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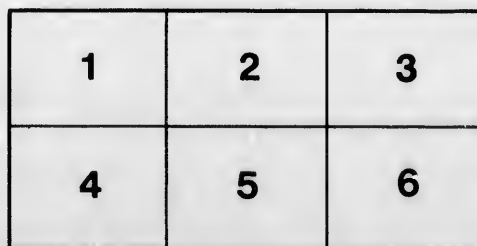
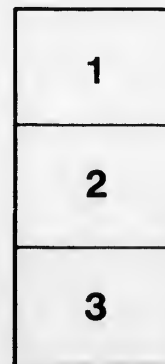
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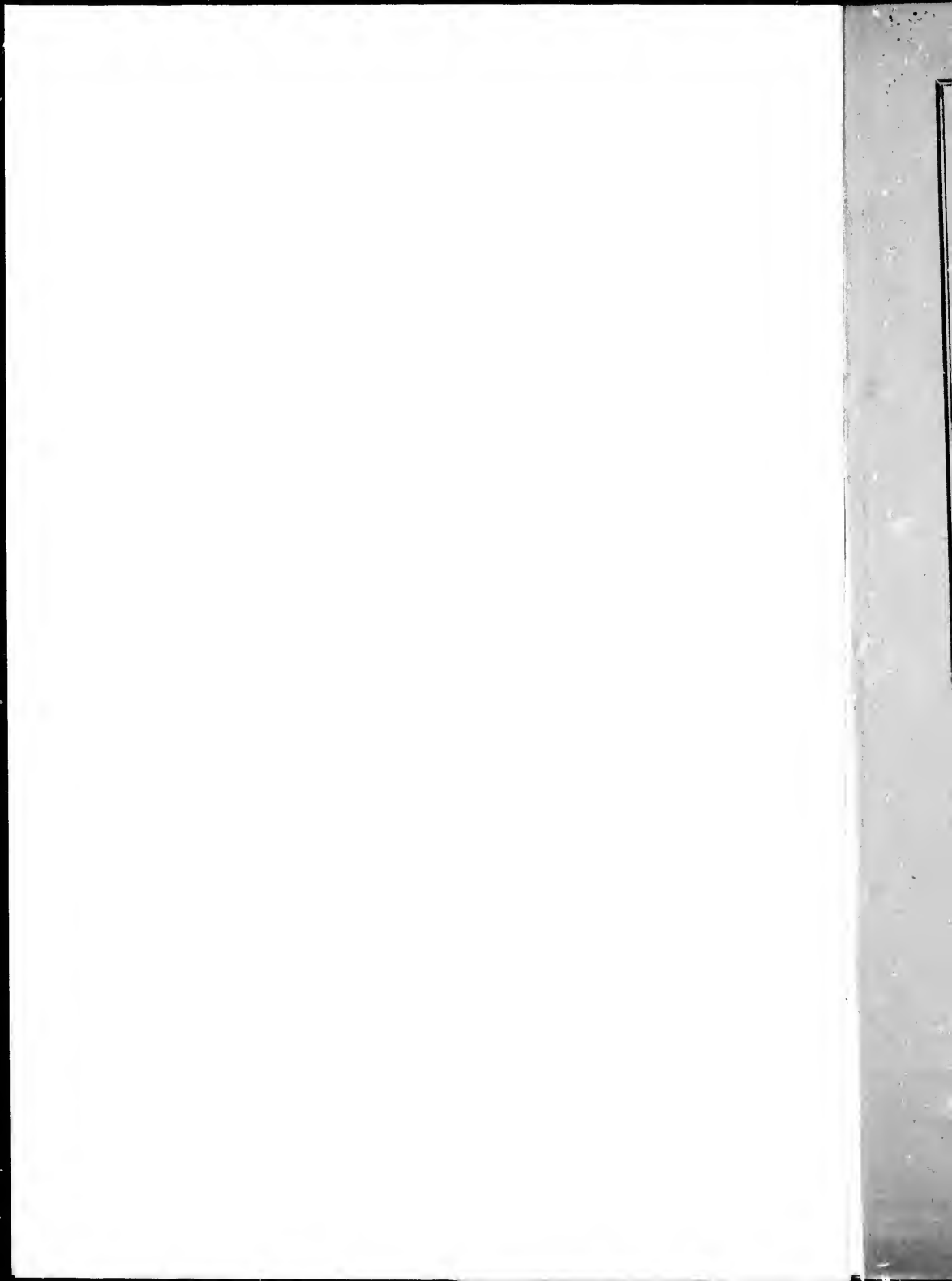
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OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

MR. JOSEPH TASSE, M.P.,

— ON —

FRENCH DOMINATION.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1882.

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1882.

1882  
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## SPEECH OF MR. JOSEPH TASSÉ, M.P.,

— ON —

# FRENCH DOMINATION.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TUESDAY, 25th April, 1882.

Sir LEONARD TILLEY moved that Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair, for the House to go again into Committee of Supply.

Mr. TASSÉ. As we discussed the other day the Irish Question in a manner which I sincerely trust will be beneficial to the parties interested, I will take advantage of this motion to offer some remarks on a subject which concerns more directly a large portion of the Canadian community. I wish I could avoid bringing this subject under the notice of the House, but the responsibility of the action does not rest with me. This subject is pressed so unfairly and so persistently on the public mind; it has caused so much agitation and so many misrepresentations; it will become such a live issue during the approaching electoral campaign, that no alternative is left than to put the matter in its true light before this House and the country. The subject is undoubtedly a difficult and a delicate one, but having learned to respect those feelings in others, which are the dearest to a man—his national and religious feelings—and representing, as I do, one of the most mixed communities in the country, the Capital of Canada; having been returned by a French as well as by an English majority, by a Catholic as well as by a Protestant majority, I am confident that, while standing up in the cause of truth and justice, to defend the people of my race, I will say nothing that can hurt the feelings of, or that can be properly objected to by my hon. colleagues of other origins. For some time past you may have heard of the so-called French domination of this country. For some time past you may have read in the newspapers which exercise a great, a controlling influence



