

**CIHM
Microfiche
Series
(Monographs)**

**ICMH
Collection de
microfiches
(monographies)**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1995

Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes technique et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modifications dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Coloured covers / Couverture de couleur</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Covers damaged / Couverture endommagée</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Covers restored and/or laminated / Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Cover title missing / Le titre de couverture manque</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Coloured maps / Cartes géographiques en couleur</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black) / Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Coloured plates end/or illustrations / Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Bound with other material / Relié avec d'autres documents</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Only edition available / Seule édition disponible</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin / La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Blank leaves added during restorations may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming / Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Additional comments / Commentaires supplémentaires:</p> | <p><input type="checkbox"/> Coloured pages / Pages de couleur</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pages damaged / Pages endommagées</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pages restored and/or laminated / Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pages discoloured, stained or foxed / Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pages detached / Pages détachées</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Showthrough / Transparence</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Quality of print varies / Qualité inégale de l'impression</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Includes supplementary material / Comprend du matériel supplémentaire</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image / Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Opposing pages with varying colouration or discolourations are filmed twice to ensure the best possible image / Les pages s'opposant ayant des colorations variables ou des décolorations sont filmées deux fois afin d'obtenir la meilleur image possible.</p> |
|--|--|

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below /
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

	10X		14X		18X		22X		26X		30X	
	12X		16X		20X		24X		28X		32X	

✓

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

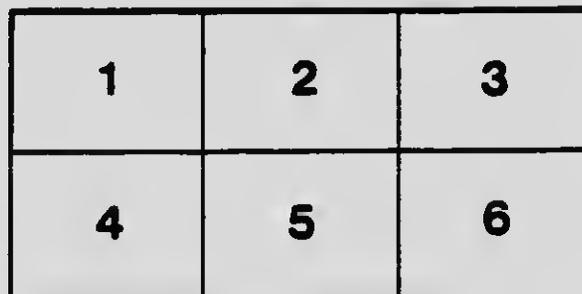
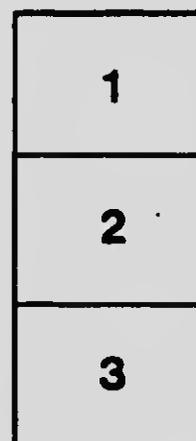
Stauffer Library
Queen's University

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Stauffer Library
Queen's University

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec la plus grande soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

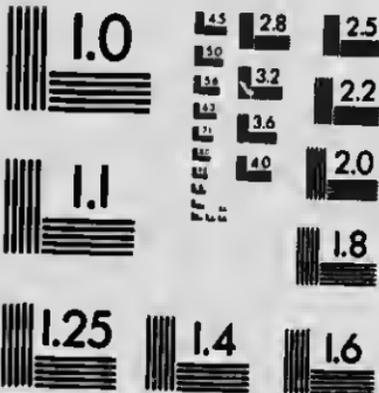
Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par la seconde plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaît sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482-0300 - Phone
(716) 288-5989 - Fax

