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MEN OF THE DAY



L. R. MASSON

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The first thing that strikes one in studying the grand political organization of parties in England, is the ever important role played by the nobility. Whichever side is in power, is sure to count in its ranks dukes, counts and earls. Even to-day, despite the resistless march of democratic ideas, we behold Gladstone surrounded by Lords Kimberly, Roseberry, Ripon, Houghton and many others. The English aristocracy look upon it as a matter of honour to take an active part in the government of their country and, in obedience to family traditions, regard it as a duty to imbue their children with the same principle. Such a spirit is admirable and might be followed by other nations, less fortunately placed, with immense advantage. It is impossible to overestimate the good results that accrue to a nation whose affairs are administered by its most distinguished citizens—by the descendants of noble houses, whose high personality and hereditary influence dignify political life and consolidate the good government of a country. To these exceptional causes does Great Britain owe her prestige and power. The life of a politician is beset by countless difficulties. He may be shipwrecked at any moment in health and fortune. I here speak of public men in the ordinary walks of life. Vastly different from these are such men as are our Salisburys and Hartingtons, whose exalted station and wealth place them beyond the reach of the petty vexations and miseries known to humbler and less fortunate individuals. Happily, want of fortune with us does not prevent a man from embarking in affairs of state. Yet, the possession of this world's goods creates confidence and a spirit of independence, and places one's acts above suspicion, more especially, when we find affluent means combined with high culture and rare intelligence, as in the case of the subject of this sketch. The Hon. Louis Rodrigue Masson was at one time Minister of the Crown,

Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec and is now a Federal Senator. To the manor born like the offspring of England's gifted aristocracy, he stood in the front rank of statesmen and was destined to play a most conspicuous part in the political annals of his country, had not his failing health compelled him to forego the bright career that stood invitingly open before him.

True statesmanship requires patient training ; self-conceit is liable to overlook this important fact. In the lower order of things Englishmen divide labor into two classes,—skilled and unskilled. They distinguish between the work done by educated mechanics and mere manual drudgery. The same distinctions exist in the world of politics. Some fancy they are born leaders of men because they keep themselves posted on public events from the perusal of newspaper articles. Others fit themselves for so responsible a position by long and careful study, supplemented by close observation and experience. The latter are the only true guides of the people,—are alone capable of formulating and consummating a wise line of policy at critical junctures and of fostering the common prosperity.

To this enlightened school of political leaders does Mr. Masson belong,—the school of Lafontaine and Cartier, those bright intellects who so well mastered the complex problems of our social requirements.

Immediately on quitting college, he began with vigour the battle of life, dashing into the lists where a phalanx of famous jousters were already the "cynosure of all eyes,"—where our Cartiers, Dorions, Lorangers, Cauchons, Chauveaus, and Laberges were winning enduring fame. However, he declined for the present to engage in active politics. He wisely resolved to see more of the world before meddling with state affairs,—to enlarge his knowledge of the institutions of his own country by contrasting them with those to be found abroad. Consequently, in company with the *abbé* Desaulniers, he travelled all over Europe. He must certainly have greatly benefited from his intimacy with a companion, so eminent as a philosopher and man of letters,—at the fountains of whose wisdom and science some of our most distinguished statesmen and judicial magnates replenished their youthful tapers. France, Italy, Spain were visited in turn, each challenging the admiration of our tourists. But how must the *abbé* have enchanted his youthful friend, as he expatiated on the

grandeur and glory of continental history, in presence of its hoary monuments,—amidst scenes that conjured up thrilling memories of Charles I. at Whitehall, of Louis XVI. at Versailles and the Tuileries, and of Charles V. in the halls of the Escorial !

It was certainly a trip conducive both of pleasure and study. Mr. Masson took copious notes wherever he went. The few fragmentary passages taken from the narrative of his travels as published in the *Revue Canadienne* for 1868, make us regret that M. Masson has chosen to withhold from publication his observations in full. The reader, no doubt, will share in our disappointment, when he peruses the following spicy account of a bull fight at Madrid,—the first time such a scene was depicted by the pen of a French Canadian :

“ The arena where these exhibitions are held presents nothing remarkable to the eye. It is a vast rotunda, with seats fashioned in a circle and rising tier above tier, in the style of the ancient amphitheatres, and calculated to accommodate about 15,000 spectators.

“ Within this enclosure take place those famous bull fights, relics of barbarism, introduced into Spain by the early Romans and called by the old chroniclers “*Panem et Circencus*.” This passtime is more than a passion,—it is second nature. It has attractions for all,—for the Queen on her throne, and the mendicant in his hut ; for the savage and truculent nature, as well as for the delicate senora fresh from her convent home. Far from recoiling from the brutal spectacle with just terror and indignation, they hail it with shouts of joy and approval. High-born dames are the first to give the signal for applause by waving aloft their scented handkerchiefs, a movement which always evokes thunders of *vivas* prolonged and repeated.

“ The doors are flung open at last and the impatient, surging mob, rush forward, crushing and trampling each other down in their mad haste to secure those seats that command the best view of the box where the signal is given for the combat to begin. The crowd is not kept long waiting. A dainty little gloved and perfumed hand gives the sign for the bloody struggle to commence. On the instant, through a small opening into the ring, dashes a furious bull, with short, but stout and pointed horns. The sudden glare of light and the deafening noises seem to discompose the

“brute; but he instantly recovers from the distraction, and with head down makes straight for his adversary and victim.