sometimes on the other side of the House, that French men were the ruling power in this Dominion, that they were securing all the sweets of office, and had practically muzzled the British Lion. For some time past you may have read in the same paper that the hon. Prime Minister—although styled sometimes a one man power—was but a pliant tool in their hands, and that this great Province of Ontario had to suffer once more the humiliating sway of her sister Province. Such is the temper of that press, that even the name of my hon. friend the Secretary of State has been cited lately by the *Globe* as a “conspicuous representative of the *bleu* interest”—these are the words of the paper—in order to scare the good people of Ontario—and why? Because my hon. friend had signed, in his capacity of Secretary of State, a document touching the much vexed boundary question of Ontario, which document emanated from His Excellency the Governor in Council. It is true this cry of French domination is not new in this country. During more than fifteen years it has been echoed and re-echoed on almost every stump, on almost every hustling from one end of this Province to the other, and in almost every Grit journal from the *Globe* down. It is questionable, if but for it the Grit party could have existed at all. In fact, that cry was put into its mouth as its war cry, as its watch-word on almost the very day of its birth. Hatred of the French Canadian seems to have been, I am very sorry to say, the first love of the Grits. No wonder that the French Canadian has been compelled sometimes most reluctantly to return the compliment. We all know that this cry of French domination has a most injurious effect in inflaming the passions of the people, in creating an ardent jealousy between the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and an intense rivalry between two races which have spent already too much of their vigor and energy in fruitless struggles. We all know that, owing to that agitation, the administration of public affairs became almost impossible in this country, and Confederation became a political necessity. We all know that, owing to that agitation, the Conservatives of Ontario had to suffer seriously, had to lose many an election, being branded as the enemies of their Province, as the enemies of their creed, as the enemies of their race. But, Sir, thanks to the sober second thought of the people the clouds of public prejudice have been dispelled, and we have seen the great Conservative leader recognized as the best champion, as the truest friend of the interests of Ontario. Although the hon. member for Lambton, when inebriated with power, predicted that the Conservatives of Ontario would never regain the confidence of this

Province, we have seen the day when the hon. gentleman himself scarcely escaped defeat in the very county which he represents; we have seen the day when his party almost found a grave in that very Province in the great Liberal slaughter of 1878. When the Grits joined the Conservative party and established Confederation, and it is one of the very few acts in their history that commands my admiration, we heard no more of the cry of French domination. The French ghost vanished for a time in the pigeon-holes of the *Globe* office. When the Grits succeeded in capturing the Government in 1873, we did not hear of French domination, nor during the whole of their term of office. To speak of French domination in those days would have been indeed like a sneer and a farce. The French element was represented in the Cabinet by men who were not always creditable to their race, and whose sole ambition, in most instances, was to serve their country in the capacity of governors and judges, far, very far, from the verdict of their electors. Such men evidently could not possess that fair share of public influence which they should otherwise have exercised. Is it necessary to mention M. Antoine Aimé Dorion—a distinguished democrat fascinated by what the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) would call the “flummery of titles”—who was appointed Chief Justice of Quebec after having declared from his seat in this House that no such appointment was contemplated; Mr. Letellier, who became Governor of Quebec, and who did, Sir, what Queen Victoria with all her might has never dared to do, thus inflicting what would have been a death blow on responsible government had such an act remained unpunished at our hands; Mr. Fournier, who became a member of the highest, if not the most popular, tribunal of the land; Mr. Cauchon, whose crime smelled to heaven, according to the Liberal organ, and who was then thought fit, in that capacity I suppose, by that very Government to represent Her Majesty in the Prairie Province, when my hon. friend from Quebec East, out of self-respect had refused to sit in the same Cabinet which made him Governor. It seems certain also that Mr. Laflamme would have been requested to adorn the Bench, but for the untimely transaction of the ballot box in Jacques Cartier, where our friends opposite showed the people of this country how they could fabricate and manufacture votes in order to raise what they call the standard of public morality. Sir, as my opinion on the *personnel* of the late Cabinet might be supposed unfair or prejudiced, let me adduce some witnesses whose impartiality cannot be questioned. My hon. friends opposite will not deny that *La Patrie* is the recognized official organ of their party in

the district of Montreal. Well let us see what *La Patrie* stated in an article of the 25th November, 1880:

"Mr. Dorion, although serving under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie, was really the chief of the party. His withdrawal from office was soon after followed by that of Messrs. Fournier and Letellier. It is needless to recall the events which followed. Power was concentrated in the hands of Messrs. Mackenzie and Cartwright who had no one to checkmate them."

I do not attach much importance to the *Ottawa Free Press*, but as it is the recognized organ in this city of my hon. friends opposite, I will quote the following opinion published on the 12th October, 1879:—

"Previous to the 17th of last month none were more obsequious than those who are now denouncing the late Premier as the marplot of the Liberal party, whose defeat they attributed to Mr. Mackenzie's tyranny, stubbornness and want of tact. Referring to the ingratitude thus expressed, the *Montreal Gazette* says:—'No baser kind of ingratitude can be imagined, than that of men willing to serve leaders when in power, and turning upon them when power passes from their hands. The Liberal party of Quebec added neither strength nor respectability to the Liberal party of the Dominion during the last five years.' Although we are far from including all the Quebec Liberals in the list of ingrates, yet there is much of truth, manfully spoken, in what our contemporary utters. That the Liberal party of Quebec added neither strength nor respectability to the Liberal party of the Dominion during the last five years, is too sweeping an assertion, as few will deny that the Hon. Mr. Dorion brought strength and respectability to the party. The *Gazette's* remark might apply to the situation during the last year or two, when the accessions to the Cabinet were not always accessions of strength or respectability."

Well, Mr. Speaker, there was no French domination in those days but there was French humiliation all around. Since the triumphant return of the Conservatives to power we have again heard the famous cry of French domination. The French ghost, which is more frightful than all the ghosts painted by Shakespeare, has re-appeared and is now haunting, agitating; disturbing, every Grit camp, every Grit meeting; that ghost even made its appearance the other day within the walls of the Chamber. Sir, I draw the attention of the House and country to the fact that this cry is always raised when it is thought proper by the Liberal party to excite and lead astray the public opinion of the country, especially in the Province of Ontario. Mr. Speaker, when the last campaign took place in Ontario during the year 1879 the same appeal was again made by the Liberal party, and a good many people caught the infection, and now that the day cannot be very far distant when both parties will have to give an account of their votes and conduct to our common judge, the people of this country, the same mean, disloyal and disreputable tactics are resorted to. So common is this practice that you can hardly open a Grit newspaper in the Province o

Ontario, from the *Globe* downwards, without seeing articles against that so-threatening French domination. I will not worry the House by reading long extracts from these papers, but as that kind of evidence, I am sure, is familiar to many, if not most of hon. members, I will take the liberty to read a few lines which will give an idea, however imperfect it may be, of the work of misrepresentation and demagogism which is now so eagerly prosecuted by the Liberal party in the great Province of Ontario. The controlling organ of that party the *Globe* stated on 4th May, 1879:

"When Ontario joined the Confederation her supposition was by doing so she had escaped from Lower Canadian domination. The present subservience of the Government to Quebec Conservatives throws a doubt on this and our future position, and brings up the whole subject again. . . . The Tories follow the lead of their precious chieftain, and would put Ontario, which Province they know they cannot either cheat or control, back again under the rule of the Frenchmen, whom Sir John can humbug and swindle if he cannot control."