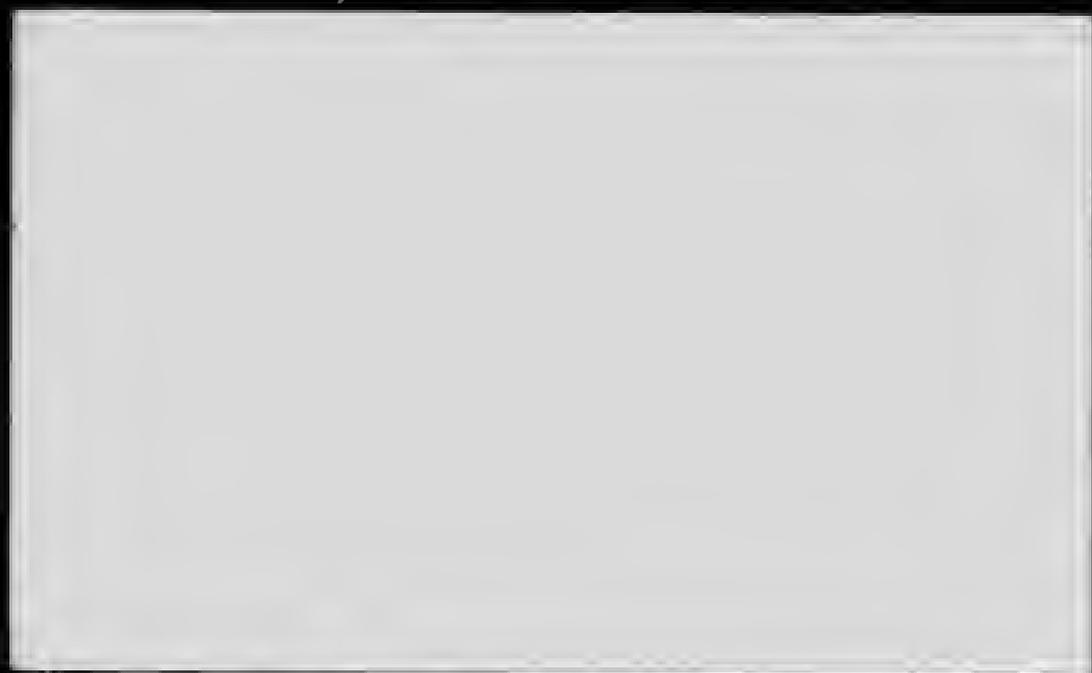
Reminiscences

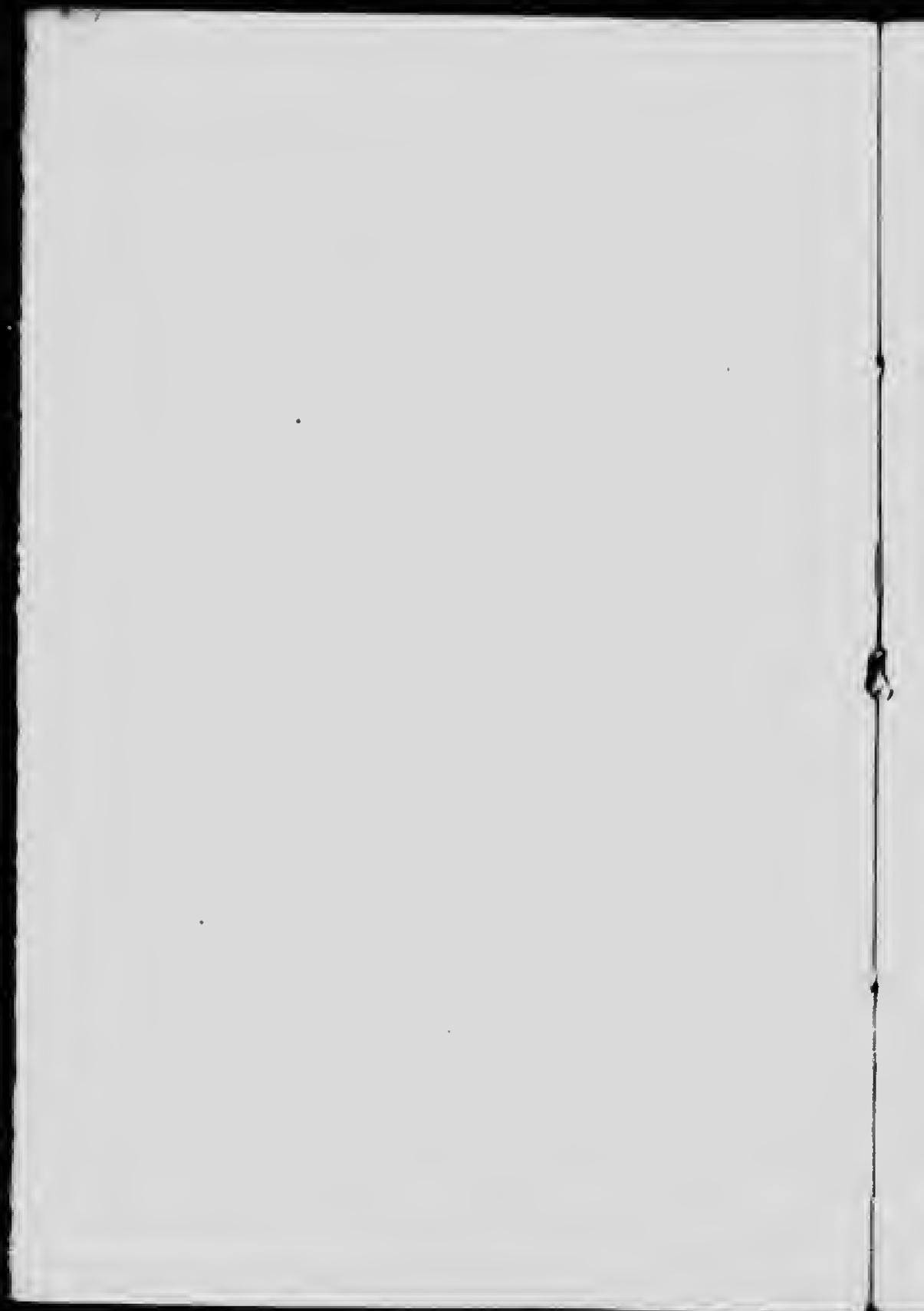
by

Mr. Justice MacMahon

F5013
1908
1167

With the Compliments of
MR. JUSTICE MACMAHON





Reminiscences

by

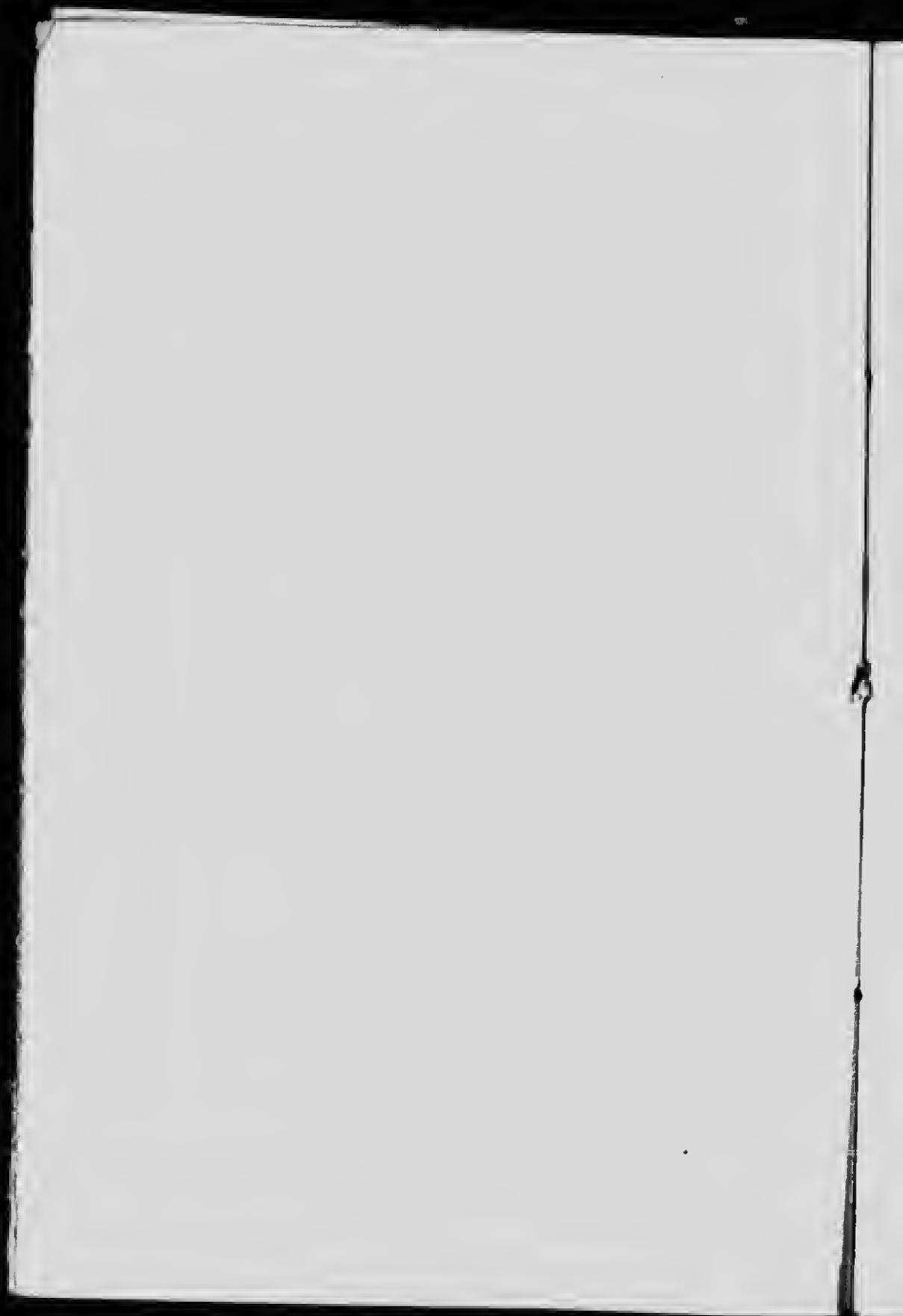
Mr. Justice MacMahon

F5012
1908
M167

THESE Reminiscences were published
in weekly parts in the Toronto
"News." But as there have been demands
for their publication in another form, I
readily comply with the request.

Toronto, 6th March, 1908.

1209661



Reminiscences

by

Mr. Justice MacMahon

PREFATORY

It was not the intention to have made public any part of these Reminiscences until they had been completed as far at least as the defeat of the Mackenzie Government in 1878. But such slow progress has been made in their preparation in consequence of my absence for eight months, and because the time which could be devoted thereto was confined to the summer vacations, that they have only been brought down to the defeat of John Sandfield Macdonald's Government, in December, 1871, and the formation of the Administration under the leadership of the Honourable Edward Blake.

I would not have adopted the course of now giving publicity to this fragment but for the reason that Sir John Carling and J. W. Langmuir, Esq., who were present at the discussion I had with Mr. Sandfield Macdonald in January, 1871, are still alive, and what transpired at that interview I consider should receive publicity during the lives of the witnesses.

The portion of the Political Reminiscences up to and inclusive of the year 1878, when the Mackenzie

Government was defeated and Sir John Macdonald returned to power, I hope to have completed by the end of the Long Vacation of next year. But as it is contemplated to bring the Reminiscences, Political and Legal, down to a much later period, that could not be accomplished until 1910. Circumstances must determine what portions thereof shall be published before that date.

October, 1907.

The original intention was that these Reminiscences should commence with events transpiring subsequent to the Confederation of the Provinces—the first of July, 1867. But in order to make intelligible some of the political incidents subsequent to Confederation, it became necessary to advert to occurrences antecedent thereto, and particularly to those which culminated in the rupture, in 1862, between John Sandfield Macdonald and Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

Between 1863 and 1867 I saw a good deal of D'Arcy McGee, and while the delegates from New Brunswick favorable to Confederation were in Montreal, in 1865—some of whom were his guests—I was frequently at his house, where he was a model host, and, being unrivalled as a raconteur, proved a most entertaining companion—there not being a dull moment while he was present. During a part of the period between 1864 and 1867 he was a member of John A. Macdonald's Cabinet, and often discussed with me the lamentable position of the Catholics in

Upper Canada—nearly all of whom had up to 1850 been supporters of the Reform party, led by the Honourable Robert Baldwin, but had, through the unrelenting hostility and intolerance of George Brown, been driven into the Conservative camp, and had become active supporters of that party under the leadership of John A. Macdonald, who ever after utilized the name of George Brown and what he called "the iniquitous malevolence of *The Globe*" to keep them in the Conservative fold. So that, no matter how strong their Liberal predilections might have been, self-respect forced them to remain supporters of the Conservative party, if George Brown was not to succeed to power. The result was they were bound to the wheels of John A.'s chariot, who was thereby in a position to treat, and, until an election was at hand, did treat them with utter indifference.

It was with the design of remedying, if possible, this humiliating and degrading condition of affairs that I sought McGee's advice and aid. But in 1864 John A. Macdonald had succeeded to power, and a coalition Government was formed, of which George Brown was for a short time a member; and negotiations were then in progress with a view to the confederation of the whole of the Provinces. It being, therefore, a time of transition, little could be accomplished towards carrying out the object of my mission. Mr. McGee, however, strongly advised me to take an interest in politics, and in 1866 he wrote urging me to do so.

McGee had, on his entrance into political life, allied himself with the Reform party, and was returned in that interest in 1858 for one of the Montreal constituencies.

There was much lip-Liberalism in those days, and it, in fact, constituted almost the whole mental outfit of many of the political aspirants. But McGee was thoroughly imbued with Liberal principles, and this, combined with a broad mind and generous disposition, and aided by a commanding eloquence, made him, without respect of party, creed, or nationality, a great power in the country.

SANDFIELD MACDONALD'S GOVERNMENT.

In 1862 John Sandfield Macdonald (known by everyone as "Sandfield") became Premier of United Canada, and McGee entered the Cabinet as President of the Council. During the session of 1863, while preparing a speech he intended delivering in Parliament, he was induced by some of the members of the House to abandon its preparation, and the speech could not be delivered at the time appointed. This lapse, Sandfield Macdonald was ungenerous enough not to overlook, for almost immediately thereafter his Government was defeated, the House was dissolved, and Sandfield went to the country, McGee being left out of the Cabinet. The Government was, on its appeal to the electors, sustained by a small majority. But McGee had his revenge on Sandfield, whom he mercilessly eviscerated when the House again met, and was mainly the cause of his being driven from power.

McGEE AS AN ORATOR.

If "the faculties of an orator are judgment and imagination, and reason and eloquence the product of these faculties," McGee stood unequalled as an orator. He had a mind richly endowed, and a memory that was a veritable storehouse of classic treasures; his diction was plain but forcible, and his facts were marshalled so as to present a perfectly balanced argument. He had keen and caustic wit, could be brilliantly epigrammatic, was a perfect master of invective, while he had "a voice of music which lent melody to scorn."

Mr. Fennings Taylor (Clerk of the House of Commons), in his sketch of McGee's life, says: "It is difficult for those who have observed him closely and knew him well to write with calmness of his great intellectual powers; neither is it easy, with the music of his melodious voice still ringing in our ears, to speak of aught else than of the marvellous skill with which he could pour out his soul in language most felicitously chosen." And Mr. Joseph Pope, in his life of Sir John A. Macdonald, says: "McGee was endowed with many rare gifts, not the least of which was his oratorical power, in respect of which, with the single exception of Joseph Howe, he has never had an equal in Canada."