“A picador, mounted on an old nag, here makes a feint at the enraged beast with his lance. The latter accepts the challenge—lashes his flanks with his long tail, tears up the earth with his horns and precipitates himself on the foe. It not unfrequently happens that horse and rider bite the dust at the first onset. It is then that all the dexterity, coolness, and agility of the *banderilleros* are needed to extricate the helpless *picador* from his perilous position and to distract the attention of the infuriated animal from his prostrate body, whilst the luckless horse is quickly disembowelled. A couple more, perhaps, share the same fate. Then are heard loud acclamations of joy and astounding noises of every kind. “Bravo,—bravo toro!” are shouted by countless throats. It may be that all this time the poor unhorsed picador is suffering intensely from a broken limb, and momentarily exposed to the same fate as the beast he bestrode. But who cares! He is replaced, as one bull *hors de combat* is replaced by another.

“The Spaniards treat with great severity any infractions of fair play noticed on the part of the *torcadores* in these contests. Should one of them take any undue advantage of his bovine adversary, by attacking him from behind or by surprise, he is stormed with hisses, or, if seen on the streets, stoned by the mob. It were better he had come off with a broken arm or leg or even run the risk of being impaled by his formidable opponent in the ring.

“Accidents rarely happen, but, as a means of precaution, a chaplain and a doctor are always on hand,—the latter, with a full supply of lints, bandages, instruments, etc. . One of the natives who was seated beside me could not understand the repugnance shown by strangers to the national sport. “It is,” said he, “far from being as revolting as slugging matches in England or the obscene exhibitions presented in Paris.” He may have been right, but as I had not the advantage to be versed in aught that related to boxing or cock-fighting, I remained silent and left, with a heavy heart, a spectacle which I vowed never more to look upon.

“There is something in the sight of blood revolting to human nature, and how a Christian people can delight in it is beyond comprehension. Yet, we must not overdraw the picture or indulge in

“exaggerated diatribes at the expense of the land of the Cid. The passion that Spaniards betray for the cruel amusement I have just outlined is only another of those mysterious springs of human action that defy investigation. Let us be satisfied with what Balmès, the great Catholic writer of contemporary Spain, has to say in explaining this trait in his countrymen which, though deploring it, he is candid enough to admit without any attempt at palliation.”

These notes of travel are written in a flowing, easy style, free from those conceits and platitudes common in recitals of the kind. They are replete with apposite reflections and convince us that, although Mr. Masson is an ardent admirer of Europe and its institutions, he does not allow his sympathies to blind him to what is excellent and laudable at home. His fine tastes and intuitive discernment, enable him to judge between the false and the true, between sterling gold and penchback.

It is now an accepted fact that the science of law is the basis of political science. This pretension is upheld by the ever-increasing number of lawyers found in every government. It is the lawyer's eloquence that leads democracies, although it is not always the most frequent speaker, or ablest, that is most noted for action or wisdom. It was for this reason that Mr. Masson, who always kept in view the possibility of entering public life, studied for the Bar and was admitted to the legal profession in 1859. But as he had no desire to practice, he decided to find occupation by dedicating his time to military exercises. He donned the uniform of a soldier, and, in due course, was gazetted Brigade-Major, having passed through all the intervening grades. His zeal for the service and his activity in furthering its interests put the militia on a firm footing. By force of example and precept, he was the means of gathering round him a number of young men of means and leisure, whom he inoculated with his own ardour and enthusiasm for the noble calling of arms, so much so, that the sword and shako became the badge of fashion for our juvenile *élite*. Nor was it his desire to confine his exploits to the mere parade ground; on two different occasions, he was called to the frontiers to defend his country against Fenian invasion and responded with alacrity to the summons.

From habit, Mr. Masson has preserved a military bearing. Tall

and well built, with his head well set between a pair of massive shoulders, nature seemed to equip him for command not only in the camp, but in the Cabinet as well.

The entry of Mr. Masson into public life began early in 1867. The union of the different provinces of Canada had just been proclaimed. With a parliament at Ottawa and another at Quebec, Cartier was not slow to perceive that he would need the services of new allies to enable him to cope with the difficulties of his position. He selected Mr. Masson as one of his auxiliaries and induced him to accept the seat for Terrebonne which was offered to him by the electors. At the same time, he prevailed upon M. Chauveau, then Superintendent of Education for Quebec, to organize a government for the province.

In the elections which took place in 1867, Terrebonne returned Messrs. Masson and Chapleau, both destined to become Federal Ministers, both to be appointed later on Lieutenant-Governors, thus giving color to the tradition that this county is ever to be represented by the most eminent men of the country.

Mr. Masson soon signalized himself in the House and was always consulted by Cartier whenever any important movement or measure was contemplated. He was held in the highest esteem by everybody. His magnetic personality, lofty bearing, and grand intellect made him a power in the eyes of the members from one end of the Dominion to the other. It is such men as this that are best fitted, under our complex political and social conditions, to render their country the best services. Racial and religious commotions sometimes arise, which have to be met and smoothed over.

