical history. It contained no lack of material to aid in this most disgraceful of all political campaigns known to Nova Scotia. The eastern part of the Province was a favourable place in which to exploit the fiery doctrine of "Down with the Roman Catholics." Scotland's gory records, then centuries old, were made to live again and inflame the passions of men from the highlands and the lowlands of that war-scarred country.

A prominent politician of that day, now living in retirement, relates the following experience in that campaign. Being himself a highlander, he was sent to Cape Breton, to expose proscription and show the people that it was contrary to the teachings of the Reformers, and subversive of the principles of civil and religious liberty; that, in fact, it was persecution.

The meeting of which he gives an account was held in the evening, in an empty barn, the darkness of which was but little relieved by here and there a flickering candle. The audience was scattered over this gloomy meeting-place. His opponent spoke first. Scottish history gave him abundance of material for an effective address. Scenes of carnage and blood were revived and passed before the minds of the audience, scarcely visible in the feeble light of tallow candles. They saw their ancestors hunted and murdered in the glens and on the mountains of the fatherland. Solemn, ominous groans,

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charged with the purpose of revenge, were heard on every hand, making the place weird and unearthly. The work was done. Opposing views and condemnation of the principles involved were chaff on the wings of a hurricane.

Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," with its blood-red pictures, did duty in other places. Perhaps of all the hollow and unpardonable agents in that reprehensible campaign was the Hon. Joseph Howe himself. In Falmouth, Hants County, the county for which he was a candidate, there was a large family connection, descended from ancestors who fled from France before the terrors following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Joseph Howe, having behind him twenty-nine years of political life, in every one of which it had been his boast, both in public and in private, that he was the leader of the people, the foe of the classes arrayed against the masses, the exponent and defender of equal political and civil rights and privileges to all classes, all sects, to every individual of whatever colour, creed or calling—there stood this veteran statesman, in the town of Falmouth, appealing to the passion for revenge in the hearts of his hearers, to rise and give him power to proscribe Scotch, French, and Irish Roman Catholics in Nova Scotia, for what French Roman Catholics, under a despotism, had done hundreds of years before. Can political conduct more reprehensible be proved against any Colonial statesman of modern times claiming the name of Liberal?

The result of the contest was the alleged election of twenty-six members to support the Government, and twenty-eight for the Opposition. But the Government managed to return to power.

Out of this election came another matter on which the parties took opposite sides, and over which they had a long and heated contention. It was proved that at least six of the successful members held offices under the Government, which disqualified them for taking their seats in the Legislature. The Liberals saw peril in any attempt they might make along legal lines to remedy this evil. It is easy to imagine that the talents of J. W. Johnstone would not allow any trifling, without resistance, with the importance of this new subject. To what end was the country drifting, and where would it finally land, if religious persecution and contempt for law were

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to be defended and sanctioned by the Parliament of the Province? Where would be the safety for private property and political and religious liberty? Take away the sacredness of law, the foundation of the social, civil and religious fabric, and right and justice would vanish, might would be enthroned, and confusion and chaos follow. For this class of work Mr. Johnstone had no equal.

The sound principles of law unfolded and enforced by him, and sustained by other men of the legal profession, and especially by alert laymen like Dr. Tupper, made this discussion informing, interesting and salutary.

Mr. Johnstone's Cabinet put the matter before Lord Mulgrave, and requested him, as Lieutenant-Governor, to take action. He sent their written opinions to the Colonial Secretary, who referred the question to the Crown officers, with the result that they substantially agreed with the advisers of the Lieutenant-Governor. The opinions of Richard Bethel and Henry S. Keating, the law officers of the Crown, were that as in their opinion the oath of qualification of the members referred to their property qualification, and not to the offices they held under Government, therefore the House should deal with the case after the members had been allowed to take their seats. But they added:

"We think, in a similar case occurring in the Mother Country, the election would be held void by the House of Commons.

"Such an attempt on the part of the Assembly as that suggested, to set the law at defiance, would deprive its acts of that consideration they would otherwise be entitled to, and render it necessary for the Crown to put an end to its existence."

Finally, the Executive advised a dissolution, and the settlement of the difficulties by an appeal to the people. The Governor declined to dissolve the House, giving as a reason for his action that it implied a decision on his part of the legality of the right of the six members to their seats, which should be settled by the Assembly.

The Duke of Newcastle was memorialized by both parties. The discussion dragged along from May, 1859, the time of the election, to February, 1860, when, the Legislature being in

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session, the resignation of the Government took place and a new Cabinet was formed of which William Young, no doubt fearing to appeal to his constituency in Cumberland, necessary in case he took a "portfolio," was gazetted as President of the Executive, an office before unknown. Joseph Howe became leader of the Government and Provincial Secretary, and A. G. Archibald Attorney-General.

The long discussion gave an excellent opportunity to J. W. Johnstone to employ his legal talents in exposing the evils of the proscription campaign, the illegality of members taking their seats, the setting at defiance of law by the Assembly in allowing these disqualified members to sit in judgment on their own cases, and the failure of Lord Mulgrave to defend the prerogative in disregarding the advice of his legally constituted advisers, and bowing to the behests of Mr. Howe and his followers who, beforehand, had said that a Governor who, in the circumstances would dissolve the House, was "unfit" to govern Nova Scotia.

Knowing Lord Falkland's treatment by Mr. Howe, Lord Mulgrave had good grounds for believing that if he did send the members back again to the country a rough experience awaited him. He knew that Mr. Johnstone would not relent in forcing his opinions upon the Legislature and the British Cabinet; he also knew that in doing so he would conduct his case with decorum and with the highest standards.

With a meagre majority at its command, the House allowed the members to retain their seats, and the Government struggled on in weakness and confusion. The views of Mr. Howe, Mr. Young, Mr. Johnstone and Dr. Tupper on the principles involved in the proscription of Roman Catholics have been given in brief in the preceding chapter. As soon as Mr. Young and Mr. Howe found themselves in possession of the Treasury benches, they dropped the proscription cry by which they secured uncertain power, and began to coquet with the Catholics, having in view their reconciliation and return to their former friends.* Two places in the Cabinet were offered and declined.

* When Charles Robson and Peter Ross appealed to Mr. Howe after the election to act up to his ante-election professions, he told them they were "a parcel of bigots."

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The false position taken at this time by Mr. Howe was for him, as it naturally must have been, the beginning of a series of political disasters and the miscarriage of measures to which he gave his time and labours. It is doubtful if a case can be found in the history of these Provinces in which the Nemesis of retributive justice dogged the heels of an offender as, after this grave mistake, was evident in the case of Joseph Howe. From this time, until he ended his days in 1873 as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, it is not without pain and oppression of spirits that anyone can follow him through these eventful years of his life. He broke away from sound principles, and went adrift among the swift, cross currents of the political sea. To get to Avernus is easy, but to get back to the light and health of the uplands is most difficult. The madness, seen by ancient Romans preceding a final fall, finds a pathetic illustration in Joseph Howe, so ardently loved, even with all his faults, by his fellow-countrymen.

In the agonized ordeal at this stage of his life he was not blind to the conditions from which he was powerless to extricate himself. A part of his old companions had departed, some to their graves, some to retirement and others to places far removed from political strife. L. M. Wilkins had gone to a judgeship; William Young became Chief Justice; Mr. Johnstone was waiting for an honourable position in which to spend the remainder of his days in quiet labour; Dr. Tupper, fresh, buoyant, assured, resourceful, tactful, persistent, fearless, but clinging fast to political principles, an apt scholar of J. W. Johnstone, was hanging upon Mr. Howe's flanks, menacing him at every step, gaining in popularity and power. Entangled in the proscription enterprise, in which he was conscious of weakness, Mr. Howe yearned to exchange his bed of thorns for a position of comfort in which he might pass the balance of his days mingling with men in the high walks of life, and in the discharge of duties congenial to his literary tastes and the exercise of his social and imaginative nature.

Such a place appeared upon the horizon. The Prince of Wales was about to visit the North American Colonies. Accompanying him was the Duke of Newcastle, the Colonial Secretary. Mr. Howe, being now Premier, would be brought in contact with both the Prince and the Duke. He had

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laboured long and hard for his native land and for the Empire. All this was well known to the statesmen of England, as well as those in the Colonies. He was now fifty-six years old. The time was opportune. A memorial to the duke, setting out Mr. Howe's political labours with an urgent request for their recognition by an appointment to some suitable position by the Imperial Government, ought now to bear fruit. It must be done, and done by the Cabinet. No one could frame such a document as well as Mr. Howe himself. In view of its literary mould, it is no reflection on Mr. Howe's dignity or sense of propriety to assume that he was the writer of it. Following is this appeal:

"The Council, in view of the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and of the expected presence in this Province of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, desire respectfully to call the attention of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to the claims of an individual upon whom they would gladly see bestowed some mark of Royal favour.

"The system of responsible government so graciously conceded to the North American Colonies during the reign of her present Majesty opens to the leading men of each Province all the public employments within it, and in so far places them upon an equal footing with the inhabitants of any single State of the neighbouring Union. But this range of ambition is very limited, and as North Americans mark the distinction in the civil service of the Mother Country open to natives of the British Islands, and in the United States to citizens of the great republic, they naturally desire to enlarge their field of honourable emulation by a generous recognition of the claims of their public men and their promotion in the Imperial service. Under a strong conviction of the policy of fostering and rewarding honourable ambition, the Council with all deference desire, through the Lieutenant-Governor, to present to the Duke of Newcastle the claims of a gentleman for whom His Grace has already expressed high respect. The Executive Council, as an act of simple justice to Mr. Joseph Howe, would gladly see, at whatever sacrifice to themselves or the Province, some promotion and mark of Royal favour conferred upon him after a life in which loyal devotion to his Sovereign has ever been combined with an ardent desire to elevate and improve all the Provinces of British America.

"A work published last year, containing the public speeches

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and letters of Mr. Howe, recorded a struggle for principles now universally recognised. It contains evidence also of the possession of varied talents which, employed in a wider sphere, would have won the highest distinctions. The modes of administration, now working with success in all these Colonies and rapidly extending to other groups, attest the sagacity and skill of their earliest and most untiring advocate. The great inter-state improvements which now stimulate and lend animation to the Province, it is but fair at this time of general rejoicing to acknowledge we largely owe to the gentleman who, in 1850, turned the attention of English capitalists to the resources of North America, and, in 1854, perfected the policy by which the Lower Provinces have secured the great line of railway which they own.

"The Council annex to this Minute a list of the offices which Mr. Howe has held under the Provincial Government, by which it will appear that he has run through a curriculum admirably calculated to fit him for higher positions. They ask your Excellency to promise to hand to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle the letters which, from their familiar intercourse with Mr. Howe, they knew were in existence, and which they have obtained permission to annex to this Minute.

"From these letters it will appear that Mr. Howe was honoured with the confidence and correspondence of the late Charles Buller, and of Lords Glenelg and Sydenham, at a time when the distracted state of the North American Colonies severely taxed the powers of these eminent men. He early was, and is still, honoured by the good opinion of Lord John Russell, and has received from the Earl of Derby a recognition of his talents and services of which any Colonist may be justly proud.

"It will appear also that Mr. Howe's claims to promotion have been formally recognised by several Colonial Secretaries, by Lord John Russell, Sir Wm. Molesworth, and by Mr. Labouchere, claims certainly not weakened by the recent unanimous selecting of Mr. Howe, by a neighbouring Legislature, to adjudicate on questions of the highest magnitude and importance.

"The Council would hardly do justice to the gentleman they desire to serve did they not advert to his conduct on occasions when the honour of the Crown and the interests of the Empire were peculiarly concerned. . . .

"When sent into the United States during that war (the Crimean War) to carry out a policy for which others were responsible, Mr. Howe for two months risked capture and

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imprisonment, and so discharged his duties as to win the expressed approbation of the Governor who employed him, and whose opinion of his conduct will be found stated at length in the despatch, a copy of which we have the honour to annex.

"That Mr. Howe's father, who was personally known to the late Dukes of Kent and Clarence during their visit to Nova Scotia, enjoyed their favour and the confidence of the Imperial Government, may be gathered from the fact that prior to the outbreak of the American War of 1812 that gentleman was sent on a confidential mission to the United States, for which he neither asked nor received fee or reward. His instructions are annexed.

"With such claims to Royal consideration, while commanding respect from political opponents and the confidence and friendship of those who knew him best, and with testimonials from noblemen and gentlemen the most distinguished in the Empire, to justify the assurances given by successive Secretaries of State, the Council feel that they can confidently ask your Excellency to add the weight of your personal recommendation that Mr. Howe's honourable ambition may be gratified, and that the marked recognition of Her Majesty of a long life devoted to the service of his country may encourage our youth to emulate him, a policy to assure them that eminent civil service in the Colonies is not without its reward."

The request was a reasonable one, and it now seems unjust and ungenerous that the position sought for was not granted. It would have been especially gracious to have given some recognition to the Premier of Nova Scotia at the time of the memorable visit of the Prince of Wales.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TUPPER'S LEADERSHIP.

IMMEDIATELY after the resignation of the Government, Mr. Johnstone entertained his followers of both Houses and some other friends at a dinner. The attitude and purpose of Dr. Tupper at this crisis are mirrored in a speech given by him at the request of his colleagues on this occasion. It was in response to the toast, "The Late Executive":

"No language that I can command," said Dr. Tupper, "is capable of expressing the emotions which your generous confidence in myself and my colleagues inspires, only deserved by the diligent and conscientious discharge of the duties with which we have been entrusted, and which, to the utmost of our ability, we have fulfilled. For myself personally, I may be permitted to say that the onerous duties I have been called upon to perform have been made light by the consideration of my colleagues, and the united and unqualified support of our friends in and out of the Legislature. As the best abused man in the Province, I may say that when called upon to accept office three years ago I felt not only the deep responsibility it involved, but that it required no small sacrifice for a young man to give up an independent position, and commit myself to the stormy and uncertain sea of political life, with all its uncertainties and fluctuations. Yet looking back, as I now do, upon the toils of the last three years and the position I now occupy, I have no regrets for the past. In consenting to devote what ability God had given me to the service of my country, I but discharged a duty from which no man in the hour of need should shrink; and I have been abundantly repaid by the enthusiastic proofs I have constantly received that the exertions of my colleagues and myself were warmly appreciated. I have battled for what I believed to be right, and no man can look at the array of talent, intelligence and wealth around this table without feeling that our struggles have been crowned with success; and although the great constitutional party in Nova Scotia, striving to uphold broad and enduring

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principles upon which the peace, happiness, and advancement of our country depend, had been unfairly frustrated in maintaining the respect due to the law and constitution, the hour is close at hand when we must triumph and the immutable principles of right prevail. This is not the place to enter into any lengthened argument upon the great issues now before this country; but I feel constrained to say that, differing as I do with Lord Mulgrave on the views he has enunciated in his reply to myself and my colleagues, I believe he has done what he conceived to be his duty, and that his convictions were honestly arrived at. I feel bound to say as much, because I know a widely different opinion largely prevails, and will otherwise be entertained by the great party throughout the Province with which we are associated. The principles enunciated in that document by the Lieutenant-Governor I regard as unsound and unconstitutional, and I am satisfied that they will be so regarded by a vast majority.

“It will be felt throughout British America, and by statesmen everywhere, that if ever there was a case which demanded the exercise of the prerogative it was the case in which Lord Mulgrave’s constitutional advisers tendered that advice. It is not for my own sake that I deplore the decision at which His Excellency arrived not to allow the people themselves to pass upon the open violation of law and precedent by an illegal majority, but because I feel that the character of our institutions and country must suffer in the estimate of the world. To-morrow I return to my profession, in the study and practice of which the happiest years of my life have been spent. I have no misgivings as to the future, and if I have established any claims upon your consideration, the only favour that I have to ask in return is that you will never again require me to accept an official position. (Loud cries of ‘No, no, that will never do,’ from all parts of the room.) The triumphant position in which the last election has placed our party, the accumulated talent which was thus brought into the Assembly, convinces me that my place can be supplied by many gentlemen much more efficient. Do not mistake me; I have no respect for the opinion of those who sneer at the politics of the land they live in. In the United States that is becoming too fashionable in the higher circles, and the natural results are painfully evident. The stability of British institutions largely depends upon the fact that the highest ambition of the proudest peer or highest commoner is to serve his country. No, no, gentlemen; I should ever consider it my first duty to sustain in whatever position I occupy the principles for which we have

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contended in common. Before we separate, it may not be amiss to consider whether, under existing circumstances, we ought not to adopt a name to which we are entitled, and which will characterize our views and principles. Let me suggest the name—the Constitutionalists. We are satisfied with the institutions of our country. Let us discharge the duty of upholding and maintaining them inviolate. This is the more necessary, as it is well known that every truly liberal sentiment has been upheld and cherished by us, while those who claimed the exclusive right to that title proved themselves utterly undeserving of any such appellation."

This proposition was received with marks of unanimous approbation.

One star was rapidly ascending to the zenith, and another descending to the horizon. Youth and newness counted in Dr. Tupper's favour. Literature, jesting and anecdotes had been for a long time at a premium in campaign speeches and in the debates of the House of Assembly. As for anecdotes, Dr. Tupper could have soon ranked as past master had he chosen to cultivate the habit. In repartee he would have had no superior. But there is no evidence that he could have succeeded as a competitor of Mr. Howe in a wide range of jest and humour for which, among prominent Canadian statesmen, Howe has had no equal except the late Sir John A. Macdonald. At the time Mr. Blake retreated before the artillery of the National Policy, Dr. Tupper, in a speech in Ontario, allowed himself to deal humorously with this eminent statesman. That he had a reserve fund of humour on which he could draw was evident in the effect of that address on a popular audience, kept in roars of laughter by his pungent sallies of wit, which would have done credit to either Joseph Howe or John A. Macdonald. What Dr. Tupper lost by omitting from his public speech the humour common at that day, if indeed he lost anything, he more than gained in a style strikingly new and well-fitted to his own gifts and personality.

Those who remember the short but brilliant career of the late Lord Randolph Churchill in British political life will call to mind that he startled and shocked all classes with his plain, fearless criticism of public men of every class. He lashed with sarcasm even the Nestor of the great Liberal party.

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Felling with his own hands the trees on his estate, and conducting worship in the parish church, were turned into ridicule intended to make Mr. Gladstone's eccentricity and piety appear as a cloak for political cunning. The speculation gained currency that the brilliant young Tory had a purpose in his audacious policy, and that it was to make the path to Cabinet glory short and luminous. He gained this end, but the verdict of history is that no such unworthy motive was concealed in the secret heart of this dashing statesman.

Dr. Tupper, too, was supposed to be impatient and to have a plan to win leadership in his native Province by a short cut. A half century has disabused the public mind on this point. Reserve power never exhausted, a personality enlarged to meet the demands of every occasion in his long, strenuous and eventful life, a courage that never quailed in the swirling tides of peril or under the crushing weight of defeat, a fidelity to essential principles that never die nor let those die who honour and defend them, a self-reliance never doubted; a spirit decided, determined and dynamic—all these elements were in the young politician, as forces operating but not yet seen by the public. There must be added to them a gift of popular speech—an endowment always recognized by assemblies, promiscuous or select, the crowds that delight in the popular meetings of a political campaign, the jury in the box or the representatives of the people in the halls of parliament. These were some of the most prominent elements in the outfit of the Amherst physician.

The fortunes of war had left on the shoulders of Joseph Howe the responsibility of meeting and resisting the onsets of the Conservatives, virtually led by this daring, tactful young commander. He was the little Napoleon of the rejuvenated and awakened army of a slow-moving party.

Now that the smoke and dust of those old battles have given place to a clear historic atmosphere, in which events central, near at hand and far off come out in clear perspective, no impartial mind can feel surprised that the Cabinet memorialized the Duke of Newcastle to provide Joseph Howe a safe and honourable place into which he might retire from so stormy a future. Without such a position, there was nothing left for him but to remain at the head of a decimated, discouraged

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army, skirmishing, retreating and advancing, having for its highest hope salvation from overwhelming defeat.

On the party foundation Mr. Howe had built the "hay" of proscription, the "wood" of the illegality of the seats of six members in the House of Assembly, and the "stubble" of seducing members from the Opposition ranks to come to his rescue and save the life of the Government. These works were foredoomed to the fire, and the lesson in time appeared that the politician suffering loss had cause to reflect and say, let every statesman take heed to the material he heaps upon his party platform. Here are found lessons on a small scale for the men now managing and guiding the affairs of this young, lusty Dominion.

One vacancy occurred in Cumberland by the elevation of Mr. Young to the Bench as Chief Justice, and another occurred in Cape Breton. To fill these places elections were held in the midwinter of 1861. On their results depended the life of Mr. Howe's Government. Cruel though it was for a man of his age to be compelled to leave his comfortable fireside in the city and go through a canvassing campaign in Cumberland, one of the roughest, stormiest counties in the Province, yet it was a pressing necessity. As it was a case of life or death, the veteran statesman did not shrink from this stern duty. Taking with him two or three of his ablest lieutenants, he dashed into the campaign, buoyant and brave. The Amherst physician, who had scented this battle from afar, had made diligent and careful preparation for it. He drew upon the twenty-six years of the political life of his opponent for means to weaken his power in the battle to be fought amid the snows of the Cobequid Mountains and the wind-swept reaches of Tantramars Marsh, and along the tide-red banks of the rivers of that large county.

Declaration day came. Howe, in the best of spirits apparently, and with overflowing humour, addressed the assembly. "The doctor has beaten us," he said. "There is no hope for the Liberals in this county, unless you either make or import a man who shall be able to defeat the young doctor."

With his usual seriousness and "spare not" policy, Dr. Tupper in turn addressed the people: The country was rising; in every constituency public indignation was restive to have

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the opportunity to hurl from power a party that had adopted the principle of religious and political proscription, that had trampled on constitutional law in order to hold place and power. As soon as the Province could have the chance, the demoralized and disgraceful Government now occupying the treasury benches and their followers would be scattered to the winds by an outraged public sentiment. The result of these two bye-elections made in the House a deadlock—twenty-seven men would sit on each of the long red benches to the right and left of the Speaker. Mr. Howe had foreseen this possibility and prepared for it. Two men on the Conservative side—Colin Campbell, of Digby, and Captain John V. N. Hatfield, of Argyle—had been induced to cross over and give Mr. Howe their help in this time of pressing need. A possible visible inducement for Mr. Campbell was that he took a seat in the Cabinet. No such bait came to the light of day in Captain Hatfield's case.

The Cumberland election of 1852, in which Mr. Howe and Fulton were successful, saved Howe's Government from apparent defeat. The successful candidates returned to Halifax through a series of ovations which culminated in the city. In 1861, it was the turn of the Conservatives in Halifax to meet Dr. Tupper as conquering hero. On the arrival of the train at the station outside of the city, the Amherst physician was met by a shouting crowd of admirers, among them the "grand old man," "the old man eloquent," as Mr. Johnstone was called. He was now sixty-nine years old, but none too old to rejoice with his friends who had turned out to shout more strength and courage into the irrepressible, irresistible young politician. From the steps of his house, Dr. Tupper addressed the crowd, and sent them home with the belief that one more onset and the tottering fabric of an illegal and shattered Government would be in pieces under the triumphant feet of the Conservative hosts.

Now the question was, How could Lord Mulgrave longer withhold the fiat of dissolution? Could he sit by and see his Government resorting to mere political pranks to keep itself in power, and sanction it by a refusal to send it to the people's judgment bar—a general election? The noble lord had his trials. He was between two fires.

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He must have known the manner in which the constituencies of Mr. Campbell and Captain Hatfield regarded the betrayal of trust reposed in these members. The ubiquitous doctor was soon in their midst. The five hundred voters put their names to a memorial requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to dissolve the House—the condition of resignation given by Colin Campbell. Public meetings, held both in Digby and Argyle, listened to Dr. Tupper, and passed resolutions denouncing the two men who had changed sides.

Immediately after Dr. Tupper's meeting at Pubnico, Mr. Townshend, M.P.P. for Yarmouth, and Dr. Tupper met an Acadian Frenchman, of whom Mr. Townshend inquired, "Were you at the meeting?" The Frenchman replied, "Yes, I was dare and heard Dr. Tupper preach Captain John V. N. Hatfield's funeral sermon." The meeting was held in a Free Baptist Church.

Mr. Johnstone and his field-marshal had another reason to add to those which had been laid before the noble lord when they first advised dissolution. Proscriptions, members illegally in their seats, the condemnation of the Government by two counties, and the bribery of two Conservatives to come to the aid of a moribund Government, would surely be reasons enough and more for a dissolution of the Legislature, reasons which no Governor could ignore or withstand.

Moderation of the Conservative leaders, as expressed by Dr. Tupper at the banquet given by Mr. Johnstone, disappeared when Lord Mulgrave, in changed circumstances, persisted in refusing to dissolve the House. The indignation became so strong that Dr. Tupper declined the hospitality of Government House, and expressed his conviction of the outrage in divers ways, among which was abstaining from the usual courtesies of social life toward His Excellency.

The discussion of this matter was long and animated. To it Mr. Johnstone contributed his part in condemnation of the course taken by the Governor. He drew upon his knowledge of constitutional law and his ability for clear and forceful argumentation. Supported by the ablest legal mind in the Province, Dr. Tupper became more assured, more forceful in his efforts to convince the public that law and right were sacrificed at the shrine of a weak and falling Government, that the

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Governor himself had given the weight of his influence to inflict and fasten this great wrong on the Province.

In 1846, Mr. Johnstone defended Lord Falkland against Mr. Howe. In 1861, Mr. Howe defended Lord Mulgrave against Mr. Johnstone and Dr. Tupper, both of whom appealed to the Home Government. Dr. Tupper finally sent a memorial, through Lord Mulgrave, to the Duke of Newcastle, and a duplicate copy to Lord Russell. A reply from the duke was received by Dr. Tupper and published in the Halifax press with comments from his own pen. This is the substance of the letter:

"The Duke of Newcastle writes to Lord Mulgrave acknowledging the receipt of a letter through him from Dr. Tupper and a duplicate for Earl Russell. It is to be regretted that Dr. Tupper's eagerness to urge his own views should have led him into such an irregularity as that of addressing a Minister of one department upon the affairs of another department. . . . You may acquaint Dr. Tupper that he may be assured that Earl Russell will not respond to so improper an appeal, and that for my own part I must decline to enter again into a subject which I fully examined before, and on which I was obliged to conclude that Dr. Tupper was entirely in the wrong."

In 1860, Dr. Tupper had given a lecture on "The Political Condition of British North America."

In commenting upon the duke's letter, Dr. Tupper writes:

"Those who heard my lecture will be reminded that I am not surprised to learn that the Imperial Government will sustain a Governor in any course he may find it convenient to adopt in the government of a colony."

The duke was reminded by Dr. Tupper that the press of England had condemned the English Government for the appointment of Lord Mulgrave as Governor of Nova Scotia, a man so unfit and so unqualified for such an office. Dr. Tupper also reminds His Grace that his strictures cover the doings of the Government of 1861, which the duke had never examined, and on which he had given no decision. Dr. Tupper boasted that he had on his side the decision of the law officers of the Privy Council. These comments of Dr. Tupper are frank, fearless and assured.

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Here the controversy with the English Government ceased. Fires broke out in other places. A petition from a county east of Halifax, signed by eight hundred electors, was sent to the Governor clamouring for a dissolution that would give the people the opportunity to sweep out of existence a Government that held office by trampling on political justice and constitutional law. Still the beleaguered and weakly-manned fort held out for two more years, when the end came with a deluge.

In this long struggle, Mr. Howe was at one time so desperately hard pressed that he offered seats in his Cabinets to two Roman Catholics. Allied with J. W. Johnstone or with Dr. Tupper, Mr. Howe would never have made the fatal mistake of attempting to punish Roman Catholics for resenting his attack upon them in an hour when his temper was at the boiling point. With a principle as sacred as that of religious and civil liberty trampled under foot, especially when there was added to this an involved stultification, as was most clearly and emphatically the case with Mr. Howe, no man of political and moral prescience for a moment would think of building upon such an injustice, expedient though it might seem. He would know that such a wrong would not remain alone, but would gather to itself kindred evils. But such was the folly of the Hon. Joseph Howe, which was proclaimed on the housetops when the day of reckoning did come. Anyone who, with an impartial eye, runs over the political history of the Province from the day that the Liberal party entered upon their campaign of proscription until Joseph Howe passed from the stage of public life, cannot fail to see that this was the mistake of his life—at least one of the great mistakes.

CHAPTER XL.

MINES AND MINERALS AND OTHER MATTERS.

REPEATED failures, extending over many years, to settle the burning and burdensome question of the mines and minerals of Nova Scotia with the Imperial Government, in 1857 had exhausted the patience of both parties. At an early day the Crown had given a monopoly of these sources of wealth to the Duke of York. A company, known as the General Mining Association, had been formed, and for many years had worked coal mines opened up on parts of the areas owned by the duke's heirs.

In 1852, A. G. Archibald, afterwards Sir Adams G. Archibald, introduced a resolution into the House of Assembly directing the Government to ascertain on what terms the unworked claims could be surrendered to the Provincial Government. Another resolution was carried in 1854 authorizing the Governor to learn on what terms the Mining Association would settle this irrepressible question.

Again in 1855, the Government was directed to continue the negotiations. In 1856, Mr. Archibald carried a resolution through the House, in which language, urgent and determined, was employed.

Before these dates there had been much correspondence with the British Government relating to this matter, on which there was a growing dissatisfaction in the Province.

In assuming the Premiership in 1857, Mr. Johnstone, encouraged and ably supported by Dr. Tupper, resolved to make another effort to solve the difficult problem.

Before this date, he had been solicitor for the General Mining Association, and was, therefore, not conditioned to take an active and aggressive part in the negotiations. But, deferring to Dr. Tupper's urgently expressed opinion, and feeling the importance of having the matter settled, he resigned as

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the company's solicitor, and initiated a movement to bring about a settlement. Looking to this end, he carried a resolution in the House, authorizing the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint two commissioners, one from each party in the House, to proceed to England and there endeavour to bring this vexatious matter to a satisfactory conclusion. The Executive took action and appointed Mr. Johnstone and A. G. Archibald, a leading member of the Liberal party, as delegates.

There were four parties concerned in the matter—the heirs of the Duke of York, the General Mining Association, the Imperial Government and the Nova Scotia Government.

After failing to induce the Mining Association to send delegates to meet at Halifax, Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Archibald left for London.

The first offers of the Mining Association were rejected. More favourable terms were then secured and formed the basis of the negotiations which finally proved successful. Having obtained the release of large areas of the coal fields, satisfactory to the Commission, also all minerals and ores which, according to the grant to the Duke of York, were the possessions of his heirs, and having fixed the royalty to be paid, the bargain was completed. Sir Samuel Cunard, a member of the Board of the Mining Association, in the report of the delegates, is heartily thanked for the help rendered in the work of securing a final settlement.

The report was submitted to the Legislature, and after a warm discussion, passed both Houses, and the end of this long-drawn-out difficulty was reached. By reading the report of the proceedings, and especially the case for the Province as formulated by the delegates, and the terms of the agreement, anyone will be convinced that the Province had in Mr. Johnstone a master mind for such difficult and heavy labour. Mr. Archibald, of course, followed the lead of his able and accomplished associate.

The Commissioners laid their report before the Legislature. It received a determined adverse criticism from the Opposition. Except Mr. Archibald, who acted with Mr. Johnstone, all the Liberals in the House opposed the report; but it was at last accepted and proved to be a most satisfactory settlement of a very difficult question. Mr. Howe opposed the adoption of the

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report with all his might. The following is a part of the plea made by Mr. Johnstone for its acceptance:

“The other consideration before spoken of may be of higher importance than that just mentioned, I allude to the difficulty between the Province and the Mother Country. I wish to prevent the unpleasantness and possible collision in that respect. There might be some excuse formerly, but not now, if this be refused. What would the Government of England say if this be rejected? To whom did you confide your views? On whom do you cast stigma? Do gentlemen of the other side cast a stigma on one of themselves? Do gentlemen at this time cast a stigma on one to whom they have confided the direction of the affairs of the Province? Unworthy indeed might he be considered if not entitled by integrity or skill to the conducting of a negotiation such as this. The Government of England might say, Did you not select gentlemen to whom you could confide your interests? And did they not settle the question, and now, by refusing to ratify these, you ask us to violate our pledged faith with the Mining Association rather than that you waive the consideration of a few points involved in the engagement! Is that the right position for the people and Legislature of the Province? Another consideration yet remains of as much importance, perhaps, as any yet touched, in reference to the material interests of the country. I allude to the feelings which arise from the consciousness that a man possesses that which he ought—to the peace and satisfaction of the country. What have these questions been for years past but a source of embarrassment and agitation and discontent? They have occupied the attention of the Legislature every session for twenty-five years now. Is it a moment to clear away this troublesome subject, to relieve the country from this question, one which annoys and embarrasses, by indoctrinating people with the idea that they have been ill-used, that the Government had acted as a step-mother to them? Is the settlement of all this of no consequence? If this negotiation be not ratified, I see nothing to quiet the agitation that has prevailed, or to bring it to a satisfactory termination. I wish the House to bear in mind the position occupied by the delegates, by myself perhaps particularly. I may not have felt, I did not feel the force of many arguments used formerly on this question, to the extent to which they were argued.”

The coal mines opened on the reserved fields, and the increased amount of coal raised by the several mining corpora-

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tions, forms now the principal source of income to the revenues of the Province. The amount added to its income in 1906 from this source was five hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. In 1857, it was only forty-five thousand dollars. To this must be added a large amount from the income of other mines secured to the Province by the final settlement of the question.

In the recognition rendered by Nova Scotia to her public men, whether considered from an economic, moral or religious basis, J. W. Johnstone cannot be overlooked, if the Province would save itself from the dilemma of great ignorance or a great wrong. Not only did Mr. Johnstone by the exercise of his commanding talents, and by drawing upon the resources of his rich and varied experience, put to rest a matter that had disturbed and irritated the Provincial Legislature and the people of Nova Scotia for a quarter of a century, but the result of this achievement has been, not only the solving of a problem causing friction between the British and Provincial Governments, but it has opened up a source of ever-enlarging income to the provincial exchequer, thus enabling Nova Scotia to aid many public works, such as railroads, as well as to carry on the government of the country without embarrassment for means to do so. A monument like that erected to his distinguished opponent, Joseph Howe, cannot be much longer deferred, if Nova Scotia would protect herself against a cruel invidiousness and unpardonable ingratitude.

In Chapter XXVI. is found an account of the passing of a bill by Mr. Johnstone for simultaneous voting in 1846, when he was leading a Government opposed by Mr. Howe and his party. The need of this measure seen in its salutary effect has been acknowledged by all parties. That it was a popular law and in accordance with true Liberal principles, no one entertains a doubt. But this was not the only Liberal legislation to which Mr. Johnstone gave his earnest endeavours.

In 1856, Mr. Johnstone carried another bill reducing to practice the principle of self-government. This bill enabled the counties by incorporation to transact a large amount of business inexpensively for themselves. At first, the measure being only permissive, was not adopted except by one or two

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counties. It was finally accepted, and has, with modifications, become the law of the Province.

In 1850, and for some years afterwards, the temperance question deeply interested the whole Province. Mr. Johnstone had ever been abstemious in his habits, and always felt heavy moral responsibility for the example he gave the people about him in every sphere of life. He adopted the principle of total abstinence, and indeed became an active member of the Sons of Temperance. The agitation of the temperance question, and the large numbers of citizens in all parts of the Province who became its open and zealous advocates, made a demand both in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for a law prohibiting the drink-traffic. In New Brunswick such a law was enacted, but in the following election the Government was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Johnstone failed to get a majority in the House for his measure; and seeing the impossibility of carrying such a law into successful operation, withdrew it. As in all legislation based on moral and religious grounds, he gave to it all his strength and his whole heart. The speech made by Mr. Howe in opposing this bill is still used as a circular by men in the liquor traffic to advance their own interests. This attempt to procure a prohibitory law has never been seriously attempted in the Nova Scotia Legislature since the failure of Mr. Johnstone's resolutions.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1863.

PROMPT habits and ceaseless activity carried Dr. Tupper successfully through the double calling of medical practitioner and the strenuous labour of the field-leader of a party from 1859 to 1863. His ability and professional knowledge gave him a high position in the medical profession in Halifax. It may be that his political success had created an exaggerated belief respecting his professional skill. Be this as it may, he occupied a foremost place. In this calling also, he was aggressive. All the hospital accommodation that existed at the time was in connection with the Alms House. He read a paper before the Medical Society condemning this state of things, and advocated the establishment of a hospital and home for the poor worthy of the place. A medical man, high in the profession, and with commanding influence in the city, plainly told him that if he persisted in this course, he might count on his professional, social and political opposition. To a menace of this kind, he had a ready answer. "If this is the price of your friendship, it is beyond my reach." It is enough to say that this doctor, at the next meeting of the society, proposed Dr. Tupper as president, and was throughout his life a warm, personal and political friend. A hospital was built and well equipped, and has been enlarged from time to time, and is now known as the Victoria General Hospital, and there is also a suitable asylum for the poor.

In evidence of his reputation as a medical man, it is enough to say that his opponents when ill called him to their bedside. The *British Colonist* was the principal Conservative paper in the city. Dr. Tupper made it a part of his work to be the political editor of this journal, either writing or revising all the editorials when in the city.

The inequality and injustice of the representation of the

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counties were so apparent that Mr. Johnstone made a strong plea for a change. He, for instance, showed that in Hants County the principle of responsible government was not recognized. It was a mere farce. Hants County sent five members to the House, while Cape Breton, which had double the population, sent but two. He was told that the result of a redistribution would probably reduce the number of members supporting the Government. That, however, did not turn him from his purpose. The Government supported his bill. The fairness of this legislation is evident in the fact that this adjustment has continued substantially the same until this day. This was done previous to the election of 1859.

Mr. Howe having failed to strengthen his Government according to the requirements of the Lieutenant-Governor, by offering inducements to Roman Catholics and other men in opposition, made overtures to Dr. Tupper to form a Coalition Government. This offer was declined.

Apparently cut off from every source from which he could draw strength, Mr. Howe finally succeeded in inducing Moses Shaw, from Annapolis County, a colleague of Mr. Johnstone, to come over to his side and vote with the Liberals. This gave the Liberals a majority of four.

Up to this time the seduction of members by improper influence to pass from one side of the House to the other seems to have been confined to Mr. Howe. J. B. Uniacke, after leaving the Conservative party, became Premier of the Liberal Government for about ten years. The change from one side to the other by Mr. Fulton, the colleague of Mr. Howe from Cumberland County, was also credited to the great Liberal leader. He was also made responsible for the changing from one side to the other by John V. N. Hatfield and Colin Campbell. His last surprising and audacious act was the taking away of one of Mr. Johnstone's colleagues in the person of Moses Shaw.

All this resulted in giving moral strength to the Opposition and in weakening the Government party. With forceful and tactful leaders like Mr. Johnstone and Dr. Tupper, there is no difficulty in imagining how these successful acts of seduction were turned upon the tempters, producing in them conscious weakness, and in the country disgust and resentment.

In the summer of 1862, Mr. Howe went on a mission to Eng-

land. While there he secured the appointment of Fishery Commissioner.

Dr. Tupper, in the session of 1863, the last one of the Liberal Government, to add further to the condemnation of his opponents, submitted a plan to the Lower House for reducing the expenses of the Government of the country. It was in view of a large and embarrassing deficit that Dr. Tupper proposed his plan of retrenchment. His items of reduction totalled eighty thousand dollars. He tried the Government on one point, by submitting a resolution to do away with the salary of twelve hundred dollars given to the Governor's private secretary. This was voted down. That gave firm standing ground for a crusade of retrenchment, which at that time appealed to the people with great effect.

Arrayed in their order, his bill of charges was as follows: Members sitting in the House illegally; proscription of a religious denomination; seduction of Opposition members to strengthen the Government; the unconstitutional holding of two incompatible offices by the Premier, that of the Imperial Fishery Commissioner and Premier of Nova Scotia; and the refusal of the Government to cut down the expenses. With these weapons the battle was fought in the House through its session of 1863, and until the twenty-eighth of May, the time at which the elections were held.

During the discussion of Mr. Howe's right to sit as a member of the Nova Scotia Legislature while he held the office of Fishery Commissioner from the Imperial Government, Mr. Howe, with characteristic humour, having referred to Dr. Tupper as a man midwife, the doctor replied, "I flatter myself that I have obtained some celebrity as a gynecologist, but I will never be satisfied with my laurels until I have succeeded in delivering this Assembly of Her Majesty's Fishery Commissioner."

When Dr. Tupper was making strenuous efforts to defeat the bill which would disfranchise about twenty-six thousand electors in the Province, Colin Campbell, who had previously left the Conservative party, resigned his seat in the Liberal Government, and voted with the Conservatives. Dr. Tupper had said that any member of the Liberal party who would stand by the Opposition in this effort to defeat the attempt to

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disfranchise so many electors in the Province would be received with open arms.

There was corresponding activity outside of the House. The Constitutional League was formed in Halifax, and through it literature denouncing the Government was sent to the country. Dr. Tupper was president of this organization. In the House, he said that literature was sent out to give information to the country "against a corrupt Government." *Public Opinion* was the title of the paper published by the league.

The result of this election was foreseen by both parties. From the day that Mr. Howe allowed himself to lead in the campaign of proscription until the day he resigned as Premier, his power had been gradually growing less. Of this he himself was conscious.

Dr. Tupper's unique, magnetic personality had dominated the Province. At this time he had been in the House eight years. Gladstone, in the British Parliament in 1878 and onward, against the Turks for their Bulgarian and other atrocities, was not more aflame and terrible in his mission than was Dr. Tupper in driving the Liberal Government from power in the Parliamentary term of 1859 to 1863. He had so imparted himself to the Conservative party throughout the country that there was everywhere apparent a reproduction of his spirit and methods. People listened to his conversation and his addresses, and read his deliverances in the newspapers and pamphlets, until they mastered the facts used by him as missiles against the foe, and became, almost unconsciously to themselves an army following the banners of Dr. Tupper. Even many who had delighted to honour Joseph Howe now seemed to enjoy the attacks which he vainly strove to resist.

"The fact that this young man had come to stir up the dry bones of a party and to divert the jaded attention from actors, however eminent, of whom they were rather tired, to a fresh young character, became supremely interesting. . . . The people loved to see the young David hurling his stones at the giant whom they had adored. They delighted in the personality of his speeches. . . . The people are always on the lookout for a man, a seer, a guide; and such a one many thought they had discovered in this youthful combatant, or at least a leader with new ideas, who would regild or rejuvenate

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the doctrines of orthodox Toryism. He had at any rate let some fresh air into the party system, so much indeed that at times it seemed a hurricane."

The remotest causes of this political upheaval are not far to seek. Mr. Johnstone from the first had bound himself body and soul in his political life to the same unswerving integrity that controlled him in every sphere. By natural talent and long experience, he had attained to a large degree of success in the management of facts, men and events in his professional and public life, but he had an opponent who never seemed embarrassed by inconsistencies, and who was ever ready to take advantage of passing opportunities to outgeneral and defeat his rival. But defeat, coming as a result of these tactics never unsettled his confidence in sound principles and his moral obligations to defend them. Mr. Howe, having superior ability to influence the unreflecting public, had been led to believe that opportunism was the path to success. Mr. Johnstone, on the other hand, believed most firmly that every undertaking not founded on truth and right would finally crumble and come to naught. This view of the case makes Mr. Howe chiefly the author of his own downfall. It had been shown that in more than one instance he shut his eyes to the claims of justice and Liberal principles by which he professed to be bound, and seized passing conditions and circumstances, not justified by the underlying truths on which a sound political system rests, as a means to gain or retain power. Now the day of retribution has come. With his special talents it was only necessary for Dr. Tupper to endorse and advocate the principles and policies of Mr. Johnstone. His youthful ardour and special gifts popularized them. The love of truth and sound conduct in the hearts of those who adored Mr. Howe responded to the appeals of the young politician. In the heart of the public there came a revulsion of feeling. These facts, presented with such force by Dr. Tupper, they said, must be sound and must be enforced. Moral conditions had been for years operating, which now ripened into the certain evidence of a coming storm. The political atmosphere was vibrant, and the sound of battle was everywhere heard by the people. Weakness, conscious weakness, coming of a long course of

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faithlessness to sound political principles, neutralized the strength of the entire Liberal party.

The very opposite was the condition of the Conservatives. In this state the two old combatants came into conflict on the 28th of April, 1863. The battle was, however, won on nomination day, one week previous. The result of the trial of strength on that occasion was the election by acclamation of twenty-three men for the Opposition party, lacking only five to give them a majority. Nomination day settled the fate of the Government. Dr. Tupper and his two colleagues were among those elected by acclamation. This released Dr. Tupper for a short campaign in Lunenburg County. There he found the tide running strong against Mr. Howe, where he had little difficulty in rolling up a majority of four hundred and fifty against this popular party leader. In Halifax, also, three men went in by acclamation. In Annapolis, Mr. Johnstone fought a winning battle. In the previous election of 1859, through the unrighteous cry of "Down with Popery," and some discontent produced among his temperance friends by his treatment of that subject in the House, Mr. Johnstone's normal majority was reduced to seventeen votes. But the intense campaign of 1863 rekindled the fire in the hearts of the Conservatives of that county. The resolve was made to take away the disgrace of 1859. The result was that Mr. Johnstone had a majority of two hundred and fifty-two over his opponent.

At the close of this election, Mr. Johnstone felt compensated for his refusal to take another and safer constituency.

To the urgent request of his friends to do so he had replied, "Never, never." To take refuge from the danger of defeat in Annapolis County, by fleeing to another, would have been to him like a faithful father abandoning his family. His earliest years had been spent in Annapolis Royal, the shire town of the county. His was a nature to feel the grandeur of the fact that at Port Royal the flag of civilization was planted, when all North America, except the Spanish settlements in the south, was a howling wilderness. Annapolis Royal, framed by the mountain ranges on either side and seamed by brooks flowing into its main stream, which in turn emptied into the Annapolis Basin, on whose bosom French pioneers anchored their ships and on whose banks they raised their *fleur-de-lis*

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in the name of their Royal master, was to him the home of noble men and women, the home of happiness and plenty, and of varied, picturesque beauty. There he would rather be defeated than be victorious in any other county.

Declaration day gave the Opposition forty members and the Government fourteen.

This was the result of a campaign laboriously led by Dr. Tupper, extending over four years. In that time his force of character and ability had been acknowledged on all sides. His daring and relentless attacks had drawn down upon him the fierce criticism of the press of his opponents. Nothing that skilful and reckless writing could do was left undone. But resolute, undaunted, and made even more determined by such opposition, he met his opponents in public and in private, and ceased not in his campaign "to hurl from power," as was his expression, an unworthy Government. His end was accomplished. Mr. Howe was relieved, and gave his attention to his duties as Imperial Fishery Commissioner.

The year before this election, to express their esteem for Mr. Johnstone and to hearten him in his advancing years in his persistent struggles to defend and uphold sound principles in political life, some of his friends waited upon him and presented him with a cheque for seven thousand dollars. In doing so, among other things they said:

"Even those who have differed from you in various questions will admit that you have ever evinced an ardent devotion to the public welfare and a lofty disregard of your own personal aggrandizement. We cannot deny ourselves the gratification of asking you to permit us to offer some token of the regard in which we hold you, and our high appreciation of the disinterested services which, for a long period of time, you have rendered the public, enforced as these services have been by your commanding talents and adorned by the display of the most exalted personal character."

Mr. Johnstone's first election, that of 1843, was virtually a duel between him and Mr. Howe. It was hard fought, but Mr. Johnstone conquered. Twenty years passed away before the last of his battles was fought. He entered the lists single-handed. In the last struggle he had a faithful and strong lieutenant at his side. The election of forty Conservatives and

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only fourteen Liberals inflamed the unimaginative Conservatives and made them shout like Radicals. Indeed, among them were many of the latter party. After a few hilarious demonstrations, Mr. Johnstone entered upon his journey home, but not alone. Men, mounted and in carriages, a long line of them, escorted him to the borders of Kings County. There a like rejoicing procession took the place of the men from his own county. They attended him to the borders of the next county. There he was met by friends who saw him safe to the town of Windsor. From this place he was carried to Halifax by train. But when about four miles from the city, he was met by his Halifax friends. Among them was Dr. Tupper. This bannered, shouting procession halted on the Parade. There speeches and cheering were heard. Darkness ended the rejoicing. The ferry boat took Mr. Johnstone away to Dartmouth. There, too, he was met and escorted to Mount Amelia, his residence. He went to his pillow that night, no doubt much exhausted, but a happy and gratified man. He knew now that his work in election campaigns was at an end. His long struggle had closed in a burst of splendid triumph.

CHAPTER XLII.

A CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT.

It was just previous to the election of 1863 that Mr. Johnstone received from his friends a token of their esteem, in the gift of a cheque for seven thousand dollars. In his reply to the address on that occasion may be found a bird's-eye view of his political career as seen by himself.

"There are occasions when it is difficult to convey the adequate expression of the feelings. The present is of that nature, and I find it impossible to give utterance to the deep emotions awakened by the evidence of esteem on the part of those whose confidence and friendship I so highly value.

"In the munificence of the testimonial is manifested the generous character of the donors. The approbation and affectionate regard of which it is designed to be the token, and to which you have given expression in terms so fervent, elevate and enhance the gift, and are a tribute to my public conduct that I should ever cherish as the proudest distinction of my life.

"Your allusions to my political course will, I hope, excuse the few remarks I am about to make.

"Pressed by circumstances rather than led by choice, more than a quarter of a century since I was drawn into the political vortex; and it would be less than gracious were I to shrink from whatever credit there may be in having been possessed with an ardent desire for the elevation of my country when entering on a new era of political existence. I had adopted early in life the most liberal views of constitutional freedom, and if I held myself back from assuming the badge of Liberalism, it was because I saw more danger from immature schemes and personal aims than risks from changes coming too slowly. And in the working of the new system it seemed obvious that a serious drawback would be found in the want of the guards and the balance which English institutions furnish in that State which is our great and noble exemplar, a want which makes but the more essential the strictest maintenance of political integrity of party obligations, and a law and constitutional usages for upholding the public character.

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Experiences, I fear, have not proved the apprehensions to have been without cause which many entertained of the deterioration of our political system; and the history of the past three years and the present condition of public affairs would afford ground for party triumph were the essential interests of the Province not too largely implicated.

“A temporary success gained by the violation of the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty was only made available by the formation and support of a Government in disregard of law and of the highest obligations. But a Nemesis pursued, and the power thus acquired has wasted away. Vain efforts have failed to build up a fallen Government by union with their opponents or secession from their ranks; and the men who made the proscription of one class of their fellow-subjects the instrument for attaining office have scrupled not to sue for the support of those they had reviled, seeking by their union to aid and retain the power they had acquired by vilifying them. At this moment, though, the demoralized fact is present of the Lieutenant-Governor's recognized word being held up in suspense to give opportunity for practising some private seductions vainly attempted when the House was in session, although it is obvious that, after what has passed, success—if success were, as it surely is not, possible—would be earned by personal disaster and Provincial degradation. We find the country loaded with debt, and the Government instrumental in entailing it refusing even to consider the proposition for retrenchment. Public offices are filled without respect to adaptation for their duties, and the administrative functions of government are inefficient, and temptations are opened for political corruption when a single vote may destroy or sustain the Government.

“If these events and such as these are incident to our system, it must be borne in mind that the remedy can only come from the people themselves, and my chief object in these remarks has been to express my conviction of the great danger to the best interests of the country from men of influence holding themselves indifferent to public affairs, and of the duty that rests upon them to aid in maintaining the party in the efficiency of their political institutions, and elevating the political sentiment.

“Three important subjects I notice on account of their importance: The Provincial railway, the Intercolonial railway and the Union of the Colonies, and on all these I entertain the belief that the policy I pursued has the sanction of experience and the growing conviction of the public.

"The last subject I shall notice is that to which you have referred in terms too flattering, the mines and minerals. It would be wrong not to mention the obligations we owe the General Mining Association for the frank and liberal manner in which they met the delegates in 1857, and surrendered means and privileges they possessed for very small consideration; nor should I do justice were I to withhold from my co-delegate a full meed of whatever credit may attach to the negotiations in London that year.

"But it is to the session of the Legislature in 1858 that attention should be directed. Then it was that the great body of the party, then in Opposition, now in power, used the most strenuous efforts to defeat, under pretence of protracting, the confirmation of the bargain which the delegates had made, subject to the approval of the House. Let every Nova Scotian who rejoices in the prospect of his country's advancement by means of her mineral resources bear in mind that he owes the possession of these resources to the Conservative constitutional party. Of the rapid material progress of this Province there can be no doubt. Let us not forget, however, that material progress for a time may subsist with political debasement; and while we feel that republican institutions offer their allurements to British communities, let us remember that the anomalous condition of the British North American Colonies demands no ordinary wisdom and virtue in the formation of their institutions.

"Let us unite in hoping that these qualities may never be wanting, that the union of the Provinces may be speedily effected and become an instrument for advancing their progress both material and political; that the British flag may ever be their flag, the emblem of a happy, prosperous connection between them and the parent State, founded on loyal affection and cemented by material benefits, and may our children and their children through many generations be prosperous under its glorious folds, and, possessing a higher political status than their fathers, may they ever cherish that connection with our fatherland, in which their parents glory.

"If political life be full of perplexities, care and disappointments, my friends have this day taught me that it is not without its rewards. In concluding, allow me to accept this address as an expression not only of political confidence and approval, but of personal friendship on the part of yourselves and those you represent. In that view, it touches affection nearer to the heart than the colder interests of political relation, and has to me a value unspeakable."

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Mr. Johnstone's views of responsible government, elaborated and advocated during the application of this principle to the government of Nova Scotia from 1838 to 1847, and reiterated and reaffirmed in the foregoing address, just previous to the election of 1863, correspond in almost every particular with the views outlined by Adam Shortt in his life of Lord Sydenham, a work of exceptional merit, containing much discriminating knowledge of the politics of Upper and Lower Canada during the time Lord Sydenham was Governor-General.

Mr. Johnstone's prescience, his philosophic and logical acumen, made clear to him at that day what is now the verdict of history as seen and described by such writers as Mr. Shortt. If any man in Canada except Mr. Johnstone had perceived and possessed himself of a definite understanding of this abstruse principle, delicately adjusted in its operation, all account of him and his teaching has been withheld from the public. Be this as it may, Mr. Johnstone had in theory a distinct conception of the operation of the principle of responsible government, conditioned and adjusted as it has been in its practical operation. While English statesmen held but obscure and distorted views of the philosophy of responsible government in its application, and while Colonial politicians saw its mechanism only, to the prescient, subtle mind of Mr. Johnstone it was clear in its application to a system of responsibility in all the parts of Government, Colonial and Imperial.

In this brief reference to the past, as in all his political labours, Mr. Johnstone is exhibited as a deliberate, wise and faithful statesman.

"We believe in no man's infallibility, but it is restful to be sure of one man's integrity." At that time Mr. Johnstone's friends and admirers could have said: "You do not know how those of us regard you who feel it a joy to live when an eminent statesman believes in righteousness."

These words were addressed to Mr. Gladstone in a letter from the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, and they express the genuine feelings respecting Mr. Johnstone in his entire public life. Mr. Johnstone was ever religious. Even his denunciations sprang from righteous indignation. His speeches had in them soul, honesty and zeal for the right. Through all his words there breathes a sense of responsibility and account-

ability, not only to those whom he served, but to his God. "Men who drift never discover, never grasp fundamental truth. They are dazzled by shining gleams of truth, broken and drifting."

Mr. Johnstone never for a moment seemed to forget that he was under bonds to truth and righteousness. There were ever careful preparation and faithful execution of all that he undertook, in which were seen elevation of thought and grandeur of purpose, often expressed in flaming speech, flowing from the depths of his fervid spirit.

In the Government formed after the defeat of 1863, were Mr. Johnstone, Premier and Attorney-General; Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary; W. A. Henry, Solicitor-General; James McNab, Receiver-General; Isaac Le Viscounte, Financial Secretary; and without portfolios—John McKinnon, Thomas Killam, Alexander Macfarlane and S. L. Shannon. The new Government met the House under Major-General Charles Hastings Doyle, who had been appointed administrator after Earl Mulgrave returned to England. This was fortunate, as it saved embarrassment between the leaders of the Government and Earl Mulgrave, engendered while they were in Opposition.

The belief has prevailed quite generally, even among Conservatives, that Dr. Tupper's scheme for retrenchment, sustained by Mr. Johnstone, was an unworthy political device for electioneering purposes. This feature of the subject was forced upon the attention of Dr. Tupper early in the session of the new House. It was then made evident that whether this plan of his had been wise or not, it was not intended to be permanent.

To meet a large deficit, Mr. Howe proposed an addition of two and a half per cent. *ad valorem* duties. Dr. Tupper made a counter proposal—make reductions in the expense of conducting the Government. Then, as soon as the state of the finances will admit of restoring the salaries of officials to their original state, let it be done. His proposal was rejected and the additional duties were imposed. But between 1862, when this proposal was introduced by Dr. Tupper, and 1864, when the Conservative Government met the Legislature for the first time, there had been a marked revival in trade. The additional duties had been removed, and the revenue was sufficient to

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meet the demands of every department of the service, leaving a large surplus in the treasury. Dr. Tupper referred to the words he had used in 1862, when he made the proposal to reduce expenses. This is one of the paragraphs, as reported at the time:

“He believed the facts he had submitted, would demand the attention of the House and the country. If the reductions proposed were made, nothing would afford the House greater pleasure than to raise again the salaries of those gentlemen who would be affected by them, as soon as the finances would warrant it.”

Among the important items suggested in the Governor's speech was that of a bill for general education. It provided that the Government should be the Council of Public Instruction, of which the Superintendent of Education was to be secretary. He was to be separated from the Normal School. County inspectors were to be appointed, and they were to be clerks of the boards of commissioners in the several counties. Rearrangements of school sections were to be made, school houses were to be built by compulsory assessment. Voluntary assessment for supporting schools, which had been the law for a number of years, was to be encouraged by the addition of twenty-five per cent. added to their grants; teachers were to be classified and paid accordingly; a large addition was made to the grant for common education; an academy was to be established in each county where none existed.

In introducing this bill, Dr. Tupper said:

“It is many years since any improvement has been made in the educational system of the country. It is well known that since the Legislature first dealt with this question the population and revenue of the country have very largely increased. It therefore requires no argument to prove to intelligent men the propriety of taking measures for the amendment of our law, and the giving of increased facilities for such an important public service as that of education.

“I am quite aware that the bill which I now have the honour to introduce will probably disappoint many members of the House and many people in this country who are sincerely desirous that something important should be done to advance our educational status, and to cause a wider diffusion

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of knowledge among all classes of the people. I know that the public mind has been directed to one especial means, that of compulsory assessment for the support of common schools. This bill does not propose, however, to take that course. I confess that my views have undergone no change on this subject since the first session I had the honour of a seat in this House, when I voted for a resolution approving of a system of compulsory assessment for the support of the common schools of this Province. But after a careful examination of the whole subject, looking at it with a sincere desire to come to such conclusion as would best advance the wide diffusion of education among the people, I have come to the belief that in the present condition of this country it would be neither wise nor politic to carry immediately into effect a system of compulsory assessment. Whilst I have thus hesitated to provide for compulsory taxation, the bill which I now introduce is framed with a view to render that system as gradually acceptable to the people as possible."

In 1841, to test the views of the House, Mr. Howe moved an amendment to the Education Act, to the effect that compulsory assessment should be adopted for the support of the common school system. It was rejected by a large majority. In 1856, when Mr. Howe was not a member of the House, William Young, then Premier, introduced a bill for common school education supported by taxation. He first submitted a resolution on the adoption of compulsory assessment. Members from both political parties supported it, and it received a majority of votes. Dr. Tupper voted for this resolution. Mr. Young then brought forward several clauses providing for separate schools. He finally withdrew his bill. From 1857 to 1859, a period of Conservative rule, the Opposition taunted the Government with lacking courage to give the country a school system founded on assessment. But from 1859 to 1863, while the Liberals were in power, they admitted that their slim majority rendered it impossible for the party to carry a good education measure.

In 1851, J. W. Dawson, Superintendent of Education, in his report recommended a normal school and a free system supported by taxation. Out of this came a bill for permissive taxation, carried by the Liberal Government, both for building school houses and also for the support of schools.

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The bill introduced by Dr. Tupper, in 1864, made all necessary arrangements for the introduction of compulsory assessment. J. W. Johnstone, then Premier, and A. G. Archibald, leader of the Opposition, assisted in carrying this bill through the House. Indeed, it met with but little opposition. For many years a process of education had been going on in the public mind in favour of the support of schools by assessment. The success of schools in the New England States was a stimulus to the ambition of Nova Scotia, not to be too much belated in a work so essential to the prosperity of the country.

As soon as this bill became law, Dr. Tupper looked about for a man to take the position of superintendent. Fortunately his attention was turned to T. H. Rand, a graduate of Acadia College, and at the time teacher of Greek and Latin in the Normal School. It is probable that no other man could have been found so well qualified and adapted for this work. He was heartily recommended by Dr. Forrester, an eminent Scotch educationist, then Principal of the Normal School. After perfecting the bill for Nova Scotia and superintending it most efficiently for six years, he framed a bill for New Brunswick, and was then appointed Superintendent of Education in that Province, where he showed a like efficiency in superintending the system there for twelve years. After acting as professor in Acadia College for a few years, he accepted an appointment to a professorship in McMaster Theological College, Toronto, and became Senator McMaster's chief adviser in founding and endowing McMaster University, of which for a time he was Chancellor. He resigned the Chancellorship and accepted the chair of English literature, which he held at the time of his death, May 29th, 1900. He had just taken his seat in the Assembly room of the Parliament building at Fredericton at the centenary of the New Brunswick University, where he was to receive the degree of LL.D. when the suddenly expired, yielding to that incurable disease—*angina pectoris*. He had already received the degree of M.A. and D.C.L. from his Alma Mater.

Dr. Tupper discerned in young Rand just the man he needed for the heavy work of carrying his common school system into operation.* All arrangements had been perfected for carrying out the Education Bill of 1864 before the House came together in the following year. During the period between these

sessions, the belief became current that taxation would be added to the system. The Opposition papers did not fail to make capital out of these conditions. But Dr. Tupper did not wait for public sentiment. He resolved on creating it by the influence of a law in operation. It was well for the Province at the time that it had a man who seemed to disregard attacks and persistent opposition. Having given the public time to consider the matter and express the views that they might entertain, he decided to take his political life in his hand. The introduction of the assessment measure was not, on the part of Dr. Tupper, an impulse. He had been deliberating in respect to it for ten years—since the time he voted for Mr. Young's resolution on assessment. No man in the Provinces knew better the state of public feeling than the author of this bill. Direct taxation was a term thoroughly detested by many in Nova Scotia. Dr. Tupper could not but see that the enforcement of a system supported by compulsory assessment would cost his government its life. He did not lack insight, passion, concentration and determined daring. His plans for great measures have always been outreaching and courageous. In Nova Scotia, for a quarter of a century, the wheels of State had been turning slowly in the deep ruts of political caution. Undaunted and light-hearted, he went forward with this new undertaking. Could he have seen beforehand the history of his school bill, its grand results in his native Province and the undying honour it has brought to its author, he could not have been stronger or more determined.

It was a matter of common knowledge that the Roman Catholics preferred separate schools. This was the formidable objection to any free common system based on taxation. It was fortunate, both for Dr. Tupper and the country, that the Archbishop of Halifax, Dr. Connolly, was more than a churchman—he was a broad-minded statesman. Before introducing his second bill, in 1865, Dr. Tupper discussed the matter with the Archbishop, who expressed the fear that Roman Catholics would not get justice without separate schools. To this objection Dr. Tupper had already prepared a reply, which was promptly given. He said to the Archbishop: "I have anticipated your objection, and have provided for it. As a large body of Christians, the Roman Catholics will ever have a good

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representation in the Provincial Cabinet. I have, therefore, made the Cabinet the Council of Public Instruction. This gives you a permanent guarantee of justice to your people. Necessarily the Roman Catholics will always have a representation in the Executive Government." In reply to this the Archbishop said: "Your bill shall have my support." With this assurance the bill was introduced. On its second reading, A. G. Archibald attacked Dr. Tupper for superseding Dr. Forrester by the appointment of Dr. Rand as superintendent. In reply to this, Dr. Tupper said that Dr. Forrester, who still held his place as Principal of the Normal School, had heartily recommended Dr. Rand. Then Mr. Archibald objected to that provision of the bill making the Executive the Council of Public Instruction. Dr. Tupper replied to Mr. Archibald, reminding him that he was in favour of assessment; and had expressed his regret that it was not in the bill of 1864, and was now trying to defeat the same principle by a detail that could be settled in committee.

Mr. Le Viscount, a member of the Government, who, though himself a Protestant, had a Roman Catholic constituency, moved a series of resolutions in favour of separate schools. In reply to the amendments, Dr. Tupper used a strong expression. He said that he would burn the bill before he would assent to them. He saw, however, that the drift of sentiment in the House, if not turned, would result in the defeat of the bill. Dr. Tupper then moved the adjournment of the debate. He evidently saw that Mr. Archibald, on reflection, would hesitate to unite with the Roman Catholics in defeating the bill, and so it turned out.

When the House came together again, Mr. Archibald agreed to allow the bill to pass its second reading and bring up his objections in committee.

This brief account of the process through which this bill passed before becoming law is a very imperfect description of the perils which it encountered. Here is a letter received by Dr. Tupper from Mr. McKinnon, a member of his Cabinet and a brother of the Bishop of Arichat:

"I forgot bringing to your notice the remarks you made last night in reference to separate schools. Do you see the

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position you placed me in? Unless you qualify these strong remarks satisfactorily, I will be compelled to take my leave of your Government."

In a copy of his Teacher's Text Book, sent by Dr. Forrester to Dr. Tupper, is found this inscription:

"To the Honourable Charles Tupper, M.D., C.B., etc., with the respectful compliments of the author and as a small expression of his admiration of his steadfastness and determination in securing, during his Premiership of his native Province, one of the best legislative enactments on popular education to be found in any country."

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CHAPTER XLIII.

CONFEDERATION IN NOVA SCOTIA.

PREVIOUS to 1864, the confederation of the British North American Provinces had been discussed in Legislative Assemblies, in lectures and newspapers, only, however, in a theoretic and academic manner. But at this date it took to itself the serious character of the real and the practical. A review of its history calls up the following occurrences:

In 1838, Mr. Johnstone, then Premier of Nova Scotia, with his fellow-delegates and those from the other Provinces, discussed at length the subject of Confederation with Lord Durham at Quebec. Informal reports of what took place in that city were made in the Legislature by the Nova Scotia delegates—by William Young in the Lower and by Mr. Johnstone in the Upper branch. On that occasion Mr. Howe gave little attention to the subject, except to express his fears that should such a union take place, the Provinces by the sea would suffer injustice from the larger Provinces of the west. Mr. Johnstone, on the other hand, had evidently arrived at definite views on the subject. He believed that the union of the Colonies would make for the highest welfare of British North America. With the prevision and self-reliance of a great statesman, he advocated the measure as essential to the harmony and fullest development of the country. In no part of his life did he exhibit keener insight and sounder judgment.

As far as the Legislature of Nova Scotia was concerned, this great subject slumbered until the session of 1854. Then Mr. Johnstone, leader of the Opposition, submitted to the House a scheme for union, which he advocated in an able speech, found in an earlier part of this history. Mr. Howe on that occasion submitted a plan for the organization of the Empire by Colonial representation in the House of Commons, as a substitute for Mr. Johnstone's proposal for Confederation.