In order to convey an idea of the incisiveness of his style as a Parliamentary debater, and as demonstrating what an egregious blunder Sandfield Macdonald made when he left McGee out of the Cabinet, I give the following extracts from his speech in the

House on 13th October, 1863, on the "Volunteer and Volunteer and Militia Bills," where he said, in part: "Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the final passage of the bills now before you, not that I consider the Militia Bill the best or the fittest measure for Canada—not because I think the Volunteer Bill one which will satisfy, or could be expected to satisfy, the volunteers of this country—but because I regard this Government as merely a Provisional Government. It can be considered in no other light with its majorities of one, two, and three, and because, though it is a great misfortune to a country to have merely an *ad interim* Government in critical times, yet provision must be made, means and machinery must be provided, for some degree of defence, even under the immense disadvantage of placing them under the hands of such a Government. I do not think in the present hands the country will get value for the money voted. * * * In vain we vote pay to militiamen, and clothing and arms to volunteers, if we cannot present to the world without the spectacle of a Government calculated to inspire them with respect, and to our own people at home such a conduct of affairs as will enlist their cheerful and united co-operation, in bearing the cost and performing the duties of this or any other system of militia organization. * * * It is necessary to make good the rapid decadence of the political hopes formed of the Macdonald-Dorion combination of May last—hopes are formed alike of 'new brooms' and new Governments—and this, Mr. Speaker, I shall endeavor to do in a very summary

manner. It will be remembered by the House that the avowed dissolution of May last was to enable the country, by electing a new Parliament, to remedy the inherent weakness which a too close balance of parties was found to have created in the last Parliament. That was the avowed object, and what was the result? The strong men—strengthened by so many other strong men, making an election with all the advantages of their position, real, inimaginary, present and prospective—these strong men succeeded in splitting the country, east and west, with a diagonal line, throwing two-thirds of the east on one side, and two-thirds of the west on the other. They succeeded in giving us two compact sectional majorities, and thus this session staggered on, while Canada, like Issachar, 'an ass between two hurdens,' groaned under the two-fold infliction. * * * If the Government had depended for party support to carry even the present measures they knew well they would have failed; they knew well there are enough of their supporters hostile to all such legislation to leave them in a minority—two votes changed can do it at any time—if the Opposition proper and the independent members had chosen to make a united stand against any one provision of these measures. This fact every one knows, but the organs of the Administration will be careful not to mention it. Now, as to the financial legislation promised us in his Excellency's speech, what has become of that? We were promised—"

The Honourable J. S. Macdonald here rose to a

question of order. He wanted to know if the honourable gentleman was speaking to the question.

Mr. Speaker then read to the honourable member the rule on the subject, leaving it to himself to make the application.

Honourable Mr. McGee resumed: "I am obliged to you, Mr. Speaker, for reminding me of the rule, and I shall endeavour to adhere to it as rigidly as possible. Certainly it seems to me a most important consideration for the security of Canada whether we have a strong Government or a weak one, a popular or an unpopular Administration. Notwithstanding these excursions, I hope before I sit down to make the matter pertinent enough to the direct question—our public defences.

"When, then, Sir, I was about to say, we were instructed in the Speech to give our attention to bringing 'the expenditure of the country within its income,' we all, in our simplicity, supposed that the Finance Minister was to bring us here some project of taxation—some skeleton of a tariff—to effect this object. He alone could bring it, but, again, the promise implied in the Speech was violated. Moreover, there was a paragraph in the Speech which even the honourable gentleman (Hon. J. S. Macdonald) can, I suppose, see the relevancy of, in relation to our Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, and its value as a 'military work' to 'the British-American Provinces.' But what cares the honourable gentleman for British America? He would far rather give his leisure to acting as his own whipper-in. A whipper-in is

a necessary Parliamentary agent, an office all very well for a junior member; but a Prime Minister who is his own whipper-in is hardly likely to trouble his head very much about anything concerning the consolidation of British America. I now distinctly charge the honourable gentleman and his colleague with having, from whatever motives, so entangled and embroiled the Intercolonial Railway negotiations with the Lower Provinces that they have not only sought to get rid of the basis agreed on at Quebec in September, 1862, but they have got rid of the survey they themselves proposed, and for which, one week ago, we voted the proximate sum of \$20,000."

An Honourable Member: "What has that to do with the militia?"

Honourable Mr. McGee—"Everything. If we are to have a system of defence all the year round, it is most essential to know how we are to get to the sea five months of the year. If we are to defend ourselves or to be defended from England, from which we must derive 'wars two main hinges—iron and gold.'"

An Honourable Member—"Whose is that?"

Honourable Mr. McGee—"The phrase is Milton's, who had it from Machiavelli; who may have had it, as was popularly supposed, from 'Old Nick.' One of the two hinges, at least, of all defence, we must derive from England, and that will depend on the exhibit our 'sturdy beggar'—the phrase is his own, not mine—the Minister of Finance may make in England. Now, we will

imagine the honourable Minister safely arrived in London in search of his four millions loan (including the \$900,000 for defences), and though lost in the crowd for a moment, we will imagine him emerging into the very sanctuary of British credit. He will find before him merchants who know how to unite the large knowledge of statesmen with the keenest attention to their own interests, and men not altogether ignorant of what has passed, and is passing, in Canada. Imagine the honourable gentleman indicating to such men the grounds for future loans to Canada by saying: 'Our Government went to the country last June, and we estimated our expected majority at twenty or twenty-five, but unfortunately, we found when the House met that we had two ties the first week. However, we did our best to strengthen ourselves by seating in the House a private person (Mr. Rankin) as member for Essex. In this, unfortunately, we failed. A week later we underwent the ordeal of a want-of-confidence motion, and narrowly escaped by a majority of three in a full House. Immediately, seeing something should be done, we took the mover of that motion—a distinguished member of the House—and made a Judge of him. (Mr. L. V. Sicotte, a Conservative, was created a Judge the 5th of September, 1863.) The ungrateful people of his constituency, however, not seeing their duty in that light, sent us in his stead a determined Oppositionist (Mr. Raymond), so we made nothing by giving him the Judgeship; still, we think the ingenuity displayed entitles our Government to great consideration in

England—Pray, lend us four millions.' Imagine the honourable gentleman further explaining away the conduct of his Government in the Intercolonial negotiations, and being obliged to say, for the truth will be in England before him—it will stand in his path by the Mersey and the Thames, 'It is true, we proposed a survey to the Lower Provinces and the Colonial Secretary, and both parties accepted our proposal; it is true, we went through the mockery of voting an item of \$20,000, for that survey, and naming a surveyor; but we found so many of our Western supporters adverse to it, that we subsequently invented conditions which compelled the Lower Provinces to decline going on, and the Colonial Office to recall their engineer, for which specimen of our good faith we think you ought to put confidence in us—Can you lend us four millions?

* * * I accept these bills now to be read for the third time, not because they are the best possible militia legislation, but because they are the best we can get from this Provisional Government. But will you go on ruling the country with a majority of one, two, or three? Will you weaken and expose and imperil the country by such a course at such a time? Or do you expect, by private bartering with individual members, to win over during the recess one, two, or three more? In Lower Canada—who is the Lower Canadian traitor who can face his constituents wearing your livery?"

Two months after the delivery of his speech, December, 1863, Mr. A. N. Richards became Solicitor-General in Sandfield Macdonald's Government,

but on appealing to his constituents for re-election there was a bitter fight, in which John A. Macdonald and D'Arcy McGee were in the fore-front on behalf of the Opposition, and on Parliament assembling, Sandfield, feeling assured that on the first vote he would be driven from power, resigned.

As further demonstrating McGee's powers as an orator, and also manifesting the sagacious and statesmanlike method of dealing with a subject as broad as the Confederation of the Provinces (then about being consummated), and the erudition displayed in its treatment, I give the greater portion of an address on "The Future of British America," delivered by him at London in 1866, when he said:

THE FUTURE OF BRITISH AMERICA.

"I enter on this subject, Mr. Mayor, of the Future of British America, at this time, with a great degree of confidence and satisfaction. I consider, and I think all must consider who look at the facts fairly, that the projected union of British America—to which, I see, more than one of the mottoes upon the walls of this fine chamber bear testimony—has gone through its first stage successfully. The second stage is now fast approaching—Imperial Legislation; and the third is not far off—the putting into operation of the new system. I do not say that all is plain sailing even now; but when I look back two short years, and remember that it was only in September, 1864, the first actual overture towards union was made at the Conference of Charlottetown; when I remember that we have had since then the Quebec

Conference, the Conference of our Ministers with the Imperial Cabinet at London in June, 1865, the Confederate Council of Trade, repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, the West Indian Commercial Commission, and two armed demonstrations (in a great degree stimulated by hatred to Confederation policy) against these Provinces; when I do remember that, contrary to all predictions of the croakers, Upper and Lower Canada found no insuperable difficulties in arranging in joint council their new local constitutions—when I remember that all these are the events of two short years, I cannot but feel—I trust it is not presumptuous to say so—that the hand of God alone could have thus ordered events—could have so bitted and bridled the passions and stilled the antipathies of rival party leaders, as to render these things possible to us within so short a space of time. But the greatest difficulties, perhaps, which we had to overcome were the mutual want of the knowledge of the Provinces and the personal ambition of party leaders. In 1863, with the Hon. Mr. Ferrier, of the Upper House, we brought one hundred leading Canadians through the Lower Provinces—and last year we had towards the close of their return excursion, one hundred and ten Maritime Province guests at Montreal. The writing of our public journals, and the Confederation debates, and the late excellent pamphlet of Mr. Brydges on the trade relations of the Provinces, have dissipated, so far as Canada is concerned, the ignorance which prevailed, only a few years ago, as to the resources, extent, and progress of the Maritime Provinces.