What deep-rooted prejudices, harbored by the people of Ontario, have been dissipated, when intercourse with French-Canadians, showed how intelligent the latter were, how cosmopolite in their views. And no single individual did more to bring about a friendly feeling between the French and English than the worthy subject of this sketch. No doubt, troubles have arisen that he could not lay, such as the vexed question of the New-Brunswick schools; but the fault cannot be laid at his door. In 1871, consequently, despite his cordial relations with Cartier, he did not hesitate to throw off his allegiance to chief and party, when the school agitation was first taken up. For five years he championed this cause with all the

powers of his eloquence, backed by all his personal influence ; and it was only at the instance of the people most immediately interested, of the citizens of New-Brunswick and their bishop, who submitted the matter for adjudication to the Courts, that he desisted from the struggle. The fight was long and stubborn, especially in the province of Quebec, where all such burning questions are sure to excite the deepest emotions. Cartier's lukewarmness brought about his defeat shortly afterwards.

From 1869 to 1873, Mr. Masson took so active and prominent a part in the discussion before the House, that Sir John A. Macdonald, on the demise of Cartier, in 1873, offered him a seat in the Privy Council. He had sufficient moral backbone to refuse the honour, owing to the attitude of the Government on the School question, which he considered reprehensible.

It was during and after the session of 1874, that the member for Terrebonne betrayed the full force of his eloquence and the boundlessness of his resources. There is more scope for the display of talent and ability in fighting on the opposition benches than is found to the right of the Speaker. Here party discipline, requires that the nature and complexion of the debate should be left to the leaders, who, naturally, are regarded as the mouth-pieces of the Government, responsible for its measures and the line of defence to be adopted when attacked. Her Majesty's "loyal opposition," on the contrary, know no such constraints; each man carries a free lance and is happy in the thought that, in whatever he says or does, he can compromise nobody but himself. Mr. Masson seemed to be in his element and seldom missed an opportunity to put himself on record on every notable occasion. It was during the Mackenzie régime, when the House was busy over the debate upon the construction of the Canadian Pacific, that he showed his intimate knowledge of the wants and requirements of our people as opposed to our neighbours to the South of us. When taunted on the floor of the House with endorsing Cartier's policy, which tended to make the Canadian Pacific Railway subsidiary to the Sault-Sainte-Marie and other American lines, his reply, so logical and forcible, overwhelmed his adversaries with confusion.

It was about this time that Parliament was called upon to decide a question of paramount importance to Canada. From 1874 to 1878,

the country suffered from an unprecedented depression, affecting its commercial and agricultural existence. All sorts of remedies were suggested. Some, Micawber-like, thought it best to wait and see what would "turn up!" Others, on the contrary, wanted immediate action taken, advocating the construction of a moderate tariff wall between Canada and the United States, which would at once protect our struggling industries and prevent the Americans from making our country a slaughter market for their goods. The latter idea tended to revolutionize the politics of the nation, hitherto based on free trade principles. John A. Macdonald, Cartier, Cauchon, and Galt were free traders. But the principles that underlie political economy are not absolutely fixed, as facts are more convincing arguments than the theories propounded by either Mill or Bastiat. Mr. Masson was opposed to free trade and in favour of protecting our nascent manufactures. The result is now matter of history. The Mackenzie Government was snowed under in the elections of 1878 and Sir John A. Macdonald was entrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet. M. Masson was in Europe at the time, and it was only on his return and with his approbation that Sir John selected his Ministers for the province of Quebec. Mr. Masson was given the portfolio of Militia, which his health compelled him, the subsequent year, to resign for the presidency of the Council. The new Ministry was formed in Montreal. So soon as it was known that Mr. Masson belonged to it, he was given a public ovation that testified, from its spontaneity and magnificence, to the high character which he bore with the people. His journey to Terrebonne was a triumphal march. Arrived at St-Vincent-de-Paul, he made a speech replete with the most important declarations. To a certain extent, it was an official utterance, the first that outlined the policy of the new administration.

On the same occasion, he touched upon another very delicate subject, the Letellier *coup d'Etat*. In adhering to his preconceived notions of the right and wrong on this question, he was subsequently beset by numberless vexations. We know how this untoward event terminated. During the session of 1878, Mr. Letellier was impeached and condemned, the result, of course, depriving him of his position as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. But two months were allowed to elapse and still Mr. Letellier remained in Spencer Wood. This unaccountable delay on the part of the Federal Government provoked the

friends of the party. It was rumoured that the Governor-General had referred the matter to the Home authorities to pass upon. The Canadian Members of the House were in a ferment of excitement, and went so far as to accuse Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Masson of treason,—of acting in collusion with Lord Lorne. Mr. Ouimet, in the middle of the discussion on the tariff bill, alluded to Lord Lorne's conduct and demanded if this country was ruled by a responsible government or not? The juncture was critical indeed.

As it was Mr. Masson who had undertaken to have the Letellier embroglio settled to the satisfaction of the malcontents, he naturally came in for most of the blows struck. He stood his ground like a man, however, and continued to throw oil on the troubled waters. He had not long to wait to be avenged of the innuendoes and obliquity sought to be heaped upon him at this time. For Lord Lorne soon received orders from the Colonial Office to dismiss Letellier.

This was the most disagreeable episode in Mr. Masson's experience.