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In 1857, when Mr. Johnstone and A. G. Archibald were in England as delegates from the Nova Scotia Government on the matter of mines and minerals, in accordance with the instructions received from the Governor they urged the question of Confederation upon the attention of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Labouchere. The case was presented to him and commended by a large array of facts and cogent reasoning. In expressing his personal opinion, Mr. Labouchere said that the confederation of all the Provinces did not commend itself to his judgment as a wise and practical measure, but stated that the union of the Maritime Provinces would, in his opinion, be in the interests of the Crown and of the Colonies. He then reminded the delegates that there had been no united request from the Colonies on the subject, necessary to warrant the Government in dealing with it.

In 1860, Dr. Tupper, then in Opposition, was invited to open the Mechanics' Institute in St. John, New Brunswick. This he did by a lecture on "The Political Condition of British North America," in which he advocated Confederation as the only remedy for existing evils, and the only means by which the Colonies could reach their greatest degree of prosperity and be of the greatest service to the Empire. This lecture was reported quite fully in a St. John paper by A. W. Savary, then living in St. John, and since one of the county court judges of Nova Scotia. The lecture was repeated at Amherst, Truro, Halifax and Horton. A report of Dr. Tupper's lecture from the St. John *Morning Chronicle* of November 22nd, 1860, contains the following:

"The learned lecturer (Dr. Tupper) next referred to the means by which these serious defects might be removed. The idea of annexation or of an independent republic had long since ceased to be entertained. I look with mingled pride and admiration to the splendid and enduring institutions of our most beloved Mother Country, coming, as they ever do, brighter and clearer out of the trying ordeals which have shaken so many other nationalities around her to their foundations, prostrating kingdoms, and leaving disorder, anarchy and despotism among their ruins. All classes ardently desire that we may strengthen the hands and share the glories of the parent State in the cause of civilization and progress, building up a powerful Cis-Atlantic Confederacy which shall continue an

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integral part of the Empire. The Earl of Durham, with great ability in a report which was an enduring evidence of his sound statesmanship, adopted the views previously propounded by the late Duke of Kent, urging a Legislative Union of all the Colonies. The same principle was elaborated in the Nova Scotia Legislature some six years ago by Mr. Johnstone, and Mr. Hamilton made it the subject of a pamphlet in 1855, and this year brought it under the notice of the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Howe had advocated, with his usual vigour and eloquence, representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament. In Canada a scheme for the federal Union of the Colonies was proposed to the Legislature, in 1858, by Mr. Galt, which was warmly sustained in a State paper addressed by him and Messrs. Cartier and Ross to the Colonial Secretary. Messrs. George Brown, J. A. Macdonald and D'Arcy McGee, prominent Canadian politicians, have all committed themselves to the same views. . . .

“The suggestion of Mr. Hamilton, in a recent letter to the Duke of Newcastle, as to the manner in which the union of the Colonies should be arranged, is worthy of attention, though susceptible of improvement. He urged a Federative Union similar to that of New Zealand, each Province having an elective superintendent and council for local affairs, these being subordinate to a Viceroy appointed by the Crown, or hereditary in some branch of the Royal family, and a metropolitan Parliament of two Houses to deal with matters of common interest, with a general supervision over the local legislation. . . .

“The lecturer then demonstrated the advantages of a union by the example of the Canadas, and proceeded to show from the magnificent and varied resources of British America that wise political arrangements were all that we required to attract population, capital and skill. The climate is more healthy than that of England; our soil is equally fertile; our geographical relations to the New World are the same as that of Canada to the Old; our equally magnificent harbours present the same facilities for commerce; and the peculiar mineral deposits which have rendered her the greatest manufacturing mart in Europe, here abound to any extent and of most excellent quality. Who could doubt that under these circumstances, with such a federation of the five Provinces (to which ultimately the great Red River and the Saskatchewan country might be added) as would give us the position due to our extent, resources and intelligent population, untrammelled either by slavery or the ascendancy of any dominant Church; almost

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the last country where civil and religious liberty exists, British America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would in a few years present to the world a great and powerful organization; with British institutions, sympathies and feelings; bound indissolubly to the throne of England by a community of interests, and united to it by the Viceroyalty of one of the promising sons of our beloved Queen, whose virtues have enthroned her in the hearts of her subjects in every section of an empire upon which the sun never sets.

"On Tuesday evening, Dr. Tupper again lectured in Portland to a most attentive audience on 'A Union of the Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.' This lecture was not written, was quite different from the one delivered in the Institute, and was most applauded. Mr. Tilley and Mr. Gray were present, together with some other prominent men. Dr. Tupper is a good offhand speaker. He did not exhibit any political bias in his lecture, which was well received. The arguments he adduced were very powerful, and we shall take the opportunity to notice them in some future issue. We gladly extend to him the most hearty welcome to New Brunswick, and are quite willing to join hands with him in the struggle for the elevation of these Provinces to the position they are entitled to occupy.

"Recently this subject, which has never been lost sight of since first proposed, has been ably revised by our contemporary, the *Morning Chronicle*, and a very favourable opinion has been elicited upon the project from a considerable and influential portion of the papers in all the British North American Colonies. The idea of having a monarchy constructed in these three Provinces, we imagine, is purely original with our correspondent, A. A. B., nor is that originality likely very soon to be disputed.

"The union of all the British North American Provinces is not likely to be brought about by any human advocacy, we imagine, for many years, although it might be precipitated by events which may not be so very remote. The union of the Maritime Provinces we believe to be practicable now, and not in the least degree antagonistic to the larger question. We shall rejoice to see the able advocacy of the Hon. Mr. Howe enlisted in favour of this important question, as his great ability and the comparative leisure which he enjoys, together with his extended popularity, would enable him to contribute greatly to the advancement of this measure."

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Of this effort to unite the Maritime Provinces, Mr. Howe said, in 1864:

“ I have spoken of a brood of projects which have sprung up in the Lower Provinces on the failure of the Intercolonial:

“ For many have sprung from one lying low,
Like twigs from the fell'd forest tree.”

“ But I must except one project, which reflects the greatest credit on all parties, to which we in Canada cannot be indifferent. Laying aside all partisan and personal considerations, the leading spirits of the Lower Provinces, not fearing to venture into broader channels than their own internal politics afford, have simultaneously proposed to reunite Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Island of Prince Edward into one great maritime community, with one tariff, one treasury, and one Legislature. It is impossible not to admit the superiority to mere sectionalism exhibited in this proposal, and I, for one, humbly and sincerely pray to God, that for their own sakes they may succeed, and the sooner the better.”

As leader of the Government, Mr. Howe had had his eye on the movements of Dr. Tupper. He had not failed to observe his swift movements and persistent industry. As he had put his hand to the plough of Confederation, there would be no looking back. It was, therefore, expedient that Mr. Howe, although not heretofore a zealous advocate of union, should do something to keep even with this young, progressive politician. Be this as it may, he introduced into the House of Assembly, in the following year, 1861, a resolution in which he mildly advocated Confederation. After referring to the discussion of either maritime or general confederation in all the Colonies, the resolution states:

“ That His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be respectfully requested to put himself in communication with His Grace the Colonial Secretary and His Excellency the Governor-General, and the Lieutenant-Governors of the North American Colonies, in order to ascertain the policy of Her Majesty's Government and the opinions of the other Colonies, with a view to the enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests on which the public mind in all the Provinces ought to be at rest.”

In the foregoing resolution are apparent lack of zeal, purpose

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and confidence. Mr. Howe's scheme for representation in the British Parliament was uppermost in his mind and apparently in command of both his judgment and his sympathy.

In transmitting this resolution to the Colonial Office, Lord Mulgrave, after some introductory statements, said:

"Under these circumstances my Government are of opinion that a meeting of the leading men of the different Provinces should take place, in hope that, after full deliberation and discussion, some practical scheme may be devised to which the public attention may be directed in the future consideration of the subject."

To this the Duke of Newcastle replied that whether maritime or general union should be adopted, it should emanate from all the Provinces concerned; that no objection could be urged against a discussion by leading men; but an address proposed by each Government and adopted by the respective Legislatures would be the most satisfactory way of obtaining the opinion of the people. Not until the following year did Mr. Howe communicate with the other Provinces on this subject, when, among other things, he said:

"It was thought desirable by the Legislature of Nova Scotia that the question should be set at rest by such a formal discussion as would promote such a union, if there be any general desire to effect it, and save much time if there were not. . . .

"I am charged to invite from the Government of Canada a prompt consideration of the subject, and to respectfully request that you will advise me whether its members are prepared to discuss the question of Union, and whether, if delegates are appointed by the other Provinces, it will be convenient to have a meeting in some central place about the middle of September."

This was sent to the Secretaries of all the Colonies and delegates assembled at Quebec, where, after deliberating for some time, they decided that it would be inexpedient to further discuss the matter at that time.

The following are extracts from a speech delivered by Dr. Tupper during the session of 1864, before he introduced a resolution in the House of Assembly and carried it through the Legislature, proposing in a prompt, practical manner an

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attempt at uniting the Maritime Provinces. At that time there was no prospect of a larger union, but maritime union, it was believed, would be helpful when the time came in accomplishing the confederation of all the Colonies.

“I do not rise for the purpose of bringing before you the subject of the union of the Maritime Provinces, but rather to propose to you their reunion. It is well known that in the year 1763 the Province of Prince Edward Island was annexed to Nova Scotia, which therefore comprised not only that which now belongs to it, but also embraced within its limits the Province of New Brunswick, so that at that period, and down to 1771, when the Island of St. John or Prince Edward became a separate and distinct Government, these three Provinces formed one Government and one Province. In 1784, the Province of New Brunswick was separated from this Province, and from that period down to the present time we have formed three distinct Governments. Now the inquiry will naturally present itself to this House why, once united in a compact whole, that separation should have taken place. It may naturally be supposed that the reasons which involved that separation exist at the present day, and indicate the impropriety of again attempting the reunion. But I believe at the time the separation took place between the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and the latter became a separate and distinct Government, the reasons were distinctly set forth as arising from the great difficulty of inter-communication between the different sections of the country. . . .

“The House is also well aware that from time to time many reasons have exhibited themselves as pointing to the necessity of an Intercolonial Union. The subject is not a new one; it has engaged, before I had the honour of a seat in the House, the attention and deliberation of this body. It has been discussed in Canada, and, more or less, as a public question in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The proposal which was made and advocated with such singular ability by my hon. friend the leader of the present Government several years ago in this Legislature, was for a Legislative Union of the whole British American Provinces—that is, uniting the Canadas with these Maritime Provinces. On that occasion the whole subject of a union of the Colonies was so fully and ably discussed by the leading minds of both sides in this Legislature as to render it unnecessary that any great amount of attention or time should be occupied in going over the grounds which have been already so ably detailed. But difficulties have

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been found—and, I may say, insuperable difficulties—in grappling with that which so many of the ablest minds in this country have advocated in connection with this subject. The union of the Maritime Provinces with Canada has hitherto presented insurmountable obstacles.

“Whilst I believe that the union of the Maritime Provinces and Canada, of all British America, under one Government would be desirable if it were practicable—I believe that to be a question which far transcends in its difficulties the power of any human advocacy to accomplish—I am not insensible to the feeling that the time may not be far distant when events which are far more powerful than any human advocacy may place British America in a position to render a union into one compact whole, may not only render such a union practicable, but absolutely necessary. I need hardly tell you that contiguous to this there is a great Power, with whom the prevailing sentiment has long been—

“‘No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
For the whole boundless continent is ours.’

“This has long been the fundamental principle which has animated the republic of America.

“It must be apparent that if this war were to terminate to-morrow in peace, their normal condition is entirely changed since its commencement. Whilst they had comparatively no standing army formerly, they would come out of this war with a force of the greatest magnitude, and a body which it is difficult to dispose of satisfactorily after their attention has been turned to warlike pursuits. Assuming that the extinction of slavery were the result, and the reunion take place, it is not unlikely that those arms which are being fiercely directed in hostile conflict against each other would then be combined, with a view to the attainment of universal dominion on this continent. On the other hand, let the issue of this great struggle be the independence of the Southern States, and what will be the result? The Northern States will remain a great and formidable power, possessing an immense army, and we will find the sentiment of that country embittered by the feelings which have been exhibited by British North America, whilst she would be relieved from the difficulty that has hitherto prevented her from making any attempt to acquire these Colonies. Relieved from the Southern States, her attention would naturally be turned to this country, where the territory she had lost in the south might to some extent be made up—a country possessing extent of resources which would

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render it an acquisition of the greatest importance and restore the Northern States, if acquired, largely to the position they occupied before the separation occurred.

“The House will see that if the subject of a union with Canada were even in contemplation, no wiser step could take place than the Union of the Maritime Provinces in the first instance. Hostile as I believe the sentiment of Canada is at the present time to a union with the Maritime Provinces, the day is not far distant when it will be for the interest of both to unite, and Canada will, I have no doubt, seek in that union the solution of those difficulties that are now found inseparable in the government of the country. These Provinces, I am proud to know, would present a sufficient area, population and resources to exercise no small amount of influence in the scale between the two sections in which Canada is divided. They would find in the Maritime Provinces that which they seek for in vain in their own country—that is, a united people, divided by no sectional antagonism and embarrassed by no separate system of jurisprudence. They would find a country in which civil and religious liberty is enjoyed by all, and in which, I am happy to know, there exists no hostility between different races or religions. We would present a country to their view that might be united on a common bond of Union with Canada, a union which is essential to a solution of the difficulties that now divide the two great sections of that Province. This union, when required, will be, as I have said, more easy of accomplishment when these Maritime Provinces are united than at present.

“Looking, then, at the position which this question occupies, I think it is not unlikely that the time may not be remote when circumstances may accomplish that which, as I have said before, apart from the influence of powerful events, no human advocacy at the present time may be able to grapple with. But, in the meantime, public attention has been turned away rather from the greater, or union of British North America, to a union of the Maritime Provinces now urgently demanding our consideration. The attention of these Maritime Provinces, not of one party, not of the public men simply, but of the people of these Colonies, has been turned to the practical question whether the time has not arrived when they ought to consider the propriety of uniting under one Legislature and one Government. This question has been submitted to the British Government, and they have expressed their acquiescence in this matter being dealt with in such a manner as will meet the views and suit the public interests of the Provinces them-

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selves. Being, therefore, in an attitude to deal with it, the Government thought it proper to take action in the matter, and proposed to the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island that the subject should be brought under the purview of their Legislatures. I am happy to be able to say that the sentiment of the Government of New Brunswick entirely concurs with that of the Government of this Province, as I believe the sentiment of her public men and people generally coincides with that of our people; and I expect that at this very hour a resolution, couched in precisely the same terms as the one I am about to move, will be laid before the Legislatures of the adjoining Provinces for their consideration, and I trust with a satisfactory result. We have not heard definitely from the Government of Prince Edward Island. . . .

"It is unnecessary to detain the House with any lengthened remarks on the advantages of this union, but I may glance briefly at a few features that are worthy of passing comment. In the first place, it is known that the three Provinces, whose interests are identical, whose commerce is of the same description, whose climate and population and resources are of the same character, owing their fealty to the same head, governed by the same institutions, are in antagonism to each other on a number of questions upon which it is impossible such antagonism could exist without a very great injury to each other. We are divided by hostile tariffs, we have each our Customs houses erected as barriers against intercourse with each other. In the second place, it is known that our currencies are as diverse as it is possible they can be. Our Post Office affairs are regulated by distinct heads, and thus the very channels of free intercourse between the different Provinces are subject to different arrangements. Then there is the education in these Provinces. Who can doubt that if these Provinces are united it would give an impulse to the great question of education which must be attended with the most satisfactory results? It is known that all attempts to establish free trade between these Provinces have entirely failed for the want of this union. The most determined efforts were made by the late Government, as well as their predecessors, to establish the principle of free trade and commercial intercourse between the three Provinces as well as Canada, but an insuperable barrier at once presented itself. The British Government have decided that this principle cannot be carried out except between Provinces which possess a common tariff; and the efforts which were made by the late Government, in common with that of New Brunswick, for the purpose of accomplishing

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a uniform tariff, entirely failed for this reason, that the principle upon which tariffs are formed is to meet the existing necessities of the country. If you have two Governments you have two systems to meet, and what is the necessity of one may not be that of the other. The tariff requires to be proportioned to the expenditure of the country, and therefore when it was attempted to assimilate the tariffs it necessarily failed because the expenditure differed.

“ I need hardly tell the House that the credit of the country must be largely raised by the union. You would then have a country possessing an area, a population and a revenue that would attract attention abroad. Instead of being absorbed in the consideration of the world with Canada, these Provinces would be looked upon as a distinct country. The area of Nova Scotia is but eighteen thousand square miles, New Brunswick twenty-seven thousand, Prince Edward Island a little over two thousand, but united they would present an area of something like fifty thousand square miles, an extent of territory which, when presented to the eye of European statesmen who are familiar with the limited extent of many States in Europe, would attract a degree of consideration and attention which it is impossible for these Provinces, in their present isolated state, to command.”

CHAPTER XLIV.

CONFEDERATION IN NOVA SCOTIA—(Continued).

DR. TUPPER then gave other statistics on the subject. He showed that, united, the Provinces would present a population of over half a million, with a revenue of something like two and a quarter millions of dollars. He called attention to the returns of shipping belonging to these Provinces. The whole of these Provinces, with a rapidly increasing population of nearly seven hundred thousand, would possess over half a million tons of shipping. The exports would amount in the aggregate to eleven million three hundred and sixteen thousand four hundred and fifty-six dollars, while the imports would reach to seventeen million seven hundred and fifteen thousand seven hundred and sixteen dollars. He then continued:

“I have called attention to these figures to show that these Provinces would possess an area, population and resources that must command respect abroad, which it is impossible to expect whilst we remain disunited as at present. Every person knows that we are all borrowers in the money market of England, and the advantage of this union upon the credit of the whole cannot fail to be perceived by this House.

“I am satisfied that looking to emigration, to the elevation of public credit, to the elevation of public sentiment which must arise from enlarging the sphere of action, the interests of these Provinces require that they should be united under one Government and Legislature. It would tend to decrease the personal element in our political discussions, and to rest the claims of our public men more upon the advocacy of public questions than it is possible at the present moment whilst these Colonies are so limited in extent.”

The following is the resolution presented to the House by Dr. Tupper:

“*Resolved*,—That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Administrator of the Government, requesting him to appoint delegates (not to exceed five) to confer with dele-

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gates who may be appointed by the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the purpose of considering the subject of the union of the three Provinces under one Government and Legislature, such union to take effect when confirmed by the legislative enactments of the various Provinces interested, and approved by Her Majesty the Queen."

The following are Mr. Johnstone's views on the subject of the union of the Maritime Provinces:

"It is quite true, as the hon. member for Halifax has said, that I have taken a deep interest in this question of union. I may say that it has been among the first objects of my ambition and desire as a public man. This aspiration arose from the conviction that it was essentially necessary for the purpose of raising us up and giving us a position. I knew that, divided as we were, small in extent and in population, we must continue to occupy a very small position among the communities of peoples. Now, it was not from any ambitious motives that I deprecated our condition, not from any motive of power on behalf of the community with which I might be associated. I felt that the position we occupied was unfavourable to the elevation of the people, and that it was antagonistic to the development of anything like a large and generous and ennobled public sentiment. We cannot but feel that in a small community where public measures amount to matters of small general moment, where parties are brought into personal collision so closely, and personal interests and feelings are necessarily made prominent objects and motives of action, it is impossible that there can be that unanimity of feeling, that enlargement of view, that elevation of purpose which is so desirable in every country. Therefore it was that I, as an inhabitant of this country, the home of myself and my children after me, felt that it was my first duty to endeavour to create this enlargement and elevation of public sentiment by extending the sphere of political action, which could only be done by a union of the British North American Provinces, of the Queen's subjects on this side of the Atlantic. The same considerations which pressed upon us then, I feel, ought to be as potent in reference to the scheme now before us. Those who occupy New Brunswick and Nova Scotia cannot but see the injurious consequences naturally arising from their isolated and contracted position, and the necessity that presents itself of affording a larger field to the exercise of mind, intellect and intelligence, of removing from us the personalities that must

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necessarily disfigure political controversy in a small sphere. These considerations lie at the foundation of this question—everything that grows out of it is, to my mind, accessory to them. I have always felt that one of the most solemn inquiries that can engage a reflective mind, who takes an interest in the welfare of his country, is the future of British North America. What is it to be—how is it to be moulded? This is a question which we should regard not as Nova Scotians merely, but as British subjects. At the present moment it is impossible to imagine any political communities placed in circumstances more favourable for immediate happiness and comfort than, in a limited view and under certain restrictions, the Provinces of British North America. We have perfect freedom in almost every respect, civil and religious—the privileges, without the perils or responsibilities of nationalities to bear; but that cannot be the case always. The time must come when we must assume a different attitude, and be able to fill a broader and larger sphere. There has been always before us the Republic of America in all its colossal proportions, and it would seem by the law of attraction the lesser must be drawn to the greater; but that has not met the views and desires of those who really love the British constitution, and glory in her past history, and would, if possible, send down to posterity the name, the honour, the privileges and institutions of Britain in the New World. But what is it now that gives such a colour to all our sentiments? What is it that separates us in form of speech, or habit, or desire, from our neighbours in the Republic? Every person knows that there is a difference—we feel it ourselves. We are almost as republican, I might say, in all our institutions. Our self-government is almost as complete as theirs, and the fact that our Governor is appointed for us instead of by us is only a small element of distinction when we reflect that the Lieutenant-Governor has less personal power than the elective head of a republican State. What is it, then, that creates this marked distinction between ourselves and the neighbouring States? It is the sentiment we breathe—the influence that we have derived from our connection with the parent State. The influence of monarchical institutions has permeated through us and given a marked colour to all our sentiments. It is, however, a distinction that exists in sentiment, and not one that exists in any material or real form. But is this sentiment to be perpetuated? Can it be expected to last in the presence of strong material influences that are continually operating? Are we at last to be absorbed into a pure—and I would like to say—unmitigated republican-

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ism—or remain animated by all the feelings that republicans enjoy with the distinctions that are created by those sentiments that exist in older countries where monarchical and aristocratic institutions obtain? I feel upon this subject very strongly, and possibly I am diverted from the subject more immediately before us; but still it lies in our path and we cannot help looking at it. In early life I held strong democratic sentiments—for, strange to say, though I have been a leading Tory in Nova Scotia, I was in my youth actuated by the Whig principles of English statesmen. I was early perhaps captivated, as many young men are, with the illusions of a republic—of a republic that was working out the great problem they had taken in hand; but reflection and observation have gradually sobered down this sentiment, and I feel that, however valuable a republic may be for giving energy to individual action, it is wanting in that power of elevation, of refinement, of enlargement and nobility of sentiment, and responsibility of action which can alone raise nations to that high-toned condition which we desire to see, and our minds figure before us, as the object of our aspirations. I trust that that portion of this continent over which the British flag is waving will continue to possess perfect freedom of action with all the elevation and refinement which proceed from connection with monarchical and aristocratic institutions. Now I have diverged from the subject under consideration in expressing these opinions, and have obviously touched a point to which no answer can be given, for I take it for granted that the future of the British American Provinces is at this moment, and must be, shrouded in uncertainty; but let us do the duty that lies before us—‘sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.’ It is for us to see what is the duty of Nova Scotia at the present moment.

“Why, when that question comes before my mind at any time I have turned away from it as so clear as to require little consideration in order to come to a conclusion. Can it be the duty of these Provinces to remain separated, when by union they can lay the elements of an enlarged and improved condition, of future progress and elevation?”

Mr. Johnstone then went on to point out the beneficial results that would proceed from union. Then the Provinces would present an extent of territory and population that would give them a status abroad. He alluded to the advantages that would arise as regards jurisprudence, commerce, etc. He then concluded as follows:

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"It is quite correct that my scheme originally was for a union of the whole of the British American Provinces. It seems, however, there are such difficulties in the way of this greater union as to render it impracticable for the present. I look at a union of the Lower Provinces as a step toward the larger one. I have never favoured a union of the Provinces by way of federation, for it did not appear to tend to the great object we had in view. What we want is to produce a real unity—make the parts that are now separate a homogeneous whole—give them a oneness of existence and of purpose. Looking, then, at the position in which we stand, and feeling we have not reached the point at which a union of the whole of these Provinces could be effected, I believe that the step which is now proposed is one of a beneficial character. If these British Provinces can be united in a legislative union, if their interests can be made to run together, I think an important step will have been taken for the improvement and progress of our country, and towards the realization of that larger union which has always been the object of my aspirations. It does not appear to me that there will be much difficulty found in bringing this union about if there is an earnest desire to promote it on the part of the persons that are parties to it. I would wish to see such a union that would unite all the parts into a homogeneous whole, and make a people worthy of the source from which they sprung, and perpetuate to all time to come the character, name, honour and institutions of that great country of which we are proud to form a part."

The conference met at Charlottetown, P.E.I., on the 1st of September. Before it met, the Governors of the Maritime Provinces received a despatch from the Governor-General, inquiring whether the Charlottetown convention would receive a deputation from the Canadian Government, who wished to express their views on the larger union. Favourable replies were given to this inquiry, and the delegates from Canada were cordially received. But little was done in the matter of maritime union. The conference adjourned, to meet at Quebec on the 10th of October.

Before the meeting at Prince Edward Island took place, a large company from Canada visited the Maritime Provinces, consisting of members of Parliament, newspaper men and other citizens interested in Confederation. At this time business and social relations between Nova Scotia (especially the

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middle and western sections of it) and the United States were strong and cordial. But Canada was as a foreign country, of which little was known and in which there was consequently little interest. If the mooted question was to be one of heart as well as head, it was necessary to begin with the alphabet. The conditions called for just such preliminary work as that undertaken by the visitors from the west. Festivities followed their coming to New Brunswick. Cordiality and enthusiasm were the result. A large deputation from Halifax, among whom were Dr. Tupper, the Premier of the Province, and the Hon. Joseph Howe, met them at Windsor, where they arrived from St. John by boat. In Halifax, as in St. John, the welcome was large and sympathetic. Dinners and other festivities followed. Among the guests was D'Arcy McGee, a member of the Canadian Cabinet.

At a dinner given to the visitors, the Provincial Secretary, Dr. Tupper, Joseph Howe and D'Arcy McGee were among the speakers. Mr. Howe said:

"I have never thanked God that I was a Nova Scotian but I looked across beyond our narrow confines at the great territory which the Almighty has given the sons of Great Britain on this continent, and studied, as my old father before me did, how it could be consolidated, how it could be made stronger and more vigorous, with the old flag hovering over it. This was the long labour of my youth and manhood, and it gives me great pleasure to see signs, that what was the desire of my boyhood is likely to be realized before I die. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than the presence amongst us of our French-Canadian friends on this occasion.

"With the inexhaustible fisheries which are around us, with the wide fields of navigation which our people enjoy, and yourselves may yet enjoy, what a country this might be! And why should it not be made great by union? Is it because some of us wish to live and die in our insignificance? God forbid."

Everywhere there were ground swells and signs of movement and national changes. The civil war in the United States was nearing its end. The reciprocity treaty gave but little hope of extending beyond 1866, the date at which it would expire.

In 1856, William H. Seward, the principal minister in

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Lincoln's Government, said: "All the British Provinces would come into the American Union."

Charles Sumner, with a party of friends, had a sail up the St. Lawrence. He prophesied growth and independence under British rule.

After the action in the Nova Scotia Legislature in favour of maritime union, and before the meeting at Charlottetown, wearied with prolonged conflict, Canada resolved to make a desperate effort to extricate herself from a tangle of difficulties which hindered all progress. The Government, being outvoted, made overtures to George Brown, leader of the Opposition. At that time Mr. Brown gave the following as his judgment of Canadian affairs:

"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 difficulty has gone on increasing every year. Upper Canada has four hundred thousand people unrepresented in her Legislature."*

Mr. Brown became a member of a Coalition Government, and the following is a deliverance of the Cabinet:

"The Government are prepared to state that immediately after prorogation they will address themselves in the most earnest manner to the negotiations for a confederation of all the North American Provinces, and that, waiting a successful issue to such negotiations, they are prepared to pledge themselves to legislation during the next session of Parliament for the purpose of remedying existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle of uniting Canada, also coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be hereafter incorporated into the Canadian system. And that for the purpose of carrying on the negotiations and settling the details of the proposed legislation, a Royal Commission shall be issued, to be composed of the members of the Government, and three members of the Opposition, of whom Mr. Brown shall be one; and the Government to give all the influence of the administration to secure to the said

*The act of union gave equal representation to Quebec and Ontario. The population of Ontario at this time exceeded that of Quebec by 400,000.

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Commission the means of advancing the great end in view. That, subject to the House permitting the Government to carry through the public business, no dissolution of Parliament shall take place; but the administration will again meet the present House.

"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 to England, to secure the assent which is beyond the control of our Legislature, to such a measure as will enable all British North America to be united under a general Legislature, based upon the federal principles."

The delegates appointed by the Maritime Legislatures assembled at Charlottetown on the 1st of September. They were: From Nova Scotia, the Hon. Charles Tupper (Premier), Hon. A. G. Archibald, M.P.P., Hon. Jonathan McCully, M.L.C., Hon. Robert Barry Dickey, M.L.C., Hon. W. A. Henry, M.P.P. (Attorney-General); from New Brunswick, Hon. S. L. Tilley, M.P.P. (Provincial Secretary), Hon. John M. Johnston, M.P.P. (Attorney-General), Hon. John H. Gray, M.P.P., Hon. Edward B. Chandler, M.L.C., Hon. W. H. Steeves, M.L.C.; from Prince Edward Island, Hon. Colonel Gray, M.P.P. (President of the Executive Council), Hon. Edward Palmer, M.L.C. (Attorney-General), Hon. W. J. Pope, M.P.P. (Colonial Secretary), Hon. George Coles, M.P.P., Hon. A. A. McDonald, M.L.C.

Canada sent Hon. John A. Macdonald, M.P.P. (Attorney-General of Upper Canada), Hon. George Brown, M.P.P. (President of the Executive Council), Hon. Alexander T. Galt, M.P.P. (Minister of Finance), Hon. George E. Cartier, M.P.P. (Attorney-General of Lower Canada), Hon. Hector L. Langevin, M.P.P. (Solicitor-General for Lower Canada), Hon. William Macdougall (Provincial Secretary), Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, M.P.P. (Minister of Agriculture).

The deliberations of this body continued for a number of days, resulting in the general sentiment being in favour of the

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larger union, which had been earnestly desired by the delegates from Canada. An adjournment was made to October 10th at Quebec, to discuss the union of all the Provinces.

At Charlottetown the serious work of union was enlivened and embellished by a ball and banquet, at which a number of the delegates gave utterance to their convictions and sympathies respecting the matter under discussion. The Hon. Dr. Tupper said:

"I feel assured that all will endorse the sentiment that it is our duty and interest to cement the Colonies together by every tie that can add to their greatness. A union of the North American Provinces would elevate their position, consolidate their influence, and advance their interests; and at the same time continue their fealty to their Mother Country and their Queen, which fealty is the glory of us all. The British-American statesman who does not feel it his duty to do all in his power to unite, politically, socially and commercially, the British Provinces, is unworthy of his position, and is unequal to the task committed to him."

The delegates then went to Halifax by steamer, where they arrived on the 10th of September. In the dining hall of the Halifax Hotel, the Nova Scotia delegates gave the visitors a sumptuous banquet, at which the Hon. Charles Tupper, Provincial Secretary, then Premier, occupied the chair. The Admiral of the North America Fleet, Sir James Hope, K.C.B., Sir Richard Graves Macdonald (Lieutenant-Governor), the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, the President of the Legislative Council and a number of members of the Legislature, besides many prominent persons connected with the public and learned institutions of the Province, were present.

The Hon. Charles Tupper, as chairman, said:

"I have had the pride and the satisfaction on the present occasion of asking my fellow-citizens in Halifax to testify their appreciation of the visit of so many distinguished public men from all these Provinces. I am, perhaps, safe in saying that no more momentous gathering of public men has ever taken place in these Provinces, whether regarded as comprising the ablest men, not only of one party, but of both the great parties into which all the Colonies have been divided."

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Through all the speeches at this dinner there was a note of united sentiment and the enthusiastic purpose of accomplishing the federal union of all the Provinces. Occasionally there were apt sayings and flashes of intellect and humour. Sir George E. Cartier said:

“Nor may we lose sight of this fact, that though the Maritime Provinces occupy a seaboard position, yet if they do not unite with us, they must be for all time to come only a mere strip of seashore. We have too much love for you, I can assure you, and at the same time consideration for yourselves, to allow any such thing. It is now within our power to form a vigorous confederation, leaving to the local governments the power of dealing with their own local matters. Do not be afraid of us, do not let us go back with all our offers of no avail, do not tell us as it was said formerly of others, ‘Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.’ Let me assure you that the promises we make, are made in all sincerity and good faith. In urging union upon you, we believe we are doing that which will be for your happiness and prosperity.”

The Hon. J. A. Macdonald said:

“The question of Colonial union is one of such magnitude that it dwarfs every other question on this portion of the continent. It absorbs every idea as far as I am concerned. For twenty long years I have been dragging myself through the dreary waste of Colonial politics. I thought there was no end, nothing worthy of ambition, but now I see something which is well worthy of all that I have suffered in the cause of my little country. This question has now assumed a position that demands and commands the attention of all the Colonies of British America. In the conference we have had we have been united as one man. There was no difference of feeling—no sectional prejudice or selfishness exhibited by any one. We all approached the subject feeling its importance—feeling that in our hands were the destinies of a nation, and great would be our sin and shame if any different motives had intervened to prevent us carrying out the noble object of founding a great British monarchy in connection with the British Empire and under the British Queen.”

Fredericton and St. John were also visited, and at both places the good fellowship evident at Halifax continued to abound. At

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these gatherings was first seen the budding of warm Canadian sympathy and sentiment which, for forty-five years, has been increasing, and is now a mighty force, uniting and binding together the seven millions of this great Dominion, joining them in an intelligent, fervid loyalty as a great dependency, to the Empire of Great Britain.

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CHAPTER XLV.

THE CONFERENCE AT QUEBEC.

AFTER the adjournment of the conference at Charlottetown, the Governments of the respective Provinces appointed delegates to meet at Quebec, to further consider the matter of union. This body was composed of the following members, whose first meeting was held on the 10th of October, in the Quebec Parliament buildings.

CANADA.—Sir Etienne P. Taché, Premier; Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Attorney-General, West; Hon. G. E. Cartier, Attorney-General, East; Hon. Wm. Macdougall, Provincial Secretary; Hon. George Brown, President of the Executive Council; Hon. A. T. Galt, Financial Minister; Hon. A. Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General; Hon. Hector Langevin, Solicitor-General, East; Hon. James Cockburn, Solicitor-General, West; Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, Minister of Agriculture; Hon. J. C. Chapais, Commissioner of Public Works.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Hon. Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary; Hon. W. A. Henry, Attorney-General; Hon. R. B. Dickey, Hon. Jonathan McCully, Hon. A. G. Archibald.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—Hon. S. L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary; Hon. John M. Johnson, Attorney-General; Hon. Peter Mitchell, Hon. Charles Fisher, Hon. Edward Chandler, Hon. W. H. Steeves, Hon. John H. Gray.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Hon. F. B. T. Carter, Speaker of the House of Assembly; Hon. Ambrose Shea.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—Hon. Col. Gray, Premier; Hon. Edward Palmer, Attorney-General; Hon. W. H. Pope, Provincial Secretary; Hon. George Coles, Hon. T. Heath Haviland, Hon. Edward Whalen, Hon. A. A. McDonald.

Sir George E. Cartier was elected chairman. The Provincial Secretaries were elected honorary secretaries, and Major

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Hewitt Bernard was appointed executive secretary. Social intercourse accompanied the deliberations of the convention. Balls, drawing-room gaieties, dinners and other functions contributed to the rising tide of sentiment for Confederation. At a dinner given by the Board of Trade, Dr. Tupper, in replying for the Nova Scotia delegates, said:

"The magnitude of the question which has called the delegates from the Maritime Provinces to this meeting is one which actually appals me to contemplate, when I reflect that from the time when the immortal Wolfe decided on the Plains of Abraham the destiny of British America, to the present, no event has exceeded in importance or magnitude the one which is now taking place in this ancient and famous city. . . .

"You can readily understand how important it is that Canada should obtain means of access to the ocean, not only for five months, but for twelve months of the year—means of communication, not only with the ocean, but with the parent State. Why is it that the Intercolonial Railway is not a fact? It is because, being divided, that which is the common interest of these Colonies has been neglected; and when it is understood that the construction of the work is going to give Canada that which is so essential to her, its importance will be understood, not only in connection with your political greatness, but also in connection with your commercial interests, as affording increased means of communication with the Lower Provinces. For the inexhaustible resources of the great West will flow down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, and from there to the magnificent harbours of Halifax and St. John, open at all seasons of the year."

The work of the convention came to an end at Quebec on the 27th of October. A number of the delegates then visited Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, St. Catharines, Clifton and Niagara.

The Nova Scotia delegates returned from Quebec and lectured on Confederation at various places, explaining and commending the Quebec scheme.

At this time a feeling of fraternity had spread over all the Provinces. Social intercourse, mingled with the business of giving form and direction to Confederation, had awakened a strong sentiment of aspiration and of kinship. From the day that the Provincial Secretary introduced into the Nova Scotia

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Legislature a resolution for maritime union, until the delegates at Quebec left for their homes, a wonderful unanimity had prevailed. No ominous cloud appeared on the horizon. But after the delegates, full of assurance and buoyant with hope, gave to Halifax audiences the results of the Quebec conference, all of which had been echoed by the press of both political parties, there was seen in Halifax a little black cloud, not larger than the one discerned by Elijah when he looked from the heights of Carmel at the sky over the Mediterranean Sea.

Who swung open the gates of the cave and gave Nova Scotia the whirlwind of anti-Confederation? is a question often asked, but one not yet answered. As the Hon. Joseph Howe was the superintendent of the storm, it has been assumed that he was its creator, but facts do not warrant this assumption.

The prime inspiration and promotion of this movement in its initial stage can be traced to a Halifax merchant, prosperous and honest in his large, successful business career, from beginning to end. No one acquainted with this high-minded gentleman would attribute to him, in the part he took in the anti-Confederation movement, any motives other than those of fairness and honesty. He was a keen, clever financier. In the proposed Confederation, he saw lasting disadvantage and injury to the Maritime Provinces, especially to his native land, Nova Scotia. Other business men had arrived at the same conclusion. Their views were compared and discussed in private. While it was true that A. G. Archibald, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, and the Hon. Jonathan McCully, the leader of the same party in the Legislative Council, had heartily co-operated with the other delegates in carrying union to its then present stage, yet it became known that the Hon. William Annand, the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, was not in favour of the movement.

At this point a few quotations from the journal of the Hon. W. J. Stairs will give some light on the inquiry. He says:

"In the fall of 1864, certain delegates from the governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island met at Charlottetown to discuss a union of the Maritime Provinces. They were joined by a delegation from Canada, and the discussion of the union of the Maritime Provinces was laid aside to take up gratuitously the discussion of the Confedera-

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tion of the British North American Provinces. The united delegates adjourned to Halifax, where they were publicly entertained, and public sentiment favoured the idea of discussing the principle more seriously. This led to a meeting for the purpose, at Quebec, which is known as the Quebec Convention; and the resolutions then passed are known as the Quebec Scheme. When the Nova Scotia delegates, Dr. Tupper, Adams G. Archibald, Jonathan McCully, W. A. Henry and Barry Dickey, returned to Nova Scotia, they, mistaking public opinion and their position toward the public, were so elated with their share of the 'scheme,' that they undertook to pronounce for Nova Scotia her approval of Confederation. Dr. Tupper, as leader of the Government party, and Adams G. Archibald and Jonathan McCully, as leaders of the Opposition and the old Liberal party, each undertook to decide for those whom they fancied they could lead. The delegates, through their friends, called a meeting at Temperance Hall, where they spent the evening in giving what they considered very conclusive arguments for adopting Confederation, the three speakers speaking in succession, and no word being uttered by those who claimed to be 'Let Alones.' A good deal of dissatisfaction was expressed at the imperious manner of the delegates. They knew of no men who would oppose them. Mr. Annand was believed to be of different views, but the *Morning Chronicle* (his paper) was in the hands of Mr. McCully (as editor).

"The *Citizen*, a new paper, edited by Édward McDonald and Garvie, was the only newspaper in town that wrote against Confederation.

"Under the leadership of Andrew Uniacke, the Opposition was organized, and a night at Temperance Hall was named by the Mayor to give the Opposition an opportunity to state their case. At a preliminary meeting, it was urged that the Opposition speakers should be Mr. Uniacke, myself, Alfred G. Jones, Mr. Miller and Mr. Annand.

"I prepared myself as well as I could with the scant materials I could gather, to show that Canadian wants with a Canadian tariff, compared with Nova Scotia wants and a Nova Scotia tariff, would, under Confederation, result disastrously to Nova Scotia. The greater, who were badly off, would rule the lesser, who were well off. . . . I felt that we five men that night upon the platform were the pivot upon which hung the destiny of Nova Scotia. If we put our case forcibly and clearly the public would be instructed, and have time to consider the yea and the nay of the great question. . . . A week after, followed an evening of joint discussion between

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the confederates and anti-confederates, Edward McDonald joining the anti-confederate speakers, and John Tobin, Peter Lynch and Benjamin Wier joining the confederates."

This movement, begun in the autumn of 1864, went on until 1867, when Confederation was adopted by the Provinces, and the Quebec scheme, modified, passed the British Parliament in the form of "The British North America Act." In these two and a half years, conditions and circumstances favoured the spread of the opposition to the union.

In the session of the Nova Scotia Legislature of 1865, Dr. Tupper carried his school bill, based on compulsory assessment. A hatred of taxation was deep in the hearts of many people in the Province. This broke out in resistance to the introduction and operation of the law. Litigation and the burning of school-houses were indications of the offensiveness of the law to many people in various parts of the Province. Dr. Tupper was the author of this new Act, and Dr. Tupper was the prime leader in Confederation. The blending of the two subjects became fruitful in producing hostility to the union scheme. In politicians, human nature was the same at the time of the anti-Confederation war as it is at this day. The Liberal party, both the leaders and the rank and file, could not forget the victory of 1863, in which the laurels were placed upon the brow of the Amherst physician. Mr. Archibald, Mr. McCully and others, it is true, disengaged themselves from such prejudices and worked hard and honestly, hand-in-hand with Dr. Tupper, to bring about the union of all the Colonies. This great undertaking, in which they were playing an important part, engaged their talents and sympathies. This was not the case with others—Mr. William Annand, for instance, who from 1836 had fought the battles of the Liberal party. The Province was strewn with inflammable material—hatred of the school bill and political chagrin.

But it must not be assumed that all the opposers of the projected union were swayed by blind passion merely. It should not be taken for granted that many of them engaged in this undertaking with the enlightened consciousness that they were in active opposition to this great measure undoubtedly in the best interests of the country. Mixed motives, the bad ones

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concealed, the good ones in sight, have in all ages swayed and governed men, some of them good and wise men.

Concurrently with the passage of the school bill in Nova Scotia, the Confederation plan, having been submitted to the people at the polls in New Brunswick, was defeated by an overwhelming majority. This gave courage and assurance to the anti-confederates.

To learn the beginning of the action taken by Mr. Howe in the anti-union crusade is a matter of much importance. After his defeat in 1863, he did not seek another constituency. He was not, therefore, in the Local House at the time of the passage of the school bill and the measure to unite the Maritime Provinces. He retained the position of Imperial Fishery Commissioner held by him during the session of 1863. This removed him from the political arena. The ships of war on the station were put at his service in visiting the United States and important ports in the Provinces by the sea, which afforded him congenial companionship in his new occupation. It gave him social and business intercourse with men of talent and culture. Thus released from the worries of provincial politics, he was passing his time in useful labours.

He was absent from the conference both at Charlottetown and Quebec. His voice was not heard either in the councils of the provincial delegates or in the popular assemblies where the question of union was discussed. His absence was a misfortune to the country, and no doubt unsatisfactory, and perhaps painful to himself. Who was to blame for this? In this connection, how was he treated by Dr. Tupper? It has been stated in an earlier part of this history that in August, 1864, before the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences assembled, Dr. Tupper included Mr. Howe among the friends who met the visitors from Ontario and Quebec at Windsor. He was also included in the invitations to festivities in the city, held in honour of these distinguished visitors. At a dinner on this occasion, he expressed his interest in the Confederation undertaking, and hoped he would see it accomplished before he died.

Dr. Tupper, who, be it borne in mind, was Premier of Nova Scotia at the time, invited him, through the Governor-in-Council, to be one of the delegates to Charlottetown, as appears in the following letter:

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"I have the pleasure of informing you that your name has this morning been submitted by the Executive Council to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, as one of the delegates to the conference upon the union of the Maritime Provinces; and I am instructed by His Excellency to inquire if you will accept that office and attend the meeting of delegates at Charlottetown, September 1st."

To this Mr. Howe replied:

"I am sorry for many reasons to be compelled to decline participation in the conference at Charlottetown. The season is so far advanced that I find that my summer's work would be so seriously deranged by my visit to Prince Edward Island, that without permission from the Foreign Office, I would scarcely be justified in consulting my own feelings at the expense of the public service. I shall be home in October, and will be very happy to co-operate in carrying out any measure upon which the conference shall agree."

As Mr. Howe had withdrawn from political life and was in the Imperial service, a man less broad, less generous than Dr. Tupper would have omitted him in this undertaking. But largeness of heart, innate nobility of spirit and appreciation of past services of great men, which have always characterized Sir Charles Tupper, are here seen in his treatment of the Hon. Joseph Howe. Delicate attentions to him at the time of receiving the delegation from Canada, including him in welcoming them and giving him a prominent place in their entertainment in Halifax, together with this invitation to Charlottetown, make it clear beyond a doubt that Dr. Tupper planned to open the way for Mr. Howe to take a leading part in the work of uniting the Colonies.

Nor can it be doubted that Mr. Howe himself saw that the movement would likely go beyond the union of the Maritime Provinces. It was then a matter of public knowledge that the Government of Canada had asked permission to send a deputation to Charlottetown to press the matter of a general union, and that the Governments of the Provinces by the sea had given a favourable reply to this inquiry. No one understood better than Mr. Howe the significance of the visit of the Canadian politicians and journalists to the Maritime Provinces. Mr. Howe ever had difficulty in co-operative labours, but when

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it came to the matter of subordinating himself to another in a work like the proposed union of the Colonies, there was in him to this an innate, unconquerable repugnance. At a later stage of the union movement, he asked of his friend, A. G. Archibald, "What part are you going to take in this Confederation undertaking?" "I must do what I can to help it along, and I do not see how you can do otherwise," was Mr. Archibald's reply. This brought to light what was in Mr. Howe's heart—"I will not play second fiddle to that d—d Tupper."

One cannot but admire this childish frankness, and wonder at such weakness associated with Howe's great and brilliant talents.

The following account by Dr. George Johnson shows that Mr. Howe left nothing undone to detach Mr. Archibald from the confederates:

"My next recollection of intercourse with Mr. Howe was at the inception of the Confederation fight, when Mr. Howe opened his batteries on Adams Archibald at a private interview between the two statesmen. Both Archibald and Howe desired that some third person should be present, and I was selected. It occupied about an hour, Howe seeking to withdraw Archibald from the coalition with Tupper he had either in contemplation or had just cemented. Howe was at his best, and used all his powers—argument, persuasion, personal appeal, stinging fulmination, soft lover-like appeal, threats. I remember when Howe in his excitement, standing up appealing to Archibald, as his (Howe's) son in the political party faith, Archibald sat at the table with his head bowed between his hands as though bending beneath the storm, and, looking over at me, made a grimace and gave me an expressive wink. Archibald, with all his suavity, had as granite a will as any of his name, though once I saw him at Truro thoroughly 'knocked out' by a speech from Howe. He was as lame in his reply speech as the last beaten pugilist in limb."

About the same time, meeting an old friend, the Hon. M. H. Goudge, now President of the Nova Scotia Legislative Council, from a country town, Mr. Howe said to him: "I can neither eat nor sleep on account of this Confederation scheme." Weakness at this period bound Howe's strength. He was in a perdition of his own making. He fought a losing battle in the bottomless pit of an unconquerable egoism. To remain neutral

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was impossible. He must take sides. After the joint meeting in Temperance Hall, referred to by the Hon. W. J. Stairs, Mr. Howe made his choice. He was at this first meeting, but did not speak. A remark made to Mr. A. G. Jones after the meeting indicated that his mind was not yet fully made up. "You have given them something to think about," was all he said. As soon as the battle began, Dr. Tupper, as ever, was found at the front in the blaze and smoke of the firing-line. This helped drive Mr. Howe to the opposite side, where consistency forbade him to appear.

Two agents were essential to give character, force and success to the anti-confederate movement—the Hon. Joseph Howe and the Hon. William Annand. Without the tongue of the former and the journal of the latter, anti-Confederation would have perished at its birth. Unfortunately for the country these two forces were directed against union. Mr. Annand took the *Morning Chronicle* out of the hands of Jonathan McCully, who had used it to help the union work; and a series of editorial articles immediately followed, under the caption of "The Botheration Scheme," and have ever since been known as "The Botheration Articles," which they have been in a sense different from that intended at first by the use of the word. The paternity of the articles was at once known. Mr. Howe had taken up his facile pen in the advocacy of anti-Confederation. No clearer prophecy of stirring times could have been made.

CHAPTER XLVI.

SHARP CONFLICT BETWEEN PARTIES.

A BACKWARD glance shows that no practical opposition to the union of the Provinces had been known before the autumn of 1864. Mr. Johnstone had advocated Confederation in the Legislative Council as early as 1838. In 1854, by a powerful address in the Assembly, he reviewed its history and pressed it upon the attention of the House and the country. William Young spoke in its favour. Mr. Howe admitted its importance, but put Imperial Confederation in its stead. In 1860, Dr. Tupper lectured on the subject in St. John, Carleton, Amherst, Truro, Halifax and Horton. Mr. Howe submitted a resolution to the House favouring Confederation in 1861, and delegates were sent from all the Provinces to consider the matter at Quebec in the following year. D'Arcy McGee gave a popular lecture on Confederation at Halifax in Temperance Hall in 1863, and received a vote of thanks for so expressing his views, moved by the Hon. Joseph Howe, and seconded by the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, both of whom concurred in the sentiments expressed by the lecturer.

Before the meeting of the Charlottetown Conference, some scores of delegates from Canada came to the Maritime Provinces, were entertained at St. John and Halifax, and much was done by social intercourse and festivities to forward the undertaking of confederating the Provinces. The decision of the Charlottetown convention to adjourn to Quebec to consider the larger union, and the coming of the delegates to Halifax and their views and purpose concerning Confederation publicly expressed, were received with favour by the people. The report given by the Nova Scotia delegates of the action of the Quebec Conference called forth the first decided expression of opposition to Confederation, except some objections by the *Citizen*, a Halifax paper. At this juncture the partisan political demon

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got into an alliance with the honest sentiments of a number of Halifax merchants. The conviction of the Hon. W. J. Stairs and others was that the projected union would be detrimental in a high degree to the banking, the trade and commerce of Nova Scotia. The expression of these views called forth opposition to the union from another class. Mr. Stairs had never been and never became an extreme politician. In proof of this may be adduced the fact that as soon as he saw that opposition to Confederation was a failure, he changed, and he and his son, John F. Stairs, did all in their power to carry it into successful operation. But disappointed politicians looked through another medium. The Liberal party had suffered a humiliating defeat in 1863. The aggressive and progressive course pursued by Dr. Tupper after this defeat created sullenness in the hearts of hot partisans. William Annand, the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, may, without gainsaying, be regarded as the leader of this party. He and those of like spirit were prepared to respond to the opposition expressed by the Halifax merchants.

There were three elements in the first meeting held in Temperance Hall—the merchants who feared the financial results of Confederation; those who were in favour of union, but who objected strongly to the terms of the “Quebec scheme”; and the blind, incorrigible, partisan opposers. In this way the work of opposition had its beginning.

Conditions and circumstances in 1865 tended to discourage the confederates and give inspiration and hope to anti-confederates. In New Brunswick a verdict was asked from the people. The union Government, led by Mr. Tilley, was defeated, and Albert Smith, afterwards Sir Albert, came in at the head of an anti-confederate House.

The *Toronto Globe*, edited by George Brown, who, at the time, was a member of the Canadian Cabinet, stated in 1865:

“It is announced that Ministers do not propose during the present session to recommend to Parliament any further action on the subject of Confederation. We have done all we can to forward Confederation until the assent of the Maritime Provinces, or of some of them at least, has been obtained. We have adopted the scheme, and can do no more now than give it our good wishes.”

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In the Queen's speech in proroguing Parliament, July 6th, 1865, it is said:

"Her Majesty regrets that the conferences and communications by Her Majesty's North American Colonies on the subject of the union of those Provinces in Confederation have not yet led to a satisfactory result. Such a union would afford additional strength to these Provinces and give facilities for many internal improvements."

On the 24th of March, 1865, the British Government presented to both Houses of Parliament their correspondence with Viscount Monck, Governor-General of Canada. The Government heartily approved of the plan for the Confederation of the Provinces, both in the interests of the Colonies themselves and of the Empire. They knew that the subject had not been received as cordially in the Maritime Provinces as in Canada, but hoped that further consideration would lead the Maritime Provinces to adopt the measure.

The foregoing recital of facts indicates that dark clouds were lying around the horizon of Confederation in 1865. It is no matter of wonder that the optimism even of Dr. Tupper should be depressed with this view of the future. It is equally clear that it heartened, inspired and united the anti-confederates in their heavy undertaking. They walked the streets with buoyant steps and beaming faces. Hope, courage and purpose sprang up everywhere. The school bill, enacted and coming into operation in 1865, did good work in many places for the anti-confederate movement. Dr. Tupper had forced upon the country hated direct taxation. He was now the chief agent in betraying and selling his country.

As union with Canada could not take place without New Brunswick, Dr. Tupper, in 1865, proposed a resolution in the Nova Scotia Legislature in favour of legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, and in doing so, made a strong speech in favour of the Quebec scheme.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-five was thus a year of gloom for Confederation, but hope and purpose were still alive. Dr. Tupper and W. A. Henry went on a delegation to England.

In the early months of 1836, Dr. Tupper had matured a policy. It was the plan to go ahead. At that time he saw that, unless the Confederation of the Provinces was perfected

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before the election of 1867, political power would be transferred to Joseph Howe and William Annand. He learned from trustworthy sources of the reaction in New Brunswick, and that Mr. Tilley would soon be returned to power. The Legislative Council of that Province, by a vote of fourteen in favour of union and five against, declared the Quebec plan "an object highly to be desired, essential to the future prosperity and influence of the Provinces, and calculated alike to strengthen and perpetuate the ties which bind them to the Mother Country." This was a rift in the cloud that overspread the black sky.

On the 7th of September, 1865, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia made public the policy of his administration by publishing his despatch to the Governor-General:

"In reference to the course which your Lordship suggests for the purpose of giving effect to the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, viz., to submit to the several Legislatures the project of the conference, I am in a position to state that this Government will take similar steps with those proposed to be taken in Canada, that is to say, when the papers of correspondence connected with the subject shall be laid before the Parliament which I have summoned to meet on the 9th of February, an address to Her Majesty by the leader of the Government, praying Her Majesty to direct steps to be taken for passing an Act of the Imperial Parliament to unite the Provinces of British North America, the resolution of the Quebec Conference will be suggested as a basis of this union, to be carried out in such a manner as may be judged by Her Majesty's Government to be compatible with the joint interests of the Crown and of those portions of the British Empire."

Dr. Tupper and W. A. Henry were then on the Atlantic on their return as delegates to the British Government. They arrived five days after this publication. They had had conferences with the Colonial Secretary. Mr. Howe was also in England at the time. This was due notice both to the friends and foes of union that the battle would be renewed in the Legislature in the coming session. To the anti-confederates, it was a flash and a bolt from the sky then blue all around, from the zenith to the horizon. The policy of the anti-confederates now was to defeat the measure in the Legislature.

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Their press became valiant for the principles of responsible government and for rights inalienable. Let the Government of Nova Scotia treat this Province as the Government of New Brunswick treated that Province—submit the matter of Confederation to the people and let them be the judges. Let the country be flooded with petition forms making this demand. It was so flooded, and a deluge of these printed prayers returned to the House of Assembly. The question was, Will the members dare to vote for Confederation when their constituencies are protesting against it, and praying for the chance to express their own views? What did the confederates have to say in reply to these reasonable demands, deep-based in constitutional rights? This was the reply: Cape Breton was joined to Nova Scotia by an Act of the Imperial Parliament. Quebec and Ontario were made one by resolutions of their local authorities, sanctioned by the Imperial Government. Quebec and Ontario resolved to go into Confederation by the decision of their Legislatures. This principle was inherent in the very genius of the British constitution. When the people are excited about the school bill, and partisan politics still further inflame them, they are not conditioned for an impartial verdict. Straight ahead, fearless and assured, was the policy of Dr. Tupper. The Red Sea must be crossed. The Egyptians are behind us, and the impassable mountains on either side. The rod of Moses can make a way through the flood. The Premier's resources were taxed to the breaking point. His personality, intrepid courage and granite confidence were the wonder of his followers and the bewilderment and consternation of his opponents. The fire under the anti-confederate cauldron burned hotter and hotter. The zeal of the commercial contingent was moderate, compared with the temper of the political partisans. The fiercest electric, political storm broke out in the session of 1866. The smell of sulphur was strong in the air. The nearer the combatants came to the crisis, the voting on the policy of the Government, the fiercer became the conflict. Nova Scotia was sold to Canada. Tories, traitors, submit the matter to the people at the polls. This was sound Liberal doctrine. Down with the sellers of the country. "You are sold for three and sixpence apiece, the price of a sheep's skin," said Howe on the platform and in the press.

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Dr. Tupper and William Annand, as opposing commanders, faced each other. The leaders of the political Opposition, A. G. Archibald in the Lower House, and Jonathan McCully in the Upper House, were Dr. Tupper's lieutenants. In his thirty years of political life, Mr. Annand was a well-practised and well-seasoned politician, usually tactful and discreet; but under the ceaseless storm of Dr. Tupper's missives, confusion and indiscretion occasionally seized him. On the street, Benjamin Wier, a merchant of note and an impulsive confederate, excited William Annand's temper, and a sensational expression was the result. "I wish," said this usually deliberate anti-confederate, "that fifty thousand Fenians would rush across the borders into Canadian territory. That would settle this Confederation business." He was compelled to confront his unfortunate expression in his place on the floor of the Assembly. In effect, it was from Dr. Tupper a direct charge of disloyalty and treason. Mr. Annand became calm, apologized and expressed his regret. Moderate anti-confederates, like W. J. Stairs, were shocked and displeased with their leader in the House. At another stage, when driven before the tide of trenchant criticism, Mr. Annand intimated that Canadian gold was being employed in the purchase of Nova Scotians. This brought upon his head an indignant denial by the leader of the Government. To defend himself, Mr. Annand said that in conversation with George Brown, editor of the *Toronto Globe*, when he was in Halifax in 1864, he might have received a reward had he consented to help in betraying his country. This brought the leader of the Government to his feet. He said that he would immediately test the correctness of this statement by communicating with Mr. Brown over the telegraph wires. It was done, and word came back that the statement was without foundation—a slander. Thus the war went on. The Legislature was the storm-centre, but it was felt, though with diminished violence, throughout the length and breadth of the country. No part of the Province was so far removed that it did not feel the succession of electric shocks.

That it may be seen whether or not the foregoing is an exaggerated account, some paragraphs have been selected from the public records of that stirring time:

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"The press, controlled by a gentleman (Annand) within the Legislature occupying a high and responsible position, should make it my duty," said Dr. Tupper, "at the outset to notice, not the arguments, for that time has passed, but unfounded calumnies and misrepresentations. The time has passed when the opponents of a union of British North America can meet the friends of that question on the platform, in the press, or on the floors of Parliament, to discuss it as becomes public men and statesmen upon the principles and leading features of the scheme proposed. Instead of that, the opponents of union have resorted to appeals to the passions, to such an amount of vituperation, as never before, I believe, in the history of this country was dragged into the consideration of a great public question upon any occasion. . . .

"Is he to be allowed to assail the character and integrity of members of the House with impunity? Not only to hold up this Assembly as devoid of intelligence, but as one of the most despicable bodies of men that have ever been permitted to deal with the affairs of a free country?"

"As is well known," says Mr. Annand's paper, "a few designing politicians, doing the work of conspirators, traitorously contemplate the destruction of our Constitution, and the transfer of our revenues to a set of men who are far away, and who care nothing for us or the preservation of those interests which are as dear to us as are the crimson tides that circulate through our veins."

"I ask the House," said Dr. Tupper, "what must be the position of public men who are called upon to deal with a question so vital to our interests as the union of British North America when they descend to such language as that?"

"Yesterday, however," says the *Chronicle* correspondent, "on the floors of the Assembly room bygone promises were unscrupulously repudiated, confidence betrayed and barefaced treachery exhibited. I sat in the gallery, and witnessed the perpetration of this act of political turpitude, and heard the whisper circulated from ear to ear, 'The traitor has been bought.'"

"When the opponents of union," replied Dr. Tupper, "have been obliged to take a course like that, they have given the best evidence that their cause is an untenable one which cannot be sustained by public men. Here we find the best leading minds of the party with which the honourable member (Mr. Annand) is associated, denounced by their own press as men who have been recreant to the best interests of their country."

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The *Chronicle's* writer further says:

"A majority of the members of the Assembly, it is said, has been secured, corrupted by influences frightful to contemplate, to vote our free Parliament out of existence, and with it the rights and privileges we so dearly prize."

Said Dr. Tupper:

"What is the position of a man who thus degrades the Legislature, who holds up to the public execration the representatives of the people as men that are to be bought and sold?"

Again the *Chronicle* writer says:

"A resolution to confederate us may receive the assent of a majority of the House, but the end is not yet. Our countrymen, if true to themselves, will triumph in the end."

Dr. Tupper inquires:

"I ask the House if the most spiritless member is prepared to allow a foul stigma [that the members have been bribed] like that to rest upon his character? . . . Need I tell the House that in the same paper which sends broadcast over the face of the country these unfounded calumnies, we see Mr. Howe, over his own signature, assisting the honourable member by his pen."

Mr. Annand, in the House, occasionally got in some direct thrusts:

"I hurl back the charge upon the Provincial Secretary, because he is bartering the interests of the country. I charge him that he is a deceiver, a betrayer of his country, that he is a traitor."

The heart has long since gone out of these fiery words. The men, of whose performances we find these records, have mostly passed away. Now their doings can be read with historic calmness and large-hearted charity.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CONFEDERATION CONFUSION.

HERE and there appear evidences of the ordeal through which the Honourable Joseph Howe passed before finally determining his course in the anti-confederate struggle. But so many and diverse were the inducements for one course, and so many and varied were the temptations for another course, so swift and manifold were the purposes entertained, formed or half-formed, that even Mr. Howe himself in the end could hardly have written the real history of his anti-union experience. It has been seen that in connection with the Temperance Hall meetings, and the removal of Mr. McCully from the editorial chair of the *Morning Chronicle*, and the immediate appearance in that paper of a series of articles under the caption, "The Botheration Scheme," that Mr. Howe had determined his course. In the autumn of 1865, Mr. Howe felt it necessary to publish in the *Reporter*, that for the past seven months he had taken no part in the conflict—that he had not written a line for the *Morning Chronicle*, neither had he in any way been connected with that paper. But the "Botheration" articles had appeared before this date. They were anonymous. Publicly, Mr. Howe had not yet declared himself against union.

It scarcely admits of a doubt that Mr. Howe's chief antagonist was Mr. Howe himself. From the beginning of his public life up to this period, he had measured swords with this ever-present foe. Mr. Howe, who said, "I will not play second fiddle to that d—d Tupper," was the worst and most formidable enemy that ever faced the Honourable Joseph Howe, the orator and statesman. From the time of the Temperance Hall meetings in 1864 until the early part of 1866, when Mr. Howe fully gave himself up to hard fighting against the union, the small and the great Howe fought desperately.

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How did matters then stand? For thirty years this leader of the Liberal army had been through many battles and had won some victories. An unknown young man had sprung up, rushed to the front, defeated Howe in two pitched battles, routed his party, leaving him but a remnant, weak and small. This young man had rushed into advanced legislation, giving the Province a school bill, based on assessment, and hitherto advocated both by Howe and Johnstone. But it was a measure which neither of them had had the courage to undertake, and then Nova Scotia was called upon to follow the lead of this young politician in the matter of uniting the Colonies. In these circumstances, can Mr. Howe fall into the ranks and be a mere lieutenant under this new general? "Saul has slain his thousands, but this young David his tens of thousands," is to be the martial music for the future. The great Howe says, "Fall in and carry this great enterprise to completion," but the small Howe objects, saying that Howe's policy has always been the inter-colonial road first, an organized British Empire with every Colony represented in its Parliament, and then Confederation may follow. Further, the small Howe says, "The Honourable Joseph Howe shall have the honour of building the inter-colonial road, and shall become the author of an organized British Empire and ultimately of Confederation. Thus his name shall go down glorified to succeeding generations." The small Howe further said, that if union as then projected should be perfected and put into operation, Joseph Howe would be known as a false prophet, respecting a railway scheme, an organized Empire and a Colonial union. But as the months of 1865 came and went, the small Howe saw an opening for victory. Tupper and the union plan can be buried under an avalanche of public sentiment hostile to the school bill and to "The Botheration Scheme." Thus the Honourable Joseph Howe will again take the reins and compel the Colonies and the British Government to adopt and carry into effect his plan for an organized Empire. Or failing that, he will dictate terms for the union of the Colonies, and Dr. Tupper may take his place in the rear, where he belongs. Away with fears, away with doubts, and bow yourself to this last grand task, was the counsel of the small Joseph Howe, which finally prevailed.

But the prescient, sagacious Howe saw danger. What if

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these grand projects fail, as many a scheme has done in my long life? What then? Is there no way out of it. May I not leave the unionists and the anti-unionists to fight their own battles? Yes, Providence has opened a way—a way that promises desirable work and congenial companionship for the literary Howe—bread for his family and money to pay his debts. Howe is now in New York.

Since 1860, friends in Nova Scotia and friends in England had been using their best endeavours to secure for Mr. Howe permanent employment by the Imperial Government. In March, 1866, the office he had filled as Fishery Commissioner lapsed with the failure to renew the Reciprocity Treaty. But friends were still looking for something better and permanent. At this critical period, Mr. Howe wrote to Mrs. Howe from New York:

“When I left home, as you know, my prospects of further official employment were good; still there was just enough of doubt and uncertainty about it to make us both anxious as to the future. Assuming the desire and intentions of my friends over the sea to be all that we could wish, still there might be delay, and the year or two wasted in waiting without income would embarrass us a good deal. But Providence seems to provide for us often in modes very unexpected and often just at the right time. I had hardly arrived here on Saturday morning when an application was made to me by Mr. William Morrell to write for or edit the New York *Albion* after the 31st of March, it being assumed that the views and policy of my speech at Detroit would guide my pen in the conduct of the paper.

“He finally said he would make me offers—he would give me \$1,500.00 for editorial or other contributions, leaving me free to attend to other business and live where we liked, or he would give me \$3,500.00 to edit the *Albion*. If the paper prospered, as he thought it would, he would add \$500.00 to either offer at the end of the year. All this was very handsome and astonished me very much, as it will you. Here, at all events, are bread and cheese, a living for my family and an honourable and influential position, independent of local politics or of friends over the sea. We can live here in our usual quiet way, and put by a thousand every year to pay our debts, leaving our assets in Nova Scotia undiminished. For this new and unexpected mercy I fervently thank God.”

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Through this letter to Mrs. Howe, that part of Mr. Howe's life, too private and too sacred for inquisition, is revealed. Here he is great. There is no querulousness, no complaint against ill-usage or the ingratitude of his fellow-countrymen, and no timidity about the future. He sends this letter to cheer Mrs. Howe, and in it he declares himself thankful to Divine Providence for special favours to himself and family.