“But the obstacles arising from the personal ambition of party leaders have not been so entirely overcome, and we shall probably carry that evil with us into councils of the Confederation itself when it goes into operation. We have seen the working of this sinister spirit one after another in all the Provinces—in some later, in others earlier—in some one pretext, in others under various disguises. In one Province it takes the disguise of local patriotism; in another, of religious zeal; in another it throws off all disguise, and thus boldly avows its hostility either to all union or to the chief authors and promoters of this particular plan of union. Some pretend to desire an immediate consolidation, which is wholly impracticable; others fasten on the details; others vilify the character of the statesmen who have drawn the plan: but it is no injustice to them to say that the motives of the enemies of union are quite as visible, though far from being as pure, as the waters of some of our lakes, where you can discern objects at the bottom fifty fathoms deep. It was said of Caesar that he had rather be first in a village than second in Rome, though Caesar was not the man to say anything of the kind. But to descend from the sublime Caesar to the original Mrs. Partington—Sydney Smith’s Mrs. Partington—who was known to be great upon a puddle, but was, according to her biographer, nothing at all as against the Atlantic Ocean. I do not say that a public man should not protect his personal position, and even his personal interest, in politics, so far as consistent with the public service; but it is certainly a great evil and a great danger to society

whenever a party leader becomes influential, who looks at every other public man, and every public measure, from his own narrow, limited loophole of self-advantage; when he asks himself of every candidate and every colleague: Will he follow me? Can I use him? Can I make a tool of him? Will he endorse my paper? Will he second my motions? Will he sit in his seat and wait till I rise in mine? I say, it is an evil and a danger to society when party leaders of that stamp obtain power; nothing good and nothing great was ever done in politics without self-denial and disinterestedness. The man to whom the letter "I" is always the first letter of the alphabet, and the middle letters and the last letter, and greater than any combination of all the other letters, never can be a true patriot. It is a singular testimony to the grand and generous scope and intent of the proposed union measure, that all the confirmed egotists—all the men whose self-conceit is proverbial in their several Provinces—all the merely personal politicians—are anti-unionists to a man. They have made their politics subservient to their personal exigencies, and, with themselves, their system and their aspirations must dissolve and pass away. In the next stage of the measure—the stage of Imperial legislation—no serious impediment is, I think, likely to rise. Among the colonial delegates themselves there will be no difficulty: our representatives and those of the other Provinces have always been able to come to agreement in former cases of joint action—at Quebec, at Washington, and on the West Indian commercial mission. It is certainly to be

regretted that we could not all have met in London to perfect the measure, before the close of last session; but when the time comes, in which all the reasons for our own course can be publicly explained on the part of Canada, I do not fear but that our countrymen on the seaboard will hold us guiltless of any intentional or unnecessary delay.

“Mr. Mayor, another branch of the subject remains to be examined, and I am done. Although often before described, some sketch of the physical outlines of British America is necessary to my present purpose. British America, then, covers a third part of the whole continent in extent, and embraces about a seventh of the habitable part of the continent. We have no neighbors to the north and none to the north-west, except the inconsiderable settlements of Russia in the North Pacific. Our 2,600,000 square miles of territory, with a double frontage on two oceans; our interwoven wonderful watercourses; the mariue, mineral, and agricultural riches of our country; the 4,000,000 of intelligent, loyal people who inhabit these Provinces, must constitute us, when united, the second of North American powers. Now, I know well there is an active propagandist school growing up in England, who teach the paradox that by diminishing the area of English responsibility they can increase the volume of England's power; that the true way to make their country greater is to make her less, that to increase her perpendicular she must diminish her base. I will only answer to that style of argument by pointing to the state of facts as they exist in North America. A great power, a first-class power, has

grown into being on this continent within a century; that great pacific power has become a first-class military power within the present decade, and I ask the anti-colonial doctrinaires, did ever a new nation inherit the tempting estate of power without using and enjoying it? Commercially, England and America are destined to be rivals, not allies—rivals on land, rivals on sea. If a commercial policy be the be-all and the end-all of British statesmanship, how will they maintain that policy, how will they hold their own on the Atlantic or Pacific without a post or a fort on either ocean which they can call their own. If I were an Englishman I would resent, as the worst species of incivism, such arguments as those of the anti-Colonist faction: being a Canadian representative, I content myself with saying that I firmly believe no other influence would have such a tendency—did it rise to Imperial proportions—to estrange these Provinces altogether from the Mother Country, as the evil influence of the new-light political philosophy. When United British America will start on its race with 4,000,000 of a free people, in religion they will be about 55 per cent. Protestant to 45 per cent. Catholic; in some localities the religious minority may be small, and may apprehend local oppression, but the two great masses will be too nearly balanced to suffer any oppression to be long inflicted on the co-religionists of either. Our near equality will be the best guarantee of our mutual tolerance. With one-half of the constituent power against him, it is evident that no fanatic, no bigot, no trouhler of other men's consciences, no insulter

of other men's creeds, can ever rise to the dimensions of a statesman in British America.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

“The minorities East and West have really nothing to fear beyond what always existed, local irritations produced by ill-disposed individuals. The strong arm and the long arm of the Confederate power will be extended over them all, and woe be to the wretch on whom the arm shall have to descend in anger for any violation of the Federal compact? Now, gentlemen, having the material edifice fairly under way—having the foundations dug out and the capital and means at hand to build—what do we want for the construction of a noble fabric where we and our posterity may enter in and inhabit? We want, of course, experience of the new duties of our new sphere, before we can fall into their habitual discharge; but we want immediately, and shall want continually, to cultivate a broad, embracing public spirit, which will bear us up as individuals, and as a people, to great achievements. Localism—a very good feeling in itself—with proper limits, must be taught to know its proper place; sectionalism must be subordinate; above all, combative and aggressive sectarianism, especially when carried into the domain of politics, must by every good man be put under. I have always said, and I now again say, that I should be sorry to see any Christian man indifferent in the practice of what he professes to believe; such a man can hardly be honest—he certainly cannot be a true man. I wish, for my part, that every man had the

zeal of Paul, if he only added to it the charity of John. But against polemical bitterness and vituperation, against spiritual calumny and sacred scandal, let there be always in British America the strongly expressed reprobation of a sound and active public opinion. There are—I grieve to say there are—newspapers, for example, printed and encouraged amongst us whose conductors seem to think that they do God service by picking up and reprinting every disgusting anecdote, true or false, at the expense of the clergy or the members of other churches. Against this habitual anti-crusade, which poisons so many credulous minds—which estranges so many good neighbors—which inflames so much rancor—which freezes in its genial source so much true Christian charity; against this great evil and great danger to our internal unity as a people, I beg to ask, gentlemen, and you, too, ladies, your hearty co-operation. There is a favorite saying handed down to us from a great character of antiquity, that “a great spirit benefiteth a great fortune,” and surely the great good fortune of British America calls aloud for the cultivation of such spirit. I feel that we, too, have our manifest destiny as well as our neighbors—a subject I hope more fully to discuss with the good people of Hamilton on Saturday. I feel that to some extent, while we have greatness thrust upon us by the concurrence of events, or, more reverently speaking, by the disposition of Providence, it is but a preparatory and preliminary greatness which we shall assuredly be accountable for hereafter, should we abuse or misuse it. Conscious of that good fortune, animated by

the spirit it should bring with it, let us cease to be Newfoundlanders, Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Canadians; let us cherish a love of the Commonwealth, and prepare to extend to every fellow-subject of whatever section or sect or speech or creed, the dear name, without reservation or qualification, the talismanic title, the beloved distinction of fellow-countrymen as well as fellow-subjects!"

BROWN AND THE COALITION.

The Coalition Government, already mentioned, of which Mr. John A. Macdonald was Prime Minister and George Brown a member, was formed in June, 1864, but Mr. Brown retired in December, 1865, through pique because Mr. Howland was selected to accompany Mr. Galt to Washington in connection with the proposed renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States.

It was a great surprise to the whole country when in 1866 it was announced that Mr. John A. Macdonald had designated John Sandfield Macdonald as the first Premier of Ontario, for a writer of that day has truly said: "Previous to Confederation, these gentlemen hated each other as cordially as the Israelites hated the Egyptians." In less than two years after the selection had been announced, Sir John Macdonald appears to have concluded that a mistake had been made, for in the *Memoirs of Sir John*, by Mr. Joseph Pope, he says that Sandfield's intractability and unwillingness to take advice from anybody added not a little to Sir John Macdonald's responsibilities. And so much did Sir John feel the effect of Sandfield's attitude, that on the death of

Sir Henry Smith, the local member for Frontenac, he (Sir John) thought of running in Frontenac for the Local House, as he "wanted a check on the powers that be in Toronto, and if I were a member of the Local I could make all things pleasant for Sandfield in the Dominion Parliament." *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, p. 20.

