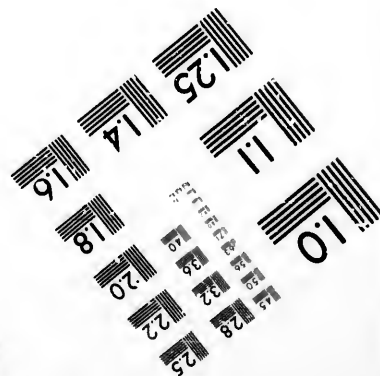
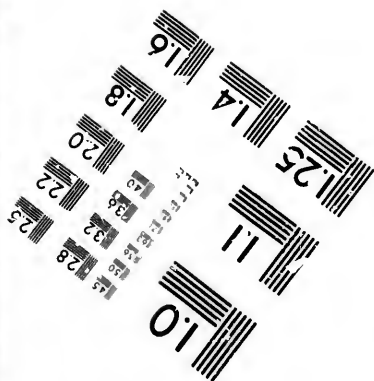
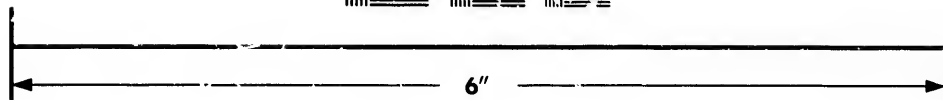
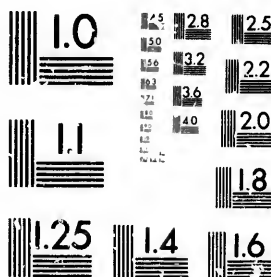


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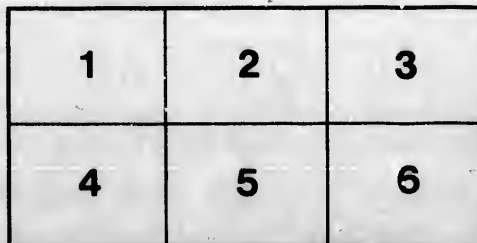
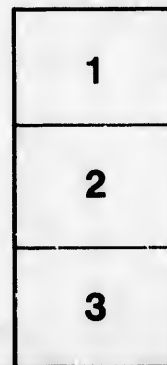
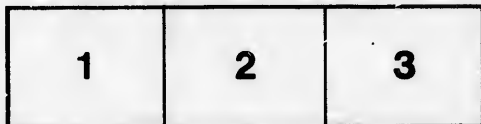
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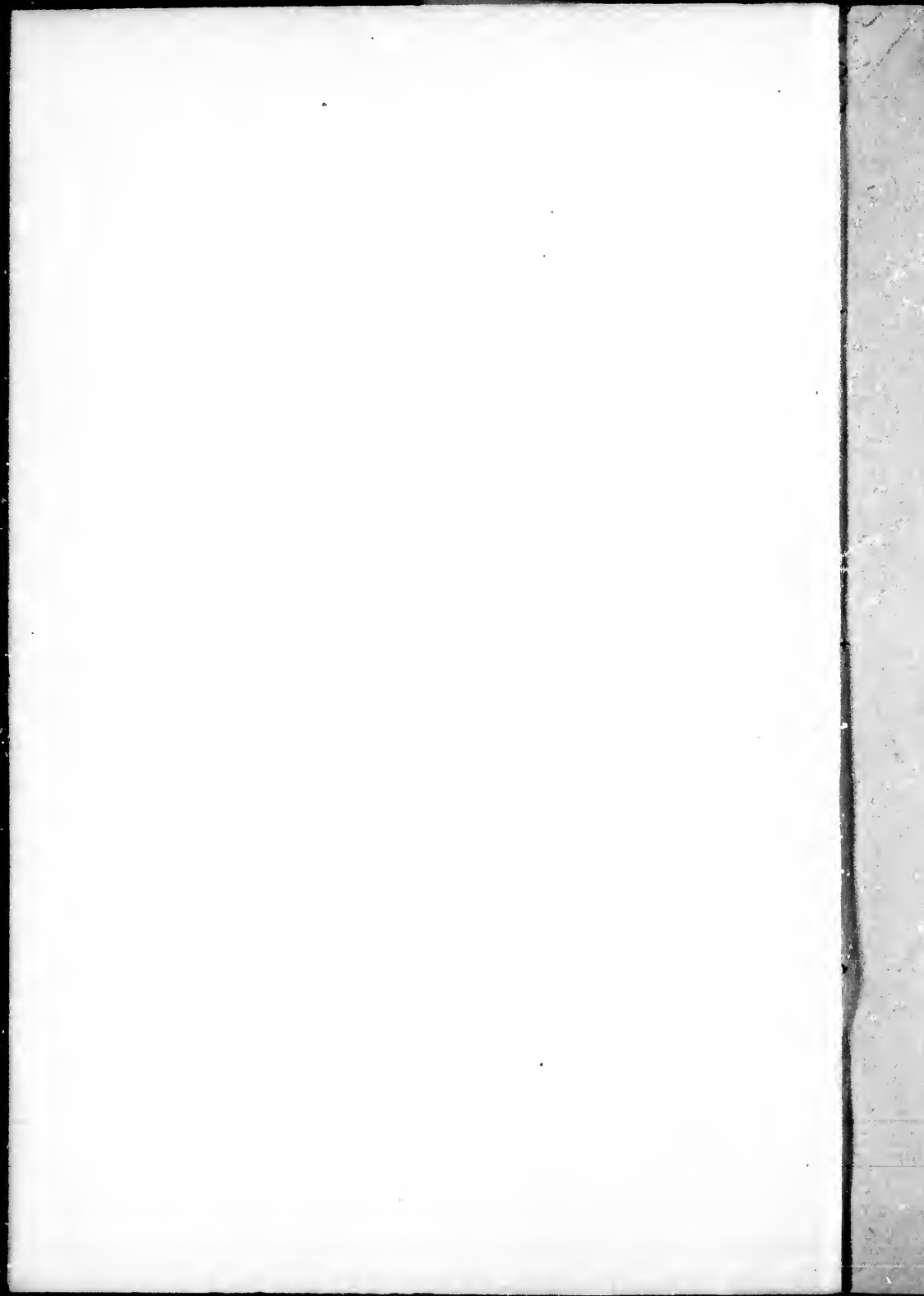
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

REFORM CONVENTION,

HELD AT TORONTO,

On the 27th and 28th June,

1867.

TORONTO :

GLOBE PRINTING COMPANY, 26 & 28 KING ST. EAST.

1867.

THE HISTORY OF THE

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REFORM CONVENTION.

THE Convention of the Reform party of Upper Canada commenced its sittings on Thursday, the 27th June, 1867, in the Music Hall, Toronto.

The Convention, consisting of Reform members of Parliament, Reform candidates for the General and Local Legislatures, office-bearers of Reform Associations, Editors of Reform journals, and delegates from municipalities throughout the Province of Ontario, assembled in response to the following call from the Executive Committee of the Reform Association of Upper Canada, which sufficiently explains the objects of the gathering:—

CONVENTION OF THE REFORM PARTY.

ROOMS OF THE REFORM ASSOCIATION, }
TORONTO, JUNE 13, 1867. }

DEAR SIR,—We are instructed by the Executive Committee of the Reform Association of Upper Canada to inform you that a General Convention of the Reform party of Upper Canada will be held in the Music Hall, Toronto, on Thursday, the 27th June, and to invite your earnest co-operation in the movement.

The suggestion that such a gathering of Reformers as that of the great Convention of 1859 would at this moment be of vast service to the Liberal cause, was pressed upon the Executive Committee from a number of quarters; and, after mature consideration, the following circular was prepared and sent to the Reform members of the existing House of Assembly, to the Reform candidates now before the people for election to the House of Commons and House of Assembly, to the Editors of Reform journals, and to the Office-bearers of all branch Reform Associations known by us to be in active operation:—

“DEAR SIR,—On the 9th November, 1859, the greatest political assemblage ever convened in Canada met in the City of Toronto, to consider the relations between Upper and Lower Canada, and the financial and political evils that had resulted therefrom, and to devise constitutional changes fitted to remedy the said abuses, and secure good government for the Provinces. Five hundred and seventy prominent and influential men from all sections of Upper Canada took part in the proceedings of that Convention, and conclusions were arrived at which have stamped their impress indelibly on the future history of our country. The formation of the Upper Canada Reform Association was the work of that Convention; and the branches of that Association, established throughout Upper Canada, have tended in a great measure to secure those political successes at the elections that the Reform party has since achieved. Resolutions were adopted by that Convention setting forth the political evils existing in the Province and the right remedies for them; these resolutions

have stood the test of fierce party criticism and invective for years, and have at last been adopted with the almost unanimous assent of the people of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and with the hearty approbation of our fellow-subjects throughout the British Empire, as the basis of the new Federal Constitution for the government of British America. To remind you how completely the suggestions of the Reform Convention of 1859 were in harmony with the Imperial Confederation Act of 1867, we republish the resolutions adopted by the Convention:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The Constitution of the Association, formed at the Convention of 1859, provided *inter alia* in Article III., as follows:—

"Article 3.—The general affairs of the Association shall be managed by an Executive Committee, holding its first meeting in Toronto; of which Committee all Members of Parliament subscribing to this Constitution, and all Presidents of Branch Associations, shall be members, with such other members of the Association as the Committee may from time to time elect. The said Committee may appoint its own officers, and adopt rules and by-laws, ten being a quorum for that purpose.

"The Executive Committee here referred to was reconstituted at a Reform

meeting held in this city on the 9th April, 1867, and the following gentlemen appointed members of it:—

D. BLAIN, Esq.	H. S. HOWLAND, Esq.
E. BLAKE, Esq., Q. C.	JAS. LESLIE, Esq.
HON. GEORGE BROWN, M. P. P.	JOHN LEYS, Esq.
JOHN BOYD, Esq.	HON. D. McDONALD, M. L. C.
W. H. BURNS, Esq.	JOHN McDONALD, Esq., M. P. P.
ALEX. CAMERON, Esq.	KENNETH MACKENZIE, Esq., Q. C.
ADAM CROOKS, Esq., Q. C.	HON. WM. McMASTER, M. L. C.
J. D. EDGAR, Esq.	HON. JOHN McMURRICH.
WM. HENDERSON, Esq.	JAMES METCALFE, Esq.
THOMAS HODGINS, Esq.	A. M. SMITH, Esq., M. P. P.
	S. SPREULL, Esq.

“This Executive Committee is now in active operation, and it is in consequence of resolutions formally and unanimously adopted at a meeting specially called to consider the subject that we now address you.

“The Executive Committee are of opinion that it might be a proper thing, and highly advantageous to the cause of Reform, were a great Reform Convention, such as that of 1859, to be convened in Toronto on an early day, to rejoice over the great success that has attended their past labours, and to adopt measures for securing the correction of the abuses so long deplored by the Reform party, and for the infusion of those sound Reform principles into the daily administration of public affairs—to secure which the Constitutional changes now achieved were so long and so earnestly laboured for.

“The Executive Committee are of opinion that such an assemblage, by bringing together the prominent men of the party for consultation and friendly intercourse, would inspire new vigour into the Reform cause. It would enable the new men, who have been selected to bear the banners of Reform in the several constituencies, to become personally known to each other—and it would afford an opportunity for consolidating the party, harmonizing the views of those who may have been temporarily estranged by the occurrences of late years, and enabling the whole Reform party to act heartily and unitedly for common ends at the coming general elections.

“While strongly impressed with the very great and obvious advantage to the Reform cause that must accrue from such a gathering—the Executive Committee hesitated to take the responsibility of summoning the Convention without previous communication with friends of the cause throughout the country. It was accordingly determined that a private circular should be addressed to the Upper Canada Reform members of the present House of Assembly, to the candidates of the Reform party now seeking election, to Presidents and Secretaries of Branch Reform Associations, and to the Editors of newspapers sustaining the views of the Reform party;—inquiring whether in their opinion such a Convention would be advantageous to the cause, and whether the last Thursday of this month (June) would be a convenient day for its assembling.

“We have the honour to be, Dear Sir,

“Yours respectfully,

“S. SPREULL, } *Joint Secretaries.*
“J. D. EDGAR, }

The response to this Circular from all sections of the Province, and from Reformers of all shades of opinion, has been in the highest degree satisfactory. The movement is almost universally hailed with enthusiasm, as calculated to unite cordially all sections of the Reform party, and add great additional strength in the coming electoral contest. Thus strengthened by popular opinion throughout the country, the Executive Committee have felt it their duty to lose not a day in summoning the Convention.

The Executive Committee have deemed it advisable to adhere as closely as possible to the basis on which the Convention of 1859 was called together. All parties holding the general political principles of the Reform party of Upper Canada, and desirous of cordially uniting with their brother Reformers in carrying those principles into the Government of the New Dominion, will be eligible as delegates to the Convention. The object is to re-unite all sections of the party, and it is hoped that the difference on incidental questions, arising from occurrences of late years, will not debar any Reformer from taking part in the movement.

The Convention is to consist of a delegate from the Reformers of each town and township municipality in Upper Canada—and all Reform members of the existing House of Assembly, all Reform candidates for the Federal and Local Legislatures under the new Constitution, all Office-bearers of Branch Reform Associations, and all Editors of Reform journals, will be *ex officio* members of the Convention. As the Assembly, however, is merely for discussion and organization, and to elicit the feeling of the country, at the present juncture, it would be highly inexpedient to limit the number of delegates from each municipality by any absolute rule so as to exclude prominent and well-informed members of the party. It is recommended, however, that the number of delegates from any municipality should not exceed five, except in the case of large towns and cities.

We address this Circular to you, sir, in the belief that you will feel heartily disposed to co-operate with the Association in making the coming gathering a great success. We ask you, on the receipt of this letter, to take steps at once for the election of delegates to represent your municipality in the Convention.

We are, Dear Sir,
Yours truly,

SAMUEL SPREULL, } *Joint Secretaries.*
J. D. EDGAR, }

The Secretaries, aided by members of the Toronto Reform Association, were in attendance at the Music Hall at 10 o'clock, to receive the credentials of the delegates. The following is a list of members of the Convention:—

Simpson, C. P., Barrister, St. Catharines.	Badjeraw, Martin, Farmer, Scarboro.
Thoroughgood, R., Editor <i>Norfolk Reformer</i> , Simcoe.	Smith, George, Merchant, Milton.
Taylor, Emerson, J. P., Tp. Toronto, Credit.	Grayson, J. W., Editor <i>Evening Times</i> , Hamilton.
Boston, Robert, Treasurer Lobo Rf. Assoc'n.	Greig, George, Major, Beachville.
Moore, Hugh, Merchant, Dundas	Adams, Joshua, Solicitor, Sarnia.
Lawrie, Robert, (of R. & J. Lawrie, Millers,) St. Catharines.	Wilkes, C. R., Editor <i>Advertiser</i> , Owen Sound.
Bowman, Noah, J. P., Woolwich.	Wilkes, J. C., J. P., Insurance Agent, Mount Forest.
Norris, Captain. (of Norris & Neelon, Millers) St. Catharines.	Martin, C., M. D., Lindsay.
Whitehead, Wm., J. P., Brampton.	Cockburn, A. P., Timber Merchant, Reform Candidate Local Legis., North Victoria.
Sharpe, Thos., J. P., Chinguscouy.	Surtzer, Samuel, Farmer, Toronto.
McLean, John (late of Hudson's Bay Co.'s service) Elora.	Dickson, Andrew, (late Sheriff) Mill Owner, Pakenham.
Taylor, Richard, Agent, Elora	Agnew, J. N., M. D., Toronto.
Moore, Wm., J. P., Merchant, King.	Hamilton, Sidney S., Wharfinger, Toronto.
Freel, J. G., M. D., Markham.	Snarr, John, Builder, Toronto.
Lawson, W., Merchant, Hamilton.	Gardner, Thos., Commission Merchant, Toronto.
Kennedy, W. (John McDonald & Co.) Toronto	Ogden, W. W., M. D., Toronto.
Mathews, W. D., Produce Merchant, Toronto	Stewart, Alex., Builder, Toronto.
McMurrich, W. B., Barrister, Toronto.	Stock, James, Merchant, Toronto.
Spreull, Samuel, Accountant, Toronto.	Smith, John, (of Smith & Arthurs, Wholesale Grocers), Toronto.
Patrick, Wm., late M. P. P. for Co. Grenville, Prescott.	Macdonald, James, Builder, Toronto.
Hutcheson, Alex., Miller, St. Catharines.	Bolton, L. R., J. P., Notary Public, Bolton Village.
Moore, D., Merchant, St. Catharines.	Soaget, S. C., Merchant, Owen Sound.
Kennedy, A. S., Bootmaker, Cobourg.	Hunter, James J., M. D., Reeve, Newmarket.
Burrill, Christopher, J. P., Mill Owner, Stanley Mills.	Smith, R. H., J. P., Merchant, Newmarket.
Laurie, James, J. P., Scarboro.	
Purvis, James, Farmer, Scarboro.	

- Gorham, Nelson, Woollen Mill Owner, Newmarket.
 Maguire, John, Mauvers.
 Robinson, Chas., J.P., Land Agent, Beaverton.
 Bolster, Lawrence J., Superintendent Water Works, Toronto.
 McMullen, James, J.P., Yorkville.
 Burns, W. H., Barrister, Toronto.
 McLennan, John, Merchant, Lindsay.
 Armstrong, Philip, J.P., Tp. York.
 Stevenson, George, Land Agent, Sarnia.
 Sangster, John A., J.P., Stouffville.
 Gage, Peter, J.P., East Flamboro.
 Dayfoot, P. W., Merchant, Hamilton.
 Echardt, Wm., J.P., Unionville.
 Tennant, George, Ref. Candidate Assembly, South Leeds.
 Mundy, E., Editor *Standard*, Port Perry.
 McKellar, Arch., M.P.P., Chatham.
 Lillie, John, Merchant, Wallaceburg.
 Mowat, Wm., J.P., Bookseller, Stratford.
 McLay, Murdo, Warwick.
 Sovereign, Chas., J.P., Bronto.
 Eimaley, Romigius, Cloverhill, Toronto.
 McGill, Chas., M.P.P., Merchant, Hamilton.
 Dewar, John Jr., Barrister, Milton.
 Appelle, James, J.P., Oakville.
 Kennedy, James, Town Clerk, Holland Landing.
 Beach, Robert, Bootmaker, Holland Landg.
 Young, Arch., Merchant, Sarnia.
 Drummond, J. W., Lumber Merchant, Toronto.
 Blain, David, Barrister, Toronto.
 De Cosmo, Hon. A., Mem. Leg. Council, British Columbia.
 Walker, Geo. L., Editor *Courier*, Perth.
 Wells, J. P., M.P.P., King.
 McMaster, Wm., Merchant, Newmarket.
 Gould, Joseph, J.P., ex-M.P.P., Mill Owner, Uxbridge.
 Bugg, John, Lumber Dealer, Toronto.
 Dawson, John, Grocer, Toronto.
 Macdonald, John, M.P.P., Merchant, Toronto.
 Jackson, E., Editor and Proprietor *Era*, Newmarket.
 McCrossan, Thos., Merchant, Toronto.
 Wheeler, George, Mill Owner, Uxbridge.
 Wickson, Samuel, Barrister, Toronto.
 Maughan, N., Farmer, Eglington.
 Beatty, Wm. H., Lumber Merchant, Reform Candidate for H. Commons for Algoma, Thorold.
 Lawson, Edward (of Lawson Brothers, Merchants), Hamilton.
 Young, Hon. E., Mem. Leg. Council, Prince Edward Island.
 Dalglish, Robert, Merchant, Ref. Candidate for H. Commons for South Grey, Durham.
 Hardy, A. S., Barrister, Brantford.
 Aikins, M. H., M.D., Toronto Tp.
 Kennedy, Alex., Lumber Merchant, Atherly.
 Irving, Emilus, Q.C., Barrister, Hamilton.
 Barclay, Francis, Merchant, Georgetown.
 Allan, George, J.P., Merchant, Glen Allan.
 Fleming, James, Barrister, Brampton.
 Carruthers, John, Merchant, Ref. Candidate for House of Commons for Co. Frontenac.
 Gould, Joseph E., Mill Owner, Uxbridge.
 McInnes, George, Machine Manufacturer, Fergus.
 Hall, Thomas, Merchant, Paris.
 Coterell, J. D., Farmer, Esqueping.
 Macpherson, Malcolm, J.P., Mill Owner, Kincairdine.
 Irvine, Wm., Builder, Kingston.
 O'Hanley, J. L. P., Ref. Candidate Assembly Co. Russel, Ottawa.
 Burwell, L., M.P.P., East Elgin.
 Wylie, David, Editor *Recorder*, Brockville.
 Robinson, C. Blackett, Editor *Post*, Lindsay.
 Hewitt, Wm., Merchant, Toronto.
 Stirton, David, M.P.P., Guelph.
 Bowman, I. E., M.P.P., North Waterloo.
 Fraser, C. F., Barrister, Reform Candidate for Assembly, Brockville.
 Greeley, A., Editor *Times*, Picton.
 Cowan, J. W., Merchant, Oshawa.
 Farewell, J. E., Barrister, Oshawa.
 Bell, John, Q.C., Barrister, Toronto.
 Halley, Wm., Merchant, Toronto.
 Mackenzie, Kenneth, Q.C., Barrister, Toronto.
 Wilkes, G. S., Agent, Brantford.
 Stewart, C. E., Publisher *Expositor*, Brantford.
 Murray, George, Barrister, Toronto.
 Hodgins, Thomas, Barrister, Toronto.
 Kilgour, Robert, Manufacturer, Mt. Forest.
 Osborne, Wm., Produce Merchant, Galt.
 Kay, James, Carriage-maker, Galt.
 Finlayson, Hugh, Harness-maker, Paris.
 Rymal, Joseph, M.P.P., South Wentworth.
 Williams, J. M., Ref. Candidate Assembly, Hamilton.
 Smith, John, Secretary Reform Association, Hamilton.
 Wright, Ames, M.P.P., East York, Richmond Hill.
 Mackenzie, Alex. M.P.P. Lambton, Sarnia.
 Brown, J. G., Editor *Globe*, Toronto.
 Doan, Charles, Merchant, Aurora.
 Crooks, Adam, Q.C., Reform Candidate Assembly for West Toronto.
 Irwin, E. G., Merchant, Newmarket.
 Cummins, J. P., Barrister, Brampton.
 Lyons, Wm., General Merchant, Simcoe.
 Gurnett, J. S., Editor *Chronicle*, Ingersoll.
 Cox, W. G., Editor *Huron Signal*, Goderich.
 Aikins, W. T., M.D., Toronto.
 Bowlby, J. W., Barrister, Brantford.
 Card, John L., Mill Owner, Albion.
 Gardhouse, John, General Merchant, Bolton Village.
 McLean, Thomas, Merchant, Brantford.
 Malcolm, Wm., Brass Founder, Hamilton.
 Bague, A. F., Barrister, Dundas.
 Severn, John, Brewer, Yorkville.
 Oliver, Adam, Reform Candidate for Assembly, South Oxford.
 McMahon, James, M.D., Dundas.
 Barber, Robert, Mill Owner, &c., Reform Candidate House of Commons, Peel, Streetsville.
 McMillan, A. G., Barrister, Elora.
 McBride, Samuel, Alderman, London.
 Fysh, Hewitt, Wholesale Confectioner, London.
 Taylor, John, Paper Manufacturer, Toronto.
 Snider, Captain Elias, Eglington.
 Chisholm, Wm., Builder, Hamilton.
 Baldwin, George, Merchant, King.
 Moore, Nelson W., Harness-maker, St. Thomas.
 Kerr, W., Barrister, Cobourg.
 Field, John C., Merchant, Cobourg.
 Dolson, James, J.P., Merchant, Yorkville.

- Hardy, H. A., Barrister, Brantford.
 Powell, E. W., M.D., Cobourg.
 Hubertus, H. J., Newspaper Correspondent,
 Ottawa.
 Smith, John, Reform Candidate Assembly,
 Kent.
 Munro, Henry, J.P., M.P.P., West Durham,
 Newcastle.
 Ansley, J. H., Barrister, Simcoe.
 White, John, M.P.P. Co. Halton, Milton.
 Chisholm, K., Merchant, Brantford.
 Powell, W. G., Editor *Star*, Paris.
 Holmes, C. D., Alderman, London.
 Carmichael, Jas., Merchant, Oshawa.
 Thomson, W. A., Reform Candidate House
 of Commons, Niagara.
 Gibson, Joseph, Merchant, Yorkville.
 Grant, Wm., Merchant, Bowmanville.
 Habertus, I. S., Refiner, Toronto.
 Speight, James, Farmer, Markham.
 Howard, B. W., Farmer, East Gwillimbury.
 Choate, Aaron, J.P., Tp. Hope.
 Campbell, James, Merchant, Wiltby.
 Kempeon, P. T., M.D., Reeve, Fort Erie.
 Urquhart, Dr. S. F., Toronto.
 Chisholm, R., Builder, Hamilton.
 O'Connor, P., Mill Owner, Paris.
 McDougall, Colin, Ref. Candidate House of
 Commons, West Elgin.
 McColl, S., Reform Candidate Assembly for
 West Elgin.
 McLeod, John, Reform Candidate Assembly
 for West Durham, Bowmanville.
 O'Hara, Henry, Insurance Agent, Bowman-
 ville.
 Thompson, David, M.P.P. Co. Haldimand.
 Thompson, J. H., Ref. Candidate House of
 Commons, North Ontario.
 Fraser, Robert, Barrister, Toronto.
 Currie, Hon. J. G., ex M.L.C., St. Cathar-
 ines.
 Goslin, John, St. Catharines.
 Brown, Calvin, Barrister, St. Catharines.
 McKeown, John, Barrister, Hamilton.
 Campbell, Malcolm, Reform Candidate for
 Assembly, West Middlesex.
 Christie, Hon. D., Senator, Brantford.
 McCrea, Hon. W., Senator, Chatham.
 Frazer, John, M.D., Ex-M.P.P., Reform
 Candidate House of Commons, Monck,
 Fonthill.
 Boulton, H. J., Mill Owner, Humberford.
 Manning, Alex., Alderman, Toronto.
 Smith, H. D., Iron Founder, Reform Candi-
 date for Assembly, North Leeds, Mer-
 rickville.
 Bull, E., M.D., Weston.
 Cruikshank, James, Cabinetmaker, Weston.
 Leslie, George, Nurseryman, Toronto.
 McGill, Wm., M.D., Reform Candidate As-
 sembly, South Ontario.
 Thomas, S. M., General Merchant, Brooklin.
 Robson, George, Proprietor Robson House,
 Whitby.
 Wass, Wm., Insurance and Land Agent,
 Oakville.
 Graham, Joseph, Farmer, Toronto Gore.
 Parker, Henry, Merchant, Woodstock.
 Douglas, John, Harness-maker, Woodstock.
 Modeland, Joshua, Farmer, Chinguacousy.
 Adamson, Wm., Newswadealer, Toronto.
 Rock, Warren, Barrister, London.
 Harrison, Emanuel, Farmer, Chinguacousy.
 Higgie, David, M.D., Brantford.
 Haggart, J., Iron Founder, Brantford.
- Hill, A. G., Barrister, Welland.
 Fummerfelt, Wm., Tanner, Markham.
 Blain, George, J.P., Toronto Township.
 Ross, John, Alderman, London.
 O'Loane, R. J., Postmaster, Stratford.
 Corson, J. W., M.D., Brantford.
 Stork, Christopher, Chemist and Druggist,
 Brantford.
 Hogg, Wm., Miller, York Township.
 Ford, W. N., Conveyancer, St. Mary's.
 McDougall, J., Iron Founder, St. Mary's.
 Bul', T. H., Barrister, Toronto.
 Redfie'd, James, J.P., Stratford.
 Iddington, John, Barrister, Stratford.
 Clark, Nathan, Farmer, Caledon.
 Green, William, Farmer, Colborne.
 McLaren, Alex., Township Councillor, Cale-
 don.
 Clement, J. D., Ref. Candidate for House of
 Commons, North Brant.
 Fraser, John, Ref. Candidate for Assembly,
 Co. Frontenac, Kingston.
 Eccles, Wm., Barrister, St. Catharines, Ref.
 Candidate for Assembly, Co. Lincoln.
 Blake, Edward, Q.C., Toronto, Ref. Candi-
 date for House of Commons, West Dur-
 ham, and Assembly, South Bruce.
 Brown, Hon. George, M.P.P., Editor *Globe*,
 Toronto.
 Cameron, Alex., Barrister, Toronto.
 Edgar, J. D., Barrister, Toronto.
 Henderson, Wm., Merchant, Toronto.
 Leys, John, Barrister, Toronto.
 Metcalfe, James, Ref. Candidate for House
 of Commons, East York.
 McDougall, Hon. Wm., M.P.P., Toronto.
 Howland, Hon. W. P., M.P.P., Toronto.
 Smith, A. M., M.P.P., East Toronto.
 Leys, George, Merchant Tailor, Sarnia.
 Leys, Alex., General Merchant, Sarnia.
 Taylor, Charles, Painter, Sarnia.
 Minie, W. R., Editor *Statesman*, Bowmau-
 ville.
 Gemmell, J. R., Editor *Observer*, Sarnia.
 McLean, John, newspaper Correspondent,
 Hamilton.
 Spohn, J. V., Barrister, Hamilton.
 Sinclair, Donald, Ref. Candidate for Assem-
 bly, North Bruce.
 Farewell, Abraham, J.P., Oshawa.
 Pattullo, Alex., M.D., Brantford.
 Robinson, Robert, Merchant, Toronto.
 Britton, B. M., Barrister, Kingston.
 Solomon, Mark, Wholesale Tobacco Manu-
 facturer, Toronto.
 Nixon, Thos., Produce Merchant, Toronto.
 Fisher, A., Bank Manager, "
 Snarr, Thomas, Builder, "
 Lauder, A. W., Barrister, "
 Boyd, John, Merchant, "
 Butler, Jas. P., Merchant, "
 McMurrich, Hon. John, Ref. Candidate for
 Assembly, North York.
 Irving, Wm., Builder, Kingston.
 Maitland, Robert, Land Agent, Toronto.
 Miller, Hugh, Druggist, Toronto.
 Johnson, W. S., Editor, Toronto.
 Clarke, W. F., Editor *Canada Farmer*,
 Toronto.
 Brenner, John, East Williams.
 Diamond, A., Editor *Hastings Chronicle*,
 Belleville.
 Mendell, George, Hatter and Furrier,
 Guelph.
 McNaughton, Thomas, Editor *Sun*, Cobourg.