In another article, 4th November, 1879, the *Globe* complained still more bitterly of the supposed French ascendancy:

"The old saying that Ontario is the milch cow for the remaining Provinces, was never more forcibly proven than it is by the action of the present Government in relation to the distribution of patronage. Ontario with nearly one-half of the population of the Dominion, and directly and indirectly contributing a larger proportion than that to the Dominion revenue only at the present time receives about one-fifth of the patronage. The Department of Finance, Justice, Railways and Canals, Marine and Fisheries, and of the Speaker of the Senate, are devoted to the three Maritime Provinces, while of the remaining Departments those of Public Works, Inland Revenue, Militia and Defence, and the House of Commons, are given to the Province of Quebec alone. In the Department of the Speaker of the Commons the French Canadians are receiving the lion's share of the patronage, and the English speaking employees are being plundered to satisfy them. Last Session of Parliament in this Department pages and messengers were employed who could not speak a word of English. These are specimens of the manner in which Speaker Blanchet is administering the affairs of his Department."

Let us see now what says another leading Grit paper which is understood to represent the hon. member for Bothwell, the *London Advertiser*, which fulminates almost every day against the French domination. The following article is very recent, being dated the 15th February last:—

"The French Tories envy the prosperity of Ontario, and they are determined to dismember her, if possible. Mr. Meredith and his followers are not representing Ontario, they are representing the Quebec Bleus—they have become their servile instruments—Ontario was for years subject to the annoyance of Quebec Toryism. They obtained local self-government to maintain their local independence, and they find a band of conspirators, who, for the sake of the support of the most narrow-minded and unprogressive party in all Christendom, are ready to betray them. Sir John Macdonald has upon this question surrendered himself to Sir Hector Langevin and his followers."

In an article still more fresh, on the 22nd February, the *Ottawa Free Press* used the following language:—

"The Dominion Ministry aim at nothing less than reducing this Province to a position subordinate to Quebec, in order to vest the Government of the country in the hands of a party which could not even exist without the aid of that most stupid, bigoted, retrogressive faction, the Quebec Bleus."

The French element ruled this Dominion to the detriment, prejudice and exclusion of our English fellow-citizens—at least such is the gist of these articles and of a great many other articles written in the same style and animated in the same spirit, but all calculated to stir up and revive the national feuds of former days. I know sufficient of the feelings of the people of the Province of Quebec to know that its members and its population do not wish to deprive or rob Ontario of a single inch of territory which properly, legally and constitutionally belongs to that Province. The unanimity with which the French members of this House voted the other day for the reference of the boundary question to the highest tribunal either in Canada or the Mother Country, is the best proof of the spirit of justice and fairness which animates them, and they were aided on that occasion by followers of the hon. member for Quebec East.

Mr. LAURIER. Your party could not show so much independence as that.

Mr. TASSÉ. No doubt I have a strong faith in the French Liberals of Quebec, although there are not many in this House. The hon. member, in speaking of the question of boundary the other day—

Mr. BLAKE. The hon. member has no right to refer to a past debate.

Mr. TASSÉ. I am referring to a speech made by his hon. friend and supporter, as reported in the papers of the day, and I will make only a short quotation, which will be very agreeable to the hon. member for Quebec East. Here is what the hon. member said, when opposing the reference of that question to the Privy Council—

Mr. SPEAKER. I am afraid the hon. member is referring to a past debate.

Mr. TASSÉ. I quite understand why the leader of the Opposition is so anxious that the utterances of the hon. member for Quebec East should not be read in this House to-day. Have you, Mr. Speaker, decided that I have no right to read the extract.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member has no right to refer to a past debate.

Mr. TASSE. I am only reading from a report of the speech.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member cannot read it.

Mr. TASSE. So the hon. leader of the Opposition does not wish to hear the reasons given by his colleague for opposing the reference of the boundary question to the Privy Council. We all know that the hon. member for Quebec East has been lauded by the Grit press for the exceptional broad-mindedness he displayed on this subject. Well, let me state that the great argument adduced by the hon. member for Quebec East was, that by allowing the question to be referred to the Privy Council it might add a great deal to the Province of Ontario, much more than was awarded.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. TASSE. If you deny that such language has been used I will have to read the speech. Now, that the question of order is disposed of, and I hope satisfactorily to my hon. friends on the other side, I will say this: that the French Conservative members of this House are not responsible for the fact that the Ontario Government has refused, for electioneering purposes—for party purposes—to accept such a fair proposal as a reference of the question to the Privy Council or the Supreme Court, because that proposal, if I am well informed, was made by the present Premier as early as 1872, and for it the French members would have voted as they voted on a similar proposition the other day.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member will be kind enough not to refer to a past debate.

Mr. TASSE. I am now speaking of 1872.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. The rule is that no allusion shall be made to a previous debate in the same Session, but there is no rule preventing a reference to a debate in a previous Session.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman has been referring to a debate of this Session.

Mr. TASSE. I was referring to 1872, and I said that the French Conservative members cannot be held responsible for the fact that the Ontario Government has refused for party purposes to accept the proposal which the present Premier made as early as 1872, and that we would have voted then for it as we voted for it the other day. Now, Mr. Speaker, so far as the public patronage mentioned in the *Globe* is concerned, a return for which I have given notice in the Orders of the Day will settle that point. I trust that it will be made as accurate and complete as possible. If such a grievance really exists, let us

know it and let us remedy it. We ask no favors, and I think I am fairly echoing the sentiments of the mass of the French people of this country when I say that we only ask fair play, and equal rights with our fellow citizens of other creeds and origins. We ask nothing more but nothing less. A similar return was ordered last year by another Chamber but it has not been brought down. In the meantime, I have taken the trouble to collect a certain amount of statistics and other information, and while a portion of them may not be very complete or very fresh it will throw sufficient light on the matter to show that there is nothing like French domination in the shape of public patronage; that such domination exists, "figuratively speaking," only in the minds of the Grit press and their stump speakers. Nay, they fully demonstrate that not only have the French Canadians not been treated with favor or partiality, but that they do not receive even a fair share of the patronage if representation by origin is to be the determining basis. From the Public Accounts we may ascertain who are the French and English-speaking employees belonging to the inside service with the amounts of their salaries. Let me give the following statement for the year 1881:

INSIDE SERVICE.

(From the Public Accounts of 1881.)