A MEETING AT HAMILTON.

I went by appointment to Hamilton to meet Sandfield and discussed with him the position of the Catholics in Ontario, when he stated that the conditions that had theretofore prevailed could not, and would not, continue; that the country would not, as formerly, be torn by party cries, and that his Government would be a "no party" Government, composed of leading members of the Conservative and Liberal parties, and I might rest assured the Catholics would be not only fairly but generously treated by his Government.

He had secured as members of his Cabinet Mr. (now Sir John) Carling, Mr. Matthew Crooks (afterwards Sir Matthew) Cameron, Mr. E. B. Wood, and Mr. Stephen Richards, making what was considered at the time a strong Government. Mr. Carling and Mr. Cameron formed the leaven of Conservatism with which the Cabinet was leavened.

I took an active part during the campaign on behalf of the Government candidates for both Houses, and addressed meetings in many of the western constituencies, and accompanied the Honourable E. B. Wood to some of the meetings addressed by him. Having a most powerful voice,

he had universally acquired the sobriquet of "Big Thunder." He was a forceful and convincing speaker, and no one in public life at that time was a more telling or popular stump orator.

The Government was strenuously opposed by *The Globe* and the other journals classed as representing the Grit or George Brown party. The Catholics, as they had almost to a man been adherents of the Conservative party, supported John A. Macdonald and John Sandfield for the House of Commons and the Legislative Assembly, respectively.

Three years of Sandfield's Administration were nearly expired, and as he was utterly indifferent to the promise made to me, I had recourse to the press, in order, if possible, to secure some redress. At that time (1870) the Catholics of London—with the exception of eight or ten electors—had for many years been supporters of the Conservative party, and of Mr. Carling, who was a large property owner in the city, and held the dual position of member of the House of Commons and of the Legislative Assembly, and was a Cabinet Minister in Sandfield Macdonald's Government. He was also a director of the Great Western Railway, the owner of an extensive brewery, a large employer of labor, and a most popular citizen—a popularity he well deserved, as his was a generous and kindly disposition, and he had a cordial greeting for all, whether political friend or opponent.

As far as the Catholic vote was concerned, the like conditions existed in most of the western constituencies as in London—almost the entire body voted Conservative.

It was considered the Government was so firmly

in the saddle, and had such a large majority, that Sandfield thought he could not be dislodged; and he, notwithstanding his promises and asseverations as to the generous treatment to be accorded the Catholics, was as unconcerned about keeping his word as if he regarded his promise as an idle formality.

The Catholics of Ontario were exasperated when they saw in *The Globe* of October 1st, 1869, a communication from its correspondent stating that, "At a political meeting in North Renfrew on the day previous, at which Sir Francis Hincks, Thomas Deacon, and Thomas W. Murray—the latter a prominent Liberal politician—were present, Mr. Deacon read a letter from Sir Francis—who had been taken into Sir John A. Macdonald's Government as Finance Minister—in which the latter appealed to Mr. Deacon for support, and promised him that in a short time he (Deacon) might have his choice of standing for either the Local or Dominion Parliaments, and that the influence of the Government and the Catholic vote would be secured to him when that happy time should arrive."

The Catholic vote in Renfrew constituted an important factor in a political contest, and this assumption by the Government and Sir Francis Hincks that they could barter it in the interest of any man or party, I indignantly repelled through the press in the following communication to *The Globe*.

"Indeed, Sir Francis, you are most liberal. Like the Centurion of old, you appear to be 'a man in authority.' All you have to say to the Catholics of Renfrew is 'Go!' and your behest is immediately complied with; or to say 'Come!' and the mandate is at

once obeyed. You 'Romans' out in Renfrew have an easy task-master. He says he only wants to use you for a time, when he will considerably hand over your votes to such successor as he may choose to designate, when the influence of the Government and the Catholic vote will be 'seured' to the next Government hack who calls upon you and demands election. Does Sir Francis not tell you and every elector in Renfrew that he has purchased your influence and has determined on selling you?

"Yes, Mr. Editor, this is the class of men the Catholics of Ontario have been supporting in the past: men who made use of them merely to betray; who had no thought of advocating or upholding their interests, and who when they had seured their votes ceased to give their dupes one thought. And this is one of the class who to-day, as the Government candidate in North Renfrew, tells Mr. Deacon if he will only become a purchasable commodity that 'the Catholic vote will be seured' to him in some future year. Could downright effrontery and unblushing impudence go further? * * * This man, to tell the Catholics of Renfrew that he will dispose of their votes, is almost too much to expect even from Sir Francis Hincks.

"Ever since John A. Macdonald entered Parliament the Catholics have been supporting the political party which now reigns; and I for one fail to see in what manner they have been even remotely benefited by the alliance. Having, as it were, become blind followers of the man in power, they have been treated with a proper degree of contempt; and having been servile followers for so long, it is not to be expected

they would now endeavour to throw off the shackles—slavery to 'the party' has become habitual, and they could not vote themselves free.

"That is the position. And how could it be possible not to side with that enlightened Roman Catholic who occupies the position of Premier of Ontario—the upright and conscientious John Sandfield. (!!!) * * * This is the man whom the Catholics of Ontario entrusted with their interests, and they now know, and feel, how grossly they have been deceived. * * * His days as a politician are numbered. He never had any influence for good, and his influence for evil will soon pass from him.

"It is time the Catholics were organizing, if they ever expect to accomplish anything for themselves. If they unite and act in concert much good can be accomplished. By respecting themselves, others will respect them; and they cannot do the first, or expect the last, so long as they yield up their political allegiance blindly and are led by the politicians who have hitherto made use of them merely for purposes of their own."

"Did either the Dominion or Local Governments fulfil one of the promises made to the Catholics by John A. or John Sandfield prior to the elections? If so, let me know one instance in which they have been true to their promises and I will be silent. But to remain silent under the ignominious treatment the Catholics of Ontario have received would be criminal in any of the body who has power to raise his voice and give a word of warning to his co-religionists.

And it is my intention to ventilate this subject, and I hope not without good effect."

It is no more than justice to the memory of Sir Francis Hincks to record that he enjoyed in a marked degree the good-will and confidence of the Irish Catholics during his earlier political career. For, although the son of an Episcopal clergyman and a strong Protestant, he, during the existence of the Hincks-Morin Government, gave many tangible proofs of kindly interest in his countrymen professing the ancient faith, for which they could not be otherwise than grateful. And it was, therefore, a great surprise and shock to them that he should have so far forgotten himself as to undertake to barter their votes to an opponent to induce him to withdraw from the contest.

As the Provincial Legislature was expected to dissolve early in 1871, the members of the Government, as the time for dissolution drew nigh, were becoming anxious as to the fate of the Ministry on appealing to the electorate, and strong solicitations and frenzied pleadings came from the Government organs for Catholic support.

The Toronto *Leader*—the principal Government organ—on the 29th December, 1870, contained an appeal of the character stated, the tenor of which can be gathered from paragraphs extracted therefrom and contained in the following letter written by me, which appeared in the London *Advertiser* of the 30th December.

AN APPEAL TO CATHOLICS.

"The great 'Moderate party,' or the 'party of no party issues,' is in a state of ferment, and has

become very solicitous about the Catholic vote at the next election. Whence this great desire to conciliate this religious body at the present juncture? Of what have the 'no party' people been guilty that they are afraid their former Catholic supporters are about to desert them? It cannot be that these 'fair trial' men, these 'fair play' politicians, after succeeding at the elections, ignored the existence of that element which contributed so much to their success? Yes! they are afraid that the Catholics have something to complain of, and hence 'the great Moderate party' is prepared to deal most liberally in promises once more. Just trust us this once, and see what we 'won't do' for you. They have been at the game of 'won't do' for sixteen years, and have fulfilled their contract in that particular to the letter; and would now gladly undertake the pleasing duty of performing a similar service on like terms for the succeeding four years. The members of both the Dominion and Ontario Governments intend trying the experiment again; and for that purpose that immaculate sheet, *The Leader*, has disinterred old extracts from *The Globe* as showing George Brown's views years ago, and quoting them as a reason why the Catholics should not support the Reform party, and winds up thus:

“ ‘L'audace, l'audace, et encore l'audace!’ was Danton's favorite motto. In bold recklessness George Brown is a Danton in his way. It does not seem to give him a single qualm to assert the very opposite of what is the fact. The Roman Catholic body can see from the extracts we have quoted how tenderly Mr. Brown nursed and cherished it when it

was not so strong as it is to-day. It has grown into influence and position and respectability, not by his fostering care, but in spite of it. It is to the great Moderate party the Roman Catholics owe whatever privileges have been accorded them by statutory enactment; and it is from the Moderate party alone that they can continue to receive equal rights in our mixed community. What can they expect from a party led by a man who could so foully slander them as did George Brown when he fancied that a Protestant majority would give him undisputed sway in Upper Canada? Let them ask themselves this question in the light of the extracts which we have given above, and who can doubt what their answer will be?