- Cameron, John, Editor *Daily Advertiser*, London.
 Merritt, Isaac B., Township Oakland, Co. Brant.
 Smith, Robert, Ref. Candidate for Assembly, Co. Peel.
 Burk, D. F., Merchant, Reeve of Oshawa.
 Trow, James, Ref. Candidate for Assembly, South Perth, Trowbridge.
 Fleming, John, Merchant, Galt.
 Young, James, Ref. Candidate for House of Commons, South Waterloo, Galt.
 Moyer, P. E. W., Editor *Chronicle*, Waterloo.
 Christie, Robert, Ref. Candidate for Assembly, North Waterloo, West Flamboro'.
 Waugh, Christopher, Tp. London.
 Wilkes, Geo. H., Foundry, Brantford.
 Osborne, J. B., Merchant, Beamsville.
 Bowman, J. L., J.P., Freeport, County of Waterloo.
 Erb, John L., Waterloo.
 Arkell, Wm., Merchant, Fingal.
 Fulton, John, M.D., Anatomical Professor, Victoria College, Toronto, Fingal.
 Michael, W. D., Merchant, Oshawa.
 Campbell, R. S., Tp. Pickering.
 White, Truman P., J.P., Miller, Whitevale.
 Cryderman, Wm., Darlington.
 Dryden, John, Brooklin.
 McCuaig, James, St. Mary's.
 Elliott, Henry, J.P., Hampton.
 Buck, W. K., J.P., Bowmanville.
 Cann, Thomas, J.P., Darlington.
 Fower, Edward G., J.P., Darlington.
 Middleton, John, J.P., Clark.
 McLaughlin, John, J.P., Darlington.
 Holman, Joseph, Tp. Whithy.
 Creighton, John, J.P., Tp. Hamilton.
 Mallory, C. R., J.P., Tp. Haldimand.
 Richmond, S., J.P., Brighton.
 Cascaden, James, J.P., Orono.
 Fisher, John, J.P., Grafton.
 Beith, Alex., J.P., Orono.
 Jones, Matthew, J.P., Darlington.
 Henderson, John, J.P., Tp. Hamilton.
 Haines, George, J.P., President West Durham Reform Association, Bowmanville.
 Young, John B., J.P., Brighton.
 Fielding, Wm., J.P., Newcastle.
 Bowman, J. S., Preston.
 Ratcliff, John, J.P., Columbus.
 Hoiliday, Daniel, J.P., Brooklin.
 Heron, Wm., J.P., Ashburn.
 Fullarton, Adam, J.P., Brougham.
 Boomer, Alfred, J.P., Linwood.
 Macdougall, John, J.P., Tp. Waterloo.
 Foreman, Thomas C., J.P., Prince Albert.
 McMullin, James, J.P., Yorkville.
 Collins, Joseph W., J.P., Newmarket.
 Dawson, George, J.P., Malton.
 Ward, Thomas, J.P., Grahamsville.
 Forster, Wm., J.P., Brantynon.
 McGregor, John, J.P., Sligo.
 Mitchell, Alex., J.P., Orangeville.
 Gardiner, Robert, J.P., Britannia.
 Snell, John, J. P., Edmonton.
 Windatt, Richard, Town Clerk, Bowmanville.
 Munsie, Wm., J.P., Nobleton, King.
 Hutton, James P., J.P., Brampton.
 Hinman, Smith, J.P., Cramahe.
 Hossie, D., Moore.
 Kempt, C.B., Brighton.
 Morden, M., Brighton.
 Murdoch, Wm., Adelaide.
 Pane, John, Adelaide.
 McVicar, Geo., Brampton.
 Chittenden, Geo., Brantford.
 Hannon, Joseph, Glanford.
 Olmstead, M. J., Saltfleet.
 Kennedy, Jacob, Bosanquet.
 Hughes, J. W., Moore.
 McLay, Murdo, Warwick.
 Wiley, Wm., Owen Sound.
 McColl, Thomas, Cowell.
 Blue, Archibald, Dewart.
 Rae, Robert, Warden of Lambton, Bosanquet.
 Rawlings, Albin, Bosanquet.
 Eccles, John D., Warwick.
 McAlpine, Alex., Euphemia.
 Lillie, John, Chatham Tp.
 Dunlop, James, Plympton.
 Jardine, Robert, "
 McAlpine, Alex., Euphemia.
 Rawlings, Albin, Bosanquet.
 Waddell, John, Sarnia.
 Spohn, P. H., Ancaster.
 Lundy, J. B., M.D., Beverly.
 Burns, John, East Middlesex.
 Carling, Edward, "
 Elliott, John, Scarborough.
 Bruce, John, County of Bruce.
 Fraser, Wm., "
 Flanagan, C., Paris.
 Malcolm, Geo., S. E. Hope.
 Mullin, Wm., South Dumfries.
 Badgero, Geo. W., Markham.
 Shaw, Henry, Toronto.
 Scott, John, Galt.
 Gibson, David, York township.
 McLean, D. C., Brook.
 Mullgan, B., Kingston.
 Harcourt, Geo., "
 Corran, Isaac.
 Hazen, D. M.
 Windsor, Edward, Clarksburg.
 Noble, John, Parkhill.
 Mackay, A. G., Toronto.
 Cerrigan, C. S., London.
 Thayer, Edwin S., Montreal.
 Hannon, Joseph, Glanford.
 Ehardt, James, Markham.
 Lockard, Wm., King.
 Murdock, Wm., London.
 Pane, Mr., "
 McGuire, James, "
 Stajlifer, J., Waterloo.
 Grey, Alex., "
 McArth, Malcolm, Dundas.
 McArden, John, London.
 McAllany, Wm., Humberton.
 Gumer, Joseph, Pelham.
 Ehardt, Thos. P., Markham.
 Aikens, David, "
 Burgess, James, "
 Kennedy, Jacob, Cansboro'.
 Bruce, John, Thora.
 Easterbrooke, Thomas, Wellington Square.
 Matthews, Robert, Brantford.
 Gibson, Alex.
 Simpson, Wm., Durham.
 McCrindle, James, Huron.
 Fisher, John, Plympton.
 Henderson, Dr. D.
 Burritt, E., Wolford.
 Pollock, Joshua, Brampton.
 Gordon, Adam, Reach.
 Myrro, John, Toronto.
 Davidson, Alex., Guelph.
 McIntyre, Alex., "

- Boak, Charles.
 Palliser, Robert, Owen Sound.
 Wardlaw, Robert, Toronto.
 Harrison, J.
 Hall, Henry, Vanbark.
 Wilson, John, Westminster.
 Gakin, Wm., Markham.
 Johnston, Edward, Acton.
 McLachlan, Alex.
 Moore, Allen, Frampton.
 Johnston, Robert, Chatham.
 Playter, George, Newmarket.
 Mowrie, James, Caledonia.
 Playter, Thomas, Port Perry.
 Dawson, George, Brampton.
 Clark, W. Q., Toronto.
 Parnham, James, Granby.
 Terry, John, East Granby.
 Foley, Geo. F., Thorold.
 Hook, Jacob, Cookville.
 Hall, Thos., Paris.
 Grislaw, Donald, Prince.
 Hall, J. C., Peterboro'.
 McFayden, Charles, Owen Sound.
 King, Thomas, Cookstown.
 Hughes, Samuel W., Moore.
 McCulloch, J., Hamilton.
 McCosh, Alex., Huron.
 Fields, Reuben, Prescott.
 Stewart, Robert, Fergus.
 Stefford, D., Picton.
 McKinnon, A., Bosanquet.
 Kennedy, A., "
 Greely, Horace, Hogg's Hollow.
 Hant, H., Malverton.
 Phelps, R. B., "
 Webster, P. B., "
 Jennett, R., "
 Scott, John A., Stratford.
 Blain, John, South Easthope.
 Rankin, David, Georgina.
 Colcleugh, George, Mount Forest.
 Fleming, Alfred, Galt.
 McLean, Robert, Galt.
 Sutherland, John, "
 Ghent, David, Neison.
 Verner, James K., Newmarket.
 Urquhart, D., Scott.
 Smith, J. H., Flamboro'.
 Ross, C. W., Strathroy.
 Spears, Adam, Brampton.
 Nicholls, Robt., "
 Allison, Thomas, East Flamboro'.
 Blakley, David, Dundas.
 King, Chas., Cheltenham.
 Kerr, John, Stamford.
 Bain, Thos., North Wentworth.
 Roy, Wm., Darlington.
 Hershey, Edwin, Bertie.
 Gamble, J. W., Moore.
 Taylor, G. W., Stamford.
 Wynn, John, "
 Kellar, Henry, "
 Hostetter, H., Brantford.
 Davis, A., St. Catharines.
 Fraser, John, Brighton.
 Echardt, Salem, "
 Benedict, Erastus, Paris.
 Graham, Alex., London.
 Whcaton, John, "
 Belton, Wm., "
 Wilkinson, James, Christie.
 Farley, Irwin, Nissouri West.
 Wheaton, Joseph, "
 Uran, Thomas, "
 Warren, P., Hamilton.
 Snider, N., York.
 Seaton, Donald, Lobo.
 Irvine, Joseph, "
 Edward, Henry, "
 Cushman, Jacob, Gainsboro'.
 Jeffrey, Wm. D., "
 Cummer, John, Waterdown.
 Griffith, James, Brantford.
 McLennan, Arch., "
 Eddy, C., "
 Smith, Russell, "
 Hosie, David, "
 Burrow, G. F., Dundas.
 Calder, James, Hamilton.
 Hoke, George, East Gwillimbury.
 Clarke, John, M.D., "
 Richardson, C. W., Morpeth.
 Davis, J. G., Hamilton.
 Snider, John B., "
 Clarke, Chas., "
 Shaw, John M., "
 Brill, J. F., Guelph.
 Colquhoun, F., North Waterloo.
 Lyman, Chas., Esquesing.
 Lindsay, James, "
 McPherson, Alex., Dundas.
 Wright, John, London.
 Henderson, Wm., Trafalgar.
 McMurray, J., Wentworth.
 Dinkley, Wm., "
 Ralph, Mr.
 McLeod, D. W., Darlington.
 McLaws, David, Dunwich.
 McQueen, James, Beverley Tp.
 Henderson, Wm., Beverley.
 Sherrard, Aaron, Uxbridge.
 Tearly, John B., "
 Herriman, W. L., Clarke Tp.
 Smith, W. H., Brighton.
 Stevenson, W., Alnwick.
 Hastings, W., Hamburg.
 Pellett, W., Haldimand.
 Walker, E., Whitby.
 McPhail, A., Milton.
 Jaffray, R., "
 Kempsey, C. B., Brighton.
 Becker, A. A., "
 Moston, M., "
 Farren, Aster, Newcastle.
 Stock, W., "
 Armstrong, James, Belleville.
 McConnell, Archibald, Chinguacousy.
 Wood, Peter, Yorkville.
 Ferris, J. M., "
 Baldwin, Wm., Bowmanville.
 Little, Robert, "
 Home, George, Brock township.
 Baker, Joseph, "
 Metcalfe, James, "
 Grant, R., Toronto.
 McCranney, Wm., Trafalgar Tp.
 Harris, C., Hope.
 Young, N., Trenton.
 Haight, H., Scarborough'.
 Ellis, G. S., Mitchell.
 Thompson, R., Mitchell.
 Moyle, Mr., Brantford.
 Wilmott, Mr., Hamilton.
 Widderfeld, J. H., Hamilton.
 Brown, R., Paris.
 Hurrene, Hamilton.
 Dobbin, John, Grafton.
 Lastall, D. L., Hamilton.
 Hall, J., Paris.

Nilley, M., Elgin.
 Turris, Mr., West Flamboro'.
 Fawke, Thos., Bowmanville.
 Dickey, Heron, Clarke.
 Mitchell, James, Haldimand.
 Tyrall, Edward,
 Burns, John, Manvers.
 Hall, R. S., Esquesing.
 Campbell, James B., Reach.
 Scott, Warren, Murray.
 Watson, James, York Tp.
 Ago, A., Stafford.
 Holden, James, Whitby.
 Gould, J. H., Blanchard.
 Campbell, John, "
 Betts, Daniel, Whitby.
 McDougall, John, Bowmanville.
 Brown, W. C., Paris.
 Crow, Jacob, Pelham.
 Bowbeer, W. S., Trafalgar.
 Niles, W. H., North Dorchester.
 Craig, James, "
 Jackson, S. A., "
 Kerr, Alex., Westminster.

Tinbline, B., Yarmouth.
 Johnston, Wm., Toronto Tp.
 Somerville, James, West Wawanosh.
 Callaway, Joshua, Stanley.
 Wanless, James, "
 Hancy, Dr., Pelham.
 McIntyre, John, Crowland.
 Coad, Richard, Enfield.
 Hazlewood, James, Howick.
 Grubb, Wm., Etobicoke.
 Tufford, John, Brantford.
 McBean, A., Ingersoll.
 Pettitt, John B., Brampton.
 Nelson, A., Esquesing.
 Cowan, Joseph, London.
 Lockart, Allan, Orono.
 Green, James, East Easthope.
 Mahon, J. J., Toronto.
 Stewart, Peter, North Easthope.
 Forrester, Andrew, St. Mary's.
 McDougall, Jos., "
 Walker, L., Tavistock.
 Law, N., Markham.

At two o'clock, Hon. J. G. CURRIE called the Convention to order, and moved that WILLIAM PATRICK, Esq., of Prescott, be Chairman of the Convention.

D. STIRTON, Esq., M.P.P., seconded the nomination.

The motion being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with loud applause, said—It is but right, gentlemen, that I should say to you, at the outset, that I am very much disappointed, indeed, in the proud position in which you have placed me to-day. (*No, no*). I had not the remotest idea that my name would be proposed as the Chairman of this large Convention when I came to this meeting. Had I supposed I should have been placed in such a position, I would have prepared myself, at least, to have made somewhat of a suitable speech; but as I had no intimation of the kind, and had no intention of occupying any prominent position in this Convention, I made no preparation whatever to address you, although the occasion is one, I believe, of the greatest possible importance, and worthy of the attention of the best men of the country at this critical moment. (*Cheers*.) Gentlemen, I go fully for party organization. (*Loud cheers*.) I need hardly say to you that I am a Reformer of the old stamp. It is but a very few rods from the place I now occupy, that, over forty years ago, I used my best boyish efforts to secure the election of a near relative of mine, when the hustings were placed on the south side of the old Court-house. All who knew anything of the city of Toronto at that day, will remember where that stood—I suppose part of the walls are standing now. On the Reform ticket, a near relative of mine was the first to oppose the Attorney-General, afterwards Chief Justice ROBINSON. I recollect some of the young men who took an active part in that election. It was not the old Dr. BALDWIN, but young BALDWIN, who was one of the hard-working men of the time; he afterwards became Attorney-General. I well recollect young SULLIVAN working in his shirt sleeves, running to and fro in the hot season, and striving hard to secure the election of my friend and relative. He afterwards became judge. These men have passed away, and now, within sight of those scenes, forty years afterwards, I am summoned from a remote part of the Province to meet you here, and you have placed me

in the chair to preside over the deliberations of this assemblage. I have, of course, occupied a humble position in the Legislature for a few years, and during that period I have generally arrayed myself decidedly upon the Reform side. (*Hear, hear.*) My friend, Mr. BROWN, says "*hear, hear.*" Well, gentlemen, as an exemplification of how I think Coalitions work, my friend Mr. BROWN coalesced with certain parties to capsize the Hincks Government, and I thought it was but right for me to coalesce with other parties to keep him out of power; but, gentlemen, I found that it was a nasty business. (*Hear, hear.*) I found it was impossible for me to work with the Tories; and although some stuck to the Coalition ship, I was only able to adhere to it for a few months, when I was very glad to forsake it. The experience I learned at that time as to the working of Coalitions has fully convinced me of their immorality and impropriety. (*Cheers.*) Whatever may be the excuses for the Liberals of the Maritime Provinces for coalescing as they have done—and there may be strong reasons for their doing so—I believe there are no sufficient reasons for the Liberals of Upper Canada to coalesce with their political opponents. (*Cheers.*) Would the Conservatives pursue such a course as this? If they could elect 55 or 60 men out of 82, would they propose a Coalition with the 20 men we might elect? No, not a bit of it! (*Cheers.*) They are quite shrewd, and thoughtful, and wise, and cunning enough, to secure all the offices and patronage of the country for their own friends, not to give them to us to induce us to coalesce with them. Therefore, gentlemen, I do say, with regard to the men representing the Liberal element in the Government, that the course which modesty would have prompted them to take, would have been to have called their friends together from every part of the country, as we are called here to-day, to counsel and advise with them, and then, if a large gathering of the Reform party advised them to go into the Coalition, they would have been justified in doing so. But, gentlemen, I say there is nothing to justify the course they are taking, which is to hurl defiance in our faces. (*Hear, hear.*) What are we told by a Minister of the Crown, as reported in this morning's papers? That a bullet will be fired at every man of us that presumes to oppose them—that the Coalition is established, that it is a *fait accompli* that cannot be changed, and that every man who opposes them is a mark to be fired at. Gentlemen, we are not prepared to obey that dictation. I believe we are prepared to take the issue. (*Cheers.*) I believe Upper Canada will show at the polls that we are believers in the old and popular doctrine that party government must prevail. It is well enough for absolutism—it is well enough for those who wish to establish an absolute Government—to say that parties are unnecessary. But, in all good Governments, two strong, well defined parties are an indispensable necessity—the one to watch faithfully over the governmental operations of the other, and to checkmate them and bring them down when they pursue any course that is injurious to the best interests of the country. Gentlemen, I hope we will adhere to the policy of party distinctions. I do feel that we have immense responsibilities resting upon our shoulders, and we need to exercise our best wisdom, and humbly to seek true direction from that God, who can alone give it, that we may lay properly the foundations of the important structure which we are about to raise. The mother country has granted us what we have asked for. She has given us a liberal constitution; and whatever little faults we may find in it, we must say on the whole it is a good one. If placed in the hands of honest, true, good men, it will be

a blessing to future ages. But, if it is to be worked out by bad and corrupt men, what may not be the result? We will have three sources of corruption, of fraud, and of infamy, to poison and destroy the country, instead of the one we formerly had. Can we with confidence place the working of this machinery in the hands of those who have been ruining our country in the past? (*Cheers.*) I say, for one, gentlemen, we cannot. (*Cheers.*) When I went into Parliament in 1851, what was our national debt? About thirty millions. What is the state of affairs now after having been manipulated most of the time by these very men? It is in the neighbourhood of at least eighty millions. Now, what will be the position of our country fifteen or twenty years hence, if it is given to these men to manage, who, instead of showing any disposition to economize, already give indications that they wish to launch out into a new career of extravagance? Why, we are told that they are to put thirteen men into their Cabinet, and how much is it said that these men are to have? \$8,000 a year, each of them. (*Cries of oh! oh!*) That is the rumour, and I suppose it is very likely to be the case. It would only be of a piece with what we know to be the economy of our friend, Mr. GALT, who, it is said, is to manage the Finance affairs of our country in the future. If he does get that position, I hope it will be only for a very short time. I hope, when the Liberals of Upper Canada and of Lower Canada, and of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, have the opportunity of going to the polls, they will pile up a sufficient majority to enable them to put the right men in the right places. (*Loud cheers.*) I shall not occupy your time any longer with a speech. I thank you heartily for having conferred on me this honour, and I trust our meeting to-day will result in much future good to our common country. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. KENNETH MACKENZIE, Q.C., moved that Mr. EDGAR and Mr. SPREULL be Secretaries of this Convention. Carried unanimously.

Mr. MCKELLAR, M.P.P., said the next duty was to appoint a Committee on Credentials, and he had in his hand a list of gentlemen who would perform that duty:—Messrs. M. C. CAMERON, of Goderich; R. M. WELLS, of Toronto; JOHN SMITH, of Hamilton; THOMAS HODGINS, of Toronto; ROBERT REID, of London; R. M. ROSE, of Kingston; JOHN BOYD, of Toronto; C. F. FRASER, of Brockville; JOHN TURNER, of Toronto; PETER GOW, of Guelph; AARON CHOATE, of Port Hope; J. D. EDGAR, of Toronto; CHARLES MAGILL, of Hamilton; W. H. BEATTY, of Thorold; S. HARDY, of Brantford; SAMUEL SPREULL, of Toronto; W. H. BURNS, of Toronto; A. KENNEDY, of Beaverton; JOHN LEYS, of Toronto; JOHN GOSLIN, of St. Catharines; DAVID BLAIN, of Toronto; JOSEPH GOULD, of Uxbridge; DAVID McCULLOCH, of Hamilton. Carried by acclamation.

Mr. MACKENZIE, M.P.P., seconded by Mr. BURWELL, M.P.P., moved that the following gentlemen be a Committee of Arrangements. In doing so he wished to congratulate the Chairman on the position he occupied, in acting as President of the Convention. No man, he felt assured, had worked more energetically in the ranks of the Reform party. (*Applause.*) He would also congratulate the country on the large and influential gathering of Reformers he saw before him. It was, he believed, the largest gathering of the kind that had ever assembled in Canada, and he thought no discussion could be more important than that about to be entered upon. The names were as follows:—Messrs. JOHN MCKEOWN,

of Hamilton; JAMES YOUNG, of Galt; WM. HENDERSON, of Toronto; HUGH MILLER, of Toronto; T. W. NAIRN, of East Elgin; WARREN ROCK, of London; W. B. McMURRICH, of Toronto; E. JACKSON, of Newmarket; JOHN MULVEY, of Toronto; THOS. GORDON, of Toronto; ROBERT MAITLAND, of Toronto; G. L. WALKER, of Perth; J. G. CURRIE, of Niagara; R. JEFFREY, of Toronto; M. McINTOSH, of Toronto; T. B. PARDEE, of Lambton; — MOORE, of St. Thomas. Carried.

Moved by Mr. JOHN McKEOWN, seconded by Mr. JOHN SMITH, that the following gentlemen be named a Committee on Resolutions:—Messrs. DAVID STIRTON, M.P.P.; ALEX. MACKENZIE, M.P.P.; FRANK SMITH, of London; Hon. J. G. CURRIE; Hon. GEORGE BROWN, M.P.P.; Æ. IRVING, of Hamilton; JAMES YOUNG, of Galt; JOHN MACDONALD, M.P.P.; JOHN McKEOWN, of Hamilton; WM. ECCLES, of St. Catharines; ALEX. FRASER, of Cobourg; ADAM CROOKS, Q.C.; J. R. GEMMILL, of Port Sarنيا; DAVID WYLIE, of Brockville; JOHN CARRUTHERS, of Kingston; JOHN J. MCKENZIE, of Hamilton; Dr. HUNTER, of North York; ABRAHAM FAREWELL, of Oshawa; JOHN WHITE, M.P.P., of Halton. Carried.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN, on making his appearance on the platform, was loudly cheered. He said he did not intend to speak at any length at that time. He would, however, congratulate the Chairman on the position he occupied on the occasion. He felt that it was well that he had been selected to preside over the Convention, as he was a Reformer of twenty years' standing, and had sustained a good record during that time, and also because he came from a part of the country which was supposed not to hold sentiments precisely in consonance with those of Western Reformers. And he was happy to know that there were many others from the same part of the country, who would, he hoped, before this Convention broke up, show that the Eastern, the Central, and the Western Reformers held essentially the same principles. (*Cheers.*) But he had risen simply for the purpose of calling the attention of the gentlemen present to the mode of procedure. Three Committees had been appointed. The first was one on Credentials. He believed a good portion of the work of that Committee had already been done by the Executive Committee of the Reform Association. Still, there were some points which had been raised, and others probably which might yet be raised, that could only be decided by a Committee duly authorized by the Convention. This Committee had now to go to work. Then there was a Committee of Arrangements, and a third Committee had been appointed for the framing of Resolutions. The Executive Committee had taken upon themselves to prepare a rough draft of Resolutions, which they would have the honour of submitting to that Committee, and it would take some time to consider them, and have them printed in the form in which they would be submitted to the Convention. He would, therefore, suggest that the Convention adjourn for a reasonable time, in order to let the Committees go to work. There were also many delegates yet to arrive, and on that account it might be desirable to adjourn till some hour in the evening, when all would be present to hear the speeches that would be made by some of our young and rising politicians, who were now ready to take the places which older men like himself and the Chairman had heretofore held. (*Laughter and cheers.*)

Moved by Mr. TAYLOR, seconded by the Hon. J. G. CURRIE, "That this

Convention do adjourn till seven o'clock this evening, to allow the several Committees time to prepare reports on the matters referred to them."

After some conversation as to the possibility of meeting at an earlier hour, the motion was declared carried on a show of hands.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN said he was happy to announce that there were two distinguished strangers in this city. One was the Hon. Mr. DECRAMOS, from British Columbia, who would, no doubt, present the views of the people of that colony. He had taken a very prominent interest in the movement for Confederation in that part of the world, and would, doubtless, be listened to with great pleasure by the Convention. (*Cheers.*) The other was the Hon. Mr. YOUNG, of Prince Edward Island, who also desired to address the Convention, and would, of course, be listened to with equal pleasure. He would therefore move, seconded by Mr. LAWSON, That the gentlemen named be cordially invited to take seats in the Convention. Carried unanimously.

Mr. ADAM CROOKS, Q.C., moved, seconded by Mr. PETER GAGE, "That the newly appointed Senators be invited to take seats in this Convention." Carried.

Dr. FRAZER, ex-M.P.P., asked if it would not be well to invite the members of the Government who were in the city.

Hon. Mr. BROWN—They have been asked. (*Laughter and applause.*)

The Convention then adjourned till evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at seven o'clock.

Hon. J. G. CURRIE said, no doubt all were aware that two Reform members of the Ministry were at present in the city—Mr. McDougall and Mr. HOWLAND. He was told they had expressed a desire to be present but thought they had not received what they considered a sufficient invitation from the Convention; he therefore moved—

"That Dr. FRAZER, Mr. BEATTIE, Mr. BURWELL, and Mr. THOMPSON, be a committee at once to wait upon Messrs. McDougall and HOWLAND, and invite them to take part in this Convention." (*Cheers.*)

From the response given to the reading of the resolution, he was satisfied this meeting thought as he did. No doubt, the late conduct of those gentlemen would be criticized from this platform, and it was but fair for them, as well as fair for their opponents, that they should have an opportunity to meet face to face those who were prepared whether to censure or to applaud them. (*Cheers.*)

Seconded by Dr. FRAZER, Ex-M.P.P.

Mr. CARMICHAEL, of Oshawa, said, before the motion was put, he wished to ask whether the Hon. Mr. McDougall and Hon. Mr. HOWLAND were not members of the Reform party. He understood from the circulars calling the Convention, that the Reform members of Upper Canada were already invited. He desired to know whether these gentlemen were entitled to more honour at the hands of the Convention than any other members of the Reform party. (*Cheers.*) He was opposed to any special intimation or invitation being extended to these gentlemen,

seeing that the floor was already available to them, as well as all other members of Parliament. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. A. MACKENZIE, M.P.P., Lambton, was not aware when he entered the room what the motion really was that was now before the chair. He understood, however, that it was a motion to give a special invitation to the two members of the Government now in Toronto, who had belonged to the Reform party—he scarcely knew what party they belonged to now. (*Laughter.*) He understood that every Reform member of Parliament, as well as all the Reform candidates before the people, had received already invitations to this meeting. (Hon. Mr. BROWN; "*Hear, hear—two invitations—a double invitation.*") It was upon that invitation they were all there. Messrs. HOWLAND and McDOUGALL knew all about the Convention, and he (Mr. MACKENZIE) was opposed to any greater honour being done them than was paid to those who had taken their full share in bearing the heat and burden of the day. (*Cheers.*) He protested against this special favour being shown them. If these gentlemen were so proud that they could not attend the deliberations of the Reform Convention, unless its members went on their knees and begged them to come, let them stay away. (*Cheers.*) This was the only ground the Convention should take, being the only sensible and dignified ground they could possibly adopt. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. D. WYLIE, of Brockville, said, the meeting of yesterday having turned out to be a fizzle, it would do their hearts good were they to come here and look upon this Convention. (*Laughter.*) He therefore supported the motion.

Mr. WALKER, of Perth, said that the electors of the North Riding of Lanark, Mr. McDOUGALL'S constituency, requested it as a particular favour that Mr. McDOUGALL should receive a special invitation to attend this Convention. ("*Hear, hear,*" and cries of "*No, no.*")

Mr. McLEAN, from North Oxford, said that he had had the honour of proposing Mr. Wm. McDOUGALL for Parliamentary honours, and he knew him very well indeed. (*Laughter.*) Mr. McDOUGALL had had the same invitation to come to this meeting as the other Reform members had received. That gentleman was by no means a modest man—(*cheers and laughter*)—and if he wished to attend the Convention, he could come on the same invitation which had been given to the other Liberal members. He would like to see Mr. McDOUGALL present; but let them not stultify themselves by going on their knees either to Mr. McDOUGALL or Mr. HOWLAND. (*Cheers.*)

Dr. CLARKE, of Simcoe, said he was glad and proud that two men had had the manliness and honesty to get up and advance Reform principles, by moving this resolution. He held that there was nothing of proscription in Reform; there ought to be none. (*Hear, hear.*) They had no right to proscribe men who had been no more guilty of political treachery or bribery than some present. Men might commit faults, and be guilty of indiscretion or lack of judgment; but, until found guilty, they ought to be treated as brethren. Here was a proposition to re-unite all sections of the party, and it was hoped that no difference of late years would debar any Reformer from taking part in the movement. They all knew there had been strong attempts at proscription, and many present felt, in coming to the Convention, a degree of delicacy, because it might

be considered an attempt to make, by one tremendous stride, one man the leader of the Reform party, without proper consideration. He held that all persons should have a fair hearing; and if any parties had gone so far from party lines as to feel a delicacy and modesty in coming to the meeting, let an invitation be sent to them. If they felt that, by coming there, they would be playing second fiddle to the Hon. GEO. BROWN, or would be exposing themselves to treatment which would not be that of brethren who might have erred, let them have a fresh invitation to come, not in the ironical terms expressed by the Editor of the *Brockville Recorder*, but so as to bring them among the party, that the wheels of Reform might not be debased by the blood and bones of martyred victims in its onward course. They had lost enough good men by that course of proscription; let them get all the good men they could, and re-unite, and not weaken the party. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. SINCLAIR, of North Bruce, said if any of the friends of Mr. McDUGALL or Mr. HOWLAND now present were very anxious they should come here, he did not see that there could be any objection to those gentlemen forming a delegation to wait upon them; but that this Convention should send a delegation to request them to come here, was a thing, he thought, they should not do.

Hon. Mr. CURRIE said he had no idea, when he moved the resolution, that it was going to raise such a breeze. When he came here, he came expecting to meet all sections of the Reform party, in the hope that whatever breaches might have existed between those various sections, they might now be healed, that they might go to the country a united party. No one would suppose that he (Mr. CURRIE) was a friend of the Coalition. No Coalition ever had his support, and none ever would. And, while he might have feelings of friendship for the public men of our party, he held a truer friendship and weightier loyalty to the party to which he belonged. (*Cheers.*) He was one of those who had no fear of meeting either Mr. HOWLAND or Mr. MCDUGALL on the platform.

Hon. Mr. BROWN—*Hear, hear.*

Hon. Mr. CURRIE—Certainly. He was sure Mr. BROWN could have no fear. Instead of these gentlemen having an opportunity of going and saying they had not had a fair hearing, it would be far better to tell them—"our doors are open—come and meet with us—and you shall have our verdict, and that right willingly."

Mr. CARMICHAEL moved, that the SECRETARY be requested to send tickets of invitation to Hon. Messrs. McDUGALL and HOWLAND. Mr. CURRIE withdrew his original motion and seconded the motion. Carried.

Mr. A. GREEBLEY, of the *Picton Times*, said these gentlemen complained that they had been voted out of the Reform party by Mr. BROWN, which was the reason why they were not present.

The Secretary, Mr. EDGAR, said he had directed circulars to the hon. gentlemen, with his own hand, to Ottawa, and they had undoubtedly received them.

The Committee on Credentials reported as follows:—

"The Committee on Credentials beg leave to report, that they have had laid before them a statement furnished by the Executive Committee,

containing the names of all Reform members of the existing House of Assembly, Reform candidates for the Federal and Local Legislatures, Office-bearers of branch Reform Associations, Editors of Reform journals, and delegates from various municipalities of Upper Canada, to whom certificates had been issued, and who have been admitted to this Convention as members thereof; and the Committee find such statement to be correct, and recommend the same to be adopted by this Convention.

"Your Committee find that the total number of members so admitted amounts to about six hundred; but your Committee having learned that a further number of delegates is expected to arrive this evening and to-morrow, would ask to be empowered to meet again, and to present a further report.

"All of which is respectfully submitted.

"JOSEPH GOULD, CHAIRMAN.

"THOS. HODGINS, SECRETARY."

The report was adopted.

The Committee on Arrangements reported as follows:—

"1st. That when this Convention adjourns to-night, it do stand adjourned till 9 o'clock to-morrow morning. That it again adjourn at 12 o'clock, noon, and re-assemble at 1 o'clock p.m.

"2nd. Your Committee would further recommend, that each speaker desirous of addressing the Convention, should do so from the platform, and his name be announced from the chair.

"3rd. With the view of eliciting the fullest discussion on the subjects to be brought before the Convention, your Committee respectfully recommend that speakers be as brief as possible in their addresses, in order that delegates from various parts of the Province may have an opportunity to present their views.

"4th. Believing it desirable that the proceedings of this Convention should be as widely circulated as possible, your Committee would recommend that the Executive Committee, in Toronto, procure a full report, and publish the same in pamphlet or sheet form, as they may deem advisable, at the earliest possible date, and forward a copy thereof to each delegate attending the Convention.

"W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN.

"Convention Committee Rooms, }
June 27, 1867." }

Adopted unanimously.