The settlement of the Canadian Pacific Railway scheme in accordance with the views which he upheld when acting as one of the leaders of the opposition, and the adjustment of the tariff afforded him a moderate share of occupation. In 1884, the malady which he had been suffering from for some years induced his physicians to advise him to seek repose from the affairs of state. In pursuance of this advice, he placed his resignation in the hands of Sir John A. Macdonald. His resignation was universally regretted. A life of inactivity, we are told, is rksome to one who has once held the reins of power. We are not aware, however, that Mr. Masson suffered much in this respect. His love of study reconciled him to his altered surroundings, every moment that he could snatch from his bodily ailments being spent in his history of the *Bourgeois du Nord-Ouest*. The merits of this superb work, if anything can, are such as to recompense the public for his loss to the country as a Statesman. Whosoever would write a thorough narrative of the early settlement of Manitoba and the North-West Territories will be indebted to the enlightened lucubrations of Mr. Masson in this useful field of research. No one could better explain than he the beginning and organization of the great North-West Company that held so conspicuous a place in Montreal during the first twenty years of this century.

In his pages stand out in bold relief the hardy pioneers of this distant settlement, commonly called "Nor' Westers," whom no obstacles, no dangers could daunt. The energetic race of our MacKenzies, our Frobishers, our MacTavishes is there still to be found. Side by side with the *bourgeois*, their valued auxiliaries, are to be seen our French Canadian *voyageurs*, the arm of all enterprises as much as their patrons were the soul.

In compiling the history of the North-West and its discovery ; in guiding our footsteps through the wilderness traversed by de la Veranderye, Mr. Masson establishes this fact, little known, that the missionary companions of the intrepid discoverer had founded prosperous colonies throughout this far-off region. These settlements disappeared with the advent of the English.

Mr. Masson has scarcely a peer amongst us, as regards his knowledge of the general history of the country. This special study has induced him to form a library where the rarest works may be found. Judge Baby in Montreal, the *abbé* Verrault, and Mr. Cyrille Tessier in Quebec, are the only three who possess any such collection of books as belong to Mr. Masson. The private correspondence of Mr. Alexander and of Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, written in the palmy days of the Company, is the choicest gem in the Terrebonne library.

Historian and botanist, Mr. Masson found congenial occupation enough to wean his mind from the cares of political strife. Besides, he has alternately filled the posts of Senator, Lieutenant-Governor, and again Senator since he withdrew from the Federal Ministry.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that Mr. Masson owes his superior qualities of head and heart to his family, to his father, whose great success in the world of commerce amassed a very large fortune. It was he who founded the house of "Thomas, Boyer & Masson," afterwards, "Thomas & Thibaudeau." Whilst looking through certain papers placed at our disposal for biographical purposes, we came across some letters written by Mr. Masson, Sr., which bespeak deep thought and varied information. He died, while yet quite young, leaving behind an assured reputation for brilliancy of parts and political talents of no common order. The *Seigneurie Masson* is a name long synonymous for inexhaustible charity.

For some time back, Mr. Masson's health has continued to improve ; let us hope that he will soon be sufficiently recuperated

to be able to enter public life once more. He is one of the very few choice spirits who embellish the soil of Canada. As in a forest laid waste, giant oaks are found scattered few and far between, so is it in the field of political warfare, where the number of the intellectually great grows thinner and thinner. May it please Providence to spare to our people such gifted and enlightened leaders to guide them on the way to happiness and prosperity !

A. D. DE CELLES.

Ottawa, December, 1892.

(Translated by W. O. Farmer, B.C.L.)



Ferrolville 26 Dec. 192

Cher Monsieur

Le m'empresse de
vous faire parvenir l'autographe
demandé, avec une signature, et
ajouté vous prie d'agréer mes
meilleures salutations pour le
succès de votre livre.

Bien à vous

L. H. Tache

L. H. Tache &
Montreal

MEN OF THE DAY



CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER

CHARLES H. TUPPER

Charles Hibbert Tupper commenced life and political labours under the most favourable circumstances, and with all those surroundings which apparently conduce to success. He holds, to-day, the rare position of a young man who is acknowledged to rank high amongst the political leaders of his country, yet whose bitterest opponents are compelled to admit that his reputation is due to inherent ability, industry, and integrity, and not to the fortunate situation in which birth and fortune seemed to have placed him. We often hear of "birth's invidious bar" and in reality, although the phrase is generally applied otherwise, the difficulties to be surmounted by the clever and ambitious son of a man who commands national attention are far greater than a superficial observer would perhaps admit. Jealousy in such a case is eager to claim that position as the product of a parent's power; detraction points to youth as an evidence of undue promotion; envy is prone to see evidences of incapacity in every action; and the world at large is far more critical in its judgement and more liable to withhold its praise than if the object had been surrounded by no adventitious aids from the cradle to the Cabinet. That the son of one of Canada's greatest public men should have already succeeded in impressing his personality upon Canadian history and his influence upon Canadian politics, is in itself no small indication of marked ability.