* * *

“What has George Brown to do with the course the Catholics should pursue, if they feel the party at present in power has not treated them fairly? This setting George Brown off against any effort to seek for new political associations has been tried successfully too often, and it won't answer the purpose any longer. For sixteen years Sir John A. Macdonald has received the almost unanimous support of the Catholics, and through their instrumentality he has been kept in power. He knows it, and feels it, and cannot attempt to deny it. Now, what is his record of benefits bestowed upon those who have so systematically and unwaveringly befriended him? Can he show one constituency where the efforts of himself or his friends were effectual to return a Catholic member of Parliament? Can he to-day point to any office of any emolument ever bestowed on a Catholic without its having been wrung from him? There

was a County Court Judgeship in Kingston at his disposal a few months ago, and of all the men to whom John A. was under obligations there was none to whom he was more indebted than to James O'Reilly. * * * He was a Catholic, and that was sufficient to exclude him from this judicial position.

“It is in the face of this we are told ‘it is to the great Moderate party that the Catholics owe whatever privileges have been accorded to them by statutory enactment.’ Dear me! What ‘statutory enactments’ are there which conferred such ‘great privileges’ upon us, and for which we are to be under eternal obligation to ‘the great Moderate party?’ Tell me, O, James Beaty, what these ‘enactments’ are. Why was I so stupid? Why can I ever forget that we have Separate Schools! Yes, Separate Schools! Separate Schools! What else do you want? What more can you desire? This is ‘those statutory enactments’ to which, no doubt, reference is continually made as conferring important ‘privileges.’ And for this we are to be thankful to ‘the great Moderate party,’ of which James Beaty, the proprietor of the *Leader*, is a shining light.

“But we are further told ‘that it is from the Moderate party alone we can continue to receive equal rights.’ Indeed! If we are to ‘continue to receive equal rights’ we must have experienced that inestimable blessing already. Certainly we have had to pay our taxes; that is a right we enjoy in common with the rest of our fellow-subjects. But when it comes to distributing the offices and emoluments in the gift of the Government, rights are not mentioned

in the same category with the Catholics, and the members of that body have been systematically ignored, and that, too, in the face of the admission extorted from the *Leader* that 'we have grown into influence and position and respectability.' For this I do not think we are called upon to avow that we are under obligation to any party, and certain I am that we are under none to the 'no party.'

"We want nothing but what is fair and right from any political party; and we want, and hope to receive, equal and even-handed justice along with our fellow-citizens of every religious persuasion. To that we are entitled, and that we intend to claim, and as it has not been conceded to us by those in power, we propose to seek it through new political alliances. We have not been deceived once, but many times, by those who hold the reins of government; and a wise man has said: 'He who deceives me once it is his fault, but if he deceives me twice it is my fault.' We have been too credulous, too trusting, in the past, and we have had so many instances of the faithlessness of the men on whom we relied that we deserve the contempt of every independent mind if we do not insist on being treated in a different spirit.

"The Catholics to a man supported Baldwin and Lafontaine, and it was in those days that a man's religious principles did not constitute a barrier to his serving the State. The same principles should animate the Reformers at present as guided Baldwin and Lafontaine when they laid the foundation of the party in Canada, and to the Reformers I consider we must now look for that fair, equitable, and just

treatment which I am convinced they are prepared to accord to us."

Mr. David Mills, M.P., wrote me from Clearville, under date 27th December, 1870 (which is clearly a mistake, as my letter to the *Advertiser* did not appear until the 30th December), saying: "I read with a great deal of interest your letter in the *Advertiser*, and I have no doubt it will do a great deal of good. What we now want is a fair representation of Roman Catholic candidates in constituencies in which they have a fair chance of success—and then the union will be fairly re-established. If F. Smith becomes a supporter of the Government and O'Connor is taken into the Cabinet, it may go far to neutralize our efforts. This it seems to me is a threatened danger that must be met. Sir John sent his friend O'Reilly (James O'Reilly, K.C., of Kingston) a month since west to counteract what is being done by yourself and others. Do you know what success he had? I shall be glad to hear from you at any time."

Mr. O'Reilly, I ascertained, had visited Paris, Ingersoll, St. Thomas, London, Biddulph, Chatham, Windsor, Anherstburg, Stratford, Goderich, and Dublin. His mission was not a success.

There were no "others" taking any part with me in the west. Mr. C. F. Fraser, of Brockville, was most active in the eastern portion of the Province, and accomplished more in that section for the Liberal cause than any one man had done in the previous twenty years.

My letter published in the *Advertiser* brought down on me unlimited denunciation and abuse. The *Catholic Freeman* of Toronto, in an article headed

"The Catholic Support," attacked the writer (whom it did not know) with a virulence which I find is seldom manifested except by a subsidized organ. To this I replied, in a letter to *The Globe*, of January 22, 1871, as follows:

THE CATHOLIC SUPPORT.

"My attention has been directed to an article in *The Canadian Freeman*, under the above heading, which is, no doubt, intended as a 'crusher' to my letter in the *London Advertiser*.

"I regret there was not 'something worth reading' in the letter to which *The Freeman* has taken umbrage, but every one has not delegated to him the responsibility of 'sustaining the Ministry,' and hence it cannot be expected that all would write with the brilliancy and puugency of *The Freeman's* editor. He has basked in that 'sun of sartorial splendor,' the refulgent rays of a Cabinet Minister's countenance—how, then, could he be insipid? To prove that such would be an impossibility, I have only to refer your readers to the article in question. Can it be doubted, after reading it, that *The Freeman* is the creator and director of Catholic public opinion in Ontario? Who would be so absurd as to doubt, to fear, to hesitate under such a leader?

"When *The Freeman* undertakes to criticize again an adherence to facts might prevent some egregious blunders. It says: 'He knows so much about the matter that he gives John A. Macdonald credit for the Separate Schools Bill.' I knew so much about it I never mentioned John A.'s name in connection with Separate Schools. Here is what I said: 'It is in the face of this we are told, "It is to the

great Moderate party that the Roman Catholics owe whatever privileges have been accorded to them by statutory enactments." Dear me! What statutory enactments are there which conferred such 'great privileges' upon us, and for which we are to be under eternal obligation to the 'great Moderate party?' Tell me, O James Beaty, what these 'enactments' are. Why was I so stupid? Why can I ever forget that we have Separate Schools? Yes, Separate Schools! Separate Schools!! What else do you want? What more can you desire? This is 'those statutory enactments' to which, no doubt, reference is continually made as conferring important 'privileges.' And for this we are to be thankful to 'the great Moderate party,' of which James Beaty, the proprietor of *The Leader*, is a shining light."

THE SEPARATE SCHOOL LEGISLATION.

"Every Catholic knows it was 'Scott's Bill,' and that it was passed during the existence of a Reform Administration. But we are likewise well aware that when any benefits could result from so doing, John A. Macdonald and his followers always proclaimed that without their aid and support the Bill could not have passed, and hence the Catholics were under the everlasting obligation referred to periodically by *The Leader* and papers of that stripe. There is no cancelling of that debt. The gratitude we owe John A. and his friends entitles them to a life lease of our votes.

"Now, I for one say the obligation is all the other way. We have supported John A. and his friends election after election, and stuck to them through

good report and evil report. Has anything been vouchsafed to us in return for these tangible favours? *The Freeman's* editor is a friend of the present Administration, 'a supporter of the Government,' and can easily obtain from official sources and publish for the enlightenment of the Catholics generally a list of the benefits experienced by Catholics as a return for this support. The editor of *The Freeman* has experienced that heart sickness occasioned by 'hope deferred,' and he, better than any one I know, could tell us how lavish the Ministry are of promises, and how niggardly they are in the performance. He is another of those 'victims of misplaced confidence,' who, having become a blind follower of John A., has met the reward that that unscrupulous politician bestows on those who have sacrificed their independence.

"A few facts will be of much more utility in the discussion of the present question than a column of tirade against *The Globe's* past transgressions. *The Globe* does not suit *The Freeman's* editor; he should, therefore, fly for comfort and consolation to that more congenial sheet *The Patriot*, issued by James Beaty as a sort of antidote to the 'liberal professions' contained in that other Government organ, *The Leader*. * * *

TREATMENT OF CATHOLICS.

"Those are the directors of public opinion, in which, we are told, the Catholics should confide; they should certainly do so if they want a continuance of the treatment they have experienced for the past sixteen years. And yet these are the people *The*

Freeman would have us believe it is our duty to support. Out upon such folly! such consummate subserviency as that!"

"I may, according to *The Freeman*, be an 'ignoramus,' but I have a due appreciation of when I have been kicked, and am ignorant enough not to covet the society of those who have thus treated me, and would do so again if the opportunity was afforded them.

"I may, as *The Freeman* states, be utterly ignorant of the political history of Canada for the past twenty years, and from what little I know I do not desire to dwell upon the retrospect it affords, for it is not a pleasing picture, even under the most favourable light, for my co-religionists to look upon, and the sooner we have a change of scenery the better. We cannot by any possibility be any worse off than we are at present. We have been duped often enough, and it is time our past experience taught us a lesson, if we are ever to learn anything. The opportunity to redeem the past will soon arrive, and I hardly think the thunder of *The Freeman* will prevent the Catholics of Ontario from seeking an alliance where there is a fair prospect of having equal and even-handed justice meted out to them in common with every citizen of the Dominion."

The Freeman, having discovered the writer of the letters in *The Advertiser* and *Globe*, the "ignoramus" cry was abandoned, and the accusation made that I was actuated by selfish motives. Yes! I was selfishness personified when I was opposing two Governments possessed of prestige, power, and patronage, and had allied myself with a party which,

from the indications then existing, was likely to remain in the unenviable position of being without these magnetic influences for many years to come.