Hon. Mr. BROWN, in coming forward to present the Report of the Committee on Resolutions, said he would take the opportunity to refer to an observation made by a gentleman on this platform a few minutes ago, that the intention of this Convention was to place one man unmistakably at the head of the Reform party. He (Mr. BROWN) scorned the imputation. (*Loud cheers.*) He stood here, at the end of twenty-five years' service to the Reform party, and he defied any man to show the first act of selfishness of which he had ever been guilty with reference to that party. (*Cheers.*) He defied any man to show one word that ever crossed his lips, as the representative of the people—one motion he ever

made—one speech he ever delivered—one vote he ever gave—which was not in harmony with the principles of the Reform party of Upper Canada. So far from there being any ground for that imputation, one great cause of this Convention being called was, that he might deliver up his trust to the members of the Reform party of Upper Canada, and that they should start with the new machinery in a position, in respect of unanimity and distinctiveness of purpose, at least equal to that it occupied when he first took the responsibility of leading the Reform ranks. (*Cheers.*) It was unfortunate that there were some Reformers who took up these ideas of a Conservative press, who, when they could not attack a man because of his speeches and votes, took hold of these flimsy things—"Oh! George Brown wants to be the dictator of his party." And it seemed as if there were some Reformers, who, by hearing this so constantly repeated in the Tory press, really fancied there was some foundation for it. Now, he thought if any answer were necessary to be given to all this trash, it was to be found in the fact that he gave his vote in the Executive Council of the Reform Association, that there should be a meeting of the representatives of the people throughout the country, to take the responsibility off the hands of individuals of declaring what were the principles on which the party should go to the country, and the principles and measures which should carry the elections. (*Cheers.*) He was one of those who had unfortunately had cause to doubt at some times the fidelity of the representatives in Parliament of the people of Upper Canada; but he had never had cause to lessen in any degree the utmost confidence which he reposed in the people themselves. (*Cheers.*) The Executive Council of the Reform Association felt that we were passing away from an old state of things. We had in past years one great question, which we had constantly to keep in view—and that was, that there should be a vital, radical change in the whole constitutional system of our country, and that the electors and tax-payers of Upper Canada should have that fair and equitable power in the control of public affairs to which they were entitled. We held that, until that was obtained there could be no good government for this Province. We kept that constantly in view, and by adhering to it without turning to the right hand or to the left, by making all the questions merge in that, we had reached the point of success in which we rejoiced to-day. (*Cheers.*) It unfortunately happened that, in the course of the long and stern agitation which had led to that result, breaches occurred in the party. If necessary, he could show that the course of conduct which led to those breaches was absolutely necessary to the success of the great end in view. But it was not necessary to revert to those things, when we had reached a point that we could come here and rejoice that all those questions, agitated in former times, were now at an end. What had to be done now was to bring our principles fairly before the public, and say—here are principles, here is public policy, on which Reformers of all classes, all creeds, all modes of thinking, can meet on the same platform, and go hand in hand together. (*Cheers.*) It was with that view that this great Convention had been called; and he thought, if they considered it was but ten days since this was done, the season of the year at which the Convention had been called, the inconvenience gentlemen had had in coming here to-day,—and if they looked over this immense assemblage of the most prominent men of Upper Canada, comprising a vast number of those who held the highest offices in the gift of the people, he thought it would be admitted they had struck the right chord, and that

the right-thinking feeling of the people of Upper Canada was a very ample reward for all they had done. (*Cheers.*) He thought the presence of the gentlemen who composed this assemblage, and of many others who had yet to arrive, was the best answer to the idea that there was anything else intended in the calling of this Convention, except that the Reformers of Upper Canada, in council assembled, should decide what was best for the interests of the whole people, and lay down principles and measures which would stand the closest examination, and which would reflect credit on their position, whether in this country or abroad, and lead the party to victory. (*Cheers.*) And he was proud to believe that, when he read the resolutions which he was about to present for the consideration, and he trusted the adoption, of this vast assembly—resolutions originally framed by the Executive Committee, although modified after the most careful examination of each clause by the Committee this afternoon, it would be found that that Committee, so far as caution, and so far as expressing the views of every section of the party was concerned, had succeeded most admirably in the end they sought and the task they undertook.

Mr. BROWN then read the resolutions reported from the Committee, as follows:—

Resolved,—That this Convention records its high gratification that the long and earnest contest of the Reform party for the great principles of Representation by Population, and local control over local affairs, has at last been crowned with triumphant success: and claims from the people of Upper Canada the meed of gratitude due from a just and generous people to those who, by years of self-sacrificing labour, have peacefully achieved great and invaluable constitutional changes—the accomplishment of which in other countries has rarely been attained except through the sad scenes of armed revolution.

Resolved,—That while the new Federal Constitution of the United Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, doubtless contains obvious defects—yet we unhesitatingly and joyfully recognize that the measure, as a whole, is based on equitable principles, and removes the barriers that have heretofore stood in the way of good government in this Province; And on behalf of the great Reform party of Upper Canada, this Convention heartily accepts the new Constitution about to be inaugurated—with the determination to work it loyally and patiently, and to provide such amendments as experience from year to year may prove to be expedient.

Resolved,—That during the long and earnest struggle of the Reform party for Representation by Population, and local control over local affairs—at length happily embodied in the new Constitution—these reforms were ever steadily regarded as but means to the end of securing efficient and economical government, and of bringing to an end that long reign of reckless misrule which (in the words of the great Reform Convention of 1859) entailed on the country a “heavy public debt, burdensome taxation, great political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction.”

Resolved,—That Coalitions of opposing political parties, for ordinary administrative purposes, inevitably result in the abandonment of principle by one or both parties to the compact, the lowering of public morality, lavish public expenditure and wide-spread corruption:—That the

Coalition of 1864 could only be justified on the ground of imperious necessity, as the only available mode of obtaining just representation for the people of Upper Canada, and on the ground that the compact then made was for a specific measure and for a stipulated period, and was to come to an end so soon as the measure was attained:—And while this Convention is thoroughly satisfied that the Reform party has acted in the best interests of the country by sustaining the Government until the Confederation measure was secured—it deems it an imperative duty to declare that the temporary alliance between the Reform and Conservative parties should now cease, and that no Government will be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is formed and maintained by a Coalition of public men holding opposite political principles.

Resolved,—That one of the fundamental principles of the Reform party, now as ever, is—the total separation of Church and State, the support of the clergy of all denominations by the free contributions of their people, and the recognition by the Legislature and Government of all Canadians as subjects of the Queen, and not in any sectarian capacity. The Convention heartily rejoices that the new Constitution sweeps away from the Federal arena every question of a sectional and sectarian character, and records its earnest conviction that on the fidelity with which this vital safeguard is respected in the practical administration of the Government, rest the future harmony and stability of the Dominion; and it joyfully recognizes, that by the transference to the Legislature of Ontario of all local matters—the Protestant electors of Upper Canada will have the opportunity of showing to their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects that generous consideration which a minority ought ever to receive in all free countries at the hands of a largely preponderating majority.

Resolved,—That it is alike the duty and the desire of the Canadian people to cultivate the most friendly relations with the neighboring people of the United States, and especially to offer every facility for the extension of trade and commerce between the two countries. The Convention anticipates with pleasure that the day is not far distant when the Government of the Republic will modify their restrictive commercial policy towards the British American Colonies; and while holding it the true Canadian policy to look diligently abroad for new and profitable markets for the products of the Dominion, wherever they can be found, and while well satisfied that such markets exist in other foreign lands, fully as lucrative as those ever heretofore enjoyed—yet this Convention regards it as the duty of the Canadian Administration to meet frankly and cordially any overtures from the Washington Government for a new treaty of Commercial Reciprocity between Canada and the Republic, extending over a fixed term of years, based on equitable principles, and consistent with the honour of both countries.

Resolved,—That this Convention records its great satisfaction that the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are hereafter to be united with the people of Canada under one Government and Legislature; and it does this the more heartily, because it well remembers that the same long battle for popular rights and social and material progress was fought and won in these Provinces, as in Canada, by Reform statesmen, against the bitter opposition and hostility of the Tory party—and because it believes that the great and influential Reform parties of these Provinces hold principles essentially in unison with those of Canadian Reformers,

and that their representatives will be found in the Federal Parliament of the new Dominion the earnest and able advocates of just, efficient and economical legislation; and this Convention entertains the hope that the day is not far distant when Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, will form part of the Dominion of Canada, upon terms satisfactory to the people of these important Colonies.

Resolved,—That this Convention heartily rejoices that, under the new Constitution, the barriers that have stood in the way of cordial sympathy with the Liberals of Lower Canada and the Reform party of Upper Canada have been totally removed—it gratefully remembers the aid received from them in hours of trial, and it anticipates gladly that the time is not far distant when the Reformers of Upper Canada may be able to repay the obligations then incurred.

Resolved,—That the advantage to be derived by the people of Canada from the new Constitution, as well as the future progress of our country, will very much depend on the efficiency and economy with which the new Governmental machinery is administered. And this Convention regards it as a first duty of the Reform Representatives in the new Legislature to apply themselves to a thorough overhauling of the departmental system, the curtailment of the lavish annual expenditure, the enforcement of strict economy in every branch of the public service, the gradual liquidation of the public debt, and the reduction of the Customs duties as rapidly as consistent with maintaining the public faith.

Resolved,—That in the opinion of this Convention, one of the first and most important duties of the Government and Legislature, under the reformed Constitution, will be the improvement of the internal navigation of the country.

Resolved,—That one of the questions most deeply affecting the stability and future progress of our country, is how we shall attract to our shores a larger share of the tide of European emigration; and this Convention is of opinion that this highly important end will best be attained by a thorough reform of the Crown Land Departmental system—by extending to proposing settlers the utmost facilities for ascertaining what public lands are in the market, and selecting and properly securing their titles to the lots they may select—by the imposition of a special tax on wild lands held back from cultivation for speculative purposes in settled Townships—and by the speedy opening up for settlement and cultivation of the great North-Western Territories :—And the Convention records its conviction that the small sum that may be extracted from the settler for his lot of wild land is of no consideration whatever, in comparison with the rapid occupation of the soil by a hardy and industrious population.

Resolved,—That the development of the vast Mineral Resources of the country has been seriously retarded through the mismanagement of the Crown Land Department—Miners and Capitalists having been driven to other countries, where useless departmental restrictions and annoying uncertainties and delays do not stand in the way of progress, and large tracts of the best mineral lands having been locked up in the hands of mere speculators. This Convention is firmly of opinion that a system of survey and location, enabling actual operators to know with certainty what mineral lands are in the market, on what conditions selections may be

made, and how enterprising explorers may promptly and easily secure the fruits of their labour, would speedily produce an immense development of the mineral industry of the Province. And this Convention regards it of great public importance that the arduous and valuable labours of the settlers in our mineral regions on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, and in all other sections of the Province, entitle them to the considerations of the Government and Legislature, in the improvement of the means of communication, and the supply of ample postal facilities.

Resolved,—That this Convention records its belief that the progress and social happiness of the people would be greatly promoted by the passage of a well-considered Homestead Law, by which settlers may apply money, honestly their own, to the purchase of a farm or house, and set it aside by public registration for the benefit of their families, without liability to the claims of future creditors.

Resolved,—That, among other numerous questions demanding the early and earnest attention of the Government and Legislature, are, an Act for the Winding-up of Insolvent Incorporated Companies—a revision of the Patent Laws—a stringent Audit Act, applicable to all Public Expenditures—the establishment of a Provincial system of instruction for the Blind and Deaf and Dumb persons—and the organization of an improved system of Public Statistical Returns, for commercial, sanitary, and general purposes.

In presenting this report, he (Mr. Brown) was instructed by the Committee to state that there were, of course, other subjects which would naturally strike the mind of every one present as proper to be introduced into a list of principles and measures which a great party like that intended to carry to the country; but the Committee could not conceal from themselves the fact that they were not now one Province, but one of four separate Provinces; and that they were, on such questions, coming among men whose views they did not yet know; that interests were represented there which had not been brought together before, and that it would be unjust and unwise to look through a sectional point of view at any of those great questions which were likely to be fully discussed in the Federal Legislature. Their Reform friends in the other Provinces would probably feel that they had not acted with that respect towards them which might be expected, if they took up those subjects without referring to what their feelings and views might be. If any person thought that some subject had been omitted that ought to be there, let him reflect for a moment, and he would no doubt see that such subject properly belonged to the Federal Government, and that it would not be wise to introduce on that occasion questions on which variance might exist. (*Hear, hear.*) On all such questions the Reform party held the same views as of yore, and it would be quite right for gentlemen in their speeches to give expression to their opinions on any question of the day. But it was a very different thing to put deliberately in writing the principles and measures by which, as a party, they intended to be guided, and the Convention would probably feel that the Committee had shown a wise discretion in the matter. (*Hear, hear.*) The resolutions he had read would now be placed on the table and moved separately, in order that they might be deliberately discussed. (*Cheers.*)

Copies of the resolutions were then handed to each member of the Convention.

MR. E. BLAKE, Q. C., Toronto, said he had been requested to place formally before the meeting, for its adoption, the first of the resolutions which had just now been read by their friend Mr. BROWN; and he thought it highly fitting that the proceedings of this grand council of our party should be commenced by placing on solemn record the feelings with which the party regarded the great constitutional changes which had been made, and the men who had accomplished those changes. (*Cheers.*) It was, perhaps, as well, that one who had not been fortunate enough to be in the slightest degree a participator in the accomplishment of the great work, should have been asked to propose the resolution. Almost all the gentlemen now present had had more or less—directly or indirectly—to do with the accomplishment of those changes. The resolution was one which did not demand discussion—and it was fortunately the case, because they had a considerable amount of work to do. No resolution could be propounded which was in one sense more important than that he was about to present. It was as follows:—

“That this Convention records its high gratification that the long and earnest contest of the Reform party for the great principles of Representation by Population, and local control over local affairs, has at last been crowned with triumphant success; and it claims from the people of Upper Canada the meed of gratitude due from a just and generous people to those who, by years of self-sacrificing labour, have peacefully achieved great and invaluable constitutional changes—the accomplishment of which in other countries has rarely been attained except through the sad scenes of armed revolution.”

Now, if the facts here laid down, to which they were asked to set the seal of party approbation, had involved any minute detail of political history, he should have felt at once that he was incompetent to present himself before them. But the matters embraced in the resolution had not been done in a corner, but in the blaze of day, and had formed the political history of the country for many years; they were as familiar to them all as household words; and the conclusion they were asked to draw from these facts was, that a meed of gratitude was clearly and demonstratively due to the members of the Reform party. (*Cheers.*) The evils which had been felt had wrought a radical change in the constitution of the country. Upper Canada, preponderating over Lower Canada in population, in wealth, and contribution to the public exchequer, had been yoked to Lower Canada by a constitution which gave its people an equal voice in all matters, including those which peculiarly affected Upper Canada itself. (*Hear, hear.*) That theoretical defect in the construction of the constitution of the country would not have been so serious had it not been found to work a practical injustice. It was futile to expect that any constitution would be perfect without being theoretically defective; but the constitution uniting Upper and Lower Canada had produced injustice under which we had lived and groaned, and whose burden we had to bear for many a long day. (*Cheers.*) That evil was an increasing one. The Government originally formed was one in which there was, at any rate, some adherence to principle; but the evils which subsequently presented themselves led at last to the Government being carried on by the grossest and most open corruption. (*Hear, hear.*) The Reform party had for years stood up for honest government, and in spite

of the force of corruption arising from the possession of the public chest, it had become impossible any longer to answer the demands of reason and justice by the cry of "Call in the members!" (*Cheers and laughter.*) Then ensued a crisis in the affairs of the country. It was impossible for the ordinary administrative business to be carried on, and a new system had to be devised. He agreed that in the new system of Government it was quite possible that corruption and extravagance would exist, and that it was possible that this machine, like any other man-made machine, would require to be worked with great caution; but no longer would they be deprived of their just share in the public affairs of the country. He therefore asked for their ready assent to the first proposition embraced in the resolution. The second branch of the resolution was of equal importance with the first, and, notwithstanding what he had heard with pain and surprise this evening, shared, he hoped, with every member of that assembly, he repeated his conviction that their unanimous voice would be in its favour. (*Hear, hear.*) It was no news to those who had effected those changes. For between fifteen and twenty years the Reform party had been labouring for what it had at last obtained:—Representation by Population—the control of their local interests. So long ago as 1859, the Convention assembled in this city propounded a principle analogous to the present one, as the only means of meeting the exigencies of the case. (*Applause.*) Then when the Reform Cabinet, known as the BROWN-DORION Government, was formed, the same view was advocated—to give to the respective sections the control of their local affairs; and, at a much later period, the matter was taken up in a committee, of which Mr. BROWN was a member, and it was mainly owing to his faithful labours that the scheme had attained its present success. (*Cheers.*) But it was unnecessary to talk further on that topic, because no further proof of the proposition could possibly be required. The benefits secured to the country had been secured through the energetic action of the Reform party, and they might claim that they had accomplished them. The resolution referred to those who, by years of self-sacrifice, laboured to effect those great constitutional changes, and he called upon the meeting to record its entire voice in approbation of that sentiment. (*Cheers.*) It was unnecessary to refer to the many years of labour which the leaders of the Reform party had gone through to bring about this consummation, or the faithlessness of those who had turned their backs on the principles of the party.

[At this point the speaker was interrupted by the entrance of Messrs. McDougall and Howland, who were conducted to the platform amid loud cheers.]

Mr. BLAKE then continued—He said he was glad he had been interrupted—that the remarks he had yet to make should be made in the presence of the two gentlemen who had now come in. (*Cheers.*) It was, as he had said, their allegiance to the principles of their party which had induced Reform members to enter the Coalition, to effect so great an object, and which caused them so much pain when they discovered that it was by such a sacrifice alone that the measure could be carried. Every member of the party who adopted that view did so with loathing and bitterness, and felt it to be justified only by the exigencies of the occasion. And as to the alleged object of calling this meeting, to make Mr. BROWN the one leader of the Reform Association, he thought that upon that day and that occasion, if Mr. BROWN's own faithful labours for so many

years had not been enough, what he then did should have spared him that remark. (*Loud cheers.*) He did not suppose they had, any of them, forgotten the excitement produced in the minds of the party when those negotiations were proceeding, and when the debate took place at which the result of those negotiations was announced, and when Mr. BROWN stated his views and motives and convictions which forced him to the course he was taking. Was it a course voluntarily pursued by him? Was it a course into which he was otherwise than thrust by the necessities of the case? No. Every step that could have been taken—every proposal that could have been made in order to obviate that necessity, was made; a proposal that outside support should be given; a proposal that Mr. BROWN should identify himself with the measure in the most formal and public manner possible; by going as a Commissioner, for instance, to the Lower Provinces or to England, or in any other way; a proposal that any other members of the party should join the Cabinet—these were all rejected. The terms upon which alone the measure could be carried was, that Mr. BROWN should enter the Cabinet; and those terms being insisted upon by his own party, he entered the Cabinet on that occasion. That was the crowning act, so far as Mr. BROWN was concerned—the crowning act of self-sacrifice connected with the achievement of those constitutional changes. He therefore asked the meeting—not as some new thing—not as something deserving of deliberation or discussion—not as something about which there could be an instant's hesitation, but as something which the country, or at any rate, the party, had long ago settled, and which they were now asked formally to place on record as the views of the party—he asked them to set their seal to the resolutions, and to give to those gentlemen who had achieved those objects, in the words of the resolution, that meed of gratitude which was due to them from a just and generous people. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. ÆMILIUS IRVING, of Hamilton, in seconding the resolution said, that it vividly reminded him of two great and important successes which had been achieved—Representation by Population, and local control over local affairs. He would leave it to other gentlemen to address the meeting more particularly on the former of those points; but with reference to the other he would utter a few remarks. Time after time, not only in Toronto, but at Quebec, when the united Parliament met there, matters in which Upper Canada was solely interested, and respecting which the representatives of Upper Canada voted in a large majority, were disposed of, and the wish of that majority overruled by a majority composed of a small minority of Upper Canada and the almost united voice of Lower Canadians, who neither understood our language nor our political institutions. (*Hear, hear.*) Was it a question of appeal for public works, of the administration of justice in our own courts, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, or the useless registry offices, extra polling places, the fixing of the county town, an enquiry into public roads which had been sold and not paid for—(*Hear, hear*)—or to restrain municipalities from going into debt beyond their means—the regulation of mill dams—the sale of the Norfolk Shrievalty—in matters of this and a like character, the representatives of Upper Canada were again and again overruled by those who had no interest in the subject beyond keeping them at defiance. And this was the more mortifying because under their own system they en-

joyed many of those things which they denied to the Upper section of the Province. (*Cheers.*) How was it that those difficulties had been removed? He would say that it was by a reference to constitutional principles—by a determination to act unitedly and legally within the spirit of the British Constitution; not by violence; not as the opposite party in 1849 and 1850 declared, by annexation—(*Cheers*)—not as a large portion of that party proposed, by abusing all the prerogatives of the Crown, by making every office from the highest judge to the most ordinary constable elective—but by argument, by showing that reasonable reforms were asked for. (*Cheers.*) It was in a spirit of that kind that the Reformers of Upper Canada determined never to be betrayed into an ebullition of temper, or any violence that might recoil on them hereafter. That the recent successes were looked for by them might be gathered by what was said in the Convention of 1859. He would read a passage from the Address of the Convention, which would prove this. It was headed, "The True Remedy," and the writer in substance observed:—"Dissolve the existing legislative union; divide Canada into two or more provinces, with local executives and legislatures, having entire control over every public interest, except those and those only that are necessarily common to all parties. Establish some central authority over all, with power to administer such matters, and such only, as are necessarily common to the whole Province—let the functions of this central authority be clearly laid down—let its powers be strictly defined to discharging these specific duties." (*Cheers.*) The sagacious man who drafted the document, of which the above was a very brief synopsis, could hardly have supposed that within seven or eight years, and in this very city, might be observed the most satisfactory fulfilment of that prophecy. And, if report was true, they had succeeded so far, and even to the extent that British Columbia wished to enter the Confederation. (*Cheers.*) The resolution claimed from the people of Canada the meed of gratitude from a just and generous people. Gentlemen of the jury—(loud laughter followed this *lupus in lingua*, in which the speaker joined.) He was content to abide by the verdict of that meeting. (*Cheers.*) Upper Canada was to be allotted some 82 members of Parliament, and the Convention probably controlled about sixty seats. Why should there not be one entire sweep of the Upper Province? Was not that the meed of gratitude which was due? (*Hear, hear.*) If twenty seats were occupied by men who, either in themselves or as the exponents of principles, had denied every shadow of justice to Upper Canada, was it not time that those representatives should be swept away? (*Loud cheers.*) There were persons present from constituencies which returned members hostile to the Reform party. That they wished to remove this blot upon their constituencies was no doubt evidenced by their attendance, the distance they had come, and the personal inconvenience to which they had submitted. But the eyes of Canada were now directed to the small minority of seats—the doubtful constituencies—and a meed of gratitude would be due to them if they were able to reduce the figures by one-half. (*Cheers.*) The concluding part of the resolution contrasted the peaceable means by which the great triumphs of Reform had been achieved, and the accomplishment in other countries of similar triumphs by revolution. It was not necessary to advert to Europe, or to comparatively rare occasions in England. Even across the border had been enacted scenes of bloodshed before great constitutional changes were wrought. But entirely different had been the tone of the Reform party. It had never justified any tempo-

rary ill being waged in order to ensure a possible future and permanent good. It had always strictly adhered to constitutional principles, and possessed at the present moment an unsullied political reputation. The party had remained united. Occasionally, painful instances of personal defection had occurred, in which men who had been trusted by the party and put in the vanguard, had marched over to the enemy. (*Cheers.*) But there was no instance of their ever carrying the party with them. (*Loud applause.*) And there was hardly one such person who had ever again been elected to his seat. They made good Conservatives, and had been retained high in office in that party, and he would leave it to the meeting to pronounce what sort of a party that must be, many of the leaders of which were deserters, renegades, and apostates. (*Cheers.*) Let this be a lesson to others for the future. (*Loud cheers.*) The Reform party, however, had been faithful to itself and the country—(A VOICE—And ever will be)—and ever would be. (*Loud applause.*) That they had been, was a glorious reflection on such an occasion as that. That they had been patriotic to the country was proved by the large numbers present, of whom he would affirm that not one man had ever wavered in loyalty to their sovereign. (*Loud cheers.*)

The resolution being put to the meeting, was carried by acclamation.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN, who was received with loud cheers, said the resolution which had been placed in his hands was as follows:—

Resolved.—That while the new Federal Constitution for the united Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, doubtless contains obvious defects—yet we unhesitatingly and joyfully recognize that the measure, as a whole, is based on equitable principles, and removes the barriers that have heretofore stood in the way of good government in this Province; and on behalf of the great Reform party of Upper Canada, this Convention heartily accepts the new Constitution about to be inaugurated—with the determination to work it loyally and patiently, and to provide such amendments as experience from year to year may prove to be expedient.

Mr. BROWN, in moving the above resolution, said—I think, if there are any men in this country who have cause to be proud to-day, it is those who took part in the great Reform Convention of 1859. (*Cheers.*) My friend, Mr. Irving, read from the pamphlet which contained the address of that Convention. He read you one passage from it. If he could have read the whole of it through, you would have seen that it pointed out all the difficulties we laboured under—the great abuses which existed in the country, and also the remedies which ought to be applied to cure those abuses; and the grand remedy which was pointed out in the address of the Convention of 1859, was that very remedy which we are to obtain on the 1st of July, and which we meet here to-day to rejoice over. (*Cheers.*) I quite admit, that any one who takes up the Constitution that is about to be proclaimed on the 1st of July, will undoubtedly discover blemishes in that document. But I do say that, considering the different peoples who had to agree on the terms of that Constitution, considering the variety of interests that had to be blended together—the immense obstacles that had to be overcome—I do say, considering all this, that that constitution is far more perfect than any one of us in 1859 had the slightest reason to expect, or even to hope for at this day. We could not have anticipat-

ed in eight years such an immense revolution as this constitution is about to work. I am sure the gentlemen before me—and I am happy to see in this large assemblage a great many of the old familiar faces which we saw at that Convention, and on many other well-fought fields of the Reform party—(*Cheers*)—I am sure if any of those gentlemen will turn back to the days of 1859, and think of the position we were in then, and the position we occupy now, they will see we have indeed cause to rejoice over an immense victory. (*Cheers.*) What was the position we then occupied? When we met in 1859, it was to lay before the country a clear statement of the abuses which existed in the administration of public affairs. It was to point out that it was perfectly unendurable, and ruinous to the State that those abuses should go on, and to show what were the best remedies that could be provided. We are told now that our opponents are entitled to the credit of carrying the measure we are about to obtain. I ask you to look back to 1859, aye, and to 1858, when the BROWN-DORION administration was formed, and to 1857 and back to 1852, and recollect the battle of the Reform party during the whole of that time for the measures now so popular, and to say whether it is not the fact that we got no assistance from those gentlemen, but on the contrary, the most stern opposition and hostility. (*Hear, hear.*) Was not the most bitter obloquy and reproach constantly cast on the advocates of those very measures who had the courage and the manliness to stand up for the rights of the people? (*Hear, hear.*) Will you allow me to refer very briefly to one or two of the matters we then complained of, in order to show how great a change is to be wrought by the operation of this Constitution. When the Convention of 1859 was assembled, in pointing out the great injustice that was done to Upper Canada, among other things we complained of with regard to the representation of the people, was this, that, while there were three Upper Canada members, who sat representing a population of 155,000 souls, there were in the same House of Assembly ten members from Lower Canada who sat for 157,000; and that, while there were sixteen Upper Canada members sitting there, representing a population of 505,000 souls, there were thirty-eight Lower Canada members representing 503,000 souls. We complained that there were thirty-nine members sitting in the House, representing one-half of the population of united Canada, and that there were ninety-one members sitting there for the other half. We complained that sixty-five of the members sat for 900,000, while the other sixty-five sat for 1,600,000 souls. Any one could see that, so long as that system of representation continued, it was impossible that the country could be governed in a satisfactory manner. Then we complained that the taxation was laid on in a most unfair manner—that while we in Upper Canada paid four-fifths of the whole revenue of the country, we were at that moment kept in a position of inferiority to those who were paying one-fifth of the taxation. (*Hear, hear.*) We complained, also, that the system of taxation was not made by the people who paid the taxes, but by the minority of the country, who paid but a small proportion. We complained that the commercial policy of the country was ruled by those who were not so deeply interested in it as we were. We complained that the administration, not merely of matters of general concern, but of our own local affairs, was governed, not by the representatives of the majority, but by the representatives of the minority, who were beaten at the polls, but found allies in the other section. We complained that the effect on our public men was, that those who were

in the minority, who had been beaten at the polls, were too often placed in power; and that recreancy to those principles which Upper Canadians desired to see carried out, was the road to political power and political success. (*Hear, hear.*) Then we complained that the effect on the expenditure of the country was most disastrous. Whenever any proposition was made for a large and lavish expenditure of money, there was a portion of the people, and of their representatives, who could not lose by it, because they always received a large share in the division of the money, while they paid but a small portion of it into the public chest. For the same reason, we found that the effect on our public debt was most disastrous, because it was clear that those who had not to pay, had no objection to increase the public debt, as they got the advantages of the expenditure which made it up. We found ourselves in the extraordinary position of a young people, with great natural resources, so governed that our expenditure far exceeded our revenue, with the necessary result that our debt was mounting up, and our taxes increasing from year to year by the misgovernment and maladministration, which this system produced. And I am bound to say this, on behalf of those gentlemen in the House of Assembly, who, during the last sixteen years, have fought the battle of the people of Upper Canada, that no public men ever deserved better at the hands of their countrymen. (*Cheers.*) You may search the history of every free country, and I defy you to find in the history of any party an instance of more indomitable determination and perseverance than that with which the Reform representatives of the people of Upper Canada stuck to the great principle which they had placed on their colours and nailed to the mast-head—that of obtaining just representation for the people they represented. (*Cheers.*) It has been said, that in the course of this agitation we had to lop off some Reformers. This is quite true. Very stringent rules had to be laid down, in order to keep that great contest up to the high point it had reached. The justification for it was that, unless this had been done, we should not have won the victory we did. And I think the very highest praise is due to the men who stood firm to their duty, and faithful to their constituents, in spite of all the seductions brought to bear on them. People came and said to them:—"Why do you sacrifice your interests in public life in order to go after a mere phantom? Why don't you give up that nonsense about Representation by Population, and your cry about no connection between Church and State, and all that sort of thing? Why don't you throw all these things to the winds and come with us, and then you will rise in the State?" No man likes to go into public life and be condemned to remain, year after year, in what are called the cold shades of opposition. I speak not so much for myself. Holding the position I did, I was swayed by conditions and reasons, which, probably, influenced no other man. But I speak for those gentlemen who stood by me during all that time, who were not, perhaps, so prominently before the public as I was, who probably had not the same great stake before the country either to win or to lose. I speak for those noble men who, from 1852 to the last hour of the contest, have stood firmly by the cause of the people of Upper Canada, and have earned that meed of gratitude which is spoken of in this resolution. (*Cheers.*) It is these men, who, fighting on year after year, almost hoping against hope, have at length won the victory, and I say that we are not only entitled to have a sweeping Reform victory at the polls on this occasion, but that even the Conservatives, if they had any spark of

honesty or patriotism about them, would say—"These men have fought and conquered—they have long been deprived of the opportunity of showing how they would rule the country—we will now give them an opportunity of doing so." (*Cheers.*) After such a victory as this, which the great Reform party have accomplished—talk to me and to my friends, Mr. MACKENZIE, Mr. MCKELLAR, Mr. STIRTON, Mr. GOULD, Mr. WHITE, Mr. RYMAL, and many others whom I see around me—tell us that we are now to condescend—(*Great and Repeated Cheers*)—tell me that we are to condescend at this day, when we stand before our country claiming credit for one of the noblest records public men could display before a country—that we are now to go down upon our knees to Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD! (*Great Cheering.*) Tell me we are to cast reproach upon everything we have been doing for the last fifteen years—that it may be said the whole thing we wanted was office, because no sooner did we accomplish this great boon for our country than we were prepared to make terms with the enemy and go into a Coalition Administration! (*Cheers.*) A gentleman told you I have called this meeting in order that I might be made the head of the Reform party. If, Sir, there is any large number of men in this assembly who will record their votes this night in favour of the degradation of the public men of that party by joining a Coalition, I neither want to be a leader nor a humble member of that party. (*Cheers.*) If that is the reward you intend to give us for all our services, I scorn connection with you. (*Immense cheering.*) Go into the same Government with Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD! (*Cries of "Never! never!"*) Sir, I understood what degradation it was to be compelled to adopt that step by the necessities of the case, by the feeling that the interests of my country were at stake, which alone induced me ever to put my foot in that Government, and glad was I when I got out of it. None ever went into a Government with such sore hearts as did two out of the three who entered it on behalf of the Reform party—I cannot speak for the third. It was the happiest day of my life when I got out of the concern. (*Cheers.*) But tell me that, after we have gained the end, when we have bought it from our opponents by giving them three years of office—that we shall now renew that hateful compact, and put JOHN A. MACDONALD at the head of the Government! And these gentlemen are to come in as followers—his meek followers! (*Cheers.*) If that is to be the position, gentlemen, blot out your resolutions, and throw your record in the fire, before you let the Reform party take that contemptible position which this course would reduce it to. (*Loud cheers, and cries of "Never! never!"*) The resolution says that this constitution removes the barriers that have heretofore stood in the way of good government in this Province. I say, with a full knowledge of the abuses which existed, having watched them from year to year, and having seen the sources of them—that it is my conscientious conviction that this Constitution we are to have in operation next week does provide a sufficient remedy for those evils of which we complain. I do not mean a sufficient remedy, like machinery, that will run on with nothing else but to wind it up. This is a very different kind of machinery; and I call your attention to this, that, good as it is, and useful as it may be, I say most unhesitatingly, that if the people do *not* their duty, if they do not look after the representatives they send to the Legislature, and to the character of the Government that is to administer this Constitution, it will be worse for Canada under that Constitution than it would have been without it. It extends the country, it multiplies the machin-