Department.	French.		Other origins.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
		\$ cts.		\$ cts.
Governor Gen'l's Secretary's Office.....			7	12,875 00
Privy Council .....	3	3,750 00	13	10,349 60
Justice .....			17	19,036 05
Militia and Defence. ....	10	12,539 15	20	22,568 28
Secretary of State .....	7	8,566 67	32	28,234 98
Interior .....	6	6,150 00	50	55,881 48
Auditor General's Office .....	2	1,444 55	15	19,866 63
Finance .....			42	49,925 00
Treasury Board .....			2	2,133 38
Customs .....	2	4,050 00	24	26,511 97
Inland Revenue .....	5	4,984 63	21	24,249 23
Public Works .....	12	13,756 09	11	14,008 48
Railways and Canals .....	8	13,275 00	18	24,477 73
Post Office Department .....	13	8,860 17	101	92,383 46
Agriculture .....	22	212 30	8	11,775 00
Marine and Fisheries .....	5	5,100 00	20	24,347 50
Civil Service Board .....			2	600 00
	95	\$102,696 26	403	\$439,217 7



It is impossible to find a similar return as far as the officers of the Parliament and those of the outside service are concerned, their names, for some unaccountable reason, not being given in the Public Accounts. But a return like that which I ask for was produced in 1872, and from it I will draw the following statement which probably has not been materially altered since that year:

# PARLIAMENT.

(From an official return published in 1872..

	French.		Other Origins.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
		\$ cts.		\$ cts.
Commons.....	19	17,910 00	33	38,919 50
Senate.....	9	10,400 00	11	8,900 00
Parliament Library.....	5	6,500 00	7	8,550 00
	33	34,810 00	51	56,369 50

# OUTSIDE SERVICE.

*Customs, Post Office, Inland Revenue, Marine and Fisheries, Public Works, &c.*

	French.		Other Origins.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
		\$ cts.		\$ cts.
Nova Scotia.....	14	3,299 00	891	293,393 25
New Brunswick.....	14	3,100 00	509	216,579 50
Quebec.....	321	135,728 50	431	220,474 50
Ontario.....	15	5,780 00	714	393,899 25
Manitoba.....	1	600 00	6	3,250 00
British Columbia.....			12	17,620 00
Generally.....	7	4,710 00	41	26,322 00
	372	153,217 50	2,604	1,171,538 50

As it may be interesting to know how we arrive at such figures touching the Province of Quebec, I will submit the following detailed statement:



## PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

	French.		Other Origins.	
	No.	Salaries.	No.	Salaries.
		\$ cts.		\$ cts.
Customs .....	75	34,634 50	156	78,225 50
Post Office .....	70	35,180 00	77	51,239 00
Inland Revenue .....	37	24,365 00	35	29,000 00
Public Works .....	35	13,199 00	39	18,636 00
Marine .....	104	28,350 00	123	42,676 00
	321	135,728 50	431	229,474 50

Now, if we include the foregoing figures touching the inside with the outside service, we obtain the following result:

## ABSTRACT.

			French.		Other Origins.	
	No.	Salaries.			No.	Salaries.
			No.	Salaries.		
		\$ cts.		\$ cts.		\$ cts.
Inside Service.....	582	634,093 53	128	138,506 26	454	495,587 27
Outside Service...	2976	1,324,756 00	372	153,217 50	2604	1,171,538 50
	3558	1,958,849 53	500	291,623 76	3058	1,667,125 77

This would give a proportion of French employ  s in those branches of the public service of 7 per cent. As those figures are partly from 1872, the number of officers has undoubtedly much increased since, but I do not think, I repeat, that the proportion of their relative origins has been notably altered. In connection with this statement, it may be properly asked what is the relative strength of the French population in Canada. The last Census puts it at 1,298,303 souls, apportioned as follows: Quebec, 1,073,820; Ontario, 102,147; New Brunswick, 56,635; Nova Scotia, 41,219; Prince Edward Island, 10,751; Manitoba, 9,949; North-West Territories, 2,771, and British Columbia, 915. As the French element represented an aggregate of 1,082,940 in 1871, we have thus an increase of more than 200,000 souls during the last decade—a result which is wonderful if we take into account the emigration to the United States and the fact that such an increase is due entirely to their prolific qualities, qualities unsurpassed i

the history of mankind. The population of Canada being calculated at 4,324,810 souls, the French element is thus a little more than one-fourth while it receives but one-seventh of the patronage. In the face of these facts, I may well ask where is the French domination? Where is the ghost, the horrid ghost which is evoked every day by the Grit press to terrify the people of Ontario? French domination! Do you see it in the fact that if the French element has more than its share in a few branches of the Dominion service, it is not fairly represented in some while it is almost ignored in others? Do you see it in the fact that if you except Quebec, there are very few officers of French origin employed by the Local Governments of the other Provinces? French domination! French domination! Do you see it in the fact that there is not a minority treated as justly and as generously as that of the Province of Quebec—a treatment which I would like to see imitated in all the other Provinces, in order to show to the world that there is not a spot on the surface of the earth where the rights of every one are more carefully guarded than in the free and happy land of Canada. French domination! French domination! Do you see it in the most startling fact that in the very Province of Quebec—the very bulwark of our race—where the nine-twelfths of the people are of French origin, the minority has secured even the greatest number of the federal offices; that in 1872 there were in the Department of Customs, Post Office, Inland Revenue, Public Works, Marine and Fisheries, 431 English speaking officers receiving \$220,474.50, against 321 French employes receiving \$135,728.50—that is to say, there were 110 more English-speaking officers than French? French domination! Do you see it in the fact that French constituencies or constituencies with a French majority have elected, and are still electing men of another origin, of another creed, to represent them? At this very moment, the hon. member for the county of Ottawa—the King of the Gatineau,—the hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe, the hon. member for Gloucester, one of the lights of the Opposition, the hon. member for Chateauguay, the hon. member for Shefford, and the hon. member for Victoria, New Brunswick, all represent counties having a French majority. In the past, we have not been less generous, as it is fully exemplified by the following facts as related by the late lamented Sir Etienne Pascal Taché, the very man who predicted that the last gun for English supremacy on this continent would be fired by a French Canadian:

“That the people of Lower Canada always acted towards the English with liberality was best exemplified by facts. Before the Union, while

the constituencies were almost exclusively French, English Protestant gentlemen were frequently returned to Parliament; and he had now opposite to him an hon. member who had for twenty years represented an entirely French and Roman Catholic county. He doubts that in the course of these twenty years, the hon. gentleman had ever been asked whether he were Scotch or Protestant. They took the man for his sterling worth. It was even a fact that the French had elected members with extraordinary names, and, as every body knows, there was sometimes a good deal in a name. Now, if there was one name which French Canadians disliked more than another, it was that of Luther. Yet they had elected a gentleman bearing that significant appellation. He was glad they had, and he had no doubt he had been elected because of his personal worth; but it unquestionably showed a great deal of liberal feeling on the part of the electors. But if an English Protestant was bad in the eyes of a French Canadian, a French Protestant was infinitely worse, and yet the county of Lotbinière had elected a French Canadian Protestant, without even questioning his religion. But again, quite lately in a division in Lower Canada, numbering only 50,000 souls, of which only 1,400 were English, an election of a member to this Chamber had taken place, the candidates being a French Roman Catholic gentleman, long and well known, and an English Protestant—and with what result? Why, that English Protestant had beaten the French Canadian Roman Catholic by 1,000 votes. Could any greater proof of a tolerant and liberal feeling be exhibited?"