But there is another side to this interesting and acute crisis in Mr. Howe's life. At the end of thirty years' labour for his country, he entertains a plan to expatriate himself and make his living by the use of his pen. Faults and failures in his life there doubtless have been, but it is painful and humiliating to Nova Scotians even at this day to read this part of Mr. Howe's history. While he had been giving his services to the public, lawyers and merchants in Halifax had accumulated large fortunes. But this party leader who had carried political burdens and who had fought hard battles, is now out of employment and in debt. It would have been no sacrifice for the prosperous merchants of the city in that day to have remitted Mr. Howe's indebtedness, and to have given him as an expression of their appreciation of his long services at least twenty thousand dollars. This would have been a virtual payment of his debt and a great relief to him in life's struggle. Although away from home and in congenial society, the love of country was tugging at his heart. He returned to Halifax. He is among his old friends and in touch with the leaders of the stirring political campaign. The spirit of political warfare again asserted ascendancy in Mr. Howe's heart, and he rushes into the fight. In the autumn of 1865, the prospect of getting the question of Confederation before the people at the polls was most encouraging. If that could be done, Mr. Howe was assured that the Government would be defeated, and he would be returned to power. This would give him leadership and command of the "Old Guard" again. New Brunswick, an impassable barrier between Nova Scotia and Canada, had rejected the union plan. Hatred of it and of the school bill was deepening and spreading all through Nova Scotia. This, no doubt, had much to do in Mr. Howe's final decision to be the leader in the anti-confederate campaign.

At this juncture, what were the plans and doings of Dr.

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Tupper? The Canadian Government, by a despatch from Lord Monck, the Governor-General, to Sir R. G. Macdonell, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, proposed to ask the British Government to get an Act of Confederation passed, uniting Canada and Nova Scotia, and leaving New Brunswick time to reconsider her decision. This despatch was submitted to the Executive Council, and after careful deliberation, the Lieutenant-Governor was advised to acknowledge its receipt, but not to publish it. In Dr. Tupper's opinion, it would increase the prejudice against Confederation in the Province. Seized and used by the agitators, the people would be led to believe that Canada and the British Government were ignoring their rights and attempting, against their will, to force them into Confederation. The proposal during the session of 1865 to make another effort to obtain maritime union was adversely criticized both in Canada and in Great Britain. To justify this course, Dr. Tupper addressed a long letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, in which he clearly states the situation, and the various possibilities, and the consistency of making another attempt for maritime union, while the way was blocked for the larger Confederation. But toward the close of the year the prospects for Confederation brightened. Signs appeared that New Brunswick would reverse her policy. This was a signal for the renewal of the struggle. Both parties entered upon their labours with increased zeal and determination. It became evident during the early part of the year 1866 that there would be another appeal to the people at the polls in New Brunswick, and that a House favourable to union would be elected. In the Nova Scotia Legislature of that year, Jonathan McCully, in the Upper House, and Dr. Tupper, in the Lower House, took an aggressive course and made an effort to carry the measure of union through the Legislature. In May of this year, eighteen anti-confederate members of the House of Assembly, and five of the Legislative Council, united in an urgent petition to the Queen, praying that Nova Scotia should not be confederated with the other Provinces, until after the people had been permitted to express their opinions at the election which would take place in the following year.

To this petition, Dr. Tupper, among other things, made the reply: That New Brunswick is about to revoke her first

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decision; a minority of the Nova Scotia Legislature cannot take the place of the majority in transacting business; so excited is the Province by inflammatory declamation both in the Legislature and in the country, on the platform and through the press, that a calm and just verdict in the circumstances is impossible. Thirty years of continued discussion of the subject of Confederation had evoked nothing but a sentiment in its favour. The people have already spoken. The Legislature must now decide the matter.

The defeat of Mr. Tilley's Government in New Brunswick obstructed union in the Nova Scotia Legislature for one year. In 1866, Mr. Miller, through Mr. Macdonnell, inquired of Dr. Tupper how he would treat him, should he announce himself in the House as a supporter of union. Dr. Tupper said he would be received in a most friendly manner. Mr. Miller then made a speech in which he said, if the Government would publicly abandon the Quebec scheme and introduce a resolution in favour of union, leaving the details to the arbitrament of the Imperial Government properly advised by delegates from all the Provinces, he would promise it his cordial support.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Miller said:

"I will not deny that the extraordinary reaction that has taken place in New Brunswick in regard to union, and the admitted partiality of a large portion of the people of Nova Scotia for the abstract principle, coupled with the firm but constitutional pressure of the Imperial authorities, affords ground to apprehend that before very long the Quebec resolutions may be carried in the Maritime Provinces."

The following was Dr. Tupper's reply at the time to the foregoing statements of Mr. Miller:

"I will consult the Government and the Liberal delegates before giving an answer."

On April 10th, a week afterwards, Dr. Tupper submitted to the House the following resolution, which passed thirty-one for and eighteen against:

"*Resolved*,—That the Lieutenant-Governor be authorized to appoint delegates to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of union which will effectively assure just provisions

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for the rights and interests of the Province, each Province to have an equal voice in such delegation, Upper and Lower Canada being for this purpose considered as separate Provinces."

Here, the Quebec scheme not being named, the delegates were left free to make and consider any proposal respecting the union. The Government appointed the Hon. Charles Tupper, Premier; the Hon. W. A. Henry, Attorney-General; the Hon. J. W. Ritchie, Solicitor-General; A. Macfarlane, M.P.P., Jonathan McCully, M.L.C., and A. G. Archibald, M.P.P.

As this transferred the battleground from Halifax to London, it became necessary that the opposers should have their delegates. Money was freely subscribed to bear their expenses. The Hon. Mr. Howe, the Hon. William Annand and Mr. Hugh McDonald were selected for this mission. Mr. Howe may be regarded as the leader of those sent on this delegation.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CONFEDERATION IN LONDON.

To sustain the opposers of Confederation in their mission, petitions against union were sent to the British Government from eight counties in Nova Scotia, in addition to the one from five members of the Legislative Council and eighteen members of the House of Assembly.

Mr. Howe stood before the British Government, the British Parliament and the English people, protesting against the union of the Maritime Provinces with the Canadian Colonies. He and William Annand had been associated in public life for thirty years. Behind them were the records of their sentiments on the subject of union, reaching back to 1838, the time of Lord Durham's mission to Canada.

What had been Mr. Howe's views of Confederation previous to 1866? In 1839, he admitted it might be good for the Colonies; but he feared Nova Scotia, being a small Province, would suffer injustice if confederated with the Canadian Provinces. After listening to Mr. Johnstone's masterly speech on Confederation in the House of Assembly in 1854, he acknowledged the utility and importance of union, but thought the organization of the Empire and the building of an intercolonial railway should precede it. In 1861, when Premier, he introduced into the Nova Scotia Assembly resolutions mildly advocating union and appointing delegates to meet at Quebec with delegates from the other Provinces to consider the matter and set it at rest. These delegates were sent, but as the Civil War was then in progress in the United States, and as reciprocity with that country was most desirable, and as an intercolonial railroad had not been constructed, it was thought best not to agitate the matter of Confederation. Mr. Howe, after a lecture on union by D'Arcy McGee in Temperance Hall, Halifax, in 1863, moved a resolution of thanks in which

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he highly approved of the Confederation of the Colonies. At a dinner given to the delegates from Canada in 1864, previous to the meeting of the Charlottetown Convention, Mr. Howe, among others, made a speech in which he again advocated union. He said he never thanked God he was a Nova Scotian; but took in all the Colonies. He wished prosperity to the undertaking. With these views, among others of the same character to which he had given expression in the past, he appeared in London, leading the opposition to Confederation. It is true that he had given preference to the organization of the Empire, by which each Colony should be represented in the House of Commons rather than to the Confederation of the Colonies.

Had Mr. Howe simply demanded that the matter of union be deferred until it had been submitted to his fellow-countrymen at the polls, especially as he objected to the financial terms of the Quebec scheme, he would have been entirely consistent. He did indeed make this demand; but he went further. He took the ground that the union of British North America would be against the best interests of the Maritime Provinces and the British Empire.

His opinions, formulated and defined, were given to the British Cabinet and the public in a pamphlet written with spirit and in his best style. It is not possible to reproduce its entire contents, but a condensed expression of its leading features may be stated.

He began by the assumption that Canada was trying to absorb the Maritime Provinces as France had seized Nice. This was followed by another declaration that the union would evoke the ill-will of the United States, which with her million of well-seasoned soldiers, would find but little trouble in over-running Canada. The Provinces confederated would be at the mercy of the Republic.

From the beginning, the two Canadas had been in a confusion of racial and religious conflict. Rebellions, deadlocks, double majorities and double heads of departments, burning Parliament buildings and pelting Governors-General characterized their political life. Nova Scotia had been loyally developing her resources, paying her debts and prospering. The sea Provinces desired no union with Canada. Let the British Government not help Canada in her plan of absorption.

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The ambition of Babel, Charlemagne and Napoleon illustrated Canada's ambition. Canada was an unpromising nucleus of a new nation, and to unite with her was "insane." Canadian men propose to purchase Hudson Bay territory, assume the Government of British Columbia and govern New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. "Ambitious men!" Confederation was a menace to the United States; but Britain could hold the Maritime Provinces. Why help Canada to coerce them? Let the west coast be organized into a Province and ultimately unite with the Pacific States and found a nation. For England to force the Maritime Provinces into union with Canada would be for England's disadvantage. Canada has taxed flour, and the Maritime Provinces will be obliged to submit to the same tax in case of union. Let the English Government not help to impose the hated corn laws on Nova Scotia.

Englishmen who have capital invested in Canada may think their securities will be improved by absorbing the Maritime Colonies, but they were entreated "not to sacrifice the Maritime Provinces at the shrine of Canadian ambition."

To the question, "Do the Maritime Provinces desire union if it includes the Quebec scheme?" the reply is plain. Only five members in the Prince Edward Island Legislature voted for it. It was at first rejected at the polls by New Brunswick, and promptly and emphatically set aside by Newfoundland. Dr. Tupper said in 1865 it was "not practicable" until New Brunswick reversed her decision. Inspired by Canada, the Imperial Government, for the first time in the history of Nova Scotia, had sought to coerce the Maritime Provinces in an attempt to force the hated union with Canada. This had aroused a very indignant feeling.

In proroguing the Canadian Parliament, Lord Monck had said that the completed union of the Provinces would be a "new nationality of which Canada will form a part, and the dimensions of which will entitle her to a fresh place amongst the powers of the world."

"Let us," said Mr. Howe, "fling into the fire the paper constitution manufactured at Quebec, and Governor Banks will probably consign his bill to the flames immediately after." A bill had been introduced by Governor Banks into Congress,

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providing for the admission of British Provinces into the American union, which, however, was not regarded seriously either by the Republic or by the British Colonies.

Continuing, Mr. Howe said:

"Inevitably, united Canada must succumb to the growing power of the Republic. After this conquest, England would be compelled to fight for existence. Why attempt to prematurely set up a 'fresh power' on the American continent? Even if our people were united upon the policy and anxious to sustain it, it would be a blunder worse than a crime. When our people go into mourning, as I believe they will, and wear their flags half-mast on every sea, as an expression of their sorrow and indignation, our neighbours will not be slow to perceive that this forced union has brought strength, as a forced marriage brings happiness; and when Canada, with hundreds of thousands of unquiet subjects, who hate her rule and will not be too prompt to fight for a domination which they repudiate and for a nationality they despise, the Republicans will promptly avail themselves of errors in policy which every loyal subject of the Queen should pray Her Majesty's Ministers to avoid. Ottawa will appoint local Provincial Governors. No longer will cultured gentlemen and their families from England be found in the Government Houses of the Colonies by the sea. No defender of the rights and interests of the Maritime Provinces need hope for this promotion; but if there is any pliant and subservient Canadian Minister, who has never won distinction anywhere and is heartily despised by his own countrymen, anybody may safely bet the odds in his favour. . . . But how long will the system last? Just till the men beside the sea trample it under their feet, and, driven by the instinct of self-preservation to protect themselves, elect their own Governors and set their Canadian masters at defiance. . . . Instead of wasting precious time with schemes to dismember the Empire, I wish the Government and people of England would seriously consider how it can be organized so as to draw around the throne its vast intellectual and physical resources, and lift us above the atmosphere of doubt and apprehension in which in these latter days it appears we live."

The foregoing wish was, with Mr. Howe, more than a passing thought. Twelve years before this, when Mr. Johnstone introduced a resolution into the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, advocating a union of all the British Provinces of

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North America, and which he supported with a speech making him the father of Confederation, Mr. Howe, in a carefully-prepared oration, while admitting in theory the importance and benefits of Confederation, submitted and advocated a plan for the organization of the Empire, which he believed should take precedence of union and, perhaps, supersede it. This scheme, first appearing in an English magazine, was taken up and elaborated by Mr. Howe and was, it is probable, the weight which turned the scales of his judgment against the plan of Confederation which had taken form in the Quebec conference. There was scant prospect of getting Confederation through the Nova Scotia Legislature before the election of 1867. This would afford him ample opportunity of making the organization of the Empire a substitute for Confederation, against which there was such a bitter feeling and a large uprising in Nova Scotia. Dazzled with the splendour of this project, and the glory that would surely come to himself as its author if it prevailed, his past advocacy of Confederation and the merits of the plan for it discussed both in the Colonies and in England, became to him mere chaff compared with the golden grain of an Empire organized, and with the Honourable Joseph Howe in the British House of Commons, the celebrated author of this grand Imperial measure. Inflamed with the ambition of rendering such signal service to the Crown, he had the courage of his convictions, and while, as he supposed, he had ground to powder by his pamphlet, a sketch of which appears above, the plan of union, he came boldly forward with his plan for the organization of the Empire, and in the face of conditions and circumstances before which a man of ordinary courage would have quailed, boldly urged it upon the attention of the public on both sides of the Atlantic, especially on the attention of the Government and Parliament of Great Britain. This was "splendid isolation," and had the scheme succeeded, the name of Joseph Howe would have gone down to posterity as the chief of Colonial statesmen.

It need scarcely be stated that Dr. Tupper, in replying to Mr. Howe's pamphlet on Confederation, quoted largely from Mr. Howe's repeated declarations, made from 1838 to 1864, in favour of the measure, and contrasted these quotations with his final deliverance against Confederation, found in his anti-

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confederate pamphlet. The quotations given were exact and full. The contrasts were sharp and crushing. Mr. Howe attempted no reply. Mr. Annand, however, gave his pen to an attempted rejoinder, but it was necessarily weak and futile. His defence of Mr. Howe was addressed to the Earl of Carnarvon.

There was another important subject of controversy between the Honourable Charles Tupper and the Honourable Joseph Howe. Mr. Howe had gone to England, armed with petitions against the completion of Confederation until after it had been submitted to the people at the polls. This was used by him as one of the principal arguments why the British Parliament should decline to act in the matter of the projected Union until after the election of 1867 in Nova Scotia had taken place. He laid it down as a sound constitutional principle that the people should decide in this matter. The course taken by the Legislature of Nova Scotia under the leadership of the Honourable Charles Tupper, he alleged, was in effect the wrenching of constitutional rights from the constituency of the Province. In other words, the Legislature of the Province, to which the electors had not given instructions to act in the matter of Confederation, was taking a high-handed course in an attempt to force a union with Canada. This Mr. Howe undertook to prove by the petitions from the people and from members of the Nova Scotia Parliament. To this Dr. Tupper had a reply as effectual as the contradiction found between Mr. Howe's previous utterances for Confederation and those contained in his pamphlet against it.

In 1859, when Mr. Howe was Premier of Nova Scotia, his majority so fell off that he was obliged to induce some members of the Opposition to come to his rescue. To one of these he gave a position in his Cabinet. Dr. Tupper, at the time the field leader of the Opposition, held meetings in the counties represented by the men who had changed sides, obtained a popular condemnation of the course they had taken, and petitions from their counties and other parts of the Province were made against their unfaithful proceedings. He, supported by Mr. Johnstone, made strenuous demands for the dissolution of the House of Assembly on this and the other ground, that a number of the members were holding seats

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contrary to law. In these circumstances Mr. Howe, of course, did what he could in defence of his advice given to the Governor against dissolution. On other occasions, also, he had declared his views respecting the authority of Parliament. In 1849, in addressing the chairman of the British American League, which had undertaken to suggest constitutional changes, Mr. Howe said:

“A confederation of the Colonies may be the desire of your convention. If so, the object is legitimate; but it must be preceded by legitimate means. Believe me, it can only be wisely attained through and by Provincial Legislatures, not by self-elected societies acting independently and in defiance of them.”

In 1861, Mr. Howe signed a Minute of Council in which is found his opinion, as follows:

“If members were to resign whenever for a moment they displeased their constituents, the call would be frequent, and questions would be discussed by requisitions rather than by fair deliberation and manly debate. If Parliament were to be dissolved whenever a gentleman changed sides or a discontented constituency petitioned, free institutions would become an endless distraction, no man would ever dare to deliberate or run the risk of being convinced.”

In 1861, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Mulgrave, Governor of Nova Scotia, and of whose Government Mr. Howe was the leader, said, referring to the constituencies of members:

“They have a right to represent to him their views, or to refuse to re-elect him at the end of the Parliament if they are dissatisfied with his conduct, but they have no right, pending the duration of Parliament, to coerce his actions; still less have they the right to expect that the Royal prerogative should be used because they are dissatisfied with the choice they have made.”

By quotations such as these, the Honourable Charles Tupper compelled the Honourable Joseph Howe to refute and destroy his own arguments for the constitutional principle which he was then pressing upon the British Government.

In debating the matter of Confederation in the House of

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Lords, the Earl of Carnarvon, who had introduced the subject when alluding to Mr. Howe's pamphlet, uttered these words:

"It has been said by some that the idea of defending Canada and New Brunswick had to be given up; that we ought to concentrate our strength in the peninsula of Nova Scotia and convert Halifax into a second Gibraltar. Now, not to adduce any other arguments against that proposition, was it not evident that if Canada and New Brunswick were destroyed, it would be impossible to defend Nova Scotia? It appeared to him that the consolidation of these Provinces would prove a means of making them much more contented than they were likely to be if they remained separate Colonies. . . . It was said that a federation only afforded a loose and feeble tie. Certainly this was not true in every case."

The Marquis of Normanby, as if taking away every vestige of truth of Mr. Howe's statement that the British Parliament was coercing the Maritime Provinces into Union with Canada, said:

"If the North American Colonies felt themselves able to stand alone, and showed their anxiety either to form themselves into an independent country, or even to amalgamate with the United States, he did not think it would be wise to resist that desire. But as long as the Colonies stood by them, as long as they looked upon connection with this country and the institutions which they enjoy under her rule as among their greatest blessings, it was our duty to encourage that feeling and to promote it to the utmost of our power."

Following are Lord John Russell's remarks on the subject:

"I cannot remain altogether silent when a subject of such interest engages the attention of your Lordships. The measure is undoubtedly a wise one; it will facilitate commercial relations with the United States, for when our North American Provinces are united together it will be far easier for them to come to agreements with the United States than it is at present without a common head." (A Governor of Nova Scotia had told Lord Russell that the difficulty of communication between the Lower and Upper Provinces was a drawback to Confederation.) "The difficulty of communication on which that objection is founded is to be provided for by means of an intercolonial railway. In conclusion, I may express a hope

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that all these Provinces may flourish and prosper, and that if it should ever be their wish to separate from this country, we may be ready to listen to their request and to accede to their wishes in any way they may choose."

Lord Monck, among other things, said:

"We would at the outset refer to one thing which appeared to us of great importance from a constitutional point of view. It had been, he thought, most unwarrantably assumed that the Province of Nova Scotia was opposed to the Union. Now he believed the expression of opinion which had come from Nova Scotia to this country had been got up by a few energetic individuals. The Legislature of Nova Scotia had, like the Legislatures of the other Provinces, adopted by large majorities the resolutions proposed to them, and had sent their delegates to this country to take part in the forming of the measure which had been laid on the table. The demands of these gentlemen in Nova Scotia, if they amounted to anything, meant that the question should be subjected to the decision of the people, instead of its being determined by the people's representatives. Such a demand, to his mind, betrayed a great ignorance, not only of the principles of the British Constitution, but of the principles on which Parliamentary government was founded. It was perhaps unnecessary to remind their Lordships that in the earliest part of self-government every man was accustomed to give his opinion on matters at which a decision had to be arrived. But, with the increase of communities, such a thing became practically impossible. By and by, when the expedient of popular elections was adopted, the general body of the people had nothing to do with the management of their affairs, beyond selecting men in whose intelligence, integrity and judgment they could place reliance to do their business for them. . . . Responsible ministers would scarcely recommend the Crown, for instance, to dissolve the House of Commons when the three estates of the realm were in harmony. . . . We had, and he thought very wisely, conceded to these Provinces the management of their own affairs, and it would not be politically wise or just to dispose of every matter connected with the foreign relations of these Provinces without consulting the people interested. He confessed, however, to a feeling of dismay at the prospect of consulting five distinct Governments, looking at the question possibly from different and often circumscribed points of view. He did not believe that we should entirely get over the difficulty by the Union of the Provinces, but by having one Colony to consult instead of

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five, the disadvantage would certainly be reduced to a minimum."

Lord Stratheden said:

"Their Lordships were probably aware that the members of the House of Assembly in Nova Scotia had been elected by universal suffrage, but that manner of election was found to be attended by corruption so extensive that, on mature consideration, it was abrogated. The Parliament now sitting had been elected by universal suffrage, and the new representative system would not come into operation until the next general election, and by the delay he now proposed the new Parliament would be able to pronounce their opinion upon the measure now before their Lordships. . . . A grave mistake in policy would be committed if the Nova Scotians were forced to join the proposed Confederation against their will."

To this Earl Carnarvon replied:

"In the first place, the delegates who are present in England to the number of fourteen or sixteen are gentlemen accredited by their own local authorities, and they have been detained here a long time, in consequence of this measure, at great personal inconvenience to themselves and, I must also say, to the great public inconvenience of their respective localities. I therefore greatly object to Parliament, without any real and valid reason, and I can hardly admit that any such reason has been urged this evening, detaining these gentlemen for a fortnight or a month longer. And then as to the question of the thirty thousand petitioners. We have never had any expression as to who these petitioners really are. I believe the population of Nova Scotia is upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand. Now I am willing to take it as a fact, on the word of the noble lord, that thirty thousand are petitioners against this measure, but I must say that the evidence of that fact is wholly wanting. I understand that a petition has been presented in another place, but no petition whatever against this measure has been presented to your Lordships, and this House, therefore, is in no way cognizant of this petition. . . . The House has simply to ascertain who are the constituted authorities in Nova Scotia, whom we are bound to listen to and whose opinion we are bound to accept. . . . Well, it was only in June last that the Nova Scotia Parliament came to a distinct resolution in favour of Confederation—a resolution as distinct as words could express it. That resolution empowered certain

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gentlemen to proceed on their behalf to England to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government. These accredited gentlemen were accordingly sent, and the terms have been negotiated and embodied in this measure. . . . If responsible government means anything, it means this. That you not only give to a Colony free institutions and enable the inhabitants to elect their own Parliament, but you also undertake, in matters of Colonial policy, to deal with that Colony through legally-constituted authorities. Any other view of the case would lead us to endless difficulty."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Adderley, the Colonial Secretary, in referring to a despatch sent by his predecessor to Lord Monck, the Governor-General, said:

"It was by no means true that there was anything in that despatch which could fairly be represented as urgently forcing on the union. . . . Some persons had said that whatever the merits of the measure, it should not receive the sanction of the Imperial Parliament until it had been referred to the voice of the people. Surely those persons who made such a proposition must have been ignorant of the subject they were dealing with. . . . The last accusation which could be made on the part of the Maritime Provinces against Canada was that she had been precipitate in promoting the scheme of union. It was remarkable that the first and ablest promoter of Colonial Union (Mr. Howe) should now advocate the postponement of this measure, on the ground that it would be preferable to bring the whole British Empire under one Imperial Union, whose representatives should sit in the House at Westminster. He could only regard such a proposition as absolutely visionary and futile. The objections to the measure being so futile, and the alternative proposed being so visionary, he would proceed to point out what were the palpable reasons and advantages which had induced the Colonies to come to the deliberate determination of asking that House to sanction the terms of union to which they had agreed among themselves."

John Bright, in the House of Commons, said on this subject:

"I do not believe at all in the right and propriety of a Legislature voting on a great question of this nature, as, for example, the Legislature of Nova Scotia, if the people of Nova Scotia have never had the question put to them. . . . If this question has never been placed before the people of that

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Province by an election, if it has never been discussed and decided at the hustings, seeing that only two or three months will elapse before there will be an opportunity to ascertain the opinion of the population of Nova Scotia, I think it is at least a hazardous proceeding to pass the bill through Parliament, putting Nova Scotia into it until the clear opinions of the Province have been obtained. . . . For my part, I want the population of those countries to do what they consider best for their own interests."

John Bright regarded the Colonies as a burden to Great Britain that should be cast off.

Sir James Packington said:

"I know that there has been opposition in Nova Scotia. Mr. Howe, a gentleman in the Colony, is opposed to the union, and the honourable member for Birmingham is to-night the exponent of Mr. Howe's views. But I would remind the honourable gentleman that the views on the subject entertained by Mr. Howe a short time ago were the very opposite of those held by him now."

Mr. Watkin made this statement:

"The remarkable speech made by Mr. Howe at Detroit, two years ago, was instrumental in obtaining a unanimous vote in favour of the renewal of the reciprocity treaty. And it was creditable neither to the late, nor yet to the present, Government that the lifelong services of Mr. Howe had not received any recognition from the Crown."

On his watch-tower, looking into the future as an opponent of Confederation, Mr. Howe seemed to see the final national divisions of this part of the western continent to be, first, a Republic on the Pacific slope, taking in the possessions of the United States and Great Britain; second, the southern States rent from the Republic and erected into a new nation; and third, the northern States and the British Provinces united in another nationality.

Mr. Howe would have the British Government refuse to carry into effect the union proposed, and would have both the British Government and the Colonies take his plan for the organization of the Empire, which he had proposed and

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advocated in the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1854, and which, in 1866, he submitted to the British Government, as a substitute for the union then before them.

For the two previous years the Colonies had discussed and adopted the essentials of a scheme of union which had been referred to the British authorities for final legislation, and which was urged upon their attention by a large number of delegates appointed by their respective Governments, asking for the Act—delegations which had been authorized by large majorities of the Provincial Legislatures. After this action of the Colonies and the hearty encouragement given by the Cabinet and Parliament of Great Britain to the undertaking when it was on the eve of being carried into operation, it certainly does not betray any lack of self-reliance on the part of Mr. Howe when he proposes to have these proceedings arrested and the acceptance from him of a counter plan, which had been begging in vain for the last twelve years for one man on either side of the Atlantic to unite with its author in its support.

After a thorough examination, point by point, of this scheme, Dr. Tupper gave a summary of his criticism in a letter addressed to "The People of Nova Scotia." He had already contrasted Mr. Howe's views of Confederation, found along his political career of thirty years, with his opinions of Confederation published for the purpose of defeating the measure. The result of these comparisons has been given in part. Dr. Tupper then proceeded to a second series of fatal contrasts. He compared the contents of the anti-union pamphlet with the contents of the pamphlet proposing and advocating a plan for the organization of the Empire. He says:

"The perusal of the two pamphlets, written by Mr. Howe within a few weeks of each other, affords the best evidence of the utter want of principle of the writer, and the impossibility of opposing Confederation without resorting to the most disingenuous and contradictory statements. Contrast the statements in these two *brochures*, and you will find—

"Mr. Howe opposed union on the ground that no change was required in our existing institutions. He now declares that 'we have no security for peace,' and that a radical change

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in the Colonial system is imperatively demanded, and especially in order to preserve British America.

"Mr. Howe objects to Confederation because it would interfere with self-government and swamp the influence of the Maritime Provinces, as forty-seven members would not have sufficient weight in a Parliament of one hundred and ninety-four to protect their interests. He now declares that five members from Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick will be quite sufficient to obtain justice in a Parliament of six hundred and fifty-eight.

"Mr. Howe objected to Confederation on the ground that it would increase the existing tariffs in British America. He now advocates a scheme of taxation for Imperial purposes which must inevitably involve a very great increase in the tariffs of all the Provinces.

"Mr. Howe objected to union because it would entail additional expenditure to protect the frontier of Canada. He now asks to have the Colonies taxed to support the army and navy of Great Britain, and declares our readiness to pay pound for pound with the English.

"Mr. Howe opposed Confederation on the ground that some of our young men might be called upon to aid in the defence of other portions of British America. He now proposes to subject every man in the Colony to conscription, to fight the battles of England in every part of the world.

"Mr. Howe undertook to prove that the members of the Government of Nova Scotia misrepresented the public sentiment of the country, and were not worthy of consideration. He now assures the British Ministry that the best mode of obtaining a representative for a Colony would be to take a member of the Cabinet, as they would thus 'secure men truly representing the majority in each Colony,' and declares that 'only the best men can win their way into these Colonial Cabinets.'

"The noble and patriotic men who have so nobly sustained the cause of British Union cannot but be justly proud of the triumphant position that policy occupies after emerging from the ordeal of the strictest scrutiny, while the misguided but loyal men who have been deluded into opposition to the great work of consolidating British power and perpetuating British institutions in the Colonies, by Mr. Howe's aspersion that it would involve some expense, cannot but feel justly indignant when they find their representative declaring that it is necessary that the Colonies should be compelled to submit to the most

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oppressive taxation for Imperial purposes, and that Colonists should be reduced to the same condition of serfdom which exists in Russia, and subjected to conscription to recruit the army and man the navy of England for every war in which she may engage.

"It is my confident belief that the enlightened statesmen who control the destinies of the Empire will treat with the contempt which it deserves, this audacious proposal to substitute the despotism of France and Russia for the free constitutional system which has made British institutions the envy of the world."

CHAPTER XLIX.

CONFEDERATION IN NOVA SCOTIA LEGISLATURE.

WITH some changes, the Quebec scheme passed both Houses of Parliament, and having received the Royal assent, became law. The delegates returned; those sent by the Government with the calm gratification of victors, and those sent by zealous anti-confederates in the grim mood of defeat. Confederation had been taken out of conditions of uncertainty and firmly grounded in reality. The strenuous work, lasting from 1864 until 1867, of grappling with essential difficulties, largely augmented by incidental opposition, of creating a dominion out of four disjointed Provinces not yet united even by a railway, had been accomplished. The Colonies had ceased to exist as separate dependencies of the Crown, and began to make history as parts of a great nationality included in the British Empire. On the 16th of March, 1867, the leader of the Government, Dr. Tupper, had returned from England, and was in his place at the opening of the Legislature, which he had summoned by cablegram from London. In the Governor's speech may be found the following reference to Confederation:

"I rejoice to be able to congratulate you upon the success which has attended the delegation sent by me, under your authority, to confer with Her Majesty's Government on the union of the Colonies. The papers relating to this important subject will be immediately laid before you.

"In the firm conviction that the union of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, upon the terms provided in the bill submitted by Her Majesty's Government to the Imperial Parliament, will largely increase the prosperity of all these Provinces and contribute to the strength and stability of those British institutions which it is their good fortune to enjoy, I commend to your consideration such changes and amendments in our existing laws as may be found necessary."

The address in reply to the Governor's speech, moved by Mr. Bourinot, has these words:

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"We have learned with deep satisfaction that the efforts to effect a satisfactory union of the British North American Colonies have been so successful, and entertain no doubts that the best interests of these Provinces will be greatly enhanced, and that their connection with the Crown and the parent State will be thereby permanently secured."

In 1865, Mr. Bourinot had opposed the Quebec scheme, but in 1866 he had voted to send the delegates to England. Stuart Campbell gave notice of an amendment to the address. Dr. Tupper replied:

"I will wait with the utmost confidence of what I believe will be the verdict of the overwhelming majority of the House upon this momentous question."

The amendment was a protest against having sent the delegates to England, the declaration of a crisis in Nova Scotia's history, and a claim and demand that Confederation should have no operation in the Provinces until it had been reviewed by the Legislature and sanctioned by the people. This amendment was supported by Mr. Killam, of Yarmouth, who said: "We are too near a great country to be trifled with in a matter of this kind."

When the resolution was before the House in 1864 to send delegates to Charlottetown for the purpose of Maritime Union, Dr. Tupper, in replying to a question by Mr. William Miller, said:

"It was intended that the result of the deliberations of the delegates should not go into operation until sanctioned by the different Legislatures. If agreed to, it would then be passed in the shape of an Act, and would not go into operation until it had received the Queen's assent. It was not intended to submit this question for the approval of the people, as ample opportunity had been afforded for its full and free discussion."

This proves beyond a doubt that Dr. Tupper, from the day that Confederation was initiated in 1864 until three years after, when the Act passed the British Parliament, had openly avowed the course he intended to pursue. He then took the ground that it was a sound constitutional policy to have the

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matter of Confederation settled by the Legislatures and not by the people at the polls. Both the Canadas acted upon this principle, as did also the Parliament of Great Britain. It was sustained by the most eminent statesmen of England.

The following statements are taken from Dr. Tupper's reply to those who had spoken in support of the amendment:

"As far as I am individually concerned, I need hardly tell the House that from the first hour I felt it necessary, as a public man, to give my earnest consideration to public matters; from the first hour I felt it due to the people, the management of whose affairs I had undertaken, to express my opinion on public questions, I have never hesitated openly, at all times and everywhere, to avow my deep and settled conviction that in a union of British North America lay the only great future for any part of these Provinces. True to these principles, whether in power or in Opposition, to the best of my ability I have advocated and sustained these views. I pledged myself to my countrymen, at all times and under all circumstances, that whatever power and influence they might put in my hands, I would feel bound to use it for the purpose of advancing the interests, elevating the character, and promoting the security of our common country by a union of British North America. Believing as I do that not only the most marked prosperity would have followed, but that the only security and guarantee for the continued possession of British principles in any portion of British North America was involved in that great question, I have never hesitated to declare my opinion that it would have been wise on the part of Nova Scotia to have entered into that union under the terms proposed by the Quebec scheme. . . .

"The position, therefore, that we occupy on this occasion is one of no little pride, for we are able to say that we have obtained everything which was granted at Quebec, but that very important concessions have been made in the arrangements that are now being consummated, and that all those alterations are most favourable to the Maritime Provinces. . . .

"I was reminded in 1860, after my lecture in St. John and elsewhere, that my sentiments were not novel, that they were borrowed from my political opponents, and that the gentleman then at their head, Mr. Howe, was one of the originators, as I have never denied he was, of this great scheme of union. I felt that there was no originality in my views, that all I had endeavoured to do was to give form and substance to the question—to pledge myself as a public man, devoted to the

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service of the country, to promote the consummation of this great scheme. . . .

"After I had reopened the question, the leader of the Government, Mr. Howe, to whom I was opposed, recommitted himself to the principle of Colonial Union by moving a series of resolutions on the subject. These resolutions, originating with the Government, of which he was then leader, boldly stated that so great and so manifold were the advantages that would result from union the Government asked power from the House to have a conference for the purpose of taking it up and placing it in a position so that it might receive the solemn ratification of the Legislature of this country. Consistent with the views I had always entertained, I gave my earnest co-operation to the Government on this question, and a similar course was pursued by every Conservative then in this House. . . .

"Mr. Howe, having received authority from the Imperial Government, immediately under his own hand urged upon Canada and the other British North American Colonies the importance of dealing with the question. In a statesmanlike spirit he pointed out to them that there was only one mode in which this question could be dealt with, that the only constitutional course was not to refer it to the people at the polls, but to the Legislature. I challenge the gentlemen opposite, instead of indulging in mere empty declamation, addressed not to members inside this House, but to uninformed persons outside, to point out a single authority here or elsewhere in this Province, or in the Mother Country, whence we obtained our system of government, that has ever propounded such a principle as this resolution lays down; and when they are able to do so, I shall be prepared to extend to this amendment an amount of consideration that I find now it is not entitled to. In Mr. Howe's letter under his own hand, he says there is but one way of dealing with this matter—that there should be a conference to arrange a scheme of union, but there is not one word about submitting the question to the people, but, on the contrary, he proposed that it should be disposed of by the Legislature. Mr. Howe, sustained by all his colleagues in the Government, claimed for the Legislature of this country the right of dealing with this question. . . .

"Mr. Campbell, the member from Guysboro, a gentleman of legal attainments who has occupied the Speaker's chair, the highest constitutional position in this Legislature, was obliged to sit down without having been able from the whole range of constitutional history to bring forward a single example in support of his course.

X "It was stated that if the British Government had had only proper information on this question, if that dark cloud which prevented them from seeing the real facts of the case was only blown away, they would sustain the views of the gentlemen opposite. . . . But let me ask, when these gentlemen were advocating responsible government in this country what did they tell us they were going to give us? The institutions of republican America? No. They said they intended to give us responsible government, so that the people in this country might be governed in precisely the same manner that the people in the British Islands are governed. Who are the interpreters of the British system? When gentlemen raise an issue on constitutional practice, they should sustain their course by reference to the authority from the country from which we take our system. The whole question was put before the statesmen and people of England by a gentleman second in ability to none in this country, who is one of those who can almost make the worse appear the better reason, who can put his views before the public in the most conclusive manner that it is possible to place them. Now, when this gentleman, Mr. Howe, has exhausted months in enunciating his views before the statesmen of the Mother Country, what did Lord Carnarvon say after a full consideration of the whole question?

"Lord Carnarvon said: 'The House has simply to ascertain who are the constituted authorities of Nova Scotia, whom we are bound to listen to and whose opinion we are bound to accept.' Well, it was only in April last that that Parliament came to a distinct resolution in favour of Confederation, a resolution as distinct as words could express it. That resolution empowered certain gentlemen to proceed on their behalf to England, to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government. These accredited envoys were accordingly sent, and the terms have been negotiated and embodied in this measure. It appears to me that it is not consistent for us to look behind that vote of the Nova Scotia Parliament."

The views of the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Cardwell and the Marquis of Normanby, Colonial Secretaries, were given by Dr. Tupper as in full accord with those of Lord Carnarvon.

"In fact, we have the opinions of the statesmen and the press of all parties in England in support of the principle—that our Legislature has the authority of legislating on all matters touching the constitution of the country, save when it conflicts with Imperial interests.

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"The British Cabinet, in the Queen's speech, uses these words: 'Resolutions in favour of a more intimate union of the Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have been passed by their several Legislatures, and delegates duly authorized and representing all classes of Colonial party and opinion have concurred in the conditions upon which such a union may be effected in accordance with their wishes. A bill will be submitted to you by which the consolidation of Colonial interests and resources will give strength to the several Provinces as members of the same Empire and animated by feelings of loyalty to the same Sovereign.'

"I have given you," continued Dr. Tupper, "the authority of the leading men of this country, of the Colonial Minister, of the British Ministry, and in addition you have the authority of the House of Peers and Commons of Great Britain. Let detraction assail that Parliament as it may; the honourable member may endeavour to throw odium upon it, but there is not a free man through the length and breadth of the British Empire who can fail to admire and respect the body which, among the convulsions which have shaken nations from the centre to the circumference, has maintained the proud pre-eminence of England. It does not become a public man, at a time when the Parliament of Great Britain is attracting the admiration of the civilized world, when it is the great object of other nations to assimilate their institutions as nearly as possible to those of our Mother Country, to attempt to cast obloquy upon it. . . .

"It is with pride that I am able to state that, having sat in the one House and stood in the other, I listened to the discussion of this great question, and not only the constitutional points which are at issue, but the true character of this union were clearly and ably propounded by the statesmen of Great Britain. Having had both sides of this question before them, they were able to render such a verdict as they never gave before on a great public measure. . . .

"The statesmen of Great Britain, without regard to party—Liberal or Conservative, Whig or Tory—united in one common acclaim, that the Colonies would not only be rendered more prosperous, but that the ties that now bind them to the Empire would be strengthened. The very few members who could be induced by gentlemen opposite to reflect their sentiments did so on the ground that the Colonies were a burden, and that the sooner they were got rid of the better. . . .

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"Thus we find the British Government and all statesmen who value the Colonies as one of the great sources of the importance and influence of Great Britain being arrayed in support of Colonial Union, whilst in opposition to the great scheme we find only the men who wish to get rid of the Colonies altogether.

□ "I must call the attention of gentlemen opposite to the fact that they are bound by their recorded votes in 1864 to vote against the resolution. I had the honour to move in the session of that year a resolution authorizing a conference to make a much more radical change than it is now intended to make in our institutions. It proposed a scheme of union that would have merged our local institutions together. The Parliament and capital would have been transferred to another place. When I moved that resolution to appoint delegates for a conference to bring about such a result, was there a man to raise an objection that, as it would change the constitution there should be an appeal to the people? Where were the gentlemen who now raise these objections when I declared that the House had the power to do what I have said? There was no one then to raise an objection to such a course. . . .

"But certain gentlemen (Joseph Howe, William Annand and Hugh McDonald), by some one or other—I do not think there will be anybody hereafter ready to father the act—have written a remonstrance against union to the Colonial Secretary. If ever there was a libel on the British constitutional system, if responsible government was ever brought down to the depths of degradation, as far as it was in the power of certain parties to put it there, it was when the three unauthorized men, two of whom had been rejected by the people at the polls, presented themselves at the foot of the Throne, and told the Imperial Government that notwithstanding our system of government the people are too ignorant and the Parliament too corrupt to be entrusted with the free institutions we enjoy, and asked that they should be considered the true constitutional authorities to whom the Government and Parliament of the Mother Country should pay respect. . . .

"I believe a public man is bound, in the advocacy of public measures, to study as far as possible what is required to promote the public good, and to go as far in his public legislation as the public sentiment will sustain him. I have been, perhaps, as strong a party man as any in this country, but I am proud to be able to say, that anxious as I have been to promote the views of party, much as I believe in the existence of parties in the State, and the advantages of having a strong

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Opposition as well as Government, anxious as I am to serve the party from whom I have received such unqualified support and co-operation, I am able to say that I have regarded one thing as of paramount importance, and that is the interests of my country. It is not the first occasion on which as a public man, standing in the responsible position in which it has pleased the people of this Province to place me, I have brought forward measures and advocated them with all the zeal and earnestness I could bring to their discussion, although at the same time I believed them to be as fatal to the interests of my party as it was possible for any measures to be. I need not tell the House what was the sentiment of the country in regard to taxation for the support of schools. I need not tell the House how perfectly I was satisfied that in the ranks of the party which sustained me throughout this country there was a very large body of people who would not only resist, but resent such a change in the law as would impose a large burden upon the people for the support of schools. But I came to this table and imposed such a burden under the conviction that it was my duty to do so, for my conscience told me that that measure was imperatively required to promote the best interests of the country at large; but although I expected to produce a temporary dissatisfaction, I never had a doubt what the result would be after the people had had an abundant opportunity of testing the merits of the law.

“I believe that the intelligent sentiment of the country is in favour of the union, but then the mode by which it might be defeated is this: Whilst the opponents of the measure in the ranks of the Conservative party would withdraw their support and confidence from the Government, gentlemen who oppose the measure but prefer another party in this Province would combine with the former for the purpose of defeating the men in power. How could I have any doubt as to the intelligent sentiment of this country? Long ago it was acknowledged as a question removed from party, one which public men, irrespective of party consideration, should unite in promoting. When it was found that the Government must, under all circumstances, stand or fall by the question, then for the first time were public men who had been themselves most enthusiastic advocates of union prepared to take advantage of the opportunity thus offered—I will not say an unfair advantage, though I would be justified in saying it—for party purposes. Despite such fate, however, I feel convinced that not only the great body of the Conservative party,

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but the majority of the Liberals of this country—the standard-bearers of which have given this question a support which does infinite credit to their patriotism—are just as warmly in favour of union as when Mr. Howe was its most able exponent. I do not deny that there has been a large and formidable opposition to this measure, but I believe that when people look at it without reference to other public questions or any consideration of a party character, when it is no longer *sub judice*, but has become the law of the land, the constitution of the country for weal or woe, all classes will combine to sustain it, and the opponents of union will feel that there is but one course to pursue if they wish to lay claim to the character of statesmen or patriots, and that is to work out our new institutions in a manner that will be most conducive to the interests of the Province at large. . . .

“Not only is this scheme the very means by which British America can remain British America—by which we can retain the free British institutions which it is our pride and happiness to possess—but it opens up to these countries an avenue of prosperity such as was never offered to any people before. Therefore, I say, this measure of union, instead of increasing the burdens of the people, is effected upon terms which are going to continue, as under the ægis of Great Britain, to preserve to us her free institutions, to give us the largest amount of prosperity; all this, too, with an immunity from burthens that might well make us the envy of the world.

“Look across the borders, and what do you see the allies of our opponents doing? We see the Governor of Maine, in his annual message, declaring his hostility to Confederation, and asserting that the friends of the United States in these Provinces were doing their utmost to prevent the consummation of that scheme. Is there a man in this country who can be so blind as not to see what that means? Can anyone fail to see the opinion that the sagacious statesmen of the United States entertain of the future which is in store for British America under the scheme of Confederation? The statesmen of that country are bound to do all in their power to promote the stability of the institutions which they possess, but I am not less able to draw my deductions from the course they are pursuing. In the report of the Parliament of Maine, founded on that part of the Governor's address which refers to Confederation, you find a contrast drawn between British America and the United States. They tell you that the population of New Brunswick is increasing three times as rapidly as that of

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Maine, and look with disfavour upon a scheme which is going to increase the prosperity of that Province as well as of all British America. They see that this scheme will give an increase of power and influence to these Provinces, will bring into them a large amount of capital and wealth, will enable them to enjoy an unparalleled amount of prosperity, free from that heavy load of taxation which is now weighing down the people of the United States. It is for reasons like these that the statesmen of the United States look with a jealous eye upon the establishment of institutions which are going to strengthen the connection which now binds us to the parent State and to make us great and powerful. I ask the gentlemen opposite to weigh carefully the opinion which American statesmen express in respect to the measure of Confederation, and ask themselves whether they are justified in pursuing a policy antagonistic to the establishment of institutions which are not only going to make us prosperous, but will place us in a position that will excite the envy of one of the greatest nations of the world."

At this time, Canada rested upon the Act passed by the Imperial Parliament at the request of the Legislatures of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This was the British North America Act. Now it is before the Legislature of Nova Scotia, not to be accepted or rejected, but to be criticised, sustained, or opposed. Dr. Tupper, the Premier, is now forty-six years old, has had twelve years of political experience, had initiated Confederation, and had succeeded in carrying it to a successful issue. Now another task is before him, the extent and difficulty of which no one could foretell. Around the cradle of Confederation were coiled the serpents of political partisanship and hatred of taxation enforced by law to support schools, ready to strike their fangs into the breast of the infant Dominion. Far removed from these hostile elements, many men, true and loyal, believed that the liberties of the people had been trampled under the feet of an unscrupulous adventurer, and that no pains should be spared to do everything possible to rescue Nova Scotia from a future fraught with evil and certain disaster.

The election held in Annapolis County to fill the place of J. W. Johnstone, who had been appointed Judge in Equity, took place after the anti-confederate campaign had aroused opposition in the Province. The election went in favour of the

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Opposition. In 1867, two years after the establishment of free schools, the *Morning Chronicle*, the foremost paper in opposing the union, said of the result of the election in Annapolis: "The school bill, too, that wretched piece of legislation and administrative bungling, the injustice of which was one of the issues tried out by this election, has been most unequivocally condemned."

The violent partisanship which opposed the passage of the free school bill animated the partisan press after it had been in operation for two years, and used it to incense the people against the union of the Provinces. This subject of Confederation discussed in the Legislature of Nova Scotia must not be classed with parish politics. It was by no means limited to the little peninsula, in the Legislature of which it was then discussed. Nor was it confined to the new-born Dominion covering half of North America. It went out far beyond these bounds, and was destined to exert its influence, not only throughout the British Empire, but in the world at large. Upon this intense state of things in this Colonial Legislature, upon this acute crisis, now the light of more than forty years is turned. The heat, the conflict, the circumstances have been modified and neutralized by time. Surveyed in the illumination of experience, we see the actors, we hear their speech and trace the history then made as it came out of and proceeded from the conflict and confusion of that day. Some of them were men of ability, skilled in political warfare and leaders of men.

Of those opposing the Union of the Provinces, Joseph Howe and William Annand were the foremost. Mr. Howe had embodied his views of Confederation in his pamphlet addressed to the British Parliament. It was a studied and heroic attempt to defeat the passage of the measure in the British Parliament. In it he utterly condemned Confederation. In publishing this judgment, he was brought face to face with lifelong admissions that the future of British North America and of Great Britain herself, as well as of her Colonial possessions, was involved in and dependent upon Confederation. Stultified as he was by this sudden reversal of opinion, he yet took the risk of avowing it as his last and assured judgment. The Federal Union of the British North American Colonies received his unmitigated

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condemnation. The man who stood by him—a man of exceptional talent and long experience—was William Annand. Without him, Mr. Howe could not have successfully led the opposition to the stage it had now reached. With Mr. Howe against him, Mr. Annand could not have succeeded, with all the assistance that came to his support and the far-reaching influence of his paper, in a successful anti-union campaign. Mr. Annand, in the House of Assembly, after an effective speech by Dr. Tupper supporting the measure of Confederation, replied as follows:

“ If, however, the people are forced into the union, I do not hesitate to say that I will dedicate the remaining years of my life, be they many or few, to endeavour to repeal a union so hateful and obnoxious. I am an Englishman in spirit, if not by birth; I love the institutions of England, and if I am deprived of them and my liberties as a British subject, then all I can say is that by every constitutional means I will endeavour to overthrow and destroy a union brought about by corrupt and arbitrary means. . . .

“ The appointment of the Governor-General by the Crown is the only connecting link binding us to the Mother Country. Can it be supposed that it will be long before we shall have a president? You cannot graft this mongrel system upon monarchical institutions. When you change, you must become a republic, and the same game played by the American Government in Mexico will be played over again here. I look upon the scheme as the first step from the Mother Country, and I prophesy that ten years will not pass before this new nationality will drift into the United States. . . .

“ To support the Empire, I would pay England, not pound for pound with the people of the British Islands, with their vast accumulations of property and concentration of wealth, but such sum as a comparatively poor country with a sparse population could afford to pay. With these views I visited the Old Country; I cherish them still, and will continue to do so until they are crushed out by tyranny and oppression, in preference to those which are said to animate some gentlemen on these benches who favour Confederation, as the readiest mode of annexing those Colonies to the United States.”

Replying to Mr. Annand and others, Dr. Tupper said:

“ From the lips of our Royal Sovereign I have heard the warmest approval of union. The Province I represented had

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the great honour and distinction of my receiving Her Majesty's command to wait upon her at Buckingham Palace, and upon that occasion Her Majesty congratulated me upon the success which had attended our efforts, and when I expressed the gratification with which her loyal subjects would learn the deep interest she had evinced in this measure, she replied: 'I take the deepest interest in it, for I believe it will make them great and prosperous.'

"I have always felt that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Annand) was serving the United States rather than his own country. I do not refer to any hasty expression that may have fallen from his lips, but I have been painfully impressed with the fact that from the moment he took his present position he would use every effort to transfer this Province from under the British Crown to the Stars and Stripes. We are told by him to-night that he is ready to sacrifice the best interests of his country in order to gratify his yearning after connection with the United States, that he is prepared to choose as between a union with Canada and a union with the American Republic in favour of the latter. We have heard him characterizing the Parliament of Great Britain as ignorant and imbecile, heaping obloquy upon the grandest institutions that are the pride and glory of the world. He has declared that a preference for a closer union with the Empire would be a weak and foolish prejudice. He has not left the people of this country in any doubt as to his sentiments. . . . His position is now clearly defined and he has disarmed himself. In a loyal country like this, where the sentiments are clearly revealed, he must be perfectly impotent to effect any harm whatever. Joseph Howe says: 'By the expenditure of a million of lives and unknown millions of dollars the country is still nominally held together; but when hearts are estranged and interests are adverse, when communities baptized in blood and tears find in a great calamity ever-recurring elements of discord and reproach, the time is rapidly drawing on when the separation is inevitable, and when new combinations will grow out of the policy of passionate ambitions which the wit of man has hitherto been found powerless to control.'

"That is the condition in which the United States is now, as drawn by Mr. Annand's leader and co-delegate; and yet this country, which has sacrificed a million of lives in a recent struggle, which has incurred a debt greater than that of England—this country, riven by discord and strife in which the Parliament is arrayed against the president, is held up to our

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admiration, as the one to which we ought to be united. These gentlemen, who have failed to fasten the tyrannical scheme proposed for the organization of the Empire upon us, turn round and say: Instead of allowing you to form a part of a great, a free community with an amount of power and influence such as no other people ever possessed, we shall endeavour to drag you under the Stars and Stripes. . . .

"Mr. Annand has presumed to hurl charges of corruption against the loyal and patriotic members of this House. Is it in his own heart that he finds the ground of these charges? Let me ask him if, having found his standing in the presence of the Parliament, and daring to disparage the glorious British institutions under which we live, and if, in addition to this, we find him advocating a union with the United States instead of a union with British America, might not the charge be made that the money of the United States had been used to influence him? He talks to me of corruption! The man who has taken back every principle that he has ever propounded in this House—the man who goes to England and says to the Imperial Parliament—'Be careful of your money, do not give a guarantee for a loan of three million pounds for the construction of a railway which is going to make Halifax a city of one hundred thousand souls, and give us connection with the United States and the Canadas,' who says, 'I am aware that I have claimed the confidence of Halifax on the ground that I was an advocate of an intercolonial railway, but never mind that; I am determined to use every effort I can to prevent the consummation of that work.'

H "Mr. Annand tells us that the American Government are so anxious to obtain possession of us that they may come in and buy up the confederate parliament. Is it, or is it not, an unjust suspicion to suppose that if the American Government are so corrupt that they would buy up the confederate Parliament of British America, they have found means to buy up one or two individuals in the Legislature of Nova Scotia? Is it because we have always held one view on this question that we are to be taunted by gentlemen with corruption, who have taken back the declarations of a lifetime? If this Parliament could be so degraded that men could be influenced by corrupt means to trifle with the best interests of the country, then I say he has given the best evidence in the world why Confederation should take place. If legislators second to none that ever sat within these walls for probity, intelligence, education and everything that constitutes able and valuable men, are of the character he would have us suppose they are, then

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he has given us the best evidence that Nova Scotia is unworthy of British institutions, and the sooner some other country governs us the better. But I feel I am insulting the intelligence of the country when I suppose that for an instant it would do aught but treat with contempt the unfounded insinuations of Mr. Annand, whose own openly avowed sentiments this evening have placed him in so unenviable a position. I feel that the question can safely be left to the patriotism and intelligence of this deliberative Assembly, who have always approached it in a spirit that proves them worthy of the free institutions they enjoy, and that an intelligent and loyal population will cordially sustain them, thus seeking to elevate and advance our common country."

Mr. James Fraser said:

"I did not know what kind of a bargain the delegates would make when they went thousands of miles away, and I thought it wrong that we should not have the opportunity of saying whether we opposed their arrangements or not; and, second, I knew that a great many of the people were opposed to union. From causes which cannot very well be explained, the people are afraid of change. The first reason for my opposition has now been done away; and, as far as I am able to judge, I am disposed to think that the bargain which the delegates have made is a great deal better than the Quebec scheme, though even that I was not afraid of. I had intended last year to go further than I did; I intended not only to have opposed the resolution, but to have supported the amendment, but before the discussion was over, I discovered something I did not like. I discovered among some gentlemen a strong desire for annexation to the United States. . . . And now, continued opposition is not consistent. I consider the question has come to be in that state in which further opposition would not only be useless but dangerous. We are all proud of the eloquence and abilities of Mr. Howe, and when he went to England I waited with great anxiety to see if he was going to give us something which we would consider better than the scheme of Confederation; but when I found him propounding a scheme which was long ago condemned by himself as impracticable, I began to think that if he had nothing better to propound, there was nothing better to be expected than the scheme which had been before us. . . . Another matter which operated strongly on my mind was the fact that our American neighbours opposed Confederation. Is that on account of their love

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for us? No, but because they do not wish to see the British power grow up alongside of them."

Mr. Ezra Churchill expressed his views in these words:

"In view of these questions I have felt that if my last hour had come, and my opinion were asked, I would say, do not be afraid to venture on the great realities that will break forth on a combined people. Isolated, there is no safety; combined, there is wisdom and security."

Among the speakers on the Government side were James McDonald, afterwards Chief Justice, and A. G. Archibald. The vote stood thirty-two against the amendment and sixteen for it.

Just how much genuine sentiment in favour of annexation to the United States existed during the time Confederation was under discussion, it is now, and was, doubtless, at the time, impossible to discern. Old political combinations were dissolved and new ones formed. Jonathan McCully, A. G. Archibald and Dr. Tupper co-operating in a political campaign, arrested attention and struck the imagination of the Province and suggested the question, Is there to be a total dissolution of old parties? Joseph Howe and A. G. Jones, a wealthy merchant of Halifax, walking arm in arm, was a spectacle worthy of the political dreamers of that day. While it is not possible to state the extent to which union with the Republic was a preference with men in the heat of battle and the tug of the anti-confederate war, it is, and was, evident that such sympathy was expressed. Occasionally the Stars and Stripes seemed to wave over the anti-confederate camp, and the strains of the "Star Spangled Banner" mingled with its music. Although many of the first generation had disappeared from public life, though Johnstone, Wilkins, Uniacke, Huntington, Stewart and the Youngs were not there, yet their mantles were worn by worthy successors. From 1758 to 1867, more than a century, this Legislature had been the arena where giants met and fought. It might be said that no Legislature in British North America was equal to it. Sentiments and forces coming from remote and diverse directions had met and mingled, producing results difficult to comprehend or describe. The religious zeal, the fearless purpose begotten in the days of intolerance in the

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Old Land, and which freighted the *Mayflower* and other ships of the Pilgrim Fathers, who looked defiantly into the face of bitter winters and hostile savages, had not yet lost its power in Nova Scotia. It still existed, modified and toned, it is true, by more than two centuries of life in America. Charles Tupper and Herbert Huntington are examples of those who inherited the distinguished qualities of their forefathers, the Pilgrim Fathers.

In the session of 1867, the last for Nova Scotia under the old order of things, the Hon. Dr. Tupper introduced and carried a bill, reducing the number of members from over fifty to thirty-eight. He also abolished the offices of Solicitor-General and Financial Secretary, thus largely reducing the cost of the Legislature. These measures were strongly opposed by anti-confederate members. Dr. Tupper also passed an Act to prevent dual representation, which has since become the policy of all the Provinces of the Dominion.

CHAPTER L.

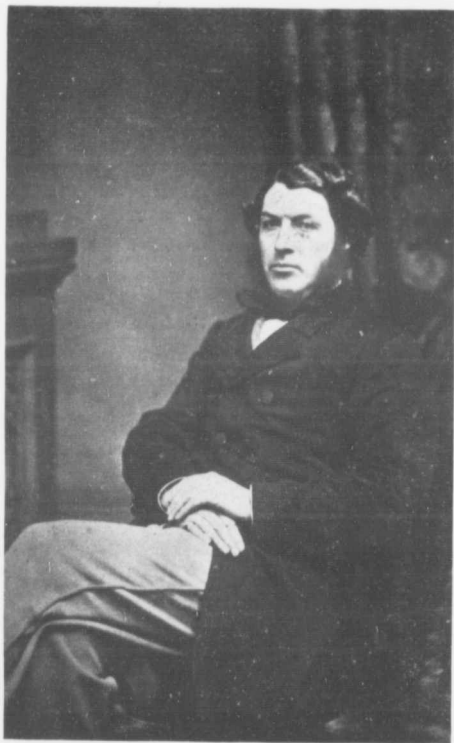
THE MAN FOR THE TIMES.

PUBLIC sentiment in Nova Scotia at the time of Dr. Tupper's advent into political life was the result of forces emanating from both Great Britain and France and their American Colonies. The character of the men of this Province was largely the product of the British American Colonies, both before and after the Revolution. The social, political, intellectual, moral and religious life of Great Britain in the last of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries crossed the ocean and animated and moulded the sentiment of the people of the New World. The distinguished statesmen under the Georges—Robert Walpole, William Pitt, Edmund Burke—and Henry Fox, Melbourne, Peel, Russell, Gladstone and others under the late rulers, through Archibald, Stewart, Johnstone, Howe, Huntington and the Youngs, exerted a positive and directing influence in Nova Scotia as well as in Great Britain.

The political education of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" was not confined to the British Islands. Its economic doctrines moulded the sentiments of Nova Scotia statesmen. The inventions that awakened thought and started a revolution in the Old World, touched and stirred the cities on this side of the Atlantic. The twin despotism of Church and State, doomed by the fall of the Bastille, and the spectacular and tragic career of the great democratic despot, Napoleon, started and bewildered all the nations. The republic established in the New World was reproduced in terror, blood and confusion in the Old World. The nations awoke from a dream centuries long. Some of them fell, and others found their hearts failing them for fear. Into this general dissolution the doctrines of Hume, Voltaire and Thomas Paine were poured and became solvents in the religious realm, as republicanism

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Charles Tupper

(From a photograph taken in 1856.)

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was in the realm of civil life. Old faiths, like the old monarchies, were threatened with extinction. This added to the confusion and made it worse confounded. Above the noise of the conflict, between the intellectual defenders of the old and the new teachings, was heard the fiery eloquence of Whitefield and the Wesleys, awakening to religious life the submerged, besotted masses of Great Britain, delving in her mines, her fields and her cities. This was reproduced in the old Colony of Nova Scotia. The English prototypes in their disciples—the evangelists—William Black, James McGregor, the Dimmocks, Mannings and Chipmans, urged on by Pauline zeal, and travelling from end to end of Nova Scotia, wrought among the people a revolution corresponding to that produced in the British Islands.

Life in the east acted on life on the west side of the Atlantic. The success of the American republic was felt with irresistible force in Great Britain and on the Continent. The battle between the monarchical haughtiness of the Georges, the conservatism of the Whiggism of Burke and Pitt, the radicalism of men stigmatised as sansculotts in the dominion of the state, the arrogant, haughty assurance of churchism, and the zeal and courage of evangelism had not yet reached their finality; but a state of equilibrium and fair play had been secured. Nova Scotia took part in this war, and has emerged from the strife, having little to regret, and with a large measure of the good results that have come of a long and difficult struggle.

These varied forces, generated in the Old Country and in the New, swept back and forth across the Atlantic, changing sentiment, influencing life and creating character.

The liberties and commerce of the old British-American Colonies, snubbed and embarrassed by a blind imperialism, irritated to desperation the independent spirit of the Colonists. Goaded on by it from stage to stage, they at last found themselves actors in the tragedy of a sanguine revolution. Brothers and sisters of these patriots, pre-Loyalists, and the Loyalists, driven before confiscation and persecution, were swept all the way from Georgia to Maine into Nova Scotia. The former, gratified with the success of the patriots, and the latter, filled with bitter memories of the cruel war, found themselves neighbours, but not friends, in this Province.

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The Rev. Jacob Bailey, a Loyalist clergyman at Annapolis, writes as follows: "We are about to have an election, bloody noses and broken heads." He might have put it in another form—"The Loyalists and pre-Loyalists are about to have a fight at the polls." In Pictou, the Liberals and Tories joined in a similar conflict. It would have been equally true and with emphasis to have said that the Scottish churchmen and the Free churchmen, burghers and anti-burghers, were settling their differences by bruising each other's heads. New World and Old World battles were fought in Nova Scotia, but evangelism, put into the lump, worked to the end of ultimate perfection. It was this power that subdued the beast in men, disarmed the haughty pride of the intellectual few, and brought together in holy brotherhood all classes of people, as in the first century it begot between Paul, once a proud, bigoted, learned Jew, and Onesimus, a Roman slave, a fellowship not of earth. In Nova Scotia it became a bond of union between Loyalists, pre-Loyalists and others from the Old World and elsewhere—men holding sentiments that clashed like the swords of fierce combatants. The intellectual life also of England was caught and reflected in this Colony by such men as Howe and Haliburton. At that day, men did not live in the rushing, dashing conditions of life now existing. They read carefully and extensively. They thought deeply and independently. Their natures were conservative and their convictions firm. The patrician spirit, however, has a persistent life. In the form of church and stateism it rooted itself in Halifax, when in 1749 the city was founded. In 1858, Episcopacy, being made the religion of the State, became doubly assured of perpetual existence. From 1837 to 1847, Joseph Howe pounded it to pulp a hundred times, and yet it survived. It was years after this date that the Bishop was excluded from the old Council of Twelve. Even as late as the early sixties, when Dr. Tupper was in public life securing for the country free schools and Confederation, the Episcopal Bishop of Nova Scotia petitioned the Legislature for a pension for Dr. McCauley, who was about to retire from the presidency of the Episcopal College at Windsor. That seems to have been its last gasp and its last grasp for special political favour. The reply to this prayer was that the House would not for a

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moment entertain such a proposition. While political, social and religious privileges were in the iron grip of tradition, contributing self-complacency and assurance to the privileged few, discontent and demands from the masses were not wanting. Neither did they lack men of ability to represent them in every sphere of public life. Under the leadership of Joseph Howe, what had been mere skirmishing settled into persistent, dogged warfare. The times were ripe. The demand was urgent. The call was loud. With a light heart, young Howe accepted leadership. His talents, his passionate fondness, never stronger in any Ironside under Cromwell, for battering down the ramparts behind which the privileged had entrenched themselves, bore him along in a daring crusade. The fire started in all directions and inflammable material burst into flame. Quebec and Ontario, engaged in the same struggle, pressed into service fines, imprisonment, the torch, banishment and the gallows. Nova Scotia omitted these agencies. No fine was inflicted, no prison door opened, no fire kindled, no blood shed, no man was banished and no gallows was erected.

The solid conservatism of the Loyalists and the men directly from the Old Country, the self-confident, unbending natures of the descendants of the pre-Loyalists and other Liberals had their fierce struggles for political life, but the droll humour of Howe kept all in good nature, giving relief to irritated spirits in perpetual merriment. Howe's bed-rock loyalty and Johnstone's steady and moderate conservatism coming together were united, and fashioned a public sentiment under the influence of which the people were carried into the light of constitutional liberty, and had their political institutions intelligently grounded in responsible government, for which the prerogatives of the Legislature, the Executive, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Parliament and Crown of Great Britain were carefully adjusted, and produced a government in which is the "hiding of power," the English Colonial system, now the puzzle and admiration of the nations of the earth.

Halifax stands well to-day for the number of her public and charitable institutions. But previous to 1850 it was different, not, however, for the lack of means for establishing such institutions. The city then, according to her population, was the richest city in Canada. But there was no public hos-

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pital providing adequate means for accommodating the sick of the country, and the sailors from all nations who frequented the port. Men without means and the press of that day frequently called attention to this sad state of things. No man or men appeared who would wipe away this reproach. Attempts, however, were made. In 1850, offers came from private citizens to found a hospital, provided the City Council would grant a site on which to erect it. The terms were modest, generous and liberal, but they were rejected. Two enterprising physicians, Dr. J. H. Slater and Dr. Jennings, heeding the pathetic call, opened a hospital on Grafton Street, but it had a brief existence. The City Council, at length feeling the pressure of public opinion, built a hospital in the south end of the city. It was, however, unsatisfactory and failed to meet the demands of the day.

Such were the circumstances when, in 1863, Dr. Tupper became leader of the Nova Scotia Government. Fortunately he had the head and the heart of the statesman and the philanthropist. Here was an undertaking worthy of his public spirit and executive talent. He resolved that the old poor house sheltering paupers and the homeless sick should give place to something better. Disregarding opposition that might have deterred an ordinary man, his Government founded the Victoria General Hospital, and made the way clear for the erection of a suitable poor house building. From that day until this, ample provision has existed for the sick at home, and for the sailors of all nations putting into Halifax harbour.