ery of Government. If that measure is worked wisely and well, if the people will watch it closely, if they will keep their public men up to the mark, if they will see that their public men do their work properly, and hold a healthful rein over public proceedings, then I say that we will all have great cause to rejoice that this Constitution was brought into operation, and I can only repeat this to the men I now see before me, and to men like them throughout the country, that we must seek to have these carried out; and, unless you do so, depend upon it we will have cause for regret in the future, as in the past. Recollect that vigilance is the price of freedom; and depend upon it, under this Constitution, the people require to exercise all the watchfulness they can bring to bear on the machinery. Now, the first remedy provided in this Constitution is, that the injustice we laboured under with regard to the representation of the people is almost entirely swept away. When the new Constitution comes into operation on Monday next, we in Upper Canada get 17 representatives more than Lower Canada. We will have 82, and Lower Canada 65. And, looking at the rate at which the population in the two sections has hitherto advanced, the probability is that in 1871 we will be entitled to 94 or 95 representatives, and that ten years later, if the same ratio of increase in the population is maintained, Upper Canada will have a majority in the House of Commons in the Federal Legislature. If our people, therefore, are not well governed under the new Constitution, it will be their own fault. (*Hear, hear.*) The next point is, that this Constitution gives us entire control over our own local affairs, and thus sweeps away one great abuse of which we formerly complained. Formerly, public moneys were taken out of the public chest for certain local purposes—as, for instance, the administration of justice, schools, and local works of different kinds. All this is now swept away from the public arena. There is, indeed, a certain drawback. There is a toll to be taken from the public chest, and given for local purposes to the different Provinces. But, instead of our paying the largest share, and getting only the small end of it—under this new system it will be given back to us, divided according to population, and a large share of the money will come to the people of Upper Canada. (*Hear, hear.*) Then another advantage of this Constitution is, that it unites with us 600,000 men of the same feelings and dispositions and industrial habits with ourselves. Had it not been that in my visits to the Lower Provinces I found that the Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers were men of the closest economy, and a most industrious and enterprising people, I would not have been so strong an advocate for this union as I am. And I shall be much disappointed if the majority of the representatives from the Lower Provinces are not found hand-in-hand with the people of Upper Canada in going for measures of Reform. (*Cheers.*) Another great cause of rejoicing with regard to this Constitution is, that it vindicates the position we have always held as advocates of an entire separation between Church and State. (*Cheers.*) I am proud to stand here to-day to present to you as the fruits of our sixteen years' labours, a measure which sweeps from the general political arena all questions of a sectarian or sectional character. (*Cheers.*) I think it can be shown that in the course taken during the last sixteen years by the Reform party with reference to these questions, we acted on the defensive. You may go to the journals of the Assembly, and examine all the motions made, the Bills brought in, the speeches delivered, and I defy you to show an instance of an oppressive act, with regard to these

questions, proceeding from any member of the party to which I belong. (*Hear, hear.*) We held that these questions were too sacred to be made matter of political question, and in fighting to prevent their being thrust on the political arena, it could not be helped if hard blows were struck. But I am sure no one can more heartily rejoice than I do at the success we have achieved in removing these questions from the political arena, so that hereafter each Church shall stand upon its own bottom, and find its support from its own Christian people. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice too, at this success, because it opens up a way for the return to the great Reform party of that section of religionists in this Province, who have been more or less separated from us in consequence of those strifes. If there is one thing that I rejoice over more than another, before I leave the position which I have occupied in the Reform party—it is that the ground is now cleared for their unhesitating and complete return to our ranks. (*Loud cheers.*) After some further remarks on this point, Mr. BROWN continued:—The next great advantage we are to obtain from this Constitution is, that this Union with the Lower Provinces will provide us a route to the ocean through our own country. (*Hear.*) You all know I am not one of those who believe that the United States are longing to eat us up without pepper or salt some fine morning. (*Laughter.*) Perhaps they would like to have us annexed; and there is no man more heartily opposed to that, or who will struggle more energetically, or fight, should occasion arise—(*Loud cheers*)—in order to retain this noble Province in connection with the British Empire, than I will. But, Sir, while by no means fancying that there is any great fear of the Americans coming upon us, and no great fear of their carrying their distinctive commercial policy further than they have done—for they are a sensible people—we have taught them a good lesson, and they are beginning to find they had the best of the reciprocity treaty, and will soon be coming to their senses and open negotiations for its renewal—on that policy I resigned, and not many months will elapse before you will see that that policy is the true one. While believing all that, I am firmly convinced that no country ought to be dependent on another when there is a way of making it dependent only upon itself. Therefore, with the kindest feelings towards the United States, and the most earnest desire to continue in friendly—the most intimate—relations with them, yet I say it is a very good thing to have a road through our own country to the ocean—a very good thing. (*Cheers.*) It may be that this will cost us a considerable sum of money; but I do say, that if you send right men to represent you in Parliament—if you take care that there is no Coalition Government, but that the Government is placed in the hands of men of the same principles and interests as yourselves, then, I tell you, that that railroad can be built for a very small sum of money in comparison with that now talked of. But if, upon the other hand, you put it into the hands of Mr. J. A. MACDONALD, with four Reformers, if you like, from the Lower Provinces—I care not whether two or three Reformers go in from Upper Canada—if these Reformers were as pure as the driven snow, and as determined and upright men as ever stood upon the earth, I tell you—they may say a great deal possibly before the elections—but I tell you, that when the elections are over, that the Intercolonial Railway will be made the blackest sight you ever saw in this world. (*Cheers.*) What is the talk now? It will not be before the elections; but observe—the elections once over, and Mr. JNO. A. MACDONALD posted there as Prime Minister, with the enormous power he will wield as Prime Minister

ter—when he can say to Mr. this and that, “Sir, I do not want you here longer; there is your office, let me put another in your place”—with no appeal to the people, gentlemen, for five years afterwards—then, I tell you, gentlemen, that you will be bought and sold upon this Intercolonial Railroad as upon everything else. (*Hear, hear.*) Observe what is the proposal here. I do not charge the present Administration with the intention of doing this—by no means. It would be insane of me to charge any member of the Government with meditating such a thing; but we cannot avoid hearing and reading that this great work is to be built as a Government railroad. Now, I say, that if you wish to bring the Province to ruin, this is the way to do it. I do not bring charges—I cannot think that any public man can think of such a thing; but in order to avoid it you want a pure Government, gentlemen, if you can get it, and if you cannot, a strong, firm, manly Opposition. (*Cheers.*) But there is another great advantage to be obtained from this Confederation. It gives us a market of 600,000 souls. By this reciprocity treaty being abolished we have lost the market of the United States to a great extent, and we shall gain another market in its place. (*Hear, hear.*) While the reciprocity treaty was in existence, the Americans were coming here and buying our farm produce at low prices, carrying it down their canals and getting the freight, storing it at their wharves, sending their vessels with it to Halifax and St. John and selling it there—and we allowed all this to be done. The treaty being broken up and the Confederation formed, a new state of things will be inaugurated, and I think we shall gain a set-off against any loss we have suffered. I believe this is but the beginning—the opening up—of new branches of trade, and that the union of the interests of the Maritime Provinces with ours will secure us a great measure of, if not a complete return of this trade. Gentlemen, I could have detained you at great length in reference to the advantages that will probably result from this Confederation; but I have spoken already too long, and there are many gentlemen to address you. There is, however, one point on which I will say a word—the changes in the Constitution that were made in England. There is no question that these changes were of a serious character; but, gentlemen, when men conclude—as I myself did—that the measure as a whole is a good one, the true plan is to allow these things to pass. Express your mind upon them, but accept the Constitution and try it patiently, and as you find evils arise, apply the remedy. Let us act in this spirit—and I believe this is the spirit in which the Constitution will be received all over these united Provinces. (*Cheers.*) I am quite sure, should any of us live to have another meeting such as this, some years hence—and I hope some of us may be spared till that day in order to see the working of this Constitution—if the people of this country do their duty to themselves, watch closely public affairs, send their best men to Parliament, and especially see that the Government is maintained on pure, downright, party principles,—I have no doubt, when we meet again, we shall heartily rejoice over the results that have been obtained. (*Loud and long-continued applause.*)

Hon. J. G. CURRIE, of St. Catharines, rose to second the resolution. He said they had great reason to congratulate themselves and the Reform party on the success of the Convention. It was not often he took the advice of the *Leader*. That paper, last week, advised Reformers to treat the call with total disregard, or to respond manfully, and represent the whole of

Upper Canada; and he thought the latter advice was what would best please the party as a whole. (*Hear, hear.*) It was well for principle's sake—it was well for party's sake—that they should meet and lay down a platform for the party. They had heard a great deal in the past of one-man power—indeed, one would be almost led to believe that they were led by GEORGE BROWN and the *GLOBE*, but they wanted now to show that the Reform party had a will of its own, and could act independently. (*Cheers.*) They had come to give expression to their opinion, and let them do it manfully. (*Cheers.*) He was glad to see that all sections of the Reform party were represented there that night—(*laughter and applause*)—and he hoped that before they separated they would carry those resolutions with a hip-hip-hurrah, and then go forth to sweep every Tory constituency before them. (*Cheers.*) He was only called upon to refer to the latter clause of the resolution. His position was not like that of Mr. BROWN and other gentlemen. He (the speaker) had thought it was necessary to submit such an important measure as Confederation to the people of the country. (*Cheers.*) The Convention of 1859 decided that it was right to secure the reforms demanded by the country, by a written constitution, to be ratified by the people. Confederation was an accomplished fact, and every man loyal to his country and his party must acknowledge that it was now the law of the land, and decide to give it a fair trial, and do all in his power for the good of his country at large. The leading Conservative papers of the Province had tried to put it to the people of Upper Canada that in the coming contest the question was to be Union or Disunion—Confederation or Annexation. It was to be regretted that, for the sake of securing party ends, language was made use of which might lead our neighbours to the conclusion that a portion of our countrymen were disloyal. (*Applause.*) When the Reform party had the power in their hands, should they bow down and allow themselves to be manacled? (“*No, no.*”) Some said it was policy, but he thought it would be far better to be out in the cold shade of opposition than revelling in office on terms so base. (*Cheers.*) Let Reformers speak out, and few men would leave them to go over to the enemy. If some could not subscribe to the principles of their colleagues, let them withdraw from public life altogether, rather than become the Benedict Arnolds of the party. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. D. WYLIE, editor of the *Brockville Recorder*, was called upon to support the resolution, and said he had opposed Coalition throughout, and was now opposed to Coalition. (*Loud cheers.*) He had opposed Coalition because there were but three Reformers to nine Conservatives, as well as because an elective Upper House was taken away and substituted by a life Senate. An example of the working of a life Senate was given yesterday, when some of the members were called upon to support a Coalition with such men as Mr. GALT in it. (*Hear, hear.*) He came from a town in the old country where they made good shawls and sterling Reformers—(*laughter*)—and learning there to oppose long Parliaments, he opposed the Government on the score of its proposing that Parliament might continue five years. (*Hear, hear.*) But though he had not supported the Government for these reasons, he was not opposed to Confederation, in itself, and would be glad to do his best to make the new system work beneficially for the people, hoping they would before long go back to an elective Upper House and four years' Parliaments. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. D. STIRTON, M. P. P., moved the third resolution :—

Resolved,—That during the long and earnest struggle of the Reform party for Representation by Population, and local control over local affairs—in length happily embodied in the new Constitution—these reforms were ever steadily regarded as but means to the end of securing efficient and economical government, and of bringing to an end that long reign of reckless misrule which (in the words of the great Reform Convention of 1859), entailed on the country a “heavy public debt, burdensome taxation, great political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction.”

He said he had been unexpectedly called upon to move this resolution, and would do so very briefly. He thought it a pity that old men like himself, who had to borrow his friend, Mr. BROWN's spectacles, should have to stand in the way of younger men with finer oratorical abilities. (*Laughter.*) He congratulated the meeting on the large and respectable gathering then present, one that must convince even Mr. JAMES BEATY himself that the Reformers in Upper Canada were in earnest. (*Cheers and laughter.*) The machinery of the new government was now completed, and it was sad to think that some of those who called themselves Reformers were about to join the Conservatives to set it in motion. (*Cheers.*) He had advised Mr. BROWN to go into the Coalition, but he rejoiced that the day had come when a Coalition was no longer required, especially a Coalition which carried with it such a man as Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD. (*Cheers.*) He would far rather refrain from giving a factious support to a Conservative Government than give his assent to a Coalition. After the elections, the Reformers who had gone into the Government would learn their mistake. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. JOHN MACDONALD, M. P. P., Toronto, said that when the Coalition was formed, he gave Mr. BROWN credit for desiring to promote the best interests of the country; but although he had worked faithfully with the Reform party for years, and although he saw thirty or forty members of that party supporting the Coalition, he could not, and did not do it. (*Cheers.*) He held that the only way to make men true, and keep them true, was to draw strict party lines, and that all Coalitions were demoralising. (*Cheers.*) The result had proved this—that some men who had called themselves Reformers had left the ranks, and were to-day nowhere to be found. (*Hear, hear.*) He would rather the great body of the Reform party gave the Conservatives an outside, a generous, and a free support in carrying good measures; and he regretted that it was impossible for him to act in the same way as those who supported the Coalition. However, the advantages of the great measure of Confederation were due—to whom? To the Conservatives of Upper Canada? No. But to the Reformers of Upper Canada; and while he was aware that a section of the press of the country would speak of this meeting as a mere handful of illiterate men, he was never more proud of the Reform party of Upper Canada than he was at this moment. (*Loud cheering.*) He looked over the large hall, and saw on every side men of substance, of intelligence and standing in their various localities. He had but one regret associated with the meeting. It was that Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD and all his *confreres* were not seated on the platform. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Had he been there, he would have found it was one thing to assemble in Council in Ottawa, to make a place for this gentleman, and a place for that gentleman, and another and a very different thing

to secure for these appointments the endorsement of the liberal minds of Upper Canada. (*Loud cheers.*) If he understood the purpose for which the Coalition was formed, it was to bring about a great constitutional change, and that change had been effected. He never heard, and he defied any gentleman to say it was ever supposed, that the Coalition was to exist one moment beyond the time when the purpose for which the Coalition was formed was accomplished. (*Cheers.*) What, he would ask, was the duty of the hour? The duty of the hour undoubtedly was, that every loyal man in the country should take such measures as would best secure the consolidation and perpetuation of the union. And how was that to be done? Were he to ask this large assembly for a response to this question, he knew well what it would be. Was it to be done by a Coalition Government? (*Cries of "No."*) Had they an opportunity of propounding that question throughout the various sections of the country from Sarnia to Gaspé, he was assured there would be in reply one united, triumphant shout, sufficient to frighten and deter any Reformer who might contemplate it, from entering such a Government. (*Cheers.*) What had been done within the last few days? They had been given to understand that a Government had been formed, with Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD as Premier, to which three members of the Reform party had given in their allegiance. (*Hisses, and cries of "shame" and "order."*) Now, what were the great advantages the people of Upper Canada expected to enjoy under the new Constitution? Were they to be told that those who had purchased, with so much sacrifice, the rights and privileges they now enjoyed, were to be opposed with all the might and power of the Government if they refused to support a Coalition? (*Cheers.*)

MR. A. MACKENZIE—That won't hurt them much.

He desired to know where those who went into the Government would find supporters among the great Reform party? (*Cheers.*) He would like to see a list of the names handed up. (*A VOICE—"A. M. SMITH."*) No; he did not believe that. (*Cheers.*) He knew A. M. SMITH too well to judge him so harshly. (*Cheers.*) Then, as to Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD's consistency. As they were all aware, Mr. MACDONALD visited Toronto some little time ago, and an address was presented to him. But let that pass—he pronounced no opinion upon that. Mr. MACDONALD's reply was that they must just go on as they had been going on, unitedly, happily, and cheerfully. Party government with its animosities must not be resuscitated. But how did he show his consistency? He (Mr. JOHN MACDONALD) did not state what he was about to say as a matter of fact; but it was generally reported that, on coming to Toronto, he sent for one of his friends and insisted on his running as a Conservative for the Western division. Was that promoting the cordial feeling which he so much desired to see carried out? (*Disapproval.*) That was a very fair sample of the support they had to expect from Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD. (*Hear, hear.*) He (Mr. JOHN MACDONALD) must say in all fairness, and in justice to the gentlemen who had been associated with the Reform party, and who were said to have taken positions in the new Cabinet, it was his deliberate opinion that they accepted office for the love of office and the love of position. (*Loud cheers.*) To them it made all the difference in the world whether they should be in or out. One could draw fancy pictures of his future prosperity in the Government; but if he was out, it was a different thing altogether. (*Cheers and laughter.*) There was a good reason why Reformers were

invited to form a part in the new Government. He doubted very much if Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD, with all his efforts, could have formed a purely Conservative Government. A Conservative Government he (Mr. MACDONALD) could respect, and could battle with on fair grounds. From him, as an humble member of the Legislature, should he be returned to Parliament, a Conservative Government would always receive fair play on their merits. But a Coalition Government, such as they now proposed to bring about, he utterly abhorred. (*Loud cheering.*) Let these gentlemen come on with all their opposition. He mistook the people of Toronto and the great body of Reformers in Upper Canada, if from this Convention they did not go home and make such a clean sweep as to send to the next Legislature a body of devoted and faithful men the like of whom Canada had never seen before. (*Loud and continued cheering.*)

Mr. FRASER, of Brockville, said he was one of the unfortunate people whom Mr. MCGEE's manifesto had brought into such prominence—one of his co-religionists. He was there, not as one of the young politicians spoken of, who wished to air their eloquence, but to learn something for his election campaign in the Tory riding of Brockville. (*Cheers.*) Perhaps it was due, however, to the section of the Reform party to which he belonged, that he should say a word or two on the great question of the day. He should go back to his riding with pride. For the first time in his life he had stood face to face with such a Reform Convention. He saw before him men from all parts of the Province of Ontario—men of sterling worth, ability, age and experience, who after battling for many years, in power and out of power, had now nothing to retract or regret in their past policy, and were now prepared to endorse that policy with the sign manual of No Coalition. He did not believe there was a baker's dozen of Coalitionists in the ranks of the Reform party. The people of Upper Canada had now got Representation by Population, but they must have a care that the golden fruit did not turn to ashes. If the Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL intended to send Tories to contest the elections against the Reform party, what became of that principle? Was not the principle contended for in order that the Reformers might be in power? It was not sought for in order that Mr. McDOUGALL and Mr. HOWLAND should go into a Coalition and seek to gag the Reform party. The only excuse and justification for asking for a Coalition, was that one of the two parties would be opposed to Confederation. Which of the two parties would it be? The Reformers had been contending for it for years, and could carry it out in opposition as well as in power. If the Tories were opposed to Confederation, they must be fought. If Reformers were to go into a Coalition for the purpose of conciliating them—better a thousand times for the Reformers to be in opposition. (*Loud Cheers.*) He was present as a Roman Catholic Reformer. (*Cheers.*) A good many sectional questions had arisen in the past, and on some points the Catholics had been opposed by the Reform party; but he must say, and Catholics were willing to admit, that the Reformers consistently carried out their principles, and did not oppose them on sectarian grounds. (*Cheers.*) He could affirm, with some knowledge of the facts, that, after all had been said, there was not a man held in higher respect among the Roman Catholics than GEORGE BROWN. (*Applause.*) He should go back to Brockville more resolved than ever to fight that old Tory riding

to the end ; and he believed, if the Reform party stuck together, they would carry the elections. (*Cheers*).

Mr. JOHN McKEOWN, of Hamilton, was then called upon to move the 5th Resolution. After a few remarks he read it as follows :—

Resolved,—That Coalitions of opposing political parties, for ordinary administrative purposes, inevitably result in the abandonment of principle by one or both parties to the compact, the lowering of public morality, lavish public expenditure and wide-spread corruption :—That the Coalition of 1864 could only be justified on the ground of imperious necessity, as the only available mode of obtaining just representation for the people of Upper Canada, and on the ground that the compact then made was for a specific measure and for a stipulated period, and was to come to an end so soon as the measure was attained :—And while this Convention is thoroughly satisfied that the Reform party has acted in the best interests of the country by sustaining the Government until the Confederation measure was secured—it deems it an imperative duty to declare that the temporary alliance between the Reform and Conservative parties should now cease, and that no Government will be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is formed and maintained by a Coalition of public men holding opposite political principles.

Mr. McKEOWN then proceeded to say, that the result of Coalitions was demoralising to public men, and he was sure the unanimous verdict of the Convention would be against such a mode of carrying on the Government. No man has a right to abandon in one day the distinctive principles to which he professed attachment all his life. When the Coalition of 1864 was formed, it was understood that it should cease so soon as Confederation was secured. He believed government could not be economically administered except by parties. A Coalition fetters watchful opposition, and facilitates corruption. We found it as a matter of experience, moreover, that when Reformers entered a Coalition with Conservatives, they remained with the Conservatives. He was satisfied that if any Reform gentlemen coalesced with the Tories, they would hereafter be found among them. But argument was needless, for he was sure that none in the Convention needed to be convinced that Coalitions were bad.

Mr. JAMES YOUNG, of Galt, said that, as an individual, he believed in the federal principle of government. JOHN H. CAMERON'S idea of a Legislative Union was absurd. They had had enough of that system in connection with Lower Canada, and they had reason to rejoice that their new nationality will have for its basis a federal system of government, of which the corner stone was Representation by Population. (*Applause.*) It was fitting that the Reformers of Upper Canada should meet as they had done to express gratitude to that noble band of men, who, under every difficulty, had stood up for their interests in the House of Assembly. (*Cheers.*) Nothing in the history of reform could be pointed out more noble than the conduct of those men who had so long refused office and emolument to advocate their principles. They had seen their supporters fall by the way, turn to the enemy, or give up in despair ; but there was always a band to follow MR. BROWN, until to-day their banner waved in victory, and they now enjoyed the confidence and respect of their fellow-countrymen. (*Cheers.*) With reference to the subject of Coalition, it amounted to this, that they were called upon by

Mr. CARTIER and JOHN A. MACDONALD, after twelve years' struggle, in this hour of triumph, to place their necks beneath their feet, and give the lie to nearly all their past professions. And for what was that to be done? For nothing but to obtain office. Away with office for ever, if they had to sacrifice principle to obtain it. It was an axiom that Coalitions were unjustifiable except to secure some special object. The Coalition of 1864 was formed on a proper principle and for a good purpose, but many of the acts of that Government were gross wrongs inflicted on the country. He did not think Confederation would accomplish all that its more ardent admirers expected, but it was the duty of the Reform party to give it a good, fair trial. But he could not believe that a Coalition of parties could attain the desired end so fully as a party Government. (*Cheers.*)

The CHAIRMAN said he was now requested to call on Hon. Mr. HOWLAND to address the meeting. (*Cries for "McDOUGALL."*) He might mention that Mr. HOWLAND was the senior Minister of the Crown present, and it was right he should address the meeting first, if he so chose.

HON. MR. HOWLAND said that, when called upon this evening, he was informed that it was the unanimous desire of this Convention that he should be present at this meeting. He was very much indebted to the Convention for paying him this compliment. Any man to whom such an invitation was addressed could not but feel it as a compliment. He acknowledged the importance and the respectability of this assemblage. He acknowledged the intelligence and the worth of the men who were gathered here, and he acknowledged the importance that must be attached to any decision to which they might come. (*Hear, hear.*) As a member, however, of the Government of this country, he had responsibilities resting upon him, of which he should very soon be relieved. But, while he occupied that position, he had to regard those responsibilities, and could not speak, perhaps, as freely as another who might get up and speak without such responsibilities resting upon him. He might say that he cordially agreed with the resolutions which had been passed thus far by the meeting. He had as much reason as any man in this assemblage to rejoice over the position we occupied to-day. He had always acted with the Reform party, and, in entering the Government, had been actuated by an honest desire to carry out such principles and such measures as were for the good of the whole country. He had only had one object in view. He had made great sacrifices personally, though these sacrifices were no more than he thought he was bound to make, in consequence of the honour conferred on him. Ten years ago he was asked to represent a portion of the people of this country. At that time the Reform party was fighting a battle for changes in the constitution of the country. He had quite agreed that those changes were necessary, and had the honour to share in the exertions made to attain the object they had in view, in common with his fellow-members representing the people of this country. He quite agreed with the spirit of the resolution, bearing testimony to the fact that those men who represented this country as Reformers, in pursuing so persistently what they desired to attain, were entitled to the thanks and respect and gratitude of the country. He would always be prepared to give them all credit in whatever position he might be placed, as he would always be prepared to bear testimony to the tenacity with which they pursued their object. They had had a hard fight for it. In 1862 they succeeded in

passing a vote which was regarded as a defeat by the Government of the day. His hon. friend, Mr. BROWN, was not at that time in Parliament, and he (Mr. H.) was asked by the party to whom the GOVERNOR GENERAL thought proper to apply to assist in forming a Government on Reform principles. He felt it his duty to respond, and he was satisfied that no body of men ever united with a more firm determination to remedy the evils under which the people were labouring, and represent their interests. But, unfortunately, they were not sustained. He could say, however, that they brought forward and carried out what, in his opinion, was beneficial to the country, before their position and their power of doing good were brought to an end. Then, they all knew the contest that arose and the narrow majorities that existed in the Parliament of Canada. The result that was finally brought about, as had been ably set forth that night, was the Coalition of 1864. He now came to that point in these resolutions which was of the greatest interest to himself and his colleagues. (*Laughter.*) He had a few words to say with regard to Coalitions. The mere word Coalition did not of itself convey an idea that warranted condemnation:—"Oh, oh," and *laughter.*) It was believed, for example, that the Coalition of 1864 was free from immorality and was calculated to enhance the interests of the country, and that those who went into it were fully justified in the step they took. His definition of Coalitions was this: If they had measures before the country, and one party contended for one view, while another party held a different opinion, if a union was effected between the two by which the liberties of the country were endangered, that was a great wrong, in every sense of the word: (*Cheers.*) In 1864 we saw that there were things necessary to be accomplished for the good of the country. The Conservatives were opposed to them, but some of them came and acknowledged that it became their duty to go in with them and consider what the required change should be, and it was agreed that it should be a Confederation of the whole British North American Provinces, or of, at least, Upper and Lower Canada. There was nothing immoral in that on the part of either party. They judged that they were acting in consonance with the wishes of the whole country. There had never been an evidence of organized opposition to this measure in Upper Canada, and they, therefore, considered that they were doing their duty. But he quite agreed with the statement made that night that the object for which the Coalition was formed had been effected—that the conditions upon which it was entered into had been fulfilled, and that the compact came to an end on the first day of July. (*Tremendous cheering.*) On that day the existence of Upper and Lower Canada as Provinces would come to an end. Every public man would feel the difference—every man holding office in an administrative capacity would lose his seat, and at once step into a new position—a position that brought with it something that they should rejoice over. (*Applause.*) It brings into one body the four large provinces forming what is called British North America. Now, in any steps they might take they had to consider their position in reference to the people of all those provinces. They (the Convention) were there to consider what they should do with regard to their local politics; but when they considered the interests of the Dominion as a whole, they would have to take into the question the interests of the whole of the people forming the Confederation. He might say to them that, until within a few days, neither he nor his colleagues were in a position to speak definitely with regard to public affairs, because they did not

know what the state of things would be—what Government would be formed, and who called on to form it. The prerogative to appoint a gentleman to form a Government rests with the Crown. In the exercise of that prerogative, the GOVERNOR-GENERAL had seen fit to call upon the Hon. J. A. MACDONALD to form a Government, and to carry into effect those principles of government which they had lately obtained. If he (Mr. H.) had had his way, they would have had some changes, such as had been pointed out by preceding speakers—such as the constitution of the Senate. In his opinion, the mode adopted for the formation of that body was not in accordance with the federal principle upon which Confederation was based. (*Applause.*) But they had found it impossible to effect the change in this respect that they desired. It would, no doubt, work its own cure in time. From what he saw in England, he was satisfied there was a disposition on the part of the British people to accord to the people of Canada anything that might tend to their welfare; and if they desired any changes they would be freely granted. He was going on to say that Mr. MACDONALD proposed to start the machinery of the new Government on this principle. He (Mr. McD.) said:—“I desire to bring to my aid without respect to party, gentlemen who have been in the late Government, and men who command large majorities in their respective sections—(*Oh, no! do you? and laughter*)—and I feel confident that it is only the men who are best adapted for setting that machinery in motion who should have the confidence of the country.” (*Laughter.*) That was Mr. MACDONALD's proposition, and he accordingly called to his councils gentlemen from Nova Scotia, from New Brunswick, and from these Provinces, for that purpose. Men of the highest standing, of the highest character, and who were greatly respected in England for their influence in this country, were called upon to assist in putting the machinery of the new Dominion in motion. Upon being consulted by these gentlemen, he and his colleagues were perfectly free to take any course. They had made no pledges, and could have withdrawn from Mr. MACDONALD without being liable to any charge of having deserted him. They had looked at the Confederation as a whole, and upon consulting with the gentlemen from the Lower Provinces, they were told this:—“At your instance, we joined in a determination to stake our prospects as public men on this Confederation. Unfortunately, we have had a much harder battle to fight than you have, especially in Nova Scotia; but after a severe struggle we have secured majorities in those Provinces, and we now ask you, as patriotic men, not to desert us, but to assist us to fight out the battle we have engaged in.” These gentlemen tell us we cannot go back to our people and say that His Excellency the Governor-General, having called upon Mr. MACDONALD, we decline to go into the Government with him because he is a Conservative. Should they do that, they would be doing a wrong to the gentlemen of the Maritime Provinces who had supported them hitherto. Had Mr. BROWN been called upon to form the first Government, they would have felt it to be their duty to join him, rather than to raise objections because of the prominent part he had taken in the local politics of Upper Canada. That was the position of the gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces. Mr. MACDONALD's desire was to avoid, in the formation of the Government, the laying down of principles which it were best to lay aside, until there should be some definite issue before the country. He desired to recognize the wealth, importance and influence of the Province of Ontario, by giving it five members of the Ministry, while Lower Canada got four, and the Lower

Provinces, two each. Of the five members he called to his councils from Upper Canada, there were three gentlemen who represented the Reform element in Upper Canada. (*Hisses.*) In connection with that he proposed to call in four Reformers from the Lower Provinces.

Mr. BROWN—Mr. KENNEY is not a Reformer!

Mr. HOWLAND—At all events, whatever the position of Mr. KENNEY might be, it was Mr. MACDONALD'S desire to have in his cabinet six men, known all their lives to be Reformers. The responsibility had been thrown on them to decide whether they should acquiesce or say no. He (Mr. H.) would say, as one who had acted with the Reformers of Upper Canada, that as regarded statesmanship and party tactics, no more unwise thing could be done than for that Reform party to say *no* to such an offer as that, without consulting their friends in the Lower Provinces—to say that, no matter how earnestly they had worked at their instance and request, they would refuse to coalesce with them, and encourage those in the Maritime Provinces who had placed themselves in such a position that they would rather shed their blood on the frontier than have Confederation. Was it for them, therefore, to refuse to go into that Government and assist such men as Mr. TILLEY to carry out the object in view? (*Hisses.*) He would appeal to the sense of right and justice of this assembly of intelligent and respectable gentlemen, if they could have any object in view other than the welfare of the country? The discussions of the night had been carried on as regarded Upper Canada, both as to the past and as to the present. (*Cries of "no! no! no!"*) They should consider what would best secure the prosperity of their fellow-colonists as well as their own advantage. Whether it was very wise to pursue a different policy at the present moment, he would leave it to them to say. He would say to them that they should elect, decidedly, the best men in each constituency—men who would watch most closely the action of the Government. (*Cheers.*) Questions would arise on which they might differ, and there would then be nothing to hinder parties from taking different views.