French domination! Do you see it in the fact that the English minority, in the Province of Quebec, has five or six representatives in the other Chamber and in the Legislative Council of Quebec? Do you see it also in the fact that the last nominee to the Senate from the Province of Quebec is a gentleman, well and generally respected, but who has not a drop of French blood in his veins? French domination! Do you see it in the fact that while the English-speaking minority of Quebec is largely represented in the Upper Chamber—and I am glad to see a minority largely represented—the 102,743 Acadians, who differ from us French Canadians only in name, but who are the same as ourselves in language, religion, politics and historical associations—that they and the 108,605 French Canadians scattered throughout the Province of Ontario have not a single representative in the Senate—an injustice I sincerely trust the Government of the day will repair at an early opportunity. Those 211,345 Frenchmen scattered throughout Ontario and the Maritime Provinces will become, ere long, a very important factor in the Canadian community. And their claims are the more entitled to the consideration of the Government, that its hon. leader, at the time of the debates on Confederation, stated that the Senate had been established especially to protect sectional rights. His very words were:

"To the Upper House is to be confided the protection of sectional interests."

French domination! Do you see it in the fact that hundreds of thousands of dollars, if not millions, have been spent to attract a foreign emigration to our shores, which, however

desirable and useful it may be to the country at large, cannot certainly increase the influence of French Canadians. Now the Government should spare neither pains nor expense to facilitate the return of Canadians from the neighboring Republic. Thousands of them have been induced to return to their native land, which they were compelled to desert under adverse circumstances. Let us do for them what we have done for the Mennonites and the Scandinavians. The other day several hundreds of French Canadians left New England to become settlers in our great North-West. Let us encourage that movement by all possible means, and we shall see ere long not only hundreds but thousands of Canadians of all origins returning to their country, which they love, to give it the benefit of their intelligence, labor and industry. In the face of these facts, it is quite evident there can be no sincerity in the cry of French domination. The *Globe* and its satellites know perfectly well, unless more ignorant than fanatical, and that would be saying a great deal, that such a cry has not the slightest foundation, that if any ascendancy exists, or is to be dreaded in this country, it is not certainly that of the French. Minorities can have no power or influence in a country like this, such as has been ascribed to the French; they cannot rule except in exceptional cases with our well balanced system of Government. How could the French minority rule when this Government is not only supported by a majority from Quebec, but by one still larger from the great Province of Ontario, and by a majority from Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and British Columbia? And this majority is not a "brute majority" as it was so styled by the courteous member for Centre Huron the other day, nor is it a majority of "slaves," as was described by the leader of the Opposition; but it is the majority of a House, which, according to old parliamentarians, constitutes one of the most intelligent and patriotic assemblies that ever sat in Canada. If ever the French minority had an occasional chance of ruling it would not abuse it. Its unsurpassed generosity towards other races, where it is the controlling power, constitutes an everlasting monument that no penny-a-liner can either deface or destroy. And were it disposed to be either unjust or intolerant, we know that no such temper would be tolerated by our English fellow-citizens, who, however divided by party lines and barriers, know of no division when the interests of John Bull are supposed to be imperilled. Why then is the Liberal party raising the cry of French domination? They raise it for mere electoral and political purposes? They raise it to wake up animosities that should have been buried for ever. They raise it to divert

the public mind from the real issues of the day—to make the people forget, if possible, the great boon of the National Policy, and that they are now, instead of suffering from poverty and depression, enjoying unusual prosperity, and, instead of huge deficits, large surpluses—that they are ruled now by statesmen who are not mere muddlers of figures, nor mere flies on the wheel, but who are statesmen successfully working out the great and glorious destinies of Canada. Power is their sole object. Power is their magnetic pole. To reach power they will sacrifice everything. To reach power they deposed their former leader, and now they extol him to the skies. He may well exclaim: "Save me from such friends." To reach power they are prepared to sow the seeds of civil war, to set Province against Province, Creed against Creed, Englishmen against Frenchmen, to shake the very foundations of our political system, to break up the Union. The hon. leader of the Opposition will claim, perhaps, that he is not responsible for the utterances of the *Globe* and the Grit press. I know that before his promotion to that distinguished and responsible position—which I sincerely trust for the good of the country he will occupy for a great many years—he was accused by that very paper of delivering "disturbing speeches," one of which I presume was the Aurora speech; but I believe his views and those of that organ are now quite in accord. The hon. gentleman has been trumpeting his views over one-half the Dominion, the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and even the Atlantic coast have resounded with the echoes of his eloquence—but he never thought proper to state in his numberless harangues that he had no sympathy with that cry of French domination. The hon. gentleman visited Montreal before the last local elections of Quebec, to organize, or rather to reorganize a much disorganized and dispirited party, and I trust he is satisfied with the result of his labors. He then could exclaim at the end of a speech: *M. aussi, je suis Canadien*, "I also am a Canadian;" but he did not dare to oppose the power behind the Throne and satisfy the legitimate anxiety of his French supporters in that Province, by stating that he had no sympathy with that anti-French policy. The hon. gentleman, who knows so well how to make prospective judges "speak now," could not find a word to say for the poor Frenchman. I will have to conclude that, though not willing to sow the wind he is desirous to reap the whirlwind, though he will not himself plant the bad tree of discord in our midst, he has not the slightest objection to gather the bad fruit. If the hon. leader of the Opposition has no sympathy with that cry of French domination, how is it that not only the Grit papers,

but some of the most active members of his party have denounced from the hustings and in the Local Legislature, that so-called threatening French domination? How is it that the hon. the Secretary of State has been grossly insulted by a member of the Local Government on the sole account of his origin, that Mr. James Young, a former member of this House, and one of the most prominent supporters of the Government in the Local Legislature of Ontario, has used the following language in the debate on the Address on the 18th January last:—

"In the old Province of Canada Sir John kept office for fifteen years by denying the rights of Ontario to obtain a French Canadian majority, and his action on the boundary award was evidently dictated by the same motives. . . . The Government at Ottawa evidently hoped to ingratiate themselves into the confidence of other Provinces, and particularly Quebec, by dismembering Ontario and cutting it down to one-half its actual size."