As has been stated, one of the first things accomplished after the Conservative Government came into power in 1857, was the settlement of the mines and minerals question, which had been the puzzle of provincial statesmen for a quarter of a century, but which, when settled, secured for the country great financial advantages. Over \$600,000 a year now flows into the treasury from that source.

The representation of the townships in the House of Assembly, as unjust as the Rotten Boroughs of England, was at this time permanently settled by a wise leadership. The New England States and Ontario had public school systems, efficient and free. Nova Scotia lacked such an institution. By giving

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the country common schools supported by taxation, Dr. Tupper lifted Nova Scotia out of disgraceful illiteracy.

By a backward glance, it will appear that Howe came to the front to break down the old order of things and prepare the way for the new. Sir Colin Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor, voiced the demands of his day when he urged J. W. Johnstone to enter his Cabinet and aid him in fashioning the institutions of the Province under responsible government. By the combined labours of Howe and Johnstone, Nova Scotia obtained self-government. Before the election of Dr. Tupper, Nova Scotia had been connected by telegraph with the outside world. The building of railroads east and west had been undertaken. When the Conservatives, among whom were Mr. Dickey and Mr. Macfarlane, afterwards senators, came into Dr. Tupper's office in 1855, with the urgent request that he would oppose Mr. Howe in the pending election, they found he had a settled desire to help Mr. Johnstone. That was all. This desire was full of significance, as much in interpreting the past as in predicting the future.

For the twenty-eight years previous to this, Dr. Tupper's father, the Rev. Dr. Tupper, had been in fellowship with J. W. Johnstone, J. W. Nutting, Dr. Crawley, John Ferguson and others, men of the Loyalist school, of high culture and sterling integrity, noble character and deeply religious and public-spirited withal. Under the moulding influence of his father and others of pre-Loyalist descent, together with the men just named, Dr. Tupper, in his early life, was so circumstanced that the best and strongest forces then operating in Nova Scotia acted upon him, giving him large, noble and impartial views on all matters, private and public. It might be said of him that he was never young, as it is equally true that Mr. Howe was never old, meaning that the former was mature in early life, and the latter never outgrew his youthful deficiencies. Both Tupper and Howe were about thirty-four years old when they entered political life. Both lacked previous training for the leadership they were compelled to undertake as soon as they crossed the threshold of the House of Assembly. Had they begun political life as early as the Earl of Chatham, a very short time in training would have been necessary to qualify them for their best work in statecraft. Howe seemed

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to have in the beginning of his public career more wisdom, more caution than at any subsequent period. He made rapid strides in the acquisition of knowledge. In wisdom he stood still. In fact, caution and prescience seemed to disappear with his youth. In later public life he blundered egregiously. The self-reliance, courage, assurance and power characterizing Dr. Tupper's political career appeared at its beginning. From first till last, he seemed easily equal to all demands, small or great. He would be a reckless friend who would now attempt to justify and harmonize many of Mr. Howe's doings in his tumultuous career. It might be said of him, as of another, that he was presumptuously impracticable. While Dr. Tupper did not possess the adroitness and charm of Sir John A. Macdonald of drawing men to himself, smoothing down their asperities and removing their antagonisms, yet he "was a man of action, with a genius for efficiency and a born ruler of men." He was clear-visioned and had but little sympathy with the theories and refinements of philosophical speculation in matters of State. Howe's fatal defect was lack of judgment. He was the victim of the orator's passion, carried away by the impulses of the moment, apparently without much thought of the morrow or the more distant future. Howe was a rhetorical voice. Tupper was action and deeds. Having disposed of provincial questions, Dr. Tupper turned his attention to a larger work.

Responsible government had been established and much good legislation secured before Dr. Tupper entered the Provincial Parliament. At that time other and larger problems presented themselves for solution. The interests of Nova Scotia were bound up in the destiny of the other British-American Colonies. To deal with the future of half of North America required prevision and wise statesmanship. Peoples kept apart from their earliest settlement in social, commercial and religious life were to be brought together, united, harmonized and launched upon a grand future. This was the then present demand. The conditions of the United States, England and, in fact, the whole world made a union of the Colonies of British America an undertaking as urgent as it was important. The time arrived when a man was called for to be the leader in this work—a man of commanding personality, judgment as clear as a cloudless noonday sky, as self-reliant as a well-practised

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captain at the helm in a furious storm, skilled for the work of construction, having the gift and passions for ruling men and managing events and circumstances. With less than this for an equipment, any man might hesitate to undertake the leadership in the matter of uniting the British Colonies.

The call was for a man and not for men. The country was rich in men, but could there be found the man? Woe to the State if the one man is rejected and the interests of a country committed to the jarring, bustling, hither and thither course of great men occupying a common level. Had England given to Lord Chatham the helm of State, the American Colonies would not have been lost to the Crown. Perhaps the condition of health should be added.

When disjointed events and unleashed forces meet in conflict, it is only the man of calmness, of clear foreknowledge and dominating personality who can bring order out of confusion and light out of darkness. Cromwell, Washington, Pitt and Cobden are examples. To meet and manage unforeseen events in Nova Scotia, a young man was borne out of the quiet life of a country, medical practitioner, first into the arena of provincial politics, and after into a world-wide sphere. He knew not whence the forces, coming from every quarter, some like quiet tributaries of a river, and others like rushing mountain torrents, would bear him.

Driven by a desperate condition of her own creation, Canada, held in the iron grip of irreconcilable race and religious antagonism and deadlocks, looked abroad and saw possible deliverance in the union of all the Colonies. This was not the case in Nova Scotia. Dr. Tupper initiated Colonial union when the Province was having unusual prosperity. The union of the Maritime Provinces was undertaken, first, because the Upper Provinces were not prepared to act for a general union.

As has been shown in this history, the undertaking went on from stage to stage until a formidable and determined opposition appeared in Nova Scotia. This more than doubled the demand upon the leader. Men of unusual talents appeared on both sides and heroically contended for and against Confederation. In this, as in kindred undertakings of sharp and strenuous conflict, many men acted their part unconscious of any force coming from without, and acting upon them as they

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were carried along in the prolonged struggle. On the one side was the veteran Howe; on the other, Charles Tupper. From each went forth an influence, animating their respective followers. By these forces the parties were held together and each became as one man. As heart beats are felt to the fingertips, so the two parties felt the throbbing energy of their respective leaders. But there was a palpable difference between the spirit of the unionists and the animus of the anti-unionists. In the confederates was the element of typical conservatism. In the anti-confederates resolve was hot and temper violent, thereby making it clear that the influence felt by the unionists, calm and assured, was a guarantee of certain victory—a condition of mind which the anti-unionists did not feel, and which they did not at first discern in their opponents. To the latter it was a gleam of victory; to the former, the foredoom of failure and overthrow. The power, felt by the union party, emanated from the one source—the man of iron will and face of flint set against the popular turbulent purpose to smite down the union of the British North American Colonies after thirty years of agitation and discussion in which the consensus of public opinion, both in the Colonies and in the Mother Country, had been almost unanimous in its favour, and after it had become ripe for accomplishment.

The retrospect makes it evident beyond a doubt that there existed no sufficient ground whatever for the opposition to union into which many excellent men were drawn, and in which they suffered more than can be known. J. W. Johnstone, the faithful and distinguished advocate of Confederation, discussed the matter with Lord Durham in 1838 at Quebec. In this conference with that prescient statesman, Mr. Johnstone saw that the only hope of a great future for British North America was through the union of all its Colonies. On his return to Halifax, and in his place in the Legislative Council, he declared his sentiments, assured of their soundness and convinced that in due time the vision of a confederated North America would be realized. In none of the Colonies was there a man at that time to stand with him, except in a feeble echo of what he and Lord Durham had uttered. Both the Canadas were in feuds and fights—Tories and Liberals, French and English, in bitter contention. Joseph Howe in the Nova Scotia

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Assembly had no vision. He shook his head and said: "Be careful and not commit this little Colony by the sea to the tender mercies of its big brothers in the west." But J. W. Johnstone never weakened. In 1854, although in Opposition, the burden of Confederation was so heavy upon him that he introduced resolutions favouring it into the Assembly, and sustained them by a speech of masterly power and eloquence. That was the day for Joseph Howe. But he saw it not. Instead of joining hands with the great Johnstone in a campaign for the union of these scattered Colonies, he fell into the dream of an organized Empire, having each Province, small and large, represented at Westminster—a dream and a Utopian dream it was, futile and visionary. Seven years later, Joseph Howe, apparently resolving not to be outdone by Dr. Tupper, introduced a resolution into the House of Assembly for the purpose of having delegates from the several Provinces meet at Quebec to discuss, and, as he said, put at rest this question of Confederation. In this he was supported by both Mr. Johnstone and Dr. Tupper, who voted for his resolutions. The spirit and letter of these resolutions and the discussion of them at Quebec proved that there was no settled purpose in the mind of their author to carry forward an honest campaign for Confederation. Again, in 1864, and just on the eve of passing from political life to the Bench of the Supreme Court, when Dr. Tupper proposed his resolution for Maritime Union, Mr. Johnstone reaffirmed his views in a speech warmly favouring general union, and if that were not possible, then Maritime Union as an important step in the direction of the larger Confederation. During this quarter of a century, from the time when he discussed the matter with Lord Durham on the heights at Quebec, until 1864, his convictions respecting Confederation became clearer and more assured. In 1857, when a delegate to London for the purpose of settling the question of the mines and minerals, he placed the matter before the Colonial Secretary, and by his cogent pleadings urged it upon his attention. So convinced was he that the future welfare of his adopted country depended upon the Confederation of the Colonies, that as a Judge of the Supreme Court, and after the passage of the British North America Act, he fervently exhorted, especially the young men of the country, to unite in carrying into

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effect this great undertaking. In reply to the addresses of the Grand Juries at Amherst, Truro, and especially at Annapolis, the county he loved so well, he referred to the accomplishment of Colonial Union, and pointed out with characteristic clearness of vision the path of duty for the young men of the country.

If ever in the history of the British Colonies there has been an example of safety and of final success in sinking side issues and mere partisan matters, and in holding to first principles in the firm belief of certain results, predicted by causes clearly in existence, it was in the history of the union conflict in Nova Scotia—the Confederation storm centre for three years.

Union as a theory, discussed in an academic fashion, had been before the public for a quarter of a century. The time had now arrived when it must be dealt with as a practical measure. For theory without practice Dr. Tupper had no special talent, indeed an utter lack of passion; but give him something to do in respect to which he had firm convictions, founded on knowledge, gained apparently by intuition and not by metaphysical analysis and logical deduction, and he was ready to go forward—a leader to the manner born, knowing neither fear nor discouragement. To him it was a certainty that the welfare of Nova Scotia was involved in Colonial union, whether regarded in relation to the Republic at the south, the British Islands and their Colonial dependencies, or in any possible destiny open before her.

From 1837 to 1873, Joseph Howe, whether or not the literal leader, or whether or not in the Assembly, was always at the head of the Liberal party. Whoever might undertake leadership was sure to find Joseph Howe his rival. It is equally true that Dr. Tupper was ever a leader whether in local or Dominion political life. But someone will say, Was not Sir John A. Macdonald the dominating statesman in confederating and consolidating the Provinces? It is true that he acted his part wisely and grandly, and Charles Tupper chose at times to live out of sight in his shadow, as he had done in his relation to Mr. Johnstone in the local Parliament. He could do even more than this, and did do it. When the circumstances required it, he effaced himself by putting Joseph Howe, whom he found bewildered and bruised, in the front, and stood behind him with a David-Jonathan fidelity. After the anti-

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confederate storm had burst upon the Province and the Dominion, either in sight or out of sight, Charles Tupper was ever the wise, prompt, bold leader. He went forward with a firm step and unshaken confidence. To meet provincial and national contingencies, British America must be united and nationalized. Flushed with the victory of the settlement of the mines and minerals question, the just equalization of representation in the House of Assembly, the building of a hospital adequate to the humane demands of the time, and the establishment of a free, common school system which will hand his name down to posterity, Dr. Tupper looked abroad for other undertakings and responded to the claims of Confederation. To this he was not driven by an acute condition of things in the Government of the Province as was the case in Canada, but he was led to it by a vision open only to the select few. It was the prescience and undaunted courage of the statesman which impelled him to this grand, forward movement. A leader prepared by Providence for the times, as we say, is more clearly recognized after the confusion and dust of battle have disappeared than he is while the conflict is going on.

Confederation was launched in Nova Scotia by one man. It required the prescience of a statesman, and a firm and dominating personality to begin the work. It required even more to carry it to success. Men in the British Parliament, in the United States and in the other Colonies looked with interest upon Nova Scotia during this hard-fought battle.

CHAPTER LI.

RESISTANCE TO THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT.

So many and rapid were the changes in the swift revolvings of the political whirligig, that in order to intelligently follow the business of Confederation, frequent stock-taking becomes necessary. The Nova Scotia Legislature was prorogued about the middle of May, 1864. At this point a calm survey of the situation is important. As a result of correspondence between D'Arcy McGee and Dr. Tupper, a large number of the members of the Canadian Parliament and others from the Upper Provinces visited St. John and Halifax for the express purpose of facilitating the projected union of the Provinces. Immediately following this successful social intercourse were the conventions at Charlottetown and Quebec, the one in September and the other in October. So far everything went in favour of Confederation. On the return of the Nova Scotia delegates from Quebec, public efforts were made by them to further enlist the people in this momentous undertaking. For this purpose public meetings were held in the city of Halifax and elsewhere, and were addressed by Dr. Tupper, A. G. Archibald and Jonathan McCully. The confident assurance of the success of the measure may be seen in a speech delivered by Dr. Tupper on this occasion.

It was at this stage that opposition to the undertaking, initiated by the Honourable W. J. Stairs, the Honourable A. G. Jones and William Annand, found expression at public meetings called for the purpose.

Then followed the rejection of the Quebec scheme by New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. In view of the action of New Brunswick, nothing was done in the Nova Scotia Legislature during 1865, except to pass a resolution introduced by the Premier, Dr. Tupper, to take steps to renew the effort for a Maritime Union. This was done because

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the greater union seemed for the time blocked by the action of New Brunswick, and it would not interfere with the Quebec scheme. In the summer of 1865, Dr. Tupper and Attorney-General W. A. Henry went to England on railway and other business. Of course, the matter of Confederation was discussed by them with the Colonial Secretary.

The dismissal of Jonathan McCully from the editorial chair of the *Morning Chronicle*, the offering of this position to Mr. Howe and his declining it, the writing of articles in the *Morning Chronicle* under the caption of "The Botheration Scheme," believed, at the time, to be by Mr. Howe, and acknowledged as his own at the joint debate in Truro of 1867; the proposal of William Miller in the Assembly of 1866 to send delegates to London to act with delegates from Canada and New Brunswick; the introduction and passage of resolutions authorizing the Governor to send delegates to England to act with the delegates from other Provinces in forming a Confederation Act; the appointment of delegates in accordance with the resolution of the Legislature; the election in New Brunswick resulting in favour of the projected union and the appointment of delegates from that Province to London; the appointment of Nova Scotian citizens, Mr. Howe, William Annand and Hugh McDonald, to proceed to London to oppose the passage of any Act of Confederation that might be submitted to the Government and Parliament of Great Britain; the doings of the delegates in London; pamphlets written for and against union by Howe, Annand, Tupper, McCully, Archibald and others; the employment of John Bright by the anti-confederate delegates to oppose the measure for union in the House of Commons; the deliberation of the delegates from Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and their agreement on a measure to be submitted to the Government and Parliament of Great Britain; its acceptance and its discussion in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and its final passage on the 29th of March, 1867, in the form known as the British North America Act; its obtaining the Royal assent; the return of Dr. Tupper and the other delegates from England, and the session of the Legislature immediately following the return of these delegates; the favourable mention of the Imperial legislation in the Governor's speech; the amendment

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to that section of the address referring to this point, moved and seconded by Stewart Campbell and others; its rejection in both branches of the Legislature by large majorities; the proroguing of the Legislature and the Canadian elections for both the Local and the Dominion Parliaments—an account of all the above may be found in the foregoing chapters.

At this stage it is important to ascertain as nearly as possible the temper and attitude of both parties—the unionists and anti-unionists. The opposers of Confederation might, at this date, have stored their weapons in the armouries, and embraced the occasion for organizing a new campaign. Union has passed through the stage of discussion in the light of the real and the practicable. It had proceeded a step further. It had become law, grounded in legislation by four Provinces and the Imperial Parliament. By the efflux of time the Nova Scotia Assembly expired in the summer of 1867. The general election for both the Local and the Dominion Houses was held on the same day in September of that year. The time between the proroguing of the Local Assembly and the general election was a memorable period in the history of the Provinces. Mr. Howe was in his element. Popular feeling against Confederation, fanned and excited by the press and the eloquence of anti-unionists, waxed hotter and hotter all over the Provinces. The tide rose rapidly. Feelings became stronger and deeper. Mr. Howe was in high spirits. Again he was the popular idol. Crowds lung on his lips. His sallies of wit, his stalest jokes evoked peals of laughter and tumultuous applause. The sincere and the insincere, the opportunists and men of honesty; liberal partisans, old and young; merchants, traders, mechanics and farmers, honestly afraid of the ill-results of Confederation on the commerce, the labour and the business of the Province; and men of all sorts and classes, caught by the anti-confederate tide, were swept along, united and determined to break up the detested union. Mr. Howe was in the lead of this aroused and vehement party, which had long since out-distanced sober thought, loyalty to facts and impartial deliberation. This was not the current of a deep, slowly flowing river; it was the torrent dashing down the hillside, increasing its own momentum as it hurried on to the unseen Dead Sea of ultimate defeat of which it had neither foresight nor fear.

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The heat of the political campaign of 1867 and the material used on both sides, or at least the substantial part of it, may be found in the two speeches given at a joint meeting, one by Mr. Howe and the other by Dr. Tupper at Truro. From that meeting the respective sides, by employing shorthand writers, and thus giving to the press the addresses as delivered, planned to supply their followers with campaign literature to be freely used from one end of the Province to the other, during the two months before the people would be called upon to give their judgments by recording their votes at the polls. Mr. Howe's speech is a mirror, in which may be seen both the spirit and the arguments of the anti-confederates. This is also true of Dr. Tupper's address. The two sides of the subject and the animus of each party are discernible in the reports of this Truro contest. No one at this day can read the speeches of the two leaders and not be impressed with the contrast in fact, argument and temper found in them.

Hon. Mr. Howe said:

"The sight of the upturned faces of this audience is a sight refreshing to me indeed. Before I last went to England, I rambled through the eight western counties, in order to feel the pulse of the country, and to satisfy myself what my own countrymen felt and thought. In those eight western counties, I assure you on my honour, I was not only received by my old friends, who, Archibald says, have abandoned me on every side, but was welcomed by my old opponents by hundreds; and after I had gone through those eight counties, met everywhere by open hands and warm hearts, if I had been sent to rake up eight hundred confederates out of the whole eight counties with a small-tooth comb, I could not have found them. (Laughter.) I went home to England, and I believe that what I saw to the west truly represented the feelings of Nova Scotia. When I went to England, how was I confronted? By six men who were ready to swear on all the Bibles in England that I was misrepresenting the feelings of the people of Nova Scotia, that my anti-confederate opinions were at a discount in Nova Scotia, that a large majority were in favour of Confederation, and that in my opposition to it I had hardly a sergeant's guard to sympathize with me; and now, when I come into the county represented by one of these gentlemen, and see this large assemblage here to-day, and witness the expression of

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feeling manifested here, I ask myself, did I not truly represent the feelings of Nova Scotia on this question? I have no relative in Colchester, no client, no debtor. No man in it is afraid of my influence or my money. I stand here before you naked and defenceless if I have not your friendship. (Cries of 'You have it.')

"The first time I ever saw this noble county was many years ago. I have never forgotten its aspect. The old Council of Twelve had denied the right of the people to regulate their own taxation, to control their own revenue. There had sprung from the heart of this county a man whose name, I regret to say, is the same as that of the gentleman who first addressed you. I remember how nobly the people of Colchester acted on that occasion. They triumphantly sustained S. G. W. Archibald in that contest, and vindicated the rights of the people, and taught a lesson to that old Council which has lasted them for thirty years. They afforded a noble illustration of the spirit and energy of the people of that county, which I trust that the young boys I see around me to the last hour of their existence will never forget. I was told in England that the delegates represented the feelings of the people of Colchester. ('No! no!') I did not believe it then. I do not believe it now. You have heard to-day much of the same sophistical argument which was repeated over and over again in England. What does it all amount to? Take the very challenge which the honourable and learned gentleman has given me. He says: 'Take my thirteen years of public life and show me any inconsistencies.' And yet, does he not sit surrounded by the men who, he said, ought to be in the asylum? Did he not go to Quebec with Jonathan McCully, who, a week before, said that Confederation would be ruinous to Nova Scotia? Yet, when McCully was bought by a delegation, he changed his opinions and sustained Mr. Archibald.

"You will remember that some years ago Jonathan came up to this county and declared that Dr. Tupper had wronged the country out of £90,000. It appears that he was guilty on that occasion of what ladies in polite language call a 'bounce.' It was rather more than even I could swallow, and I thought I could swallow a good deal. I was compelled to say that that statement was largely inaccurate. I believe Jonathan never forgave me for striking off £50,000. I believed in the story to the extent of £40,000.

"At Lunenburg I heard Dr. Tupper charge Jonathan with

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having £14,000 of the public money unaccounted for at that moment. As far as I know, neither Jonathan has withdrawn the charge against Tupper, nor Tupper that against Jonathan. Yet those two men have been side by side and cheek by jowl, and Archibald sitting between them. It would be profane to say that he was pilloried between two malefactors. It would be coarse and vulgar to say, and I have no desire to say anything coarse and vulgar here or anywhere else, but, sir, I would ask this: Is there an honest woman in Colchester who, if she had proclaimed another woman a strumpet, would go and breakfast, and dine, and sleep with her? Yet that is the position which the consistent gentleman who last addressed you occupies at this moment. I do not mean to say that he had called them such names, but I do say that they have used on one another similar language, and yet he has slept with them these two years. (Laughter.)

"The honourable and learned gentleman has spoken of my inconsistency, and has alluded to my action on the mines and minerals question. I did not lead up the opposition of which he has spoken, but William Young did. Young complained that Archibald allied himself with Johnstone to give him a slap in the face, and that Johnstone had put Archibald over Young's head. It was supposed that Johnstone thought he could manage Archibald more easily than Young. I never objected to a fair settlement of the mines and minerals question. The objection that Young took was, and not without reason, that the great Spring Hill mine, on the borders of this county, was handed over to the Association when they had never put a spade in the ground. And I believe that the Association have kept that mine locked up from that day to this.

"I did not mean to say that Archibald does not deserve credit for the settlement of the question. I was disposed to take a lenient view of his conduct on that occasion.

"It is astonishing how many words may be used and how little said. (Laughter.) You know it is hard to find a needle in a bundle of hay. I have listened for two hours to Mr. Archibald trying to make the advantages of Confederation clear to the people of Nova Scotia. Take his last argument. He says that ships can be built in the United States for \$100 a ton, here for \$50. If that is any argument, it is an argument for allowing us to remain as we are. We have worked well alone, and have beaten the world as a maritime people. Is there a boy in this audience that would not cut the throat of

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five hundred such arguments in five minutes? Then, again, what an argument it is in favour of Confederation that the United States, having been confederated, have rushed into three thousand millions of debt, and that we, not having been confederated, have not had that expenditure. His arguments destroy themselves. Is this precious instrument concocted by the delegates like the constitution of the United States? There is one thing of which the delegates cannot be accused—that is blasphemy. They have created a monstrous idol, but there is nothing like it in heaven, earth, hell, or the bowels of the earth. It is not Roman; it is not Grecian; it is not Dutch, Italian, English, Irish, Scotch, or Yankee. I will tell you how the constitution which they have passed was made. It was constructed like a road scale—not as a thing to last, but as a thing to be carried. Every one of these delegates that had an axe to grind, got it ground. There was a clause put in here to please this delegate, and a clause there to please another. I can compare it to nothing but to Joseph's coat. Compare it with the constitution of the United States. The men who composed that constitution did not do it in a fortnight; they were years about it. They were the men who carried it through the Revolutionary War, and yet after they had spent years in perfecting it, have we got the securities that are contained in that instrument? Why, sir, a Nova Scotian has but to go into little Massachusetts, into Rhode Island, or Connecticut, and there he will see the effects of their confederation. The men of those States elect their own Governor. Have we that power under this Confederation? The men of those States elect their own judges. I do not ask that we should have that power; but even that would be better than to allow the Canadians to elect them for us. I say that if elected, I would elect them for life. The people of Rhode Island elect their own senators. Ten or twelve men have been taken as senators for Nova Scotia. How have they been taken? Does not the mode in which it has been done show what is coming? (Cries: 'Yes.') For some of the men nominated I have a high respect. I do not believe that there is a better business man to be found than John H. Anderson. I believe he has acted according to his convictions of what was right. So with regard to Tom Archibald. I have nothing to say against their personal character. But what other names do I see on the senatorial list? We are told by a recent Canadian publication that the men who are to surround the Governor-General should enjoy

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the confidence of the country. I ask how much of the confidence of the country does Jonathan McCully possess? Could he be elected anywhere? (A voice: 'No.') Miller dare not go to the county he represented. As to Bill, I went into his county last summer, and he never showed his nose. Under the constitution of the United States none of those men could obtain a seat in the Legislature at all. Members of the senate there are chosen by the popular voice, as ours have been through the representatives of the people for the last twenty years. But the honourable gentleman told us that you cannot get a photograph taken in the United States without paying a tax on it. It is said that down the western shore of Halifax one of the union candidates is distributing his photograph. He has in effect told the people: 'It is true that I deceived you, it is true that I said I would cut my right arm off rather than prevent you having a voice on this question of Confederation; but now the thing is done, I have no explanation to give, but there's my photograph.' (Laughter and cheers.) I do not think we require the sunlight to fasten on the vision of the people of Nova Scotia the likeness of every man in the Legislature who voted for Confederation. I believe that their likenesses have sunk deep into our minds, and will descend with us to the grave; that among the sad and loathsome things we have seen, we will class the men of Nova Scotia who have brought us to this state of degradation.

"The honourable and learned gentleman has referred to our first intimacy. Well, we have been with each other not only in moments of conviviality and excitement, but also in hours of sorrow and grief, and there is not a day but that I wish that we had laid down side by side in some country churchyard before he had brought the country to its present condition, or we had confronted each other on such an issue as that now before us. The honourable gentleman referred to Scotland. He passed over the question of the union of that country with England, and said nothing about the Irish union; he let that flea stick by the wall.

"He has spoken of the prosperity of the United States consequent on their union. The prosperity is largely attributable to emigration. People fled there from Ireland and Scotland by hundreds. The honourable gentleman said to us what was rather an odd thing to say to anybody. He said that in a hundred and fifty years the population of Scotland has grown from one million to three millions. Does he not know

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that on this continent we make a new State every ten or fifteen years, because from the Old World people flock to this side of the Atlantic by thousands? I will not refer to the speeches delivered by me to which he has alluded. If anyone wishes to see my answer to what he has said, let him read my recent addresses at Mason Hall, at Dartmouth, and at Temperance Hall. In one paragraph of one of those addresses will be found a full answer to all that the honourable and learned gentleman has said to-day in reference to those speeches. In them also will be found a statement of the condition of Scotland at the present moment, taken from Government papers. You will find the actual condition of Ireland in the speech which I made at Mason Hall. Mr. Archibald concealed the fact which he ought not to have concealed. How were Ireland and Scotland treated at their union? He has referred to what Lord Belhaven said at the time of the Scottish union. How was that union carried? By the most gross corruption. So of the union of Ireland. By the purchasing of boroughs, and the bribery of everybody who would take a bribe. Mr. Archibald asks us to imitate this. No doubt the price paid for some of these men of Nova Scotia was a small one, but the process was the same as that adopted in Ireland and Scotland. Go and view the condition of Ireland as I have seen it. Many of the people there live in places in which no farmer in Colchester would put his horse. Strong men there earn only twelve shillings a week, women five shillings, and boys and girls two or three shillings, and are compelled to live on milk and potatoes. Even Scotland when bought, and Ireland when purchased, had more respect paid to them than we have had. The Scottish Act of Union was passed in the Scottish Legislature. What have we had? Our Act of Union has never been read in our Legislature. Our House of Assembly had no opportunity to pass upon it. Both the Scottish and Irish Acts of Union were debated in their respective Legislatures day by day and night by night. Was any such process adopted here? No. Our Legislature was asked to resign its functions and send those six men to make a law which had never been discussed in our Parliament. Dan O'Connell once said there never was an Act of Parliament you could not drive a coach and six through. I am not quite sure that our Act of Union is so well cemented that you could not drive a coach and six through it. I think that the Government made a fundamental mistake when they did not re-enact the Imperial Act in our

Legislature. Then the whole thing would have been water-tight. I am not sure that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council will not decide that to sweep away the revenues of a whole country by a single resolution is not the mode to destroy the independent existence of a British Colony.

"There were prayers made by certain fairies which people were to say backwards. I think I must take the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman backwards, and I am not sure, if you are going to turn any animal inside out, the better way is not to take hold of him by the tail. The honourable gentleman told you what he says I would have said if I had been in Cape Breton when it was annexed to Nova Scotia proper. He has been so in the habit of roaming about Colchester, and giving his own version of what I have said, that he thinks he can do the same thing now. But it will not do here. He says that the union of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia is analogous to this union of Nova Scotia and Canada. Such is not the case; Cape Breton had only a Governor and Council and an old iron chest. The Government had so fallen into contempt that one of the Governors one fine day walked off with the iron chest and all that was in it.

"Old Speaker Onslow used to say that Parliament had power to do anything, even to make a man a woman. If I had the latter power, I would make Archibald a woman to-morrow. (Laughter.) I am not sure that I would make him into a young woman—(renewed laughter)—because he has sundry smooth ways with him that might make him dangerous; but I would make him a pretty old woman. Then, if he said a good deal, and not all of it true, people would attribute it to his age and sex, and think nothing of it. He spoke of the Septennial Act in England, the Triennial Act, and the Franchise Act, and he asks were the people consulted about them? I suppose they were not. But does he know that in every one of those cases the people had the power to undo what was effected by those Acts? When the franchise was restricted, could not our Legislature at the next session have enlarged it? What makes the difference between that case and this is, that you have no power over the act that has been done, except to punish the men who did it. (A voice: 'We'll do it.') Suppose five lawyers and a doctor in England had bargained the country away to France. They would have their heads cut off in a moment. These men's heads, however, are worth so little that I would hardly take the trouble to cut them off.

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They have been nothing but the servile tools of the Canadians. We know that if men in England had attempted to do what they have done, their lives would not have been worth a moment's purchase. This is a highly respectable audience, and well capable of appreciating and understanding the question of Confederation. Why were you not here to discuss the question nine months ago? Mr. Archibald says that the Intercolonial Railway Act would have run out had there been a dissolution. Well, John Bull is not so bad a fellow after all. A note for one hundred millions would have been more readily renewed by him than a note for one hundred here. All that Mr. Archibald has told you about the intercolonial railway being imperilled is sheer buncombe. I believe that the guarantee would have been renewed.

"I am glad that Mr. Archibald has had the magnanimity and the honour to thank Mr. Tilley and myself for the exertions which we made to secure the guarantee for the intercolonial railway. (Hear, hear.)

"What is the question we have before us to-day? It is, Will you lock your stable door after the horse has gone? He might have been saved if you had been aroused nine months ago. Sometimes those people make me feel serious, and at other times they amuse me. Archibald's speech to-day reminds me of an old nursery rhyme:

"'Geordie was the piper's son,
He stole a pig and away he run,
And all the tune that he could play
Was over the hills and far away.'

"So the delegates put me in mind of Geordie. They have stolen our constitution, and when we talk to them about it they say, 'Over the hills and far away.' (Laughter.)

"Mr. Archibald told us there was no precedent for referring the question of Confederation to the people at the polls, and he referred to Pitt and Fox. If these two statesmen were to be raised from their graves, and were asked if the Parliament of England had a right to sell the country to France, and a right to disfranchise our whole people, what would they say? Why, their indignant ghosts would not stop to answer the question, but would sink into the earth with a smile of contempt on their faces. We have been told of the union of Scotland and England. They had their feuds. The Scotch fought the English for many centuries, and blood poured forth freely. England has been referred to. When did any English states-

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man ever rise in his place and propose to put England in the power of a foreign country? Once England was partially under the power of Spain, but she shook herself free. Under Charles the Second she was supposed to be under the power of France, but she soon shook that influence off. If any statesman then had done anything to place England under the control of France, we would have a precedent of what was done to us, for Canada is further from us than France is from England. Mr. Archibald has said that if the question of Confederation had been left to the people at the polls something else would also have been left to them, that the question of education would also have been left to them to settle. Well, there would have been no harm in Dr. Tupper and me discussing that question before the people. I was always in favour of taxation for schools. The objection of the Liberal to Dr. Tupper's bill was not that the people were taxed, but that the machinery was made political. I think that we might have run an election without any trouble as regards the education question. We have been told there were two elections in New Brunswick on this question of Confederation; yes, and I always contended that there should have been a third.

"Many of you have been on the racecourse, and you know what takes place there. A heat is run, and 'Skylark' wins it. Another is run, and 'Reindeer' wins it. How is the question then decided? By having a third heat. I saw a letter from New Brunswick the other day, from a wealthy merchant who was in favour of Tilley at the last election, and he says that New Brunswick was never more depressed than at the present moment, that the people there find that crude oil and other articles are coming down in great quantities from Canada. I believe that when the Dominion elections in New Brunswick are run, the losing horse in the last heat will be the winning one. Mr. Archibald says I was always in favour of union. Well, I was in favour of union when I married, and I have got a good wife, but I did not confederate with five women. That is the difference between union and Confederation. There is a good deal between law and equity. My advice to everybody is to keep out of both, and there is as much difference between law and equity as between union and Confederation. A nation is not united with five Parliaments.

"Mr. Archibald says that because I was in favour of union I ought to be in favour of this scheme of Confederation, which

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he and the other delegates had framed. I do not feel that their idol is such a deity as I should like to bow to. We have been told about the action of the English Parliament with regard to it. How did they criticise it? They said: 'Here is a piece of patchwork brought in by the delegates; let them have it.' It was thrown in and thrown out. Now, I don't complain much of the tone and temper of Mr. Archibald's address to-day. He says it was a civil thing to send me his pamphlet. Anyone who will take the trouble to read it will see that, referring to the thirty thousand people who petitioned the British Parliament against Confederation, he says that they are all mistaken, and that Howe is mistaken, and he goes on to say: 'See what company they are in—Fenian cut-throats, pirates and scoundrels.' Mr. Archibald has tried to explain away the phrase of gutter-men. I always thought that it had been used by him, as has often been stated. But I quote his friend, Dr. Tupper. In his version of the story he gives the vernacular. I say this to Mr. Archibald, I have never said an insulting thing to a man in my life that I did not apologize for when I saw I was wrong."

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CHAPTER LII.

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—(Continued).

“WHEN Mr. Archibald applied that phrase to his countrymen, he should have apologized. Mr. Archibald has told you that Howe has not acted quite the patriot on this matter of Confederation. Though he has not clearly said it, he pretty plainly indicates that I did not come out boldly against Confederation long ago because I feared to lose the office of Fishery Commissioner. You know that in 1844, if I had bowed to Lord Falkland's behests, I might have held office; but I would not do so, although I was then a younger man with a large family and not well off. In 1857, all I had to do was to let those Irish ruffians rob, destroy, murder, do as they liked, and I might have saved my £700 a year. I would not then sacrifice my principles for the sake of office, nor would I do it now. When I accepted the Fishery Commissionership, I took it on the conditions on which I had previously agreed with the Liberal party. I said to them: ‘I am an old man now and a poor man, and at my time of life I ought to have rest.’ I told them I had applied to the British Government for promotion, and that when I attained it I expected to be released from political cares. Every man in the party said: ‘Yes, Howe, when you get it we will release you.’ When the office, not of £1,000 but of £750 sterling, was within my grasp, did the Duke of Newcastle or Earl Grey, with whom I had been in correspondence for twenty years—did they stipulate that my mouth should be closed? When I told the Duke of Newcastle that I thought I should leave the Government, he seemed surprised. Dr. Tupper knows that for three months after my appointment I remained in the Assembly, and he challenged me for it. Did I act on this question of Confederation as Mr. Archibald says I have done? No. Scarcely had these men returned from Quebec when I wrote to Earl Russell that the people of Nova Scotia were opposed to it. The summer before last I went to England by Earl Russell's request. I hold in my hand a letter

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addressed to Earl Russell and Mr. Cardwell while I held the office of Fishery Commissioner. That paper was put into the hands of Her Majesty's Government at the peril of my office. To the honour of these gentlemen, they did not attempt to crowd me. They never either threatened me or attempted to use any influence against me. I expressed my opinions then as boldly as I did last summer, when I gave up the office. Don't let Mr. Archibald taunt me with having held my tongue on account of the Fishery Commissionership. Perhaps in some passage of my life I may have wronged some human being, but I never wronged my country. I have never seen the day or hour when I would have sold the franchise of Nova Scotia. Gentlemen, this was my position. Considerable expense had been incurred in sending me about the coasts of Labrador, and I had that business to wind up.

"I did not wish to pick a quarrel with Her Majesty's Government, and I had not the time to go into this question of Confederation as I would wish. When I was in Washington the winter before last, not acting with the enemies of my country, as has been falsely charged, I often lay awake in my bed considering what I ought to do. I then made up my mind that I would take sides with my country. Had I any desire to throw myself across my old friend's path? No. Before I wrote a line last spring, I asked him to come and see me, which he did. I thought our thirteen years of public labours together gave me some claim on his sympathy. I said: 'Archibald, you know, after my long service, I am entitled to rest. I can see my way to a position under the Crown. Give me your hand as a gentleman that this measure shall go before the people of Nova Scotia, and I will never say a word or write a line against it.' If he had said: 'Howe, you and I have been bred in some sort of respect for the people, they shall have a chance,' then this matter would have been settled by some sort of an appeal to the people. If the matter is now before the country, as it is, he has himself to blame, and not me. He has referred to the Catholic dispute, and has said that I got down on my marrow bones to the Catholics. The Catholics in former times supported me. At the time that I entered public life, neither the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists nor Catholics enjoyed the rights they do now. They were an inferior body of men on the statute book. What did Huntington, Doyle, Young, DesBarres and all of us do? We swept off the statute book all these penal statutes; and having done that,

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the Catholics were grateful and sustained us for years. Then a quarrel arose, and I am to be restrained years afterwards for saying I was sorry for it. I said to the Catholics of Halifax, what I wrote I put my name to. But I didn't apologize nor retract anything. I say, what I wrote then I wrote from conviction, and I thought I was right. I suppose Jeff Davis would say that he was sorry for the Civil War, but I did not think that even he would go down on his marrow bones to the North. Archibald did not tell the story correctly. The Confederation papers were trying to revive the quarrel, and see how they could get bad blood between me and the Catholics. I consider it a curse to the country to have the old Catholic difficulty revived. I would not revive it before the last election, though pressed by some bigots to do so, and I will not do it now. I could not help being amused at some remarks of the Presbyterian press. They ask what McCully had to do with it. I will tell you what he had to do with it. When the Railway Board was constructed, I put McCully into the railway office, at £200 a year. When Mr. Bell was wedged out of his office, he got another £200 a year. When the Catholic difficulty occurred, the party went out of power, and Jonathan began to tremble like the devil in Scripture. (Laughter.)

"I shall never forget how Annand used to say, 'I wonder if Jonathan has made any sign yet?' At last, Annand rushed in one day slapping his thigh, and said: 'Well, we have Jonathan now, body and soul. Tupper has turned him out of the Railway Commissionership and the Probate Office.' Jonathan is a kind of fellow that costs more than he comes to. I carried him as long as I could stagger under him. Had not Tupper turned him out of these two offices, Jonathan never would have written a line against the Catholics. (Laughter.) Mr. Archibald says that Dr. Tupper went all over the country lecturing about union. What kind of a union did he lecture about? A union of the Maritime Provinces. Dr. Tupper knows that he was himself at one time as much opposed to union with Canada as myself. There is hardly a tree in the forest, hardly a barn-door in the country, to which the confederates have not affixed some of the papers which they have circulated to make the people believe that they have learned all their Confederation views from Howe. All I can say is, that if I had the slightest idea I was teaching such a school of dunces, that they did not understand what I really was teaching them, I would have thrashed them three times as often as I did.

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(Laughter.) I went into public life in 1828, and from that time down to 1838 no man can find a line of mine recommending a union with Canada; but in 1838 I did write something about it, and what did I say? I will read now from a speech made by myself in 1838:

“Respecting the Confederation, it should be admitted that benefits would occur—the regulation of trade, a court of appeal for the Colonies, and other good results might be expected; but the subject should be approached with great delicacy. The House should be careful how it placed a recommendation on record which might be cited at some future day. Nova Scotia was one of the smaller Colonies, and might suffer in the arrangement. They might find that a Confederation, instead of leaving the Province with its present evils in connection with the Colonial Office, would establish an office in the backwoods of Canada more difficult of access than that in London. A Prince of the blood, perhaps, would be sent out, with a large retinue of retainers, to be provided for as the Sovereign and Court of the new State.”

“I believe that if the delegates could have got a Prince of the blood they would have done so, but it is not so easy to get a Prince of the blood as to get a blood horse. The British Government knows better than to put a Prince of the blood at the top of the rickety confederacy. Fifty thousand dollars a year is the salary which the British Government have provided for the Governor-General of the Confederacy, more than half as much again as the President of the United States gets. (A voice: ‘That’s retrenchment.’) If we have to pay that much for an ordinary nobleman, I don’t know how much we would have to pay for a Prince of the blood. Yet the delegates say we should send them up to Ottawa to perpetuate such iniquities as this. No, I say if we have to work this thing out, let us work it out as economically as we can, and put the thing into ship-shape as best we can. I have shown you what my opinions were in 1838. Now let me show you what my opinions were in 1840. An article was then sent me for publication. I published it, but with this criticism: ‘We are publishing to-day a letter on the subject of the Union of the Provinces, but we have come to the conclusion that either a legislative or a federal union with Canada is objectionable. The grounds of the objection are mainly to the length of Canadian frontier.’ That is the doctrine I preached in 1840, twelve years after I began my public career. That might be taken as the expression of

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my opinion for years. I challenge these delegates to find any expression of mine in favour of political union with Canada for the fourteen years following. And these two periods cover more than a quarter of a century of public life. Now, gentlemen, you all know me pretty well, and you know that when I have work to do I go at it, and I think that if during twenty-five years of public life I do nothing about a thing, it is what the lawyers would call *prima facie* evidence that I was not every anxious about it. I now come down to 1854. What happened then? Johnstone had then lost the Government. He had been in office four years, and we turned him out. During the four years that he had been in office he never moved a single foot toward union with Canada, but when he was out he tabled a resolution in favour of that union. I do not know how Archibald felt about this, but I know that there was only one feeling among the Liberal party, which was that the old fellow had done this to entrap us. The feeling was to vote down the resolution without discussion. But I felt that Johnstone was a gentleman; and

“ ‘There’s a stern joy which warriors feel
In meeting foemen worthy of their steel.’

“I said, ‘No; do not vote it down, but let me alone, and I will trot him out into such deep water that I will drown him.’ (Cheers.) I then prepared that speech on ‘The Organization of the Empire,’ which my friends never compliment so highly as when they are about to misquote it. Here it is in this book (pointing to a volume of his speeches), and if you will read it, you will find no argument there in favour of Federal Union with Canada. I do not like to compare a book like that with the book we all revere, but you know that the devil can quote Scripture to suit his purposes. Anyone who wishes to overturn the principles of true religion can use the Bible for that purpose. And that is the way in which these delegates have used this speech—to prove the very reverse of what it does prove. What does it, in fact, prove? I was discussing the affairs of the whole American continent. I said we could do one of three things: First, we might annex ourselves to the United States. What did I decide on that? I said that that would be a breach of our allegiance, and a dishonourable thing to do. I then said we might form a union among ourselves. Did I recommend that? I pause for a reply from Archibald or Tupper.

“Dr. Tupper: What you did recommend was representation

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in the Imperial Parliament; but if that could not be obtained, you would see what a Federal Union could accomplish. (Great applause.)

"Hon. Mr. Howe: The honourable gentleman might have waited.

"Dr. Tupper: You said you paused for a reply. (Applause.)

"Hon. Mr. Howe: I did not recommend annexation. I recommended that Nova Scotia should hold her own and try to obtain representation in the Imperial Parliament; and that if we could not get that, we might see what a Federal Union could do. I say that none of the delegates ever tried to obtain representation in the Imperial Parliament, and until they tried that I am not bound to try the other plan. Whether I drowned Mr. Johnstone or not, he never moved his resolution. I heard nothing about Confederation or union for the next seven years. Now we come down to 1861. A few words about what occurred then. I had tried to unite Dr. Tupper and Mr. Johnstone, and I went then to John Tobin, who I knew controlled the other two, and I said to him: 'Will you support me in a motion about the intercolonial railway?' He said: 'Why don't you go in for union of the Provinces?' John used to go sometimes to Canada, and D'Arcy McGee used to have a talk with him there. I said: 'Well, John, I am always in favour of discussing anything,' and in the resolutions which were passed in reference to the intercolonial railway I took power to discuss the union of the Provinces. A man might move a resolution to discuss a change in his religion, but that would not bind him to change it.

"A man might discuss the question whether he would marry a girl or not, but that would not subject him to an action for breach of promise if he had never actually promised to marry her. We all went up to Canada; Mr. Archibald went with me once and McCully and Annand on another occasion. I took power to discuss the two subjects, and we discussed the intercolonial railway question so far as to come to some practical decision with regard to it. We discussed the other question, so as to let it stick by the wall. We all came to the conclusion, Mr. McCully among the rest, that until the intercolonial railway was actually built it was useless to discuss the subject of union. That was my latest deliverance on the subject until 1862. In that year I discussed the subject of the intercolonial railway with the Duke of Newcastle, and never in any of the

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interviews with him, and in all that I said on that occasion, did I advocate a Federal Union of Canada. I went to Canada, it is true, and wrote once a very pretty description of the Falls of Niagara, but I did not want to jump over the Falls. I might have admired Canada, but I did not want to become a Canadian by Act of Parliament.

"You might quote from a law book and prove that a man might safely commit murder, if you quote only parts of a sentence. Dr. Tupper knows that when I was in Lord Normanby's Council he was opposed to union, and two despatches were written against it. He was in favour of a union of the Maritime Provinces. Lord Normanby showed me those despatches before, or immediately after, they were sent, I forget which, and I concurred in sentiment with them.

"Mr. Archibald has said that one hundred Canadians came down to Halifax in 1864. You know that in olden times men were sent to spy out the nakedness of the land. These men did not see much of that in Nova Scotia. They saw fullness and plenty. Mr. Archibald says they came down to discuss this question of a political union. Well, I can only say there were two of them entertained in my house for about a week, and if they had presented me with this bill of Confederation, I would have turned them both out of doors. (Laughter.)

"They were down here for about five days. They ate, drank, danced, frolicked, and had a festive entertainment and a good time. I can say that during all those five days I was sober, but I would not undertake to say that, taking the whole five delegates and the Canadians, there was another sober man among them. I would not undertake to say that the reporters were sober, but perhaps it would be unfair to say they were not. We were all in the drill-shed at a quarter to twelve o'clock Saturday night. I will not undertake to say that I was sober, but who ever heard of a public man bound to a speech under such circumstances. I do not, however, complain of my speech on that occasion. I say, let them send it broadcast over the land.

"Archibald says he wants *one* flag. So do I. What do they want? D'Arcy McGee, in his recent letter addressed to his constituency at Montreal, says we are a new nation; we are the allies of England and not her subjects.

"I said we wanted *one* flag. They want the confounded thing they have in Canada, with a maple tree and a beaver on a branch, eating himself off it. I wanted the old Union

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Jack, that has floated over us for a century. If it was not for the respect I owe to that flag, never a Canadian should take a pound of our revenues. I sometimes try to ask myself, what am I now? I thought I was a Nova Scotian. I thought I was an Englishman. I thought I was something. But I am told I am a Canadian by Act of Parliament. I am told I belong to a *Dominion*. If it was not for swearing, which I do not like to do, I would say that we were d——d minions of Canada. What more did I say at the drill-shed? I said we wanted one tariff. Did I want it raised fifty per cent., to be equal to that of Canada? The moment this union goes into operation, our tariff will be increased from ten per cent., which it is now, to fifteen per cent.

“I said I wished one post office. So I do. But I never meant to give over the whole control of our post office to Canada. Your currency and banking system and post office are handed over to strangers. Your railways, which have cost so much to construct, are also handed over. What have we left? Nothing but the power to tax our people for local purposes, and to borrow if we can get anybody to lend to us, and the right to fine and imprison one another.

“Then as to the scheme itself. If I could not make a better in a forenoon, my hand must have lost its cunning. Now let me turn again to the drill-shed speech. I read as follows: ‘There now came rumours across the land that they were going to split Canada into two parts; again, that they were going to reduce that magnificent country to its low status of two Provinces instead of one. Oh, my friends, go back to your homes, and say there is at least one Nova Scotian honest enough to say to you, that if you do that you commit an act of political suicide, and although I ought not, perhaps, to give you the advice, I would rather see every public man on both sides of politics crucified than I would divide Canada now that Canada is united.’”

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CHAPTER LIII.

RESISTANCE TO THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

—(Continued).

“Now, what do these men do? What is the foundation of their scheme? It is the division of these two Provinces, giving them separate Legislatures; and yet they have charged me with inconsistency because I don't support their scheme. Mr. Archibald says that I knew all about their contemplated union with Canada at the time the Canadians were here in 1864. I did not. What I did know was what I heard from Dr. Tupper, who invited me to go on the delegation to Charlottetown. I would have gone with a good deal of pleasure had it been possible for me to do so. I wrote a civil note declining the invitation, and said that what the delegates determined on the subject of a union of the Maritime Provinces I would probably concur in. I had no more idea, when I left the harbour of Halifax, that they were going to discuss union with Canada than union with Japan. Mr. Archibald has told you that I destroyed the Liberal party. Well, having kept them together for many years, perhaps I did. I think, notwithstanding his boast in England, that he will find, before these elections are over, that Howe has a pretty strong party again. I know that when he assembled the whole Liberal party in caucus there was not a man in the whole lot who would follow McCully and him. I think that when Tupper got together his men after his return from the Quebec Conference, and proposed the Quebec scheme to them, he could hardly restrain them from putting him out of the window. Mr. Archibald has said that I myself agreed that a measure of this kind should go into operation if passed by the Assembly. Yes, if done by fair means. But this scheme was carried in our Legislature by means which we can only guess and imagine. What the secret history of that transaction is will perhaps never be learned; but there is quite enough on the surface to show how the measure was carried. Mr. Archibald also told you that Howe was in the States at the time of the last Fenian raid on

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Canada, and that he does not know what the man was doing when he was there. Perhaps some of these fine days I may tell him. I am not just now in a position to tell him what I was doing there; but he may find hereafter that if New Brunswick was saved from invasion last winter, Howe's presence in Washington had a good deal to do with it.

"He will find, more, that it will not do to go about retailing after-dinner speeches and jokes. At one of those after-dinner parties in Halifax, we were all retailing jokes about the Fenians. Mr. Keith sat opposite me, and I said, jokingly, if the Fenians attacked Mr. Keith's brewery, after they drank all his ale and porter, and double and treble X, they will keep him alive in order that he might make more. I found that some sneaking rascals who were at the table went home and repeated the chaff at that dinner table, to show that Howe was a disloyal man. The miserable wretches!

"There is another matter which I may mention. While I was at Washington I saw that curious ship with one gun. When I came back, I reported what was true. I found Halifax preparing for the reception of the Fenians. I said, 'What preparation have you?' I was told that Colonel Belcher's regiment was armed and disciplined. I replied that there was one ship in the Potomac which could blow every ship in Halifax harbour out of the water. That ship subsequently came to Halifax, and everyone saw the truth of what I said. When she went to Europe, everyone saw that wooden ships were useless to contend with her, and because I said that, I was a Yankee, a Fenian, and the dear knows what.

"Mr. Archibald reproaches me for not having said the Fenians were scoundrels. I read a speech the other day by a man called Burke. I regret the hallucination under which the man acted, but that man made a speech more eloquent, more touching, than Mr. Archibald could have made to save his soul. If that man went to the gallows, I would have more respect for the man who fought for his country than for the man who enslaved his country. (Applause.)

"Mr. Archibald says that Howe should not have said anything against his (Mr. Archibald's) pamphlet, that his old friend praised it. Who is the old friend to whom he alludes? Mr. George Brown, whom I never saw more than twice in my life, but I know that he is one of those confederates, and that he was trying to 'soft sawder' Archibald and give me the rough side of his tongue. I know this has been the way with those

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confederates all the way through—'you claw me and I'll claw you.' So Archibald and Brown, both being confederates, one praises the other.

"Mr. Archibald says that I was among the missing after the last election. Archibald was selected as the leader of the party long before the dissolution, and McCully as leader of the Council. McCully wrote a letter ten columns long, and if anything destroyed the party it was that letter and Archibald's speech on the Franchise Bill. What did they do with me? They said: 'Wier has so mismanaged the County of Lunenburg that it is lost to the party. You go there and redeem it for us.' What was my reply? I said: 'It is cruel of you to send me there.' However, I went, and gave up a secure seat in the County of Hants. I threw myself into the County of Lanenburg, and before I had been there five hours I saw that the result was almost hopeless. To support Adams Archibald I mortified myself, ran the risk of being beaten, and was beaten. You recollect the story of Sheridan going home, and, seeing a drunken man in the gutter, he said to him, 'I am not sober enough to lift you up, but I will do the next best thing I can—I will lie down alongside of you.' So when Jonathan wrote that letter, and Archibald delivered that speech, I felt they were gone. I knew that burnt brandy would not save them. But I said: 'You are all going to be in the gutter, and I will go down with you.' And now to be reproached for it at this time of day, and to be told that I was among the missing! Good gracious! (Great laughter.) We have been told that Howe talked about the Pacific, and had great ideas of what would be done on this continent. Well, I may have led my imagination run, but I will tell you what gave me a lesson about this nation falling. I saw Sheridan's army reviewed. I stood in the broadest street in the world, and for seven hours a day, for two days, that army marched through.

"I may be told that I am an annexationist and an American, but I have no hesitation in saying that a good deal of sober thought was forced upon me, seeing that great army of two hundred thousand men, and which was only one-fifth of the army of the United States at that time. In the face of this danger, we have gone into a hopeless experiment, and led the people of England to believe we are in a position to defend ourselves against our neighbours. Now what does D'Arcy McGee say? I have a letter under my hand which he wrote to the men of Montreal. In this letter he says that we must take

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our whole force and organize it. You have been told that I was in favour of taxing the country to pay the national debt of England. I never said anything of the sort.

"My proposition was that every one of the two hundred and thirty millions of the Empire should be available for the purposes of defence. Because I said this, you have been told that Howe wanted to send everyone to Japan. If my scheme had been carried out, Britain would have had an army of three or four millions, and there would then have been no war for a century. Where would we have had to go? We might have gone to defend the British Isles. Where will we have to go now? Listen to what McGee says:

"Gentlemen, there is, under God, one means by which the necessary securities can be taken from time to time for the realization of the possibilities I have alluded to. It is the armament of our whole people. We are but sharing the common lot of all civilized communities in waking to the stern fact that in this age every State must have, or be in a position to have if needed, the military service of its every son. The last great revolution which marked the art of war—the discovery of gunpowder—resulted in standing armies, in the creation in every State of a class of soldiers by trade or profession. The new revolution, ushered in by the invention of so many hitherto unknown means of aggression, afloat and ashore—the systematic application of modern machinery to war—proclaims unmistakably to every people who would be free and secure their own soil: Keep step with the times, arm your entire population, arm them with the best weapons, arm them at the earliest moment; no country is safe from aggression or insult in which every man does not feel called upon to bear arms in her defence. This is the voice of the present, and it will be prolonged into the future. I respect and honour our volunteers for their noble self-sacrifice in the past. Against mere marauders they were quite sufficient. But the days for mere volunteering are nearly, if not quite, over and gone."

"Now that's a pleasant prospect for us. Every man to be drilled. We will be four millions of people to defend ourselves against thirty-four millions. And yet these delegates have gone home to England and deluded the people there with the idea that we can do it. An English naval officer said to me in England: 'You will be four millions of people.' I said to him: 'Suppose you went with a ten-gun brig and attacked a hundred-gun ship, you would be blown out of the water the

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first broadside, and if you yourself escaped with your life, you would be tried by court-martial for sacrificing the lives of your men.' My political opponent, the doctor, has wisely gone into the civil service of the army, and will devote his fine talents to cutting off the legs of the wounded and dissecting the bodies of the dead. I think if war should arise he would be likely to have his hands pretty full.

"Mr. Archibald says that Howe secured the intercolonial railway. I thank him for so much. But he went on to say: 'Oh, how inconsistent he was last summer, when he told the British Government that it would be a great deal better to spend their money in ironclads and Minie rifles than in giving money to that railway.' My business in England last year was to preserve the self-government of Nova Scotia. (Applause.) To do that there is not a political or personal sacrifice that I would not have made. There is no telling what a man might do to save his country. I felt, when in England last year, that when all that lent dignity, grace and power to my native land was at stake, the intercolonial railway was merely a drop in the ocean, or a speck in the sun. I would have sent twenty intercolonial railways flying through the air to save Nova Scotia. I therefore argued in every way to defeat the scheme. The intercolonial railway! Are they not ashamed to mention it, when all your revenues are swept away and all your railways gone, and these Canadians, by raising your taxation fifty per cent., will take from your revenue \$500,000 a year. Rather than consent to that, I would have made an underground railway to the infernal regions.

"Mr. Archibald tells you how terribly I was wrought up on one occasion, that I did not sleep for three nights. I was never kept awake for three nights by anything but by a woman. I am accustomed to sleep very sound. I am not quite sure that I did not growl and objurate a little on that occasion, but I don't think anything political ever disturbed my sleep very long. If my honourable friend can only sleep as well after what he has done to his country, he will be fortunate. I think he will occasionally remember those lines:

"Who drew Priam's curtain in the dead of night
To tell him Troy was burned!"

I think sometimes that when Archibald thinks of what he has done, he will see the ghost of poor Bluenose, as he was and as he is. I will not use any strong language, but he knows

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that in Dante's beautiful poem of 'The Inferno,' there is a place called the Antenora, where all the men who have sold their country are frozen up—where

“ Blue pinch'd and shrined in ice the spirits stood,
Moving their teeth in shrill note like the stork!”

“ I am afraid he will not go by the Intercolonial Railway into the hot place, but I should not be surprised if he and Tupper are yet found cheek by jowl in the Antenora.

“ One word about the reciprocity question. Mr. Archibald says that when Wier made the statement at Temperance Hall, I denied it. The facts were these: I was never against reciprocity. A Minute of Council will be found in which I stated that Nova Scotia was willing to have a reciprocity treaty, and that was years before the treaty passed. If I was wrong on the occasion to which Wier referred, then Mr. Johnstone was wrong, for he voted with me on that occasion, and said he would never forget the independent stand I had taken, and he never has forgotten it. I was opposed to the way in which that treaty was concluded. Lord Elgin, without waiting for the delegation from Nova Scotia, bargained away our fisheries. Johnstone and I were both opposed to that, and we are not ashamed of it to this day. When Wier, therefore, made the bald statement that I had opposed reciprocity, I contradicted it.”

“ A voice—‘ What about Mr. Watkin's statement ?’

“ Hon. Mr. Howe—I adhere to the statement which I have made in the public newspapers, and if it is challenged, I may refer to it again.

“ When I was about to retire in '63, I said to Archibald, ‘ You are to be leader of the Government, and I am not to be with you. Shape your measures as you like for the benefit of your party and the good of the country.’ The secret history of that Franchise Bill would be funny enough. Archibald knows that the men who were pressing for a measure of that kind had brought in a measure which I kicked out of caucus. On examination I found that it would disfranchise the whole settlement of Sambro. I gave the bill, which was at last introduced, my general support. I thought that some portion of the population ought to be deprived of the franchise, but I thought that that measure was too sweeping. I remember when running the Lunenburg election, that the young men came and

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voted against me by dozens, saying, 'Here come the gutter men.' I believe at this moment the measure to be imperfect.

"The honourable gentleman has thought proper to bring into this debate the recruiting business. You all know that in 1854, England, France and Russia were at war in the Crimea, and had fought three great battles. You know how English, Scotch and Irish vied with each other at the Alma; but the victory cost a great many men. Then came Balaclava; then came Inkerman—emphatically called the soldier's battle—when the Russians came down in hordes upon our position, and when the soldiers stood to their arms and upheld the honour and dignity of the whole Empire. Then what happened? The British forces were getting thinned. Recruits were wanted. A Foreign Enlistment Bill was passed, and a copy of it sent to Sir Gaspard Le Marchant. I had nothing to do with the measure itself. I was attending to the business of the railway department when Sir Gaspard sent for me and showed me the despatches from England on this subject. I was asked if I would go and communicate with the British Minister at Washington, and endeavour to obtain out of the British and foreign element in the United States recruits for England's armies. There was the command of my Sovereign laid on me by my Sovereign's minister. Mr. Archibald has sneeringly said that I bungled and mismanaged the service. Well, I may say that I was two months in the country, and the American authorities could not lay anything to my charge. They laid a bill of indictment before the Grand Jury of New York, but they could not find sufficient evidence to sustain it. I remained there some time at the risk of my life. Mr. Archibald says that a quarrel grew out of all that. Well, there was. But I am not going back into that old story. I was not to blame for upholding my Sovereign's flag. I will say to Archibald that when he goes away and gives two months' unrequited service to his Sovereign, he can come back and find fault with me.

"The honourable gentleman has challenged me to find fault with him. I have not been in the habit of treasuring up his faults. You will remember that Brutus sat and condemned his own son to death for betraying his country. Just as Brutus looked and thought then, I feel now. Is it a labour of love for me to find fault with the honourable gentleman? No. I may say, however, that when Mr. Jackson came to bargain about our railways, where was Mr. Archibald? At Jackson's back,

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and not at Howe's. By his vote he shipwrecked the policy of the Government for a year. I think then he is not quite perfect, and that if I did search for his faults I would find some.

"Mr. Archibald complains that the arrangements for speaking to-day have been changed. All I can say is, that I had nothing to do with the change, but I accepted the arrangement after it was made. He talks about coarse language. I will say that not until the meeting at Mason Hall did I say a word of him that any gentleman could complain of. He says that we have been appealing to the passions and prejudices of the people. Well, if we have, what have they been doing? They have been trading for two years on statements which, when examined, are found to be slanderous and unfair.

"I was amused the other day at seeing a report of a speech made somewhere in which it was said, 'It is true all this has been done, but we must now decide who are to go to Ottawa, and we must have men of talent.' The devil himself is a very talented fellow, and we all know he did something nearly equal to Confederation when he took away a third of the stars. Is it not as much as we can do to keep him down, just because he is a fellow of talent? Is it not as much as all the clergy can do to keep him in order, because he is of decided talent? Don't we want all the prayers and sermons and all that kind of thing to keep him in his place? I shall be just as well satisfied if you can get McLelan and Morrison and my friend, Mr. Chambers, to represent you.

"The delegates say that they are the proper men to go to Ottawa. Fancy we owned a noble ship, and there were a lot of fellows who held out false lights and shipwrecked her, and just as we were gathering up what little was left of the wreck, these fellows said, 'You had better hand over the property to us,' what would you say? Now that the wreckers have destroyed her, don't put what remains into their unholy hands.

"In conclusion, let me say that the sight of this audience is indeed refreshing to me; it is refreshing to me to look into the faces of men who are open to reason, and I feel that all that is dear to Nova Scotia is safe in the hands of the men of Colchester."

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CHAPTER LIV.

TUPPER'S SPEECH ON UNION.

HON. DR. TUPPER on coming forward was greeted with prolonged cheers, and when silence had been restored, he spoke as follows:

“Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen electors of the County of Colchester: If you are as tired of standing as I am of sitting I can readily imagine how desirous you are that this protracted debate be brought to a close; but I trust that, invited as I have been to-day by the Hon. Mr. Howe, who has just sat down, you will allow me to avail myself of the opportunity which I have of meeting that hon. gentleman before the intelligent electors of Colchester, and of discussing with him the issues before the people of this country. Before I refer, however, to the great questions under consideration, I wish to express my deep regret that Mr. Howe, when dealing with this matter—when addressing in my absence bodies of electors in the County of Halifax—seemed to forget that it would be better discussed before the people, free from that personal acrimony which is only calculated to excite passion. What we want on the present occasion is not appeals to the passions, but appeals to the sound reason and judgment of the people. Mr. Howe has said that for years I have been assailing him in the Legislature where he could not answer me. Now I will put the official reports of the debates before him, and challenge him to point out a single improper personal expression which I used with reference to himself on the floor of the Legislature, or in the press of the country, from the day he was defeated in the County of Lunenburg until he came out as the leader of the Opposition to the union of the Provinces. So far from being open to the charge of treating him with discourtesy, no man was treated with more courtesy by me than he was. I will make a single exception, and that was when in the *Morning Chronicle*, a strong and invidious contrast was drawn between myself and Mr. Howe, and an answer appeared in the *Colonist*. I have felt regret that Mr. Howe, in addressing the people of this country, when I was not present, should have ventured

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to make charges of misstatement against me which have not the shade of a foundation. I am ready, however, to make excuses for him after what I have heard from him to-day, since it is very obvious that his memory is largely failing him. Before I sit down I shall be able to show that with reference to the ordinary transactions of the past he has committed himself to statements which, he must see, are entirely astray. I am ready to believe after to-day that he has not purposely intended to mislead the country with reference to myself.

"The first charge that he made against me was that I had committed myself to gross and palpable misstatement with reference to the presentation of the petitions to Parliament—that the petitions sent by the people of this country had never been presented to the Commons. What will you think when I tell you that in the very same number of the *Morning Chronicle*, which contained the report of my remarks, also appeared the speech of Mr. Annand, showing the reasons why these petitions were not presented. These petitions had not been presented when I left England, and you will, therefore, see how unjust it was for Mr. Howe to bring the charge he did against me, when his own colleague had declared that these petitions had not been presented.

"I come now to the matter relative to Mr. Watkin. Mr. Howe declared that when Mr. Bright said that this question had never been before the people, Mr. Watkin came over and asked me if that statement was true, and that I had stated in reply that I had preached Confederation throughout the Province previous to the election, and it was an issue at every polling booth. When I tell you that I had placed a pamphlet in the hands of Mr. Watkin, as well as every member of the House of Lords and Commons—a pamphlet containing over my signature a full statement of the facts—you can see that I could not have dared to make any misstatement on the occasion in question. I can prove by the Archbishop of Halifax, by Mr. Galt, who sat just behind Mr. Howe and myself, that such a thing as stated never took place. I can prove by these gentlemen that Mr. Watkin, instead of speaking to me in the manner described, came over to where we were and said, 'Dr. Tupper. I want to speak to you.' I then went to the opposite side of the room with him, and our conversation took place in a whisper. Mr. Watkin asked me, 'What is your answer to Mr. Bright?' My answer was that in 1861 the Legislature of Nova Scotia unanimously confirmed the principle of union—

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TUPPER'S SPEECH ON UNION

that previous to the last general election I went into several counties in Nova Scotia and advocated to the best of my ability a union between the Maritime Provinces and Canada, and that at the elections I was brought into power with a large majority who carried that measure. Mr. Watkin, in the excitement of the debate, believed that this question had been made an issue at the polls. The only reason it was not made an issue was that we were all unanimous in favour of union. It was before the people, when Mr. Howe brought the measure before the Legislature, and declared the great advantages that would result from union. It was before the people when I went into New Brunswick, and speaking to all British America, declared that union of all these Provinces was the great means by which the security and prosperity of all might be achieved.