Born at Amherst, N. S., on August 3rd, 1855, the second son, it is hardly necessary to say, of Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G. C. M. G., C. B., now Canadian High Commissioner in England, Charles Hibbert Tupper was educated at McGill and Harvard Universities, graduating as a L. L. B.. In September, 1879, he married Janet, daughter of Hon. James McDonald, Chief Justice of Nova-Scotia; in the previous year had been called to the Bar, and in 1882 was returned to Parlia-

ment for the Constituency of Pictou, N. S., at the general election of that year. In 1887 and in 1891, Mr. Tupper was returned by largely increased majorities and now seems to hold firmly an once doubtful seat. When the youthful member took his place in the Canadian House of Commons, it was a period of great national prosperity and great Conservative power. The country was just upon the wave of good times which had been created in so pronounced a degree by the National Policy of 1879. Sir Leonard Tilley at that time was able to describe, and with a truthfulness which his political opponents hardly appreciated, the hum of the mills and factories newly established all over the land. Labour was remunerative once more ; population was increasing ; cities expanding ; good crops the order of the day and for the time being prices of farm products were fairly good. Sir John Macdonald was the idol of his party, as indeed he has always been in a greater or less degree and in 1884 reached the acme of popularity during those great celebrations which marked in Toronto and Montreal the completion of his forty years of public life and the bestowal of the Grand Cross of the Bath by a grateful and appreciative Sovereign. It was in some ways an opportune moment to enter upon public life, but to a young man the road to success would not perhaps appear to be any more easy because his party seemed entrenched in power and the influence of his leader almost autocratic in its strength.

When therefore the new member for Pictou stood up in the House of Commons, upon the 9th of February, 1883, to move the Address, considerable interest and curiosity was felt regarding this very youthful looking son of a distinguished sire. Sir Charles Tupper was then Minister of Railways and Canals and had been expending his well-known energy and force of character upon the creation of the great railway with which Canadian character and progress are so thoroughly and honourably identified. To those who appreciate the difficulties of a first effort in such a body as our House of Commons, the presence of his father in an audience which can be very critical upon occasion, would hardly be considered in this case an aid to success. But Mr. Tupper made a speech which was very generally pronounced a striking proof of debating ability. The speaker was able to point out that our revenue and population had increased since Confederation in far greater proportion than in the United States

after separation from Great Britain ; that we had "passed from the Colonial stage and become an integral part of the British Empire ;" that over \$10,000,000 of hard cash had been taken into the North-West by immigrants during 1882 ; that the wonderful growth of trade between Manitoba and the Eastern Provinces had been caused by the partial completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and would, of course, be immensely developed by its final terminus at Vancouver ; that Winnipeg assessments had sprung up from \$3,000,000 in 1879 to \$30,000,000 in 1882 ; and that our trade had increased \$49,000,000 since the Government took office. Such a picture was a pleasant one for a young speaker to dilate upon and Mr. Tupper made the most of it. In the remarks with which he followed as Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Blake was very complimentary :

" He might say that he rejoiced to welcome, in his presence in this House, a man who though young in years gave promise of making his mark in the House and in the country at some future day."

Sir John Macdonald was not less pleasant in what he said during the course of the debate :

" It must have been gratifying to the House, it must have been especially gratifying to my colleague and friend the Minister of Railways, as it was to myself and the whole Conservative party, to see his son taking at once a position in this Chamber."

More from the Premier would have been out of place ; what he did say, followed by subsequent action, was praise indeed. Curiously enough, Mr. Tupper's father-in-law, Hon. James McDonald, and our present Prime Minister, also obtained influence in the House by a single speech. Mr. McDonald's celebrated speech was made in 1878 ; Sir John Thompson's was delivered upon a memorable occasion and in reply to Mr. Blake's famous defence of Louis Riel. Placed now fairly upon the path of success, the young politician might well inquire, what of the future ? Like other youthful aspirants to political fame and power in other ages and in other lands, he occupied the position described by Mr. Disraeli in "Coningsby" with such eloquence and effect :

" They stand on the threshold of public life. What will be their fate ? Will they maintain in august assemblies and high places the great truths which they have embraced ; or will their courage

exhaust itself in the struggle, their generous impulses yield to the tawdry temptations of a low ambition ; or will they remain brave and true, refuse to bow before shadows and worship phrases ; sensible of the greatness of their position, recognize the greatness of their duties, denounce to a perplexed and disheartened world the frigid theories of a generalizing age ?”

Mr. Charles H. Tupper did his duty well and faithfully in the House ; he appears to have fully apprehended the dignities of public life, the responsibilities of public position ; he was well known to have never performed a political action in which there might be cause for shame ; while his work for the party in the great Province of Nova Scotia aided Sir Charles Tupper materially in maintaining that wonderful influence which he seems to have in the hearts and politics of the Maritime Provinces generally. It was natural that the young politician should take great interest in the Maritime affairs of the Dominion ; that he should study deeply the fisheries and fishing industries of the Lower Provinces , and that the House should soon come to recognize him as an authority upon the subject, as one who knew what he was talking about, and could hold his own with Liberals like Davies, Jones, Burpee or Laird, whether in the House or upon the stump. Hence, when he succeeded the Hon. James C. Pope, Hon. A. W. McLelan and Hon. George E. Foster as Minister of Marine and Fisheries in February, 1888, the public surprise was not very great, the chief sentiment being one of hearty approval and belief that he would prove an industrious, intelligent and well informed administrator. It was fitting that the appointment should be made from the ranks of Maritime Provinces representatives. Not only had the three Ministers who previously held the post in the existing Government come from that natural nursery of seamen and students of Maritime affairs, but Hon. Peter Mitchell, during Sir John A. Macdonald's first Ministry, and Sir Albert J. Smith, during Mr. Mackenzie's tenure of power, had both come from the same part of the Dominion.