If the hon. leader of the Opposition has no sympathy with that cry, how is it that the hon. member for Centre Huron has qualified the French Conservative party in this House as a small selfish clique. Here are the very words uttered by him in the last debate on the boundary question:

"I do not believe that the majority of the people of Quebec grudge us our rights, but I do fear, from past experience, that there is a small, selfish clique in Quebec who desire to deprive Ontario of her rights in this matter; and I fear they have too much influence in deciding this question in the councils of the Dominion."

If the hon. leader of the Opposition has no sympathy with that cry, how is it that another of his colleagues, the hon. member for North Norfolk, is reported to have uttered the following observation—not from his seat in the House; I do not believe he would dare to use such language from his seat in this House—but in a stump speech delivered a fortnight before the opening of this House at Aylmer, county of Elgin. He said:

"Why should Ontario submit to such injustice? It is the Province that pays three-fifths of the revenue of the Dominion; it is the heart of Canadian virtue, intelligence and enterprise, and it intends to assert its rights. It has long enough been made the catspaw of French lickspittles, and build the harbors and public works of Quebec."

I do not wish to misrepresent the hon. gentleman; but if he has really used that language, even in a stump speech, even in the backwoods, I can only say as a member of this House that it is to be regretted that a man of the ability and standing of that hon. gentleman, who pretends to possess liberal and broad views, should have so forgotten himself as to use such coarse and unjust language towards a race which deserves better treatment—a language which I am sure, if it has been really used by the hon. gentleman, will be resented by every Frenchman worthy of that name.

If I am told that it is not incumbent on the hon. leader of the Opposition to stand by my countrymen when they are unfairly and unjustly assailed, when they are treated, for instance, as they were by the hon. gentleman for North Norfolk, as lick-spittles, such an excuse could not be urged in behalf of the member for Quebec East. Still that hon. gentleman, who is supposed to be entrusted with a peculiar mission in this House, has remained as silent on that most important point as his hon. leader—I will not say his master—although that would be a very fitting return for the epithet of slave addressed to us by the hon. leader of the Opposition. One would have thought, however, that the hon. gentleman had made sufficient sacrifices to please his leader. Was it not enough that he should have sacrificed the views of his party, or rather the remnant of his party—and even that remnant is not always true to the hon. gentleman—on a most important question, the question of protection to Canadian interests, without accepting silently the most humiliating role which has been assigned to him. No, my hon. friend and his friends are party to a comedy which is being played by the opponents of the Government at the expense of the people at large. Let me draw the attention of the House to the fact that while the Liberals of Ontario claim that Quebec reigns supreme, the Liberals of Quebec contend loudly that their Province is shamefully neglected by the Government, and that Ontario secures for herself the lion's share. In this way the Liberal party have pursued a wholesale policy of deception. They can exhibit at one time what the hon. member for Centre Huron (Sir Richard J. Cartwright) would call the two sides of the shield, in one Province the silver side and in the other Province the brazen side. To prove my assertion let me quote another article of the *Globe* of the 30th January last:

"Sir John A. Macdonald has thrown overboard every affectation of regard for Ontario, given up even the wish to conciliate this Province and now looks for his main force to Quebec. By bribery and political arts he trusts to keep ranged alongside him a sufficient number of members from Ontario and the other Provinces to give him a working majority. Sir George E. Cartier promised his followers that they should rule the Confederation, and by the aid of Sir John the pledge is at present being fulfilled with a vengeance."

As a matter of history, Sir George E. Cartier never promised, and never could have promised his followers in this country that they would rule under Confederation. That assertion is a deliberate falsehood, a deliberate perversion of facts. That great patriot promised his fellow-countrymen that under Confederation their rights as a distinct race in this country would be protected, and but for that solemn pledge which was given to them the French Canadians never would have consented to enter



the Union. But, unfortunately, the French Canadians have to come to the conclusion that that pledge will not be respected by the Liberal party. Sir, at the time of Confederation one of their leaders, the late hon. George Brown, stated in a speech that the people of Lower Canada had consented to enter the Union, had consented to concede representation by population to the Province of Ontario on the express condition that Quebec would have an equality of representation in the Upper House. Here are the very words of Mr. Brown :

"Our friends from Lower Canada have agreed to give us representation by population to the Lower House on the express condition that they should have equality of representatives in the Upper House."

Well, do we not know that the Liberal party is striving to-day for the abolition of the Senate, which would be a violation of the Federal Act and a breach of faith fraught with the most alarming consequences, and tantamount to a dissolution of this Union. But even the maintenance of the Union does not much concern our friends opposite. At the present moment I see unfurled in the city of Montreal the flag of independence, and they mean to cheer with the hon. Mr. Jones, a former member of a Liberal Cabinet, when the British flag shall be hauled down from the citadel of Halifax. Now, Sir, that we have fully ascertained, according to the Grit papers and the Grit politicians, that the Premier of this Dominion is sold to the Province of Quebec, is sold to the "lick-spittles" of Quebec, to use the delicate expression of the hon. member for North Norfolk.

Mr. CHARLTON. That is an expression I have no recollection of having used. I disclaim the language attributed to me by the hon. gentleman. A report of my remarks on that occasion was made by a person who at the time was a stranger to me, I never revised them, and I disclaim the words which have been put into my mouth. I never used them with reference to the French Canadians or, to my recollection, with reference to anybody else. I should be sorry to use so vulgar an expression, and if I had done so I should feel it my duty to make an apology.

Mr. ARKELL. I wish to inform the hon. gentleman that I have his speech here word for word, as published in his own organ, the *St. Thomas Journal*.

Mr. CHARLTON. I have just referred to that speech, and stated that the report of that speech had never been revised by me, and was not authorized.