"So defective is Mr. Howe's memory that he has ventured to declare that I never advocated a union between Canada and the other Provinces, but a legislative union of the Maritime Colonies; but I have a copy of the paper in which a report of my lecture was given. That lecture was delivered in the presence of hundreds of persons who are here to-day. The high sheriff in this county was present, and what happened? Having advocated not simply a union of the Maritime Provinces, but a union of all British America, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to me in the court house of this town; it was moved by gentlemen opposed to me, and hundreds present here to-day can attest to the accuracy of these statements. Yet Mr. Howe has ventured to say that I never advocated such a union. If he will refer to the printed reports of the debates he will find that when I proposed a union of the Maritime Provinces I expressed my regret that we had not been able to accomplish the larger union, and added that I looked to the smaller scheme as the prelude to the larger one. Gentlemen, let me ask you what would be Mr. Howe's position if he had allowed me to make a false statement to Mr. Watkin in his hearing? Both he and Mr. Watkin were on terms of personal friendship, and it was his duty to have given ample and immediate contradiction to any wrong statement that was made. When in my absence the *Colonist* put the question, why had not Mr. Howe contradicted the statement? the *Chronicle* declared boldly that he had not the chance—that the moment Mr. Watkin sat down the division took place, and he was thus debarred from any opportunity of making an explanation at the second reading of the bill. What will you think of the memory of the hon.

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gentleman when I inform you that so far from the debate having closed with the speech of Mr. Watkin, it continued for an hour afterward, Mr. Bailie Cochran and three others having spoken on the subject after Mr. Watkin before the division took place. You will, therefore, see how little reliance is to be placed in the statements of the hon. gentleman.

"I may here observe that Mr. Jones stated in my absence in a public meeting that I had said at Margaret's Bay that not a seat in the Senate was offered to members of the Assembly until it had first been offered to every member of the Legislative Council. This statement is entirely inaccurate, as I can prove by my colleague, Mr. Shannon, who sat beside me; by Mr. P. C. Hill and by Mr. J. Tobin. The statement that I made was this: When we were charged with having obtained the vote in the House by corrupting its members by seats in the Senate, my reply was, gentlemen, we carried the measure by thirty-six votes of the House of Assembly. There are only three seats given to members of the Assembly, and not a single one was offered to them until the whole twelve seats had been first offered to members of the Council. I hold the refusal of five gentlemen, and, in fact, thirteen gentlemen were asked before a single member of the House was appointed. Mr. Jones, who thinks it necessary in fitting himself for public life to cease to be a gentleman, made another statement to which I wish to refer, and that is, that Mr. McFarlane had drawn the full amount of his pay as a delegate for going to see what o'clock it was in London, and to return in the next steamer. Mr. McFarlane is here to-day, and instead of having made such a hasty visit to England, he was three months absent, and you will, therefore, see how largely inaccurate and reckless are statements like those I am referring to.

"Mr. Howe stated on the platform in Halifax, and repeated it to-day, that the claim a public man has to consideration is his past life. He is quite right. I have served my country for twelve years, and I stand here to be tried by reference to my acts. I am quite ready to undergo the criticism of any intelligent constituency in Nova Scotia. If, gentlemen, the record shows that I have been unworthy of public confidence—that the principles which I have advocated one day I have trampled down on the next—that, instead of serving my country, I have been looking to advancement and emolument for myself—then, you would have the best evidence that any statement I might make to-day would be entitled to very little con-

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fidence. I can point, however, with pride to the record, and can show that from the first hour I entered into public life I have devoted myself unswervingly to the public service, and that I have grappled with and assisted to settle successfully every public question which then agitated the country.

"When I went into public life, the question of the mines and minerals had been a subject of agitation for twenty-five years. Nova Scotians could not expend a pound of capital in developing the mineral resources of their country without making themselves amenable to the law. The Government of which I was a member grappled with that question, and we invited Mr. Archibald, as a leading member on the opposite side, to go across the water in conjunction with Mr. Johnstone, for the purpose of bringing about a settlement with the Mining Association. These gentlemen returned with an arrangement of the most satisfactory kind, which we adopted. I need hardly tell this intelligent audience that the settlement of this question was one of the greatest boons ever conferred upon the people of this country.

"In what state did we find the representation of the Province? Little boroughs like Falmouth, with one hundred and fifty electors, had as much influence in the Legislature as large and populous sections. We grappled with that very difficult question. It has been said that by passing this measure—by removing the great anomalies that existed in the representation of the country—we lost our position when we appealed to the people. Now, had I known previously that such would have been the result, I would not have shrunk from the experiment. The public man who is not ready to peril his position on a great public question is not worthy of confidence.

"Take the question of education. The last census revealed the fact that the education of this country was at its lowest ebb—that eighty-five thousand of our population could neither read nor write. The Government, in view of that fact, assumed the responsibility of grappling with this all-important question. Under the operation of the School Law, passed by the Government, supported by Mr. Archibald, who on this as on the question of the mines and minerals and on union, has taken a patriotic stand, nearly twenty thousand more children were learning to read the Bible in 1866 than before the passage of this law. If that measure drove me out of public life, I could feel the gratifying conviction that I had achieved a great boon for the people of this country.

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“ Mr. Howe has told you that I have been inconsistent in denouncing railways and afterwards supporting them. I have before me the first speech which I ever delivered on that question in the House of Assembly. In that speech I stated that the question of the construction of railways by Government was settled in this Province, and I pledged myself to take up those works and carry them forward as expeditiously as possible. When we came into power in 1857, we found only nine miles of railway in operation, but when we left office in 1860, we left the line completed ninety-three miles, both to Truro and to Windsor. During the four years our successors held power, not a single mile of railway was built, but the moment we came into office in 1863, we grappled with the public works, and we now go to the people, having completed one hundred and forty-five miles of railway altogether. Then there was the great question of the Intercolonial Railway. For a quarter of a century men of all parties had declared that that question lay at the very foundation of the prosperity of the country, that the greatest boon that could be conferred on British America, and Nova Scotia in particular, was to successfully accomplish that work. From the first hour I entered public life, I have done my best to secure the accomplishment of that great project, and I am proud now to be able to say that in consequence of the realization of the union of the Provinces the road will shortly be constructed by means of the guarantee of three millions of British gold that has been obtained.

“ Then there is the question of the union of the Provinces, so long a matter of debate. For thirty years the public mind has been more or less agitated on this question. From the time of the publication of Lord Durham's report, down to the framing of the Quebec scheme, the public men of the Provinces have endeavoured to deal with the question. I took up that question, not because I was in power and was desirous of subserving my own interests; for when I was in Opposition I was invited to New Brunswick to deliver a lecture, and I spoke then not only to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but to all British America, of the great advantages that would result to all the Provinces from union. Having returned to this Province, in Halifax, Colchester, Kings, Hants and elsewhere, I addressed large audiences on the same subject, and received the plaudits of all classes and parties. I stand here to-day in the proud position of having succeeded by means of the assistance

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of patriotic gentlemen, not only of my own party, but of those who had been formerly my political opponents, in bringing this measure to a successful consummation.

“At the end of twelve years of public life, the only charge which any portion of the public press has endeavoured to bring against me is in relation to retrenchment. I am here to-day to show you what an amount of delusion has been created on this subject. I have in my hand the *Morning Chronicle*, containing the debate in which I brought forward the scheme. You will see from the report that that measure was brought forward in 1861, when Mr. Howe came to the House and declared that the financial affairs of the country were in such a deplorable condition that they had gone behind to the extent of £39,000, and that he was obliged to increase the taxation twenty-five per cent. higher than it had ever been before in the history of the country. I opposed that measure of taxation on the ground that a ten per cent. tariff ought to be sufficient to meet the ordinary services of the country, and I proposed that instead of increasing the burthens of the people, we ought to economize in the public expenses whenever it was practicable. So far from saying that the salaries were too high, I declared that if that measure of retrenchment was adopted, and the salaries were lowered, I would pledge myself to assist in raising them the moment the financial position of the Province warranted such a step. Therefore, when we came into power in 1863 and met the Legislature with the means of giving largely increased grants to the roads and bridges, and schools, and other public services of the country, and still left a handsome surplus in the treasury, it would have been a violation of my pledge if I had carried out a system of retrenchment which had only been proposed at the time of a great public necessity, and was intended to take the place of the measure of extreme taxation passed by the Government to which I was opposed. But even if I had been disposed to carry out that scheme, Mr. Howe knows perfectly well that he prevented me from doing so. The Government of the day, through Mr. Howe, communicated with the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, and obtained the answer of the Imperial Government that they would not consent to any reduction in the civil list. Therefore a barrier had been erected at the outset, which proved entirely unsurmountable to the carrying out of the scheme in question. At last, however, under the Act providing for the union of the Colonies, the power has been given us of reducing the salaries

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on the civil list. At the last session of the Legislature we passed a bill which lowers the salary of the Provincial Secretary, and abolishes the offices of Financial Secretary and Solicitor-General. And how were we met? When I came forward and stated that, under the union, a large portion of the duties now performed by the departmental offices would be taken away, and, therefore, it would not be necessary to continue the present salaries—when I brought forward a measure which would save \$30,000 a year to the people of this country, Mr. Annand, Mr. Killam, and other anti-unionists in the House of Assembly rose and gave me all the opposition they could. Therefore, I stand to-day in the proud position of being able to say that I have not only acted with a view to the country's interests, but have carried out my pledges on the question of retrenchment.

"During the four years I have been in power, we have given \$959,000 more to education, the roads and bridges, militia, and navigation securities—the most important public services of the country—than were given by the late Government. (Cheers.) The moment we came into power we found a Railway Board, composed of six members, and we reduced the number to three, and in that way saved a considerable amount of public money. Then there is the matter of delegations. Mr. Howe has complained that I went into this question in the House of Assembly, but he must understand that I made no invidious comparisons on the subject until Mr. Annand brought up the subject himself and obliged me to enter into a defence of my position. On the first delegation to which I was appointed, instead of taking £500, as Mr. Howe had always taken, I reduced that amount to £300, and the largest amount I have ever received was, therefore, £200 less than he had obtained. After he came into power, he was obliged to conform to the rule which I had established. In the *Morning Chronicle* of the 5th inst., the charge is repeated that I have cost the people \$17,000 over and above the salary which I drew for my office. How far true do you suppose is that statement? There was no excuse whatever for such a statement, for I have conclusively proved the amount I have actually received in the House of Assembly, and in the presence of Mr. Annand. The entire sum does not reach over \$2,500. They are, therefore, no less than \$14,500 out of the mark."

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CHAPTER LV.

TUPPER'S SPEECH ON UNION—(Continued).

"Now, let me contrast Mr. Howe's position with my own. He says that he does not wish to be judged by his promises for the future, but by his record in the past. Let me take up his past record, and I think I will show you, sincere as you may believe him when he speaks, that there is not the slightest confidence to be placed in any statement he may make—that never was there any public man in any country entitled to so little claim to consideration. Did not Mr. Howe first take credit for having been the advocate of responsible government? He has gained some credit for having battered down the old Council of Twelve. It is his boast that he has got under the wing of one of those old Tories whom he turned out of the Council. He has told you that not only has he old friends, but old Tories behind him. I admit that there are some old, fossilized Tories who are ready to support him in his present attitude of opposition to the people's advancement and prosperity. If he has got the assistance of such persons, I am sure I shall obtain the support of the standard-bearers, not merely of the Liberals, but of the Conservatives as well. (Cheers.) Of all those men who wish to see their country's progress and happiness promoted, I will show you that there was never a man in this country who trampled responsible government more ruthlessly under his feet than Mr. Howe himself. I am asked to prove it and I shall do so. What will this body of intelligent electors say when I tell them that I found Mr. Howe and Mr. Annand circulating Messrs. Bolton and Webster's pamphlet broadcast over England. When I was spending a day or two at Colonel North's, I found this pamphlet lying on his table. In the *Morning Chronicle* this pamphlet was reviewed as worthy of the most favourable consideration of the people of this country. What, then, will you say when you hear that this pamphlet contains this libel on responsible government:

"Viewed in any light, responsible government in such Colonies as Nova Scotia or New Brunswick cannot but be

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regarded as an evil mischievous in its tendencies, contemptible in its practice, and degrading in its results!' (Cheers.)

"That is enough to sicken most people, without going any further. Not only did the organ of anti-unionism approve of this libel on responsible government, but Messrs. Howe and Annand did their best to circulate it throughout England. You will see, therefore, that I am not speaking without authority to sustain me, when I charge Mr. Howe with trying to trample down responsible government. What were these petitions but an attack on responsible government? I gave Mr. Howe credit for having fought for the principle, and I never supposed the dark hour would come when he would take it all back. Responsible government meant that the country had arrived at such a stage of progress that it was competent to exercise the functions of parliamentary institutions in their entirety. Instead of being governed by the functionaries of Downing Street in England, the people of this country were to be considered competent to govern themselves through their own Legislature. The people sent their representatives to the Legislature to manage the affairs of the country. That is the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end of responsible government. You now find Mr. Howe going to England, carrying petitions to show that this country is degraded and unfit to exercise the functions of self-government. (Cheers.) I stand here to-day prepared to prove that the time has come when the father of responsible government is prepared to strangle his own offspring. What has he told us? He may say, I have faith in the people, but not in the Parliament of this country. In New Brunswick the people disposed of the question in two elections, and yet he held up their verdict as a disgrace to civilization at the same time that he denounced the decision of the Parliament of this Province as having been corruptly obtained. In reference to the decision in New Brunswick, Mr. Howe said:

"On the methods by which that decision was reversed, it is painful for a lover of freedom to dwell; but your Lordship is aware that in Jeffrey's time many a jury was induced to reverse its decision when threatened and brow-beaten by the court!"

"Such is the language which he uses in reference to the verdict of the people at the polls in our sister Province. Then, gentlemen, you come to the question of an intercolonial railway; you will find him dealing with it just as he did with

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responsible government. You have found him declaring on the public platform, in the Parliament, and everywhere, that an intercolonial railway would be a magnificent thing for British America—that it would give the best possible guarantee for the continuance of the connection with the British Crown, and would increase the trade and commerce of this Province to an incalculable degree. Yet this man, with the same inconsistency that has marked his course with reference to other great measures, when he saw that this great work was to be accomplished by his opponents, approves and circulates the book of Bolton and Webber, in which they declare that the road will be useless, either in a commercial or defensive point of view. More than that, he says not only will this work be useless, but the people of British North America will dishonour their bond and the money will have to be paid by the British people at last. What must be thought of a man, who one day, to suit his own purpose, can advocate one principle, and the moment he is out of power and thinks he can float back into office by embarrassing the Government, takes back the sentiments of a whole lifetime! (Cheers.) So on the question of the mines and minerals. For a quarter of a century no man was louder than Mr. Howe in denouncing that monopoly, and expressing an anxious desire to get rid of it; but the moment his opponents grappled with it, he was found opposing it. He had declared only a year or so before, that taxing coal at the pit's mouth was something like taxing turnips in the field. He denounced the settlement because a greater tax was not put on the coal. To-day he stands convicted of having tried to defeat a measure which he had done his best to carry, and from which he has predicted ruin and misfortune, whereas it is intimately connected with the progress and the prosperity of the country. So, having declared the right of the people to express their sentiments at the polls, what did he do when we brought in a representation bill to extend the franchise of the people of this country? He fought to the death in order to protect such Rotten Boroughs as Falmouth. In every one of these cases—on every question of vital importance, since I have been in public life, Mr. Howe has showed the most astounding inconsistency and insincerity and disregard of the best interests of the people. So with regard to the franchise. He came forward as leader of the Government and declared in a very emphatic speech that the salvation of this country would be found in the elevation of the franchise. He declared his determination

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to strangle a fourth of the electoral body, and expressed the belief that universal suffrage was such an evil that it ought to be abolished. So sweeping a change as that would create a revolution in England, and is entirely unparalleled; but still he stood on the floor of Parliament and declared that the best interests of Nova Scotia required that the franchise should be wrested from a quarter of those who had previously exercised it. No sooner had he gone out with his petitions for signature when he assumed the leadership of the anti-union party, than he apologized at Windsor for having committed this outrage against the people, and endeavoured to throw on an officer of his Government the responsibility which he should have assumed as its leader. No parallel can be found in this or any other country of a public man having led a Government for four years, and then coming forward and not only revealing the secrets of the Council, but denouncing the acts of his own colleagues. In respect to the franchise, therefore, as in respect to the mines and minerals, the intercolonial railway, and every other question, he occupies the position of having advocated one set of principles to-day, and on the next, held them up to the country as odious and detested.

“What will you think when I tell you that this man, who declared that he was in favour of representation in the Imperial Parliament, had his wings suddenly clipped by a letter from a Mr. Bannister, who had promulgated such a scheme years ago. Turning up the old *Nova Scotian*, we find this scheme of Mr. Bannister reviewed and denounced, whilst the union of the Provinces was advocated. After having trampled Mr. Bannister's pamphlet under foot, when Mr. Johnstone brought forward his resolution for union, Mr. Howe fell back upon Mr. Bannister's scheme and reproduced it as his own. Subsequently he adopted the measure of union. Why did he not take up his scheme of representation in the Imperial Parliament? Because he knew there was not a public man in England who would look at it.

“But before going further, I must refer to another matter in connection with the subject before us. Mr. Howe has had the shamelessness to deceive the people of this country in respect to the Catholics. He has told you that he took up this question as an electioneering cry—that instead of being a true-hearted Protestant he merely made use of the question for selfish political purposes. We are told rightly that Mr. McCully was not the first to bring it forward, but was only

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dragged into it by Mr. Howe's superior wit. He was very anxious that Mr. Archibald should read you the whole of his observations in Temperance Hall. Let me now read to you what Mr. Archibald omitted, and I ask you to contrast this statement with Mr. Howe's remarks on the floor of the Assembly:

"When Bishop Walsh died here a servant lowered the flag on Government House, which would not be considered more than a compliment in ordinary times. But who raised the cry about that flag? Who disturbed the ashes of the dead bishop? Jonathan McCully? I was in the United States all the time, and I knew nothing of it till I found it was accepted as a party cry, and then I used it as party cries are usually used.'

"Now let me read to you what Mr. Howe said on the floor of the Assembly:

"What has the Lieutenant-Governor to do with the desecration of the national flag? I hold the Government and not the Governor responsible for this act. . . . No man more respects the personal freedom and security which the Queen's representative should enjoy in his own domicile, but if his advisers put him on the roof of his house there to kiss a Catholic prelate's toe, or to lower the national flag at his funeral, am I to suppress my indignation? If a public insult is offered to the loyal and religious sentiments of three-fourths of the population, am I not to assume that the Queen's representative has done no wrong, but that his advisers have been guilty of a violation of the proprieties of public life?"

"Now he takes all back; it is a servant who is responsible for the lowering of the flag; more than that, the act in question which he deprecated so strongly in the past, he now considers as only a proper compliment.

"Now, in the presence of the Catholics of Halifax he apologized for his statements in the past and declared the whole thing a mere party cry intended to deceive the electors of this country. What a contemptible position a public man must occupy when he declares one day, in the most emphatic tones, that it was necessary to excite Protestant against Catholic, and on the next comes forward and imploringly begs pardon for having acted as he did, and endeavours to excuse himself by saying that he had only wished to effect some party purpose! Under these circumstances, I ask you, not as Conservatives or Liberals, unionists or anti-unionists, but as intelligent men,

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what guarantee can you have for the sincerity and honesty of the man who now claims your support?

"I come now to the question of the union of the Colonies, and I shall be able to show you that Mr. Howe has acted on this with the same insincerity that he has on every other public question. I will go back for thirty years, and I will refer him to a paper edited by himself, in which he distinctly pledged himself to a union of the Colonies—and that, too, a Federal Union. In fact, in May, 1838—and I will say frankly that the union advocates have never claimed originality in this matter, but have merely carried to a successful completion, as business men, what others had propounded—we find an article in the *Nova Scotian*, edited by Mr. Howe, discussing this question of the union of the Colonies as necessary to their power and strength. The writer reviews the question of representation in the Imperial Parliament, and condemns it; and finally he propounds as the great measure to unite the Provinces just such a system of union as was devised at Quebec.

"Mr. Howe: I was in England at the time, and never read a line of it.

"Hon. Dr. Tupper: I care not whether he wrote it or not; if he repudiates it now, his denial comes thirty years too late. (Cheers.) If the statements of the article were calculated to injure and mislead the people, why did he not repudiate them when he returned? Hear what we find in this article:

"The fourth proposition on our list—the continuance of local legislatures for local matters and a general assembly of representatives, made up of members from all the Provinces, with its concomitant branches of Legislative Council and Governor-in-Chief, for the purpose of arranging all general measures—will perhaps finally have the greatest number of advocates. The local bodies, each performing the interesting local business of each Province, without being distracted by abstract politics and general questions, and the general body for the consideration of questions involved in states of peace and war, and affecting commerce and general improvements controlled only by the British Government, form an outline of a system which, to the casual observer at least, recommends itself strongly. Too powerful to be effectually controlled when united on some object affecting the interests of the vast territory of their charge—and it would be difficult to imagine such a union except in cases where union should be power—they

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would at the same time have a wholesome check to dangerous disunion among themselves in the preponderance which the British Government could at any time throw into the scale of order and general integrity, it will be readily seen that the Federal Union would promise an excellent means of arranging many matters now in dispute between some of the Colonies.'

"I will now give you something which he cannot repudiate even now. He wrote a letter in 1849 to the Hon. George Moffatt, President of the British American League, in which he most distinctly advocates such a union as we have now formed. He thus wrote:

"We desire free-trade among all the Provinces, under one national flag, with one coin, one measure, one tariff, one post office. We feel that the courts, the press, the educational institutions of North America would be elevated by union; that intercommunication by railroads, telegraphs and steamboats would be promoted; and that if such a combination of interests were achieved wisely and with proper guards, the foundations of a great nation in friendly connection with the Mother Country would be laid on an indestructible basis.'

"What will you now say of the man who wrote that with his own right hand and left it uncontradicted down to the present moment, and attempts to insult your intelligence by the declaration that he had never been an advocate of union? But I will give you something more—what he said about the union on the floor of the Legislature. It is true that he advocated representation in the Imperial Parliament, which for thirty years had been proved to be as entirely delusive as he showed it to be in 1840. When Mr. Johnstone brought forward his resolution, Mr. Howe was, as usual, unable to follow him. Mr. Howe is possessed of an eloquence second to no man, but it is his misfortune that he can follow nobody, however wise or judicious a measure may be. He cannot give his assistance to any great question unless he is at the head promoting it. (Cheers.) Day after day he had pledged himself not only to the principles, but to the details of union; but when he saw it was to be accomplished by his opponents, he is found in the foremost ranks of its opponents. But what does he tell you in his speech of 1854:

"By a Federal Union of the Colonies we should have something like the neighbouring Republic, and if I saw nothing better I should say at once, let us keep our local Legislatures, and have a President and Central Congress for all the higher

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and external relations of the united Provinces. Under a Federal Union we should form a large and prosperous nation, lying between the other two branches of the British family, and our duty would evidently be to keep them both at peace.'

"Now I come to the resolution of 1861, and he has given a version of it which, I must say, will excite a great deal of surprise on the part of his colleagues in the Administration. He actually tells you that he, as the leader of the Government, brought forward a measure of the very gravest moment simply as a snare to catch John Tobin's vote on a question before the House. (Cheers.) He says that Mr. Tobin held us in his power at the time. The fact is, Mr. Tobin was sitting in Opposition with us, and Mr. Howe and his friends were in power. If Mr. Howe's reason for the introduction of the resolution were true, then he would be placed in a position to excite the contempt of every intelligent man throughout the Province, but he knows quite well there is no truth in his statement, and I am able to show it. When he had got authority from the Imperial Government to deal with the measure in the way proposed—after the matter had laid over for a year—he addressed a letter on the 14th August, 1862, to the Government of each of the other Provinces, asking them to agree to a conference on the subject. The conference was called, and Mr. Howe went to Canada, and what was the result? They decided that they must have an intercolonial railway first before they could take up the question of union, but at that time, not content with having had a conference at Quebec, he went before the people of Canada at Port Robinson, and there he made the following speech:

"As to the attacks made upon Canada in the British Parliament, as to the imputation that the Colonies were no longer worth fortifying, he would remind her slanderers that Canada had been loyal to the Crown for more than a century. He would tell them that it was the local militia of Canada that twice put down disturbances. He would remind those Lords and Peers that if Canada desired to sever her allegiance to Britain, she could very readily have crushed the handful of troops in the Provinces when the disturbances broke out. By doing as she had done, Canada worked herself on to her present great position. Their old battlefields near at hand had been the scenes where Canada had testified her loyalty. He looked hopefully forward to the time when the great Provinces of Canada would be connected with the Provinces below, and when

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a man would feel that to be a British-American was to be the citizen of a country which included all these fertile lands, all these inexhaustible fisheries, all this immense marine—carrying to all seas the flag of Old England, if she would let us; if not, the flag of British America.'

"Now let me turn your attention to what he said in 1863. I invited him to go to Temperance Hall, where Mr. McGee was to deliver a lecture on union. When I succeeded Mr. Howe in the Provincial Secretary's Office, he had the manliness to say, 'If at any time I can help you to serve my country, I will do so cheerfully.' Having gone into the neighbouring Province and advocated union, having given Mr. Howe my warmest support when he moved the resolution previously referred to, I felt that I had a claim upon him in asking his assistance. I went to Mr. Howe's lodgings and said: 'Mr. McGee is going to deliver a lecture on union, and I wish you to move or second a vote of thanks to him.' He replied that he would do so with pleasure. On the close of the lecture Mr. Howe came forward and said he was with Mr. McGee in all he said. Instead of declaring Mr. McGee a rebel, he said that Mr. McGee's services were worthy of recognition by the British Government, that a letter he wrote at the time of the Trent affair was worth many thousand men to England. Mr. Howe said:

"He thought a union should not be delayed till we had drifted into difficulties. How shortsighted were the English statesmen of old who lost them the Thirteen States, when the difficulty could have been arranged in a month, the horrors of the Revolutionary War prevented, and all our race living at peace and harmony at present, without the bickering and animosity which prevail in their minds. Talk of the fall of Quebec being a source of sorrow to the inhabitants of this Province! It would be more. If the St. Lawrence were in the hands of our enemies, we should be compelled to beg permission to tear down the British flag. What he wished for Nova Scotia was that she may be a frontage of a mighty Colony, upon which it may be truly said the sun never sets. No man can look upon Halifax and its environs, its harbour, its citadel, and say it was made for this Province alone; the United States have drifted into a civil war, and we may drift into a tight place from which it may be difficult to extricate ourselves. The States might assail us, but if we had a railway, by which troops

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could be sent from Quebec or other military stations to the threatened point, we would be saved.'

"There you see the same man who to-day denounces union as a source of weakness, declaring on the public platform that the only salvation for Nova Scotia was in such a union as would enable us to draw assistance from the other Provinces. In 1864, I moved a resolution for the union of the Maritime Provinces, and in doing so I expressed my regret that I was unable to obtain the larger union, in consequence of the objection of Canada to it. Immediately after that resolution was carried, what happened in Canada? In the Canadian Parliament parties had been so closely divided that government was rendered almost impossible, so that finally the leading men on both sides coalesced on the basis of a union of British America, and, if that was not possible, on the basis of a separation between Upper and Lower Canada. Mr. Howe was perfectly well aware of this fact, and both he and Mr. Annand met, with the leading merchants of Halifax, in the Mayor's office, and assisted in passing a resolution, unanimously inviting both branches of the Legislature of Canada to come down and partake of a reception in this city. Mr. Howe shakes his head; but on that occasion he considered the matter of such public importance that he proposed the expense should be borne by the treasury of the Province. I will do Mr. Howe the credit of saying that he put his name down to take two of the expected guests. A number of the members of the Legislature and press and other residents of Canada came to Halifax and were entertained on one evening at the Drill Room. Mr. McGee proposed the health of Mr. Howe and myself. When a man says everybody was drunk, it is a pretty accurate sign that he is himself not very sober. (Laughter.) On that occasion, however, Mr. Howe was in the full possession of his senses, and was not in the slightest degree beside himself. As the leader of the Government, I replied in the first instance, and said that our names could not have been united on a more suitable occasion, because, although we had been antagonistic in our public life, yet on this, the union of the Provinces, we were as one. I said, also, that I was glad to find that what I had despaired of as impracticable was likely to be realized, and that when I moved the resolution for the union of the Maritime Provinces, I did not contemplate the possibility of Cartier and Brown sitting in the same boat, rowing to the tune of 'Row, brothers, row.' Mr. Howe eclipsed everybody in his reply, and

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in one of his most eloquent speeches he advocated union. Did we find him denouncing the idea that he was a Canadian, and congratulating himself that he was a Nova Scotian? Nova Scotia, then, was insignificant in his estimation; his eye rested on the grander position she would occupy as a portion of British America. Now that the day has come when we may be made strong and vigorous, by union under the old flag, he opposes the great measure which he had always so eloquently and earnestly advocated, which had been the 'dream of his boyhood,' which he hoped to see 'realized before he died.' He urged the Canadians, on the occasion in question, not to separate the Canadas, but to unite with the other Provinces if they could. Yet no sooner does he find that the Government which displaced him from power are about to accomplish the 'dream of his boyhood,' than he takes back all the declarations of a lifetime—would wipe away, if he could, the record that appears against him from 1838 to 1864. He says to the people of this country, 'I have been leading these men out into deep water, and now that I have got them where they cannot recede, I will endeavour to drown them.'

"Such is the position which Mr. Howe occupies before the people to-day, and such is the claim he has to the confidence of the intelligent electors for sincerity and adherence to principle. What more did he do? Having declared himself in favour of uniting all these Provinces, I invited him, on behalf of the Government, to become a delegate to the Charlottetown Convention. Knowing that it was the intention to consider the question of the larger union at Charlottetown, Mr. Howe accepted the position on the delegation, and I need not tell you how much I deplore the fact that he was not able to go, that he was not in the front of this movement, and enabled to realize the 'dream of his boyhood.' Mr. Howe wrote me a letter from one of Her Majesty's ships, expressing his deep regret that he was not able to go. I may say that in that letter he pledged himself, knowing that his late colleagues would be invited on this delegation, whatever might be the result, to assist in carrying it forward; therefore, you will see that I have much reason for complaint against him."

CHAPTER LVI.

TUPPER'S SPEECH ON UNION—(Continued).

“ I HAVE NOW something to say with reference to the character of union itself. But first, what is the reason that the question was never tested at the polls? The reason was because a union was believed to be fraught with advantages so palpable and so great that no man could be found in the Legislature or throughout the Province to oppose it, and therefore it was never made an issue at the polls. It was a question on which the public men of all parties were agreed, and which recommended itself to the intelligence of the great majority of the electors of this Province. Who was there that could look at the geographical character of this country and not see that God and nature intended it to become the great highway of communication between Europe and the Canadas and a great portion of the Western States? Who could help feeling that if Halifax was to become the great entrepot of travel and trade between the Old and the New Worlds, it must be through the intercolonial railway? But that is not all. A quarter of a century has been spent in vain attempts to accomplish that work. Mr. Howe has said that the arrangement made between Canada and this Province was broken up by bad faith on the part of the Canadians. Yet that agreement was very favourable to Canada. The moment it was put before the people, they declared against an arrangement which made them pay for a road five hundred miles out of the Province. It seemed as if the road would never be built, and who can doubt that if it was not for the accomplishment of union, the prospect of the construction of the work would still be as far off as ever.

“ Then there was the question of raising up a large manufacturing industry in this country. Who can look at the geological character of this Province, and see its great mineral wealth, containing as it does coal, iron and lime, within close proximity to each other, without coming to the conclusion that Nova Scotia ought to become a bustling manufacturing com-

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munity? But it is obvious that these great natural resources must lie dormant unless we stimulate their development by having a larger population connected with us. Is it then surprising, when every intelligent man saw that on a union of the Provinces and an intercolonial railway depended the growth of a large manufacturing interest among us, no issue should ever have been raised at the polls on this question?

"Then there was the question of the Reciprocity Treaty. The peaceful Republic on our borders suddenly sprang into a great naval and military power. A country long engaged exclusively in commercial pursuits plunged into a fearful civil war, and came out of it with enormous burthens imposed on its people.

"Valuable as the Reciprocity Treaty was to the United States, they abrogated it, believing that the effect would be to force these Provinces into connection with themselves. They thought that, threatened as we were by Fenians, and embarrassed by the repeal of the treaty, it was not improbable that the annexation of the Provinces could be brought about. When I had the letter of Sir Frederick Bruce under my hand to show that the only chance for security was to unite these Provinces, I would have been recreant to my duty if I had not used all the means in my power to accomplish so great an object. The Americans felt that whilst we were isolated and antagonistic to each other, annexation was not impossible; but if our interests became identical, and we became as one, we would present such an aspect of prosperity that invidious comparisons would be drawn between us and the United States.

"Then there was the question of defence. Everybody knows that from the first hour when this question of union was proposed the leading statesmen came forward and accepted it as the great measure by which we could obtain the means of physical strength that was essential to the security of British America. This measure, instead of being denounced as one which was to remove the protecting arm of the British Government, has been advocated by Imperial statesmen of all parties, on the ground that, as they had the main burden of defending the Provinces imposed upon them, they had the right of asking that we should be placed in a position to co-operate vigorously with them. We have the authority of the Commander-in-Chief and all the leading statesmen of England that she will defend British America with all the resources possessed by the Empire whenever our position shall be menaced.

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"I am prepared to show you that the story of taxation, which has been used so largely as a means of alarming the electors of this country, is the most delusive story that was ever offered to the consideration of an intelligent people. I am prepared to take up the public records and prove to you that the whole story of the money being taken out of our own country is as palpable a delusion as was ever attempted to be created. The money is now taken from Colchester and put into the Provincial Treasury at Halifax; but is it to be said, therefore, that the people of this country are robbed? When this scheme of union goes into operation, you are to have two treasuries; one is to be the treasury of the local, and the other of the general government. The money which goes into the general treasury will only be applied for general purposes, and over that you will have a large control. Nineteen members are to be elected by this Province to the House of Commons, consisting of one hundred and fifty-one persons, and they will be joined by fifteen from New Brunswick, whose interests will be identical with our own. But I need hardly tell you that nineteen members compose as large a body as held the Government of England in its hands for years, and that in a House composed of over six hundred members. In a united Parliament, where there will be two great opposing elements—the Upper Canadian element and the Lower Canadian element—the nineteen members from Nova Scotia will hold the balance of power. Therefore, I say that the whole story that our revenues are going out of our control is an utter fallacy. But supposing the nineteen and fifteen members of the two Maritime Provinces were insufficient to protect our interests, under the scheme of union six hundred thousand souls in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia will have as large an influence in the Senate as Upper Canada, with a population more than double. Not a single dollar is to go beyond our control, and I can prove to you that Nova Scotia will be a large gainer by the financial arrangement. The largest revenue Nova Scotia ever had was collected last year. Take all the money paid during last year for the services within this Province, and you will find, if you add that to the amount that they have to pay on the public debt and the amounts payable per capita and local subsidies, you will have \$100,000 more than is handed into the general treasury, and in addition to that you will have the interest of the intercolonial railway debt. Therefore, in a

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financial point of view, the arrangement is of a most satisfactory character.

“But a great deal has been said about the taxes that are to be imposed under Confederation. Mr. Howe says that in a few hours he could have constructed a better scheme of union than we have devised in two years. Why did he not go on to tell you that he has constructed a scheme and that he brought it out in London? Mr. Howe, at all events, cannot argue that we should leave ‘well enough alone,’ for he has plainly told us that we can have no security for peace, and that the rights and liberties we possess can only be maintained and guarded by an immediate reorganization of the British Empire. I have shown you that we believe one effect of union will be to give such a consolidated strength that the invader will hesitate to put a hostile foot on our shores—he will feel that he is not going to attack isolated and antagonistic Provinces, but a confederation of four millions of free men, animated by common sympathies and interests, and protected by the whole might of Great Britain. Therefore, I believe, we will have that moral force which will be all-potent to prevent invasion and danger from abroad. These advantages are secured to us at the rate of taxation less than exists in any part of the world. A great deal has been said about the taxes of Canada, but within a very short period they have been lowered to fifteen per cent., and if you applied the Canadian tariff to Nova Scotia at present, you would hardly increase the amount of revenue that is now collected here. The fact is also studiously concealed that the first duty of the united Parliament will be, not to impose a Canadian tariff, but to put on such a duty as will be most conducive to the best interests of the whole Confederation. The revenue of Nova Scotia last year was higher than it had ever been before, and yet our surplus was insignificant compared with that of Canada, or with that of New Brunswick. Therefore, we are uniting with Provinces more prosperous than ourselves, and I may also mention in this connection that the large surplus of Canada remained after she had been called upon to pay a new and unexpected burthen in connection with the Fenian invasion. This story of additional taxation is entirely delusive.

“What was Mr. Howe’s scheme? It was first propounded in an editorial in the *Morning Chronicle*, after it had been wrested from its former editor, Mr. McCully. In this article the declaration was made that the Opposition, led by Mr. Howe,

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were ready to levy a tax upon the people equal to that borne by the rest of the Empire, to be devoted to purposes of defence. The scheme was elaborated in the pamphlet he issued in London. If his idea could be carried out, the people of this Province would have to endure such an oppressive system of taxation as was never placed upon the shoulders of free people before. This taxation would either be levied directly, or by a duty on imports, and would amount at the outset to a sum equal to the entire revenue of this Province. Our control over this tax would be literally nothing, for we would not have a representation of more than two or three members in a Parliament of over six hundred; it would not be as if we would have nineteen men in a House of one hundred and fifty-one to watch over our interests. After the money had gone into the Imperial Treasury, then a draft was to be levied on the people of Nova Scotia; our sons might be sent to China or Japan, or anywhere else, at a moment's notice. We would have to contribute as large a quota as would be contributed by the people of England themselves. I ask you, then, whether under these circumstances these gentlemen are in a position to talk about any burthen rising in connection with the arrangement we have made?

"I shall now turn your attention to another matter which has largely entered into the discussion of this question, and that is, the mode in which it was carried. I am standing here to-day in the presence of as intelligent a body of people as can be found in the Province, and I am prepared to show every intelligent man, whether for or against union, that the mode by which this union has been accomplished was not only a right and constitutional mode, but the only one known to the British constitution. In the first place, the statement has been made that this measure has never been before the people. I contend that it was before the people when the members of the Legislature unitedly, without a single dissenting voice, declared in favour of the resolution moved by Mr. Howe in behalf of a union. I will turn your attention to the question whether it is right and proper for the Legislature to deal with this matter without an appeal to the people at the polls. How did Mr. Howe propose to deal with the question? What did he consider the right and constitutional mode? Mr. Archibald has challenged Mr. Howe to show a single instance in British constitutional history where the ground was taken that a question must first be settled at the polls. Mr. Howe himself,

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when he undertook to deal with this question, proposed to pursue the same mode we have. In the letter he wrote to the Governments of the different Provinces, he said:

“ You will perceive that the Colonial Governments are left free to invite the leading men of all the Provinces concerned to a discussion of the question of union, either of all the Provinces or of the Maritime Provinces only; and Her Majesty's Government, it would appear, are disposed to give due weight and consideration to any resolutions in which the Colonial Legislatures may concur.”

“ But that is not all. Mr. Howe gave his opinion at length in his letter to Mr. Moffatt, of Canada, who was under the delusion that the people in public assemblages was the proper mode of arranging and settling any great constitutional question. Mr. Howe wrote a letter, in which he very severely censured Mr. Moffatt for the doctrine he had enunciated. He wrote:

“ A confederation of the Colonies may be the desire of your convention. If so, the object is legitimate; but it must be pursued by legitimate means. Believe me, it can only be wisely attained by and through the Provincial Legislatures, not by self-elected societies acting independently and in defiance of them. Suppose to-morrow propositions were submitted to the Lower Colonies for a legislative union or general confederation. If made by the Government and Parliament of Canada, they would be treated with deference and respect. If made by a party in opposition, they would not be for a moment entertained.”

“ Here Mr. Howe clearly and emphatically laid down the principle that a great constitutional question can only be wisely attained by and through the Provincial Legislatures, and not by self-elected societies acting independently and in defiance of them.” It was not necessary, however, for Mr. Howe to tell us this. We have moulded our institutions on those of Great Britain, and are guided by the same principles of government that prevail there. Her constitutional authorities are those which we must take for our guidance, and none of them afford the slightest evidence in support of the doctrine that this question of union should have been deliberately referred to the people at the polls. The people themselves do not legislate directly, but send representatives to Parliament to represent their views and make the laws of the country. At the present time there is a bill before Parliament

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to admit half a million of electors, and although there is a large body of men in the Commons opposed to the measure, you do not find anyone who has the hardihood to say that this law has never been before the people. Therefore, in the Mother Country, which Mr. Howe held up to us as the great exemplar for responsible government, they are changing the constitution of the country in the most vital respect, without any reference to the people at the polls. That is not all. I moved a resolution for the union of the Maritime Provinces in the Legislature; it passed unanimously here and in New Brunswick, and Mr. Howe said that he was most anxious to accept my invitation to serve on the delegation to Charlottetown. Neither in the Legislature nor in the press did anybody urge that that question could not be arranged without having been referred to the people at the polls. The resolution was in the following terms:

“*Resolved*,—That an humble address be presented to His Excellency, the Administrator of the Government, requesting him to appoint delegates, not to exceed five, to confer with delegates who may be appointed by the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the purpose of considering the subject of the union of the three Provinces under one Government and Legislature; such union to take effect when confirmed by the legislative enactments of the various Provinces interested, and approved by Her Majesty the Queen.’

“You will, therefore, see that this union would take effect when confirmed—not by the people at the polls, but by the legislative enactments of the several Provinces interested and sanctioned by Her Gracious Majesty. In the Minute of Council, composed by Mr. Howe in 1862, at the time when I endeavoured to obtain a dissolution, on the ground that a change was about to be made in the franchise previous to a general election, and that the Government had no right to deal with such questions, inasmuch as they had been shown to be in a minority at the polls, in that document Mr. Howe distinctly repudiated the theory of a reference to the people. Earl Mulgrave, the Lieutenant-Governor, took the same view, and the Duke of Newcastle sent out a despatch, in which he explicitly stated that the Colonial Assembly was the proper place to settle the question. Lord Carnarvon, Mr. Cardwell, and other able and British statesmen are all in agreement with us on this subject. Mr. Howe says that we do not pay sufficient respect to the feelings of the people of this country. Does it become him to make a statement like that? When Mr. Howe,

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just previous to the last general election, proposed to strike down one-fourth of the electoral body at one blow, a measure which would put it out of the power of the men thus disfranchised to influence the government of their country—when twenty-six thousand electors implored him to stay his hand and not to pass that law until after the general election, what was his answer? His answer was: 'I defy Dr. Tupper to show me one case where a dissolution was allowed in consequence of the presentation of petitions.' I do not say now that it would not have imperilled the question of union if there had been an appeal to the people. Mr. Howe says that although he was prepared to approve of the measure of education which I had brought forward, both he and Mr. Archibald were opposed to its machinery.

"Mr. Howe: I have never written a line on the question.

"Hon. Dr. Tupper: I have never doubted that the public sentiment of this country was largely in favour of union, and I had good reason for supposing so. The Parliament had always given a unanimous vote in favour of the measure. I had gone into five of the leading counties and advocated union, and not a man of any party rose up to say that he was ready to controvert the position I had taken, but at every one of these meetings both parties united in cheering me on. Had I done what no statesman ever did—dissolved the Parliament when I had a large majority prepared to carry a measure which I was convinced was wise and good—there is not a single person here who does not know that, seething as this country was then on the question of taxation for schools, the vote would not have been given fairly on the measure of union, but on the question just mentioned. At the first election in New Brunswick in 1865, the people decided against Confederation. But it is well known that it was rather the desire to have a change of Government than opposition to union that decided the election at that time. Mr. Smith, who succeeded Mr. Tilley, disappointed the expectations of his friends, and at another election the people reversed their former verdict and restored Mr. Tilley to power. In this Province, however, there was no reason for going to the people. The Government had an overwhelming majority in the Legislature, and had no reason to suppose that there existed any very large public sentiment in opposition to union.

"Mr. Howe complains that he was overweighted in England by the union delegates. All I can say is that the greatest enemy Mr. Howe found in England was himself. When he came out with his pamphlet, I sat down and put before the intelligent

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British public, not the assertions of the six delegates, but, in black and white, the speeches and writings of Joseph Howe himself for twenty years. ('Any lies in it?') Mr. Howe must answer that question, for it contained his productions. From the moment the statesmen and publicists of England had that pamphlet before them, Joseph Howe was impotent; the man who had gone to England, professing to represent the people, met only with shrugs and cold looks from the statesmen and public men of the country, for they felt that he had attempted to mislead them on a question of public policy, and contrary to his recorded public declarations for the whole of his past public life.

"Mr. Howe seems to think it a great scandal because Mr. Archibald and Mr. McCully are combined with me on this question of union, notwithstanding we have had some pretty fierce political conflicts in the past. I am bound to say that if there is one man to whom I ought to have given deep and mortal offence, it is Joseph Howe. Yet when this 'wretched retrenchment job'—as he calls it—was taken up by me in the Legislature, and I had driven him into a corner, he invited me into the Speaker's room and said to me, 'Dr. Tupper, you have won your spurs, and I think the time has come for us to unite for the good of this country.' (Cheers.) Now the same gentleman rebukes me for having allied myself with Archibald and McCully. I merely mention the fact to show you how very regardless he is of the past.

"Mr. Howe wishes to know how much public confidence Mr. McCully enjoys, and complains that he has been appointed to the Senate. Mr. Howe came into Cumberland and took Mr. McCully and appointed him to the Legislative Council over the heads of hundreds of the standard-bearers of the Liberal party. He put him into the railway, made him Solicitor-General, a member of the Government, in fact, gave him everything he wanted. He believed Mr. McCully to be entitled to the highest rewards the Government had it in their power to give him, and yet he finds fault with me for having assisted in placing that gentleman in the Senate. He will find in the same body five of the members of his own administration. He was bound to appoint as Executive Councillors the most competent men he had in the ranks of his party, and I presume he did so. Then he finds fault with the appointment of Mr. Miller and Mr. Bill. Was it not right that the Catholic population should have two representatives out of twelve in the Senate? Is there a man in the ranks of the Catholic popula-

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tion possessing more talent, or better qualified to serve his country than William Miller? His only fault is that when he found New Brunswick was ready to accept Confederation—that we would be left perfectly isolated if we did not accept it—that the integrity of this country was being threatened by bands of ruffians—he manfully admitted that the course he had previously taken on the question was wrong, and assumed a more statesmanlike attitude. Then Mr. Howe finds great fault with the appointment of Caleb Bill. If you go among the farming population of Nova Scotia you cannot find a farmer that represents the wealth of the country better than Caleb Bill. As representing the agricultural interests, and having a large stake in the country, Mr. Bill had a claim to consideration. As these are the only senators whose appointments have been called in question, it is not necessary that I should make any further reference to the subject.

“Deserted by the standard-bearers of his party, he has only his shadow by his side. The great body of the Conservative party is also ready to support the union of the Provinces. He may have got under the wing of some fossilized Tories, but he will find himself deprived of the support of his old political supporters from one end of the Province to the other—the men in whom the Liberal party has always put the most unqualified confidence. Mr. Howe complains that these senators were appointed by the Crown. Whose fault is that? It is he himself who has prevented the people electing the members of the Legislative Council. In this particular, therefore, you find him just as inconsistent as on every other question. One day he declared it would not be advisable for the people to elect the members of the upper branch, whilst on this platform he denounces me and the friends of union for not allowing the people to elect the Senate.

“I do not know if Mr. Howe gives away his photographs as he would have us believe Mr. Tobin does, but sometimes in travelling through the country you see what are marvellous likenesses of Mr. Howe. (Laughter.) He has been extremely anxious to tell us what he intends to do in case he gets a seat. Is he prepared to say that he intends to use such power as a seat in the Parliament will give him for the purpose of repealing the union? When I accused the anti-union candidates for Halifax of having such intentions, they rose as one man and declared that they were not repealers. When I said that Mr. Annand had told us on the floor of Parliament that he would spend the remaining days of his life in attempting to repeal

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the union, they replied that they did not care what he had said. Mr. Annand and the anti-union ticket at Halifax are, therefore, at variance with each other. Mr. Howe endeavours to steer between the two. He said in Temperance Hall that he is desirous of working out the scheme in the best way he can. Now to-day he tells you that he thinks he can drive a coach and six through the Act—that he has hopes of a successful appeal to the Privy Council. When I tell you that the greatest legal functionaries in England have sanctioned this Act as the proper mode of effecting the union, you must come to the conclusion that this trip to the Privy Council will be just as fruitless as his recent delegation to England to oppose the measure.

“This union of the Provinces is an accomplished fact, and it now becomes a most important consideration who are to be entrusted with the working out of the measure. Mr. Howe says that he wishes to be revenged upon the men who have accomplished the measure, and I then ask you if he presents himself in a creditable aspect before the intelligent electors of this Province when he comes forward and acknowledges that he is influenced by such motives. Is there not something nobler than a spirit of revenge, and that is, to promote the best interests of the country, and to work out this measure so as to accomplish the great ends which it is intended to subserve? Even assuming that Mr. Howe has greater abilities than he has, how is he going to effect that object by doing what he threatens—drive a coach and six through the Act of Union and appeal to the Privy Council. Suppose the decision of the people was hostile to union, and they went to elect men pledged to get the measure upset. Then so far as the voice of the people was concerned, you would have done your best to prevent a dollar of capital coming into the country for the construction of the railway. Do you wish to have manufactories established in this Province, to see its great mineral wealth developed to make Nova Scotia the great highway of communication between Europe and British America; to see British capital expended among us? If you do, then it is your interest as well as duty, regardless of every other consideration, to select those men who will be in a position to exercise influence in the Parliament of the Dominion, and will have a claim upon the people and public men of Canada, such as no men who have been opposed to the union could have. Will not the united Parliament be necessarily constructed of such men as can co-operate with Mr. Cartier, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Galt, Mr. McGee and other leading statesmen of Canada? Mr. Archibald or Me-

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TUPPER'S SPEECH ON UNION

Cully could go into a Cabinet composed of such men, and show that, having assisted in carrying union, they had especial claim to confidence and support. They could exercise a great influence in all matters where the interests of Nova Scotia would be concerned. But what would be Mr. Howe's position? In his recent address in Mason Hall, he stigmatized these men as traitors and rebels. Could he present himself before them, under such circumstances, and claim consideration from them? I have no hesitation in saying that to return to the Parliament at Ottawa men who for years have been denouncing the Canadians and reviling their country and its institutions would be the most suicidal course that an intelligent people could pursue. (Cheers.) When I look at the intelligent faces before me, I feel that I am appealing to men who have intellects to guide them, and who in their reflective moments will consider that if they wish to secure the prosperity of Nova Scotia they will entrust the working out of the measure of union to the hands of men who will feel that they are responsible for its results. (Prolonged cheers.)”

At the close of this speech, could Dr. Tupper have foreseen the events of the immediate future, he could have made the following startling peroration: Six years from this date, I shall have the great pleasure, and the greater honour, of securing the appointment of the Hon. Joseph Howe, after he has had four years of faithful service in the Dominion Cabinet under Sir John A. Macdonald, and three years with me as an associate minister, as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. When he vacates this office, I shall then have further pleasure and honour in securing the place for the Hon. Mr. McLelan. Both of these men, valiant opponents of Confederation to-day, will give the closing years of their lives to the advocacy of what they now attempt to destroy, and they will be honoured by their fellow-countrymen in being called upon to occupy Government House as the successors of a long line of distinguished men. After their terms of honourable service have expired, my friend and helper to-day, the Hon. A. G. Archibald, having become a little weary of public life, I shall have the pleasure of nominating to the same distinguished position. As for myself, I shall count it my duty to continue in the open field, labouring as best I can to make Canada a great nation, and the first among the States of Britain's oversea possessions.

CHAPTER LVII.

SENTIMENTS OF THE PRESS.

THE *Morning Chronicle*, in referring to General Williams' address to the House as Governor, said:

"General Williams speaks of Almighty God and fellow-countrymen. In our belief there is no country, for he derided the wishes of his compatriots; and we believe that his Satanic majesty should rather have been evoked when it was told us that against our will our liberties had been trampled down; that our constitution was dead; that our revenues were handed over to another country; that nevermore would we enjoy responsible government to the well-understood wishes of our people, unless we win it through blood and war."

Referring to the first of July, when the British North America Act came into operation, Mr. Howe said:

"There may come a time when the first day of July may be a day of cheerfulness in Nova Scotia. This year, notwithstanding the zealous blusters of a few individuals, it will be a day of gloom—of intense sorrow."

In reviewing anti-union literature of that day, one might be led to suppose that nearly all the people had joined the anti-confederate ranks. As a matter of fact, this was never the case. In the vote cast in the first election in September, 1867, 17,500 voted for the anti-confederates and 15,000 as confederates. Those who held union sentiments were unaggressive, but intelligently loyal and assured in their convictions. Of Halifax, the centre of the conflict, these statements are true. The city gave 400 majority for union, and Western Halifax, 300. These majorities were offset by a large majority against union in Eastern Halifax. The gloom and sorrow referred to by Mr. Howe existed largely in his imagination. The first of July, 1867, was observed in Halifax with imposing demon-

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SENTIMENTS OF THE PRESS

strations and no opposition. Referring to this, a city paper said:

"Yesterday was a day which will not soon be forgotten. It was a high holiday. It was a day of public rejoicing in the widest and fullest sense. It was ushered in and spent as befitted the great event which it brought along with it—the union of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia into a Dominion. Firing began immediately after midnight. The night, after twelve o'clock, was vibrating with booming cannon. As the morning broke, the demonstration became more intense and more imposing. Small arms rattled, cannon boomed, flags fluttered. Decorations in which the Union Jack was in striking evidence appeared in all parts of the city. The naval and military forces in the city and harbour joined with the citizens. Fifes and drums contributed their share to make the day glorious. No previous occasion had equalled it, except that of 1860, on the visit of the Prince of Wales.

"'The dream of my boyhood,' Howe's saying, was prominent among the mottoes. Rev. Matthew Richey, D.D., was the orator. He spoke from a stage on the Grand Parade. He said in part: 'I do anticipate the day when this Dominion will be the admiration of the nations, and when it will have been called on to take the position of a kingdom, not wresting power, but by receiving it from the paternal kingdom, and accepting it with great gratitude. If we fulfil the destiny which Providence has in reserve for us, and show ourselves worthy of our parentage, we may fully expect to do great things. There are men now in this Dominion who only require a theatre for the development of their highest powers. These men are actuated by the most generous motives of noble-hearted loyalty in carrying out this measure.'

"At the Glebe House, Archbishop Connolly's residence, there appeared at the window, 'To-day we open a continent, make two oceans meet, and must soon become connected with the railway system of the United States.

"In another of his windows was this: 'To-day union makes a Dominion of a Province, enlarges our country, dignifies our manhood, expands our sympathy, links us with 3,500,000 fellow-subjects. . . . God save the Queen.' And still in another window, 'Halifax yesterday a provincial town, to-day a continental city.'

"All industries, trades and professions turned out, took charge of the city and made it a grand day. Troops on the

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Common were reviewed by Sir Fenwick Williams. Unionists came to the front and shouted."

The writer may here state the result of his own observations during that period of provincial history. From 1864 to 1867 he was in Cornwallis, pastor of a large church. For two months in the summer of 1867 he preached to the largest church in the town of Yarmouth, and had abundant opportunity by constant intercourse with the people in these localities and generally throughout the western part of the Province to learn their real state of feeling. The anti-union press of the country, the declarations of Mr. Howe and those whom he led, the admissions made by Sir John A. Macdonald and others who visited Halifax in the autumn of 1868, in the opinion of the writer, assume a disloyalty and a violence which existed to only a limited extent among the people. In the congregations to which the writer ministered there were many men on both sides of this question, but there was no lack of fraternal and religious harmony among them. That disloyalty and annexation sentiments did exist to a limited extent is, no doubt, correct, but the violent aspect of anti-union sentiment was the result of the inflammatory journalism and the public utterances of men, whose inspiration, reduced to the last analysis, was partisanship and pique, consequent on defeat. Furthermore, Mr. Howe said:

"The sooner it is known the better, that the people of Nova Scotia are determined to defeat this idea of erecting a new dominion in British America.

"They are determined that not a pound of their capital shall go to the paying of the debts of Canada; that not an acre of their Province shall go under Canadian rule, and that not a man of their militia shall be liable to be marched up to the backwoods of Canada, to fight the battles of faction, or to prevent Canada from burning down Parliament buildings or pelting governors through the streets."

In the House of Commons in 1869, Mr. Howe stated that much of his opposition to Confederation "was querulous and declamatory," and referred to the thousands of the militia of Nova Scotia as loyal.

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CHAPTER LVIII.

REPEAL AT OTTAWA AND IN ENGLAND.

THE electric storm centre of anti-confederation on the 6th of November, 1867, the date of the first meeting of the Dominion Parliament, was transferred from Halifax to Ottawa. Early in the session, Mr. Howe made a speech, one hour and forty minutes in length, in defence of himself and the anti-union campaign. Two years before this, at a large meeting of the Boards of Trade of the Northern States and Canada at Detroit, Mr. Howe gave an address, in which he eclipsed all the speakers from the United States. The principal subject discussed on that important occasion was the burning question of reciprocity between the Republic and the British North American Provinces, the treaty concerning which was then about to expire. Delegates from Canada to this meeting heard Mr. Howe with great pleasure, and knew that his speech had much to do in securing a unanimous vote to request the President of the United States to renew the Reciprocity Treaty with the British Provinces. For the last quarter of a century, also, Mr. Howe had been frequently heard in Canadian cities, ably discussing questions of Colonial and Imperial interests. His reputation as a popular orator was, therefore, well established. This gave force to his leadership of the anti-confederate campaign in Nova Scotia. His name for the previous three years had been before the public. All this had unduly raised the expectations of the Commons and the people generally in respect to what they would hear when Mr. Howe should first appear in the Parliament of Canada.

When it became known that Mr. Howe would speak at a certain time, every member was in his place. Senators, reporters and the public were in the galleries, all in a highly-keyed, expectant mood. Mr. Howe stepped from behind his desk into the passage, and as was his custom, carefully observing the gestures acquired in early public life, began his first

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speech in the Commons. At times he turned from the Speaker, glanced at the galleries, and looked the back benches in the face. Great were the anticipations and great was the disappointment. Undue expectations would make even Niagara seem small. His audience at Detroit and the conditions were radically different from his audience and the conditions in the House of Commons. At Detroit, Mr. Howe appeared as an unknown man from a despised corner of North America, but he knew his audience, could touch its vanity, play with its national pride, and indeed with all its sensibilities as deftly as a lady pianist can touch the keys of her instrument. He did not fail in one respect. His audience cheered tumultuously for Joseph Howe and his boy, then in the Northern army, which had fought bravely to save the union. No one in reading that speech would compare its subject-matter with his speech at Southampton, England, in 1851, or with his letters to Lord John Russell. The Detroit address is, in many respects, inferior to them.

At Ottawa it was different. He was on the defensive. He knew that nine-tenths of the audience, both on the floor of the House and in the galleries, held clear, settled convictions on the merits of Confederation. He employed on that occasion his characteristic humour, but it was out of place and fell flat. The convictions of his audience were the result of years of careful thinking and discussion. Both the floor and the galleries were ice blocks to the sensitive spirit of the orator. Before rising to speak, Mr. Howe knew that anti-union was a lost cause, and that he was held on his course by circumstances and conditions largely created by himself. He was a careful reader of the press. By the quotations given in the preceding chapter, and much more of the same character, as well as his constant intercourse with his friends, he well understood the inflexible purpose of some of his anti-confederate friends—their unyielding determination to keep up the agitation indefinitely. He did not fail to interpret the inspiration of partisanship and the retaliatory spirit of some who already knew they were defeated. At the time he knew that there were men in Halifax whose course he could not change. Had two men of this number been out of the way, Mr. Howe could have accepted the situation with safety in the autumn of 1867.

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William Annand, in the Local Legislature, and proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, had set his face like flint against the Dominion. Thirty years of intimate co-operation between him and Mr. Howe counted for nothing at this time. That inflexible purpose, hot with partisanship in William Annand, was not to be easily modified and turned aside, and Mr. Howe knew that it was vain to undertake it. Behind Mr. Annand was Alfred Gilpin Jones, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, even more inflexible than Mr. Annand. Mr. Jones was of Loyalist descent, held the highest social standing, and had large influence as a prosperous business man. He had been a life-long Conservative, intimately associated with Dr. Tupper and J. W. Johnstone, but he became one of the originators of the anti-union movement, and accepted Joseph Howe as a leader. Back of his habitual genial manner was an indomitable will, at times deaf to facts and reason. Mr. Howe knew that surrender at this time was foreign to the purpose of Mr. Jones.

In making his first speech in the Commons, Mr. Howe knew that there was one man looking him in the face who would tear to shreds any attempted justification of the part he had taken against union. For the past twelve years, Dr. Tupper had been Mr. Howe's unyielding and successful opponent. In his phenomenal memory was held the entire record, even the details of Mr. Howe's public life. In a letter to Lord Carnarvon, Dr. Tupper, in replying to Mr. Howe's appeal to the Imperial Parliament to reject the British North America Act, had arrayed in order of time all that Mr. Howe had said in favour of colonial union, as opposed to his views in his appeal for its defeat. So crushing was the conflict of opinions that Mr. Howe had made no attempt to reply to it, although nearly a year had passed since it was written. A quarter of a century of political conflict had given Mr. Howe strong nerves, but at heart he dreaded the terrible memory and uncompromising opposition of his opponent. As was expected, Dr. Tupper was on his feet as soon as Mr. Howe had finished. Again Mr. Howe was arrayed against Mr. Howe. Howe replied to Howe, and Howe was Howe's destroyer. At the close of Mr. Howe's speech, a discerning Scotchman,* who sat

*Mr. Redford, a Liberal member for North Perth, Ontario.

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near a member from Nova Scotia then co-operating with Mr. Howe, whispered in his ear: "Is that your great Nova Scotian orator? I think he is a great humbug."

In February, 1868, Mr. Howe preceded his fellow-delegates of the Nova Scotia Legislature to London. Dr. Tupper, in a speech at the banquet given to him in 1883, in referring to this delegation to London, said:

"It has been said that the seductive powers which I exercised were too much for that eminent man, and that on the occasion of my visit to London, he was induced to desert the party to which he had committed himself. I have no hesitation in saying to you, in all candour, that a more unfounded statement was never made. The Hon. Sir A. T. Galt declined to go to England on the ground that the antagonism between Mr. Howe and myself would be fatal to the accomplishment of any good. The Legislature of Nova Scotia had sent a delegation, with Mr. Howe at its head, for the purpose of endeavouring to break up the union. I need not remind you that when I went over in 1866, Mr. Howe addressed a pamphlet of such signal ability to every member of the House of Commons and the House of Lords as to excite great alarm on the part of the friends of Confederation. Lord Carnarvon sent for me, and told me of the great impression produced by the pamphlet, and asked me to address myself at once to giving it an answer. I did so to the best of my ability, and I am happy to say that it relieved a good deal of the anxiety that had been felt in consequence of Mr. Howe's publication. When, in 1868, he was sent back to London to get a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of Confederation, with a view to breaking up the union if he could, I was delegated by the Government of Canada to go there for the purpose of giving information to the Imperial Government, and, in so far as possible, to prevent any damage being inflicted upon the interests of the union by Mr. Howe. The first thing I did on my arrival was to leave my card for the Hon. Joseph Howe. The next morning he walked into my parlour in the Westminster Palace Hotel, and greeted me with the remark that he was not glad to see me, but said: 'You are here, and I suppose we must make the best of it.' We sat down and discussed the question as it was worthy of being discussed by two men representing conscientiously what they believed to be the best interests of the country, but holding diametrically opposite

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views of the situation. I can say that if every word said between us, on that or any other occasion, was published in to-morrow morning's newspapers, you would not find a word reflecting upon the honour, character, or integrity of the Hon. Joseph Howe or myself. (Great cheering.) He felt, as no man could fail to feel, the momentous importance of the occasion. I said to him at once: 'You have come here on a mission with a view of obstructing Confederation, and I know too well that you will do all that man can do to accomplish the object for which you are sent here. But,' I said, 'you will be defeated. An overwhelming majority of the Commons, and a still larger majority of the Lords, will negative your proposal. You will be defeated, and nothing will be accomplished by your mission. The time will come when you will have to face the question, What policy are you going to pursue that is not going to be fatal to the Province of Nova Scotia, in which you feel so strong an interest? And when that time comes, you will find that the conviction will force itself upon you that the only thing you can do, entrusted with the confidence of the people of Nova Scotia as you have been, will be to devote your great talents in assisting to work out a scheme that will exist in spite of you, and to work it out in a way that will be most beneficial to Nova Scotia, or, if you prefer to say it, in a way that will be least injurious to the people of your country. When that time comes, as it will come, and when you give your great talents to assist the Government of this country, representing as you do a majority of the people of Nova Scotia'—for you will remember that after a hard and bitter struggle I succeeded in getting back to Parliament without one supporter on the right or left, and a united phalanx supporting Mr. Howe—'under these circumstances,' said I, 'with the extreme responsibility which the confidence of the country has thrust upon you, every hour's reflection will force you to the conclusion that there is no course open to you but to come forward, with the weight of power and influence of the representation of the Province of Nova Scotia, to assist in working out these institutions in such a way as to make the best of them.' I knew the man; I knew his patriotic sentiments. I knew him too well not to know that when the time came, when it was clear that his hostility would do nothing but injure his country, he would sacrifice himself, if need be, rather than do anything to prejudice the interests of the Province."

Great leaders, as is well known, in certain crises of their

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lives, lapse into the weakness and the helplessness of timidity. Mr. Howe was such a victim at this time. The lion had gone out of him, because hope had departed. In his first interview with Dr. Tupper in London, he said: "I cannot say that I am glad to see you, but I suppose we must make the best of it." To Dr. Tupper this needed no interpretation. He saw clearly that Mr. Howe's condition was consciousness of defeat. The grave question was, what in the circumstances was possible. The Hon. William Annand would soon be on the ground, and to approach him in any manner, even with Tallyrandish words of caution with a view to the acceptance of the situation, he knew would be futile. His proposal would be swiftly flashed to Halifax, and the *Morning Chronicle* would at once treat Mr. Howe as a traitor. The other delegates would turn against him. Mr. Jones and the local House would rush upon him without mercy, even with fierceness. He had not yet arrived, at the stage where he could accept proposals for surrender. He saw and felt that his mission was foredoomed to failure. The election verdict, he knew, was not an unmixed condemnation of Confederation. The hostility to the school bill he had known from the first. The fixity of the union was to no man clearer than to this veteran statesman now sixty-four years old.

The comparative quiet, but firm resolve of 15,000 voters for the union to the 17,500 against it, among the former in sympathy being the judges of the Supreme Court, clergymen of all denominations with rare exception, a large proportion of merchants and other substantial elements in the constituency of the Province, were facts well known to Mr. Howe, and as clear to his political vision as stars in a cloudless sky. The serious, sober reflection of age and long public service, most of it performed in the heavy work of opposition, did not admit of Mr. Howe at this time being blinded by mere passion, nor did he fail to understand the influences acting upon Mr. Annand and holding him to his purpose. The constituencies of the anti-union members had been led hitherto not soberly, not rationally to their present pitch of wrath against Canada and the alleged traitors who had handed the country over to these foreigners from whom neither fair play nor justice could be expected. Much of the leading had been wild and demagogish. Mr. Howe did not overestimate the task of turning the

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leaders and their followers from a course along which they had been conducted by him through years of violent agitation. It is one thing to raise a popular storm, but quite another matter to allay it. Many an agitator has found this out to his sorrow. The political advantages promised by the stand he had taken, Mr. Annand would not forego. Mr. Howe understood this perfectly. Dr. Tupper, too, saw and appreciated the situation. He had too much regard for his own honour and that of Mr. Howe to try in any way to evoke from him one word that would compromise either of them, but he saw where Mr. Howe was, and Mr. Howe knew it. It was impossible for Mr. Howe to maintain a defiant attitude. Strong feelings and the enthusiasm of assured success are essential to a bold front and bolder words. Mr. Howe could not disguise his real state of mind. The incidents, well-authenticated and hereafter stated, should be interpreted in the light of the foregoing facts and the developments following the return of the delegates.