Mr. BROWN—Then why not do so now? (*Laughter and applause.*)

Mr. HOWLAND—To do so now, would bring the Reform party of Western Canada into antagonism with the Reformers of the Lower Provinces, and, therefore, it would be an unwise step. He would not hesitate to appeal to the fairness and judgment of the country. He believed they desired to pursue such a course as they thought best, and he would regret very much that any estrangement should arise between those who had acted together for so many years. There were so many things which now required united action from the people of Upper Canada, that it was to be regretted it should go to the world that they were not to be satisfied with anything—that as soon as they got what they wanted they began to agitate. (*Hisses.*) They were now to solve a question of the greatest moment. The eyes of the world were upon them, and the course they were to adopt would be eagerly watched. Let them not have it said, that before anything was done they were going to agitate the country—that they were not going to live quietly under the new government they had secured. He had stated the facts of the case in as few words as possible, and as plainly as he could, and he would conclude by stating that he had taken his present course because he believed it his duty to his country to do so. (*Applause.*)

MR. ADAM GORDON asked MR. HOWLAND if he considered the present Convention a fair representation of the Reform party of Upper Canada.

MR. HOWLAND said it was impossible for him to say. (*Great laughter.*) But it presented a most favorable appearance. He did not know what they were doing—(*hisses*)—and while he believed that nearly all present were Reformers, and had a right to be there to discuss the subjects before the Convention, he was not prepared to give a positive answer. (*Hisses.*)

HON. MR. McDUGALL then rose to address the Convention, but was received, on rising, with hisses, groans, and other marks of disapproval, mingled with a few cheers.

A DELEGATE appealed to the meeting to preserve order. They were not treating MR. McDUGALL with the respect due to his position as a Minister of the Crown.

The CHAIRMAN said that the assembly, having invited the hon. Member to be present, were bound to hear him patiently, although they might disagree with him. To hiss him down would certainly be discreditable. (*Cheers.*)

MR. McDUGALL—I am too old a politician, Sir, to be at all disconcerted and disturbed by the hisses which, I am glad to say, are limited to but a small number of persons in this respectable assemblage. I have been invited here by a gentleman who stated to me and my hon. Colleague that he was deputed by this respectable Convention—respectable in point of numbers—respectable in the appearance of its members, and, so far as I know, a very fair representation of the great party called the Reform party of Upper Canada. That gentleman came and said we were invited, by the unanimous resolution of the Convention, to appear before it. (*Marks of dissent.*)

The CHAIRMAN—The resolution was, that tickets should be sent to the two members of the Government, on the ground, it was stated, that they had not received invitations. (*Cheers.*)

MR. McDUGALL—I am very sorry, then, that this assembly should have been misrepresented by its deputy, and that fraud should have been practised to induce Mr. HOWLAND and myself to come here. We did not suppose we were invited in that manner by cards of admission being sent to us—that were a small compliment. There are plenty of people here who have had that privilege. To come to this Convention and to be speakers merely, was not, I understood, the position assigned to us. We are not members of this Convention. We have not come to this part of the country to take part in your proceedings. We shall see your resolves, and that probably is all that it would have been our duty or right to know upon the matter; but we supposed it was the desire of the majority of this meeting—at least the gentlemen who waited upon us said it was your unanimous wish—to hear from us some statement of our position as public men, and as, up to a recent period at all events, humble members of the Reform party, explanations of the course we have taken, and reasons for the course we intend to take. If I mistook the position in which I am here, I have nothing more to say; but if the Convention desire to hear my remarks, I shall with pleasure proceed. (*Cheers.*) Well, then, gentlemen, the history of the Reform party in Upper Canada shows that as a party we have not always been unanimous. You are not even all unanimous here on some questions, as I can gather

by the indications of opinion in this room. There have been times when some gentlemen occupying prominent positions in the legislature, or on the press, have taken upon themselves to direct the course of the party; and other gentlemen, occupying equal prominent positions, have taken another course. We have had divisions and encounters, sometimes acting together at the polls, and sometimes opposed to each other. Mr. Brown, who is, of course, a very influential man in Upper Canada, and conducts a powerful press, has been found opposing public men—some of whom I see in this audience, some of whom I see in the gallery, denouncing them, securing their defeat, and at other times supporting them; at one time upon one issue, at another time upon another issue. I suppose the majority of this audience will admit that in all these instances, when he has been found supporting Tory candidates at the polls, he was acting honestly and according to his convictions, and that he believed the result would be to advance the interests of his country. I admit it; but his opinions on those occasions have been different from other members of his party. We have now come to a position in which it appears to me a question of the utmost gravity is presented to the people of Western Canada. Sir, I do not claim that unbounded applause which my hon. friend, Mr. Brown, asked from you and the country for the success of the policy of Confederation, which it has been announced to-day you have come here to celebrate. I have, it is true, played a very humble part in that work, and at the same time I claim to have done what I did with a zealous and earnest intention to give to my country a constitution that would relieve us from difficulties under which we have laboured for many years. I claim to have a desire—and I believe it will be accomplished—to give to Upper Canada—not to the Reform party only—its rights. The Reform party as a party always has had its rights—(No, no)—they must struggle as other parties, and they must succeed at the polls by convincing the people that their principles and their policy are right. Upper Canada as a whole, Conservative and Reform, has been denied its rights. Under the constitution, and in the mode in which that constitution was worked, we had not that influence in the Administration, we had not those laws which, in the opinion of the representatives of Upper Canada, were desirable. But the constitution which has just been conceded to us by the Imperial Government, will, we believe, be fairly carried out, give to us that position and influence in the affairs of British North America, to which we are entitled by our numbers, wealth and intelligence. (*Cheers.*) Now, I am something of a practical politician, and I know you have met here for a practical purpose. I have been connected with the press for many years, and know what is going on; and I see that the large majority of this meeting have come here with their minds made up to pursue a particular course, and affirm a particular principle. I am unwilling as a member of the Reform party to pin my political faith upon the decision of this or any other body. I believe that the principles I have advocated in the past and intend to advocate in the future are those which will commend themselves to the judgment of the majority of Upper Canada; and I am prepared to carry the question to the polls, where the legitimate expression of that judgment is to be found. Gentlemen, I do not quarrel with the mode in which you have been called here, but I apprehend that it cannot be pretended that every Reform constituency is fairly and proportionately represented, and there can be no doubt that the question, whether the policy I and my hon. colleagues have pursued is right or wrong, will

have to be decided, not by you, but by others. As you sent for us to give you information, I have to say that we are prepared to deny the resolution before you. We deny that Coalitions are immoral and fairly open to the other charges made against them—unnecessary, inexpedient, or whatever it may be. We are prepared to say that a Coalition of political parties was absolutely necessary for the purpose of securing to the people of this country the greatest boon they have ever had since they were constituted a body politic, for without that Coalition you would not have had that constitution which on the 1st of July will come into operation. As an humble architect of that constitution, I was proud to hear from this platform eulogiums passed upon it and upon Mr. BROWN, and I go along with you in the resolves passed upon that subject; but when you go further, and say that a Coalition is an immoral combination, then I contend that you pronounce the greatest condemnation upon your friend Mr. BROWN that was ever uttered. He was the man of all others in this country to give us a Coalition, such as is condemned in this resolution. At the time the Government was condemned by a majority of two, I, an humble member of the party, was offered by the Premier of that day, three seats in the Cabinet for myself and my friends. It was then said that a Coalition was attempted. We had tried to govern the country and could not, and the other party had tried and could not. The general elections were just over, and there could be no object in appealing to the country. And, therefore, an appeal was made to moderate men on both sides to join together to prevent this dead lock in carrying on the government. I said to Sir E. TACHE, that under the circumstances, I thought a Coalition Government was the only possible Government, but I also said that if I joined such a Government it must be a real Coalition—that a fair position must be given to the Liberals of both Provinces, and that if that were done and good measures proposed I would be happy to join such an Administration. Sir E. TACHE told me that the majority of the Liberals in Lower Canada were rogues, demagogues, infidels, and I know not what, and that he was only prepared for a Coalition of the parties in Upper Canada. Well, gentlemen, although it was a proud thing for me, a young member of Parliament, to have the offer made to me, I refused to go into the Government on these terms. But what did we find? We found in a few days our friend Mr. BROWN coming down to the House and declaring that he was ready to go into a Government or form a Government or support a Government such as we had just condemned; and then, if a Convention had been called to pass sentence on Mr. BROWN, I have no doubt nine votes out of every ten would have been for condemnation. But the measure to be accomplished was considered by the House and your representatives, one of so much importance that an agreement was come to, and three members of the Liberal party were asked to join the Administration, taking the place of three Conservatives who left it, for the purpose of proposing a scheme for the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. I went into the Government as one of Mr. BROWN's colleagues, and I laboured till the measure was passed, as diligently and earnestly as it was in my power to do, for the purpose of securing to the people of this country as perfect a constitution as could be passed. In the midst of our career—before the measure was safe in this country, so far as the Maritime Provinces were concerned, while I was absent from the country on a trade mission, I heard, to my astonishment, that Mr. BROWN had decided to leave the Government. (*Quite right.*) Some of us were

of opinion that it was not quite right, and we found that a majority of the Reform party in Parliament thought it was not right. We remained in the Government. We said, if Mr. BROWN deserts our ship in mid-ocean and takes the jolly boat because a storm is imminent, we will endeavour to navigate the ship and carry the cargo safely into harbour. I believe we had the confidence and support of the great majority of those with whom we had been in the habit of acting, and whose good opinion we were anxious to keep. In England, we discovered by reading the GLOBE, that it was the opinion of Mr. BROWN that the Liberal members should leave the Government as soon as the measure was carried. We ventured to differ from that advice. We knew that there were several important questions to be settled by the existing Government. One of these was nothing less than the constitution of the Upper Chamber, and we thought it desirable to keep at our posts in order to see that a fair distribution of those seats should be given to the party with which we were associated. We found that it was proposed to appoint to the Upper House senators in the proportion of one party to the other. Now, it so happened that at that time, from various causes, the Conservatives were very nearly in the proportion of two to one in the House, or, at all events, they had the great preponderance. Now, I ask you, gentlemen, what position the Reform party would have been in with a Senate, the majority of whom were Conservatives, and these appointed for life, with no power in the Constitution to over-ride or add to the number. Sir, those were the resolutions we took with us to England; but we felt that it was not a fair interpretation of the intention of the Legislature; although Mr. BROWN remarked, on the occasion of Mr. HOWLAND'S coming into the Government, that there would be no difficulty, but that the selections were to be made on equal terms; and from that circumstance it was argued that the selections were agreed to be on the principle of equality.

Mr. BROWN—Allow me to say that the hon. member is mistaken. He forgets that, only last session, I brought the Attorney-General to book, and made him state, in reply to questions, that the bargain made in 1864 was that he should consult his friends and I mine, the representatives of the Reform party doing so when I left, and that in this way we should select one and another till the whole twenty-four were elected. The Attorney-General stated that that was the bargain, and that he intended to carry it out; and to say that the matter was changed in England is to affirm an impossibility.

Mr. McDUGALL—All I can say is—and I am stating a fact publicly, which can be explained or established—that that was not the opinion the Governor-General formed of the resolutions or that Mr. MACDONALD expressed to me when we sat down to make the selections. But, Sir, by remaining in the Government—by transferring that question from England to this country—by contending with our colleagues in Ottawa that this was a fair mode of making the selections, we succeeded in obtaining half of the representatives in the Upper House in Upper Canada. I mention that circumstance not so much because of its intrinsic importance, as because it shows that the advice the honourable gentleman gives sometimes requires modification. We felt it our duty to remain till other important matters were settled. I point to the conduct of this Coalition Government, from the time Mr. BROWN joined it till now, and I defy him to point out any acts of the Administration, since he left, more cen-

surable or worthy of condemnation than in the other period of that Administration. When the responsible duty was imposed on us of deciding whether we would enter the Coalition Administration about to be formed, we felt ourselves bound to look at the question, not only from a party point of view, but from an Upper Canada and also a British North American point of view. Mr. J. A. MACDONALD, the President of the Conference in London, was charged by His Excellency with the duty of forming the first Administration under the new Constitution. He came to his Liberal colleagues with a proposition. He said: "The policy we shall adopt will be acceptable to you; we have talked over it, and there is no difference of opinion; but, then, is the formation of such a Government possible?" Mr. HOWLAND, Mr. BLAIR, and myself, consulted first as to the justice of the proposition, assuming that we should go into the Government at all, and we came to the conclusion that Mr. J. A. MACDONALD's proposition at that time was not fair. We contended that if it were desirable to continue the Coalition for the purpose of setting the machinery in motion, the Liberal party should have, at least, an equal representation in the Government; and further, that supposing five seats were given to Upper Canada, the Liberals of Upper Canada should have three of those five, leaving two to the Conservatives. For two days we believed this proposal would be declined, and we were quite prepared to leave the Government; but while matters were in this state, the leaders of the Liberal party in the Maritime Provinces (excepting Dr. TUPPER) came to us and said: "We are Liberals; we have struggled for responsible government; we are desirous of joining with you; but if you cannot come into the Government, we shall be obliged to take office under Mr. J. A. MACDONALD." Well, gentlemen, they foresaw what the result would be—that the Government would be supported by a majority of the three Eastern Provinces, and that it would be shown to England and to the world that this great remedy which Mr. BROWN and Mr. MACDONALD and men of all political parties, wise and not wise, had agreed to, had solved no considerable difficulties—that Upper Canada was not relieved from the domination of Lower Canada, but that the disease was worse than ever. What would have taken place? We should have had a Government resting for its support on the Lower Provinces. You may talk of corrupt Coalitions, but if any Government is likely to be corrupt, it is one that is fighting for its existence with a narrow majority, and using all the influence and patronage it can command to sustain itself in power. These are the corrupt Governments, and these are the Governments it is not desirable to re-establish until we have some great issues on which parties can be reconstructed honestly and fairly, as we now desire to do. What others may do or say is another question. I see, by this morning's GLOBE, that Mr. HOWLAND and myself are very quietly read out of the Reform party. We are no longer members. "The die is cast." Well, Sir, I have been denounced by the hon. gentleman many times before, and I do not know that I have suffered much in consequence. At all events, I have pursued the course I felt to be right notwithstanding, and I have come out, upon the whole, pretty successfully. I am not prepared to put my hand to the destruction of the Constitution we have just received. ("Oh, oh.") Gentlemen say, "oh, oh," but I would like to hear a reason rather than a mark of dissent. I should like gentlemen to study the history of the past struggles, and they would see that the whole difficulty was that a

Government ruled Upper Canada which Upper Canada did not put in power, and that it put its hand on the public purse in order to secure political power. And now what is the position of affairs to-day? We are undertaking to build an Interecolonial Railroad. When the Government to which I belonged a few years ago proposed to do this, the hon. gentleman behind me, who is taking notes, and will probably reply to my speech, denounced it as a most atrocious thing to build a railroad where nobody wanted to go, though very shortly afterwards we found him ready to build six railroads, or do any thing that would bring about these constitutional changes, in order to give the wealthy and important section of Western Canada her due. Now, suppose the course advocated in the GLOBE is followed, and the Reform party have nothing to do with the Government—a Government will be constituted in spite of them, and will be supported by a majority in the Legislature. That Government will have this Railroad in its hands, fifteen millions to be expended, and one of several routes to be chosen. Mr. MACDONALD and his colleagues are not so astute as they used to be—they must have lost a great deal of their corrupt tendency—(*ironical cheers*)—if they are not able to control the Government of the New Dominion for the next ten years. I have no desire that they shall do so. I believe they have not got it now. A Government will be formed consisting of seven gentlemen entitled to be classed as Liberals, one of whom will probably not hold a portfolio, and six Conservatives. (Mr. BROWN: "Oh, oh!") The hon. gentleman says "Oh, oh." I have heard that kind of argument many times in public assemblies, and in the House of Representatives, from the hon. member; but it does not amount to much. I assert it as a fact, and let him disprove it if he can. Many in this room may think that that gentleman, and those who sit beside him, are much better qualified and entitled to have the control of the affairs of the Reform party than the gentlemen, humble as they may be, who happen to have the honour at the moment. There are, possibly, others of a different opinion; but, at all events, we have the position, and we intend to hold it. (*Loud cheers of irony, and, A VOICE: "That's honest."*) We intend to hold it if we can. A gentleman behind me says we cannot do it. Well, gentlemen, that will be settled at the elections, and we shall then see whether the Reformers of Upper Canada are prepared to ignore the fact that under the new Constitution there are other Provinces besides Western Canada. We think that the work of Coalition is not done, but only begun. We think that British Columbia should be brought into the Confederacy, that the Great North Western Territory should be brought in, that Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland should be brought in. I say that the negotiations of the terms upon which these Provinces are to be brought in are as important, and that it is as necessary that the Government in power should not be obliged to fight from day to day for its political existence, as when Confederation was carried up to the point we have now reached. Those who are of a different opinion will have an opportunity at the elections of saying so by condemning us who think it our duty to remain in the Government. (A VOICE—*When will the elections take place?*) The gentleman who asks that question will probably find this out a little sooner than he desires. I can only utter my own opinion. I think that a Government, constituted on the 1st July, ought to be sustained or condemned by a Parliament elected by the people as speedily as possible, giving due time for the elections to tak

place. (*Cheers.*) Now, gentlemen, I do not know that under the circumstances in which I am placed it is necessary for me to detain you longer. So far as these resolutions are concerned, I have, for the most part, no objection to them. They affirm old time-worn principles of the Liberal party. With regard to the resolution which condemns the Coalition, I disagree with it. I think the Coalition ought not to cease till the work begun under Mr. BROWN's auspices is ended. To Upper Canada I think it would be a calamity. Before this Constitution was granted to us, we had several alternatives before us. Mr. BROWN always advocated representation by population, pure and simple; but no votes from Lower Canada could be got for it. Mr. MCGEE did once vote, under a qualification, for that principle. Many gentlemen were of opinion that we ought to have a disjunction of the union between Upper and Lower Canada. We had three or four alternatives before us; but now those alternatives are all gone. We have a Confederation, and if that Confederation fails, what is your alternative? (*A VOICE—Washington.*) I don't know whether the gentleman who cries "Washington" means it as a joke or sneer; but I am afraid a great many in the Dominion are looking to Washington now, and that more in Western Canada would look to Washington, if, after all these things, we find ourselves where we were before—the majority of Upper Canada representatives despised, and the Government resting on the coalition of three Eastern Provinces. I will be no party to that state of things. I believe we can, aside from party, secure all the reasonable and fair interests of Upper Canada until this work is accomplished. You have nothing now but a cry—nothing but the names of men. No measure, no policy, is pointed out to the new Government, which it may not, for aught I know, be ready to submit to the country. When their policy is produced, then, gentlemen, you will be in a position to differ or agree, and you will have some position on which you can fight as a party. I have heard JOHN A. MACDONALD denounced. Well, I am no political admirer of JOHN A. MACDONALD. I have fought him as hard as any man, and perhaps have given him as much trouble as any man in this room; but I shall do him the justice to say, that from the time he entered this Government he has worked loyally, zealously, ably, for the purpose of conferring upon his country a lasting benefit. Gentlemen say he was forced to do so, and they may think so, if they please. I think that if he had not been convinced that this arrangement was a good one for the country, he would have carried on the Government, and kept his party together, and fought the battle he had fought for so many years without going into the Coalition, and agreeing to this arrangement. He thought proper, with his colleagues, to join us in working out this Constitution, and I know something of the labour, day and night, he has bestowed upon it. I am prepared to do him justice, and to say that he and his colleagues are entitled to some share of the gratitude of his country. Mr. BROWN has no right to monopolize all the credit and praise and glory of this new Constitution. Public men of all parties have worked for it. Talk about the Tories doing nothing! Who carried it in Nova Scotia? A Tory party perilled their existence by agreeing to act with us; and does it lie in our mouth to say that no Tory shall have office or credit in this matter? Sir, Toryism and Reform, and all the rest of it, are buried with the past. (*Laughter.*) We have a clear slate—a *tabula rasa*; there is the Constitution—there is the machine—work it. We have heard that the Roman Catholics are now to work with Mr

GEORGE BROWN, because there are no longer exciting questions at issue between them; and why not Conservatives and Reformers? New questions, I have no doubt, will arise, and I am not prepared to say there should not be parties. I believe that party government is a normal thing, and I could start questions to-night on which differences may arise. There are commercial questions—questions of free trade or protection—the currency—which will be before us in a short time, and upon these questions newspaper writers and politicians all over the country will take sides. In the meantime, we shall shortly have an election, and the Government will appeal to the country for support. It will have its friends and its foes, and a line will be drawn between the two. I believe it will be found that its friends will outnumber its opponents in Western Canada, and I am willing to wait till the elections decide that question. [The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid loud marks of disapproval, accompanied with some slight cheering.]

It was now past midnight, and the room was still crowded with an excited auditory.

MR. MACKENZIE said he had intended speaking in reply to the honourable gentleman who had just sat down; but, at that hour of the night, he would prefer yielding to the wishes of many present, who desired to go home, and postpone his speech till the following day, especially as MR. BROWN, who had been referred to personally in MR. McDUGALL'S speech, wished to make some remarks. (*Cheers.*)

HON. GEORGE BROWN—I will not detain the meeting long, as it is very evident to me that there is a very prevalent desire to adjourn the meeting. We have had a long speech from my honourable friend MR. HOWLAND, and a very long speech from MR. McDUGALL; but you will have observed that there was scarcely one point brought out save this:—We had—first, a statement from my friend MR. HOWLAND, that on the 30th of June the Coalition compact was at an end, and then we had from MR. McDUGALL an entire contradiction of this statement. (*Laughter.*) MR. McDUGALL not only says that the compact is not at an end, but he says it is only beginning—(*laughter*)—that you are to bring in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and all the vast territory between, and that till all this is done, and everything smoothed down and reconciled, he and his colleagues intend to keep office in the Coalition. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Gentlemen, it is quite clear that if we reach this point in the present generation, it is as much as we could hope for; so that I think you will see very clearly what the position of this question is. (*Hear, hear.*) On the first of July, the proclamation; on the 2nd of July, the writs; on the 20th July, the elections; at all of which MR. McDUGALL and his colleagues intend to put up Coalition candidates. Now, the Coalition candidates cannot be Reform candidates. They are not to be had on that side. They must be Tories; and so the Reform party in Upper Canada will have to fight Tory candidates, assisted by these gentlemen to make them successful. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Now, what is the justification of this? I ask you to say whether these gentlemen have suggested a single advantage to Upper Canada from their remaining in the Government? We hear much of advantages to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. MR. HOWLAND says they found the Nova Scotians in a very peculiar position, and that if our friends had not gone into the Coalition, they, the Nova Scotians and

New Brunswickers, would have been in a very lamentable situation. And so, these gentlemen, with that compassion and amiability which has always characterized Mr. McDougall, kindly retain their offices—not, mark, with a view to benefit Upper Canada, but solely with a view to benefit Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, though they have not one member of the Reform party of Lower Canada included in the Coalition. (*Cheers and laughter.*) You cannot fail to see the absurdity of this argument. Mr. TILLEY and Mr. ARCHIBALD say:—“This is a very awkward position; we are Reformers and you are Reformers, and we are natural allies.” “Of course,” we reply. “We have worked to carry Confederation for you,” they say; “and *we* have worked to carry it for you,” we reply. “The advantage is equal and mutual. We admit you are in an awkward position, and everybody will feel sympathy for you; but what has that to do with us? We won’t go into the Government, and don’t you go into the Government.” (*Cheers.*) Suppose our friends had said this to the Liberals of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. If these gentlemen had then stood fast, and said to JOHN A. MACDONALD, “Go on and fill up your Cabinet,” clearly, if it be true that there is a Liberal majority in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with their aid and that of our staunch friends in Lower Canada, we could have put our Reform friends into power and held them there more firmly than they can ever be held by JOHN A. MACDONALD, as will be seen before many months go round. (*Hear, hear.*) We have no hostility to Mr. TILLEY or Mr. ARCHIBALD; but our task is to carry our elections at the polls, and send a strong deputation to Parliament. If we have a majority we will carry the House, and if we have not we will wait till the Coalition falls to pieces, which will not be long; and then, when the Coalition no longer commands the confidence of the House, the Governor-General must send for the Reformers, and do you think these gentlemen would then refuse an alliance with the Reformers of Upper Canada? Take my word for it, gentlemen, if the Reformers of Upper Canada are true to themselves, and stand united as they have done in the past, they hold the balance of power in this Dominion. It is very true that Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD, with the unfortunate aid of our friends, may succeed in driving a wedge into our ranks; but it is altogether a fallacy to suppose that any one party in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick can rule the roost. The elections are coming on there, and no one can tell which party will predominate; and would it be wise for us, before we do know, to follow these gentlemen, break up our ranks, and hand ourselves over to JOHN A. MACDONALD, in the expectation that these gentlemen will sweep those two Provinces, when perhaps they will do the opposite thing. The Dominion is not yet, I apprehend, formed; and, if the Reformers of Upper Canada are wise, they will stand by their principles; they will be prepared to go to Ottawa with such strength as they can command, and make such friends as they can with a view to breaking up the Coalition and forming a new Administration. These gentlemen say we shall not succeed. It will be very poor statesmanship, if we do not succeed before long. I do not mean that you are on the very first day to run a-muck against the Administration. Far from it. We have got relief from one of the great abuses under which we formerly suffered; we have got control of our local affairs; and they may put who they like into the Government, but I tell you that the Ontario Legislature will, before the expiration of one week, rectify that. It is a very extraordinary thing

that these gentlemen do not explain to us how this Coalition is to work in Ontario. Are we, for the benefit of having these gentlemen in the Cabinet for a few weeks—and depend upon it it will not be for much longer—not only to submit to the Federal leadership of JOHN A. MACDONALD, but to hand over Ontario to the Tories? The proposition is absurd, after we have been labouring so long. Mr. McDUGALL says they will take care our interests are protected in the future as in the past. I would like to know whether the bargain we made with the Conservatives, when we went in, three to nine, has been carried out, with regard to the patronage of the Crown? Were these gentlemen even treated with the common respect to which they were entitled when they were in England, or did they feel it to be their duty to address an indignant memorial to the Colonial Office on the subject?

Mr. HOWLAND—You are incorrect in that statement.

Mr. BROWN—Do you mean to say there was no letter of remonstrance addressed to the Colonial Minister?

Mr. McDUGALL—By whom?

Mr. BROWN.—By one or other of you. (*Laughter.*) I had supposed all was so pleasant and agreeable that you both acted together; but now we find that there was one further on in JOHN A. MACDONALDISM than my friend Mr. HOWLAND. (*Laughter.*) Gentlemen, you may talk as you like, but this is a mere dodge of Mr. MACDONALD'S. We have 82 seats now in a House of 181, and three years hence we will have 12 seats more, and are we prepared completely to surrender ourselves into the hands of such a man? I cannot think our friends understand their position. The glamour has been thrown over their eyes. (*Laughter.*) We are told that the people of England are looking to us with great anxiety. It is right for us to regard what the people of England are thinking about us; but it is more important to know what the people of Canada think. The Constitution is framed for us, and not for the people of England. England has given us the Constitution, and we are to say how it is to be worked out. But these gentlemen say the Reformers do not know how it should be worked out. It is in them that all the wisdom of the party is concentrated, and they will carry it out for us. (*Laughter.*) I have had many extraordinary sophistries to discuss during my experience of the last twenty years; but I have never been asked to discuss such a senseless question as that raised by these gentlemen to-night. I can understand that they wish to retain office; but what good are we to get from that? For my own part I affirm, that while I was in that Administration there was only one way in which we could stop wrong-doing—to obtain anything right was impossible—and that was by throwing the responsibility upon the Government and threatening to resign. That is all our friends can do. Take my word for it, JOHN A. MACDONALD may give them three seats in the Privy Council, but so long as he keeps those true friends of his in Lower Canada, it will signify very little to him what they do, so long as they help him over the elections. The very day the elections are over, he can start a question—he may do so on some Order in Council—which will compel them to leave the Government. He has command of the situation, and he can do with his colleagues as he likes. I will not raise a discussion respecting the cost of the new Government; but we have these Reformers establishing a Cabinet of thirteen ministers to do

half or one-third the work which twelve men did under the former Canadian Government. We have taken away the Crown Lands, Local Public Works, and other departments from the control of the General Government. We have built up a Local Government out of what we have taken from Ottawa; and yet these gentlemen demand not only the old number of ministers but they add an additional one. And look how it is done. Mr. McDUGALL says—Here are seven Reformers to six Tories; but I put it to your common sense—do you think JOHN A. MACDONALD the man to go into a Government in a minority? Depend upon it, before he made such a bargain, he ascertained pretty well how the thing was to go if he went in. The moment the elections are over, he can reduce the number to any figure. The moment a person differs from him, he can say, "I have done with you." (*Hear, hear.*) Suppose these gentlemen were as firm Reformers as ever—though we know they are going to send candidates against us at the elections—we cannot have very strong faith that they would be of much use to us in that Administration. Mr. McDUGALL talks as if it were a great thing to give us five Ministers for Upper Canada, although we have two millions of people to the six hundred thousand of the Maritime Provinces, and they send four. I do not lay stress on this, because now that we have taken local matters from the Central body, the best men in the Dominion should be taken by their rank. Nor do I blame these gentlemen much for putting in thirteen. When Parliament meets we shall require to call them to strict account; but they may show that it was necessary in order to conciliate the Provinces. I do not mean to say that they cannot do that; but until they are heard on the floor of Parliament, I would not like to condemn them. The story goes that the salary is to be \$8,000; but say \$5,000; there are five men in Ontario and five in Quebec—thirteen men in all to do the work that twelve men did before. I can hardly suppose that this is necessary; but Parliament cannot be far off, and then we can discuss the question. (*Hear, hear.*) They say there are three of them and four of the Lower Province men. There is Mr. KENNEY, who replaces Dr. TUPPER, as strong a Tory as Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD himself, and my own belief is that Mr. KENNEY is as strong a TUPPER supporter as is to be found in Nova Scotia. You will have six men who have voted thick and thin together these many years. JOHN A. MACDONALD, CAMPBELL, CARTER, GALT, LANGEVIN and CHAPUIS—they are not going to separate. And what says Mr. McDUGALL? Will you, he asks, entrust the Intercolonial Railway into the hands of these men? They must have been very much cured of their corrupt tendencies if you are able to entrust them with it. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. McDUGALL.—On your theory.

Mr. BROWN.—No, on your theory. I am free to confess that if we have no greater protection against the corrupt tendencies of JOHN A. MACDONALD than his colleague, who comes here to admit that he has corrupt tendencies, I am sorry for the country. Here are six men, say, in the Cabinet, who are as a unit, and all they have to do is to get one out of the four from the Lower Provinces, and they will have a majority. There might be a division even among the Ministers from Upper Canada. JOHN A. MACDONALD is a very astute man, and knows well how to play one colleague against another; and if he does not succeed in getting one in Upper Canada or Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, when he wants him,

he is a little more stupid than he used to be when I was in the Government. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Here are the words, as taken down by a friend, with which Mr. McDUGALL defended his leader:—"The Hon. Mr. MACDONALD has lost much of his astuteness, and his colleagues much of their corrupt tendencies if"—

Mr. McDUGALL—I hope there will be no attempt to put words into my mouth, and a meaning upon my words which they will not bear. I was referring to your own charges, and your own view of the case.

Mr. BROWN—There is perfect fairness in the hon. gentleman's appeal; and I am prepared to admit that he may have meant what he says, though there are short-hand reporters present of all political opinions, who, doubtless, took down his words, and we shall to-morrow or the next day be able to read all the hon. gentleman said on the subject. He must, however, have felt a great deal embarrassed, and if he did not say what he meant, I am quite prepared to allow him to retract, and to take his words as he intended. (*Cheers.*)

At the close of Mr. BROWN'S speech it was found to be past 1 o'clock, and too late to proceed further with business or speaking. A motion to adjourn until half-past nine the following day was put and carried.

SECOND DAY.

FRIDAY, JUNE 28TH, 1867.

The Chair was taken by Mr. PATRICK punctually at half-past 9 o'clock.

The minutes of the proceedings of yesterday were read by the Secretary, Mr. EDGAR, and adopted.