Mr. Tupper's youth was the one objection raised, and that not very prominently. He was only thirty-three, but it must be remembered that John A. Macdonald entered the Ministry of the Canadian Provinces as they were then, when one year younger, and that Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, at the age of 36, became a member of Mr. Mac-

kenzie's Cabinet. It was at best an ephemeral criticism, and the *Globe* practically punctured it, the morning after he announced appointment, by saying :

"Instead of his youth being against him, it is altogether in his favour. Canada has too few young politicians in Parliament and still fewer in positions where they may learn how to conduct public affairs."

In proceeding to point out that the young Minister would acquire experience during a brief interval which would make him for the balance of his political life a useful Parliamentary critic and member of the future Conservative Opposition, the Liberal organ was, of course, unintentionally funny. But it made amends for so very natural a wish in its final comments upon the appointment :

"It may be said that he has been advanced simply because he is 'the son of his father,' but that would be scarcely fair. Though the new Minister of Marine has not displayed any special eloquence, originality or ability, he has shown prudence, self-restraint, good humour, and courage, if not inherited audacity. He is certainly the ablest Tory member from Nova-Scotia. He is said to be a 'glutton for work,' and that is very creditable to so young a man. We see no reason why he should not become an efficient administrator of the Fisheries Department, with the business of which he is, as a Nova-Scotian, more or less familiar."

The *Globe's* opinion of Mr. Tupper's probable success as a minister has been amply verified, but in passing, we might ask, if prudence, self-restraint, courage, good humour, and industry do not constitute "ability," what its inherent characteristics are. In addition to these admitted qualities, Mr. Tupper is eloquent, and, like his father, a magnificent stump speaker. But of this later. The *Mail*, (February 13th 1888), which was then, as now, an Opposition organ, commented very favourably upon Sir John Macdonald's selection of his new colleague :

"Mr. C. H. Tupper begins public life very soon after beginning professional life, with an excellent outfit for the career. A high personal character, a chivalrous disposition, much success as a student and marked success as a lawyer, with a place as member for the loyal County of Pictou (out of which nothing base ever comes)—these are young Mr. Tupper's fortunate belongings, and these he will use ably and loyally for his party and his country."

Aside, however, from the encomiums of the press, the expectations of his friends, and the fears of those enemies whom every public man must anticipate meeting sooner or later, Mr. Tupper proved a most successful minister. Assuming office at a delicate period in our international relations, he devoted himself to his department and to the difficult questions which have since been constantly springing up, with more than praiseworthy diligence. Mr. Cleveland had recently issued his curious Retaliation manifesto; the Treaty negotiated with infinite pains by Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, the British minister and Sir Charles Tupper had been unceremoniously rejected by the U. S. Senate, and the American press and utterances of American politicians were filled with undisguised wrath over Canada having the courage to fall back upon and resolutely enforce the Treaty of 1818, which the abrogation of the Treaty of Washington had brought into renewed operation. The action of the Dominion under the circumstances, the policy of the Government, and the administration of the Marine and Fisheries Department were all alike dignified, firm and yet conciliatory. A *modus vivendi* was voluntarily offered by Canada so as not to in any way injure the season's work of the Gloucester fishermen; but the wholesale claims of the American Government were promptly rejected and the persistent efforts of American poachers in our Atlantic fishing grounds resisted and finally checked by an organised coast patrol service. It will be remembered how extraordinary in their nature these claims were. Though the Treaty of 1818 expressly prohibited American vessels from fishing within the three-miles limit of the coast and was very explicit regarding the reasons for which foreign fishing vessels might seek a Canadian harbour—buying bait, transshipping fish, &c., being expressly excluded from the rights conferred:—yet the American Government claimed all these privileges, and their fishermen endeavoured to take them forcibly or stealthily, as the case might be. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries nipped this process in the bud, and the people of Canada have every reason for congratulation in having had a vigorous well-informed man in control of its maritime policy during this trying period.

In no other department of our Government is a strong man and a patriotic Canadian more required than in the one controlled for the past four years by Hon. Charles H. Tupper. Knowledge of Cana-

dian history to a most intimate degree ; clear comprehension of all the details of international law ; skill in that diplomatic warfare of words and political fence which is necessary in a constant correspondence and contest with the United States via London, and often direct ; all these are needed by a Canadian Minister of marine at the present time. Probably he has the chief portion of Canada's foreign policy to control. Tact and discernment are therefore as necessary as is strength of character, and it is not too much, I think, to say that in these qualities Mr. Tupper appears to be well equipped. The American claims upon the Atlantic coast were practically laughed out of court. The Treaty was enforced as regards the purchase of bait and transhipment of catch and shipping of crews, and presumably will be, so long as the United States maintains a heavy duty upon Canadian fish. The other remarkable idea, that on the Canadian shore the three-miles limit was to run according to the sinuosities of the coast and not from headland to headland when both were Canadian soil, was soon relegated to obscurity. Amongst other points referred to in this discussion was the known fact that, in Delaware Bay, Chesapeake Bay and other United States waters, the three-miles limit was always reckoned, and enforced, from headland to headland. The contention in the case of Behring Sea makes the position of the United States on the Atlantic coast all the more extraordinary. But such in too many cases is American consistency.