The Hon. M. H. Goudge, now President of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, was at the time in London. His father had been a lifelong supporter of Mr. Howe, and he himself had followed in his father's footsteps. Mr. Goudge was present in Mr. Howe's hotel in conversation with the delegates. In response to a card brought in, Mr. Howe left the room, and after an absence of about an hour, returned. As he did so he said: "Whom do you think called me out?" As no one guessed, he remarked in a merry manner, "It was Tupper." "What have you to do with Tupper?" was the significant inquiry. He turned the question aside with this observation, uttered with an indifferent air, "Oh, I thought I would like to hear what he had to say." There the matter dropped.

On the eve of a parliamentary holiday, the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Buckingham, said to Dr. Tupper: "I will be glad to invite any member of the Parliament whom you may desire to see to my residence—Stowe Park." To this, Dr. Tupper replied: "There is one man whom I would like to meet, and that is the Hon. Joseph Howe." It is not necessary to say that Mr. Howe received an invitation to spend his holidays with the Duke. After he arrived, it was learned that Mrs. Howe was in London. She, too, received and accepted an invitation.

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It has never been hinted, as far as the writer knows, by Dr. Tupper that anything disloyal was uttered by Mr. Howe on this or any other occasion connected with this matter. But it is not denied that Dr. Tupper used his influence in the circumstances to the last degree, and did all in his power to convince Mr. Howe that the welfare of his native land made demands upon him which it was impossible for him to resist.

In replying to Mr. Howe's speech in the House of Commons in the previous November, Dr. Tupper took this ground, and on that occasion urged Mr. Howe to abandon his opposition and give the benefit of his influence and talents to carrying out the British North America Act.

It was fortunate and not disagreeable to his own feelings that Dr. Tupper was alone on his mission. According to the account given by Mr. Pope, in his life of Sir John A. Macdonald, it came about in this way: The Government finally chose Dr. Tupper and the Hon. A. T. Galt to represent them before the Imperial Parliament. Mr. Galt declined the proffered honour, . . . for in his opinion the Nova Scotia delegates should be met in England with Federal and Imperial argument, and not treated from the Nova Scotia point of view. He advised Sir John that the Parliament should be prorogued, and not meet until the deputation from the Local Legislature of Nova Scotia had returned from England with their answer. Sir John differed from Mr. Galt on both these points, but was unable to bring the ex-Finance Minister to adopt his views, . . . although it would look as if Mr. Galt had agreed to undertake the mission and afterwards changed his mind. Sir John felt much safer in following the advice of Dr. Tupper, who knew the men and the circumstances as no Canadian could know them. Had Mr. Galt's plan been carried out, it would have given the Nova Scotia delegates the ground for saying that the Province was being held in the union by the dictation of Canada through the Imperial Government. This would have added more fuel to the anti-confederate fire in Nova Scotia. But Dr. Tupper was able to give wiser counsels, in following which Sir John left the matter between Nova Scotia and the Imperial authorities. In a note to Dr. Tupper, dated Ottawa, March 23rd, 1868, Sir John said:

"You will see by the papers that Galt regularly sold Cartier

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about the mission to England. It would, however, have done no harm except to himself. In order to destroy the argument that your mission was hostile to Nova Scotia and an insult to it, as Blake and Holton declared, I carefully prepared Order in Council, a copy of which I enclose you. The debate was spirited, but shockingly reported; in fact, no report at all. It will serve, however, to show you how necessary it is that you should adopt the most conciliatory tone with your Nova Scotia friends. I trust you will be able to arrange matters with Howe, and I shall look eagerly for a telegram."

The last sentence of this letter reveals the nature of the advice of Dr. Tupper to Sir John, in connection with this matter. The object of their pursuit was Howe himself—"to arrange matters with Howe." They acted on the principle that in order to bewilder and scatter the herd, the leader must first be captured. The earnestness and success with which Dr. Tupper worked in his mission may be seen in an extract from a letter sent by him to Sir John A. Macdonald, dated April 9th, 1868:

"I called and left a card for Mr. Howe (who was not in) immediately after my arrival, and saw Annand and Smith, but made no reference to politics. Last Monday morning Howe came to see me here, and we spent two hours in the most intimate and friendly, I may say unreserved, discussion of the whole question. He met me by the observation that he could not say he was glad to see me here, but that he expected me, as he knew that, under the circumstances, I must come. He said that if the Government and Parliament refused to do anything, he intended to tell the people of Nova Scotia that he was ready to adopt any course they might decide upon. I told him that I considered it due to my own character, as a public man, as well as to the best interests of my country, to obtain the approval of Nova Scotia to the union; that I had, after careful consideration, decided that it could be done, despite all opposition, and had refused the chairmanship of the Railway Commission, in order to leave myself untrammelled and to strengthen my hands for the work; but that I was tired of fighting, and knew that the struggle must be most injurious to all concerned. I told him I expected him to do all in his power to obtain repeal, both with the Government and with Parliament, but that, in case he failed, he must see that in persisting in a course of antagonism to the Dominion and Imperial Governments would only end in

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the ruin of himself and his party, and be the cause of immense mischief to the country. I told him if, on the other hand, he went back to Nova Scotia and told them that before entering upon any further antagonism, they had better give the union a fair trial, he would find the Government and Parliament of the Dominion not only ready to make any practicable concession to the interests of Nova Scotia, but to give the public sentiment of the people, as expressed at the election, the fullest weight. That a seat in the Government and the position declined by myself would afford the means of doing justice to the claims of the Nova Scotia party, and that I would unite my fortunes with theirs and give them the most cordial support. He appeared deeply impressed by my statements, and said a great many civil things, but expressed his fears that if he took that course his party would abandon him. I told him that between us we could rally to his support three-fourths of the wealth, education and influence of the country, and that I could assure him that he would thus entitle himself to the most favourable consideration of the Crown. The Duke has entered warmly into my views, and has invited Howe and myself to visit him at Stowe Park next Monday."

The reply of Mr. Howe to A. G. Archibald, referred to in an earlier chapter, comes up unbidden at this point. The man to whom Mr. Howe said he would not play second fiddle has thrown away this musical instrument to relieve an acute crisis in the formation of the first Dominion Cabinet. Dr. Tupper declined to accept a place in it, and recommended Sir Edward Kenny, of Halifax. This induced D'Arcy McGee to take a similar course. When Dr. Tupper and Mr. Howe met in London in 1868, the former was the solitary unionist from Nova Scotia in the Commons at Ottawa. Added to his innate, dominating personality was this unique position he had taken, the better to carry on the confederate campaign. This clothed him with additional power in dealing with Mr. Howe. Having effaced himself, he was able to eliminate from Mr. Howe's feelings the personal element, which, although unknown to Mr. Howe, had had much to do in giving the inspiration under which he worked against union. The attitude of Dr. Tupper brought him and Mr. Howe into confidential relations. Here the one was strong and the other weak. Throughout life to be nothing in any circumstances was a tax on Mr. Howe's moral courage

REPEAL AT OTTAWA AND IN ENGLAND

which he was never able to pay. To see another man do what he could not do in a like case, and this man one who for ten years had been his avowed opponent, and to ask Mr. Howe to aid in perfecting such an undertaking was to make an appeal which Mr. Howe was powerless to resist.

When by the action of the British Government and Parliament the Nova Scotia delegates were defeated, no time was lost in informing their friends at Halifax of this fact. On the 17th of June, 1868, there came this despatch from Mr. Annand:

"Government refused appeal. Commons refused inquiry, one hundred and eighty-one to eighty-seven."

This cablegram was not a bolt out of the blue sky. The opposer had seen the danger and had expressed doubt. The clouds of adversity, as time went on, gathered larger and darker. When this despatch was received, it is interesting to see what the *Morning Chronicle* said:

"The Ministers have declared their intention to keep Nova Scotia in the chains of Confederation. Nothing will be expected at the hands of the House of Commons in the peculiar condition of public affairs in Great Britain at the present time. . . . Two years ago there was not a disloyal man in Nova Scotia. At this moment, too large a proportion of the people are prepared to throw off their allegiance rather than submit to Canadian domination. We advise patience, because we know we must be released from bondage."

On the 20th of January, 1868, before leaving for London, Mr. Howe, at a public meeting in Halifax, said:

"We are all bound by the Act of Parliament, and you must appeal to the power that made the law. The question you will naturally ask is: 'What will be the result? Will they hear us and grant us redress? You ask me, do I feel confident now? I am sorry to say I do not. . . . But you may ask me, with such doubts in your mind, is it worth while to carry the matter further? Aye, it is. If honour will get not one man to vote for us, we are bound to do to Nova Scotia, its honour and its interests, justice before the people of England. . . . You will doubtless ask me, suppose the appeal be made, what must be the attitude of the country in the meantime? I have no

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hesitation in saying, that until that appeal is answered, Nova Scotia must maintain the attitude she has always maintained. . . . My advice is to maintain peace and order as of old. The flag that has floated over us for more than a century must float over us respected still; . . . in short, I mean that the loyalty of Nova Scotia must be maintained. . . . Let me say that I make these utterances without the slightest feeling against Canada or the Canadians."

Here it is evident that Mr. Howe had radically changed his manner of expression. His few weeks in the Parliament at Ottawa and sober thinking after the election results were known had led him back to his large views and his fine spirit of loyalty. Compare the utterances made by Mr. Howe at the Halifax meeting before leaving for London, with the words of Mr. Annand on the floor of the Nova Scotia Legislature and in his paper, and it will be seen that the cleavage between these two men, which issued in a final rent, began as soon as the results of the general election of 1867 were known. While it is true that Mr. Howe was kept in his place as the anti-confederate leader, it is just as evident that he had lost all hope of success. Now the task upon his hands was to bring the leading men who had co-operated with him to see the matter as he saw it and act in harmony with him. The momentum of the anti-union movement had not lessened. Mr. Howe felt the difficulty of his work. A toboggan can be neither stopped nor safely turned about half-way down the slide. What Dr. Tupper in London clearly saw, people generally began to see after the delegates returned. Mr. Howe was unable to conceal his real sentiments. He was not at Ottawa to obstruct; he had left Dr. Tupper "so crippled" in Cumberland that he had not expected to see him in the Commons, but as he had displayed so much talent, he was not sorry to see him there. The mood here indicated in 1867 is the same as that revealed to Dr. Tupper in London. It accounts for the interviews and intercourse between these two men and for all subsequent developments.

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CHAPTER LIX.

THE LOST CAUSE.

ONLY those who lived in Halifax in the summer of 1868, and were old enough to remember the political conditions at that time, can adequately appreciate the sentiments of that day. Many who had been found in the ranks of the opposers of union recognized defeat, and loyally bowed to the inevitable. Doubts became stronger and stronger. They had preceded the extinction of hopes in the minds of reasonable men who ceased to be agitators, and resolved to be as they always had been, loyal and faithful citizens. They had been willing to go as far as the Act of the Local Legislature of February, 1868, would carry them, which was:

“It is ordered that the Hon. Joseph Howe proceed to England by the next steamer, to make arrangements for the presentation of the said petition to both Houses of Parliament, praying for the release of Nova Scotia from the union, and that he be instructed to co-operate with other gentlemen to be appointed for the same purpose.”

The Colonial Secretary replied to this petition. His reply called forth the following from the Nova Scotia Government:

“The Executive Council have read the despatch of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, in reply to the address of the representatives of the people, for a repeal of the Act of Union, with mingled emotions of surprise and regret. . . . It is astonishing that the Colonial Minister should take the liberty of contradicting and of asserting that Confederation first originated with the Legislature of Nova Scotia. This assertion is unsustained by the slightest foundation of fact. We are, therefore, in no manner desirous of changing our political constitution, but will not willingly allow ourselves to be brought into subjection to Canada or any other country. We will have no confederation or union with other Colonies, except upon

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terms of exact equality, and there is no change in our political relations that we should not prefer to the detestable Confederation that has been attempted to be forced upon us. We shall proceed with the legislation and other business of the Province, protesting against the Confederation boldly, and distinctly asserting our full purpose and resolution to avail ourselves of every opportunity to extricate ourselves from the trammels of Canada, and if we fail, after exhausting all constitutional means at our command, we will leave our future destiny in the hands of Him who will judge the people righteously and govern the nations upon earth."

The following is a paragraph from the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham:

"I trust that the Assembly and people of Nova Scotia will not be surprised that the Queen's Government feel that they would not be warranted in advising the reversal of a great measure of State, attended by so many extensive consequences already in operation, and adopted with the previous sanction of every one of the Legislatures concerned, and with the subsequent approval of the Legislature of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick."

All the delegates returned to Halifax on the same ship. The suspicion generated in London lingered with them throughout the entire voyage. Howe, as was his habit, was genial and friendly, entering into social life on shipboard as if free from all responsibility and simply enjoying a holiday. His fellow-delegates observed him with keen criticism. No passenger was treated with more cordiality by Mr. Howe than Dr. Tupper. They were often engaged in simple games common at sea to pass away time.

At the wharf in Halifax, Dr. Tupper was received with cheers by his friends, among whom was the Hon. Mr. Tilley, who, anxious to learn the full results of Dr. Tupper's mission, had come to Halifax for the purpose of meeting him as soon as he landed. As Mr. Howe appeared upon the gangway, the cheering of the crowd was full and hearty. The anti-confederates of Halifax did not share the apprehensions lurking in the hearts of their delegates. As the days passed away, anti-unionists conversed freely, and the suspicion brought to Halifax on the *City of Cork* spread abroad as an open secret among the

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opposers of Confederation. It was known that the Local House would meet in the early days of August. Mr. Howe had, therefore, proposed that a convention of anti-confederates, made up of Local and Dominion members and other friends, should be held just previous to the assembling of the Legislature.

Immediately after Mr. Howe's arrival in Halifax, he invited Mr. Tilley to breakfast, and discussed with him the question of anti-union at that stage. On the 17th of July, the Hon. S. L. Tilley wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald in part as follows. His letter was dated Windsor, Nova Scotia:

" Mr. Howe led me to understand that, an amicable arrangement once effected, a combination or reorganization might be made, and the support of the Antis secured to work out our destiny. The rest of his remarks amounted to this: ' Appoint a Royal Commission, let it decide. If that cannot be done, let a friendly conference be opened between the Dominion Government and the leading Antis in Nova Scotia, including the members of the local Government; the Dominion Government to make some proposal for their consideration; or, if that would be inconvenient, a friendly talk, to see if some agreement cannot be arrived at, with the understanding that by-gones be by-gones, and that they meet as gentlemen anxious to find a solution of the difficulty.' Now, you will observe that this means just this: We will abandon our opposition to Confederation if some concessions are made. This is an advance in the right direction. The reasonable men want an excuse to enable them to hold back the violent and unreasonable of their own party, and this excuse ought to be given them. He told me that the delegates, the members of the local Government, and a few of their leading friends met yesterday, and had decided upon a call of the members of the general and local Parliaments for the 3rd of August, to decide what course they had better take (the local Legislature meets on the 6th). He said, if any advances were to be made, it was of the utmost importance that steps in that direction should be made previous to their meeting. He thought a visit from you about that time would do much good, and we all hope that you will see your way clear to come in this direction about the first of the month. They will do nothing until that meeting takes place. I cannot but think that a visit from you, accompanied perhaps by Cartier, would be productive of the most beneficial results. He did not indicate

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what changes they wanted, and I rather suspect that the nature of the concessions is of less importance to them than the fact that concessions have been made. Our future may greatly depend upon the deliberations of the next few weeks. I cannot urge too strongly the importance of your visiting Halifax before the 3rd of August; all here, who see and understand the state of affairs, agree with me upon this point. I am not an alarmist, but the position can only be understood by visiting Nova Scotia. There is no use in crying peace when there is no peace. We require wise and prudent action at this moment; the most serious results may be produced by the opposite course."

Mr. Archibald wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald on the same date, and concluded his letter thus:

"From all this the general deduction is that we have here a '*nodus deo vindice dignus*,' that, if you can possibly do it, you should come down here yourself. An hour's conference between you and Mr. Howe and a mutual interchange of views would do more to clear the atmosphere than anything else. It would give Howe immense power, if he has the inclination—as I believe he has—to control the storm he has raised. Everybody here whose judgment is valuable thinks negotiation the remedy, and you the man. With temper and feeling to deal with, the proposition should not pass through a local channel, and, in any event, the effort to settle the matter would be of incalculable value."

Shortly after arriving in Halifax, Dr. Tupper proceeded to Ottawa to report to the Government the full result of his mission. He found Sir John had gone to Toronto. Thither Dr. Tupper followed him, and urged upon his chief the importance of paying a visit to Nova Scotia, and conferring with Mr. Howe in person. This advice, coinciding with that already received from Mr. Tilley and Archibald, was followed, and towards the close of the month of July, Sir John A. Macdonald, accompanied by Messrs. Cartier, William Macdougall, Dr. Tupper, Sandfield Macdonald, and the Hon. Peter Mitchell, left for Halifax. The last gentleman was a great personal friend of Mr. Howe. Like him, he had opposed Confederation, but when Confederation became an accomplished fact, he accepted the situation, and did his utmost to promote the working of the new constitution.

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As soon as it became known that delegates from the Canadian Government and others were coming to Halifax, a communication in one of the city papers suggested that they should receive discourteous and rough treatment. But Mr. Howe, in a letter to the press on the 18th of July, expressed his regrets that such a spirit should be manifested. He said:

"The Secretary of State and the Imperial Parliament have put upon the Canadian Government the responsibility of action in this great controversy, which at the present time is perplexing us all. It would appear that the leaders have frankly responded, and will come here to discuss with Nova Scotians such remedial measures as they have to propose. We are bound to give them a fair hearing and courteous treatment."

The convention assembled. Joseph Howe was made its chairman. The newspapers were not permitted to report its doings. It closed about the 7th of August.

At this stage the anti-union press began to show moderation. Sir John A. Macdonald was entertained by the Governor, Sir Hastings Doyle. From Government House on the first day of August, he sent the following note to Mr. Howe:

"My dear Howe,—I have come to Nova Scotia for the purpose of seeing what can be done in the present state of affairs, and should like, of all things, to have a quiet talk with you thereabout. I shall be ready to meet you at any time or place you may appoint. The General has given me up his office here, and if it would suit your convenience we might perhaps meet here after church to-morrow."

On the same day, Mr. Howe replied:

"My dear Sir John,—I have just received your note, and will wait upon you at half-past two to-morrow.—Yours truly,
JOSEPH HOWE."

By casting his own vote, Mr. Howe got a resolution through a committee of the convention to permit Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Cartier to appear before the committee to make such statements as they might desire.

Arrangements were made for the Nova Scotia delegates to London to come to the bar of the Assembly to receive the thanks of the Legislature for the satisfactory way in which

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they had discharged their duties. While the other delegates were receiving the formal thanks of the Legislature, Mr. Howe, with a friend, was walking up and down in front of the Parliament Building. As far as the writer knows, he never gave his reasons for doing this, but the nature of the preceding correspondence and other facts show that the breach between him and Mr. Annand, leader of the Government, had now become so wide that Mr. Howe did not feel at liberty to appear with the other delegates at the bar of the House.

The members of the Dominion Cabinet and others who came with them mingled freely with the people, and received nothing but friendly and courteous treatment. As usual, social intercourse played a part in these negotiations. All went to McNab's Island for a picnic.

In a report of this mission by Sir John A. Macdonald to Lord Monck, the Governor-General, may be found the views taken of it by the Prime Minister. On the 4th of September, he wrote as follows:

"My dear Lord Monck:

"According to your desire, I now send you an account of my visit to Nova Scotia and its results.

"When in Toronto, early last month, I received a letter from my colleague, Mr. Tilley, who was then at Halifax, informing me of a confidential conversation he had just had with Mr. Howe, in which, among other things, that gentleman expressed a wish that I should visit Nova Scotia and see some of the leading men personally. As the Nova Scotia Legislature was to meet in a few days, and also a convention, composed of the anti-union members of the Dominion Parliament and of the local Legislature and also of the Provincial Government, both Mr. Tilley and Mr. Howe thought it well that I should be on the spot before any action was taken by the convention.

"I at once proceeded to Halifax, accompanied by Sir George Cartier, and the day before the meeting of the convention saw Mr. Howe.

"He told me frankly that, if he saw any course open to him by which he could continue to press for repeal of the union with any hope of success, he would do so, and that he had so stated to all his friends; but that he had not hesitated to declare that he would oppose any attempt at resistance to the law, either active or passive, as well as all attempts at annexation to the United States.

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"He stated further, that the feeling of dissatisfaction was as widespread and as strong as ever, and the difficulties were so great that he did not see his way out of them.

"He asked me if I had any course to suggest. I answered that the Duke of Buckingham's despatch to your Excellency precluded you or your advisers from even contemplating the possibility of Nova Scotia severing itself from the union, as Her Majesty's Government had declared against the repeal from Imperial as well as from Colonial consideration. That it was open to Nova Scotia to press for such alterations of the Act of Union, short of severance, as it might think expedient, and that the proper place to do so was in the Parliament of the Dominion. That the constitution was now on its trial, and that probably experience might show the necessity of reform in some particular, but that we were bound to give it a fair trial.

"I added that the despatch invited the attention of your Lordship and your advisers to the grievances complained of, in matters relating to taxation, commercial regulations and the fisheries, and that we were quite ready to discuss all such matters. That I knew it was contended that the financial arrangements in the Union Act were unjust in several particulars to Nova Scotia, and that the Government of Canada would be quite ready to remove any proved grievance in that respect.

"I pressed Mr. Howe strongly to give the Government the advantage of his influence and assistance by becoming a member of it, and pointed out to him several instances in which the interests of Nova Scotia were suffering from the want of a due representation at the Council Board.

"He stated that he was not at all prepared to take that step. That in the present excited state of feeling in Nova Scotia he would not be able to take with him the people. That some of the more violent were already suspicious of him, and he would be at once charged with desertion from the cause, and thus his usefulness would be destroyed.

"He informed me that there was already a good deal of jealousy between the members of the Dominion Parliament and those of the Provincial Legislature. That the former were generally in favour of a moderate course, but that the majority of the local members were, as yet, in favour of continued agitation. He hoped much, however, from the action of the convention, and would endeavour to get them to agree to enter into a friendly discussion with Sir George and myself; and he

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advised me in the meantime to see as many of the leading people as possible.

"This I did, and found that while a large majority were in favour of severance if possible, yet, with a few exceptions, they were not prepared for any violent or illegal courses. Among the most violent were the members of the Provincial Government. They had come into office on the repeal cry, and, as it was generally alleged, felt that their continuance in power depended upon the continuance of the agitation. I found a minority of them, however, moderate men, but quite unable to resist the violent counsels of their colleagues.

"The Government affected to consider that our visit there was an official one, and that we were charged by orders from England to make certain propositions to them. They accordingly, through the Lieutenant-Governor, informed me that they were ready to receive any propositions.

"My answer was that we were charged with no such propositions, but that we were there to inquire for ourselves into the state of feeling and into the alleged grievances; and I stated our desire to enter into a frank discussion on the subject with the convention, or with a committee thereof which had been appointed to report on the best means of continuing the agitation for repeal. We were subsequently informed that the committee was not prepared to enter into any discussion, but would be ready to hear any statements that we had to make.

"The convention sat with closed doors, but I ascertained that Mr. Howe, their chairman, pressed for a free discussion, as he had agreed with me he would do, but was unable to carry it. He had even great difficulty in carrying the resolution that I should be allowed to make a statement; indeed, I believe it was adopted only on his casting vote.

"Although the resolution was not very conciliatory in its terms, we thought it better to accept it and to meet the convention. I accordingly went, accompanied by Messrs. Cartier, Kenny and Mitchell, and we were received with sufficient courtesy.

"At the request of the chairman, I addressed them at some length, and Sir George briefly. We took the line suggested privately to us by Mr. Howe as most likely to be effective.

"I shall not weary your Excellency with the details of our remarks, but we generally stated that, although debarred from entering into the political aspects of the question, we were quite ready to deal with the financial side, and invited the local Government to send its representatives to Ottawa and attempt

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to arrive at an amicable solution of the commercial and financial questions.

"We stated that, so long as they conscientiously believed that the interests of Nova Scotia would be best served by severance of the union, they had a perfect right to urge the repeal of the Act by legal and constitutional means, and that we could not complain so long as they confined themselves within those limits. I pointed out that, meanwhile, Nova Scotia was suffering from her interests being unrepresented in the Government, and from the position taken by her representatives in Parliament, who held aloof from all active concern in the legislation or administration of affairs of the Dominion; and I referred to the course taken by O'Connell, who, with his followers, while pressing for the repeal of the union between England and Ireland, in Parliament entered actively upon their duties as members of Parliament and gave a general support to the Government of the day, and had consequently great influence in the administration of Irish affairs and in the protection of Irish interests.

"Mr. Howe, as chairman, then asked a few questions in connection with our statements, and we withdrew, every member of the committee thanking us for our explanations.

"I was glad to see that the convention adopted the course suggested by us, and in their resolution, which they passed previous to breaking up, agreed that their exertions for the repeal of the Act should be conducted in a legal and constitutional manner.

"Mr. Howe expressed himself afterwards as pleased with the result, and said that our explanations had given considerable satisfaction, even to the violent, and this was corroborated from other quarters.

"The next thing to be done was to induce the local Legislature to proceed with the public business, and not adjourn again, as they threatened to do, on the ground that they would not consent to work the constitution at all. Moderate counsels, I am happy to say, prevailed, and, as you see, the local Legislature, after making a solemn protest to save their position with the country, that their proceeding to legislation must not be considered as an acceptance of the Constitutional Act, proceeded to accept it by going on with the work of legislation, and it is hoped that they will rise within a week or two without taking any revolutionary steps. I do not apprehend that there is much danger of this, as it is evident that, although the speeches on the floor of the House are very violent, the leading men are

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beginning to see the necessity of acquiescence. I shall not, however, be easy on that head until the prorogation.

"I had interviews with nearly all the members of the Dominion Parliament, and was pleased to find that a large majority of them are ready to work in harness; but, in order to do this effectively, they must go, to a very considerable extent, with the people, and only come round by degrees.

"Under these circumstances I agreed that Mr. Howe and his friends would be considered by the Canadian Government as friends, and as such would have a fair share of influence in recommending to local appointments in Nova Scotia; but I arranged with Mr. Howe that for the present all the more important appointments that could be kept open without injury to the public service should not be filled up until the state of public feeling would enable himself and his friends to come to the aid of the Government.

"As rumours were then extensively prevailing that the American Government were about to open negotiations for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, I got Mr. Howe to promise that he would proceed, if asked by the Canadian Government, as one of a delegation to Washington, to watch the progress of the question.

"Thus the matter stands at present, and I have great hopes that if no untoward accident occurs and the local Legislature is prorogued quietly, the time is not distant when Mr. Howe will be able to come into the Government. So soon as he feels strong enough to take this step, I think all danger will be over, as, although there will doubtless still remain a considerable party for secession, yet his influence is such that those who will continue to support him, together with the union party (which, though in a minority, is strong in numbers and influential from its wealth and intelligence), will form a majority of the people.

"I may mention that Sir George, as Minister of Militia, had a good deal of intercourse with the officers commanding the militia and volunteers, and found that a very good spirit prevailed.

"On the whole, my report to your Lordship is that our mission was much more satisfactory in its results than we had reason to expect; but we say as little about it as possible, lest it might compromise those gentlemen who are known to have been in consultation with us at Halifax.

"I need scarcely say that my communications with Mr.

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Howe were entirely confidential, and that I communicate them to you as such.

"So soon as the prorogation takes place I am to address a letter to Mr. Howe, the terms of which will be settled between us, and which, though marked 'Private,' he is to use among his friends, with a view of inducing them to come to his support in case he or some leading man of his party should take office.

"I shall conclude my long letter by saying, first, that we received most valuable assistance from General Doyle, with whom we consulted in every step we took; and secondly, that although before our arrival an obscure paper suggested rude treatment, we were received with kindness and courtesy wherever we went, both from union men and anti-confederates.

"Believe me, my dear Lord Monck,

"Faithfully yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

On the 8th of September, Attorney-General M. I. Wilkins, according to the reports of papers on both sides of politics, said in the Lower House that "unless repeal were granted the Local Legislature would pass laws, take charge of the customs, collect duties and carry on the Government independently."

Sir Hastings Doyle, the Lieutenant-Governor, opened correspondence with Mr. Wilkins respecting the matter. He replied that he had not been correctly reported and affirmed his loyalty.

It would be interesting to know Mr. Howe's real sentiments at this time. In a letter to the press he said: "The state of the controversy perplexes all of us." After having written to Mr. Howe, on his return from England, to bring the agitation for repeal to an end, A. W. Savary, M.P., on the eve of the convention of the Dominion and Local members in August, 1868, at Halifax, asked him this question: "What are you going to do in the circumstances?" To this Mr. Howe replied: "I do not know what to do." In a letter to Sir John A. Macdonald, he refers to the same condition of perplexity. The indications make it apparent that from the time Mr. Howe had his first interview with Dr. Tupper in London, he was at a loss as to the wisest policy for the future. He wanted to be faithful to his party and to his convictions. The principle involved in Edmund Burke's saying was operating in his judgment:

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"Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment, and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion." This was the sacrifice Mr. Howe was now tempted to make.

The *British Colonist*, Halifax, in January, 1868, said:

"Coupled with the attempt to secure the press of the country in the annexation interest, and the utterances of prominent anti-confederates, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the design of putting the loyalty of the people of Nova Scotia to the test is that which engages the attention of the Washington plotters. The meetings of the repealers are a part of this project. We have no design of charging disloyalty upon the bulk of those constituting these meetings. It is, nevertheless, plain that a disloyal intention lies at the bottom of this movement. Who are the prime instigators of the movement? Mr. Howe attends and makes inflammatory and seductive speeches, still he disdains all responsibility in the matter. If the matter were inquired into, we are of opinion that mere opposition to Confederation would be found to be the least influential motive with those who set the matter moving."

The agitation was noticed by the press beyond the borders of Canada. The *London Standard* said:

"The Hon. Joseph Howe, the most prominent statesman, as well as the most eloquent speaker, from Nova Scotia, whose reputation stands very high in those respects both in the sister Provinces and in the United States, it appears, has seized upon every opportunity for animadverting in no measured terms upon the iniquitous manner in which his countrymen have been robbed of their constitution by a mere clique of politicians in Nova Scotia. Nor does he avoid, when possible, hurling his invectives against the Government and people of Great Britain. It is very evident that Mr. Howe, from some cause or other, is a disappointed man."

The following quotations indicate views taken in the United States of the conflict about union in Nova Scotia. A Boston paper says:

"However well disposed our neighbours of the Maritime Provinces are to enter into separate commercial alliance with us, any attempt on our part to do so at the present time, when their opposition to the legally constituted Act of Confederation

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is being carried out to the very verge of an insurrectionary movement against the authority of the British Sovereign and Parliament, would doubtless be construed as a declaration of independence and an overt act of rebellion. It would not be policy for us, in justice to our neighbours, to betray them into such an imprudent step as this at the present juncture, when their home Government is casting about for just such an excuse as this action would afford to forcibly compel its recusant subjects into a political union, averse to their feelings and interests. It would be a breach of international faith such as we charged against Great Britain in our late war."

The New York *Chronicle* says:

"We beg the Nova Scotians not to appeal to us for assistance in their present quarrel."

On the 24th of October, 1868, Mr. Howe wrote to the press in Nova Scotia:

"In your paper of the 21st appeared a letter from Washington, signed 'Acadia,' with 'The Hon. Joseph Howe—a painful suspense,' in large capitals over the head of it. 'Whoever has read this letter will, I think, admit that it demands some notice at my hands, and warrants me in relieving the writer from the painful suspense of which he complains.

"About a month ago I received a letter which, when it is published, your readers will probably assume, was written by the same hand.

"Washington, September 22, 1868.

"My dear Sir,

"About once a week a telegram comes from Halifax intimating in substance that the Hon. Joseph Howe has gone over to the support of Confederation. The latest, dated Halifax, is as follows: "It is confidently believed that Mr. Howe has not only accepted the union on trial for a few years, but has counselled his firm supporters to do the same. Rumours are currently circulated concerning the defection of another prominent repealer. It is asserted that the recent visit of the Canadian visitors has been more successful than generally supposed."

"I write to inquire most respectfully if the rumour is correct. Whatever your views and purposes are, I know that they are based on a firm conviction of duty. But I am at a

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loss to reconcile those intimations with your previous line of action.

“If agreeable, will you kindly let me have your views confidentially. I am asked frequently if these telegrams are true. I have invariably replied, I think not. Still their repetition leaves me in doubt.”

To this Mr. Howe made the following reply:

“Halifax, October 5, 1868.

“My dear Sir,

“I may say that up to this hour I have accepted nothing and done nothing inconsistent with the general tenor of my life. I am dealing with the difficulties around me with a single eye to the good of my country; but let me add that treason and filibustering expeditions are not included in my programme.—JOSEPH HOWE.”

Mr. Howe continues:

“If my note was read, it does not appear to have satisfied my friend, who seems to be desirous of more information, which I give with the greatest readiness, because his letter in the *Eastern Chronicle* is expressed in friendly and respectful language.

“Nova Scotians abroad naturally sympathize with the trials and vicissitudes of their own country, and those who have gone to the United States may be pardoned if they believe we would join in annexation to the Republic for relief from the grievances of which we at present complain.

“Your correspondent at Washington, in times of peace, may plot against Great Britain in perfect safety. . . . If civil war breaks out, he is far from the scene of danger. In either case he risks neither life, property nor reputation. . . . At home, if he resists the power of the Crown, he must take his life in his hand, and be prepared, if he fails, for the ordinary penalties of treason. . . .

“Your correspondent at Washington, who advises us to resist the law and cut away from the apron strings of the good old Mother Queen, will be secure in his study whatever happens, even should we take his advice. But others, who are to place their lives and property at hazard, will perhaps ponder the matter soberly before they plunge their country into insurrection. Especially ought I to pause—the one who has been largely trusted by the people of Nova Scotia, to whom at this

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time they are justified in looking for counsel and advice, who cannot escape from responsibility if I would. In all the struggles of the past for the elevation and advancement of our country, it has been my boast that no life has been lost, nor a pane of glass smashed. I owe it to the living that this policy shall not be abandoned. I owe it to the dead who, in honour and sobriety, fought by my side, that in the autumnal season of life I shall not go mad and turn our country into a shambles.

"My speeches and published papers are before the world, and the honourable men with whom I have been associated, who have shared my labours and inmost thoughts, know well that I exerted during those two years every faculty with which nature had endowed me to recover the independence of my native Province.

"In this case the battle was not to the strong, and when I returned from England twice defeated, I would have been justified, as Lee said, in laying down my arms; and had I done so, and accepted the situation frankly, my honour would have been as untarnished as that of the unsuccessful soldier at this day. I have not laid down my arms, nor accepted the situation; but I am still labouring in the interests of my country, and, utterly regardless of my own, to make the best of a bad business, and recover what I can out of the wreck that has been made of our Provincial organization.

"There are three peaceful courses open to the people of Nova Scotia: (1) An appeal to the new Government and Parliament of England. (2) An attempt to revive the old scheme of the Maritime Provinces. (3) Negotiations with the Canadians for an adjustment of the terms by which Nova Scotia was forced into Confederation."

The following account of one of Mr. Howe's speeches by Dr. George Johnson illustrates his lack of decision in 1868:

"The next occasion I recall was in 1868, at the opening of a coal mine in New Glasgow. Mr. Howe sent me word that he specially wanted me to attend. The banquet was given at the foot of the slope, about a thousand feet below the surface, if my memory serves me well, and Sir William Logan was there, his trousers terribly frayed at the legs' end. He had been caught on a geological expedition in the neighbourhood and, *volens volens*, had been carried off, or rather down, by Howe. After the usual preliminaries Howe began his speech. It was the most singular one I ever heard from him, and from first to last

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I have heard a good many of his speeches. Hon. P. C. Hill, next to whom I was sitting, every once and awhile jerked out 'Extraordinary!' as a sort of unconscious running comment. For a time Mr. Howe would give us unionists 'fits.' Then for a time he would praise the great Dominion and eulogize Sir John Macdonald. It was a little bit of severe criticism of the way Confederation was carried—then a little bit of condemnation of union, appeals to loyalty, declarations of necessity, and so on. The 'Antis,' dismayed, whispered, 'He's gone over body and bones.' The 'Cons' said, 'That does not sound like it.' The speech was over, and everyone was just as wise as before, but not a bit wiser as to where Howe stood."

The letters to Sir John A. Macdonald, from Mr. Tilley and Mr. Archibald, on the same date, the one from Windsor and the other from Halifax, the hurrying away at the same time of Dr. Tupper to Ottawa and Toronto in search of Sir John, are not difficult of interpretation. Concerted action is written large all over these incidents. Howe is still the quarry, quite willing to be captured, but in doubt as to the time when he should surrender. The prescient master spirit of Dr. Tupper, hitherto in open fight, brave, dauntless and assured, has played that role to a successful issue; now he is the statesman, the manager of men and the marshal of circumstances appearing in another character. The skill, the patience, the wisdom of the diplomatist are in order. Messrs. Tilley and Archibald write to Sir John A. Macdonald as a part of Dr. Tupper's projected programme, but the leader must see the Premier, and face to face with him settle on a policy for the future.

The next act in the drama is the coming of Sir John, Cartier and others to Halifax. Their coming synchronized with the holding of the convention inspired by Mr. Howe, who, when discourtesy was threatened to the men coming from the West, steps out, and never in his life more chivalrous, claims for the Cabinet Ministers from Ottawa, upon whom the Imperial Government had rolled the responsibility of securing justice to Nova Scotia, a courteous, dignified, hearty reception and an impartial hearing. Let nothing be done to cast even the shadow of disrespect on old Halifax, loyal Nova Scotia and the old flag. Never in his long career did Howe walk more circumspectly and conduct himself more skilfully, according to

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HON. CHARLES TUPPER, M.D.

(From a photograph taken in 1864.)

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his light, with a view to bring his native Province round by a graceful, easy curve to his point of view. He admits perplexity and lack of wisdom in deciding on the safest course of action.

The convention meets and deliberates. The Local Legislature assembles, and some members of both talk wildly, as men in whom hope is dying and mordant despair beginning its work are likely to talk. "Let us go to the verge of rebellion," said David Dickie, of Cornwallis, in the convention. "Let us take charge of the customs and drive Dominion officers out of the Province," said Martin Wilkins, the Attorney-General. "All Local members come forward," said Howe, a thing he knew they would not do, "and resign, and I, too, will resign, and we will appeal to the people again," Howe trying, as is now evident, to get control of the convention. After all the bluster and counsel, wise and foolish, had been heard, Tupper, Howe and Macdonald, now understanding each other, worked together. They felt a throb of gratification when the general resolve of both convention and Legislature was to keep all future efforts for repeal within the bounds of loyalty and constitutional usage. Disloyalty was condemned. The Ottawa missionaries returned to their homes, as did the Nova Scotia Senators and Commoners. The Legislative Councillors and members of the Local Assembly did the same after a short session.

When all this chaff had blown away, as we now see by a letter from Sir John to Mr. Howe, an arrangement had been made by them that, when the right time came, Sir John was to write to Mr. Howe a letter embodying the statements made by the former to the convention in Halifax, and this letter was to be to Mr. Howe a working hypothesis in an honest attempt to solve the problem that "perplexed all of them."

All worked faithfully and patiently through this programme. The result appeared in due time, as this account unfolded itself.

The reader may here glance over quotations from the correspondence between Sir John A. Macdonald and the Hon. Joseph Howe. Sir John's interview with Dr. Tupper before coming to Halifax, his letters from other men already named, and his intercourse with Howe and many others at Halifax, had equipped him with all the material necessary for the exercise of his subtle tactics, charm of manner and sweet persuasive-

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ness. If spirits were wounded, he had abundance of oil and wine. Was mother-patience required, in him it was inexhaustible. Did men need to be held along in politically straight paths, the hand of Sir John was the one to gently guide them. Anyone who wishes to see in full the history of this case, in which is displayed genius, kindness, well-oiled firmness, can get it in the correspondence found in Pope's "Life of Sir John A. Macdonald."

Sir John writes:

"Ottawa, September 4, 1868.

"My dear Howe,

"Whenever you think it well for me to write you the letter we discussed at Halifax, I shall be ready to do so, and it will have the concurrence of all my colleagues. I should like to hear from you as to the exact line that you would desire me to take; but I suppose the matter had better stand over until after your prorogation (of the Nova Scotia Legislature). Would it not be well for you to press Annand to come up and discuss the financial question?"

Howe replies:

"Halifax, September 15, 1868.

"My dear Sir John,

"On one point we are both agreed, that any attempt to break down the opposition by mere patronage would be a failure, and that no public man in Nova Scotia, whose support would be worth having, could take office under the Dominion Government until he could bring with him the confidence and support of the Province. 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 may have been, would, had a rupture been forced, have increased the feeling of bitterness and exasperation."

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tion. The danger is now over, the session will close in a few days, and, if anything is to be done, no time should be lost in making the effort. The first step should be for you to put in writing the substance of your statements to the committee. Let this be done without delay. I will then show the paper to a few friends, and perhaps give you our views in writing. Pending this negotiation, it will be sound policy to make no appointments in or for Nova Scotia. By this course you risk nothing, because, should we be compelled to resume our old attitude a month or two hence, you will then have all the patronage to strengthen your Government in any way you please."

Sir John replies:

"Ottawa, September 26th, 1868.

"My dear Howe,

"Your suggestions as to the basis on which our correspondence should be carried on are quite satisfactory to me, and your statements as to the nature of our conversations at Halifax I accept as correct in every particular. The newspapers, both with us and in Nova Scotia, have been filled with all kinds of absurdities. I do not think that we should in the slightest degree regard them. My three previous letters were written for the purpose of impressing on you, as strongly as possible, my sense of the great injury caused to Nova Scotia interests by the present state of affairs, and it occurs to me that you can make good use of this argument with your friends. . . . You suggested my writing you a letter before I left Halifax, and said you would answer it in a month or so. I stated that if it was to be postponed so long I might as well defer writing until the end of the month, or about the prorogation, and that I would then write with the concurrence of all my colleagues. . . . My letter, however, will be merely a repetition of statements made before the committee, and as the whole of the Provincial Ministry were present when the statements were made, it will give them no new information. It will, I hope, strengthen your hands. From all I can hear of matters in Nova Scotia, and I hear much from both sides, I am satisfied that you have only to declare your will that the present constitution should have a fair trial, and your will will be law. All your friends, all the moderate Antis, and the whole union party will rally round you and you must succeed."

Added to these letters is some correspondence with Sir John

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Rose discussing the subject of the better terms for Nova Scotia, also a despatch from Earl Granville to the Governor-General.

Sir John A. Macdonald, in his letter, urges Mr. Howe to use his influence to allay the feeling in his Province hostile to the union, and to lend his services in an effort to give the union a fair trial. He also repeats the substance of the addresses delivered by himself and Sir George Cartier to the delegates of the anti-confederate convention in Halifax. In all that has been done up to that date, he says Canada has acted in good faith. He exceedingly regrets the state of affairs in Nova Scotia, and for himself and his colleagues, declares a willingness to do all in their power to remedy it. He reminds Mr. Howe that the despatch from the Duke of Buckingham of June 4th, in reply to the address of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, precluded the possibility of considering the question of repeal, but not so the matter of the financial terms. The English Government encourages the Dominion Parliament to confer with Nova Scotia on this subject, and if there is any injustice to have it remedied. The Government is, therefore, anxious to enter upon a reconsideration of the financial question with an honest purpose to do ample justice to Nova Scotia. At this point Sir John suggests that Mr. Annand, Financial Minister of the Province, or some other person selected for the purpose, should come to Ottawa and sit down with Sir John Rose, Minister of Finance, and endeavour to find a satisfactory solution of the problem. This is urged in view both of the interests of Nova Scotia and the whole Dominion. Sir John reminds Mr. Howe that he had already invited him to enter the Dominion Cabinet, and regrets that he had not seen his way clear to do so. Mr. Howe is urged to do all in his power to end the unfortunate state of affairs in his Province.

Mr. Howe replies that he informed Annand that he had received Sir John's letter of October 6th; that the members of the Local Government reasserted their purpose to seek repeal. He refers to the hopes based on the new Liberal Government in England; but for himself he has no hope in that direction. He tells Sir John that he had shown his letter to judicious friends; that he is asked every day if he has taken office; admits the limits of the despatch of the Duke of Buckingham;

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expresses satisfaction with the route of the Intercolonial Railway; and if commercial relations with the United States and the financial matter with Nova Scotia can be equitably adjusted, he says, "I think I may safely say that the gentlemen who go from Nova Scotia to Ottawa would be justified in giving a fair support to your Government."

Sir John writes again:

"Ottawa, November 4th, 1868.

"My dear Howe,

"Rose has for some time been busily engaged in an examination of the subject (of finance), and hopes in a few days to be in a position to communicate with you thereupon. . . . Believing as I do, and as I think you do, that it is time to put an end to the present anomalous state of things, and that all further attempts of the English Parliament will be fruitless, I think that some decided line of policy should be taken in the interests of Nova Scotia, as well as of the Dominion. It is hopeless to expect any change in the opinion in the present Provincial Government. They are a body of men who have risen to the surface only on the repeal cry, and their incapacity for all ministration is so well known, even to themselves, that they can hope to retain office only by a continuance of the agitation. It is quite evident that they are reckless of the effect on Nova Scotia or the ruin to its interests, so long as they remain in power. They would rather 'reign in hell than serve in heaven.' . . . I look upon you as the sole means of arresting their downward course. . . . What course is there open to you to obtain this desirable result? My idea is this, that the financial question should be settled favourable to Nova Scotia interests, and that this once effected, you should openly appeal, in the spirit of your late admirable letter, lately published, to the loyalty, moderation and good sense of the whole people. You will have, of course, the extreme men, the political hacks and those who have nothing to lose, to confront; but you will have all your own friends, political and personal, all men of property who desire the cessation of this ruinous agitation, and the whole union party at your back. You can get up enthusiasm on your side if you please. . . . This, you will say, is a bold game. But out of the nettle, danger, you will pluck the flower, safety. . . . It is to be regretted that Annand cannot, or rather will not, come here. I did not much expect that he would, as it

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is his game to prevent all *rapprochement*. Anything that will quiet or diminish the anti-union feeling will weaken his hands and diminish his power. But if you ask him to come and he won't, and if a man like McLelan, therefore, will come, he (Annand) will be put in the wrong, and the prestige of having effected an advantageous settlement for Nova Scotia will transfer the game to your hands. It would do so more effectually if you would come accompanied by McLelan."

Mr. Howe writes:

"Halifax, November 16, 1868.

"My dear Sir John,

. . . "On my return home, and long before I saw or had any communication with you, I had made up my mind that any further appeals to England were hopeless unless we could revive the old idea of a union of the Maritime Provinces and go over with a scheme of government in our hands. All the delegates shared this opinion. On my way out I saw Mr. Munn, a wealthy merchant of Newfoundland, who gave me no encouragement to expect any aid from that island, and two friends who had been sent to New Brunswick and Charlottetown had brought back discouraging accounts from those Provinces. . . . But delegations are pleasant things, and I soon found that some of my friends were not disinclined to have another, and that the local Government naturally felt that so long as the cry for repeal could be kept up they would have the protection of a powerful party to shield them from all criticism of the policy or acts of the Administration. Having control of all the 'anti' newspapers, secured by the distribution of the public printing among them, this policy was soon indicated; and before the convention met, the country was informed that the prospects for repeal were brightening, that a new Parliament and another delegation would work wonders, and that, if they did not, then a seizure of the revenue offices and annexation would settle the question. In accordance with this policy, from the moment it was known that the Canadian Ministers were coming down, to insult and bluff them off was a part of the programme. My protest and expressed determination that they should be heard, and that any terms that they might offer should be fairly considered, disturbed this policy, and at once all sorts of rumours were set in circulation, to which point was given in the subsidized press. . . . But I should deceive myself and you if I allowed you to suppose

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that I could lead them as I like. As a whole, they are intelligent, keen politicians, and deeply feel what they regard as great wrongs. They have, besides, got it into their heads that your Government is not to be trusted, and that you are a sort of wizard that, having already beguiled Brown, Macdougall, Tupper, etc., to destruction, is about to do the same kind of office to me. . . . At present there is, in many quarters, hope from the new Parliament, but the widespread feeling in favour of annexation to the United States now complicates matters a great deal. You can have no idea how rapidly this feeling has developed. There are whole districts where the sentiment of loyalty is dead, where no enthusiasm can be evoked by anybody."

Mr. Rose finished his calculations on the financial question, and Sir John sent a copy of it to Mr. Howe confidentially.

Mr. Howe writes:

"Halifax, December 4, 1868.

"Dear Sir John,

"Rose's report has been received. . . . Having brought out all the points that ought to be considered, I have laid down my pen, and shall let the fellows blaze away. My position is now understood. I am not responsible for having deceived the country with the repeal cry, nor for the waste of time and money in another delegation. If there are breaches of law or annexation movements, everybody now knows that I do not sanction them, and that they will, if tried, be contrary to my advice. The members of the local Government are, of course, very savage, and a great many of the more ardent repealers sympathize with them, and not with me; but I have reason to believe that sound thinkers in all parts of the country are beginning to reflect, and that justice will be done by and by."

Mr. Howe writes:

"Halifax, January 4, 1869.

"My dear Sir John,

. . . "The 'victory' is, I think, fairly on the cards, but the battle has been a hard one, and there is a good deal of resistance yet to be overcome. . . . It is now pretty clear to everybody that my opinions have not been changed since I left England; that the quarrel with old friends

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was forced upon me by their folly. . . . What next will be done it is vain to conjecture. They are pledged to seize the revenue offices and inaugurate a revolution. Will they have the courage to do either? We shall see."

Arrangements at this stage were made and carried out for a meeting at Portland, Maine. Mr. Rose came from Ottawa, and Mr. Howe and Mr. McLelan went from Nova Scotia. At this meeting it was unanimously agreed to recommend to the Dominion Government to give Nova Scotia new and better financial terms. This was the last scene in the anti-confederate drama to which public attention was attracted before Mr. Howe accepted the Presidency of the Ottawa Cabinet. In the meantime, the political atmosphere was thick with rumours.

On January 5th, 1869, the *Morning Chronicle* stated:

"According to his own confession, Mr. Howe was an ardent repealer; but he thinks the success of the repeal policy hopeless, and refuses to advocate it."

Another utterance of the same journal:

"The people of Nova Scotia will be forced from their homes if the British Government refuses to grant them deliverance."

Here is a word from the *Toronto Globe*:

"Mr. Howe had said at a public meeting that he had an offer of a seat in the Cabinet and a place in the Senate, but had accepted neither."

At this point the final reply of the Duke of Newcastle came to the Nova Scotia Government:

"I leave to the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who have long deserved, and I hope and believe, still deserve, the character of loyal and faithful subjects of Her Majesty, to judge of the (case) so confidently made in their behalf as to the circumstances under which they will be disposed to withdraw their allegiance from the British Crown, and the means to which they will be prepared to resort for effecting their withdrawal."

The *Morning Chronicle* says:

"The ex-Colonial Secretary would have the readers of his last despatch believe that the Minute of Council was filled with

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treasonable sentiments. . . . The duke evidently did not relish the Minute of Council, with its stubborn facts and tone of determination."

On January 20th, 1869, the *Morning Chronicle* says:

"A despatch tells that Mr. Howe, after having been enticed to Portland to hold consultation with Sir John A. Macdonald and John Rose about better terms for Nova Scotia, has been led to Ottawa by Mr. Rose."

On the 29th of January this journal held to the hope of repeal in these words:

"While there is hope of repeal, the slightest glimmering of hope, through peaceful means, we must be still. . . . We wish to talk no disloyalty, for it is imprudent to do so. It is not our purpose to call to mind the benefits that would accrue to us from annexation."

Again on February 2nd the *Chronicle* says:

"Howe came from England determined to share the perils of his native land in the darkest hour of her history, and he has done so with a vengeance. He has assumed the perils of the Presidency of the Dominion Privy Council, and the temptations of a yearly salary of \$5,000, and dared a trip to snowed-up Ottawa. Not many months ago he was ready to shout, 'Accursed Canadians who would dare to collect revenues of Nova Scotia!' Nothing but the fear of the British bayonet would compel him to submit to the Dominion. . . . Yet the Hon. Joseph is President of the Privy Council—a colleague of Sir John A. Macdonald, one who forces upon us a rule we repudiate, and a taxation we believe ruinous. Tupper forced upon us the fetters of union. Howe rivets them upon us, and undertakes to keep guard over us. . . . It was confidently asserted by leading unionist men that Howe had changed sides before he left England. In this crisis what are the people to do? They find themselves betrayed on all sides. . . . That Mr. Howe has shamefully abandoned the party which he joined in the very heyday of its success is plain. That he actually sold, after long plotting, the country to which he owed all that he ever was, or ever had, we are sorry to say, we are convinced. Let him go. One man never built up a country, one

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man cannot ruin it if the people make a determined stand for their rights."

On becoming President of the Privy Council, Mr. Howe was required to run an election in Hants County. On the eve of the election the *Morning Chronicle* made this sensational announcement:

"The crisis of Mr. Howe's political life has arrived. At no time in his long and devious political career would defeat have been so fatal as at this time. If Mr. Howe succeeds, he will indeed inflict a stout blow upon a party which has propped him up again and again; but which is able to bear even harder buffets than Mr. Howe can inflict. If he fails—and who can hope for success for him?—he fails like Satan, never to rise again. Unhonoured, disgraced, he will linger out the rest of his days a detected and baffled schemer, with no good hand to grasp his, no voice, save that of renegade, raised to give him welcome. It has been Mr. Howe's fault through life that he has ever been the best witness against himself; that the record of any number of years is falsified by the record of the same number of years succeeding. . . .

"Already the political bloodhounds who have been hunting Nova Scotia for two years begin to yelp with exultation over the coming struggle; and the foul kites who are ever hovering about in the air, begin to sharpen their beaks in anticipation of the feast which awaits them when the breath is out of Nova Scotia. We can hardly blame them, though we hate and distrust them. . . . They who are base will be base still, and they who are traitors will plot treason forever."

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CHAPTER LX.

HOWE'S PAST REVIEWED.

THE incidents in Mr. Howe's life relating to Confederation between 1838, when for the first time it became a matter of discussion in the Nova Scotia Legislature, until 1868, when, with Sir John Rose at Portland, he discussed and agreed upon better terms for Nova Scotia, may here be named in the order of their occurrence.

In 1838, Mr. Howe granted the soundness of the principle of union, but feared for the welfare of Nova Scotia in such a combination. In 1854, he again spoke in favour of Confederation; but an organized Empire with each Colony represented in the British House of Commons would, he contended, be preferable. In 1861, as leader of the Government, he passed resolutions through the House, supported by the entire Conservative party, to unite with the other Colonies in arranging for a meeting of delegates at Quebec to consider and put at rest the irrepensible question of Confederation. At the meeting of these delegates for which arrangements had thus been made, he agreed that as the end of the term of the Reciprocity Treaty was near at hand, and as the intercolonial railroad had not been built, it would be wise to refrain from the further discussion of the question on that occasion. At Port Robinson about this time he gave his unqualified opinion in favour of Confederation. In 1863, on the occasion when D'Arcy McGee lectured in Halifax on the union of the Provinces, he moved a vote of thanks, seconded by Mr. Johnstone, then Premier of Nova Scotia, and thanked the speaker for his able lecture, and heartily endorsed the great subject of a union of all the North American Colonies. In the summer of the following year, on the occasion of the visit of a large number of Canadian politicians and others, Mr. Howe, in an after-dinner speech, gave his judgment and sympathies in favour of the projected union.

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Concurrently with this, he expressed his regret to Dr. Tupper that he could not on account of his business as Imperial Fishery Commissioner, accept the invitation to be one of the delegates to the Charlottetown Convention. But he declared himself in favour of the movement, and promised to aid in carrying into execution any scheme that might be arranged for the union of the Maritime Provinces. In doing this, he knew, as did the public generally, that delegates from Canada would come to Charlottetown seeking a larger union. He gave his reply to the invitation in the full light of this knowledge. Also, as stated above, in connection with the festivities in Halifax—festivities avowedly intended to lead up to the larger union—he sanctioned the movement and advised the Canadians present to hold fast what they already had of union, and which they had enjoyed from 1841 until that day, namely, a union of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

This is Mr. Howe's record up to the time of the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences. While it is true that he had never taken up the question of confederating the Provinces as he had that of the organization of the Empire, free schools and responsible government, yet for twenty-six years at dinners, as at Halifax in 1864, and on other occasions when the subject was formally and thoroughly discussed, particularly in 1854 in the Legislature, when he listened to an exhaustive examination of the subject by Mr. Johnstone, he had admitted that the principle was sound and that, excepting the organization of the Empire, it was the best scheme for the successful development of the British North American Colonies.

Between 1865 and 1869, when attacked for inconsistency, his explanations were sometimes mirthful, and at other times serious. At an early stage of the union movement, when A. G. Archibald expressed surprise that Mr. Howe should be among its opposers, his reply was that he would not play second fiddle to that d—d Tupper. In 1867, John Boyd, of St. John, a great friend of Mr. Howe, crossed the Bay of Fundy to meet him at Digby, when he was on a tour, lecturing against Confederation. "How is it," said Mr. Boyd, "that you who have always been in favour of union, are now its leading opposer?" With ready and characteristic wit, Mr. Howe replied, "Do

you think that I am the Almighty that I cannot change?" This, of course, was the bluff of humour, of which Mr. Howe had an inexhaustible fund. He could glide from the serious to the comical, from the solemn and sublime to the gay and ridiculous as easily and gracefully as a bird from branch to branch.

Yes, he had a right to change. Deny that to a statesman, and Pitt, Gladstone, Disraeli and many other eminent men would be condemned. But for the change, if the statesman would maintain his reputation, there must be reasons given, rational and satisfactory. The shifting of political ground cannot be defended by mere humour. Forget the childish, personal feelings expressed by Mr. Howe to Mr. Archibald, and the reply in jest to Mr. Boyd, and even then, after looking over the whole field, no case, consistent with the reputation of a statesman, can be discovered analogous to that of Mr. Howe's in the autumn of 1864. That it cost him much anxious thought is evident from his open-hearted remark to the Hon. M. H. Goudge, when he met him in Halifax: "Goudge, I can neither eat nor sleep because of perplexity concerning this union question." Agreeing with this is his public utterance that, in Washington after spending anxious nights over the subject, he decided to cast in his lot with his country.

Mr. Howe, as it appears, did not reach his final resolve until late in the year 1865, the year in which Confederation, because of the election in New Brunswick, seemed at least for a time defeated. Assured in his own mind of this temporary defeat, the way was clear for him to get even with Dr. Tupper for his great victory in 1863. The school law and Confederation in Howe's hands as weapons could not then possibly fail to reverse Tupper's victory. With the full political control of the Province thus promised, Mr. Howe could easily shape any course that might open of a wide and national character. But unfortunately for this plan, New Brunswick reversed her policy the following year, and thus Confederation was again in the sphere of practical politics. But Mr. Howe had gone too far to turn back unless in abject disgrace. So sure was Mr. Howe in 1865 that union was for the time a dead question, that in rejecting it as a sound Colonial and Imperial measure, he, in

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a mood exuberant and fanciful, made himself believe that another scheme originated by himself, perhaps the revival of his plan for the organization of the Empire in a changed form, would eclipse the Quebec scheme, seize the public judgment of England and the Colonies, and so become a successful substitute for the Quebec scheme strangled at its birth. His natural egoism, inflamed by a life of indulgence, and which led him more than once into the land of Utopia, was again his master. His opposition to Confederation really began in the autumn of 1864, and lasted until the autumn of 1868. But from a variety of expressions which came from his pen or fell from his lips, it is evident that he did not regard himself as irrevocably committed to this course until late in the autumn of 1865.

Had Mr. Howe taken the ground that the terms of the Quebec scheme were so unjust to Nova Scotia that he was bound to oppose it, then his course would have been clear and safe. As soon as such terms could be obtained, he could have consistently taken the steps he did after the meeting at Portland. But he bound himself hand and foot by condemning the scheme as fraught with danger and certain evil, both to the Colonies and the Mother Country. In his pamphlet to the House of Commons and House of Lords, he reminded the British Government that Confederation would be a menace to the United States which might be resented. They had, as he pointed out, a million of trained soldiers who might be thrown across the border and capture the new Dominion. This was in 1867. In 1868, in answer to a letter from a Washington correspondent of the anti-confederate press of Nova Scotia, who had asked him whether he had abandoned his opposition to the union and would in the future help it forward, he gave in substance the following reply: This writer was reminded that any attempt to force annexation would be stoutly resisted by England; that the United States had no navy worth mentioning; that they were weighed down by the crushing debt of the Civil War; that England would sweep their commerce from the seas, blockade their ports and cripple their trade and industries. In these circumstances, the United States would not commit the folly of provoking a war with England. But a

HOWE'S PAST REVIEWED

year before this, when he wished to carry his anti-union undertaking, he omitted this from his argument and made the danger of a war with the United States an outcome of Confederation. This single illustration, which is one of many, proves that Mr. Howe's political vision was limited to the measure he might, at any one time, have in hand, and to the advocacy of which he gave his strength. What is permissible in the professional lawyer is not permissible in the politician. The latter is obliged to hold to a consistent course or be able to give reasons for the changes that mark his political career. Whatever the true explanation of Mr. Howe's course may be, it is certain that he was finally drawn into a current which carried him far out to sea. On a tidal wave, rolled up largely by his own popular eloquence, he was at last borne whither he would not go. After a long fight for his life in cross currents, he was landed from the crest of a foaming wave upon the rocks, bruised and disabled. Here, with broken health, overwrought and dazed, he was shorn of his strength, and his political prestige and power went into their graves. But he was not left friendless. Many of his old companions in arms and a host of followers, generous, kind and faithful, came to his rescue. They treated him as an erring father would be treated by a family of kind sons and daughters. But others of his social and political companions turned upon him in his days of adversity, destitute of pity and as fierce as fiends. He had, however, also the helping hand and gallant support of old-time opponents. Conspicuous among them was Dr. Tupper.

At the great tournament in Truro in 1867, the knights were Howe and McLelan against Tupper and Archibald. In his long speech on that occasion, Mr. Howe shed light upon some of his previous utterances in favour of Confederation. Referring to the speech of Mr. Johnstone in 1854 in the House of Assembly, Mr. Howe made a surprising explanation of the course he took on that occasion. His plan then submitted for the organization of the Empire was simply a device to meet a supposed device of Mr. Johnstone's or, as Mr. Howe said, to "drown him."

An intelligent and impartial person endeavouring to obtain Mr. Howe's real sentiments and purposes by examining his

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public utterances, will find himself not a little perplexed. For instance, take his speech on the organization of the Empire, wrought out with such care and skill, and delivered with the force of his unique eloquence. The reader is compelled to assume that Mr. Howe was moved by deep sincerity of conviction in this grand purpose of shaping the destiny of the Colonies and the Empire, especially when we find that in a revised form, he submitted this scheme to the British Government in 1867 as a substitute for the British North America Act. In defending himself against the charges of inconsistency at the Truro meeting, as has been shown, he put an interpretation on his motive in submitting a counter plan to that advocated by Mr. Johnstone, which perplexed the public at that day, and on which the lapse of time has shed no light. Let anyone look over the public life of Mr. Johnstone from beginning to end, and no one for a moment could assume that he would use this momentous subject simply to entrap an opponent. This is unbelievable and preposterous. Not only does Mr. Howe tell us that he disbelieved in Mr. Johnstone's sincerity; but he is frank enough to inform us that he himself resorted to an empty performance to defeat him. Had an opponent charged him with such rank political hypocrisy, even his enemies would have denounced so apparently gratuitous and unfounded an accusation. If Mr. Howe, in his speech on "The Organization of the Empire," was simply making a countermarch to out-general his opponent, where in any of all his public acts can it be assumed with certainty that he was actuated by deep conviction and a noble purpose? His humiliating confession accounts for his subsequent silence on this question.

Dr. Tupper and Mr. Archibald reminded Mr. Howe that at Halifax in 1864, when the delegates from Canada were on their visit preparing the way for a general union, and when it was known that Canada would send delegates to Charlottetown in the interests of the larger union, he in unqualified terms spoke in its favour at the Drill Shed banquet.

Mr. Archibald reminded Mr. Howe that, previous to 1857, he strongly advocated a measure for settling the question of the mines and minerals of the Province. This was done when he was in power, but as soon as the question was settled, and

settled on the line advocated by Mr. Howe, he opposed its passage in the House, and the only apparent reason for this change was that Dr. Tupper and Mr. Johnstone were in power. He also reminded Mr. Howe that he was the last man he saw before leaving Halifax for the Quebec Conference, and that he was then in favour of union.

Dr. Tupper told Mr. Howe to his face, before a large assembly, the real reason why he is found opposing Confederation. It was the habit of his life to oppose every measure of which he was not the head. More than this might have been told him with equal truthfulness. He could not co-operate with any number of men unless in the capacity of leader. In the Coalition Government with Johnstone in 1840, when he found himself subordinate to that master mind, he rent the Cabinet and his party, and paved the way for that most disgraceful quarrel on his part with Lord Falkland.

This was the wicked weakness in Mr. Howe, which grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength until the coming of his final wreck and ruin.

It was not, as Mr. Howe averred, the overweight of the union delegates which defeated Mr. Howe's mission to England to oppose the Imperial Act. The greatest opponent he found in England was Joseph Howe himself. Dr. Tupper, in his able pamphlet, put before the Government, Parliament and people of England, Mr. Howe's advocacy of Confederation for a quarter of a century. This neutralized his influence and virtually converted him into a strong advocate of union.

In the early sixties, when his Government was tottering and ready to fall, he took Dr. Tupper into the Speaker's room and said to him: "Dr. Tupper, you have won your spurs, and I think the time has come for us to unite for the good of the country." This is an illustration of another weakness from which Mr. Howe suffered—a terror of the Opposition benches.

After Howe's failure to defeat the passage of the British North America Act in the Imperial Parliament, he wrote to Hon. W. J. Stairs, president of the Anti-Confederate League, giving a full account of the failure of his mission. On the 28th of March, 1867, Mr. Stairs replied. For himself and others, he regarded Mr. Howe as free from all responsibility in

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the matter of opposing Confederation and at liberty to take his own course.

"I thought it right to bring your case to the notice of the anti-confederate members of the Legislature and they have elected, jointly with our outside friends, to send a letter of thanks to you for your devoted services and show, if words can express it, their feelings of sympathy for you in this heavy disappointment. Some may say that they never expected any other result, that they judged the House of Commons to be as it has proved. But I must say I am disappointed. . . . I am commissioned to convey to you the sense of the meeting of friends held last evening. . . . The sentiments they expressed as regards yourself were these: (1) That after the devotion and sacrifice you have made of yourself on behalf of Nova Scotia, you should cease from any course of public action in the interests of Nova Scotia which may be made at the sacrifice of your personal feelings and interests; (2) your friends feel that, should you return and wish to join the Parliament at Ottawa, they will hail your aid as of most serious importance to the party whose duty it will be to mould the constitution of the new State with regard to the interests of Nova Scotia."

This letter from Mr. Stairs was written one day before the British North America Act passed the Imperial Parliament—March 9th, 1867.