The question before the Convention being the adoption of the fifth, or "No Coalition" resolution,

Mr. A. MACKENZIE, M. P. P., stepped to the front of the platform, and was received with loud cheers. He said it was necessary, in the first place, to understand what was meant by coalition, and in the second place to understand the kind of Coalition which the party stood committed three years ago, and that was the assent of the party was asked at the present moment. He then left in the first place to show that, according to all constitutional principles, it was necessary a means of carrying on the Government of the whole Party were not to be understood as implying anything that was inconsistent with the free expression of opinion, and with the liberty of discussion in deliberation. Party was simply an alliance of men having principles in common, and undertaken for the purpose of giving them legal effect. From the earliest times in our Constitutional history, it had been found necessary to have parties in existence. In Great Britain, for instance, the first party was organized to resist the undue exercise of power by the Crown, class legislation and ecclesiastical supremacy, while on the other hand an opposing party maintained these doctrines. And let it be borne in mind, that every party must be supposed to be organized on some principle of general application to the whole of the country—to which all other questions are made subordinate. Thus, in the United States, the first great party was formed on the nature of their Federal relations; subsequently, on the question of State rights; and

ultimately, negro slavery. In the limited time at his disposal, it was very difficult to decide on what precise points to concentrate his remarks. Perhaps it would be well to consider, in the first place, the precise nature of the Coalition of 1864. Mr. McDougall last night took the ground that the resolution now before the Convention reprobated Coalition under all circumstances. The resolution did not do so. It was a denunciation of Coalitions when gone into for ordinary administrative purposes. (*Hear, hear.*) When the negotiations, which resulted in forming the Coalition of 1864, were undertaken, a meeting of the Reform members was called, and he well recollected having an hour and a half's discussion with Mr. McDougall, prior to the meeting, wherein that gentleman sought to combat the view he (Mr. Mackenzie) took of the position—which was, that we should support the Government in its Confederation policy, provided that we obtained such ample securities as would satisfy the country—but that Reformers should not enter the Government, but remain outside, prepared to guard the rights of the party and the rights of the people which had been committed to their charge. Mr. McDougall took an entirely different view. That gentleman was not present this morning, but he was sure he would not consider him (Mr. Mackenzie) as maligning him, when he stated that the great weakness of that gentleman's character was a fondness for the occupation of a seat on the Treasury Benches. (*Laughter and cheers.*) He (Mr. Mackenzie) held then, in the caucus and out of the caucus, that it was an exceedingly dangerous experiment for our party, under any circumstances, to enter the Government with John A. Macdonald and his Tory allies. He feared the result would be that some of our party would ultimately become not merely coalesced, but fused with the Tories. His fears and his predictions had been amply realized. At the caucus, he contended that it was inexpedient that any members of the Reform party should enter the Cabinet. This view was also taken by Mr. McKellar, Mr. Brown, Mr. Burwell, and others. He felt bound, however, to acquiesce, when a contrary decision was arrived at—he had no doubt in the most perfect good faith—by a large majority of the party. The view they took of it was this: “We know Mr. John A. Macdonald; we know his whole policy in conducting the government of the country has been one of “trickery all through. He has sold the people over and over again, and “unless we have some sterling men there to watch him, he will sell us “again.” (*Hear, hear.*) He (Mr. Mackenzie) admitted there was a great deal in this argument, and that the majority of the party who voted for being represented in the Cabinet, did so, firmly believing that it would accomplish the object. That it did accomplish the object, so far as securing the passage of the Confederation Bill in a perfect shape was concerned, there could be no question; whether we would have had equal security if none of the Reform party had entered the Cabinet, was a question which it was needless to discuss now. But it would be observed that, in all these proceedings, there was no defence attempted by a single member of the Reform party, of coalition as a principle to be applicable in the ordinary administration of affairs. Every one, from first to last, condemned it, and every one now, he believed, condemned it, except those who were personally reaping the benefit from it. (*Cheers.*) In connection with this there was another point to which he desired to call attention—he referred to Mr. Brown's faithfulness in preserving intact the interests of his party at the time of the Premier's death. It would

be recollected that the Coalition was formed under the Premiership of Sir E. P. TACHE, who was not the leader of any party, but was simply a respectable old French Canadian gentleman, who had borne considerable labour in the Legislature of the country. On Sir ETIENNE'S death, Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD was invited by the GOVERNOR-GENERAL to undertake the formation of a new Administration; but Mr. BROWN said "No. Mr. MACDONALD is the leader of the Tory party—a minority in Upper Canada—and, if he is placed in the position of Premier, I have no security that he will not resort to some of his old tricks—I have no security for the fulfilment of the pledges given when I entered the Administration!" (*Hear, hear.*) Mr. MACDONALD'S reply was—"Well, I suppose I must yield, but you can have no objection to Mr. CARTIER." (*Laughter.*) To this Mr. BROWN responded—"Mr. CARTIER is the leader of the party, next to your own, that has been most opposed to Upper Canada getting its rights. I will have as little security from Mr. CARTIER'S Premiership as from your own, and on no condition will I submit to it, on behalf of the party I represent in the Cabinet." They were then forced to take some other person, some political nobody, and Sir NARCISSE BELLEAU was installed as Premier, and Messrs. BROWN, CARTIER and MACDONALD, stood on equal terms in the Cabinet—no one having more power than the other; and this we owed entirely to Mr. BROWN'S fidelity to the people, and his determination to secure justice for them. (*Cheers.*) But what was the position here? Mr. McDUGALL and Mr. HOWLAND professed to represent the majority of Upper Canada in the Cabinet—they professed to represent the largest organized party that exists in the United Provinces—and yet by their own admission they never made one attempt to secure the Premiership, or even some divided Premiership, for the representatives of the Reform party in the Cabinet. All they had to say was—"Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD made fair promises, offered us a good bargain, and we thought we should take it." That was the difference between the two sets of men. Messrs. McDUGALL and HOWLAND conceded that we were the vast majority of the people of Upper Canada—that we would return very nearly, if not quite, one third of the representation in the House of Commons—and yet not a single effort was made by these gentlemen to secure for this large and influential party a kind of security such as Mr. BROWN exacted from and compelled his opponents to give in 1865. (*Hear, hear.*) Mr. McDUGALL and his friends were proclaiming through the country, "There are no party issues now; we are all one party; let us begin afresh, and some questions will arise in the course of time, after the House meets, on which we may reasonably differ, and then parties will be formed, and the strongest, of course, of these parties will be entitled to rule the country." He (Mr. MACKENZIE) held that the old issues were not destroyed, but still existed. (*Cheers.*) What had been ever the policy of the Tory party in this Province? Had it not been the constant struggle of the Reform party with the Tories, to fight against their encroachments on the rights and privileges of the people? The policy of the Tories or the Conservatives had been what their name indicated—to conserve and preserve all old abuses—a policy of restriction and ecclesiastical despotism, which they would have fastened upon us, if they had had the power. (*Cheers.*) The policy of Reformers, on the other hand, had been to secure that every man should stand on perfectly equal terms in the eye of the law—that no Church or other institution should receive

special privileges from the State. The Conservative policy was here what it was in England, a strictly restrictive one—one that cramped the energies of the people. It was the same policy as that which resisted the repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholicism in Great Britain, which enacted corn laws to tax the bread of the people—the policy which would build up and perpetuate a State Establishment. This policy had been imported here, and we had had the most deliberate, persistent, and systematic attempts made to engraft on our system the abuses against which the Liberals of Great Britain had fought for centuries. It was claimed for the Tories that they had voted for the settlement of the Clergy Reserves. Yes! and a precious settlement they made of it. If the Reform party ever deserved credit for anything, it was for having submitted to the wrong settlement of that question, rather than perpetuate an agitation which might have become dangerous in our constitutionally-governed country. And yet we were told there was no difference between the two parties. While Mr. HOWLAND was speaking last night, he (Mr. MACKENZIE) listened to him with the utmost attention. He was a gentleman for whom he had the greatest personal respect, and with whom he had often been delighted to act. When the hon. gentleman sat down last night, he had but one sentiment for him, a sentiment of profound pity—(*hear, hear*)—and of extreme regret that one whom they had so greatly respected, should at last have fallen from the high place he had held in the esteem of the people of this country, and all for the sake—according to his own statement—of keeping up a Government that would benefit Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. What had the people of Upper Canada done, that they should be sacrificed at the shrine of Messrs. TILLEY and ARCHIBALD—that these gentlemen should come here and dictate terms to our representatives in the Cabinet, and that they should accept them, to the humiliation of our own people, with whom there was not one moment's consultation on the subject! (*Cheers*.) Then as to Mr. McDUGALL'S position. (*Hear, hear*.) He admitted frankly that Mr. McDUGALL was a bold man, an exceedingly bold man, and this reminded him of a little incident which happened in the House of Assembly two or three years ago. Mr. CARTER was speaking—a gentleman who is always very well pleased with himself, and occasionally boasts a good deal. He said that evening, "I have great moral courage, Mr. Speaker." Mr. RYMAL, a gentleman famous for his plain and truthful utterances, remarked, "It looks a great deal more like impudence." (*Laughter*.) Well, nothing could have been more impudent than for Mr. McDUGALL to come on this platform, and tell them in the first place that he had been brought by fraud on the part of the Convention; and in the second place, that he could get a majority elected in Upper Canada in spite of them. (*Hear, hear*.) Mr. McDUGALL said he held that the principles of Coalition should be maintained until all the Provinces of British North America were brought in. He (Mr. MACKENZIE) held in his hand the Ministerial explanations made at the formation of the Government of 1864, and accepted by Mr. McDUGALL when he entered it, and it was there stated that the arrangement was to continue—till when? till the following session, to allow time for framing such a measure as would secure the immediate federation of the two Canadas, with provisions enabling the other Provinces to come in at some future time. Would Mr. McDUGALL claim that this Government were au-

thorized to admit British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, or any other Province yet to be formed in the North-West? The admission of these Provinces was a new question upon which Parliament would have to decide. They would be admitted, he had no doubt, and a great British power would be consolidated across this continent. But that this Ministry should have this power in their hands, he emphatically denied; and he defied Mr. McDougall or any one else to show that any such arrangement was ever entered into. It was well, however, that we had a man who spoke honestly, to speak before Mr. McDougall. It was a capital thing to get Mr. Howland up first. Mr. Howland said—"Certainly the agreement entered into cannot by any means be supposed to extend beyond the 30th of this month; and, of course, on the 1st July the Coalition is at an end." And the only excuse he offered for a Coalition arrangement being entered into, was that it was necessary in order that Mr. Archibald and Mr. Tulley should have seats in the Cabinet! It was necessary that the whole of us should be sacrificed, in order that these gentlemen and their colleagues should be benefitted at our expense! (*Cheers*). This Convention had met to decide what should be the policy of the Reform party hereafter. He thought if there was any beacon that should guide us in our future course, it was the treatment our party had received at the hands of those to whom we had committed our party interests. These gentlemen had assumed to ostracize every one who did not agree with them! He held it was a gross insult to the Reformers of Upper Canada, that these gentlemen should in the first instance have agreed to go into the Cabinet, and after that, that they should come and ask the advice of some half a dozen of gentlemen, whom they took as representing the Reform party. He did not know how many they had asked to meet them. He knew they had not asked him. (*Hear, hear.*) He claimed to have done his share in carrying the work of Confederation, and in upholding these men in the Government while they were perfecting that work. And yet they never asked his opinion about the new arrangement, which Mr. Howland admitted he had entered into, and which Mr. McDougall defended. Why should he and others have been excluded from that invitation? Mr. McDougall said it was because they had opposed the Ministry last session. He (Mr. Mackenzie) could name a number of gentlemen who were invited to that meeting, who had opposed the Ministry on their Confederation policy. He (Mr. Mackenzie) never opposed them on that. The only thing he opposed was the introduction of measures calculated to raise party issues, in violation of the agreement entered into when the Ministry was formed. They asked gentlemen who took a leading part in opposing Confederation to attend the meeting, but did not ask those who had put their shoulders to the wheel to help them when in difficulties, to push through the measure. (*Hear, hear.*) And what a farce it was, to pretend to ask advice after the work was consummated! They spoke in the South of Scotland of what was called Jeddart justice. In Jedburgh they first hanged a man, and then considered whether it was right they should have done it. (*Laughter*). This was a similar case. He had been looking over constitutional authorities on this matter, although, of course, common sense would teach any one that to take a certain course, and then ask advice whether it should have been taken, was most absurd. But the fact was, they did not summon these gentlemen together to ask their

advice. They took the bull by the horns, and said—"We have done this, and if you don't toe the mark, and agree to support us, we will have a man up against you in every one of your counties." They held the knife to the throats of these gentlemen, and compelled three of them, it appeared, to go down on their knees and worship this ghost of a Coalition. (*Laughter.*) HALLAM, in his Constitutional History, at page 77 of the second volume, laid down this position, that, when men were entrusted with the leadership of a party, and when a new question arose, on which there might be a difference of opinion, and which they had not been commissioned to settle, they had no right to act on that question until the party had been consulted. (*Hear, hear.*) These gentlemen had never consulted their party. And this was no new thing. Mr. McDUGALL, last winter, before he went to England, told him he had determined to join Mr. JOHN A. MACDONALD. Nor was this a mere incidental remark, for Mr. McDUGALL argued the matter fully with him, and he (Mr. MACKENZIE) pointed out to him that the treachery of men like SPENCE and ROSS had brought on them the execration of the whole of their party, and that the same would be his (Mr. McDUGALL'S) fate, if he followed the same course. Mr. McDUGALL replied that the old party issues would be forgotten, and that it would be impossible to resuscitate them after we got into the new Dominion, and had the new system at work. The result was just as he (Mr. MACKENZIE) had expected, for he had never anticipated anything else but that Mr. McDUGALL would agree to enter any Government that could be formed. (*Hear, hear.*) The Reform party had now to decide on their course of action. Messrs. McDUGALL and HOWLAND had chosen boldly to throw down the gauntlet, and he (Mr. MACKENZIE) for one, would take it up. (*Cheers.*) Nor should we rest contented with defending ourselves. He, for one, meant to "carry the war into Africa." (*Cheers.*) They told him that he must be opposed in Lambton. His reply was, that he thought he could do perhaps as much in Lanark as they could do in Lambton. (*Cheers.*) At all events, having been over all parts of the Western Peninsula, and through some other parts of Canada, assisting to get the party organized and to vindicate its principles, he had never yet attended a single meeting in town or country, where, on laying down honest, manly, straightforward principles, you would fail to carry the people with you. (*Cheers.*) And he could not even dream of such a thing as that the people of Canada West should submit to Mr. McDUGALL'S threats, and bow to his dictation. (*Cheers.*) Who was this gentleman that he should dictate to the whole party? He could never forget the declaration made by that gentleman when he accepted office in the MACDONALD-SICOTTE Government—that it was all very well to advocate Representation by Population while we were in opposition, in order to overthrow the Government; but that it would not do, after getting in, to push the things we had contended for when in opposition. He (Mr. MACKENZIE) held that they should return no man to Parliament who was not prepared to carry out in the Government the principles advocated by the party while in opposition. (*Cheers.*) Mr. HOWLAND, and the other gentlemen who took office in the MACDONALD-SICOTTE Administration, did not take the same ground as Mr. McDUGALL. They said, it was better they should accept office, in order to effect some reform in the administration of the financial affairs of the country, even though the constitutional questions should stand for some time in abey-

ance. But even then the party stood true to itself, and unanimously passed a resolution, which he (Mr. MACKENZIE) moved in the caucus, declaring that these gentlemen might take office, but that, whenever the questions of Representation by Population and Sectarian Education came up, the gentlemen in the Ministry would find their friends voting against them. They were told that, if they assumed the responsibility of going into the Government, they knew what was before them and might make the most of it. (*Hear, hear.*) He believed that Government administered the affairs of the country well, but he considered that they violated principle when they accepted office, and we had suffered in consequence by the putting back of the Constitutional question for some years. (*Hear, hear.*) There was another point to which he must advert, with regard to the position assumed by Messrs. McDougall and Howland, with reference to our Liberal allies in Lower Canada. Could anything be more monstrous than that those who had opposed Confederation, should on that account be ostracized for all time to come in the Government of the country? (*Hear, hear.*) To what were these gentlemen more indebted for their present position than to the uprightness and stern patriotism of Mr. DORION and his friends, who, against tremendous odds, had advocated the Reform cause, and stood by the Upper Canada Reform party at many a critical period? (*Cheers.*) Only Mr. DORION's intimates knew what that gentleman had sacrificed for the good of his party. And yet these gentlemen, who had formerly worked with him, deliberately proposed to kick him overboard, and to declare that he should never, in this new Dominion, have a seat in the Cabinet, because he had opposed one measure. Mr. DORION, at one time, might have had the Chief Justiceship of Lower Canada. When the vacancy occurred, he (Mr. MACKENZIE) and others of his friends urged upon him that he should have his reward when it was in his power. His reply was—"I feel that the position I have held in the Reform Party necessitates my remaining with them until our efforts are crowned with success." (*Loud cheers.*) He repeated, nothing could be more infamous than the treatment Mr. DORION and his friends were now receiving from these gentlemen. The fact was, they knew that Mr. DORION and his friends would not submit to a Coalition with the Tories for ordinary administrative purposes, and they made this an excuse—that they had opposed Confederation. They took no such ground with reference to members of their party who had opposed Confederation, but whom they attempted to carry over to their side at the meeting in this city the other day. (*Hear, hear.*) Then, as regarded Mr. HOWE and his friends in the Lower Provinces, they had a constitutional right to oppose Federation. Every one, who believed it was likely to injure the country, or his own section of it, or that it was to interfere with British supremacy and lead to annexation—which was the ground taken by Mr. HOWE—had a perfect right to oppose it. (*Hear, hear.*) But it was well known that Messrs. McDougall and Howland, and JOHN A. MACDONALD, and BLAIR, and ARCHIBALD, and TILLEY, with Mr. CARTIER and his friends, sat round a table the other day in Ottawa, to deliberate on what constituencies they could carry. Mr. MACKENZIE went on to narrate the conversation which he supposed took place on that occasion, as to the means by which the various constituencies were to be carried by a union between the Tories and the Reform friends of Mr. McDougall—if he had any; and mentioned in detail what had occurred in Frontenac, in the withdrawal of SIR HENRY SMITH, on the

promise of a commissionership, as an illustration of the tactics that were to be pursued. The Coalition, he believed, as the result of those deliberations, calculated on carrying 32 constituencies in Canada West, although Mr. McDUGGALL had had the face to stand up last night and say he firmly believed they would have a majority in Canada West. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Then he was told that they calculated that only fifteen of the Rouge party of Lower Canada would get in. They were to make the Intercolonial Railroad a means of carrying a number of the elections. Several of the best Rouge members were from the district of Quebec. Mr. HUOT, of West Quebec; Mr. GAGNON, of Charlevoix; Mr. CARON, of L'Islet; Mr. REMILLARD, of Beltechasse; and Mr. POULION, of Temiscouata, all represented districts that would be affected to a greater or less extent by works connected with the Intercolonial Railway. Ministers then calculated that they could so work the Intercolonial Railway scheme that they could get these men over, and have fifty supporters in Lower Canada instead of forty-four. He (Mr. MACKENZIE) did not believe they would be able to do anything of the kind. He did not believe that one of these twenty-one men would be found base enough to sell himself to the Coalition. (*Cheers.*) He must apologise for having detained the meeting so long. (*Cries of "Go on!"*) He would remark, however, that a more magnificent assemblage than this—a more thoroughly representative assemblage than this—had never gathered in the halls of Upper Canada. (*Cheers.*) And he believed there was not the slightest doubt that they would be able to carry from 60 to 64 constituencies against these men. Let them but put their shoulders earnestly to the work, and prosecute it to completion, and just as surely as they were sitting here to-day, they would secure a majority in the House of Commons, in spite of the attempts of these gentlemen to distract and defeat the party. (*Loud cheers.*) He wished also to say a word with reference to Mr. BROWN's position. It was now sixteen years since he and Mr. BROWN first got to work together in the elections in the west, and they had worked together ever since. It was a singular fact, with reference to the first Committee formed for Mr. BROWN in Lambton, that in a few years no fewer than three of its members were found occupying seats beside him in the Legislature. During that period, he had been cognizant of what Mr. BROWN had done and sacrificed for his party, and he hesitated not to say that no party leader was ever found in any country who had made such sacrifices and put forth such exertions as Mr. BROWN had done for the good of his party. (*Cheers.*) There were some people who made it a matter of reproach to say—"Oh! he is a disciple of BROWN's. BROWN has nobody now but MACKENZIE and MCKELLAR." (*Laughter.*) These people would find out their mistake when the elections came on. (*Cheers.*) But, however that might be, he would say the man did not exist whom he would more willingly follow as his leader—to whom he should desire to show so much respect and devotion, knowing as he did his patriotism and entire integrity, and knowing also the abuse and the infamous treatment he had received both in and out of Parliament. And in saying that, in view of all this, he was proud to acknowledge Mr. BROWN as his leader, he knew that he represented the feeling of the people of Upper Canada. (*Cheers.*) He saw an old gentleman present as one of the delegates who was at one time Warden of Lambton, and his presence reminded him of a remark that gentleman made on the hustings on one occasion—"I beg to propose Mr. BROWN as

the member for Upper Canada." (*Cheers and laughter.*) And in a very important sense Mr. BROWN was the member for Upper Canada, for no man ever did the work he did for Upper Canada, and for the interests of the party which had identified itself with its progress. (*Cheers.*) They might differ occasionally from Mr. BROWN; but no man could possibly show the slightest ground for suspicion that Mr. BROWN ever proved unfaithful to his trust. (*Cheers.*) Mr. MACKENZIE then referred to Mr. McDUGALL'S challenge last night to show anything the Government had done, inimical with or in violation of the agreement entered into in 1864, and met the challenge by instancing the vote of \$46,000 brought down by Ministers to pay, out of the public chest, the salaries of persons who had been Wardens of Counties in Lower Canada, and their clerks, twenty years ago, and which they were finally compelled to withdraw, in consequence of the opposition of the Reform, and even of some of the Conservative members of the House. He concluded by again reading the resolution which was before the Convention, and referring to Mr. McDUGALL'S threat, that, resolve as this Convention might, he and his friends would carry the elections in spite of them. He (Mr. MACKENZIE) felt that that threat could safely be left to be disposed of by the gentlemen he saw before him, who, he was satisfied, represented a power in the country that would set Mr. McDUGALL and his minions at defiance. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. J. V. SPORN, of Hamilton, after some preliminary remarks, said he took it that Canadians were not the whole of British America, nor Upper Canada the whole of Canada. It was a very important, a very extensive, a very influential part, but there were others besides Upper Canadians whose sympathies and opinions should be considered before adopting any particular policy as to the future. He had always been a Reformer, and always would be; but he was free to admit that as a party they had made blunders, and he differed with many in the Convention and on the platform as to what their course should be. They were told by the gentlemen who had spoken last night that the die was cast, that they had gone into this Coalition, and were determined on adhering to that policy. That might be wrong, and he did not stand there to justify it at all. He spoke in behalf of the Reformers of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. He took it that the Reformers of these Provinces considered it their duty to enter into the Government, and he took it that the Convention should pay some deference to their opinions, and not cast them aside because they considered it their duty to do as they had done. If they went against these gentlemen, they inevitably estranged them from the party, and drove them to the opposite party. (*Hisses.*) If they were told that they had gone with corruptionists, men not fit to be trusted, how could they but drive them from them? (*Several delegates---*"*Let them go; they went without our consent, and may stay.*") Did the Convention consider the danger of driving these men away? Upper Canada had once had allies in Lower Canada who were driven away, and what was the consequence? Upper Canada, for a long time, was ruled by a section from Lower Canada; and if they drove these men who had entered the Government from them, Upper Canada would be placed in a similar position—would be ruled by the Lower Provinces—no one knew how long. He was against coalition as well as his hearers. (*Applause.*) But this was a matter of expediency; it was necessary in order to husband the resources and strength they had obtained. We could not afford to cast

the men from the Eastern Provinces aside merely because they considered it their duty to join in a Government with our opponents, when no principle was at stake except it was the principle of Coalition. It was acknowledged that these men from the East were honest men. (*A voice, "Only one?"*). They thought it their duty to join the Government. The Convention had been told last night that this was a trick of JOHN A. MACDONALD's, that it was a wedge put in to split the Reform party. He (the speaker) granted that. And would they drive the wedge? (*No, no!*) They were told that JOHN A. MACDONALD was crafty and cunning; and would they meet it with stupidity? If we gave these gentlemen from the East to know that we went with them in sentiment and that they were one with us in the Reform party, we would tie these gentlemen to us. If we would stand by these men and let them understand that we had confidence in them, we would hold them by a band stronger than any other could be.

Mr. DAVID McCULLOCH, of Hamilton, said that with Mr. SPOHN's personal opinions he had nothing to do, but with Mr. SPOHN as a delegate from Hamilton he had something to do. He rose to say that Mr. SPOHN, in what he had just said, did not represent the Reform Association of Hamilton, by whom he had been sent as a delegate to the Convention. (*Loud applause.*) He rose to say that if Mr. SPOHN had expressed himself in the Association of Hamilton as he had to the Convention, he would not have had the opportunity of being a member of the Convention. He rose to say that Mr. SPOHN had entirely misrepresented the sentiments of the Reform party of Hamilton, and that no one could be elected to any office of trust in that Association who held any sympathy with the Coalition principle. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. JOHN SMITH, Secretary of the Reform Association of Hamilton, said that what Mr. McCULLOCH had just said was perfectly correct. When the question of Coalition had recently been discussed in the Reform Convention of Hamilton, Mr. SPOHN had been one of the most active in opposing any support from the Reform party for it. The minutes of the Association would show it; and if he had not done so, he would not have been elected to represent them in the Convention. (*Loud applause.*)

A delegate asked if this was the Mr. SPOHN who had figured in the election of A. P. McDONALD, in West Middlesex, to which another delegate answered that he was the same.

On the suggestion of Mr. IRVING, of Hamilton, the Convention resolved to limit the speakers in future to fifteen minutes each, on account of the great amount of business to be done.

Mr. RICHARD TAYLOR, of Elora, said that as one of the gentlemen who had accepted office in the Coalition Government, to be formed, represented the county in which he lived, he wished to make some remarks. For his own part, he contended that from a Coalition Government the Reform party could not expect such consideration as they were entitled to, and he was sorry that these gentlemen had accepted office under such a Government. He thought that public men were the property of the people. These men should have consulted the people before they took such a step. He had the sense of the meeting to elect delegates in Elora in respect to Coalition, and it was that the party should go for a Reform

Government only, and accept a Tory Government rather than a Coalition Government.

Mr. A. DIAMOND, of Belleville, rose to object to the phraseology of the resolution under discussion, which he thought did not come up to the standard that a Convention of this kind should pass. In the first part of the resolution it was said, "that Coalitions of opposing political parties for ordinary administrative purposes," &c. Now that referred to only one kind of Coalitions; and he was opposed to all Coalitions, and thought that clause should be struck out. He would next suggest that the word "inevitably" should be changed to "generally," because if left as it was, it condemned the Reform members of the Coalition Government of 1864. When that Coalition had been formed, Mr. DIAMOND went on to say, the party was paralyzed, and it was not till most satisfactory explanation had been made by the Hon. GEORGE BROWN and others, that the party gave in their adherence to it. As editor of a Reform newspaper he had been accustomed to pitch into Coalitions as demoralizing, and how could he now write the same kind of articles as before? The movement could only be justified by the exigencies of the Government. The country had been demoralized by that Coalition, and it was only by such a Convention as that which was now being held that it could be cured. No one knew this better than the Hon. GEORGE BROWN, and he had got out of it as quickly as he could. In respect to the new Coalition which it was proposed to form, he felt some sympathy with Mr. McDUGALL, and thought it would be better to consider him as having made a political mistake instead of being corrupt. But he presumed that Messrs. HOWLAND and McDUGALL could have given better reasons than they had last night, for the course they had taken. He had been surprised that they did not justify their course better. He had supposed that they would claim that they had gone into the Coalition at the request of the Reform party, and on a promise to be sustained by it. But they made no such attempt at justification. They admitted that they had gone into the Coalition of 1864 for a definite period and that that period had elapsed. There was one objection to the proposed new Coalition that had not yet been urged. Supposing it to be a justifiable Coalition, were the Reformers of Canada fairly represented? Only three of the party in Upper Canada were to enter it, and none from Lower Canada. The only fair way to form a Coalition Government under Confederation was to give parties a representation in it according to their respective strength in each Province, or to have members of one or the other party in any Province enter it to the exclusion of the other, according to the party which predominated. Mr. DIAMOND then moved his amendment, which was in the words of the resolution with the exception of the changes indicated by him in the preceding remarks.

Mr. GILLESPIE, of Picton, Prince Edward county, seconded the amendment, and expressed himself as feeling like the mover in regard to Coalitions. He had always been opposed to them, and was completely surprised when the Coalition of 1864 had taken place, and Mr. BROWN and JOHN A. MACDONALD had entered the Government together. He thought that the millennium had surely come—the lion and the lamb had lain together, and Mr. McDUGALL was the child that led them. (*Laughter.*) Mr. GILLESPIE went on to speak of the conduct of Messrs. McDUGALL and HOWLAND—the latter of whom he pitied. He thought

him an honest man who had got caught in one of the clever political tricks of JOHN A. MACDONALD, and he was mistaken if they did not make him a political Jonah before long. But he had not so much faith in their making a Jonah of McDUGALL. (*Applause.*)

Mr. GORDON, of North Ontario, could not see what these gentlemen wished to amend. The resolution was a very important one. He was exceedingly glad that Messrs. McDUGALL and HOWLAND had been present at the Convention. They had been very free in their assertions that, if they were permitted to appear on that platform, they would justify their action and make all right. He had listened very attentively to them, and he must say they had not given the ghost of a reason for joining the Coalition. He had put a categorical question to Mr. HOWLAND, and had found that if that gentleman had learned nothing else from JOHN A. MACDONALD, he had learned the art of circumlocution. But he (Mr. HOWLAND) had acknowledged that this was a representation of the Reform party of Upper Canada. He had intended to ask another question, but was prevented by the confusion at the time. That question was, if this meeting, representing the Reform party of Upper Canada, gave its verdict against Coalition, in what way would they be justified in entering into a Coalition Government? They were placed in such a position that they must go over, body and soul, to the Conservatives, or come to the Reformers. There was no debatable ground as to the sentiments of the party in Upper Canada—the party lines were now distinctly drawn. He hoped that in the coming elections there would be no confusion of principles or parties, and if Mr. McDUGALL carried out his threat of running Coalition candidates against their candidates, he would find that he had made a mistake. (*Applause.*) The position of Mr. McDUGALL reminded him of a picture he had seen in the International Exhibition. A simple young man was represented as playing a game of chess against the great enemy of mankind, and it was evident from the position of the men on the board and the countenances of the players that the former was checkmated. He did not mean to compare JOHN A. MACDONALD with the enemy of mankind—(*laughter*)—nor Mr. McDUGALL to a simple young man. But he thought he was in that position, that for \$8,000 a year he was going to sell himself to the Tories. In conclusion, the speaker referred to the accession of strength which the Reform party of Upper Canada had received since former times, and hoped that the result of that Convention would be to strengthen them and send them back to their constituencies well grounded in the principles they professed, and that throughout the length and breadth of the new and great Dominion Liberal principles would hold an ascendancy from first to last.

Mr. McNAUGHTON, of Cobourg, remarked that the mover of the amendment had cautioned them not to force members of the Reform party, who had entered the ministry, to go over to the opposite party. He took it that they had gone over to that party, body and bones, and that they should be regarded hereafter as belonging to it. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) At the Convention of 1859, he had expressed the determination of the Reformers of West Northumberland to punish Mr. SIDNEY SMITH, their member, for going over to the opposite party; at the next election they had done so, and the Hon. Mr. McDUGALL had assisted in doing it, and simply on the ground that he (SMITH) had deserted his party.

After that election they had a dinner in Cobourg to celebrate the victory which the Reform party had achieved; and at that dinner Mr. McDougall was one of the most firm in his expression of a determination to oppose JOHN A. MACDONALD, and that under no circumstances could it be right for Reformers to coalesce with him. What right had Mr. McDougall to go through their constituency to oppose SIDNEY SMITH's election, because he had deserted his party, and now to occupy his place? In view of the facts, they had nothing to do but to treat Mr. McDougall as a humble follower of JOHN A. MACDONALD—as one of the Tory Coalitionist Corruptionist party. (*Cheers*).

Mr. JACKSON, of Newmarket, here presented the second report of the Committee on Arrangements, recommending that no one speak more than ten minutes, except by special permission of the Convention, nor more than once on any question, unless to explain. The Report was adopted.