Mr. TASSÉ. I am very glad to hear the hon. gentleman say that he never uttered that language, which would have



been most abusive to my countrymen, and which would, I am sure, be resented by every one of them. If I have cited that language it is because in the debate on the boundary question, these very words were quoted by an hon. member from the speech of the hon. gentleman, and that I find those words in the report of the *Hansard*. I am sorry my hon. friend has not taken an earlier opportunity to say that the language attributed to him was not used by him on that occasion. Well, now, let us see the other side of the shield as it has been exhibited lately to the electors of the Province of Quebec by a French Liberal paper, *La Concorde*, of Three Rivers. The article which I will cite has been complacently reproduced in the organ of my hon. friend for Quebec East (Mr. Laurier), *L'Electeur*, and also in *La Patrie*, of Montreal, which is the recognized Liberal organ of that district, and it will be quoted by the supporters of my hon. friend on all the hustings of that Province. Let us see the article in that paper which will be an antidote to the French domination cry:

"Never since the 17th September, 1878—the date of the last Conservative victory—has Lower Canada been so clumsily and so openly ill-treated as ever it was or probably ever it will be. Is it not a fact that the Macdonald-Langevin Cabinet has refused to our French Canadian members nine-tenths of the requests made them on behalf of their constituents? Is it not a fact that the present Government refused Mr. Vallee's application for a subsidy in favor of the Lake St. John Railway? Is it not a fact that the Government refused Mr. Landry's request that it should build the St. Charles Branch? Did it not refuse Mr. Casgrain the building of a station at Elgin in the county of L'Islet? Did it not refuse Mr. Bourbeau the printing of pamphlets on the cultivation of tobacco, beet-root and agriculture generally? Did it not refuse Mr. Gigault the dredging of the Chambly River? Did it not refuse Mr. Bergeron the widening of the Beauharnois Canal? Did it not refuse Mr. Mongenais the building of the Cedars Canal? Did it not refuse Mr. Landry the building of railway stations at St. Francis and at St. Peter in his county? Did it not refuse Mr. Hurteau the dredging of the Assomption River? Did it not refuse Mr. Bourbeau the printing and distributing of pamphlets which would make our mines known? Did it not refuse Mr. Bergeron the building of a line between Lachine and Caughnawaga to facilitate winter navigation? Did it not refuse Mr. Grandbois the erection of a lighthouse at Rivière du Loup? Did it not refuse (Mr. Vanasse, we believe) the abolition of duties on Canadian tobacco? Did it not refuse Mr. Mousseau help for the people burnt out at Upton, St. Helene and St. Liboire in 1880? Is it not a fact that the Geological Museum, an institution belonging to Montreal, a Lower Canadian city, has been removed to Ottawa, an Upper Canadian city, by this same Conservative Government? Is it not true that several unjust refusals made by French Canadians are so flagrant that they have been loudly denounced by the *Courier de Montreal*, by Senator Bellerose and other authorized persons? Lastly, is it not true that the influence of the Province of Quebec at Ottawa, amounts to a cypher to-day, as is shown by the distribution of portfolios under the present régime and that under the Mackenzie Administration? Liberal régime: Hon. L. S. Huntington, Post Office; Hon. W. Laurier, Inland Revenue; Hon. R. Lafamme, Justice; Hon. C. A. Pelletier, Agriculture. Conservative régime: Hon. A. P. Caron, Militia; Sir H. Langevin, Public Works; Hon. J. H. Pope, Agriculture; Hon. J. A. Mousseau, Secretary of State; or two

portfolios to-day against the four we had formerly. Can we ever be more crushed, more powerless and more neglected than we are in the year of our Lord, 1882, under the reign of these political pigmies whose names are Langevin and Mousseau? Let electors remember this."

I will not enter into the merit of these articles. They speak for themselves. They are nothing but shams, but frauds. I have cited them to expose the baseless tactics to which the Liberals are resorting to excite sectional jealousies against the Government. Such electoral dodges may succeed with some, but I trust that the vast majority of the electors are too intelligent to fall again into the trap laid for them. I see that a great fuss is made to-day by the Liberal party in relation to various matters touching the autonomy of the Provinces. Well, Sir, I am a Federalist in the fullest sense of the word. I am quite ready at any time to uphold the letter as well as the spirit of the Constitution. I regard the Act of Union as the true charter of our liberties. I regard our system as more perfect than the British or the American Constitution. I regard it as an improvement on both. But let me warn those who are raising this cry of French domination, that they are acting as the worst enemies of the Provinces, as the worst enemies of the Constitution. When the great scheme of Confederation was discussed, one of the main reasons urged by the late Hon. George Brown for its adoption was the following:

"I favor this plan because it will put an end to the warfare between Upper and Lower Canada. A most happy day will it be for Canada when this Bill goes into effect, and all the subjects of discord are swept from the discussion of our Legislature."

Well, it must be evident to every one that in prosecuting their mischievous work, in arousing Ontario against Quebec, the Liberal party is assuming a most dangerous responsibility and destroying one of the very objects for which Confederation was established, which was to put an end to the irreconcilable strifes of the old Provinces. There are some who hold that national distinctions should not be made or recognized, but I could not favor such a view. These distinctions alone have created Confederation. But for them a Legislative Union would have been established. They are essentially a part of our political system. But for them I could not speak here my own language when I choose to do so. But for them the practice of having three French members in the Cabinet would not prevail. But for them you would not perhaps, Mr. Speaker, occupy to-day the proud position of First Commoner—a position for which you are so eminently fitted otherwise. But for them it would not have been necessary to enact that the limits of twelve counties in Quebec—another safeguard

against French domination—could not be altered without the assent of a majority of their members. I have no hesitation to state, Mr. Speaker, that if this Union is to be maintained, we must take into account these distinctions as much as possible. This Union rests on a diversity of interests, national, religious, educational and social, and these interests must be represented. Those conversant with history know that one of the main causes of the political commotion of 1837 was the fact that the French element was not fairly represented in the Legislative Council or in the Public Service. That grievance is set forth in very strong terms in the celebrated ninety-five Resolutions adopted by the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada in 1833. Those conversant with history know also that when that worthy Governor, Sir Charles Bagot, undertook with so much success to conciliate Lower Canada, one of his first acts was to confer some of the most important offices on those in whom the people had the greatest confidence. Let us not repeat that page of our history. Let us benefit by experience. It is true that these distinctions of race may complicate to a certain extent the problems of government, but their inconveniences are counterbalanced by still greater advantages. Lord Dufferin has, expressing an opinion on that subject well worth recalling, said :

"I do not think that ethnological homogeneity is an unmixed benefit to a country. Certainly the least attractive characteristic of a great portion of this continent is the monotony of many of its outward aspects, and I consider it fortunate for Canada that her prosperity should be founded on the co-operation of different races. The interaction of national idiosyncrasies introduces into our existence a freshness, a variety, a color, an eclectic impulse which otherwise would be wanting; and it would be most faulty statesmanship to seek their obliteration. My warmest aspiration for that Province has always been to see its French inhabitants executing for Canada the functions which France herself has so admirably performed for Europe."

Before concluding I will take this opportunity to refer to a statement made some time ago by the hon. leader of the Opposition, in the course of an answer to the congratulatory address presented to him by the Liberal Association of Ottawa :

"I thank you for the very kindly allusion to my father. I am old enough to remember, though I was but a young lad at the time, those days in which we took part in the great events to which your address has alluded. I was in Montreal a portion of the time, and saw and was much with some of the leaders of that day, Mr. Lafontaine and Mr. Baldwin. I remember the spirit which animated these men then and for some time afterwards. I remember the strong phalanx of Lower Canada Liberals who were then the backbone of Liberal Government."