Howe's reply to Mr. Stairs was written on April 12th, 1867:

"Though savage enough when all was over, I was never for a moment depressed. I had calculated all the chances before coming here, and knew that they were heavily against me. But I knew also that it was my duty to come. If I had not, my honour would have been tarnished and my conscience wounded. . . . In leaving me perfectly free to follow my own fortunes, my friends have shown their appreciation of my past labours and recognize my right to repose. I have thought much of the matter during the past month, and have come to these conclusions that, perplexed and comparatively defenceless as our people must be for some time, I am hardly at liberty to desert them now at the very crisis of affairs, and when some guidance may be required—at all events I cannot do this, or seek or accept other employment until after the general election. . . . Were I to express an opinion as to what ought to be

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HOWE'S PAST REVIEWED

done, I might err, and therefore do not, and the matter must rest entirely with my countrymen whom, by no overt act on this personal point, can I attempt to influence or control. . . . It would be a great mistake for our people to pledge themselves to oppose an administration which is not in existence, and which cannot be formed until after the election all over the confederacy."

In another letter, Mr. Howe writes:

"As you may suppose, the last fortnight has been one of anxiety and vexation, but through it all I have been cheered with the consciousness that I have done my duty to my country and to yours and my father's principles and memory, and am a thousand times happier than I was at Washington or at home last spring, before I had decided on my course."

To fully appreciate the animus of the *Morning Chronicle* against Mr. Howe in the early part of 1869, his previous connection with that journal and its proprietor should be kept in mind. When only twenty-four years of age he was owner and editor of the *Nova Scotian*, the predecessor of the *Morning Chronicle*, and at the time of Confederation its weekly editor. Although there had been many changes in the forty years since Mr. Howe made his venture in purchasing the *Nova Scotian*, yet in all that time its pages had been enlivened and enriched by him, either as editor or contributor. So familiar to readers of literary taste was his flowing and captivating style that his facile pen was readily recognized even in his anonymous communications. Whether in prosperity or adversity, the old *Nova Scotian* and its worthy child, the *Morning Chronicle*, had ever been faithful to Joseph Howe, and Joseph Howe in turn had been faithful to them.

Howe abandoned repeal as hopeless; but obstinate hope or the service which the continued cry for repeal promised to partisan politics, bore Mr. Annand along in his anti-confederate career. In the final discussion of the subject between them, Mr. Annand said that in case repeal failed he would "go in for annexation." Mr. Howe took up his hat, turned his back on his old friend, and walked out of his office, saying, as he went, "We must part here and now." Howe was anchored in unyield-

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ing loyalty. There were no hard words on this occasion—no abuse from either of them. That was well. But why the cruelty, exceeding that of the grave, found in the extracts from the *Morning Chronicle*, directed against Joseph Howe? The Imperial Government had declined to reopen the matter of changing the Act of Union. Mr. Howe had sought and obtained better financial terms for his native Province. It is vain to search for any reason for the bitter writings in the *Chronicle* other than a purpose to crush an old friend. Had the previous thirty years been an unbroken scene of acrimonious contention between Howe and Annand, as it had been of ardent friendship, the thrusts from the old arm-chair could not have been exceeded in malice and fiendish bitterness. Therefore, when it is asked in whose flesh were these virus-charged fangs of the editorial paragraphs buried, the reply comes back—*horribile dictu*—the flesh of the venerable Joseph Howe, “well stricken in years,” broken in health, and never before needing friendship so much. It might here be safe to say that the files of the newspapers of Canada, in its entire history, might be searched in vain for cruelty so cruel and malignancy so malignant.

It might be urged that Mr. Howe at times had been terrible in his denunciation of men. In a certain sense this is true; but his hottest invective was always relieved with some variety of his wit and humour. His worst attacks on Lord Falkland were couched in laughable rhyme. Before the joint debate at Truro in June, 1867, at meetings in Halifax, he had used the club of the savage in smiting Adams G. Archibald for being found with Dr. Tupper in the heavy battle of that day. Mr. Archibald should be “tomahawked,” and “if the name Adams G. Archibald, written on a shingle, should be thrust into the virgin soil of the earth, it would immediately reduce the soil to a foul-smelling compost.” When reminded of these offensive attacks, he, in justifying himself, said that if Tupper and Archibald had been in England in the then not distant past and had attempted to sell their country as they had sold Nova Scotia, they would have lost their heads; but, with a comical facial expression and a tone to suit it, he, casting a glance at these two men who sat with him on the Truro platform, said,

HOWE'S PAST REVIEWED

"Their heads are not worth taking off." It was his habit when using such shocking invective to float it in humour of some sort, often as outlandish as the coarseness of his attacks. But the attacks he received from Mr. Annand were as lacking in any species of humour as is the bite of a serpent or the sting of an adder. There was, however, a rift in the clouds, through which there fell upon the tortured statesman a gleam of warm sunshine.

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CHAPTER LXI.

HOWE'S ELECTION IN HANTS.

IN Nova Scotia there was no man who looked with grief and more intense and intelligent interest upon Joseph Howe's opposition to Confederation, from 1864 to 1868, than did the Hon. Judge Johnstone. Thirty years before he had discussed the subject with Lord Durham at Quebec, and from that time, in Parliament and out of Parliament, in season and out of season, he had advocated the union of the Colonies to the fullest extent of his ability. Even after becoming a judge of the Supreme Court, he had, from the Bench, exhorted the young men of Amherst, Truro and Annapolis to give their faithful services to the development and building up of the new Dominion, assuring them that they would live to see Canada the richest dependency of the British Crown. He now saw with unfeigned pleasure that Mr. Howe has resolved to give to the union his influence and best services. Seeing this and also the storm of diabolism that was beating upon his head for abandoning repeal, Mr. Johnstone was moved to give his old opponent a token of approval and a word of cheer. He called upon Mr. Howe. There was more than a volume of meaning in the grasp of hands under the roof of that Dartmouth Cottage,* and the meeting of the eyes of these old warriors. Heart, too, was in this timely salutation.

Not a word was spoken to remind Mr. Howe of his course in connection with the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. The taste and chivalry of the caller made that impossible. William Annand sending poison-pointed javelins through Howe's soul, and J. W. Johnstone pouring into the wounds the oil and wine of sympathy, was a pathetic and thrilling spectacle for that day.

* "Fairfield," at Black Rock, Dartmouth.

HOWE'S ELECTION IN HANTS

The natural inquiry of the reader is as to the whereabouts of the Hon. Charles Tupper at this crucial period in the anti-union campaign. He is not, as was his custom, found in the front of the battle. His judgment respecting what is required of him to ensure the success of the union, had determined for him the part he should take and the place in which he should be found. By instinct and habit the firing line was his chosen position; but a stage in the conflict had been reached when it was expedient for him not to be seen in the open field. Had he appeared in Hants County at this bye-election, an undue exasperation of anti-confederates would have been the result. He, therefore, deemed it wise to remain in the background. It would have been in harmony with his feelings, but not with his judgment, to have stood side by side with Howe in this hotly-contested election. He would have fought for him as on other occasions he had fought against him. Aware that there were many old Conservatives in the county who, as life-long opponents of Howe would find it difficult to vote for him on this occasion, he wrote to them privately, urging them for reasons stated to poll their votes for Mr. Howe. The following is a sample of these letters:

“Halifax, February 12, 1869.

“To Benjamin Smith, Esq.

“My dear Sir,

“Knowing you to be a warm supporter of the union cause, I take the liberty of writing to you on the subject of the present election in your county. When I was offered the office of Intercolonial Railway Commissioner, I felt it my duty to decline, and strongly advised the Government to use every means in their power to conciliate the anti-union party, who had unfortunately obtained the confidence of the country. That policy was adopted, and has been steadily pursued until it has resulted in large concessions to this Province, and, as I sincerely hope, the complete destruction of an agitation most injurious to the country. If the union cause is now triumphant, years of valuable time will have been saved by the course Mr. Howe has taken since his return from England, and we will enter upon a career of prosperity which will, in my opinion, soon convince the most sceptical that union is most beneficial to us all.

“Mr. Howe was, I think, in honour bound to enter the

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Cabinet and place his seat in the hands of his constituents when he assumed the responsibility of advising his party to accept the terms offered. I sincerely hope that, under these circumstances, the union party will forget the past and cordially unite in his support for the sake of our common country, whose best interests would be seriously imperilled by the election of a repealer.

"Let us then, regardless of all personal considerations, still preserve the patriotic attitude we have hitherto maintained, and we will enjoy the proud satisfaction of witnessing the triumph of our principles and the prosperity of our country.

"Yours faithfully,

"CHARLES TUPPER."

"That election," said the *Morning Chronicle*, was "the crisis in Mr. Howe's life. . . . If he failed, there would be no good hand to grasp his."

Never was a journal more mistaken. Untold thousands of hands and hearts of men, who could forget and forgive, both of old opponents and of old friends, would have extended their sympathy to the old warrior in case of his defeat. As the battle raged, his robust health failed. Of one pathetic scene, while he was in that condition, he afterwards said: "Wrapped in my cloak in the corner of a schoolhouse at Nine Mile River, unable to speak, Tom Morrison stood over me and bellowed like a bull of Bashan." Sitting on the public platform in Windsor, bathed in perspiration from physical weakness, he listened to heartless denunciations from men who, only a few months before, had been his zealous allies.

This account of a meeting at Maitland by Dr. George Johnson was another of the series held in the winter of 1869:

"The next time I had to do with Mr. Howe was in the January (1869) election, when Howe, having accepted the portfolio of President of the Privy Council, presented himself for the approval of the electors of his old constituency. At his request I went with him to Hants. The election was a peculiar one. Howe had been elected by the anti-unionists in 1867 by a majority of 574. That the blow to the repeal party might be a stunning one, it was deemed necessary that a good substantial majority should be secured for Howe as a member of the Macdonald Government. Howe did not think it advisable

HOWE'S ELECTION IN HANTS

that Tupper should go into the county to help him, the reason he gave being that Tupper's presence would tend to keep his (Tupper's) long-time opponents together and thus endamage the plan of campaign. The old lion had another reason, very influential with him. He wanted to fight the fight off his own bat, without having to endure the taunt, if he won, that it was Tupper who did it. The lion was sufficient in himself without the active aid of the war-horse. Tupper could do all he liked to do in the way of writing letters to his friends, but no public appearances in the county. Many a time I was told by Conservatives that they would sooner vote for the devil than for their lifelong foe, Joe Howe. We got out the *Hants County Gazette*, Mr. Howe doing most of the writing, my part being chiefly to get it printed and see to the distribution. Copies of this fly-sheet are doubtless still in existence, forty years after the campaign. One illustration of the meetings held will be as good as twenty. This particular one was held at Maitland. On the evening of the meeting, Mr. Howe was so prostrated by severe pains in the back that I urged him to postpone the meeting to the next night. For that purpose I went to the opposition speakers and asked them to agree to postponement, urging that it would kill Mr. Howe to have to undergo the toil. The speakers against him were Vail, Jones, Annand, Tom Morrison ('Rolling Billows') and others whose names I do not recall. They were extremely bitter against Howe, and would accept no compromise. 'You will kill him,' I said. The answer shall not be recorded. Vail was the only one who urged humane measures. The fight had to go on, and Joe Howe was not the man to back out. He sat in his chair on the platform for a while. Then the pains became so intense that he had to wrap himself in his buffalo overcoat and lie down at the back of the platform. The opposition speakers suggested 'theatrical devices to create sympathy,' and poured the vials of their wrath upon their prostrate foe. When they had finished and thought the meeting was about to close, Howe dragged himself forward and began in faltering tones and with weak voice. His manner was listless in the extreme. Soon that unconquerable spirit domineered over the pain-racked body, and shortly he was speaking with a vigour and effectiveness equal to his palmiest days. He knocked their heads together, exposed their inconsistencies, and laid bare their real motives in attacking him so mercilessly. The audience laughed with him and against them. Howe won in that contest by a majority of

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nearly 400, receiving within twenty of the number of votes given him as the great opponent of Confederation."

In preparing for this election, Mr. Howe issued the following address to his constituency:

"Men of Hants,

"In the speeches addressed to you, previous to the general election, I almost invariably defined three lines of action:

"1. To defeat the delegates who had framed the British North America Act.

"2. To endeavour to get that Act repealed; and

"3. Should we fail in the effort to repeal the Act, that we should endeavour to modify and improve it.

"To accomplish the first, I strained every nerve. Besides my labours in Hants, of which you were witnesses, I visited Archibald in Colchester, fought Tupper all round Cumberland, and in Queens and Digby, by timely negotiations, endeavoured to establish the discipline which ensured success. Other gentlemen, who now profess to speak for the whole country, stayed at home and did nothing, outside their own counties, to secure the victory, the fruits of which they have ever since enjoyed.

"You will remember that in 1867 I had laboured, in conjunction with Messrs. Annand and McDonald, for many months in England, to prevent the passage of the Act. In 1868, as a member of another delegation, I laboured with equal zeal and energy to repeal it. On both occasions every faculty of my mind was strained to its utmost tension to accomplish objects so deeply interesting to our people, and to restore to our country the constitution which, associated with patriotic men in the early portion of my public life, I had laboured to build up. Others might desire to defend or to restore what they believed to be valuable. I toiled with the zeal of an artist passionately bent on guarding or recovering the work he had designed, with the parental feelings of a father struggling for the life of his own child.

"Both these missions failed. That they did is not surprising when the odds against us are calculated and taken into account; and when I returned from England in July last it was with the full conviction that further appeals would be hopeless, and a settled determination never to go on any such errand again unless a union of the Maritime Provinces (afterwards reported to be impracticable) could be arranged. My own observations

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and experiences were confirmed by the opinion, frankly expressed, by our tried friend and advocate, John Bright.

“From the day that I returned home I never concealed my convictions from anybody, and have never changed my opinion. Others encouraged the belief that a change of Government in England would give us repeal, and for six months the people of Nova Scotia have been deluded with hopes as baseless as a vision of the night. I would not lend myself to this deception, and became involved in a controversy with those who wished to conceal the truth. Minutes of Council and resolutions were framed and sent to England, and another delegation was promised. Threats of violence were held out, never intended to be realized, and a conflict was provoked with the Lieutenant-Governor, ending in apologies and humiliations not pleasant to contemplate. With these movements I had nothing to do.

“In the despatch which the Duke of Buckingham addressed to Lord Monck in June last, while distinctly refusing to repeal the Act of Union, he threw upon the Canadian Ministers the obligation to inquire into the working of that Act, with a view to such modifications and changes as would make it more acceptable to the people of Nova Scotia. On leaving England I had but slender hopes that they would make any serious attempt to discharge themselves of this obligation in good faith, but when some of those Ministers came down here in August, and solemnly pledged themselves before a committee of the convention to make the attempt, I claimed for them a fair hearing and due consideration of any propositions they might make. In taking this line I acted in the spirit of my third proposition, that ‘if we failed to accomplish the repeal of the Act, we should endeavour to modify and improve it.’

“The negotiation thus opened with the consent of that committee was followed up by a letter addressed to me by Sir John A. Macdonald on the 6th of October. That letter demanded from me the most grave consideration. Had I refused to receive or to reply to it, I should have assumed a responsibility of which, by no after act of my life, could I have discharged myself in the face of this country. Her Majesty's Government would have been informed that Nova Scotia refused negotiation; a very large sum of money, now happily within our reach, would have been lost; and when the local Legislature met, they would have had no alternative but to raise that money by direct taxation, or let the roads and bridges go down. I would not assume that responsibility; and if I had, I should

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have been held to a sharp account by the electors of Hants, to whom I had promised, at twenty public meetings, to modify and amend the Act if it could not be repealed. I therefore replied to Sir John A. Macdonald's letter, and the correspondence only closed on the 26th of January last.

"All through the autumn this correspondence was denounced by certain parties as treasonable and dangerous. I append it to this letter, that you may read it and judge for yourselves. Those who denounced it have wasted six months of life, and have got nothing to show but an infinite amount of boasting and the two despatches by which they have been rebuked by both the great parties in England, and in one of which they have been sternly told by a Cabinet, with John Bright in it, just what I have been telling them for half a year, that any further appeal to England will be utterly fruitless and vain.

"I should be wanting in common justice if I did not acknowledge the infinite obligations which the country and myself are under to Mr. McLelan for the share he was kind enough to take in this negotiation. The results are now before you. In addition to the \$60,000.00 added to the Quebec scheme by the labours of the delegates sent to England in 1866, we have now obtained for ten years a sum amounting, in round numbers, to \$160,000.00 per annum, making, since I put my hand to this work, \$220,000.00, or £55,000 a year, recovered for Nova Scotia.

"Before the ten years expire, should it appear that, from any cause, injustice is being done in money matters, the Canadians have now shown that they can be relied upon to reconsider the whole case, and to do substantial justice.

"You will perceive by the correspondence that in August last the Premier offered me a seat in the Cabinet. That offer was renewed, and pressed upon me again in October. But I felt that it would be time enough to think of honours and emoluments for myself when I had tested the sincerity of his professions to do justice to my country, within the scope and boundary of his acknowledged powers of action. He did do justice. All that Mr. McLelan and I could fairly ask, on the basis we had laid down of perfect justice to the other Provinces, after an exhaustive sifting of the whole subject, was yielded, and then Sir John A. Macdonald, with some show of reason, pressed me again to take office. He said: 'We have now done justice so far as we could in monetary matters, and are prepared to deal fairly with Nova Scotia in all other branches of the

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public service as rapidly as we get the power; but I want your advice and assistance, in order that this may be effectually done; and, what is more, I want some guarantee to give to Parliament that, when they have voted this money, the arrangement will not be repudiated by Nova Scotia.' I felt the fairness of this argument. Our American trade was of deep importance to our people. Should I hesitate to aid the Government in its recovery? The Intercolonial Railway was to be constructed. Nova Scotians, who might tender, should be protected. In all the departments there was influence and patronage to be exercised and dispensed, and was I not bound to see that Nova Scotia was fairly treated?

"While much influenced by these considerations, I knew that a good many persons still clung to the belief that Gladstone's Government would repeal the Act, and my determination was to return home, consult my friends, and wait till the local Government got their answer. Unexpectedly, but very opportunely, the despatch came while I was at Ottawa. I print it with this letter. It is short and decisive, and gives the answer to all the nonsense written in the autumn.

"I could no longer hesitate. The plain path of duty lay before me. All rational repealers had professed that the battle was to last only till the answer came from Gladstone's Cabinet. The answer was here. The battle was over. Had I come home, I must have gone back to Ottawa to be sworn in, and then returned to Nova Scotia to run my election. The Governor-General was to leave on Monday, and on Saturday afternoon I was sworn in as President of the Privy Council, to avoid a double journey, to and fro, of sixteen hundred miles.

"This office, men of Hants, though the technical formalities make it mine, is in your gift, and to be of any value to me I must receive it at your hands. I could have accepted it with a seat in the Senate, and enjoyed it without your sanction. But you trusted me, and I am not afraid to trust you. On a calm review of all the circumstances, I believe that you will ratify by your suffrages my conduct and policy.

"I cannot condescend to defend myself from the mean charges and insinuations with which those who have been for more than a year fattening on the public treasure have already defiled the press; but I shall be prepared to meet any of those persons before the electors of Hants to defend my own conduct, and perhaps to do what I have not hitherto done, make some inquisition into the correctness of their own.

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" Apart altogether from the mere personal question, you have got now to decide whether Nova Scotia shall raise \$40,000.00 a year by direct taxation, or whether, by this negotiation, ratified by the Canadian Parliament, our roads and bridges, and other public services shall be amply provided without any such necessity. You have also to decide whether there shall be a just and fair administration of public affairs by your own representative, who has seen some service and gathered some experience, or whether Nova Scotia is to have no influence in conducting the Government of the Dominion, to the authority of which, by law, her people are bound to submit.

" I hope to get into the county soon, and will then be prepared to answer any questions you may ask, or to give any further information that this paper does not supply. In the meantime,

" Believe me,

" Yours truly,

" JOSEPH HOWE."

In Mr. Johnstone's kindly call on Mr. Howe at this acute stage in the anti-confederate crusade, there was a depth and wealth of meaning which Mr. Howe could not fail to see and appreciate.

The exquisite taste and chivalrous spirit of Mr. Johnstone would not permit him to make even the faintest allusion to the views respecting Confederation held and expressed by Mr. Howe at various times throughout his public life, yet the following memories must have been borne in upon Mr. Howe's mind in that memorable interview; and the silent rebukes accompanying them impossible for Mr. Johnstone to prevent:

" Mr. Howe, in 1838 you should not have secured the rescinding of William Young's resolution to send delegates to Quebec to confer with Lord Durham, who was sent to the Colonies for the express purpose of satisfactorily arranging their difficulties. As you were named as one of the delegates, you should have postponed your trip to the Old Country until after Lord Durham had made an effort to settle the troubles in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. After the delegates returned, two of whom, J. B. Uniacke and William Young, were Liberals, and reports were made by them in the Lower House, and by me

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in the Upper Chamber, you should not, without a thorough examination of the great plan suggested by Lord Durham, have created prejudice against it by stating your fears that Nova Scotia would not receive justice at the hands of the larger Provinces in the west. You should have united with me, and from that day both of us could have been advocates of this great measure. In 1854, when I submitted to the Assembly resolutions in favour of the undertaking, instead of blocking my proposal with a scheme for organizing the Empire, which a little more than one year ago at Truro you said was on your part a mere device to counteract my proposal in making which you did not regard me sincere, and that your purpose was to lead the old man, as you called me, into deep water and drown him—instead of taking this course, you should have supported the resolutions, and from that time forward we could have co-operated in carrying to success this great undertaking. In 1857, when A. G. Archibald and I were commissioned, in connection with our mission to settle the matter of the mines and minerals, to do what we could to urge the matter of the union of the British North American Provinces on the Imperial Government, you should have given the undertaking your whole-hearted support. In 1861, after Dr. Tupper began his campaign for Maritime Union, and you introduced the question of general union into the Legislature, you should have followed it up with all the power at your command, especially as Dr. Tupper and I heartily supported you and voted for your resolutions. When the delegates appointed by the provisions of your resolution met at Quebec in 1862, the false fear of irritating the United States, and that an intercolonial railway should precede Confederation, ought not to have induced you to abandon the grand undertaking of consolidating the Colonies. In 1863, at Halifax, when we, one by a motion and the other by supporting it, commended D'Arcy McGee's lecture on Confederation, and gave our united voice in its support, you did well, and your eloquent words were in harmony with your views previously expressed on this great subject. At the banquet to the visitors from Canada in the drill shed, your eulogy of the projected Confederation was worthy of your ability, patriotism and statesmanship. Every influence at your command should have been employed to induce the Colonial Secretary to allow

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you to attend the Charlottetown Convention, when Dr. Tupper, then in power, had magnanimously invited you to unite with him in this great work. When a few affrighted merchants of Halifax, in the autumn of 1864, subsequent to the Quebec Conference, began an agitation against Confederation, your pen, masterly influence and eloquent speech should have been employed to convince these men that their alarm was groundless, that they were entering upon a course fraught with danger and against the best interests of their country. The mistake of your life, the mistake which has torn and crushed you, was made when you allied yourself, first with anti-unionists and then with repealers. The mistake was fatal when you cast your lot in with these misguided men. But now after passing through the perils of the wilderness, in which you have not escaped the bites of venomous serpents, I am rejoiced to see you standing shoulder to shoulder with the statesmen and patriots of this great Dominion, resolved to give to its grand future your whole-hearted services, which it greatly needs. Here is my hand. Fortune has placed me in the comparative quiet of the Bench, but I give you my sympathy for what it is worth. Opponents in many a battle, we are now sympathetically united in this, the greatest work which has ever engaged your distinguished talents since we first came together in Sir Colin Campbell's Cabinet in 1838."

The quick, mental alertness of Joseph Howe readily took in all this, although not the slightest allusion was made to it either by himself or by Mr. Johnstone, who was then in ardent sympathy with his old opponent. Had it been required of him, old as he was, he would have come down from the Bench as he had twenty-six years before from the Legislative Council, sought a constituency, gone to Ottawa and stood side by side with Joseph Howe in carrying his country forward in its career of development and greatness, foreseen and predicted by them both.

In this anti-confederate drama, the scene changes often and sometimes suddenly. Now it is at Charlottetown, now at Quebec, then in a New Brunswick election, in the Nova Scotia Legislature, in the British Parliament, in a general election over the new Dominion, in the first Dominion Parliament at

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Ottawa, again in the British Parliament, then again at Halifax, at Portland, Maine, and finally at the bye-election in the County of Hants, that memorable election of the Hon. Joseph Howe as President of the Dominion Cabinet. For each act there was a large and varied audience, intensely interested. The United States, the Colonies, the Governments of the Local Legislatures, of the Dominion, of Great Britain, were all spectators of this tragic-comic, anti-union play. Like all stage performances, the interest increased with the succession of the acts. No preceding act of this drama exceeded the one which closed it. Yes, closed! Although after this there were some comic side-shows, such as running Nova Scotia elections on repeal, yet the real performance of the season ended when Howe was triumphantly elected in February of 1869 as a Minister of the Crown at Ottawa.

As in most elections, uncertainty hung over the result. The paper brought into existence by the enterprise and genius of young Joseph Howe and nourished by him for forty years predicted the consequences of an adverse vote. The possibility of this disaster was seen by one man in particular, and for it he had a remedy. On the eve of the election, when calling on Mr. Howe in Dartmouth, Dr. Tupper said: "Howe, what do you think will be the outcome of this election?" This was the question by the resourceful, unconquerable Dr. Tupper, as he called on Mr. Howe on the eve of the battle. He had not forgotten that in their private interview in London more than a year before this, he had said: "Howe, you must lead your country in a faithful trial of Confederation. In days past you know I have given you whole-hearted opposition. In a faithful, loyal effort to give the union a fair trial, you shall have my whole-hearted support." This call on Mr. Howe was to prove that his pledged word should be sacredly kept, both in letter and in spirit. In this interview Howe said: "I may win, but no one can be certain of the result when an effort so desperate is made to defeat me." "You will win your election," said Dr. Tupper; "I feel confident of that; but I have made an arrangement which will meet the case of possible defeat. I have discussed the matter fully with Mr. Pineo and Mr. McFarlane. Should you be beaten in Hants, I will resign my seat in the Commons, Pineo will resign his seat in the Local

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House, Cumberland will send you to Ottawa and me to Halifax. You can look after the interests of Nova Scotia in the Dominion House, and I will do what I can for the old Province in the Local Assembly. If the election goes against you, don't think of resigning. You shall remain President of the Cabinet and a representative of my old county." "That cannot be, Tupper," said the great Howe to this magnanimous proposal. "Yes, it will do and will be carried out to the letter," was Charles Tupper's reply; "but, Howe, you will win in Hants." Bruised and broken in health, Howe felt these warm throbbings and support and sympathy of Tupper's magnanimity and fidelity. He felt it as he had felt the delicate and honest sympathy of his old-time opponent, J. W. Johnstone.

I know not how many great and noble acts may be found along the public career of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, but I do not believe the writer of his life will find one exceeding this in unselfishness, heroism and true nobility. On reading an account of this episode, curiosity is excited in imagining the outcome of this proposal had Howe been defeated. It would have added another exciting act to the drama. Encouraged by the success of defeating Howe in Hants County, doubtless a great effort would have been made to crush the two leaders in Cumberland. But at this stage of the general campaign, it is certain that the result would have been a signal failure. The thirty-seven men in the Assembly would have dreaded the appearance of Dr. Tupper among them. William Annand, leader of the Government, and a member of the Upper House, remembering the Legislature of 1866, would have regarded it as a special calamity; but he would have been consoled with the fact that he would not be in the same chamber with his former opponent. With Dr. Tupper in the Local Assembly, Nova Scotia politics would have been lifted out of the repeal rut, and would have taken a direction different from that which is now the record of its history.

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CHAPTER LXII.

HOWE AS A STATESMAN.

IN the spring of 1868, after the Imperial Parliament had rejected a resolution introduced by Mr. Bright to appoint a Commission to look into the grievances of Nova Scotia, Mr. Howe's duty toward Mr. Annand as an old, tried and confidential friend was clear. He should have freely opened his mind to him. It has already been stated that the temptations at this stage were strong for Mr. Annand to continue his opposition to Confederation. This would be popular with the Local Government of which he was leader. The inducements were equally strong for Mr. Howe to abandon opposition and give union a fair trial. As Mr. Annand would have the support of the local members in opposing union, Mr. Howe would have the support of the Dominion members in accepting it. Even so, Mr. Howe was bound to be frank and faithful to Mr. Annand whatever may have been his feelings and purpose at the time. His long association with Mr. Howe had created claims which could be neither ignored nor disregarded. Mr. Howe was bound by every consideration of justice and honour to have taken Mr. Annand into his confidence before leaving London. In his own frank style he should have said: "Annand, we are beaten. As we know, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and Nova Scotia are now united by Act of Parliament. The power that united them is resolved to hold them together. The other Provinces are in an overwhelming majority for the union. Nova Scotia should halt at this stage and consider the matter of giving it a faithful trial. Our party, although successful at the polls, has already begun to disintegrate. Miller has left us, Stewart Campbell and James McKeagney, after the results of the Nova Scotia election became known, abandoned us. W. J. Stairs, a host in himself, and many men like him, will pursue this undertaking no fur-

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ther. The seventeen men elected on our side to the Dominion Parliament have come under the fascinations of Ottawa and that artful manager of men, Sir John A. Macdonald. The patronage of their counties will appeal to these men as inducements to give union a fair trial. Our Legislature has already accepted the Dominion subsidy for meeting the expenses and conducting the business of the country. The machinery of the customs, as we know, is in operation. Any unlawful resistance, which in no circumstances would I encourage, would go down before the garrison and the battleships of Halifax like chaff before a hurricane. Annand, we might as well try to take Gibraltar from Britain as to try to break down Confederation. We have laboured side by side in harmony and confidence for forty years. We have now on our hands the biggest job ever undertaken by us. Give the matter your best thought. I will do the same. Talk it over with the young fellows, Smith and Troop. In crossing the Atlantic we shall have seven or eight days to consider the matter. We can compare notes on ship-board and come to some conclusion which we can place before the party after arriving in Halifax."

Had Mr. Howe taken this course, which he was in honour bound to take, the crisis would have been reached at the Convention in Halifax, the calling of which he had inspired. Had this course, dictated not by expediency alone, but by considerations no man of honour can afford to disregard, been taken, Mr. Howe, when asked by A. W. Savary, M.P., in Halifax, just as the Convention was assembling what he was going to do, would not have been obliged to say, "I do not know what to do." As a leader he should have known. A general must lead his army not only when it is on parade and when attacking the enemy, but also when defeated and a retreat becomes necessary. For a general to say in such circumstances, "I do not know what to do," is equivalent to saying, "I am no longer able to act as commander of this army." When the Convention was in session, wild, speculative proposals were made. M. I. Wilkins, Attorney-General, seriously urged the members of the Dominion House of Commons to resign their seats, and the Local Legislature, by an Act of its own, would make them members of the House of Assembly. This seemed a grotesque proposal to many of the members of the Convention, but Mr.

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Howe met it by a counter proposal—that the local members should resign, and that he and the other Dominion members would do likewise and again appeal to the people. No general desire, however, appeared to carry out either suggestion. Mr. Howe on this occasion lost another chance for taking a bold stand and declaring the convictions he held at the time. Had he done so, he knew that he would be sustained by some, perhaps most of the Dominion members. A. W. Savary, M.P., had written a letter, which he received on his return from England, urging him to bring the agitation to a close on the best terms that could be secured. Alexander Stewart, M.P., and others would have sustained him.

But it may be argued that he could not have carried Mr. Annand with him. That is probable. In the circumstances a selfish course had many attractions for Mr. Annand. But even so, Mr. Howe could have appealed to the fair-minded and reasonable men of his party by a declaration of his judgment, clear and bold. In the nature of the case, he would be shut out of the *Morning Chronicle*, yet other papers were open to him. Through circulars and pamphlets he could have appealed to his fellow-countrymen. Better than all this, the platforms of the Province would have welcomed him. There he would have been master of the situation. The Province would have supported him. By adopting this policy, he would have avoided the results of the course he took, and it would have been in harmony with his past life. The charge of being unfaithful and of double dealing could not have been made against him. The bitterness and hatred generated during the time he kept his friends in suspense would not have appeared. His judgment, trampled under foot, when he decided to lead the anti-union campaign, did not serve him in planning a retreat. He was like a man lost in the woods, who, disobeying his pocket compass, wanders about often seeing his own tracks, but, not knowing them, becomes more and more confused until he knows not what to do.

Had he imitated the swift, Napoleonic movements of Dr. Tupper in seizing strategic positions, and in making rapid but well-planned advances, he would have avoided a policy which gave every advantage to his opponents and left none for himself. He was deaf to the suggestions of Dr. Tupper. Sir John

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A. Macdonald saw Mr. Howe's fatal mistake. He wrote to him: "I hear from many Nova Scotians of both parties, and judging from their reports, a bold, open course for you is the true one. By it success is yours. You can carry the country with you. 'From the nettle, danger, pluck the flower, safety.'" But Mr. Howe was out of the hearing of advice, no matter by whom given. What Lord Granville said of Lord Grey was true of Mr. Howe throughout his whole political career, and was never illustrated in a manner as tragic as in this case: "He displayed infinite power and fertility in raising objections to any course which was not precisely that which he had shaped himself."

In discussing the lives and labours of the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, the Hon. Joseph Howe and the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, every pains has been taken to deal justly and generously with each of them. At this stage a review of the public labours of both Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone seems called for as a natural close to the foregoing accounts given of them. As but a small section of the life and work of Sir Charles Tupper has been included, a review of it may be omitted and left to his biographer.

From the record of Mr. Howe's public career, found in these pages, the object now is to see in them his standing as a statesman. To do this fairly and successfully, it is essential to look at his life as a whole, to keep in mind all the parts of his somewhat eventful career, ignoring, however, his foibles and eccentricities. But there must be a full recognition of his doings as a statesman in labouring for the best interests of his native Province. He should also be seen in connection with his contemporaries, whose lives and labours were mingled with his own. Examined in this way, the fair-minded reader will be qualified to form a sound judgment of his character as a statesman. As seen in the foregoing accounts, Mr. Howe sometimes appears lacking in judgment and in fidelity to his friends, and also deficient in the essential qualities of a statesman. At other times his vision is clear and full, his efforts great and sustained, and there seems in him no lack of qualifications for a great statesman. Notwithstanding his deficiencies, in this backward glance his larger gifts and successful labours shall be kept in full view. No attempt shall be made to magnify in

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any way his weaknesses or his blunders. Shelburne failed to damage Lord Chatham's greatness as a statesman by magnifying his mistakes and foibles. This was narrow and ungenerous. It failed of its purpose as it well deserved. Rather let the well-known talents, the grand aims and a fair estimate of all that was undertaken and accomplished be recognized, in forming a judgment of a public man. Joseph Howe must be seen as poet, journalist, orator and politician. Let his eccentricities, his off-colour jests, the cloudland character of some of his eloquence, the contradictions and inconsistencies found in his career, his questionable methods employed to sway and carry the crowds, and many other blemishes by which his public labours were marked, in this review be ignored, and an honest quest be made for his rank as a successful statesman. Let the estimate given be in accordance with well-established data and undoubted facts.

In his "Life of Lord Beaconsfield," Froude says:

"Unfortunately political leaders have ceased of what is good for the nation or for their own consistency, or even what, in the long run, may be best for themselves. Their business is in the immediate campaign in which they are to out-manceuvre and defeat their enemies. On this condition only they keep their party together."

To this might be added what Viscount Morley said of Edmund Burke:

"His natural endowments always impelled him to clothe his conclusions in glowing and exaggerated language."

Lord Fitzmaurice's opinion is:

"Lord Derby might at first seem to be sweeping everything before him in a torrent of discursive eloquence, in which the iniquities of Lord Clarendon's foreign policy, the weakness of the plans of Lord John Russell to destroy the constitution, to secularize education and plunder the church, and the danger of the law reform to the Chancellor, were all mixed up together in a lava-flood of consuming wrath. It was none the less his ill-fortune to discover, that while still fancying the victory his own on the wide field over which his triumphant eloquence

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ranged, he had had his retreat cut off and his argumentative stores captured by a deft stroke in an unexpected quarter from an antagonist opposite."

So it is likely to be with men of ardent and poetic temperaments. They obscure their vision and cloud their reason with floods of passionate eloquence. Many scenes in Howe's life are mirrored in the foregoing accounts of Burke and Derby. In fact, there was a rapid succession of them, dating from his quarrel with the Roman Catholics, the time when his star began to set, until his life closed in Government House at Halifax. His vain efforts to oppose Dr. Tupper's straightforward, heroic policy with his gigantic expediences carried him farther and farther into a wilderness of confusion. "Eloquence without being precise is one of the worst dangers that can beset a man," says Faguet. On account of this failing, Howe was ever a sufferer. These defects, seen and magnified in a critical and rigidly judicial examination, mar, if they do not ruin, his life and labours. They must, therefore, as far as possible, be overlooked in judging him as a statesman.

A distinguished writer says that "those whom the world agrees to call great are those who have done or produced something of important value to humanity," and that "greatness is measured in part by the difficulties overcome," and that "the statesman who has not purified himself of personal motives will never purify a disordered constitution."

Opinions such as the above, if properly used, may help in coming to a decision in the matter of Joseph Howe's statesmanship. He was born to public life full grown. He had no infancy, no boyhood. He was brought forth suddenly, and the first sight the public got of Joseph Howe was that of a great man. From the libel suit with the Halifax magistrates, given in an early chapter of this work, Joseph Howe, the journalist, emerged, exhibiting consummate skill and great power in managing a defence of himself from an attack intended to put him behind the bars of the Halifax jail. That event, if fairly interpreted, puts it beyond the reach of any ingenuity to estimate Joseph Howe in a rank lower than that of a man possessing the elements essential to distinguish him as a great statesman. He was under the embarrassment of the quip of

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the legal fraternity, that a man who pleads his own case has a fool for an attorney; but in the signal victory he achieved, he rose above even this. In harmony with this conclusion is the outstanding fact that as soon as he appeared in the House of Assembly, all beckoned him to the position of leadership of the Liberal party. His standing among men of well-known talents, learning and culture, armed with his twelve resolutions which he advocated with marked ability, proclaimed him a young man of phenomenal power. It was an admission that, in winning for himself the place of leadership on the red benches, he was judged to be the most extraordinary man of that day. From the Legislature of his native Province, Joseph Howe looked into the future now seen in the retrospect, extending over three-score and ten years. From the time he won his first election until he passed away, mourned as few men are, is found the theatre in which, as a statesman, he acted his part. To be judged fairly, Nova Scotia and her relations to the Colonies about her, to the United States and to Great Britain should be seen as far as possible as they were seen from first to last by this politician of rare promise. This is necessary, if the great questions then essential to the best interests of Nova Scotia and demanding the attention of her statesmen are to be exhibited in full light. Now they are the plain facts of history; but then they were for the eye and hand of the seer and the statesman. An intelligent reader, possessing definite knowledge of the measures which have contributed to the progress and the present high standing of Nova Scotia, who transports himself back to the day when Howe first appeared, and who asks himself what were the measures that should have been undertaken by the man to whom was assigned the leadership of the popular party, is qualified to render a just judgment of Howe's standing as a statesman. For he will see that responsible government and free schools supported by assessment, also the union of the Colonies, then all in the future, were the trinity of subjects on which depended the destiny, not of Nova Scotia alone, but of all the British North American Colonies. Implicit in the last was the then normal relation of the oversea dependencies to the Empire and to the nations of the world. Did Howe see these great subjects? Was he seized of them? Did he respond to their pressing claims? Had he a

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vision of them—the convictions as to their practicability, the skill and the courage to undertake them? Was his first work in the Legislature a disappointment to those who had formed their estimate of him by his phenomenal success in the libel suit? Let the replies of these interrogatives be found in the discussion of Mr. Howe's connection with these great questions.

The first to claim attention is that of responsible government. As has been shown, it was not a new subject in the politics of the Province at the time Mr. Howe began his political career. The fight for the people's rights had been in progress for years, and the contestants were then on the floors of the Legislature. Self-government was a smouldering fire in Nova Scotia. But in the Provinces west, the political heavens were lurid with its flames. Patience had given place to desperation, lawful means had been exchanged for the musket and the sword. This reacted to the disadvantage of the reformers of Nova Scotia; but Howe was neither unsettled nor discouraged. The twelve magistrates had gone down before him, and he resolved that the Council of Twelve, ignoring the rights of the people, should fall before his twelve resolutions. With them he made his first attack. It was a daring venture. Howe, with the people shouting around him, carried off the gates of the Philistine city. Howe, apart from the people, was Samson with his locks cut away. The young Halifax printer, standing on the floor of that old Assembly, surrounded by men of letters and by orators, defiantly reading and discussing his twelve resolutions as twelve battering-rams against a fortress nearly a hundred years old, is an outstanding event in the parliamentary life of Nova Scotia and marks an epoch of great significance. In the principle for which he was contending, there was the fire of stimulus and inspiration; but all unconsciously to himself, he was influenced by an additional incentive. Deep down in Howe's nature was the sentiment, aptly expressed by Burns, "A man's a man, for a' that." The assumptions of the few, flaunted in his face from boyhood, was a chronic irritant to his restless, daring spirit. In uniting with the Liberals in pressing their demands for self-government, this feeling toward the dominant class was mixed with the reasonable demand then urged for the rights of the people in civil government. To him, from boyhood to old age, it was

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the breath of his life to hate and hit the assumption that the few had rights denied to the many. Even after the levelling had been accomplished, this habit degenerated into a foible, often noticed in jests flung at both men and women who indulged in airs of superiority.

In the Legislature, when he found that the dash with his twelve resolutions must be followed by a retreat, this was done with the tact and skill of a practised statesman. His purpose was to overthrow the twelve men of the governing council by his twelve resolutions, as he had discomfited the twelve magistrates by his six hours' speech in the Supreme Court.

Conducted by Howe as leader, the battle raged in quick and sharp action for more than a year. The old Waterloo veteran, Sir Colin Campbell, as Lieutenant-Governor, called to his help J. W. Johnstone. The first stage on the way to securing the rights of the people was then reached. The old Council was soon exchanged for a Legislative and an Executive Council. Howe accepted this simply as an instalment of what was due to the people. He slackened not his hand nor rested on his arms. "Let us have responsible government as they have it in England," was his watchword—an executive directly responsible to the people's assembly. The stage now reached was acute. Johnstone stood in with Mr. Howe in his contention for the principle, but differed with him in method. "Let the attack be made on the British Government and not on the Lieutenant-Governor," said Johnstone. The Imperial authorities have never yet unequivocally commissioned a Lieutenant-Governor to give the people responsible government. Lord Sydenham followed Lord Durham, and a Cabinet was then first formed, responsible to the majority of the Assembly. Howe and two of his followers got places in the Cabinet under Johnstone as Premier. Howe was victorious. The principle of accountable rule, in which the Cabinet was directly responsible to the people's representatives, had been conceded. It now remained to readjust all the parts of the government machinery to this principle. This was done gradually, in harmony with Johnstone's method, between 1840 and 1850. Howe came out of this ordeal clothed with the honour of a patriot, a politician and a statesman. In this initial stage of his political life, he gave promise of a brilliant career that would end in having

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accorded to him statesmanship of the highest order. This is Howe's honourable record in dealing with the first important question of State when he entered public life.

What was the next great measure which confronted him as philanthropist, patriot and statesman?

At this time Prussia's system of education had borne rich fruitage, and all free countries were examining and admiring it. The free system of schools near by in the New England States had begun to roll up equally good results. The intellectual life of the people of that country was the envy and wonder of the world. The Nova Scotia press had published and praised its achievement. The Rev. E. A. Crawley, D.D., and the Rev. Thomas McCully, D.D., among others, had been prominent in the advocacy of a system of free schools for Nova Scotia supported by taxation. Did Howe see, feel and appreciate the importance of this great question? To no man was the vision clearer and fuller than to Joseph Howe. As it was a subject in which was involved the interest, material, social, intellectual and religious, of every citizen, Joseph Howe was the man to see it and to be influenced and even inflamed by it. The illiteracy of Halifax County, outside of the city and Musquodoboit, had been exhibited to his eyes in all its hideousness, in long-drawn-out elections in which he had seen crowds of ignorant men revelling in drunken brutality. Of a large part of the Province the same was true. This stirred his patriotism to its depths. It awakened his thought. He saw the future of Nova Scotia without the education of the masses, and in contrast with this, he saw the intellectual activity and success of the people educated. The contrast was as that of night and day. Joseph Howe came up from the people and knew the value of education. The people were in his heart. Had he special talents for this work before him? Who, after the libel trial and the victory for responsible government, could doubt it? No man in public life at that day or since had talents and qualifications so rich and sufficient for the leader of a campaign for free schools. The character of the subject, too, touched and enlisted the tenderest sympathies of his nature. The battle, had he entered upon it with his colours nailed to the mast, would have stirred him to hot enthusiasm. It would have engaged all his varied and versatile talents, and

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given free play to his unique humour. Had he been seriously opposed, it would have been the few against the many. This would have given him the "open sesame" to the hearts of the people, and he would have had their vehement support. One can almost hear him stirring and rallying the mass of the electors. "These fellows," we can fancy him saying in his blindest manner, "who have for the last hundred years held our fathers in bondage by keeping power in their own hands, now that we have secured self-government, want to shut us up in the regions of the outer darkness of ignorance, that they may fool us and keep us out of our dearly-bought freedom. These monopolists will compel us to pay for the water in our wells, brooks and rivers, and, if possible, they will retail us at a great profit to themselves the very air we breathe." Is all this the mere creation of fancy? In the year following the victory for responsible government, Howe made a speech on free education in his place in the House of Assembly. A glance over it at this day gives a full revelation of his sentiments in 1841. He said:

"Some questions were so broad in their base, so elevated in altitude, and involved so much of the dearest interests of the whole people, that they were raised far above faction and party, and required the gravest consideration of every member. The subject then before the House was one of these. . . . In Nova Scotia education was one of the most important subjects which the Legislature could be called to consider. Compared with it, questions of roads and of fisheries and of politics sank into insignificance, or these were all absorbed in the other.

"Sometimes great questions were carried by pressure from without acting on the Legislature, and sometimes by an intelligent Legislature pressing on the people. He believed the time was hastening when, in either of these ways, the principle would be carried when there would not be throughout the length and breadth of the land a family to which the lights of a common school education would not be accessible. . . . If he could see a large majority of the House declare that education should be within the reach of every family of the Province, that every child should get the rudiments of learning, he would willingly assume the responsibility and would cheerfully retire from the Assembly, if that should be the penalty, satisfied that he, as one, had done good enough; that those with whom he had

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been associated had conferred great blessings on the country, and might leave subsequent legislation to their successors. . . .

"Were not the boundless resources of a young country operated by an almost universal intelligence? What gave an active population to the valley of the Mississippi, to the territory of Texas, to the western prairies, except a surplus of population which had been trained in the common schools of New England? Massachusetts, by its almost universal mental cultivation, was throwing off its swarms to every point of the compass, which were ready to direct and lead the way among new communities. . . .

"In 1817, Prussia was prostrate and exhausted after a long war, and a part of her population were serfs and slaves to the aristocratic classes. She was without the moral machinery necessary for the proper management of her affairs; but she had a wise king and minister, who were not afraid to grapple with difficulties; and as the result, instead of the spread of arms, the almost universal spread of intelligence until, according to statistical returns, there was not an uneducated family in the kingdom. The published facts proved that it was possible to have a whole people educated. . . .

"Many in the House might apprehend the political reaction of ignorance. If his constituents should desert him for adopting assessment, he would return home, pleased and proud, and amply repaid by seeing schoolhouses rising in every direction, and troops of children coming from them with intelligent, beaming faces."

The above was from the eloquent Joseph Howe in 1841, only one year after the principle of responsible government had been wrenched from the British authorities. The benefits of free education were not hidden from his eyes. He not only saw clearly the potential blessings in universal learning, but he had the gift of speech to paint them and spread them out before the eyes of even the dull and undiscerning. The graphic pictures sketched by him were grand and thrilling. But where are the evidences of a serious and resolute purpose beyond the utterance of sound sentiments in eloquent language? Mr. Howe was then a member of the Cabinet. This address was not given to support a government measure. It was not to sustain a bill for free education. Of it no notice had been given. Moreover, it was made near the close of the session. It

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was simply an amendment to the Committee's report on common schools.

All this might be true, and yet this address, given in the circumstances, might have been a wise and tactful beginning of an undertaking worthy of Howe at that day to give no rest to himself, the Legislature or the country until he had secured for the people the inestimable boon of free schools supported by assessment. Between the date of the delivery of this speech and the day that a bill for free education became the law of Nova Scotia, twenty-four slow years passed over the head of Joseph Howe and his country. During that period they carried the disgrace of illiteracy, and swarms of children never crossed the threshold of a schoolhouse. For sixteen of these twenty-four years Joseph Howe was in command of a majority in the House of Assembly. Could Mr. Howe, at that time when prophesying that the day was near at hand when Nova Scotia would enjoy the inestimable blessings of free education, have been told that for twenty-four years he would fail to seriously undertake to secure it, and that while he was delivering his inspiring speech, there was in Edinburgh a young fellow studying medicine, who would appear in that House, and before his eyes and without his help give Nova Scotia a system of free schools based on assessment, and thus reap the honour within his own reach, Joseph Howe would have said, "Is thy servant a dog?"

In view of his treatment of common school education, can intelligent honesty accept the verdict that Joseph Howe was in this either a true patriot or a great statesman? Why did he not undertake the task? Not for lack of vision, not for lack of ability—ability which neither he nor his countrymen underestimated. What of the general who saw the chance to assault and take an enemy's stronghold—a general who was qualified for the task and yet failed in his duty?

In earlier chapters the various phases of the part taken by Mr. Howe in Confederation have been discussed at length. It is, therefore, scarcely necessary in this review to refer, except in a general way, to the facts already considered. Mr. Howe's views of the union of the Colonies were, except in his scheme for the organization of the Empire, and that was a theory so empty that it need not here be seriously taken into account,

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in harmony with the leading statesmen of his day. Late in the autumn of 1864, his judgment seemed to have changed. He then took the ground of an opposer to this national undertaking. He, with others, had treated Confederation as an essential to the normal growth of the Colonies and the Empire. The general opinions then held and advocated were a prediction, now they are interpreted by over forty years of history. First, Mr. Howe accepted the leadership of the opposers of union. After Confederation became law, he acted as guide and captain to the repealers. Then came the break with his old associates, and his uniting with the Dominion Government. By first advocating and then opposing union, he got himself between the nether and upper millstone, where he was ground to powder. Instead of ending his days as the author of a free school system and the leader in confederating the British American Provinces, he failed in both, made way for another to come upon the field and reap the golden harvest, for more than a score of years ripe for his own sickle. For twenty-six years Mr. Howe blessed Confederation, but did nothing to bring it about; for four years he vehemently cursed it. During the last four years of his life he neither blessed nor cursed it; but gave what of strength was left to the Dominion Government in their labours to perfect the union and the work of its early constructive period.

In discussing this part of Mr. Howe's life, a comparison of his views of the union of the Provinces may be made with those of the man who fairly represented the opinion of the Colonial statesmen of that day. In 1865, Sir John A. Macdonald said:

"That England would be the central power, and we auxiliary nations; that Canada, as one confederation, would by degrees have less of dependence and more of alliance than at present; and that we would be all united under the same Sovereign, all owing allegiance to the same Crown, and all inspired by the same British spirit; and that we would have a close alliance, offensive and defensive."

Supplemental to this, he afterwards said:

"In the great war, when Napoleon by the power of his arms had forced the nations of Europe to close their ports against England and English shipping, even then, although England's

Colonies were few and feeble, she fought that battle and carried it to a victorious conclusion, and drove the tyrant from his throne with the aid of the domestic commerce she had with her own Colonies.

“And when all these become great nations, having one head and being one people, and having one interest, England, if all Europe were in arms against her, with her trade, her commerce, and her wealth, with the waves rolling about her feet, would be still secure living in her children and her children blessed in her.”

In his pamphlet, intended to oppose the passage of the British North America Act, Mr. Howe said:

“It is evident that a more unpromising nucleus for a new nation can hardly be found on the face of the earth, and that any organized communities, having a reasonable chance to do anything better, would be politically insane to give up their distinct formations and subject themselves to the domination of Canada.” [Ontario and Quebec are here meant.]

To the accomplishment of one undertaking not indicated in the foregoing, Mr. Howe gave his entire strength. It enlisted all his sympathies and engaged all his talents. In nothing to which he ever put his hand did he display more power. Commissioned by the Local Government, he went to England in 1850 to secure the co-operation of the British Government in building provincial railways. Before going he knew that the English public had no special interest in the matter. His first task was to create public sentiment and conquer the inertia of the Cabinet. This was a huge task for an unknown man, single-handed and from a little colony in America. But in Mr. Howe was the fortitude, the leonine courage equal to this undertaking. He was alone, and falling back upon his own resources, bowed himself to the task. He made a simultaneous appeal to the Government, the Parliament and the country. He did not allow himself to take the attitude of a mendicant agent for the Colonies. He coupled Colonial expansion with the strength and safety of the Empire. The forecast of his letters and speeches was an anticipation of the time of the Boer War. Britain's future depended on colonization and not on sending off her surplus people to swell the population and

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to add to the power of foreign nations. Capital invested in binding together the Provinces of North America by an iron road, and so making room for Irish and British emigrants, would return ample interest to the Motherland in the increased demands for manufactories and in national greatness. This would not escape the notice of other nations. The note of instruction and warning was, prepare for the future in caring for your children. The speech that more than any other arrested the attention of the public and the authorities was the one given at Southampton in 1851. The Government pledged a subsidy for an intercolonial road. Flushed with success, Mr. Howe returned to Halifax. His enthusiasm electrified the public of the Maritime Provinces, and secured promises of co-operation. He then went to Canada, where all opposition yielded to his eloquent and impassioned appeals. A full account of this undertaking may be found in earlier chapters. His scheme was adopted, and success seemed within easy reach. But after returning from Canada to Nova Scotia, when the country was on the tiptoe of expectancy, word came through the Governor-General that the money pledged by the British Government was to be applied to the road from Halifax to Quebec only, and not to the branch from Moncton through St. John to the borders of the State of Maine. Unfortunately, Mr. Howe's plan included assistance in building this branch. His scheme collapsed. Never in his life had Mr. Howe been cut to the heart with disappointment and chagrin so bitter and humiliating.

At this time and for the purpose in hand, it is not necessary to inquire for the responsibility of this misunderstanding. It cost Mr. Howe sleepless nights. But this hitch in the undertaking in no way detracts from the greatness of the supreme effort made for its accomplishment. Had not the plan been wrecked as it was, there is a high degree of assurance that the building of the intercolonial road would have preceded Confederation, and necessarily would have led to it. Had this been the case, the name of Joseph Howe would have been connected with this national work, and it would have stood for all time as a monument to his greatness as a Canadian statesman. It might here be safe to say that, at this time, no man in Canada could have captured the attention of the British

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public and carried this enterprise to the stage to which Mr. Howe carried it. Moreover, it now seems narrow and short-sighted in the British Government to have wrecked the undertaking because of this misunderstanding.

The ranking of Joseph Howe among the great men of his day is no easy task. His talents were so varied and versatile, his influence and work so mixed, subtle and far-reaching, that a just judgment becomes exceedingly difficult, if not impossible.

A paragraph from the address of Lord Rosebery at the centenary of the poet Burns is here apposite and illuminating to the judgment, in any attempt to form a just estimate of one of Nova Scotia's distinguished men :

" I should like to go a step further, and affirm that we have something to be grateful for even in the weakness of men like Burns. . . . Mankind is helped in its progress almost as much by the study of imperfection as by the contemplation of perfection. Had we nothing before us in our futile and halting lives but saints and the ideal, we might well fail altogether. We grope blindly among the catacombs of the world, we climb the dark ladder of life, we feel our way to futurity, but we can scarcely see an inch around or before us; we stumble and falter and fall, our hands and knees are bruised and sore, and we look up for light and guidance. Could we see nothing but distant, unapproachable impeccability, we might well sink prostrate in the hopelessness of emulation and the weariness of despair. . . . Man, after all, is not ripened by virtue alone. Were it so, the world were a paradise of angels. Not like the growth of the earth, he is the fruit of all seasons, the accident of a thousand accidents, a living mystery, moving through the seen to the unseen. He is sown in dishonour; he is matured under all the varieties of heat and cold; in snow and vapours, in the melancholy of autumn, in the torpor of winter, as well as in the rapture and fragrance of summer, of the balmy affluence of the spring, its breath, its sunshine, its dew. And at the end he is reaped—the product, not of one climate, but of all; not of good alone, but of evil; not of joy alone, but of sorrow—perhaps mellowed and ripened, perhaps stricken and withered and sour. How, then, shall we judge anyone?"

The subjoined extracts are taken from a very interesting sketch of Joseph Howe's life, written by the late Rev. Prin-

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cipal Grant. Referring to his attitude toward Confederation, Dr. Grant says:

"But scarcely was the Quebec scheme published when a formidable opposition sprang up in the Maritime Provinces. Which side would Howe be on? everybody asked. . . .

"There can be little doubt that if he had gone to Charlotte-town and Quebec as one of the delegates, he would have thrown himself heartily into the project, and made his mark on the proposed constitution. . . . The next thing he heard was that the Quebec scheme had been completed to the minutest detail and published to the world. The egg had been hatched, not by the hen that laid it, but by some fancy steam process. The ship had been launched without the presence of the designer. He heard at the same time that the people of the Lower Provinces generally were averse to the scheme, and that many were already arrayed in downright opposition. What was he to do? . . . Was he to help, to be the lieutenant of Dr. Tupper, the man who had taken the popular breeze out of his sails, who had politically annihilated him for a time; and with whom, too, his contest had been mainly personal, for no great political question had been involved between them; or was he to put himself at the head of old friends and old foes, regain his proper place, and steer the ship in his own fashion? In the circumstances, only a hero could have done his duty. There are few heroes in the world, and it is doubtful if modern statecraft conduces to make men heroic. Only one that can lose his life, finds it."

Of Mr. Howe's principles, Dr. Grant has this:

"And Howe was an egotist. Friends and colleagues had known his weakness before, but had scarce ventured to speak of it in public. In his Cabinets he had suffered no rival. To those who submitted he was sweet as summer. He would give everything to or for them, keeping nothing for himself. They might have the pelf if he had the power. Proposals that did not emanate from himself got scant justice in council or caucus. . . .

"This egotism, which long-feeding on popular applause had developed into a vanity almost incomprehensible in a man so strong, was not known to the outside world. But if we live long enough, our sin, though if it be only what the world calls

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weakness, will find us out. It found him when consistency, when duty said, 'Go and help your enemy'; and self spoke in his almost savage language to an old colleague, 'Let the devil kill his own meat.'

The character of the reception given Mr. Howe in Halifax after accepting a place in the Dominion Cabinet is thus described:

"For ten days the only fact that was made to stand out before all eyes was that the leader of the anti-confederate and repeal party had taken office under Sir John A. Macdonald. The cry was raised: 'Howe has sold himself; Howe is a traitor.' They condemned him unheard. And when he returned to Halifax, old friends crossed the street to avoid speaking to him, and young friends, who once would have felt honoured by a word, walked as close before or behind him as possible, that he might hear their insults."

It is a very delicate and, indeed, an impossible task for mortal man to draw an unerring line, marking the boundary between the righteous and the unrighteous. Of Mr. Johnstone it can be said that he honoured his profession of personal piety. He was a slave to the principles of revealed religion as he understood them. But Mr. Howe did not hold membership in any Christian Church. He was, as he said of himself, "a sort of a Presbyterian." Although he did not sustain to any Christian denomination a membership relation, yet it does not on that account follow that he was not a Christian man. The communities are now divided into communicants and non-communicants of churches, but no unprejudiced mind can accept this division as that of the sheep from the goats. If it were so, then it would follow that there are a good many very good goats and a large number of very bad sheep.

Dr. Grant, well known as a minister of generous sentiments and broad charity, was Mr. Howe's pastor. Of this member of his congregation, Dr. Grant says:

"Something more excellent than even a college was within his reach had he only been wise enough to understand and possess it as his own. . . . Passion spoke in his soul, and he heard and loved the sweet voices of nature, and of men and women. Not that the whispers of heaven were unheard in his

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soul. No; nor were they disregarded; but they were not absolutely and implicitly obeyed. And so, like the vast crowd, all through life he was partly the creature of impulse and partly the servant of principle. Often it would have been difficult for himself to say which was uppermost in him. Had he attained to unity and harmony of nature he could have been a poet, or a statesman of the old heroic type. But he did not attain, for he did not seek with the whole heart. And he puzzled others, because he had never read the riddle of himself. . . .

X "Vex not his ghost: O let him pass; he hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer."

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CHAPTER LXIII.

THE LARGER FIELD.

WHEN on the 30th of March, 1869, Joseph Howe was sworn in as President of the Dominion Cabinet, the four years' anti-confederate war virtually came to an end. The surrender of Lee terminated the Civil War in the United States; the surrender of Howe closed the hard-fought battle between Nova Scotia unionists and anti-unionists. After this date some guerilla performances took place in the Provincial Legislature, but all the Nova Scotia members except two or three had accepted the arrangements made by Mr. Howe for better financial terms and withdrawn their opposition to the union. Those objecting were defeated in the election of 1872. The struggle, however, was not barren of good results. It proved to be a school in which more than one Canadian learned useful lessons—a training school for statesmen. The previous nine years in the Nova Scotia Legislature had been for Dr. Tupper a natural and important preliminary preparation for the richer and broader field of study in practical statesmanship. He was brought into intimate relations with English statesmen—men trained to deal with great national and international questions. Their public manners, their styles of oratory, various orders of mind, their open honesty, policies, weaknesses and strength, engaged his attention and employed his powers of observation and judgment. Of all who shared these advantages no one received greater benefit than Charles Tupper. In seeing, hearing, appropriating and digesting, he was swift and thorough. His rare faculty of measuring men and judging great questions was employed to good advantage.

During this period he also came into close relations with a large number of Canadian statesmen. This was the beginning of an important period of strenuous co-operative labours. In the early sessions of the Dominion Parliament he found him-

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self associated with George E. Cartier, Edward Blake, Alexander Mackenzie, A. T. Galt, L. S. Huntington, R. J. Cartwright and Francis Hincks—men who had already become distinguished in the western part of the Dominion.

Compared with the work then on the hands of the makers of the Dominion of Canada, the politics of Nova Scotia shrink into comparative insignificance. The latter had been the management of a mere sailboat. Now a huge ship is to be built, launched, rigged, manned and sent to sea. Every responsible and intelligent builder heard within him and without the voice, "Take heed how you build. The fire of the future will try every man's work, of what sort it is. Wood, hay, stubble have no place in the foundation of this young nationality."

For the twelve years in the little Parliament of his native Province, Dr. Tupper, whether in the minority or majority, was a recognized power. The railway policy, which had been timid, halting and irresolute in the hands of Joseph Howe, when transferred to the hands of Dr. Tupper became bold, positive and progressive. Under Mr. Howe's premiership, from 1859 to 1863, there was no progress. During the following four years, Dr. Tupper extended the road to Truro and Pictou. For a quarter of a century Joseph Howe had been responsible for the free education of the country, but very little was accomplished. In the hands of Dr. Tupper it took the shape, as if by magic, of schools sustained by assessment, and open to every family in the Province.

How the opposition to Confederation was managed by him has already been told in detail. The first heavy battle for the union issued in a signal victory for Charles Tupper. Howe and nearly every other member from Nova Scotia finally began to co-operate with him in building and managing the new nation. Here ends one era in Dr. Tupper's life, and here begins another. Will he be able, surrounded by men sent from all parts of the new Dominion, to hold to them the same relations he had maintained with the best that Nova Scotia had sent to her Legislature, or will it become necessary for him to take a second place, submit his judgment to stronger men, content himself with offering criticisms and opinions, while others guide and manage the affairs of the country? In a fair and thorough examination of the earlier and later years of the

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evolution of the Canadian nationality may be found the true replies to these interrogatives.

His special work during the forty days of the first Parliament in the autumn of 1867 was to oppose the anti-confederates, led by Mr. Howe. The material used in his letter to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, and in the joint debate with Mr. Howe at Truro, on the eve of the election of 1867, was again employed in the Commons, with the result now well known. His next appearance in the House was in 1869, with Mr. Howe co-operating with the Government, and finally a member of it, while he sat simply as one of Nova Scotia's representatives.

It was then too early for the House of Commons to have formed an intelligent and independent judgment of him. He was yet to be judged and his rank fixed. Western men chose to form their own opinions of men from the East, which, according to a very appreciative article in *The Mail*, Toronto, that appeared about this time, they had already begun to do. Of Dr. Tupper the writer of this article said:

"The Province of Nova Scotia is the oldest Colonial possession in British America. Though small in extent, it has given birth to several very distinguished men. Beleher, the eminent Arctic explorer; Williams, the hero of Kars; Inglis, the intrepid defender of Lucknow, first saw the light in Nova Scotia. Her prominent public men for the last half-century have possessed accomplishments and displayed abilities which would have commanded respect and admiration in a far wider arena than that which they were destined to occupy. The geographical position of the peninsula, stretching out its arms, as it were, towards England, and particularly of its capital, Halifax, as a great military and naval station, gave it immense social advantages, bringing its citizens into intimate contact with men not only of high position, but frequently of European reputation. This gave a tone to society and a general courtliness of manner to the high classes of the community scarcely to be found in any other Colonial capital. The polish in the majority of cases was, of course, only on the outside, but when to this was added, as now and then happened, great natural ability and high culture, the Nova Scotian so endowed was able to take his place and uphold it with effect and dignity, no matter what that position was.

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"The subject of our present address is a good illustration of the type of colonist we have referred to. Although educated for the medical profession, in which he attained at an early period a very high reputation and a lucrative practice, the bent of his mind was strongly in the direction of public life. The fame and masterly eloquence of such men as the present venerable Judge in Equity,* the present Chief Justice,† and the Hon. Joseph Howe, who was, perhaps, the greatest power in Nova Scotia, fired his ambition, while the consciousness of the strength that was in him gave him confidence in his capability, and a hope well justified by the result, that he would one day occupy a position not inferior to the best and most brilliant among them. With an audacity which the consciousness of his strength alone could justify, the young politician bearded the leader of the Liberal party in his own stronghold and defeated him. Like the younger Pitt, he had no sooner taken his seat in the House of Assembly than he became, after his veteran and venerable chief, the leading spirit in it. His winged words, his affluence of language, his wonderful memory, combined with subtlety of thought and solidity of matter, gave him at once a power and an influence in the House second to no man in it. From the first he gave abundant proof of his capability to be the leader of a great party. Impetuous, but tenacious of purpose, he joined to an iron will a tact and resource which generally foiled his opponents, even when sure they had him in their toils. In his earlier public career he was the terror of his enemies, from his power of invective, which was sometimes terrible. The fire still remains. He can still strike home and strike hard, but has long since ceased to wield invective as a weapon of offence. When wantonly attacked, however, the old spirit asserts itself, and there is not perhaps a man in the House of Commons to-day who could venture on such an attack with impunity. As a debater, in the estimation of many he is the foremost man in the House. His voice is clear and strong, his intonation peculiarly distinct, and although his utterance when warmed with his subject is vehement and rapid, no one is better heard nor more easily followed than the President of the Council. He has not the humour and abundant pleasantry of Mr. Howe—he is too earnest to be much given to laughter—yet his hits are many, and never miss their aim. A man, however, may be

* J. W. Johnstone. † Sir W. Young.