Mr. JOHN EDDINGTON, of Stratford, rose to propose an amendment to the amendment. He took the view that the Coalition of 1864 was unnecessary, there being, he thought, other means available to get Upper Canada her rights; and, being unnecessary, it was wrong, because, in the words of the original resolution, such Coalitions inevitably resulted in the abandonment of principle by one or both of the parties to the compact. The amendment he proposed was the same as the original resolution except in condemning the Coalition of 1864. He believed that if the policy of refusing to enter the Coalition under any circumstances had been followed, the country would have been in a better position to-day. In taking office with men whom they had condemned, in every Reform meeting for ten years; they had tended to loosen their hold on the great Reform party, and the consequence was, that now there were some two or three men of the party who thought themselves justified in entering into alliance with their political opponents. These men would not have been brought to err so if it had not been for that Coalition. He desired to have the resolution amended as he had intimated, as a protest of the Reformers of Upper Canada against all Coalitions.

Hon. Mr. BROWN said he was sure that his young friend, who had just taken his seat, must admit that those who took part in the proceedings which led to the formation of the Government of 1864 were just as honestly desirous of doing what was right as he was; and, indeed, he (Mr. BROWN), and a number of the party, had voted in favour of the course which his friend recommended, but they had been overborne by a vote of 26 to 11. But it was scarcely necessary to re-open now the discussion of that question, as the object now was to bring together all sections of the party. He hoped, therefore, that the gentleman from Stratford, having had an opportunity of stating his views, would be content with that, and not press his amendment. Mr. BROWN proceeded to read Mr. DIAMOND's amendment, and showed that the Coalition principle was even more strongly condemned in the original resolution than in the amendment. He thought the language of Mr. DIAMOND's amendment weakened, instead of strengthened the case, as put in the resolution of the Committee, and he hoped, therefore, that that gentleman would allow the vote to be taken at once on the original resolution. (*Hear, hear.*)

MR. DIAMOND, the mover of the first amendment, consented to its withdrawal, and the CHAIRMAN stated that the second amendment also, in consequence, fell to the ground.

The resolution was then put to the meeting. It was as follows:—

Resolved,—That Coalitions of opposing political parties, for ordinary administrative purposes, inevitably result in the abandonment of principle by one or both parties to the compact, the lowering of public morality, lavish public expenditure and wide-spread corruption:—That the Coalition of 1864 could only be justified on the ground of imperious necessity, as the only available mode of obtaining just representation for the people of Upper Canada, and on the ground that the compact then made was for a specific measure and for a stipulated period, and was to come to an end so soon as the measure was attained:—And while this Convention is thoroughly satisfied that the Reform party has acted in the best interests of the country by sustaining the Government until the Confederation measure was secured—it deems it an imperative duty to declare that the temporary alliance between the Reform and Conservative parties should now cease, and that no Government will be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is formed and maintained by a Coalition of public men holding opposite political principles.

The yeas being called for, the Convention rose *en masse*, and there was enthusiastic and tumultuous cheering when it was seen that the resolution was carried all but unanimously.

The nays being called for, three hands were held up, the meagre display causing a good deal of laughter.

MR. ADAM CROOKS, Q.C., of Toronto, moved the fourth resolution:—

Resolved—That this Convention recalls with pleasure that the people of Canada have looked earnestly forward to the successful termination of the long struggle of the Reform party for representative reform, as a day when the tax-payers in all sections of the Province would receive their rightful and equitable influence in the State, and when, by the consequent ascendancy of Reform principles and Reform statesmen in the councils of the nation, the scandalous abuses under which the country has so long laboured, would be swept away, and a new and better era inaugurated; and this Convention fully recognizes the grave responsibility now devolving upon the Reform party, by the largely increased political influence secured to it under the new Constitution, of meeting the just expectations of the country, and of carrying into effect vigorously and promptly those numerous reforms in the practical administration of public affairs for which its members have so long contended in the Legislature and through the press.

He agreed with all that had been said respecting the deep debt of gratitude due to those Reformers who had so nobly struggled in the past for the two great principles—Representation by Population and local control of local affairs. The Reform party had at length, and after a very long struggle, secured to the country a Constitution which, with some trivial defects, might be said to meet entirely the wants of the people; and no one could write the history of Canada without ascribing to the Reformers the great victory which they were now celebrating. It was, therefore, with astonishment and pain that he had witnessed the

previous evening the defalcation from the Reform ranks of two men, who, by their own words, cancelled any feeling of obligation which would otherwise have been felt towards them by the party. (*Hear, hear.*) It had been one of the evils of the country, that Upper Canada, which contributed so largely to meet the burdens of the country, should have been so incommensurately represented in the Legislature. For the first time in the history of Canada that anomaly was about to be removed. One of the great difficulties the new Government would have to contend with was the financial difficulty. Heretofore, there had been the township, the county, and the provincial obligations to meet. There was now added to these the cost of the Confederated Administration; and it was most important that the utmost economy, consistent with the proper control of affairs, should be practised. Reformers had long contended for departmental reforms, and for removing the reproach from the departments that they were a mere refuge for incompetent people of good connections, who could not earn a living in any other way. It was most important jealously to watch the public expenditure, and to keep down the public debt. As a candidate for the Western division of Toronto, he was anxious that his opinions on these points should be fully understood. Many of his friends thought that he could have carried the division without a contest by going in upon Coalition principles; but he would not purchase a seat upon these terms. One of the reasons that induced him to come forward as a candidate was the importance of bringing the element of principle into the political struggle. He had been shocked to hear the Hon. Mr. McDougall advocate principles destructive of pure government. He would never factiously oppose any Administration, Reformer though he was; but there were times when to tolerate a Government was to give up principle. When grave national interests were at stake, men of the right stamp should be at the helm of affairs. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. PARDEE, Reform candidate for Lambton, in seconding the motion, observed that he should only occupy half the time allotted to him, although he felt an honorable pride in standing there as a candidate for the representation of Lambton, which had been represented by Mr. MACKENZIE, one of the most prominent members of the Reform party, and the present able leader of that party, the Hon. Mr. BROWN. He contended that the Convention of 1859 had had a most important bearing on the final passing of the Confederation Bill, and the present triumphant position of Reformers; all who had read the resolutions passed at that Convention, must acknowledge the analogy between them and the leading principles of the Confederation Bill. The present Convention would bear equally important fruits. (*Hear, hear.*) It was intended to utilize the great measure given to them, and to give life and vigour to it, which could only be done by the Reform party being true to itself. The political millennium had not yet arrived. There was as much need now as heretofore for watchfulness on the side of the Reformers. Unless the Government were entrusted to men of sound political morality and principles, Confederation would be a curse instead of an advantage to the country. There could be no doubt, however, of the result if the Reform party pursued their advantage. There was no necessity for a Coalition Government. Coalitions were necessary under certain conditions which he had not time to discuss, but they were not necessary

to carry out a constitution which had once become established. To say that there was not sufficient ability in the party to form a Government was ridiculous; and if the Tories could not construct an Administration able to govern the country, he would go bail for it that there were men in the Reform ranks who could. (*Applause.*)

Dr. CLARKE, of Simcoe, rose simply to express, before returning to glorious old Norfolk, the gratification he had felt in meeting with the Convention, conscious as he was of the immense influence it would have upon the Reform party. As a representative from one of the oldest Reform constituencies in Upper Canada, it was only right for him to say, that the sentiments which had been expressed by one of the representatives from Hamilton would find no sympathy in old Norfolk. (*Cheers.*) The North Riding of Norfolk was true to the core on the question of Coalitions. It was seeking to send a representative to the Legislature of Ontario a gentleman who had been a member of the old Coalition Government. He was sorry that that gentleman was unable, from ill health, to be present at the Convention; had he been, he would have been against future Coalitions. The Reform party were glad to keep good men in their ranks, and for this reason he had felt it a pitiable spectacle to see two gentlemen of ability speak their own political sentence, as did Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland on the previous day. Norfolk might be depended on for standing by the fifteen planks of the platform which had been laid down by the Convention. (*Cheers.*)

The motion was unanimously adopted. The fifth resolution having been previously adopted.

Mr. KENNETH MACKENZIE, Q.C., moved the sixth resolution in the following words:

Resolved.—That one of the fundamental principles of the Reform party, now as ever, is—the total separation of Church and State, the support of the Clergy of all denominations by the free contributions of their people, and the recognition by the Legislature and Government of all Canadians as subjects of the Queen, and not in any sectarian capacity: The Convention heartily rejoices that the new Constitution sweeps away from the Federal arena every question of a sectional and sectarian character, and records its earnest conviction that on the fidelity with which this vital safeguard is respected in the practical administration of the government, rest the future harmony and stability of the Dominion; And it joyfully recognises that by the transference to the Legislature of Ontario of all local matters—the Protestant electors of Upper Canada will have the opportunity of showing to their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects that generous consideration which a minority ought ever to receive in all free countries at the hand of a largely-preponderating majority.

Mr. MACKENZIE went on to say that he did not use the language of exaggeration when he characterized that meeting as a most important one. The attention of the whole country was directed to that Convention. Their deliberations should be distinguished by wisdom, moderation and good sense. The country was on the eve of eventful changes. On Monday next the sun for the first time would rise on the Dominion of Canada. A new power would start into being on that day,—a new people will commence their career in history. The "Dominional Government of Canada" will have its say among the ruling authorities of the world, and be one of the political land-marks of the earth. The sovereignty of the New Dominion has not been forced upon a reluctant people by the force of arms; it will not be inaugurated by the pomp and pageantry of war. Its advent has not been preceded by the carnage

of battle fields or the conflict of hostile battalions, or by the curse of civil or public war. On the other hand, the Dominion has been ushered into the world under circumstances the most auspicious, as the creation of mind, of thought, of judgment and well-matured public opinion. The law-abiding people of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada have, after the maturest consideration, decided on becoming united as one people, one sovereignty, one Dominion. The elementary principles of the "Dominional Constitution" have been thoroughly considered by the Legislatures of Canada and the Maritime Provinces before they were submitted to the supreme legislation of the empire. Some of the most commanding intellects—some of the first statesmen of our times—the splendid and fervid eloquence of GLADSTONE—the discreet and well-tempered wisdom of CARDWELL, and the official control of CARNARVON—all contributed to create the Dominion and form its constitution, as far as circumstances would admit, after the form of the time-honored constitution of the British Empire. The physical dimensions of the Dominion are very extensive now—by and by they will be still more extensive. Our population now exceeds four millions, but he ventured to predict that the territories of the Dominion, at no very distant day, would become a country and a happy home for hundreds of millions of the human race. The Atlantic bounds us on the east—the great Republic of the United States on the South—but could any one tell him where the western boundaries of the Dominion are? Could any one tell the whereabouts of its Northern limits? Although we cannot very well now define the western and northern limits of the Dominion, he thought they could very well tell where they would soon be. The Dominion will have, on Monday next, one foot on the western surges of the Atlantic, and before long the other will be on the eastern shores of the Pacific. It will stretch both its big hands to the north as far as human entity can penetrate, sweeping with the Dominional besom the peltries—the truck—the traffic—the peddling and illegal monopolies of the Hudson Bay Company, Sir EDMUND HEAD's salary and all—into the North Sea! The people of the Dominion would be the peaceful rulers of Rupert's Land and Saskatchewan, pass the Rocky Mountains, and shake hands at New Westminster with British Columbia, and at Victoria with Vancouver's Island. No country, Mr. MACKENZIE said, under the beneficent course of Heaven has the elements of prosperity and national wealth more amply developed than on the area of the Dominion. The largest and noblest of Lakes are in the Dominion or on its borders—the Ontario, the Erie, the Huron—the great father of lakes, the Superior. The most majestic of rivers are hers—the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the St. John, and the Miramichi—inviting the sons of commerce to use them. Its Eastern shores are indented with the noblest bays and harbors in the world. The fisheries—the coal mines—the mineral beds—the ship-building of the Maritime Provinces; the agricultural capacities of Central and Western Canada, and the boundless minerals of the great west and north-west, proclaim aloud that the plastic hand of nature has munificently endowed, in a material point of view, the Dominion with the elements of wealth, greatness and prosperity. Therefore let man do his part—let the Dominional Constitution be built up and worked out by patriotic men, by reforming minds, by men who will set their faces against corruption, extravagance and political recklessness, and then they might anticipate for the Dominion a career and destiny of prosperity, civilization, freedom, fame and glory. He said that he used the phrases, the "Dominional Government," "Dominional Parliament," "Dominional Executive," in the same manner as he would use the phrases "Imperial Parliament," "Imperial Government;" "Provincial Parliament," "Provincial Government," and the like, were familiar phrases in this country. For his (Mr. MACKENZIE'S) part, he would use the word "Dominional" until a better one was substituted. He believed in party governments, and had no enduring faith in Coalitions. Coalitions involved an admixture of good and

evil—of black and white. He looked upon the political leaders of parties as the watch-dogs of the state. Remove these faithful animals, and you give an opportunity to the crouching burglar and lurking thief to enter in. Mr. McDougall took upon himself the duty of instructing the Convention in the doctrine of morals. He told them Coalitions were not immoral. Mr. McDougall was one of those fast and loose persons, who, in his day, supported everything and who opposed everything, and his perception of what was moral and immoral did not appear to be very clear. Be that as it might, Mr. McDougall and history were at variance in this matter. History taught no sterner lesson than that free governments and free institutions could exist beneficially for mankind only when worked under the safeguards of party vigilance. Reference had already been made to the FOX-NORTH Coalition, one of the most humiliating passages in British History. The PALMERSTON-ABERDEEN Coalition resulted in a belief abroad of National weakness and decay. The Russian War followed, and the results of Coalition Government were fearfully shown in the disastrous incompetency of the first part of the Crimean War. Roman history told them of the memorable Coalition of Crassus, Pompey and Caesar, representing the patricians, the people and the commerce of the Commonwealth, and which proved the first fatal step towards the destruction of ancient freedom and the forerunner of the tyrannical Empire of the Caesars—the reigns of the Neros and Caligulas of antiquity. Nearer home we saw the fatal results of Coalition Government. The McNab-Morin Government and its Coalition successors have heaped wrongs on this country. Our public debt has been increased from 27,000,000 of dollars to 80,000,000—our taxes increased every year, and our burdens made heavier every year, and extravagance running wild—giving us in exchange the dilapidated Grand Trunk Railway, jobbery and extravagance. Mr. McDougall's love for Toryism seems to be very affectionate; he thought Tories were as good as Reformers,—the more shame to him to say so. Examine the history of the two parties in Canada, and mark the difference. The history of the Tory party is one of which that party is ashamed, and they try to assume other names. The history of the Reform party is a bright one indeed. The few years that party had power, from 1848 to 1854, was the brightest era of Canadian history. The Statute-Book during this period was filled with wise and good laws, although violently opposed by the Tory party. It was during this eventful period of Reform ascendancy that the Tories assaulted the person of the Queen's representative—the ablest and most enlightened statesman that ever represented the Crown in this country, the deeply lamented Earl of ELGIN. He was attacked by a Tory mob, and the virulence and passion of that unprincipled party exploded in the burning of the Parliament buildings at Montreal, and destroying public property to an immense value. It is a matter of deep regret that a few Reformers are inclined to desert their colours, and join the greatest enemies of Reform and Reformers, and he was ashamed of the exhibition made here to-day by a person, he believed, called Spoon. If Spoon was not his name it ought to be, for seldom had a man made such a spoon of himself as he did. Call him Spoon or Spoony, as suits best, but do not call him a Reformer, as it would be a great misnomer. The resolution he proposed to submit to the Convention embodied the true manly Reform principles of equal justice to all without distinction as to creed. Good sense, common justice, and fair play pointed out this equality of rights to be the true principle upon which the Legislature and Government of the Dominion should recognise all. He for one should do as he had formerly done, insist on community of rights to Protestant and Catholic alike. This is the true Reform principle, and he was happy and proud that the Convention appeared to a man to be of the same mind. In conclusion, he would repeat what he stated deliberately on this subject eleven years ago, and which broadly expressed his views on the question of religious equality. He said at that

time that there is no country under the beneficent course of the sun, in which the humanizing spirit of enlightened toleration and Christian charity should be more practised, cherished and encouraged by the leaders of the people—the rulers of the land, the ministers of religion, and the dispensers of justice—than in Canada. Our population is a mixed one in every sense of the word. This state of things imposes obligations and duties upon every good man and virtuous citizen among us. Let us look for a moment at the composition of the population of this country. Early habits and peculiarities of education will, from the nature of things, produce a great diversity of opinion among such a population. And has not each a right to cherish his peculiar views and exercise his peculiar form of faith and religion, unmolested, under our free constitution and mild, tolerant, indulgent and equitable laws? In free Canada each man is entitled to equal consideration, equal rights, equal privileges, and equal honor with his neighbor of different faith, in the eye of the law; and why should he not be the same in the eye of the citizen? To condemn a man; to persecute a man; yes, even to insult a man otherwise entitled to our respect, merely because he does not worship God at the same shrine we worship, is a display of bigotry and intolerance as repugnant to the genuine spirit of Christianity as it is inimical to the sacred cause of law and order. In the old countries of Europe, the mutual wrongs done by Catholic and Protestant are to a great extent forgiven and forgotten. And why should we, in young Canada, revive or continue these detestable distinctions which had been banished from other lands? Are we to convert this young, this noble province—one of the greatest and one of the most fortunate countries under the sun—into a land of intolerance and bigotry, in counteraction of the designs of Providence, and in frustration of the beneficent privileges of God? In the history of religious bodies on this continent, young as it is, we find in times that are past and gone, religious intolerance and fanaticism producing persecution and proscription in their most odious forms. The early Puritan settlers of Massachusetts, driven themselves from their homes by religious persecution, became persecutors in turn, and banished every Episcopalian from their borders. The Cavaliers of Virginia, on the other hand, made reprisals by the expulsion of every Puritan. To the honor of the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland be it said, that it offered a home and an asylum to the persecuted of both colonies. The religious persecutions of the past—the wrongs inflicted by Catholic on Protestant and by Protestant on Catholic, and by Protestants on one another, did not proceed from anything in the Protestant or Catholic Religion, but they proceeded from the want of the spirit of true religion in the professors of both, and from the bad passions of men in high places, veiled under the garb of religious hypocrisy. Let us take warning from the past,—let us endeavour to improve ourselves by the admonitory voice of past follies, past wrongs, and past intolerance, and endeavour in our respective spheres to allay and subdue, by example and advice, religious strife, religious animosities, and religious differences: and to persuade our friends and neighbours to live in the broad and generous spirit of Christian charity, of peace and mutual forbearance—as the free inheritors of the same rights, as members of the same free community, and as subjects of the same free government, guarded and protected by one common system of free and enlightened laws: and let us, on all occasions, gently and soothingly remind such of our friends and neighbours as may be inclined to be over-heated by zeal against a neighbour of a contrary faith or opinion, that we are all men endowed with the same immortal natures, invested with the same kind of powers and faculties, both of body and of mind; deriving one common origin from one common source, the great common Father of us all; one common recipient of his bountiful blessings, expecting that when the short span of three score and ten years, allotted to man, shall run its course through this lower scene of care and solicitude—through a world in which all travail and none

repose, to inherit one common immortality in the world that is beyond the grave. The law secures equal rights and equal privileges to Protestant and Catholic. And, I will add, that equal rights and equal justice to all, form one of the fundamental principles of the Reform party. (*Loud cheers*).

Mr. D. McCULLOCH, of Hamilton, in seconding this resolution, said that he was aware that in the spirit of an unjust hostility and criticism, this resolution would be called—indeed, had been called—a bid for the Roman Catholic vote. He did not look upon it as any such thing. He would have no hand in inviting Roman Catholics to the Reform party as Roman Catholics, but would assure them that that party respected every religious creed, and thought that a Church which was in so great a minority in Upper Canada should especially have their rights secured to them, not only by law, but by a fair, just and tolerant public sentiment. He was glad to know that there was a large number of Roman Catholics who had never faltered in their allegiance to the Reform party, and that many were present at this Convention. (*Hear, hear.*) At that late hour he would not further impose upon the patience of the Convention.

Mr. GEO. S. WILKES, of Brantford, said that a new era was dawning in the history of Canada—another step had been taken in the march of a people towards that greatness to which they were destined. They were no longer little petty provinces, hemmed in without a seaboard as hitherto, but part of a Dominion extending broadly on the Atlantic, and which would shortly be on the Pacific also, and on the Eastern shore to Baffin's Bay. We should disabuse ourselves of the old idea that the North-West was a frozen region. It was now known to be a country possessing a fine soil and climate, and it would soon be filled with a free and happy people, living under the same form of government as ourselves. He claimed for the Reform party of Canada that they had now succeeded in carrying out the principles enunciated in Lord DURHAM's Report in 1842. Mr. McDougall told them that they had now a clear slate—there were no issues to divide parties. But the Reform party was something more than a party of questions and issues. It was a party of tendencies, of eternal principles. It was a party whose tendencies were to Reform, whose principles were progress. Mr. WILKES, being here called to order for wandering from the resolution, concluded by saying that he trusted that there would be no difference of opinion on the resolution, and he hoped by the efforts of the Reform party, and the omnipotent energy of the principles they possessed, we should be able to establish upon this continent a vast and stable empire, founded in liberty, virtue and truth.

Mr. H. D. SMITH, of North Leeds, made a few remarks on the defection of Messrs. HOWLAND and McDougall. These gentlemen, he said, had gone, and not stood upon the manner of their going. Should they quietly submit and let the matter pass? He said no for himself, and believed the Convention would agree with him.

Mr. DANIEL D. T. COTTERIL, of Esquesing, a grey-headed old man, expressed his pleasure at seeing the Convention, which he said was the largest he had ever seen in Canada, and compared the standing of the Reform party now and in former days, when such a gathering would have been mobbed, if the building was not burnt over their heads.

Mr. SINCLAIR, Reform candidate in North Bruce, was received with applause. He said he did not altogether approve of making mention of religious beliefs in the resolution. He hoped that, under the new Government, there would be no division on account of religion. As to treating our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects with proper consideration, the Reform party had always done so; and he thought that the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada fully understood the principles of the party in regard to sectarian schools, and

other matters, and respected the party although it had been against them on these matters.

Mr. O'HANLY, Ottawa, candidate for the County of Russell, fully concurred with the sentiments of the resolution. He thought there should be a total severance of Church and State in all countries, not only in a mixed community like that of Canada, where different religious beliefs prevailed, but also when the people were of one faith. He also held the principle of Representation by Population, and had held it where it required no ordinary pluck for a Catholic, as he was, openly to declare his adherence to that principle. (*Applause.*) And he had been subject to considerable odium from his co-religionists on that account; but the resolutions of the Convention, and the tone of the speeches, fully justified him in his course in that respect, and in his adherence to the Reform party. (*Applause.*) But for what had the party battled so long to obtain Representation by Population? Was it to make a meaningless parade of it, or hang it up like a child's bauble in our houses? No; but for the more easily accomplishing of the other reforms. The advocates of coalition told us that there were no reforms to be done; but he said there were. We had retrograded many things in making the constitutional changes of the Confederation Act. He did not blame the Reform members of the Government for this. He knew it was necessary to concede something to accomplish the work at all, and he believed that they could soon make the required changes. But we must yet have a reformed franchise, an elective Senate, and shorter Parliaments. Another bad feature of the new constitution was the salaries paid to Governors, &c. In the comparative wilderness of this infant State, we were to pay our Governor-General \$50,000 salary; while the greatest country on this continent paid their Chief Magistrate only \$25,000. We should be willing to pay a reasonable salary, but not one to maintain the pageantry of a Court. This continent was as fatal to that as Irish soil to snakes and serpents. Mr. O'HANLY's remarks were received with marked favour, and he was frequently applauded.

The resolution was then agreed to.

THANKS TO MR. BROWN.

Hon. J. G. CURRIE said he had a resolution to move, which, though not on the official-list, he was sure would at once commend itself to the unanimous approval of the Convention. We found ourselves now in this position, that the battle of Coalition and Anti-Coalition must be fought in the halls of the Legislature. Under these circumstances, it would be a matter much to be regretted if the leader and staunchest friend of the people of Upper Canada remained out of those halls, by adhering to a resolution he had previously expressed. (*Great applause.*) He was therefore about to submit a resolution urging the Hon. GEO. BROWN, in the name of this Convention, and of the Reformers of Upper Canada, to come forward and allow one of the constituencies of Upper Canada to elect him, and place him in the Parliament of the new Dominion, at the head of the Reform party of this Province. (*Great cheering.*) It was with some appropriateness, perhaps, that this resolution should be moved by himself. He was not one of those who had been termed the slavish followers of the Hon. GEO. BROWN. They had differed on many questions that had come before the public. But even when he thought Mr. BROWN was in the wrong, he never doubted that he conscientiously believed he was in the right. (*Hear, hear.*) Were we not, in a very large measure, indebted to that gentleman for the proud position in which the Reformers of Upper Canada found themselves to-day! (*Loud cheers.*) Mr. McDUGALL last night asked—"Why should Mr. BROWN claim to himself the credit of passing the Confederation scheme?" Mr. BROWN never in his (Mr. CURRIE's) presence, never in the hearing of the people of Canada, never through the public press, claimed aught beyond a share in that tribute of gratitude which the people of Upper Canada owed to the men who

had led the Liberal party through many struggles to its present position. He believed, however, that the people of Canada were more indebted to Mr. BROWN for the early passage of the Confederation measure than to any other man in the Dominion of Canada. (*Cheers.*) We could not help feeling that we owed a debt of gratitude to that gentleman for the hard battles he had fought for us, amid the sneers, the frowns, the bitter opposition of those who would have deprived Upper Canada of her rights. His memory went back to the scenes through which that hon. gentleman had passed—to a time when he had not almost the whole public with him, as now, but when he had only a few true men to follow him. The Convention might well, then, pass this resolution, which he now begged to move, and which some gentleman in the audience would, no doubt, be happy to second:—

Resolved—“That this Convention cannot separate without expressing to the Hon. GEORGE BROWN the gratitude of the Reform party, of which he has been so long the able leader, for his services to the people of Canada, and also the earnest hope that he will re-consider his intention of retiring from Parliamentary life, and accept a position in the Legislature of the country.” (*Great cheering.*)

A number of gentlemen rose simultaneously to second the resolution.

Mr. A. G. McMILLAN having gained the platform, said he had much pleasure in being permitted to second it. It was under the Hon. GEO. BROWN that he had the honour of serving his apprenticeship in politics, and he had not to this day seen reason to change any opinion then formed. He trusted the day would come when not only the Reform party, but the whole of Canada, would show its appreciation of Mr. BROWN's long and arduous labours for the best interests of this country. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. ARCHIBALD YOUNG, of Lambton, said it gave him great pleasure to have an opportunity of speaking to this motion. He was a resident of the county which had the honour of first bringing Mr. BROWN into public life, and he was happy to bear testimony to the estimation in which he had ever been held by the people of that county, for the honourable and patriotic course he had so long unwaveringly pursued. (*Cheers.*)

The motion being put to the meeting, was carried by acclamation—the members of the Convention rising to their feet as one man, and testifying their approval by enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.

Mr. BROWN, who had been absent from the Chamber for some time, was then sent for, and had the resolution read to him by the Chairman. On coming forward to speak he was greeted with the most enthusiastic manifestations of applause. The hon. gentleman appeared taken by surprise, and so overpowered by emotion, as to be unable for the time to control his feelings. Presently, having recovered himself, the hon. gentleman said:—I hope the members of the Convention will grant me their indulgence in the position in which I find myself. I have had but little sleep for several successive nights, and was totally unprepared for the high honour you have done me by the passing of this resolution. But I think it is due to you, and an act of justice to myself, that I should explain the reasons which induced me to decide on retiring from Parliamentary life. There were many reasons which, in my opinion, made it desirable, not only on personal but on public grounds, that I should adopt this course. One of these was very strong, and was the reason on which I mainly based it. I entered Parliamentary life in 1851, strongly against my will, inasmuch as I entertained the conviction that the editorship of a leading party journal was, to some extent, incompatible with holding a leading position as a member of the Legislature. And I have since learned by many years' experience that the incompatibility is vastly stronger than I had conceived. So strongly have I felt this, that years

ago I would have resigned my position in Parliament, but that I feared that my doing so might have injured the cause of Constitutional Reform for which I had struggled so long. As a general rule, the sentiments of the leader of a party are only known from his public utterances on public occasions. If a wrong act is committed by an opponent, or by a friend, he may simply shrug his shoulders and say it is very bad, but no one need know his opinion of the transaction unless it is forced on the consideration of the Legislature. But this is not the case with the public journalist. If true to his country, and true to his position, he must speak out and say wrong is wrong, and right is right, no matter whether it offends friend or foe. (*Cheers.*) You have often seen attacks on myself, even by some portions of the Reform press, for my having acted firmly in this way. They say, "Mr. Brown has fiercely assailed public men;" but I tell you, if the daily thoughts and the words daily uttered by other public men were written in a book, as mine have been,—(*hear, hear*)—and circulated all over the country, there would have been a very different comparison from what now exists, as between them and myself. (*Hear, hear.*) I have been in the peculiar position of having a double duty to perform. If I had been simply the leader of a party, and had not controlled a public journal, such things would not have been left on record. I might have passed my observations in the confidence of private life, and nothing more would have been heard of them. But, as a journalist, it was necessary I should speak the truth before the people, no matter whether it helped my party or not; and this, of course, reflected on the position of the party. How often have I had several political friends candidates for the same office—all equally urgent for the support of the journal under my control—and totally unwilling to believe that the candidate supported was the right man in the right place, and best entitled to the office. Frequently, when I have seen a man doing a wrong thing, I may have felt sorry for him as an individual; I may have known the circumstances of temptation under which he was placed, and as a man have felt deeply for him. But, as a journalist, I had but one duty to the public to discharge, and that was to maintain a high standard of political morality. And I do not doubt that, when the political history of this country comes to be written, and justice is done to me, as I am sure it will be, it will be seen that when I have been compelled to denounce the conduct of public men, it was because the public interests were at stake—and that the verdict of public opinion has sustained me in every case. (*Cheers.*) Consequently, Mr. President, I have long felt very strongly that I had to choose one position or the other—that of a leader in Parliamentary life, or that of a monitor in the public press. And the latter has been my choice, being probably more in consonance with my ardent temperament—(*hear, and laughter*)—and at the same time, in my opinion, more influential—for I am free to say that, in view of all the grand offices that are now talked of, Governorships and Premierhips and the like—I would rather be editor of THE GLOBE, with the hearty confidence of the great mass of the people of Upper Canada, than have the choice of them all. (*Loud Cheers.*) No one will fancy that I claim for a moment that in my long career there have not been many mistakes. Human nature is liable to err, and I have a full share of human frailties. But of this I am quite sure, that when the twenty-five volumes of THE GLOBE are examined to find what has been the political history of this country during the last quarter of a century—and a better record of that history does not exist than is to be found in those volumes—(*cheers*)—it will be found that fair play between man and man, justice and earnestness with regard to all public questions, and an ardent desire to serve the people of Canada, have marked that record from the beginning to the end. (*Loud cheers.*) In this resolution which has been read to me, I find the confirmation of that which has been my stay and comfort during many years of arduous political contest, when we were hoping almost against hope, when we

hardly dared to hope that we would be able to accomplish our great ends within any reasonable period. During those contests, it was this which sustained the gallant band of Reformers who so long struggled for popular rights, that, abused as we might be, subjected to reproach and slander as we might be, we had this consolation, that we could not go anywhere among our fellow-countrymen from one end of the country to the other—in Tory constituencies as well as in Reform constituencies—without the certainty of receiving from the honest, intelligent yeomanry of the country, from the true, right-hearted, right-thinking people of Upper Canada who came out to meet us, the hearty grasp of the hand, and the heartfelt greeting that amply repaid the labour we had expended in their behalf. (*Loud cheers.*) That is the highest reward I have hoped for in public life, and I am sure that no man who earns that reward, will ever in Upper Canada have occasion to speak of the ingratitude of the people. (*Cheers.*) I have received, at the hands of the yeomen of Upper Canada, far more kindness than my services deserved, and far more than any public man could have a right to expect. But I had another urgent cause for retiring from Parliamentary life. You are aware that daily journalism is no light task. A daily journalist has to consume the midnight oil, not only from year to year, and from month to month, but from day to day. Seldom does he lay his head upon the pillow until the late hours of the morning; and, with a near relative—who has for a number of years greatly lessened my labours, and taken many responsibilities off my hands—now in infirm health, it seemed to me impossible that I should think of continuing the burden of the two positions. I had looked forward to the triumph of Representation by Population as the day of my emancipation from Parliamentary life, and now that it has come, I resolved to take advantage of it. But I am free to admit that what has now taken place—the announcement of this new Coalition—this secession from our party—somewhat alters the case. (*Great cheering.*) Where work is to be done for the Reformers of Canada, and for the people of Canada, I shall not shrink from it. (*Cheers.*) And I am free to state what is the course I now intend to pursue. I think it is desirable that the members of Parliament, and the candidates, who are present, as well as those not here who agree generally with the resolutions we have passed, should have communication together at the earliest moment, and that we should arrange for the political campaign on which we are about to enter. And, if it shall be found, in the course of this communication among ourselves, that my services for a short while in Parliamentary life can be of use to the party, I shall not refuse. (*Cheers.*) At the same time, I repeat that my determination is not in the slightest degree altered. There is this further difficulty that I encounter in going into Parliamentary life, and if my doing so can be dispensed with, I strongly desire that it should be. It is absolutely impossible that I could in any way take upon me an official position—and this was one of the reasons which made me think it exceedingly desirable that I should retire at once,—that I might not sit in Parliament in the way of those who would become leaders of the party when it assumed office. I thought it would not be just or generous to stand there as the leader of a party in opposition, taking, perhaps, some popularity away from others who might be called upon to assume the reins of office. But, if there is work to be done, and a hard fight to be gone through, probably this can be arranged. We will have a communication with the representative men of the party, and whatever decision is arrived at, I am prepared to bow to their judgment. (*Applause.*) I again heartily thank the Convention for the great compliment they have paid me. I value it above all the testimonials I have received in my public life. (*Loud cheers.*)