The next question of importance with which Mr. Tupper was connected officially included the Behring Sea claims and the aggressions of the United States in those waters. The problem was a most complicated one so far as our friendly relations with the Republic were concerned, but most Canadians consider it to be extremely simple, if justice and inter-national friendliness were the only factors. That these great waters should be treated as a closed American sea, though when Russia owned the Alaskan shores the United States violently protested against such a theory ; that American jurisdiction extended hundreds of miles from the Coast on the Pacific, though Canada was not entitled to a three-miles limit upon the Atlantic ; that the killing of seal in moderate numbers by Canadian fishermen upon the waters of what they considered the ocean, was piracy and poaching, but that the wholesale slaughter of the same animal off the shores of Alaska by an American monopoly called the Alaskan Seal

Company, was legitimate and not injurious ; that Lord Salisbury and the British Government should continue the *modus vivendi* indefinitely, by which Canadian sealers were precluded from carrying out their occupation and Americans permitted to capture seals up to a certain limit which they publicly and deliberately exceeded; that it was very wrong of the British Government to maintain the rights of Canada, to insist upon Arbitration and cessation of American seizures, to refuse a continuation of the *modus vivendi* unless the American Government consented to pay damages, should the arbitration go against them ;—such were a few of the claims made and such a brief outline of the policy of the United States in this matter.

The final result of the diplomatic struggle and of a long series of American aggressions in the waters of Behring sea was the reference of the chief points in dispute to a tribunal of arbitration in which Canada, Great Britain and the United States are represented. Sir John Thompson is the Canadian arbitrator, and the Hon. Charles H. Tupper is British agent, and has lately been some time abroad working up the details of the Canadian case. It was an excellent appointment and was so considered all over Canada. The questions to be submitted to the International Tribunal for decision : the basis upon which Mr. Tupper will have to work and, it is to be hoped, build a structure of triumph for Canada and increased reputation for himself, is found in this following outline :

1. What exclusive jurisdiction in the sea known as the Behring Sea and what exclusive rights in the sea fisheries therein did Russia assert and exercise prior and up to the time of the cession of Alaska to the United States ?

2. How far were these claims of jurisdiction as to the seal fisheries recognised and conceded by Great Britain ?

3. Was the body of water now known as the Behring Sea included in the phrase "Pacific Ocean," as used in the treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia, and what rights, if any, in the Behring Sea were held and exclusively exercised by Russia after said treaty ?

4. Did not all the rights of Russia as to jurisdiction and as to the seal fisheries in Behring Sea east of the water boundary, in the treaty between the United States and Russia of the 30th March, 1867, pass unimpaired to the United States under that treaty ?

5. Has the United States any right, and, if so, what right, of protection of property in the fur seals frequenting the islands of the United States in Behring Sea, when such seals are found outside of the ordinary three-miles limit?

The submission of these five principal points to arbitration smoothed over the difficulties which at one time threatened hostilities, and gave the Minister of Marine and Fisheries much responsible work, several visits to Washington and in the end an opportunity to gain a more than national reputation. No doubt, if Mr. Tupper succeeds in his presentation of the case for Canada, he will receive the honour of Knighthood and few will be found to say that his Queen could confer the compliment upon a more deserving and representative Young Canadian. Hitherto the Minister's career has been more or less unpretentious. He is not fond of publicity and never works for effect. This has been clearly shown in his management of a Department in which the Opposition, with all pardonable eagerness, have never been able to find a flaw, and which runs so smoothly that the public hardly ever hears of it, unless some inter-national question comes to the front.

Our little troubles with Newfoundland have also taxed Mr. Tupper's energy and skill. Incidentally it helped to bring him before the public of Toronto and Ontario in a most favourable light. It was during the crisis of the difficulties, when our friends in the ancient colony were imposing heavy duties upon Canadian products, favouring American articles, and hampering Canadian fishermen, while our Government had revived a duty formerly imposed upon Newfoundland fish, that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries was invited by the Toronto Young Men's Conservative Association to deliver an address in that city. As President of the Association at that time, the writer, of course, heard the address, the reception given to the Minister, and knew something of its after effect. The audience was enthusiastic, but that might, of course, be caused by political sympathy. The speaker's sentences, however, did more than merely enthuse the hearers,—they were remembered. Mr. Tupper has a ringing and fervent style, somewhat like Sir Charles Tupper's is said to have been in the days when he used his well-known vigour and made his trenchant, hammer-like blows fall, without mercy, upon the opponent of Conservatism who might have had the courage to meet him in debate.

And the speech was more than merely effective from a pure oratorical standpoint; it was a clear, concise and thorough presentation of certain questions. Freely and fully he urged those propositions of loyalty and patriotism which have, throughout his career and that of his father, formed a substantial basis of principle and political faith.

“The basis of our national existence was interprovincial trade, communication between these British North American provinces and the consolidation of all interests commercially as well as nationally. Above and beyond everything was that firm and abiding faith in freedom under British institutions, British connection in the future, and for all time to come. (Cheers.) Those questions of annexation, those questions of independence, those questions inconsistent with our rights and privileges as British free men were all to the front in early days. We had face to face as powerful arguments then as ever have issued from the lips of statesmen or from our press from that day to this.”