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both a ready debater and acute reasoner and yet have very poor qualifications as a Minister or leader. To be really successful in public life, a politician must be something more than eloquent. He must be a business man, and possess an intuitive knowledge of human character. Some men are to be led, others may be driven. A well-timed compliment or act of kindness, though little in itself, will win over many, while there are a few who can only be gained by arguments of a more substantial character. To know how to deal with men, to gain their confidence in an honourable manner, without exciting suspicion or wounding their sensibility, is a quality as rare as it is invaluable in a public man. The late Lord Palmerston possessed it in an eminent degree. Disraeli has it, but to a less extent; while Gladstone lacks it altogether. Sir John A. Macdonald has long been conspicuous for this natural gift, which must be inborn and cannot be created by any amount of cultivation. Dr. Tupper possesses it to an extent inferior only to that of the leader of the Government. He has method, industry, the power of application in a very high degree. If he makes a promise right out, it will go hard with him if he does not keep his word. His judgment of men is seldom at fault. He knows with tolerable correctness what a man can do, and how far he is likely to do it, and therefore to be useful in aiding his public policy. He is a fast friend and a formidable enemy. He is, therefore, both loved and dreaded to a degree not very usual even with public men. No man has been the recipient of more virulent abuse, or the object of more vindictive malice, but the foul stream has rolled past him without soiling his public character. It has neither affected his usefulness nor impaired his influence.

“The leading qualities of his mind as a public man are clearness and rapidity of thought and promptness in action. His public speeches are an index at once of the character of his intellect and his constitutional temperament. His words are poured out like an ocean, but you will listen in vain for either verbiage or repetition—the sentences flow on clear and keen, full of thought, bristling with argument, and crushing in force and vigour of expression. When he speaks he always commands and retains the hushed attention of the House, unless interrupted by the ‘Hear, hear,’ of the Opposition, to give assurance that they at least are not converted. Dr. Tupper, when Provincial Secretary and leader of the Nova Scotia Government, was the author of many important

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measures, the principal one being the School Bill, which gave free education to every child in the Province. With the assistance of the Hon. Adams Archibald, he had the Act passed by which Nova Scotia entered the union. He well knew what would be the temporary consequences of that course to himself and his party; but believing in the vital importance of the measure, and in the effect it was destined to have on the best interests of his Province, of the united Colonies and the Empire at large, he never faltered for a moment. As he anticipated, the election that followed, for the time being, annihilated his party, he being the only candidate returned to the House of Commons. The ordeal was severe, but he did not flinch before it. Though possessing claims upon the general Government that were overwhelming, he completed the sacrifice by voluntarily standing aside, refusing either place or emolument. He might have been a Minister of the Crown, but looking only to the consolidation of the confederation, he insisted that the office should be given to Sir Edward Kenny. He was offered the position of chairman of the Intercolonial Railway Board of Commissioners, an office of large emolument and extensive patronage, but he did not choose to be shelved, even temporarily, as a public man, and preferred to remain an independent supporter of the Government without office. That position he held for some time with great honour to himself, wielding a vast influence in the House, at once by his brilliant powers in debate and in the spirit and consistency he showed by self-sacrifice of place and power for a season, and the firm maintenance of those principles which had shaped the policy of his whole public career.

“ Like nearly every public man who has risen to eminence in these Colonies through the influence of great ability, each step in his progress upward had been marked by the calumny and detraction of known and unknown enemies. In his case it has been pre-eminently so. His character and public reputation have been assailed with a persistent and vindictive malice scarcely paralleled in political warfare. Edmund Burke, nearly a century ago, remarked that there was no surer proof of the increasing influence of a public man than the measure of abuse heaped upon him in the newspapers. Fear is closely allied to hatred, and it is natural to abuse, when it can be done safely, those whose abilities and influence stand resolutely in the way of personal ambition and individual aggrandizement. Such has been the case with the subject of our sketch, but the

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contest was not an equal one. Anonymous assailants have thrown at him the vilest language—these he has disdained to notice even with a word; but wherever or whenever either charge or insinuation has been made openly or in his presence, he has met it on the instant and ground the life out of it, to the confusion of its author, and that with a force, manliness and courage which have never failed to carry conviction to every honourable mind of the integrity of his purpose and the malice of his assailants.

“As a debater, Dr. Tupper shines equally in attacking and defending a position. He gauges the strength and weakness of an adversary with great correctness. His facts, arguments and illustrations are always at his call and always under command, and are sent home with an effect which is always telling. In his most fervid moments his judgment is cool, and he seldom makes a rash or even an unguarded statement. His style is full and flowing, his language direct and incisive, always clear and correct, but, unlike that of Mr. Blake, seldom flowing or adorned with the figures of rhetoric. Both have power, but in tact, in vigour, in readiness and resource, there is no comparison between the two men.

“The President of the Council is still in the prime of life, vigorous alike in mind and body. He is a man of fine presence and intrepid bearing, with a look indicating great decision of character. There is unmistakable firmness in his mouth, but perfect ease and frankness, amounting to cordiality, in his manner. His speech, both in debate and conversation, is always earnest and animated. As a public man, he is now one of the greatest powers in the House of Commons, and is probably destined to wield a still greater and wider influence as a Dominion statesman.”

It was from the first apparent that Dr. Tupper was not in the Commons to make a reputation, but was there to do hard, aggressive work. He could not be accused of disrespect to men of either party. His plainness of speech, however, convinced all who heard him that, in forming his opinions on the great questions then occupying the attention of the Parliament, while giving due weight to the views of others, whatever their standing, it was by exercising his own judgment that he arrived at his conclusions. In a very short time all were convinced that his distinct views, uttered with

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clearness and confidence, were broad-based on independent thinking and self-reliance. He judged the judgment of others with phenomenal force and courage. At the time his previously avowed opinions had been to the effect that the union would give a higher standing to the Provinces; that their credit would be greater; the trade between them much increased, to mutual advantage; that union was essential to their greatest progress and largest growth; that the character of the representation would secure justice to each Province; the consolidation would make defence easier and more efficient; and that it would elevate the position and strengthen the credit of each Province.

The Intercolonial road was then making substantial progress. The turning out to drill of five thousand Nova Scotia militiamen was given by Mr. Howe as evidence of their acceptance of the union. Even the *Morning Chronicle* admitted at this date that "it was the policy of the people of Nova Scotia to make the best of union while it lasted." Dr. Tupper was heard on the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, the Intercolonial railroad and the purchase of the North-West Territory and the loan of £600,000 sterling to pay the bill. The better terms came up for sanction. Dr. Tupper replied to Mr. Blake's speech opposing the agreement for better financial terms for Nova Scotia. Howe showed that the decision of the Dominion Parliament would require the sanction of the Imperial Government, and if it was, as Mr. Blake contended, unconstitutional, it would fail to receive the assent of the Crown. Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier pointed out the injurious character of the course taken by Mackenzie and Blake, and stated that the Dominion Parliament could do as it pleased with its own money, and, moreover, the matter had been referred by the Imperial Government to the Parliament of Canada for justice in readjustment.

Not until Dr. Tupper appeared in the Commons as a member of the Government, which he joined in July, 1870, did the Parliament and country west get a view of him in the limelight. Sir Edward Kenny resigned his seat in the Cabinet to become the administrator of the Government in Nova Scotia, to fill in the time between the departure of Sir Fenwick Williams and the coming of Sir Hastings Doyle. The conditions laid down at first by Dr. Tupper, that he would not enter the Cabinet

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until he had a following in Nova Scotia to justify it, had now been made good. In these circumstances, at the urgent request of the Premier, he accepted the Presidency of the Council. In the session of 1870, he therefore appeared for the first time as a Minister of the Crown. It devolved upon him to justify the acceptance of this post of responsibility.

Mr. Howe, who wished to show that he was supported by the Nova Scotia members, requested A. W. Savary, afterwards Judge Savary, to move the address in reply to the Governor-General's speech, which he did on the 17th of February, 1870. Speeches were given on the address by Mr. Scriver, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir A. T. Galt, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Macdougall, Edward Blake, Sir Francis Hincks, Mr. Mason (of Terrebonne), Mr. Mackenzie Bowell and Alexander Mackenzie.

After Sir A. T. Galt, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Macdougall, Mr. Mason (of Terrebonne) and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, all former supporters of the Government, had attacked Sir John Macdonald, Dr. Tupper followed Mr. Alexander Mackenzie with a speech in defence of the Government, of which he was not then a member, as follows:

"Hon. Dr. Tupper said that he was sure that the friends of the Government must have listened with great satisfaction to the speech just delivered by the leader of the Opposition. But able and exhaustive as it undoubtedly was, it was singularly deficient in facts to sustain the strong terms of obloquy which the honourable member applied to the administration. He entirely concurred in the statement just made, that the country owed the great measure of Confederation to the Reform party of Ontario, without whose co-operation it certainly could not have been carried. Nothing had ever reflected greater honour upon the leading public men of both the great parties, who had so long and so fiercely struggled with each other, than the fact that in the presence of a great necessity they had forgotten what was due to party, in order that they might accomplish an important measure indispensable to the progress, prosperity and security of their common country. If there was any foundation for the statement of the honourable member for Lambton as to the present critical condition of our country, he must see that the same necessity existed for the patriotic combination of those who, in the first place, sacrificed party

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considerations for the accomplishment of the Confederation of British North America. He was persuaded, notwithstanding the remarks of the hon. gentleman who had just spoken, that the great Reform party, who had sacrificed so much at the shrine of patriotism since the inception of the measure, would not recede from the position they had assumed when they declared, in the face of the people, that they would forget for a time the duty they owed to party, and combine with those with whom, throughout their political career, they had been placed in a position of the strongest antagonism. It was only necessary to listen to the remarks of the hon. gentleman to see that the reasons which impelled the heads of the great parties in this country to combine and forget their previous hostility towards each other, still existed to impel them to preserve the same unflinching attitude which they believed the best interests of the people demanded. Did the hon. gentleman wish the people to believe that this question was settled, when he told the House in such forcible terms that the Province of Nova Scotia was still disaffected, and that the North-West Territory was in the midst of an insurrection? Was the hon. gentleman, under such circumstances, prepared to light the torch of party discord, and return to the state of things that existed before the formation of that political combination which had already achieved so much for the country at large? The House would not forget how, in the struggle for party ascendancy, denomination had been arrayed against denomination, nationality against nationality, section against section, until the credit of Canada was dragged down to the lowest ebb, and the credit of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also imperilled and, indeed, materially affected by the same causes. He regretted that the Hon. Mr. Brown, to whom honour would ever be accorded for the part he took in the inception of the coalition which had brought about such great results, should have thought proper, at the most critical moment of our political history, to withdraw his support and co-operation from a Government framed upon principles so elevated and so essential to the best interests of the country. From the very first hour they came into power they had steadily kept in view the patriotic object which they had pledged themselves to accomplish. He had listened with the deepest attention to the criticism of gentlemen who had been former supporters of the Government, as well as those who were their persistent opponents. They had pronounced

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the efforts of coalition to advance the great measure of Confederation entirely ineffective. He defied those honourable gentlemen to show in what respects there had been a failure. He would like them to point to the pages of history and show where as much had been done in as short a time in the case of any similar measure of national importance. That measure had consolidated four millions of people who had been previously separated in different Provinces, embracing a territory of nearly four hundred thousand square miles, exclusive of the North-West. The political systems of the Provinces had been changed and brought under one Government without a single blow being struck. Instead of resulting in failure, the combination of parties had led to the most magnificent success. In the Province of Nova Scotia a great change had been effected in a remarkably short time; it was only necessary to compare its present condition with that which it occupied when he first stood up to address that House, to see what the wise policy of the administration had accomplished. A calm and impartial review of the present situation of the Confederation, from one end to the other, would at once show that a great revolution had been effected peacefully and successfully through the statesmanlike efforts of the men who had combined with the most patriotic aims in view. As respects the North-West difficulty, he entertained the most sanguine expectations that it would be speedily arranged most satisfactorily. This opinion was based on information he had derived from the visit he had been able to pay that country only a few weeks previously. He had the pleasure of passing some days within the territory itself, and some weeks in a section of country characterized by similar natural features and resources; and he must say that his opinion of the capabilities of the country had been considerably elevated. He had listened with great pain to the remarks that had fallen from the honourable member for Terrebonne. The position that that honourable gentleman had assumed with respect to that delicate question was untenable, and calculated to sacrifice the best interests of the Dominion. That territory afforded a field of immigration that could not be found in any other part of British America. At an early day the House would have the satisfaction of knowing that, by the annexation of the North-West, they had not only strengthened the position of the British North American Confederation, but opened up a country to energy

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and enterprise which would bring incalculable wealth to the Dominion. The remarks of the honourable member for Terrebonne were calculated to paralyze the efforts of the Government to settle the question in a manner most conducive to the public interests. Was he prepared to thwart the progress of negotiations, that were being conducted with a fair prospect of success, by declaring that under no circumstances the use of force would be justifiable? When every effort for conciliation had failed, then the authority of the Crown must be vindicated. Such observations as the honourable gentleman had made were calculated to engender mischief, while the true spirit of statesmanship was shown in the Address, to which reference had been made, and that was, that the Government would exhaust everything in the power of man in order to obtain a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the difficulty. He was proud to be able to say, after having had an introduction to Mr. Riel in council at Fort Garry, and discussing in the frankest manner possible the whole question with some of his principal advisers, that he believed the negotiations now in progress would end in the peaceful acquisition of the territory, upon terms alike satisfactory to the insurgents and advantageous to the Dominion. He did not hesitate to admit that his sympathies were largely excited, upon looking at the question from the same point of view as the insurgents, and when he found how grievously they had been misled and how ill-advised they had been. He had no doubt whatever that when they found that the spirit of the free Canadian Parliament would not permit anything like injustice to govern in any part of the Dominion, they would readily agree to a satisfactory solution of the whole difficulty. Was it then right for the hon. member for Lambton, when interests of such vital importance were trembling in the balance, to throw down the gauntlet of party discord, and sacrifice the great interests of the country to the mere question of 'who shall administer public affairs?'

Mr. Mackenzie asked whether the party which the honourable gentleman represented was not the one which had been strengthened.

"Hon. Dr. Tupper did not understand the honourable member. Conservative as he had been, he could point to his past history to prove that during his whole political career there was not a single measure calculated to increase the power of the people, or to ensure the purity of elections and the

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fullest expression of public sentiment, which he had not assisted in placing on the statute book of Nova Scotia. Did the honourable member then mean to say he (Dr. Tupper) was not a member of the Liberal party? He could put his own record against that of the most sincere and ardent Liberal in the House."

Mr. Mackenzie was willing to take the honourable member on his own ground. The Government existed as a combination of parties confessedly with the approval of the honourable member for Cumberland. Now the Premier had himself lit the fire of discord by having altered the compact, and made one element stronger than he should.

"Hon. Dr. Tupper—Had not a valid reason been given for the course pursued? Now he had heard a good deal about the story of parties, and especially about the appointment of the Hon. Finance Minister. He confessed he would have preferred to have seen some other gentleman appointed to the position; the sympathy of the House was naturally with those who had been engaged, side by side, in conducting public affairs for years. But he would wish to see the prominent Reformer on the opposite side who would have been willing to accept that portfolio. ('Hear, hear,' from the Opposition.) If the honourable member for Lambton would modify his views a little, he would be quite able to accept the position. He was prepared to pay his tribute of justice to the honourable member for having, again and again, risen superior to the demands of the party, and come to the rescue of the Government on questions which his judgment told him he should support. Under existing circumstances the Premier was obliged to fall back on the assistance of a gentleman who throughout his political life had been identified with the Reformers of Upper Canada. The honourable member for Lambton undoubtedly held patriotic views on the question of Confederation, but whilst that was the case with respect to himself, he was surrounded by those who were in antagonism to that great measure. It might be said that the Minister of Agriculture and Immigration had formerly opposed the scheme with great ability, but he as well as others had changed or modified their views when they found they could not continue to advocate them with reference to the public interests or their own reputations as statesmen. Was Confederation to be considered a failure when it could be

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shown that its ablest opponents in the country had seen the error of their ways and combined to promote it? It was worthy of notice that whilst the former opponents of union came to this side of the House so soon as they decided to uphold our constitution, those whose views were antagonistic to our system of government, immediately joined the ranks of the Opposition. He could not understand the position taken by the honourable member for Sherbrooke. It would have been equally reasonable for him (Dr. Tupper) to have gone into Opposition, because Mr. Howe, who had long been a political opponent, had been taken into the Government. Was it to be supposed that after fourteen years of political antagonism the honourable Secretary of State was to him the most acceptable person for Minister? But he had felt that he must sacrifice any personal or party feeling he might have had, and give his cordial assent to the introduction of the honourable gentleman to the Government. When Mr. Howe had found that all his efforts to thwart union were useless, and the only result of continued agitation would be to injure his country, he recognized the necessity of receding from his position of uncompromising hostility, and declared his determination to carry forward the great work which had been undertaken. Under these circumstances he (Dr. Tupper) felt bound to be just to the honourable gentleman and the Government of which he was a member. Certainly he could not appreciate the course of the honourable member for Sherbrooke with respect to the Finance Minister. The honourable member for Lambton was certainly right when he laid down the principle that the arrangements with regard to a Cabinet were entitled to the fullest examination; and indeed it might be even urged that the conduct of gentlemen called upon to give their services to the Crown was open to the candid criticism of members of the House. He could not understand the position of an honourable gentleman like the member for Sherbrooke, who had professed to be an ardent friend of Confederation, and yet at this stage come forward and attempt to retard its progress simply because he did not approve of a certain appointment before the gentleman in question had an opportunity of coming before Parliament and proving his capacity. The reasons of the honourable member for his present attitude, the more carefully they were considered, would be found based on fallacious premises and leading to most injurious results. It was certainly amusing to

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compare his line of argument with that of the honourable member for Lambton; the one declared that the scheme of Confederation was now organized; the other, that it was all disorganized. The hon. member for Sherbrooke had taken a step calculated to embarrass his colleagues, and place them in a most unfortunate position, when, on the eve of the first meeting of this Parliament, he left them without a budget, assigning private and personal reasons. Now, the hon. member said that it was not personal or private reasons which induced him to go into Opposition, but a difference in matters of public policy. He (Dr. Tupper) admitted that any honourable member had a perfect right, in vindication of his own honour as a public man, to refuse to support any Government on a question of great public importance when he sincerely differed from them. But he denied that any honourable member had a right to give his hearty support to a measure, and place it on the statute book, and then come forward and state that as the reason for receding from his support of a Government. Now, if the hon. member for Sherbrooke believed that it was injudicious to entrust the power given by the Intercolonial Railway Act to the Government, how was it that he had never expressed his opinions before? The hon. gentleman owed it to the House and country honestly to explain his views, and press what he considered to be the best policy; but was it becoming for a man who had voted for a measure to come forward at the last moment and assign it as the motive for endeavouring to break down a Government which was engaged in carrying forward the greatest public undertaking which had ever been before this House and country? The hon. gentleman had also expressed his dissent from the policy of the Government respecting Newfoundland. Was it to be expected that the gentleman opposite, who had found fault with the Government for offering too liberal concessions to the island, would turn round now and say that the Administration had not gone far enough? Was the hon. member for Sherbrooke to blame the Government for carrying out the policy of the Imperial Act to which he had been a party? Was he now prepared to assail a policy on which he had given his late friends a hearty support? The House would remember that in the only case in which the hon. gentleman had come into antagonism last session with the Government, he had been successful, for in the face of the opposition which he and others on the Government side offered to the banking measure, it was abandoned; and

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now there was every reason to believe a modified plan would be offered for the acceptance of Parliament. He was glad the honourable member for Sherbrooke had gone to the opposite side of the House, and he had no hesitation in explaining the reason. No one had a more exalted opinion of the honourable member's talents than he had himself—no one recognized more thoroughly his great experience and eloquence; but, nevertheless, he believed the time had come when the fact of the honourable gentleman having crossed the floor would be a source of strength to the Government and of weakness to any Opposition with whom he might ally himself. The honourable member has said that he was going over to those who differed from him—with whom he had no sympathy—simply because he was ready to join anybody and everybody who would combine with him to strike down the Government. He (Dr. Tupper) for one, with all his opinion of the honourable gentleman's ability, must be forgiven if he refused to follow a man who was engaged one moment in supporting the Government, and at the next instant was found calling upon his friends and opponents to assist him in breaking it down, at the same time offering no reasons but acts to which he himself had been a party. The honourable gentleman must not expect to place others in an equally false position with himself, for he would find himself unable to induce men of judgment and consistency to follow him, when he had openly declared his desire to wreck the ship which he had before piloted, upon any shore without reference to the character of the wreckers into whose hands it might fall. But there was still a greater reason why he was glad the honourable member had gone over to the other side, and that was because the honourable member had done that which evinced his desire to strike down the constitution of the country. The moment the honourable member was regarded in this country as the apostle of independence, he could not consistently remain with those who are the firm supporters of the system of Confederation—who believe that that system will build up a great British American nationality, and, at the same time, perpetuate the ties that now bind us to the parent State. The sooner, therefore, the hon. member left the Government side the better; he would tell the hon. member for Lambton why it was the party with which he was now associated was called the 'disunion party.' Whenever a man wished to undermine the constitution he took his place on the opposite side; whenever he found his position untenable and wished to

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preserve the constitution intact he crossed to the Government benches and assisted in building up a great nationality on this side of the Atlantic. He rejoiced that the day had now passed when anyone could taunt the Government for having among their supporters a man who was unfriendly to Confederation, and was engaged in dragging it down, in order that he might substitute a weak and spurious independence in its stead.

"There was another question on which he held very strong opinions, and to which he called the attention of the honourable member for Lambton as well as the House. He would ask the honourable gentleman whether he considered it advantageous to the best interests of the country that the Dominion of Canada should long remain in its present humiliating attitude with regard to its trade relations with the United States. He had always felt, he should say at the outset, that the most peaceable and friendly relations should exist between the Dominion and the United States, and with that object in view he had favoured the reciprocal interchange of the natural productions of both countries. He was not prepared to go as far as the honourable member for Hochelaga, who was ready to advocate reciprocity in manufactured as well as raw products, but he could not endorse the policy that now obtained. It was well known that the treaty which formerly existed between British America and the United States had operated in a most satisfactory manner for both countries. It was well known, however, that the balance of trade was uniformly in favour of the United States, but, nevertheless, the Congress of that country repealed the treaty. When that occurred he (Dr. Tupper), as the leader of the Government of Nova Scotia, maintained the necessity of our meeting them on their own ground. The Imperial Government desired and the Government of Canada conceded that instead of meeting the Americans with a retaliatory measure as the best means of obtaining a renewal of the treaty, we should act in a conciliatory spirit. All our efforts, however, to induce them to change their policy had failed, and they still adhere to their restrictive commercial system. Was the hon. member for Lambton, or anyone else on the opposite side, prepared to continue a policy which had been all on one side, after the experience of the past four years, and the recent statement of the President to Congress, that the Government of the United States were opposed to reciprocal trade, because it was solely in the interests of the British producer? Were those honourable gentlemen prepared to sacrifice the best interests of the

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country in order to assist the Americans in carrying out what they admitted was not a *commercial* but a *political* policy? While the Provinces had been suffering from the restrictive policy of the Americans—whilst we had surrendered for literally nothing our magnificent fishing grounds, so valuable when considered in connection with our shipping interests, our commerce and the training for sailors, we had been allowing our neighbours to send in their products free, or at a nominal duty, and giving them reason to suppose that we would not, or dare not, act in a different spirit towards them. Was that a policy to be supported by any free man in British America? Should we allow the best interests of the country to be sacrificed or uphold a bold national policy, which would promote the best interests of all classes and fill our treasury? Whilst Canadian agriculturists had their products shut out by the prohibitory tariff of the Republic, Canada had admitted, free, during the past year six or seven millions of dollars' worth of grain and breadstuffs from that Republic. Take the article of coal, for instance, and it would be well if the House fully considered the importance of that great branch of industry. Whilst the United States policy had been to meet the coal producers of Canada with a duty which virtually shut out Canadian coal from the American market, we had bought from them nearly a million dollars' worth of coal more than we had sent to the States on which we did not receive a cent of duty. We had during the past year admitted six or seven millions of dollars' worth of agricultural products, and nearly ten millions of free goods of other descriptions from the United States, whose people in return told us that neither the products of our mines, our forests, our fields, or our seas, should cross their borders without paying tribute. If we could not have free trade, the time had certainly come for having at least a reciprocity of tariffs. Was there an intelligent man in the country who did not know that our declaration of such a policy would give us a reciprocity treaty in a year? Whoever read the discussions of Congress would see that all we had to do was to assume a manly attitude on that great question in order to obtain free trade with the United States. But suppose they resented that retaliatory policy, the result would be hardly less satisfactory than a Reciprocity Treaty. It would increase the trade between the Provinces, stimulate intercourse between the different sections of our people, and promote the prosperity of the whole Dominion. Such a question should be fully considered, for it

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affected the most important interests of the country, and properly dealt with, would diffuse wealth and prosperity throughout the Dominion. In comparison with it, all such personal and party issues as had been raised by gentlemen on the opposite benches sunk into most utter insignificance. Some reference had been made to the question of banking, on which he held very strong views. He had no hesitation in saying that he had felt it his duty at the last session, when the question came up for consideration, to state his intention of giving the measure then propounded his most determined opposition. He felt that he would have been fully warranted in taking such a course, but that measure had been withdrawn, and he hoped that the able and experienced Minister of Finance would meet the great interests involved by a measure which would maintain the leading object of the Government by giving greater security to note-holders without any radical change in the banking system now in operation. It was not only due to the Minister of Finance, but also to the best interests of the country, that the House should wait till the policy of the Government on so important a question was brought down and fully explained. If the Finance Minister succeeded in dealing with this great question in a manner satisfactory to the great commercial interests involved, he would obtain, as he deserved, the support of the House and the thanks of the country. After a calm and dispassionate review of the course pursued by the Government, he believed that a large majority of the House would agree with him in the opinion that the time had not arrived when power could be entrusted in the hands of the gentlemen opposite, without seriously retarding the great work of consolidating and extending the Confederation of British North America from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island, and imperilling the best interests of all classes of our people."

Hon. Mr. Huntington then reviewed the speech of the member for Cumberland. That hon. gentleman had, no doubt, good cause for congratulation. He had boasted that Nova Scotia had been conciliated, but though a few gentlemen had been conciliated, was there any more faith in the Dominion among the people of Nova Scotia?

Hon. Dr. Tupper said "the people of Nova Scotia had, as often as the opportunity offered, by large majorities, endorsed the action of gentlemen who had joined the Government, and

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more volunteers had offered themselves for enrolment than the Act required."

It may be here stated that in the foregoing speech of Dr. Tupper will be found the first advocacy of a national policy in the Parliament of Canada. He again maintained a protective policy in his speech on a Customs union.*

That railway communication from the Atlantic to the Pacific was an essential to the consolidation of the Provinces and the territories was self-evident and everywhere acknowledged. Canals and other means of helping the trade and intercourse of the Dominion made their unquestioned claims; but the Customs policy divided the judgment of both the people and the representatives. Only a few years had passed since the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States had come to an end. The belief prevailed that the welfare of the country depended on its renewal. On this question there was substantial agreement in all parts of the Dominion. But failure had attended every effort to renew the treaty. In addition to this, the Government and Congress of the Republic believed that the refusal of a renewal of the treaty and the enforcement of a protective policy would so cripple Canada in her infancy that she would soon be found as a suppliant for annexation to her big neighbour. The Boards of Trade at Detroit in 1865 had resolved to advise the President of the United States to renew the treaty with the Canadian Provinces. But this advice was not taken. It is now history that from 1867 to 1878 Canada suffered from the sharp, hostile tariff across the border. The popular opinion now prevailing is that in 1878, after a season of great depression, there was borne in upon the newly-elected Government the conviction that the future of Canada depended upon the protection of her industries; and that then Sir John A. Macdonald, at the suggestion of Sir Charles Tupper, adopted the national policy, which has fully realized the purpose for which it was introduced, and which has become the permanent policy of the Dominion. For all the years between Confederation and the adoption of the national policy there was, in and out of Parliament, a babel of opinion respecting a sound fiscal policy for Canada. As the source of a river which enriches a

* See Hansard, 1870, March 21st, page 619.

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country is carefully sought, so the origin of the national policy will ever be a matter of interest to the Canadian public. To whom is the honour due of the earliest vision of this policy—a vision clear and coupled with decided and firm convictions of its soundness and its being essential to the best interests of Canada?

In the Nova Scotia Legislature of 1851, and while leader of the Opposition, J. W. Johnstone read in the House of Assembly a resolution which embodied the principle of the national policy, and, in connection with it, he made the following observations:

"That as this was the last session of the House, he had concluded, on second thought, not to introduce a resolution which he had just prepared, but which he would read as propounding his views on the subject before the House. He had been very much struck with an expression in the speech of the President of the United States, that it was the true policy of that large commercial nation to lay their duties so as to answer the double purpose of revenue and protection of home industry. This, said Mr. Johnstone, was a good policy. Could we enjoy free trade in the proper sense, he had no doubt it would be best for Nova Scotia; but so long as the United States of America laid our exports under burdens and almost prohibitory duties, it was absurd to talk of free trade. Between the altered policy of England and the determination of the United States to adhere to her distinctive system, the Colonies were crushed and crippled, and it was now time for Nova Scotia to protect, as far as she had the power, the product of her soil and the industry of her inhabitants. The resolution is as follows:

"*Resolved*, that the policy required is that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should be regulated by such a tariff as to afford for us a high protection and encouragement to the productions and industries of the country."

Mr. Johnstone declared that he left it as a legacy to his children and to his country that he was the first statesman in the British North American Colonies to submit to a Colonial Legislature a plan for Confederation, which he did in 1854. Three years earlier than this he propounded for Nova Scotia the policy which united Canada adopted in 1878. No earlier advocacy of this principle is known to the writer. This was four years before Dr. Tupper entered public life.

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In the session of the Dominion Parliament, in 1870, "Customs Union" came up for discussion. Speeches were delivered on it by Sir A. T. Galt, Sir John A. Macdonald, Albert Smith, Joseph Howe, Alexander Mackenzie and Dr. Tupper. From the speech of the latter the following quotations throw more light upon the origin of the national policy:

"But this country is so geographically situated, and so varied in its products and natural resources, that nature has placed it in our power to protect ourselves by a policy not retaliatory or vindictive, but by a national policy which shall encourage the industries of our country. By proper attention to the development of our resources, we shall have an interchange of products, and in two years I believe we shall be utterly indifferent as to whether we have a treaty or not. . . .

"I would ask whether the policy which will bring the people into the country, which will stimulate every industry in the Dominion, is not one that is worthy of the attention of this House, irrespective and regardless altogether of its effect upon the United States; and I have no hesitation in saying, that under the effects of a policy such as this, that would restore greater prosperity in this country than we had under reciprocity, we shall not need to go to other countries nor to the United States for a renewal of reciprocity or improved trade relations, because they will be coming and seeking it at our hands. . . .

"It is not worth while to try how far we may increase these native enterprises, and give prosperity to the country, by adopting a policy which will meet the unfair opposition by which the Canadian manufacturer is met from other countries. . . .

"My hon. friend the Secretary for the Provinces has relieved his mind to some extent, but I may tell him that this Canadian policy—this national policy, this rational policy—will stimulate the enterprise of all our Provinces, and will aid and assist in building up this great Dominion. And I may further tell the hon. gentleman that so friendly is Nova Scotia to this policy of building up our own interests that there has been but one single newspaper out of the eleven newspapers published in Halifax that has raised any objection to it, and several have come out warmly in its support."

It will here be seen that when the whole Dominion was in an irresolute and timid state of mind, and when the opinions that did exist were shrouded in doubt, Dr. Tupper was the only

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member of the Parliament who had reached clear and settled convictions. The view of both sides of the House, as Dr. Tupper well knew, was at the time so opposed to this policy as to make its adoption impossible. But as Chamberlain foresaw the importance of preference and declared it as the true policy for England, so Dr. Tupper declared his views on the policy for the Dominion of Canada, and waited for the country to thoroughly study it and come to an intelligent and firm conclusion.

In this crisis of Canadian history is found an illustration of Dr. Tupper's foresight and clear judgment in declaring his views respecting the true fiscal principle for Canada. It took eight years to gain converts in sufficient numbers to carry it into execution. But, when done, it became permanent. The quotations from his speech on the occasion are clear, bold and assured.

Dr. Tupper declined to enter the Dominion Government when urgently requested to do so by the Premier, and not until the entire Cabinet and the members of the House of Commons from Nova Scotia urged him to do so did he consent to become a Minister of the Crown. In a lecture given in Halifax, in 1883, when defending himself from the charge of mercenary motives, he stated that his income from his profession was greater than that of the Prime Minister of the Dominion. But at the urgent request of Sir John A. Macdonald and others, he accepted the position of President of the Council. On July 2nd, 1872, he became Minister of Inland Revenue, and on February 22nd, 1873, Minister of Customs. At this early stage of the Dominion's history he saw the importance of unifying a system for the weights and measures of Canada. As in the case of the School Bill in Nova Scotia, there was no demand for a law on this subject, but, convinced of its importance, he introduced into Parliament the following resolution, which became law and remains until the present day:

"That it is expedient to amend and consolidate the laws of the Dominion respecting weights and measures, and to establish a uniform system thereof for all Canada, except only as to special measures used for certain purposes in the Province of Quebec; and to provide for the inspection of weights and measures, with power to the Governor-in-Council to make a

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tariff of fees for such inspection, sufficient to defray the expenses of carrying it into effect."

Before the benefits of this enactment were made evident in its operation, it was exceedingly unpopular, but time has proved its great usefulness.

When Minister of Customs, in 1873, the unspeakable importance of defending the Indians and early settlers of the North-West Territories from the bad effects of the liquor traffic caused Dr. Tupper to have placed upon the statute-book a most stringent, prohibitory liquor law. This Act was so successful that when it was proposed to add a portion of the Territories to the Province of Manitoba, the inhabitants petitioned the Government for permission to carry the prohibitory Act with them. Under this Act the Mounted Police were instructed to seize and destroy any spirituous, vinous or fermented liquors found in the Territories.

In the election of 1867, as has been pointed out, all the supporters of Confederation in Nova Scotia, except Dr. Tupper, were defeated. Before the next election took place, Mr. Howe and nearly all the other members from Nova Scotia gave their support to the Dominion Government. In the election of 1872, Mr. Howe and Dr. Tupper were the confederate leaders, and they secured a reversal of the verdict of the previous election. They carried every seat in the Province, and opposition to the Government from Nova Scotia disappeared.

In 1873, when a vacancy occurred in the Governorship of Nova Scotia, Dr. Tupper nominated and secured the appointment of the Hon. Joseph Howe to that position. In his own house, at a luncheon given by Mr. Howe to the Nova Scotia members on the eve of his leaving to assume the duties of Governor of his native Province, he requested those who had acted with him to support Dr. Tupper. In his familiar style his words were: "Boys, I hope you will stand by Tupper as he has stood by me."

Mr. Howe was an occupant of Government House but for a brief period. A few weeks after he entered upon his duties as Governor of his native Province, dearer to him than life, he was laid in state in the spacious hall of that old residence of titled governors, to be looked upon by a long procession of

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his fellow-citizens, tearful and sad. The dark shadow that fell upon that home fell upon the whole city, upon the whole Province. Many were still alive who, thirty-six years before, saw him emerge from obscurity, seize the imagination and capture the hearts of his countrymen, and begin a public career without a parallel in the history of the Province. Those who could not remember the beginning of his public life could call up enough of it to fill them with the contagious sadness felt by all. The fierce personal collisions and the fiercer contests in the political arena were all forgotten. But the poet, the boon companion of all, the genial, hopeful Howe, the orator who often held spellbound the House of Assembly and thrilled popular audiences with fiery, humorous declamation, was now remembered and mourned with genuine grief. Into all these tender hearts, made more tender by his death, the sad fact was thrust—we shall see and hear him no more.

Dr. Grant, his minister, who was on the ground when Mr. Howe took possession of Government House, tells how his sore heart received the cruel thrusts of former friends; but even these people were subdued into silence, and must have shared in the pangs of sore bereavement felt by the community at large. No one, in view of the termination of his brilliant and chequered career, and his many labours for his country and his nation, could remain unaffected when the citizens passed by his coffin in Government House and took their last look of their poet, their journalist, their orator, and the friend they loved so well.

These pathetic touches are from the pen of Dr. Johnson:

“The last interview I had with him was only a few days before he died. The sunshine in his heart on that occasion was caused by the fact that only a short time before some one of his old political friends, alienated because of his ‘acceptance of the situation’ and his consequent opposition to the repeal party, had after years of non-recognition made it all up with him. I recall that Mr. Howe stood during the whole of that interview, because, as he explained, with a twinkle in his eyes, that old Maitland pain in the back was severer than ever.

“The last I saw of him was when the ex-printer, the ex-journalist, the ex-orator, the ex-poet, the ex-Prime Minister, the ex-Imperial officer, the ex-Cabinet Minister, the ex-Governor of his native Province was carried with all the pomp a garrison

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city could supply, with all the manifestations of grief all political parties, all religious bodies, all fraternities and societies, all, rich and poor, could exhibit, to his last resting-place in Camp Hill cemetery—old animosities, old feuds, all buried with him.”

It was most befitting that Sir Charles Tupper, who, as this history shows, had opposed and supported the Hon. Joseph Howe, and who had the pleasure of nominating him to the post of highest honour in his native country, should name and secure the appointment of the Hon. Judge Johnstone as his successor. This produced mutual gratification and universal approval. On the part of Sir Charles there was added to the conviction of justice the pleasure that a son feels in honouring the best and noblest of fathers. For nine years he had stood by his worthy leader, helped to fight his battles and win his victories, and had received his warm and grateful commendation. Dr. Tupper, at the end of the nine years, had the further gratification of appointing his former leader as Judge in Equity, thus putting him on a level with the Chief Justice of the Province. Now another opportunity opens for honouring this good and great man, so tenderly loved and highly esteemed by himself and by his revered father before him.

On Judge Johnstone's part there was paternal pleasure and gratitude in receiving this, another token of esteem and love from the son of his old-time bosom friend, the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D.

Shattered health allowed Mr. Howe but a few weeks of honour as Governor of Nova Scotia. After Judge Johnstone had accepted the appointment of Governor, and Government House had been fitted up for his reception, shattered health arrested him on his journey homeward to enter upon the duties of this exalted position. He was in the south of France when he received and accepted the appointment to the position of Lieutenant-Governor; but on reaching England, and having consulted his physician, he was convinced that he was unequal to the duties before him. He therefore reluctantly countermanded his acceptance of the offer made him, and in about four months after Mr. Howe was carried to his grave in Halifax, Judge Johnstone was laid to rest in Cheltenham, Eng-

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HON. CHARLES TUPPER, M.D., C.B.

(From a photograph taken in 1883.)

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land. All felt and mourned the loss of these two distinguished men.

The public paused and called to mind the life, labours and friendship of J. W. Johnstone, the distinguished advocate, and, in the truest sense of the word, the peerless orator in Canadian life at that day, the eminent statesman, the man of spotless, incorruptible integrity; the Christian gentleman, the ever tender-hearted friend and defender of the poor and the oppressed. It is most satisfactory that, four years before Mr. Howe and Judge Johnstone finished their earthly labours, they met, as has been stated in an earlier chapter, in friendly intercourse, in the sunshine of which any bitterness that may have existed in the past was forgotten, and the friendship of more than a quarter of a century was entirely relieved of all embarrassment, and that to their mutual satisfaction and pleasure. Doubtless they both carried the fragrant memory of this scene to the end of their days.

As time bears the lives and memories of the distinguished men—their contemporaries—into the obscurity and oblivion of the past, Johnstone and Howe will become more and more picturesque, noble, great and grand.

CHAPTER LXIV.

SIDE-LIGHTS.

It has been stated that Mr. Johnstone, after his appointment as Judge in Equity, in replying to addresses, expressed his deep interest in the general affairs of his adopted country. At Truro he said:

“I cannot look upon the condition which this Province has attained without a strong disposition to say a few words to my fellow-countrymen on the duties and responsibilities that grow out of the circumstances of the country, and that attach to us all as members of society.

“Aged men that can look back into the remote past are able to contrast Nova Scotia, as she was forty, fifty or sixty years ago, with Nova Scotia as she is, and they realize the difference between the days of her infancy and this, the day of her youthful virginity, when, with the elements of natural strength and intellectual power that in those days were not dreamt of, she is called to press on to higher attainments, and to acquire a position worthy of her opportunities and advantages. . . .

“It will in a few months be just ten years since the seals and signatures were affixed in London to the document which emancipated the mineral wealth of this Province and opened it to general use, and when after a few months the Legislature sanctioned the contract that the Provincial delegates had entered into, Nova Scotia became possessed of the means which are adequate in due season to raise her to eminence as a manufacturing and commercial community, should her sons possess the intellect and the energy to improve their high privileges.

“A few years after, a revolution was affected in the educational system of the Province which it would be a misuse of terms to call an improvement—it was a new creation. The reproach is taken away which attached to us as a people from the fact of thousands of our population being untaught. Henceforth the reproach of ignorance will attach to the individuals

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who with the means of instruction have spurned it, if such there shall be, and I hope and believe their number will be small, and be lessened every year, but no reproach to the community which offers to all on equal terms the blessings of education without price. That the machinery should not at first work quite smoothly, that so great a change should induce some hardships and create many dissatisfactions were things almost inevitable. But that an intelligent and virtuous people should long remain insensible to the blessings of universal education, or begrudge their individual contributions towards its support, was not possible. To those who have children or relations to be educated, the money thus contributed comes back in direct benefit, and the contributions of those who have not are sanctioned by the good they assist in effecting. The well-being of the country is promoted by the general instruction of its population, and the law of love is fulfilled when the education of the poor is attained on terms which do not wound their sensitive feelings. He who, having the means, begrudges the small appropriation he may be called to make for objects so beneficial, seems to fail in appreciating alike the duty and the privilege both of patriotism and philanthropy.

"Perfection does not belong to human institutions, and it is an evil incident to general systems of education supported by the common resources of the people that religious instruction may be found incompatible with that liberty of conscience which is the inheritance of us all. Nevertheless, religious instruction lies at the foundation of truly useful education, and is essential alike for national prosperity and individual happiness.

"The conviction in former years animated my efforts in behalf of the denominational principle applied to the higher seminaries, and leads me now to invoke your attention to the subject—not to discuss this delicate and difficult question, but to impress the duty of sedulously supplying at the domestic hearth the deficiencies of the school-room in this transcendently important matter, where these deficiencies do exist, for in many cases they need not exist; and especially to enforce in all cases the necessity of supporting, encouraging and extending those invaluable auxiliaries of domestic religious teaching—the Sabbath Schools. . . .

"In a few weeks—on the first day of July—Nova Scotia ceases to be an isolated member of the dependencies of Great

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Britain, and becomes united in a close political union with the sister Colonies. Though her population and extent of territory are small, compared with the general aggregate, yet she enters upon this union not as an unendowed bride. Her position on the ocean, her harbours, her fisheries, her minerals are a dowry of which we need not be ashamed, and the ornaments of her attire in which she meets the future companions of a common lot are bright and valuable; more, however, than this is required of her. Will she approach these her companions with smiles, or repel them with frowns? Will good sense, integrity of purpose, and amiability of manner—(and you, gentlemen, I trust and believe, know by happy experience that these qualities in married life transcend in value the wealth of the Indies)—will these qualities, I ask, be brought to elevate and promote the general happiness and prosperity, or will opposition and perversity mar the harmony of the family circle and obstruct the progress of herself and her associates—in a word, will our beloved Acadia enter, in the face of the world, on her new and enlarged sphere of action as the wise and discreet spouse whose priceless value Solomon delighted to depict, or as a froward shrew and untoward termagant?

“Gentlemen, in all seriousness you cannot overestimate the importance of the inquiry. On the answer that shall be given to it depend our character and our welfare. The thing is done; the union is established; it is the law of the land, by the paramount authority known to the British constitution. As subjects of the Empire, obedience is a duty imposed on us all, irrespective of our private opinions, not more by the laws of man than of God.

“But if we would throw off the restraints of duty, shall the claims of self-interest, the interests of ourselves, our prosperity and our country be trodden under foot? Shall we, because we dislike the measure or disapprove the mode of its adoption, wilfully seek to frustrate its success, although on its success depend objects so precious? To use a homely proverb, ‘Shall we mar one feature to spite the rest?’

“Gentlemen, it is not so that wise and good men act. Freedom of opinion is the equal right of us all, and differences of sentiment will almost necessarily arise on complex and untried questions. It is well they should—and no man has a right to dictate to his neighbour. But there are also principles of action that are obligatory on all alike, whatever may be their opinion,

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and what I have said applies equally to men of all shades of thought and feeling on this momentous subject. A common duty rests on every Nova Scotian to promote by every means in his power the progress and prosperity of the Dominion of Canada, in whose progress and prosperity are indubitably united the progress and prosperity of Nova Scotia.

"Time in its inevitable crucible will test the metal—will determine the worth or worthlessness of the great project of Confederation. The sanguine see in the future a rising nation united to the parent State, yet free in its own action, under the Red Cross banner of England, copying her institutions and cultivating her principles, emulating her example, appropriating the memories of her glory and rivalling her fame. With a territory extending from ocean to ocean, the highway between Europe and the Far East, and inhabited by many millions of brave, free and prosperous people, Nova Scotia in the van—the great workshop and the harbour for the commerce of the grand confederacy.

"It is a glorious thought, and who is there among us, whatever his fears or his opinions, who will not hold up his hands to heaven and implore a gracious Providence to grant its consummation—and who would not desire to transmit to his posterity the right to say, 'My fathers helped to raise this noble edifice'?"

"For myself, gentlemen, I would not readily withdraw from my children and their children the power to boast that their ancestor was the first man who proposed to any Provincial Legislature in substantial form the proposition of union.

"But there are those who fear the worst. It does not become any to say their fears are vain, for the problem is not yet solved. But fears can do no good; hope is a nobler principle and will realize higher results.

"I trust I have avoided, as I designed to avoid, any interference with mere partisan considerations, and have not wounded the sensibilities of any.

"I have presented to you the great events that have marked the recent history of our country—the emancipation of our minerals, our free school system, and the Confederation of the Provinces—and believe me, gentlemen, the time is not far distant when any county in this Province that can say, 'One of my sons was foremost in the accomplishment of these great works,' will deem it no mean boast.

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"Gentlemen, my prayer to the Giver of all good is, that the sons and daughters of Nova Scotia may ever prove worthy of their high privileges, and that our common country may, through long years to come, be the abode of a virtuous, happy and prosperous people."

The foregoing address was given only a few days before Mr. Howe made his speech at Truro in his joint meeting with Dr. Tupper. Contrast this address with that speech, contrast the Hon. Joseph Howe and the Hon. Judge Johnstone.

Sufficient evidence of Mr. Johnstone's standing and success as a lawyer is found in the universally-admitted fact that he held the foremost place at the bar when it was adorned by such brilliant men as Alexander Stewart, William and G. R. Young, L. M. Wilkins, J. B. Uniacke and others. A statement on this point by W. A. Calnek may be given. It is taken from the case of a libel suit tried at Annapolis Royal:

"Political controversy was at this time at white heat, and in consequence the court house was crowded with an excited and interested audience. The libel complained of had its origin in the political ferment, and it was attempted to give the celebrated trial a political complexion. Mr. Johnstone opened the case before the jury and his address occupied their undivided attention and that of the onlookers for the space of four hours. It was the first occasion on which it had fallen to my lot to hear him address a jury; and it proved to be such an effort as I had never before witnessed in court. His exposition of law, as it then stood, bearing on the case, was marked by intimate knowledge of the subject, as well as by much earnestness; his description of the injury done or intended to be done to the plaintiff and its supposed destruction of his prospects in life was depicted with a melodramatic power seldom equalled by the ablest orators, and the peroration of his speech was characterized by all the force of true eloquence and a pathos that seemed to move the jury and the whole assembly alike with emotions of sympathy for his client in spite of themselves."

For the nine years that Mr. Johnstone acted as Judge in Equity he fully sustained his reputation for industry, legal knowledge and high-minded integrity.

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As a politician he lacked the nimble deftness and tact of the typical politician of this day. He went only where exhaustive knowledge and sound principles carried him. This caused him, of course, temporary loss. As a statesman he must be ranked, as he was at the bar, the first of his day. Liberal, progressive and conservative are words which truly characterize him in this capacity. His part in introducing responsible government and guiding it for seven years; his simultaneous voting bill, manhood suffrage, an elective Legislative Council; his treatment of the subject of uniting the British North American Provinces, making him pre-eminently the father of Confederation; his announcement of the principles of the national policy in 1851, are among the evidences that he possessed the foresight, the judgment and the courage of a great statesman. His moral insight into the certain tendencies of given policies is illustrated in his prediction of the inevitable consequences of party government, forced on the country by Mr. Howe from 1843 to 1847. Had he lived to-day, and been compelled to witness the political corruption, proved in courts of law, before Parliamentary Committees and Royal Commissions, he could not be more assured of the loathsome outcome than he was on the eve of the introduction of the system which has generated the foulness of modern politics.

From beginning to end of his noble life all classes esteemed him as a Christian gentleman. In social life his simplicity and charm of manner captured all classes. In adapting himself to his surroundings, without in any way compromising himself, he was a genius. He was a born aristocrat, but the hatred and pride commonly associated with this class disappeared in the power of his personal religion, imbibed in early life and practised as long as he lived. He was the friend and brother of people of all ranks.

The following account was given to Mr. Calnek by a member of Mr. Johnstone's Government. When Premier, Mr. Johnstone, then a total abstainer, issued cards for a social function. A member of the Executive said to a friend, "What shall I do?" "Go," said his friend. His report was this:

"I never knew a man like him; I declare I had not been

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thirty minutes under his hospitable roof before the thought of wine and punch had entirely vanished from my mind. How this effect was brought about I do not know, but I observed that everybody present, like myself, seemed inspired and lifted out of self by his genial presence, which carried along with it an exhilaration almost electrical. He seemed by intuition to know the right thing to say, the right time to say it, and the proper person to whom to say it. The desire to please which animated him appeared to diffuse itself into every heart in the house, and a smile of satisfaction and pleasure irradiated every face in the large assembly. Stiffness and formality, frivolity and vulgarity found no abiding place at his board, and the delightful evening ended only too soon for all of us, and for weeks, nay months, even years after, the remembrance of the pleasure I then experienced came to me like the memory of a pleasant dream, and I still recall it with a delight I cannot find words to express."

Judge Johnstone kept a diary for the month of July, 1825, but it does not appear that he continued the practice. He was then a partner in law with Simon Bradstreet Robie, of Halifax, and a devout member of the Church of England. He then lived with his mother at Birch Cove, on the west side of Bedford Basin, one of the most beautiful places to be found in the neighbourhood of Halifax. His leisure time was spent in the study of botany, reading "Mason on Self-Knowledge," Robinson's "History of Scotland," Addison and Josephus. He says:

"I walked to the lodge in the evening. It is melancholy to see such a remnant of former beauty—yet it is useful to impress us with the idea of every person and thing undergoing the ravages of time. But it is transporting to the soul to know that man continues to live throughout the boundless ages of eternity. The changes of the seasons are among the convincing proofs of immortality."

The lodge to which Mr. Johnstone refers was the picturesque residence of the Duke of Kent, occupied by him when he was in command of the army in British North America. About twenty years had then passed since the Duke had returned to

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England. Time had made great havoc with the residence of Victoria's father. Memories tinged with seriousness were awakened in the young man's mind in looking upon these ruins, with whose history he was familiar. He would drive with his mother about four miles to attend divine service at St. Paul's.

"Dr. Inglis, afterwards bishop," writes Mr. Johnstone, "gave us a most excellent sermon on the duty of receiving the sacrament to be administered next Sunday. I sincerely hope it may have the effect of inducing many to attend to the dying command of Him who endured the agonies of the Cross for them. It is to me a matter of astonishment how any can neglect so easy a duty. Does it not arise in many from their being too much attached to this world, and not thinking of the one to which we are every day hastening? But while I am thus censuring others, let me take care that it does not arise from arrogance and spiritual pride. But let me remember how much more should be expected of me who have had the happiness of having serious impressions, good example and religious education from my youth; and that this is a work of the heart, and except this be engaged in the solemn service, it is worse than mockery. Let me, therefore, pray with sincerity to Him who alone can discover to me my many sins, the secret springs of my actions and the deceitfulness of my heart. May He so enlighten me that I may by His grace, search, abhor and forsake those which beset me. Oh, that they may be buried at the foot of the Cross, where I hope to obtain pardon and strength to lead a new life. Grant this, O God and Saviour. . . ."

"I trust I shall always think with gratitude and delight of the happy hours passed in the society of my beloved mother in this delightful retreat. Although the muse will not allow me to sing its praises in verse, I trust that I may not be insensible to its beauties."

In these brief extracts from Mr. Johnstone's diary, when he was a young, unmarried man living with his mother, may be seen the strong, filial devotion to his good and great mother, his keen appreciation of the beauties of the natural world, his high morality, his careful examination of his own heart, his humble

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spirit and devout piety. As he began, so he continued. No change in his heart-searching, his strong convictions, thorough and heroic piety took place when events carried his membership from the Episcopal to the Baptist Church in Halifax, in which for about forty years he was an active member and an honoured deacon.

At a memorial service held at Acadia University, which Mr. Johnstone had helped to found, and of which he had been a governor for many years, the Rev. E. A. Crawley, a lifelong and intimate friend, said:

"A portraiture of more difficult execution is required to present a just idea of the late Judge Johnstone. In religious discussions and questions in the church, always the most modest and meekest of men, he, nevertheless, was intellectually a giant. A most impressive sight it was to see this man with talents which at the bar and in the legislative halls could hold men by the hour in speechless admiration, take his place in meetings of the church with the manifest humility of one who felt himself 'less than the least.'

"In private and public life, by the natural bent of his mind as well as training, Mr. Johnstone was, in the best sense of the word, a gentleman; meanness and falsehood were abhorrent to his nature, and his intercourse was marked by a delicate sense of propriety. His higher moral perceptions also were remarkable for their strength and power. Give him the maintenance or defence of a case in which, as against his client, justice was denied or feebleness oppressed, and he was often known to fire and soar aloft in a manner truly wonderful. On such occasions he often surpassed himself, and all classes of men, unlettered and cultivated, friends and antagonists, have equally expressed themselves with admiration of his extraordinary power. Nor was this quick sense of justice and right dependent on the excitement of courts or popular contests; private and intimate intercourse no less revealed this trait in Mr. Johnstone as an original element of his moral constitution. To one knowing him sufficiently, and contrasting his finely-moulded character with the coarse natures of many men, even in high position, how naturally and mournfully comes now the exclamation, 'When shall we look upon his like again?'"

On the 3rd of October, 1865, Judge Johnstone for the first

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time charged the Grand Jury of Annapolis County. Here follow extracts from this charge:

"Here more than half a century ago, I spent that period of life when cares and responsibilities are little known; and youth, reflecting back on the scenes through which it passes, the pleasurable character of its own existence, takes impressions not to be effaced. Hence, scarcely a spot in this neighbourhood that does not speak of days gone by, of old acquaintanceships and the incidents of early life, while the graveyard close beside us is hallowed by the remains of relatives and friends whose memories to me are precious. Later years, after my residence in the county had ceased, a new connection was formed, and I had the honour for more than twenty successive years, and until my appointment to my present office removed me from political life, to serve the county as one of its representatives in the Provincial Assembly, and thus former ties were renewed, enlarged and strengthened in the graver and responsible relations that succeeded.

"It is my satisfaction to believe that, animated no less by personal attachment than the obligations of duty, it was my steadfast aim throughout those years of trial and contest to advance the welfare of the county, though doubtless amid many shortcomings and mistakes. Then my connection with the county was coloured and affected by the friendships and enmities—the predilections and prejudices—which unavoidably grow out of hot and protracted political struggles. Different, altogether different, is the relation in which I now stand to this county and to the Province, and I am happy in the consciousness that neither friendship nor enmities—predilections nor prejudices—can reach the seat I have the honour to occupy on this Bench, or colour, or affect the administration of functions that demand an unswerving and oblivious impartiality. . . .

"Among our many and great benefits, not the least is the connection with the noble Empire of which we form a part. It is difficult to estimate sufficiently high the advantages we derive from that connection, even in its silent influences on our institutions—our Government—our modes of thought and feeling; or to overestimate the duty of maintaining and perpetuating it as the most valued inheritance for our children.

"Gentlemen, in view of the many and great blessings that we possess, let not gratitude to their Bountiful Bestower be

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overlooked, nor let it be forgotten that increased privileges demand increased wisdom, circumspection and integrity in their exercise."

The following are extracts from the address of the Grand Jury:

"Upon this your Lordship's first visit to this county, in your judicial capacity, we, the Grand Jury, Magistrates, Members of the Bar and others, beg to tender you our warmest congratulations upon your appointment to the honourable and responsible position which you now occupy. Eminent as a lawyer, and no less distinguished for manly integrity, the Government of this Province exhibited a wise regard for the interests of the people by appointing you to preside over the Equity Department of the Supreme Court—a position in which you are, in the estimation of all classes, so singularly qualified to adorn and dignify."

"It is with no ordinary feelings of pride and gratification that we recall the fact of your having, for over twenty years, represented the County of Annapolis in the Legislature of the Province, enjoying the esteem and confidence of one county for a period seldom allotted to any public man. . . .

"We do not hesitate to say, that guided by the example of such men as yourself, and mindful of your scrupulous uprightness, the youth of the present generation, who are to be the first men of the next, will be more likely to adorn the loftiest positions in the country."

In Mr. Johnstone's charge to the Grand Jury of Cumberland County, on the 18th of June, 1867, are found these paragraphs:

"By the establishment of this free school system, the duty is imposed with increased obligation on every man and woman who holds the parental relation to forward at their homes, and by their own firesides, the religious instruction of their children. It is also essential to encourage those excellent institutions, the Sunday Schools. Let every man carry impressed on his mind this principle, that just as the means of obtaining secular instruction are increased, so is the duty increased of every parent to promote the religious and moral instruction of his children. . . .

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"The moment we become an integral part of the Dominion of Canada, it is the duty of us all to pray for the welfare of the Dominion of Canada, because on that prosperity rests indissolubly the prosperity of Nova Scotia. . . .

"We cannot but believe that the opinions in favour of the measure of those great men in England, whose education, talents, training of mind and habits of thought have led them to understand the nature of governments and the effect of constitutions, are entitled to great weight. We cannot imagine, when we find a large body of the highest statesmen in England concurring with almost unparalleled unanimity in an opinion favourable to the measure, that it can be so disastrous in its results as some seem to think. This is a consolation to those who fear its results. Such a man may say to himself, 'Well, I fear the result of the measure, but at the same time I have hope.' Hope is a nobler sentiment than fear, and leads to higher results. . . . Let us endeavour to give effect to that hope, that we may be instruments in the consummation of that which, if successful, promises results of the highest character. I cannot imagine, supposing it to be successful, a nobler spectacle than that of several communities of free men entering into an association—laying the foundation of a Dominion resting on British institutions, appropriating British memories and British glories, and animated by all those principles which we delight to recognize as our inheritance and birthright—expanding and growing until it reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, until untold thousands and millions people a country in which our parent State may be, as it were, reproduced—under circumstances, it is true, of a changed character—but still retaining continually the old flag, the old memories, and the old principles. . . .

"The institutions of Great Britain are free, eminently free; the institutions of America are also free, eminently free; but there is a strong distinction between the modes in which the principles of constitutional freedom are carried out in these different countries. The result of long experience and deep observation has caused me to give a decided preference to the mode in which constitutional freedom is carried out in Great Britain. This preference, I think, is not the result of prejudice, but of close observation."

The sentiments expressed in the foregoing extracts must

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impress any intelligent reader that the opinions respecting the ability, the labours and character of the late Judge Johnstone are not figments of the imagination, used to merely embellish the character and life of a public man, but are the genuine characteristics of one, to use Dr. Crawley's expression, of whom it may be said, "When shall we ever see his like again?"

The dates, 1865 and 1867, at which these addresses and replies were given show that the Judge expressed his opinion when Nova Scotia was heated with the anti-confederate discussion. It is, however, noteworthy that the Judge's great personality and firm integrity, admitted by all, whatever their political opinions, religious convictions, or social standing, commanded the respect and admiration of his entire audience. The note in these addresses rang out clear and harmonious with his whole life in every department of service, both private and public. It is here made evident that a man personally pious can be a great and successful lawyer, an eminent statesman and an honoured judge.

The Hon. J. W. Johnstone was a statesman and a philosopher. He saw nothing as a mere fragment. However minute a subject might be, to him it was part of a whole. What occurred to-day was related to what occurred yesterday and to what might occur to-morrow. He had a philosophic penetration which, leaving the beaten paths of politics, examined new situations, profiting by all opinions, but remained free from the dominating power of other men's views, venerable though they might be with age. His vision took in the remotest consequences, traced by his eagle eye to distant events as determined by known causes. His judgment, formed in this manner, was clear and sound, and his conclusions firm and unshaken. To him it was both instinct and habit to think independently. This qualified him to lead, but disqualified him to follow.

But Mr. Johnstone was more than a clear-visioned statesman, he was a Christian of the highest type. Above the plans and doings of fallible men, there was the Christian's God, controlling circumstances, marshalling events, bringing order out of confusion, light out of darkness, making even the wrath of

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man praise him, and so guiding the affairs of persons, of the nations and of the world that all things tended to that

"... one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

In his earlier days, the overthrow of Church and State in France, combined with the victorious republicanism in America, set free a passion for personal liberty, and the purpose, often ill-directed and wild, to secure it unsettled Old World governments and led in a period of distraction, causing men's hearts to fail them for fear. To a mind naturally disposed to original thought and independent judgment, this was a time most favourable for cultivating the habit of thorough examination and the forming of sound opinions. Questions of the principles and forms of civil government were then not local, not provincial, but world-wide. Such was the school in which Mr. Johnstone found himself a student. The minute details and the larger aspects of great questions were alike the subjects of thorough investigation. Every element entering into a subject was related to essential principles. The British constitution was then the political storm-centre of the world. The divine right of the king was disappearing, and the divine right of the individual man was asserting itself and coming into view. Young Johnstone, borne on by youthful ardour, found himself at first carried out on the sea of rank republicanism; but, as he said, continued and mature thought restored him to the principle of government in which he finally saw the responsibility of the Sovereign, the Executive, the Parliament and the People, evenly poised and in equilibrium, as they are now found in the dependencies and Empire of Great Britain.

Natural endowment made Mr. Johnstone one of the mighty. Honesty of purpose, integrity in the discharge of duty, phenomenal industry and rigorous concentration made him a leader and maker of men. For all that is good and ennobling in the legal profession, in political, social and religious life, it would be impossible to find a man of his generation who exerted a wider, a more powerful, elevating and salutary influence than J. W. Johnstone. Does anyone look for the secret of his power, it may be found in his natural endowment and

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his industrious, honest life. No one could dispute the leadership of such a man. As well might the foothills compete with the mountains for height and grandeur.

Freedom in discussion was to him essential and safe. By it the sound and good became apparent, as did the unsound and the bad; the latter would be eliminated and the former preserved. Walking in this light, his views were large, his course straight and his public labours, from first to last, consistent.

The Hon. Joseph Howe, as seen in the foregoing pages, was a man of varied and extraordinary gifts. His temperament was fervid, imaginative and poetic. The rights of the individual and the equality of men were, to him, the dictates of instinct as well as the deductions of reason. Joined to this was a self-assertion that in later life became egotistic and dogmatic. Humour and native eloquence, united to his other gifts, gave him control beyond any of his contemporaries over the masses of the people. None saw the material possibilities of the future of British America and the British Empire more distinctly in their grand proportions than Joseph Howe. He also had the skill to vividly sketch in eloquent words the intoxicating visions of his own brain. With his facile pen or matchless speech, he could transfer his own conceptions to the thousands of readers of the press, or to the audience whom he carried into the raptures of enthusiasm. The public, all classes of it, is ever responsive to wit and humour. No one knew this better than Joseph Howe. It is this element that keeps alive and perpetuates the theatre. His seminal mind was ever active. His thoughts were all aglow with the fervour of his heart. He had for the people, in private and public, the charm that the blacksmith's shop has for the boys who delight to look in and see the sparks radiating from the anvil, smitten with the repeated blows of the hammer. No one stirred and kept astir the country as did Joseph Howe. He taught the farmer, the mechanic and the professional man—the tutored and the untutored—to think for themselves. The assertion of individuality and manhood naturally sprang up along the path of his eventful life. Influenced by him, the people were stimulated in the pursuit of all forms of knowledge.

Had an ambitious politician undertaken to dispute the pre-

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miership of J. W. Johnstone, he would have confronted a great personality, dowered with talents, whose force could not be neutralized any more than that of gravitation. A rival of Joseph Howe for the first place in a political party—and in the wisdom necessary for the success of party politics he had more than one superior—would have been compelled to reckon with the mass of the people. Not a man lived but knew that in such a trial as this he would have been laughed out of court by his humorous, eloquent opponent. Here was the secret of the great tribune's power.

The immense personality, the clear apprehension of the principles essential to sound, stable government, the celerity of thought, the genius for debate, the precise, unerring step, the phenomenal self-reliance and independence of judgment, the ceaseless, arduous labour and firmness of will put Dr. Tupper into leadership and kept him there. Of him it may be said, more than of either of the other Premiers, that his motto from first to last was, "This one thing I do." He was a statesman first and last, and all the time. To this craft he gave his head and his heart. The vision of a great Dominion and a great centre of Empire in the British Isles was ever to him an inspiration and a grand object for ceaseless labour. He knew how to co-operate with others better than did Mr. Johnstone, and far better than Mr. Howe. Wild-head leadership and stubbornness in refusing co-operative work with others was one of the principal causes in the undoing of Mr. Howe. But where Mr. Howe, in this respect, was often on the rocks, Dr. Tupper ever kept his craft in deep water, where sailing was safe. The heart of the influence of this distinguished Nova Scotian was in the direction of honest, arduous labour and wise statesmanship. Unshaken confidence in sound principles and serene patience in the temporary defeat of their advocates were other lessons given to his countrymen by the Right Honourable Sir Charles Tupper. The education received from his good and great father was not lost upon him. His public labours were all performed in the calm, conscious assurance that God was in heaven and reigned on earth; and that, according to His own wisdom, limited and arrested the tides of human affairs as gravitation does the tides of the

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ocean. Above, and comprehending all human plans and purposes, was his unchangeable purpose. This confidence in the might of sound principles lent power to Dr. Tupper's bold and, at times, apparently audacious undertakings.

Joseph Howe, too, treated the Bible as a revelation from heaven, and no man in public life made more frequent reference to his Maker in the discussion of political questions.

Nova Scotia has had a large number of men, eminent for their talents, learning and service to their country. But with the lapse of time all but a few will drift into remote obscurity and will become names known only to the historian. To the "Three Premiers," however, monuments will be erected. Their names will become a sacred legacy, to be often referred to in the press, in books, in public speech, and enshrined, as all great men have been, in the hearts of their countrymen—will become household words, adding to the lustre and enhancing the glory of the land they loved so much.

The Hon. J. W. Johnstone, the Hon. Joseph Howe and the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper will go down to posterity as leaders and moulders of other men, and the fathers and founders of our political institutions, yet to be perfected, and to be the safeguards of this great Dominion in its grand and inspiring future.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

J. W. Johnstone married, first, Amelia Elizabeth Almon. Their children—James William, deceased, Judge of the Halifax District Court; William, deceased, barrister; Lewis, deceased, M.D.; Eliza Ritchie, deceased, married D. McN. Parker, M.D.; Amelia, married George Hampton Wilkinson, Captain in the 62nd regiment; Agnes D. B., lives in Paris.

J. W. Johnstone's second wife was Mrs. Wentworth, widow of Captain Wentworth, of the Royal Engineers. Their children—John H. D., deceased; Louise, married Alfred Shortt, lives in Halifax; Henry, lives in Montana, U.S.A.; Fenwick Williams, lives in British Columbia.

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