AN INTERVIEW WITH SANDFIELD MACDONALD.

Towards the end of January, 1871, while returning from Toronto to London, John Sandfield Macdonald and Mr. (now Sir John) Carling and Mr. J. W. Langmuir, then inspector of prisons and asylums, were on the train, and when Hamilton was reached the directors' car of the Great Western Railway was attached, when Mr. Carling came and wanted me to go into the directors' car, saying that Sandfield Macdonald wished very much to see me. I at first declined, stating that an interview between Sandfield and myself, I felt certain, would not be a harmonious one. Mr. Carling, however, urged me so strongly that I yielded, and found Sandfield and Mr. John W. Langmuir in the car. Sandfield said he had never visited the London Asylum, and they were on their way to inspect it. But having learned before leaving Toronto, from an authentic source, that it was Sandfield's intention to dissolve the House in a few days, I concluded that, while the professed object was the asylum visit, the real one was to interview a most influential person in London; and it turned out that I was right in my conjecture. The influential party referred to would gladly have seen Mr. Carling alone, but refused to see Sandfield, and the latter retreated greatly chagrined. During our interview, Sandfield assailed me with asperity for attacking himself and his Government through the press. I replied in

kind, and reminded him of the promises made to me that he would use his best endeavours to secure Catholic representation in the House, and that the Catholics would receive fair consideration in the bestowal of the patronage, and that those promises had been shamefully disregarded. He turned on me and asked, "Where are your men?" My reply was: "What do you mean? One of the organs of your party—*The Leader*—proclaims we have become influential and important. You brand us with the brand of inferiority, and in the next breath denounce us for not supporting you. You will find out before the election is over where our men are." I reminded him of his treatment of D'Arcy McGee. His answer to that accusation was that he wanted to do all the drinking for the Cabinet himself. I asked him why he did not do it for his present Government, and reminded him that one of the most capable of his colleagues was not a teetotaler, but that he (Sandfield) dare not turn him out, because if he did the Government would be wrecked as his former one had been by McGee.

Sandfield was anxious to impress upon me the strength and popularity of his Government, and as the train passed through the different ridings would remark that Mr. So-and-So is to run in this riding, and will sweep it; Mr. Blank will run in that one, and carry it for the Government by a large majority; and when Ingersoll was reached he said: "We are sending Richards up here to South Oxford, and he will carry it by five hundred majority."

At the election in 1867 Mr. Richards had carried Niagara by a good majority, but after four

years' test he lost favour in the riding, and it was regarded as a foregone conclusion that he could not be re-elected for that constituency, so was being put up in Oxford. I told Sandfield that if Mr. Richards contested Oxford he would, instead of winning it by five hundred, be defeated by that number. My prophecy was nearly fulfilled, as he was defeated by Adam Oliver by about four hundred.

Sandfield's parting shot, before leaving the car at London, was to tell me I was a "Grit." There is no means of conveying the intense scorn with which he uttered this; and from the manner in which it was delivered, he evidently considered it one of the most contumelious epithets which could be applied to anyone. I said I never was, and never could be, a Grit. He replied: "I will pay for the largest hall in London if you will appear on the platform and make that statement." I replied it was not necessary for me to do that, as everyone knew I was what he pretended to be—a Baldwin Reformer—and it was because I believed he was such that I supported him at the previous election.

A few days after this encounter with Sandfield Macdonald the House was dissolved, the election being fixed for the 21st March, a most unpropitious season for conducting a political campaign, as the winds were cold, damp, and penetrating, and in some localities the roads were almost impassable; but, notwithstanding these drawbacks, each side marshalled their forces and enlisted the services of every recruit obtainable to help in the contest.

THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE.

In February, 1871, I received the following notice:

“Toronto, 23rd February, 1871.

“Dear Sir,—The question of the due representation of the Catholics of this Province in the Local Legislature, as well as in the House of Commons, having engaged the serious attention of Catholic gentlemen in all parts of the Province, a meeting of several of them took place at the residence of the Hon. Frank Smith, in this city, on the 8th of December last, with a view to mutual consultation as to what means (if any) should be adopted to secure such representation as the Catholics are entitled to, from their numbers, wealth, and intelligence.

Among those present were:

Hon. Frank Smith, Toronto.
John O'Donohoe, Barrister, Toronto.
J. D. Merrick, Merchant, Toronto.
James Stock, Merchant, Toronto.
Patrick Hynes, Alderman, Toronto.
John Carroll, Contractor, Toronto.
Thomas McCrossen, Merchant, Toronto.
Thomas Wilson, Merchant, Toronto.
Patrick Hughes, Merchant, Toronto.
John O'Connor, M.P., Windsor.
Richard W. Scott, M.P.P., Ottawa.
John McKeown, Barrister, Hamilton.
James Dawson, Merchant, Somhra.
John B. Williams, Chatham.
Christopher Fraser, Barrister, Brockville.
P. McCurry, Barrister, Guelph.

“These gentlemen, although acting on different sides in past political contests, were unanimously agreed that the Catholics should unite and make a determined effort to secure such just representation.

* * *

“You are, therefore, invited to attend a meeting to be held in this city on Thursday, the ninth day of March next, at 7.30 p.m., at the residence of J. D. Merrick, Esq., No. 154 Mutual Street, to appoint a ‘Provisional Executive Committee,’ and to discuss such a plan of organization as will best insure uniformity of action by Catholics throughout the Province.

“As it is understood that the elections for the next Parliament of Ontario will be held at an early date, there is no time to be lost, and it is hoped you will see the importance of the proposed movement, and that you will feel it to be your imperative duty to meet your fellow-Catholics, at the time and place above indicated, to aid them by your hearty co-operation and advice, in pushing forward the good work in hand.

“Yours respectfully,

“JOHN O’CONNOR,

P. McCURRY,

“*Chairman.*

“*Secretary.*”

I was not present at the first meeting, as the elections for the Local House were to take place three days after the date of the meeting, and would not be affected by it; but I attended a subsequent meeting of the League, at which all those present recognized that the primary object to be achieved was the securing of Catholic representation both in the Dominion House and Legislative Assembly; but

the difficulty which presented itself was in formulating a plan by which that object could be accomplished. There was a tendency on the part of some to secure the endorsement by the meeting of the two Governments then in office. I advocated independent action by the Catholics without regard to our past party affiliations, and in this I had the support of most of the representatives. I held there should be no sympathy with grumblers or repiners, that we must fight the battle resolutely and fearlessly if we ever expected to be regarded as a factor in the Administration of the government of the country.

And what I urged was that we should deal with the respective parties on their merits and not become bondsmen to either, for if we did our position would, instead of being bettered, be worse than it had been in the past.

A RUPTURE.

There were three or four meetings of the League after the one I attended, and I was informed that it became manifest during these latter meetings that some members were making use of the League to force Sir John Macdonald's hand to take one of them into the Cabinet. There was a rupture between Mr. R. W. Scott and John O'Connor, the chairman, and the latter severed his connection with the League, and in 1872 entered Sir John Macdonald's Government as President of the Council.

Mr. David Mills, M.P., on the 27th of February, 1871, wrote me from the House of Commons, saying:

"You see Sandfield is pressing forward his election with the greatest energy. He is, no doubt, expecting to succeed by a kind of *coup d'etat*. My

own impression is John A. is soon to receive an Imperial appointment, and if Sandfield can carry the Local elections he will prepare the way for himself as leader of the Conservative party here. He will also, if he succeeds, prepare the way for the success of Ministers at the Federal elections. I have no idea that Hineks or Morris or J. H. Cameron would serve under him, but once John A. is out of Canadian politics I have no doubt he will care but little about the success of Sandfield or any one else. I hope Dawson will get the nomination in Kent, as he certainly will if McKellar looks after the matter in time, as I hope he will.

"I saw him in Toronto and urged him by all means to see that Dawson's nomination was made safe in Kent.

"I think it would be a good thing if you and Cameron would go down to Chatham, when the Reform convention meets. It would show that the Catholics were generally acting with us in this election, and the certainty of success under these circumstances would everywhere increase the *elan* of the party, which is of great consequence in elections as well as in war. I have always felt that this alliance was a natural one and one necessary for the country, and it afforded me great pleasure when I received your first letter, for I felt the first step was taken and the reunion of a divided party was a matter of certainty, and should the restoration of our former relations now take place, as I believe it will, I am sure it must be equally gratifying to you, to whom it is so largely due."

The "Cameron" referred to in the above letter

was Mr. John Cameron, the then proprietor of the *London Advertiser*, and now postmaster of London.

After the defeat of the Government, Mr. Mills was most effusive in his congratulations and thanks, saying that had it not been for my efforts in the west, Sandfield would have maintained his position in the House.

Later on, when I come to his contests in Bothwell, in 1874 and 1878, I will deal with Mr. Mills and his letters.

The time between the dissolution of the House and the date fixed for the elections was so short that every hour had to be utilized by those taking part in the contest, and I journeyed night and day and in all weathers to address meetings in the counties of Elgin, Essex, Huron, Kent, South Oxford, Perth, and Middlesex. The most arduous travelling was through the townships of Raleigh and Tilbury, in Kent, as the lands had not at that time been drained and the roads were in places almost submerged.