Many were the ringing sentences. The essence of the speech so far as national subjects are concerned may be embodied in the words: Fight for your country above all things, above party and above everything, and work out political questions man to man under British connection and as British free men, without appeals to foreigners or alien interference. The history of the Newfoundland matter was clearly discussed; the Bond-Blaine attempt at a treaty discriminating against Canada; the subsequent protest of the Canadian Government and the consequent refusal of the British ministry to assent to its terms; the anger of the Newfoundlanders against the Dominion and their unjust and unnecessary legislation. Canadian conciliation at the time, and Canadian kindness during the great fire have since destroyed all sentiments of hostility and abrogated unfriendly arrangements, but Mr. Tupper had his audience thoroughly with him during the explanation of a then not generally understood question. Equally interesting was his presentation of the current political situation, and especially effective was the whole speech amongst the number of young men who were present. Many a listener said next day, and many who were there believe now, that the Hon. Charles H. Tupper is a future Premier of Canada and one of the few who might even at that time have been considered possible occupants of the high office. But when the period comes for such an honour to be placed in the

hands of the present Minister of Marine, we may be sure that it will be as a spontaneous expression of public conviction and regard and, as in the case of Sir John Thompson, the unsought recognition of national ability and services by the party and country.

The date of this meeting was December 16th, 1891. Upon a previous occasion, January 12th, in the same year, Mr. Tupper had visited Toronto and addressed a semi-private dinner at the National Club. It was, therefore, not a public event, but it gave rise to a ringing speech dealing with Canada's great merchant marine and the canals and waterways of the Dominion. The address shows a wide range of information, and presented, especially to Mr. Plimsoll—the well-known sailor's friend—who was a guest, many interesting facts regarding Canada's progress in reforms, which the minister claimed to be greater, so far as the treatment of seamen and marine interests were concerned, than had been the case in either Great Britain or the United States. He spoke throughout with that feeling, as he put it, "of confidence in the country that fills the breast of a man so young as myself." But the kernel of his speech was contained in the following words :

"The great problem for us now is the development of the idea that the great ships of the ocean will yet be seen in this magnificent bay upon which your city lies. Why should we not see it? . . . What must be the feelings of a stranger striking the Straits of Belle-Isle, when he finds that he can travel over 2,000 miles on Canadian waters till he strikes the heart of the finest country in the world, and all within Canadian territory? What we have to do is to bend our energies so that not only may we say that a vessel can reach the heart of this continent through Canadian waters, but that a vessel of almost any draught or of great draught can do so."

The words are hopeful, the idea is one which the young Canadians of to-day should live to see realized, and the benefit to be derived from the passage of the huge lake traffic of Central North America past Toronto and Montreal to the sea, would be almost incalculable. But the Minister of Marine is naturally hopeful in tone and aspiration. For years he has been a member of the Canadian Council of the Imperial Federation League and he thoroughly believes in a united empire as well as a united Canada ; in a federation of the British dominions for purposes of trade and aid as well as the present

federation of the Canadian provinces. During the bye-elections which took place so numerously and, for the Conservatives, so successfully, in the early part of this year, Mr. Tupper did active and signal service in Nova-Scotia. Letters to papers like the *Halifax Herald* and the *Chronicle* of that city portrayed Liberal views in very plain and effective style. Speeches in several places did good work for the party. At Halifax, the minister encountered his oft-defeated opponent, or, as he termed him, "that old weather-beaten and oft-beaten politician"—the Hon. A. G. Jones. Speaking of leaders he referred to an event still fresh in men's minds: "The great Chieftain had passed away, but the Conservative party still lives, and will live, to continue governing Canada upon the lines laid down by Sir John Macdonald." Then, amid loud cheering, he turned to the Opposition, and dealt with their leaders one by one, until he came to the time when Mr. Blake threw up the sponge.

"After he abandoned them, the leadership went into Commission and the thing became so cheap that even Mr. Jones was made a Commissioner."

This remark is quoted merely to show how effectively sarcastic Mr. Tupper can be upon occasion. It was at this time that he referred to a recount and important conversation which had taken place between himself and Governor McKinley, of Ohio, the then famous author of the bill which bears his name. It is an interesting reminiscence and well worthy repetition.

"Mr. McKinley had asked for his views on the subject of unrestricted reciprocity. He replied that he belonged to a government that would fight it to the death, and then he asked Mr. McKinley what he thought about it. Mr. McKinley said that he looked at our expenditures, which could not be less than \$35,000,000 annually. If we took off duties from imports to the United States, we would have to resort to direct taxation. The people of Canada would not submit to direct taxation for federal purposes any more than would the people of the United States. The English taxpayer would never consent to discrimination against their products in the Canadian market. Looking at it in all its bearings, Major McKinley said he had come to the conclusion that the idea was an absolute chimera."

But the life and labours of the present Minister of Marine and Fisheries can now be left to speak for themselves. Courteous in

manner ; cordial and popular in style ; eloquent and impressive upon the platform ; greatly liked in the House ; youthful in appearance, but old in political experience ; possessing acknowledged ability, untiring energy and industry ; with the evidences of a cultivated taste and splendid health, the Hon. Charles Hibbert Tupper may be safely considered as one of the successful men of to-day in Canada, and one of the half-dozen who can be picked out in our political life as having a distinct future, and a more prominent position marked out for them in the time to come.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

Toronto, December 10th, 1892.



MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES

OTTAWA CANADA

Dec: 13/92

My dear Mr. Tucke'

In response to your
request I send
you a photograph
— taken this
Summer in London

It is the most
flattering I have
yet seen and I
suppose it will "fill
the bill" as you
note for the best!

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