Times have changed, as, no doubt, the hon. gentleman feels it severely when he contemplates the much mutilated band from Lower Canada—not even a corporal's guard—which surrounds him. But how can he expect that this small band

will ever become the backbone of the Liberal party with the daily and violent onslaughts of his press and of his colleagues against the so-called "French domination." I only wonder that he can obtain support at all from that quarter. The hon. member for Quebec East, who was present on that occasion, in order to encourage the few French Liberals of the Ottawa district, not only endorsed the statement of his leader, but even expressed the conviction that "if the grand old leaders, Baldwin and Lafontaine, returned to earth they would not be found in the ranks of the so-called Liberal-Conservative party, but among the Liberals who believed not in legislating for personal aggrandizement, but for the greatest good of the greatest number." Truly, Mr. Speaker, Lafontaine and Baldwin were two great men. Their names cannot be too much honored, too much respected. Their names will be forever enshrined into the hearts of a grateful people. Both will occupy a high place in the Canadian Pantheon. But why should the hon. member for Quebec East insult their memory in stating that if they were living to-day they would be found in the ranks of the Grit party. Baldwin was a Liberal, but he was not a Grit. He was chased out of public life by a Grit. Lafontaine was a Liberal in the broadest sense of the word, but he was not a Rouge. Lafontaine was the embodiment of the political unity of his race, and that unity was broken by the friends of the hon. member for Quebec East. His bitterest enemies were the Radicals, headed by Mr. Papineau, whom the hon. member for Quebec East seems to discard, to repudiate now. Lafontaine has founded a political creed which is the creed of the French Conservatives of to-day; his associates and his disciples were the Morins, the Tachés, the Cartiers who have been, with this great man, the real founders of the French Conservative party. If any one doubts that Lafontaine was opposed in the most violent manner by the party represented now by the hon. member for Quebec East, the following extracts from *Le Pays* and *L'Avenir*—the French Liberal organs at that time—will show to what extent the leaders of the Opposition misrepresent history in claiming Lafontaine as one of them. On the 5th December, 1852, we find the following language used by *Le Pays*:

"Decentralization and democracy are one, but he who says centralization says despotism. Now, Mr. Lafontaine did nothing but centralize during four years, thus ignoring democracy. His supporters ignored it also. Centralization has always been to this country the hydra-headed monster of the fable, the beast with seven heads of the Apocalypse."

Now, what will one think of the Liberals who claim as their own a man whom formerly they charged with being

not only a despot, but with having introduced into the country the hydra of the fable and the least with seven heads. That is indeed a strange fashion of eulogizing one's leader. But let us proceed. In another number *Le Pays*, speaking of Mr. Lafontaine's retirement, says:

"Messrs. Lafontaine and Baldwin, the two most backward men in the late Administration, have both gone back to private life. Mr. Lafontaine, the greater tactician of the two, feigns ill-health; as to Mr. Baldwin, he was simply shown the door."

If the Liberal party do not understand the interests of the country, no party understand better how "to show the door to their leaders."

"Now, we are of those who believe that Lafontaine retired from public life simply because he had abandoned all hope of being able to continue his system of restricting the rights of the people, of invading the privileges of the House, and of increasing the prerogatives of the Ministers..... The *Journal de Québec* acquired its Conservative ideas at the school of the Baldwins and the Lafontaines."

On the 24th August, 1853, we also find:

"It is notorious that Mr. Lafontaine, notwithstanding the silence of his retirement, stood as a perpetual skeleton in the cupboard of the present Ministry. For us, we had no cause to fear Mr. Lafontaine, for his return to public life was an impossibility, owing to the principles with which he had tried to inculcate the Legislature during the last Parliament. We do not wish to say that Mr. Lafontaine would not have found an electoral division to return him to Parliament, but he could never have found in the House the elements wherewith to reconstitute the despised party which governed us from 1847 to 1851. Mr. Cauchon is the only member of that party who has remained in the House; and this small individuality, embodying in itself the *debris* of that party, could not send forth the slightest ray of hope."

Now, let us see the opinion expressed by *L'Avenir*, of the 5th October, 1850:

"The cause of Democracy is nothing new. From the day when these reactionary men (Baldwin and Lafontaine) shall fall, swept away by the flood of light of public opinion shed upon their deeds or by one of those occurrences in appearance accidental, and which no one can foresee, but which are so justly called providential, from that day our programme (that of democracy) will again be that of the mass of the French Canadian population."

I may observe here, that it is not surprising that our opponents should try to steal our mighty dead, when we see prominent members of the Liberal party eulogizing now the late lamented Sir George Cartier, whom they disparaged, whom they maligned in his lifetime, and even represented as the assassin of his nationality. But there is another reason why the Grits of Ontario and the Rouges of Quebec cannot claim Baldwin and Lafontaine as the founders of their party. These two great men would never, to rise to power, have attempted to kindle civil discord in our midst. Their whole political life was devoted to unite two races which had been so divided in the past.

Their whole political life was imbued with the same lofty sentiment which animated a British Governor when he elevated a common monument to the memory of two great soldiers, who nobly fought and died for their country, Wolfe and Montcalm. Their whole political life was devoted to teach the people that a spirit of compromise, of mutual forbearance, is indispensable to the Government of this country. Their whole political life was devoted to obtain, to maintain and to extend the principle of responsible government, which Papineau and his party repudiated and which the Liberal party have endeavored to destroy by foul means. Baldwin would never have raised the sham cry of French domination. He who had been received with open arms by the county of Rimouski when rejected by his old supporters.—Baldwin would never have aroused the prejudices of the people to reign thereby. No, he was too much the friend of truth, the friend of liberty, the friend of good government to assume the role of a demagogue. He had learned to appreciate the virtues of our race, and he knew that if they could be combined with the sterling qualities of the English-speaking race, we could stamp this half of a continent with the best features of the greatest peoples in the world. If the voice of the great Reformer could again resound in our Legislative Assemblies, it would be to denounce the Reform party as degenerated, as a party who has nothing to reform; to denounce the enemies of our country, those agitators, those demagogues who, regardless of consequences, under the false name of Liberals, are endeavoring to undermine, to destroy his noble work of the union of the various races which inhabit our young Dominion—a union which, I am proud to say, the Conservative party is still prosecuting with an undiminished vigor, under the safe guidance of its illustrious leader—a union which you will admit, Mr. Speaker, is necessary, is indispensable, if Canada is to become, what should be our common aim, our common ambition, a great, a glorious and a free country.