A DELEGATE rose in the body of the hall, and said many of the members were shortly to leave, who would like, before they went, to hear the honour-

able gentlemen who had been announced as present from British Columbia and Prince Edward Island. (*Cheers.*)

Hon. Mr. DeCosmos, of British Columbia, was then introduced to the meeting by Hon. Mr. Brown. On coming to the front of the platform, he was loudly cheered. He said: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I scarcely know whether this is reality or a dream. Only the day before yesterday I entered your beautiful city, an utter stranger, except to one or two persons, and I have met such a reception as I never before experienced in my life. (*Cheers.*) I cannot claim that this reception is due to any particular merits on my own. I believe it must be considered as mainly a compliment to the country from which I come. But there is another thing, I believe, which has inspired the people of Canada to receive an humble individual from British Columbia in the manner in which you have received me to-day, and in which the citizens outside have received me, so far as I have been introduced to them—and it is this:—The great Confederation spirit has swept over the land, and the people of Canada, as I have heard here, yesterday and to-day, wish to consolidate all British America from the United States boundary to the North Pole, and from Newfoundland to Vancouver's Island. (*Cheers.*) And they wish to build up through this great territory a people of one race, one language, one feeling, who shall exert their due influence on the continent of North America, to the remotest generations. (*Cheers.*) I believe it is this great spirit which pervades my countrymen here, for I am proud to be a native-born British American, and which has induced you, the representatives of the great Reform party of Upper Canada, to receive me, an humble representative of British Columbia, in the manner you have done. But, Sir, I also am a Reformer. (*Cheers.*) Reformers may differ, under different circumstances, as to the particular end aimed at; but the name, wherever it is uttered, means progress; and although coming from British Columbia, ignorant to a large extent of what constitutes the local politics of Western Canada, I can understand that the people of Western Canada have experienced, to a larger extent possibly than my own people, the evils that result from Conservatism, and that they are determined to sweep away those evils, and to enlarge the liberties and secure the happiness of their fellow-countrymen. (*Cheers.*) I can speak from nine years' experience in British Columbia; and when I listened last night and to-day to the honourable gentleman who introduced me to this audience, I felt that I could sympathize with him. I know what it is to struggle, in that remote country, with Governors and Governments, contending for those inalienable rights and privileges which Englishmen inherit, and which, as British Americans, we ought to enjoy. (*Cheers.*) Having for nine long years battled against combinations, against incorporated companies, such as have held in chains a vast portion of British America, and against Governments, often standing almost alone with few to sympathize, I know what these things are, and can thoroughly appreciate the position of the hon. gentleman who is the acknowledged leader of the Reform party in this country. (*Cheers.*) But it will not be expected of me, I hope, by this intelligent audience, that I am to endorse every principle in the platform of the Reform party of Ontario. For I look upon your platform as that of the Province of Ontario. But, when the Reform party of British America shall have had its Dominional Convention, and shall have framed its Dominional platform, then, if British Columbia shall have been admitted a member of the Confederacy, I hope that I shall take that stand which every good Reformer ought to take, side by side with the Reformers of Upper Canada. (*Cheers.*) I had the honour, a few years ago, to agitate in favour of the Union of the Pacific Colonies, Vancouver's Island and British Columbia. Last year we succeeded in effecting that Union. When the Legislature met, I had the honour of being one of the members of the Legislative Council. I brought up a resolution in favour of Confederation, and that resolution, I am happy to say, was unanimously supported

by the Legislative Council. (*Cheers.*) Already His Excellency, the Governor of British Columbia, has communicated with Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Canada on the subject, and I believe there has been an interchange of communications between them, although actual negotiations with respect to the terms on which British Columbia shall be admitted have not as yet, so far as I am aware, been entered upon. Now we do hope, in British Columbia, that, as you have engaged in the great work of Confederation eastward, so you will extend Confederation westward. (*Cheers.*) I heard the Hon. GEO. BROWN boast last night that, owing to the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, you had now got a road to the ocean through your own territory. I hope you will ere long be able to boast that you have a road through British territory, not only to the Atlantic, but to the Pacific and the Arctic oceans. (*Cheers.*) It may seem extravagant to boast of an Arctic region; but I assure you that the Arctic region on the Western coast is of more value than is generally supposed. I have met many, in my brief sojourn amongst you, who speak of the great distance intervening between Western Canada and British Columbia as the most serious obstacle standing in the way of union. Now, Sir, I do not conceive that to be any serious obstacle. When California was admitted into the American Union in 1851, the intervening territory was not allowed to form an obstacle. Neither was it an obstacle with reference to the organization of Oregon as a State, the organization of Washington territory, or the organization, going eastward, of Montana and Idaho. And I ask, are British Americans less enterprising, less daring than our American cousins? (*Cheers.*) If the people of the United States can govern a territory on the Pacific Ocean, why cannot the four millions of British Americans do the same thing? (*Cheers.*) British Columbia comprises between 300,000 and 400,000 square miles of territory. At least one-half of that great country will grow beef and wheat; and every one knows that a country that will grow beef and wheat will support a large population. It has a climate milder than this. We are prepared, then, to receive a large population, and offer them the means of acquiring wealth and happiness. And, in the name of British Columbia, I ask you, the Reformers of Upper Canada, to use your influence in order that British Columbia may be admitted into your Confederation—the intervening territory between Western Canada and British Columbia being regarded in the same light as our American cousins regard the territory intervening between Missouri on the east, and Oregon and California on the west. (*Cheers.*) For my part, having been a great wanderer over this continent—having been all over the American States, from Mexico to British Columbia, I think nothing of the distance, and but for 200 miles at the crossing of the Rocky Mountains, I would have come overland instead of by Panama. I shall now close, by again expressing my thanks for the honour done me by this highly respectable assemblage, representing the great Reform party of Upper Canada. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. JOHN SMITH, Secretary of the Hamilton Reform Association, moved the seventh resolution, as follows:—

Resolved—That it is alike the duty and the desire of the Canadian people to cultivate the most friendly relations with the neighbouring people of the United States, and especially to offer every facility for the extension of trade and commerce between the two countries. The Convention anticipates with pleasure that the day is not far distant when the Government of the Republic will modify their restrictive commercial policy towards the British American Colonies; and while holding it the true Canadian policy to look diligently abroad for new and profitable markets for the products of the Dominion, wherever they can be found, and while well satisfied that such markets exist in other foreign lands, fully as lucrative as those ever heretofore enjoyed—yet this Convention regards it as the duty of the Canadian Administration to meet frankly and cordially any overtures from the Washington Government for a

new treaty of Commercial Reciprocity between Canada and the Republic, extending over a fixed term of years, based on equitable principles, and consistent with the honour of both countries.

In moving the above resolution, Mr. SMITH said the Americans had found that, in adopting a restrictive policy towards us, they had poured hot coals on their own heads, and he believed the day was not far distant when they would seek to enter into another treaty, of even a more liberal character than the last. Mr. Brown took the right course, when he left the Government in connection with this question. He showed that he understood the character of the Americans, when he urged the policy which was the only one that could be brought to bear upon them. It was by no truckling policy, by no bending subserviency to the American people, that we could get our rights. The more truckling you are, the more they will despise you; and he endorsed fully the course taken by Mr. Brown, who took the bold stand which must yet be taken by this country, when the treaty comes to be made. (*Cheers.*) The Reform party had been charged with submitting to the dictation of Mr. Brown. He utterly denied this. He wanted it to go on the record of the proceedings of this Convention, that Hamilton had not a single word of communication with Mr. Brown, or any other man in Toronto, when it set the Anti-Coalition ball rolling, by taking up the question and discussing it on their own responsibility. (*Cheers.*) Mr. SMITH went on to refer to the election contests in Hamilton and said that the Reform party had so completely broken the back of \$20,000 spent on one of those elections by Mr. BIRNBYN, that that gentleman would never attempt to enter political life again. Mr. McDONALD yesterday had hurled defiance at them, and threatened them with opposition to the Reform candidates. He (Mr. S.) would say—Bring on your opposition; let us have just one rap at them; and we will put them in a condition that they will show their faces again. (*Cheers and laughter.*)

Mr. COLIN McDONALD, Reform candidate for West Elgin, seconded the resolution, which he was sure would be adopted by the meeting. He believed it was profitable to them that they had been so much to develop the trade of the country during the past few years, and he was confident that the action of the United States had not only hastened the development they had witnessed. The American people would, in time, by return to their senses, and treat us more as they would be treated by us and honourable to themselves; but it became the people of Canada to hold in their power to cultivate a trade with the rest of the world. Upper Canada being an agricultural country and the States being commercial, it is the interest of both countries that their trade should be established. (*Applause.*)

The resolution passed by acclamation.

Mr. THOMAS HOGAN, of Toronto, introduced the following resolution, to which the remarks of Mr. DONALD, and expressed the hope that the same would be carried out. (*Cheers.*) The resolution he read in his own simple speech in itself. It was included to a kin wledge the friends of the Reform Party as who had stood by them to the 11th hour of this session in past years. It suggested that we should pursue a policy towards them which would be rigid in principle and firm in its development. He trusted the young and rising men of the Reform party would, in after years, have as good a reason to show as those who had fought so many hard battles in the cause of progress. (*Applause.*) The resolution was as follows:—

Resolved—That this Convention cordially expresses its satisfaction that the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick be hereafter to be united with the people of Canada by order of the Legislature of the latter; and it does this the more readily because it will be remembered that the same long battle for popular

rights and social and material progress was fought and won in these Provinces, as in Canada, by Reform statesmen, against the bitter opposition and hostility of the Tory party—and because it believes that the great and influential Reform parties of these Provinces hold principles essentially in unison with those of Canadian Reformers, and that their representatives will be found in the Federal Parliament of the new Dominion the earnest and able advocates of just, efficient and economical legislation; and this Convention entertains the hope that the day is not far distant when Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, will form a part of the Dominion of Canada, upon terms satisfactory to the peoples of these important Colonies.

Dr. BULL seconded the resolution. He said he was from West York, at present represented by a minister of the Crown; there was but one feeling in the constituency, and that was "No Coalition." (*Cheers.*) He spoke with pain of the hon. gentleman who represented it. The Hon. Mr. HOWLAND had endeared himself to the Reform party by his honourable and upright conduct, both in Parliament and out of it; and no public man in the country had given such a shock to his friends as he had done by his recent act. But, much as his friends loved him as a man, they loved their country better. (*Cheers.*) The great question to come before the people at the polls was, Coalition or no Coalition; and he felt satisfied that the influence of this meeting would be apparent in the spread of increased vigour on the part of Reformers in every constituency. (*Cheers.*) The only pretence of argument offered by the hon. gentlemen last night was, that they adopted the present course in order to advance the interests of Lower Canada. Were they going to ignore the great Parliamentary majority of Ontario? Were the interests of the Maritime Provinces not as safe in the hands of the people of this section? The days of the Coalition were drawing to a close. On Monday next they would separate from it, never more, he trusted, to have anything to do with Coalition. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was then agreed to.

Mr. J. RYMAL, M. P. P., moved the 9th resolution. In doing which, he said he might possibly utter some unpleasant truths. The resolution he had to offer read as follows:—

Resolved, That this Convention heartily rejoices that, under the new Constitution, the barriers that have stood in the way of cordial sympathy between the Liberals of Lower Canada and the Reform party of Upper Canada, have been totally removed; it gratefully remembers the aid received from them in hours of trial, and it anticipates gladly that the time is not far distant when the Reformers of Upper Canada may be able to repay the obligations then incurred.

He was almost compelled to enquire who were considered the Liberal party of Lower Canada. He heard those he used to work with complimenting Mr. CARTIER and Hon. JOHN A. MACDONALD as liberal-minded men; but he never looked upon them as such. Being one of the immortal eight who had voted against the Coalition of 1864, he had none of its sins to answer for, and he was an enemy to Coalition under all circumstances. (*Cheers.*) The Reformers of Upper Canada were called upon to express all the gratitude possible for the manner in which the Lower Canadian leaders had stood by them. Of Mr. DORON no one had cause to complain. (*Applause.*) If there had been a statesman in the Canadian Legislature for the past ten years—if there had been an honest politician in the whole box and dice of them, he (Mr. D.) was the man. (*Laughter and applause.*) When he was elected to sin he would not consent; he would not follow the multitude to do evil. (*Laughter.*) If there was one thing which more than anything else, made Coalition distasteful to the Reformers, it was the fact that we were obliged to elect had been

excluded. None of them went in, and, thank God, none of them had to go out. (*Laughter and applause*.) He had hoped before he came to that Convention that their Reform friends would come out of the Coalition after their dirty work was done. But they had cast in their lot with the Tories, and, for God's sake, let the Tories have them and make the most of them. (*Cheers and laughter*.) He recollects the time when the Tories were very hard on these gentlemen. One they called WILLIAM WASHINGTON McDUGALL, and the other, with a nasal twang, Yankee HOWLAND. (*Roars of laughter*.) The duty of true Reformers was to hoist the flag under which they had fought in days gone by—to nail it to the mast, and let the Tories run up the black flag, and come out as the political pirates they really were. (*Tremendous cheering*.) If Reformers were going to sink, let them sink with the drums beating and colours flying, asking for no quarter from their enemies. (*Enthusiastic cheering*.) He would say a word to the leaders of the Reform party—for, of course, he never aspired to be called a leader. (*Laughter*.) Mr. BROWN was never right when he was with the Tories, and had said to him, when he got clear: "Mr. RYMAL, perhaps you were right after all!" (*Laughter*.) Let those who aspired to be their leaders be a little kind of cautious in dealing with those fellows. (*Cheers*.) He would apologize for not speaking longer, as he had taken sick the day before, and felt rather nervous and unstrung. (*Laughter*.) It was true, and he could assure them that was all they would hear at present from their humble servant. (*Laughter and cheers*.)

Mr. WARREN ROCK, of London, seconded the resolution. He said reference had been made yesterday to the noble self-sacrifice of the Reform statesmen from Upper Canada, who had worked so energetically to accomplish the great constitutional changes that had been effected; but the gentlemen to whom they now wished to tender their gratitude occupied a very different position, because they were not basking in the sunshine of power, and had no other object before them than the interest of the people of Upper Canada. Their services should certainly entitle them to receive the warmest acknowledgements from the people of this section. They did not dare, it was true, to come out and support some measures brought up by the Reform party; but they had always given them their cordial sympathy and support. (*Cheers*.) They had been taught that the people of Upper Canada was GEORGE BROWN—ready to swallow them up on the slightest provocation; but former barriers were now to be removed. The vexed questions of Representation by Population, sectarianism, &c., had been disposed of, and they would now have their support as they had in the past. (*Cheers*.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. MACKENZIE, M. P. P., said that as the Chairman, Mr. PATRICK, had to leave the city, he would move that Hon. Mr. McMURRICH be called to fill his place, and that a vote of thanks be tendered to Mr. PATRICK for the very able and efficient manner in which he had discharged the duties of his position.

The vote of thanks was passed amidst loud cheering.

Hon. Mr. CURRIE moved the tenth resolution, which read as follows:—

Resolved,—That the advantage to be derived by the people of Canada from the new Constitution, as well as the future progress of our country, will very much depend on the efficiency and economy with which the new Governmental machinery is administered. And this Convention regards it as a first duty of the Reform Representatives in the new Legislature to apply themselves to a thorough over-hauling of the departmental system, the curtailment of the lavish annual expenditure, the enforcement of strict economy in every branch of the public service, the gradual liquidation of the public debt, and the reduction of the customs duties as rapidly as consistent with maintaining the public faith.

He thought it would be wrong not to pass this resolution after condemning the Coalition. He would say something about the Coalition. Mr. McDougall had come on that platform, and told the men who had raised him to the position he occupied that he would have no more to do with them. It was very different from the Coalition in which Mr. Brown took a part. Mr. McDougall had called on the members of the House who had supported him in the last House, to meet him at the Queen's Hotel in this city—to do what? To consult them as to whether he should enter the Coalition or not? No! But to tell them that, if they did not support him, he would bring out in every one of their constituencies candidates to oppose them; and, it might be added, if it was right for the Liberals of Upper Canada to have a share in the Coalition Government of 1864, it was surely not wrong that the Liberals of Lower Canada should be represented in the Coalition of 1867. (*Cheers.*) They had a hard fight before them, and he hoped every man would go home determined more than ever to do his whole duty. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. B. M. BRITTON, of Kingston, seconded the resolution. He said he belonged to the party which had long been in a minority in his section, but they had a move which would prove a counter-move to that brought out last night. In Frontenac, which had been represented by Tories from time immemorial, they had, at the present time, a man nominated who would carry the constituency, and Frontenac would be redeemed for once. (*Cheers.*) They required that the vessel of the new Dominion should be well manned and well officered, and they would have a good voyage. (*Applause.*) After alluding, in a very humorous manner, to the purchase of SIR HENRY SMITH by Hon. JOHN A. MACDONALD, Mr. BRITTON said he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution, and resumed his seat.

Mr. TENNANT, of South Leeds, in supporting the resolution, said he had no doubt a victory would be achieved in his Riding.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MOYER, of the North Waterloo *Chronicle*, moved the eleven-th resolution, supporting it in a few very sensible remarks. The resolution was as follows:—

Resolved,—That, in the opinion of this Convention, one of the first and most important duties of the Government and Legislature, under the reformed Constitution, will be the improvement of the internal navigation of the country.

Dr. FRAZER, Reform candidate in Monck, seconded the resolution, and, in the course of a brief speech, expressed himself strongly against a Coalition.

The resolution passed unanimously.

Dr. MCGILL, Reform candidate in South Ontario, moved the 12th resolution, which read as follows:—

Resolved,—That one of the questions most deeply affecting the stability and future progress of our country, is how we shall attract to our shores a larger share of the tide of European emigration:—And this Convention is of opinion that this highly important end will best be attained by a thorough reform of the Crown Land Departmental system—by extending to proposing settlers the utmost facilities for ascertaining what public lands are in the market, and selecting and properly securing their titles to the lots they may select—by the imposition of a special tax on wild lands held back from cultivation for speculative purposes in settled Townships—and by the speedy opening up for settlement and cultivation of the great North Western Territories:—And the Convention records its conviction that the small sum that may be extracted from the settler for his lot of wild land, is of no consideration whatever in comparison with the rapid acquisition of the soil by a hardy and industrious population.

In support of the resolution, the speaker said that what the country needed was more people. The policy hitherto pursued had been to keep the lands in the hands of speculators, instead of opening them to settlers. He hoped that the Crown Lands Department would be so much improved, now that we had got it under our control, that free grants, if necessary, would be given to actual settlers. If this course was adopted, it would cause many emigrants to settle in the country who now pass through it. We had plenty of good land—land that should be cultivated, and we must have more population to do it.

Mr. E. JACKSON, editor of the *Newmarket Era*, seconded the resolution, and in doing so, remarked briefly that it embraced a great deal, and a great deal could be said upon it. It enunciated the principles of the Reform party on the subject. They were opposed to land corporations and land jobbery.

Mr. RAE, Warden of Lambton, supported the resolution, briefly remarking upon the importance of turning some portion of the great tide of emigration, which was flowing into the United States, into this country.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. A. MCKELLAR, M.P.P., moved the 13th resolution, which read as follows:—

Resolved,—That the development of the vast mineral resources of the country has been seriously retarded through the mismanagement of the Crown Land Department—miners and capitalists having been driven to other countries, where useless departmental restrictions, and annoying uncertainties and delays, do not stand in the way of progress, and large tracts of the best mineral lands having been locked up in the hands of mere speculators: This Convention is firmly of opinion that a system of survey and location, enabling actual operators to know with certainty what mineral lands are in the market, on what conditions selections may be made, and how enterprising explorers may promptly and easily secure the fruits of their labour, would speedily produce an immense development of the mineral industry of the Province: And this Convention regards it of great public importance that the arduous and valuable labours of the settlers in our mineral regions on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, and in all other sections of the Province, entitle them to the consideration of the Government and Legislature, in the improvement of the means of communication, and the supply of ample postal facilities.

Mr. MCKELLAR said that there were none of the resolutions which he could more honestly and heartily support than this one. The mineral interests of Canada had been sadly mismanaged. It was well known that the country was rich in minerals. The north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, as was now found even down to Madoc, were full of mineral wealth. Instead of developing this wealth, our Government had hedged it up, and thrown difficulty in the way of developing it. A few years ago, large companies had been formed in Montreal and Quebec, which had purchased hundreds of thousands of acres of these mineral lands. The Montreal company alone had 32 miles of the North shore of Lake Superior. As there was no municipal system there, it cost these gentlemen nothing to keep these lands. They had been purchased some 15 or 20 years ago for 50 cents an acre. Afterwards this was reduced to 25 cents an acre. Another difficulty in the way of developing the mineral wealth of these lands was that there were no surveys made of them, and the explorer who went into the country could not tell whether he was on land belonging to the Crown or land belonging to these companies. If any one wished to get a mineral location in that region, he must go out and explore it himself, or send miners out, who probably searched for two or three years before making a selection. Then a surveyor must be found, and then you must travel down to Ottawa or wherever the Government was, and make a deposit of one dollar an acre for the lands wanted. Cases had

occurred in which men had spent time and money in exploring and finding suitable lands, and in going to Quebec, and when they got there they found that their locations were upon the lands of the Montreal or Quebec Mining Companies. Such things had driven away actual miners from the country. Another thing which retarded the development of the resources of the mining districts on these lakes was that there was no facility for getting there. There was only one steamer, which ran from Collingwood to Fort William only once in two weeks. The whole system of managing these lands was wrong, and whoever invented it deserved a leather medal. The north shore of Lake Superior was infinitely superior to the south shore in mineral and mining facilities; yet, on the north shore there were no mines; on the south shore, every cove had a mining location, and the trade from them employed great numbers of vessels. In one mining place on the south shore, Marquette, four millions of dollars were invested. The amount of ore taken from the south shores of these lakes increased in the period from 1855 to 1864 (at which latter time Mr. McKELLAR had visited them) from thousands to millions of dollars. Upwards of ten millions of dollars' worth of ore had been brought from the south shore, and scarcely one dollar's worth from the north shore. He trusted that that state of things would soon be brought to an end. The Americans had gone to work and surveyed the whole country, and divided it into sections, and had placed there at Marquette, not at Washington, two land agents. All the miner had to do was to select his lot from the map, go to the agent and pay ten York shillings an acre, and the land was his, if it were worth ten millions of dollars. Six hundred thousand acres had been sold by these two agents in one year. Canada, on the other hand, with a large staff of salaried officers, was doing nothing with her mineral lands. These two men at Marquette were putting more money into the treasury of their country than fifty-five men at Ottawa. This was one of those things that Upper Canadians should take hold of, now that they had the power to do so. Additional postal accommodation should be given that part of the country. There were hundreds of miles without a single post-office or any regular means of communication with the settled parts of the country, except the one best spoken of. A tax should be put upon all lands held by speculators—(*hear, hear*)—and the proceeds of that could be well used to put another steamer on the lake. Members going into the Local Legislature should be instructed by their constituencies to see to this matter. On the American shores of these lakes, in 1864, there were 25,000 souls engaged in mining operations. If the north shore were opened up in the same way as the south had been, look at the opening it would make for our farmers. It was one of the duties that devolved upon the Local Legislature, to open up the lands. (*Applause*.) Mr. McKELLAR proceeded to speak upon the subject of the pending resolution, as being connected with the one he was moving. He recommended that a tax should be put upon wild agricultural lands held by speculators; but he would not tax lands which were being worked and improved. He would give every facility for the opening and improving and settling of the wild lands. He would throw every obstacle in the way of the locking up of lands by speculators. (*Hear, hear, and applause*.) There had accumulated a considerable sum of interest upon lands held by settlers of Crown lands. Now, the first thing to be done, if they wanted to infuse life and energy into the settlers, was to relieve them from every farthing of this interest. (*Applause*.) The money would not be lost. The settlers would be free from a load, and would be so much the more energetic in work, and valuable in developing the country. They should make every man feel that the farm he was living on was his own. Mr. McKELLAR concluded by endorsing what had been said during the meeting of the Convention against Coalitions. He was one of eleven of the Reform members of Parliament who had voted against their friends going into the last Coalition. He was in favour of giv-

ing an outside support to a Ministry who would carry Confederation, and it gave him pleasure to see gentlemen of standing and intelligence from all parts of the country coming here and saying that the Coalition must end. (*Applause.*) And if these gentlemen (McDOUGALL and HOWLAND) were determined not to bring Coalition to an end, Reformers must go to work and bring them to an end. (*Applause.*) Mr. McKELLAR, in conclusion, said he had met at the Convention many warm friends, and was still determined to contend for those principles that he and his party had struggled for, and now at last secured. He concluded his remarks amid loud applause.

Mr. R. M. ROSE, of Kingston, in supporting the resolution, took occasion to advert to the position of the Reform cause in Kingston. He said the Reformers there were in the midst of the enemy, who required to be watched on all occasions and under all circumstances. The Reformers of Kingston had taken a decided stand with reference to Coalition. Before they knew the action that was to be taken by the gentlemen in the Ministry, they held a meeting to discuss the subject, and unanimously agreed that their consent could not be given to Coalition. (*Cheers.*) He was under the impression that a movement had now been begun which would change the aspect of affairs politically in Kingston and its neighbourhood. Two of their leading men had taken the field under the auspices of the Reform Association, and he was certain of their success, if the people were faithful to the promises they made. (*Cheers.*) And all would admit that, if that position were wrested from the enemy, it would add materially to the strength of the Reformers of Western Canada. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was then agreed to.

Mr. W. ECLUS, of St. Catharines, moved the 14th resolution, as follows:

Resolved.—That this Convention records its belief that the progress and social happiness of the people would be greatly promoted by the passage of a well-considered Homestead Law, by which settlers may apply money honestly their own to the purchase of a farm or house, and set it aside by public registration for the benefit of their families, without liability to the claims of future creditors.

He hoped this resolution would receive the unanimous approbation of the Convention. It was a measure he had always advocated, and he believed it had now become a popular measure in Upper Canada. Some objected to it, that it was an American idea; but he thought the very fact that it found favour in the United States—a country situated in many respects like our own—ought to commend it to consideration here. Then it was said it was unjust to creditors. That was no argument at all. For when a man acquired a homestead, and registered it, that he should be known to all persons with whom he was dealing that it would be surely preserved for his family, then the creditor who chose to trust him without good security could not complain if he lost his debt.

Mr. RABERTSON, of South Ontario, seconded the resolution. He thought the passage of such a law would give energy and force to the exertions of many a father of a family who, knowing that the interests of his family were safe, would be disposed to work with increased ardour, and the interests of the whole community would thereby be advanced.

Mr. C. E. BROOKE—I hope it will be a long time before I get it.

The resolution was a neck to some eight or ten hands being held up against it.

Mr. ROBERT DALGLISH, Reform candidate in South Grey, moved the 15th resolution, as follows:—

Resolved.—That among the other numerous questions demanding the early and earnest attention of the Government and Legislature was, an Act for the

Winding-up of Insolvent Incorporated Companies—a revision of the Patent Laws—a stringent Audit Act, applicable to all Public Expenditures—the establishment of a Provincial system of Instruction for the Blind and Deaf and Dumb persons—and the organization of an improved system of Public Statistical Returns, for commercial, sanitary, and general purposes.

He said he had been taken by surprise in being asked to move this resolution, and he would not inflict a speech on the Convention. He fully concurred in the whole of the resolutions that had been carried. He would have been glad to have heard from the delegates something more in detail as to the feeling of the people in their respective localities on the question of Coalition. He was proud to say that in the South Riding of Grey the anti-Coalition feeling was universal. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. MALCOLM CAMPBELL, Reform candidate in West Middlesex, seconded the resolution, and made a few pointed remarks on the subjects embraced in it.

The resolution being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

Mr. MACKENZIE, M.P.P., said all the resolutions on the Committee's programme had been disposed of. What they had now to do was to address themselves to work when they went home. This meeting had been for conference and consultation, to enable them to reach the decision which the people of the country had to pronounce on the present crisis. The Executive Committee, in calling together Reform delegates from all parts of the country, to take counsel together as to what should be done, had acted very differently from the gentlemen in Ottawa, who first did what they were inclined to, and then consulted their friends afterwards. (*Hear, hear.*) This meeting had resulted in an expression of public opinion such as would beyond all question settle the fate of the opposite party at the coming elections. He anticipated such a sweeping victory at the polls as had never before been seen in Western Canada. (*Loud cheers.*) He begged to move—

“That this Convention strongly recommends Reformers in the different constituencies to form Reform Associations where such do not now exist, and that the Secretaries be requested to communicate, with that view, with the proper parties at once.”

The resolution was seconded by Dr. FRAZER, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR, M.P.P., said that at a Reform meeting held in Toronto, on 9th April, 1867, he had moved a list of names to be a Provisional Central Executive Committee. He would now move, seconded by Mr. WARREN ROSE, “That the following gentlemen do constitute the Central Executive Committee of the Reform Association:—

D. BLAIR, Esq.	THOS. HODGINS, Esq.
E. BLAKE, Esq., Q.C.	JAS. LESLIE, Esq.
Hon. GEORGE BROWN, M.P.P.	JOHN LEYS, Esq.
JOHN BOVO, Esq.	JOHN McDONALD, Esq., M.P.P.
W. H. BURNS, Esq.	KENNETH MACKENZIE, Esq., Q.C.
JOHN CRICKMORE, Esq.	Hon. JOHN McMURRICH.
ADAM CROOKS, Esq., Q.C.	JAMES METCALFE, Esq.
J. D. EDGAR, Esq.	A. M. SMITH, Esq., M.P.P.
THOMAS GORDON, Esq.	S. SPREULL, Esq.
Wm. HENDERSON, Esq.	B. M. WELLS, Esq.

With power to add to their number, together with all Reform members of Parliament, and all Presidents of Branch Associations.” Carried unanimously.

Mr. MACKENZIE, M.P.P., seconded by Mr. McCOLL, Reform candidate in West Elgin, moved a vote of thanks to Hon. Mr. McMURRICH, who had so ably filled the chair after the departure of Mr. PATRICK.

The resolution passed by acclamation.

Hon. Mr. McMURRICH, having acknowledged the compliment, said the business of the Convention was now closed. It had passed off with a success in which he rejoiced most heartily. He trusted the effects would be felt far and near throughout the whole of Ontario, and that satisfactory results would be shown when polling day comes. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. T. HODGINS moved a vote of thanks to the Secretaries, Messrs. SPREULL and EDGAR, and, in doing so, paid a well-deserved tribute to the zeal and energy manifested by these gentlemen in the preliminary measures taken to organize the Convention.

Mr. K. MACKENZIE, Q.C., in seconding the motion, said that in this meeting he had beheld the finest sight he had ever seen. It had been composed of the best mechanics, the best farmers, the best merchants, the best editors, and the best lawyers in the country. (*Laughter and cheers.*)

The motion was carried by acclamation, and the compliment was duly acknowledged by Mr. SPREULL and Mr. EDGAR.

Hon. Mr. BROWN requested the Reform candidates to assemble on the platform for a short consultation.

The proceedings of the Convention were then, at 6 p.m., brought to a close, with three cheers for the Dominion of Canada, three cheers for Mr. BROWN, and three loyal and enthusiastic cheers for Her Majesty the Queen.