Mr. T. B. Pardee and I started from Chatham in a huckboard drawn by a pair of horses, but the roads were in places in such a foundering condition that the horses were unable to draw the vehicle, so Mr. Pardee and myself had frequently to get out and walk along the side of the highway, through the slush and mud of the melted snow. We were weary and footsore when the place of our first meeting was reached—a school house capable of comfortably holding sixty people, but into which one hundred were packed. Both sides were represented at the meeting, which was a very stormy one, but the wordy

pyrotechnics did not prevent the fraternizing of the helligerents after the wordy battle was ended.

The contest in Kent was watched with much anxiety by both sides. The Opposition candidate was James Dawson, a Catholic and a merchant of Sombra, in the adjoining county of Lambton, who was a most acceptable candidate, as he had been Warden of his own county, and, therefore, had experience in public life and enjoyed the confidence of the community in which he resided. He was a Conservative, but had supported Sandfield Macdonald in 1867, but, like myself, was dissatisfied with Sandfield's dissimulation and want of good faith. Having his business interests to look after, he was averse to accepting the nomination, but after great pressure he consented to become a candidate.

Kent was represented by Mr. John Smith, a supporter of Sandfield's Government, during the previous four years, and he was the Government candidate in 1871; the fight was, therefore, a strenuous one, but Mr. Dawson was elected by the handsome majority of one hundred and eighty.

As Mr. Dawson had reluctantly entered the field, and in doing so had made great sacrifices, he naturally thought that if the fortunes of the Liberals improved his services would not be forgotten by the leaders of the party. But after they reached the Treasury benches he was treated most shamefully—his sacrifices and services being absolutely ignored. Dawson resented the treatment he received, and returned to his former allegiance in the Conservative ranks, and Sir John Macdonald, knowing his worth

and the influence he possessed in the County of Lambton, appointed him postmaster at Sarnia.

Other speakers might be more brilliant and forceful, but Mr. Pardee's addresses were always so tactful that antagonism instead of being provoked was generally disarmed. His converts were, therefore, numerous. In addition to his being a political strategist of the first order, he was endowed with great foresight, and these combined qualities on more than one occasion saved his party from committing blunders which would have proved its undoing. One of the incidents connected with the Mowat-Pardee Administration is an episode in which a question of patronage was involved: The registrarship of London was soon likely to be vacant, and Mr. Pardee had, with the Premier's assent, promised a party supporter to whom the Liberals were under great obligations that when the vacancy occurred he would be appointed. When the office became vacant the Premier wanted to bestow it on a friend. Mr. Pardee declared he would withdraw from the Cabinet if Mr. Mowat persisted in his intention. Had Mr. Pardee resigned the Government would not have lasted six months. The threat, however, sufficed to make the Premier pause.

A constituency to which, considering the near approach of election day, I devoted considerable time, was North Middlesex, in the interest of James S. Smith, who had represented the riding since 1867. My efforts were confined to the Townships of Bidulph and McGillivray.

In the election of 1871, Mr. Smith had a formidable opponent in Mr. Charles Mackintosh (after-

wards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories), who was then the editor and proprietor of *The Strathroy Despatch*, an admirably conducted Conservative journal with a large circulation throughout the County of Middlesex. No candidate for Parliamentary honors could have been better equipped than Mr. Mackintosh, as he was thoroughly conversant with the history of the political parties in Canada, a ready and forceful speaker, with an immense fund of humor, often a powerful adjunct in winning over audiences.

At a meeting of the electors held in a hall over a driving shed in Lucau, in the Township of Biddulph, at which both political parties were represented, Mr. (now Sir John) Carling and others came from London, as part of the Conservative contingent, while myself and a goodly number of electors from the Townships of Biddulph and McGillivray represented the Liberal interest. After the meeting was organized, Mr. Carling and the other Conservatives there insisted that I should first address the electors, and I ascended the raised platform reserved for the speakers, and began my address, but was constantly interrupted by three or four of the opposite side, and finding they were much cheered by their friends in the audience, I said, as there appeared a determination not to hear me, I would not detain the audience any longer, and I stepped from the platform. Mr. Carling, seeing how injurious the tactics of his friends was likely to prove, called upon them to desist, and urged me to continue my address. I, also for tactical reasons, refused, and with the Liberal representation pro-

ceeded towards the side of the hall where the exit was, when the flooring gave way, and nearly the entire assemblage was precipitated into the street, and had it not been that a wagon was standing under the shed, and broke the fall of the floor, the result would have been most disastrous. As it was, only a few were injured, by being bruised and scratched.

There was always plenty of excitement and fun at the Biddulph meetings, and one night while I was addressing the electors in the "swamp schoolhouse" in that township the opposing factions engaged in a free fight, knocking over a large stove in which a fierce fire was burning, and Mr. Mackintosh, thinking it unsafe to remain, seized the satchel containing his political ammunition, jumped on a table, and endeavored to climb out through a small window in the gable end of the schoolhouse. Finding egress through such an aperture impossible, his return to the floor was hailed with much derisive cheering and laughter by the crowd, because he, an Irishman, and the son of a British officer, turned his back on a little skirmish like that. Whenever we meet Mr. Mackintosh never fails to remind me of the lively night at the swamp schoolhouse.

The elections did not settle the actual strength of the parties, as there were numerous protests to be disposed of, the trials of which were watched with keen interest. In the result the Opposition obtained a slight advantage. The majority of twenty which the Government had when the House was dissolved was, by the result of the elections, reduced to seven, which would have been a good working majority for Sandfield had they continued a compact body in his

support. But the result of the elections had satisfied some of his supporters that the outlook was not assuring, and the muscular tension about the knees of a few of them began to relax, and they assigned various reasons for not being as warm and valiant supporters of the Government since the election as they had been before it. There were a few of the Conservative members, like Albert Princee, of Essex, who had no personal regard for Sandfield Macdonald, yet supported the Government. They considered that Sandfield's horizon as a political leader was lamentably contracted; that he was difficult to deal with; and was possessed of a petty and vindictive spirit, which would soon destroy him as well as the party he led.

With the conditions then existing, it was a matter of moment as to which side could secure the nomination of the Speaker, and the Liberals were desirous of nominating Mr. R. W. Scott (now Senator Scott). But, as he had been elected member for the City of Ottawa in the Conservative interest, and as a supporter of Sandfield Macdonald's Government, he thought the offer of the Speakership should come from his own side.

When the House met on the 7th December, 1871, Mr. Scott was nominated by Sandfield Macdonald, and there being no opposition, he became Speaker. A few days thereafter the Government was defeated on two motions made in reply to the address, when the Hon. E. B. Wood resigned office as Provincial Treasurer.

Amongst those who voted against the Ministry were such well-known Conservatives as Boulton,

Deacon, Grange, Merrick, and Prince. Mr. E. B. Wood also voted against his former colleagues.

The Government immediately resigned, and Mr. Blake was called upon to form a Ministry, and great was the surprise of the country to learn that Mr. Scott, who resigned the Speakership, was included in the Ministry as Commissioner of Crown Lands.

A most acrimonious debate took place in the Assembly over Mr. Wood's resignation from the Cabinet, the accusation being made that a corrupt bargain had been entered into between Mr. Blake—the leader of the Opposition—and Mr. Wood, by which the latter was to resign his portfolio, and in effect abandon and betray his colleagues. During the debate Mr. Blake had written on a piece of paper the words "Speak now," and sent it by a page to Mr. Wood, who after reading tore it in two and dropped it into a cuspidor. A member of the House rescued it from oblivion, and having joined the pieces together had the document photographed and distributed amongst the members.

The press of the day gave a synopsis of Mr. Wood's reply to the accusations made against him, and one can imagine the vigor with which with his powerful voice he hurled the epithets across the floor of the Assembly against his then enemies, whom only a few days before had been his personal friends and political confidants.

Mr. Ferguson, South Simcoe, said that in justification of himself he had made this explanation. He pitied the honorable member for South Brant from his very heart. He believed he was just as wretched

on account of the betrayal of his leader as was Judas when he gave the kiss and betrayed his Master.

Mr. Wood said it was unfortunate that some members of this House thought to bring up this matter again. He should not refer to it at all were it not that some members were not familiar with the facts. He should be very sorry ever to be in a position in which he would need commendation or a plea for fair play from the hon. member for South Simcoe. If he ever should be placed in that position he certainly should tremble for his reputation. He would not pretend to answer the attack which had been made upon him in the coarse, low style that seemed so congenial to that gentleman. He would simply make a statement of the facts. This note which had again been brought up to-day he had entirely forgotten, until in conversation with the member for Niagara some time after the defeat of the late Government, it occurred to him that the charge that Mr. Blake had been writing to him referred to this note. On the Monday following his resignation he saw Mr. Blake in the lobby. He had gone home after his resignation and had just returned and heard that certain rumors were afloat as to his conduct, and he told Mr. Blake that he would take occasion during the day to speak in reference to these reports.

Subsequently he saw Mr. Sandfield Macdonald—who, he might say, notwithstanding all that had been said, he did not believe entertained an unkind thought towards him. He told him that he was going to speak, and Mr. Macdonald asked him not to do so, that of course, he knew the Government was gone, and recommended him not to speak. He therefore said he would

not say a word, and he said nothing. He was sitting on one of the back seats, and in the course of the evening, when there was a lull in the debate, one of the pages handed him a slip of paper. He opened it and found on it those memorable words which afforded such exceeding consolation to the member for Simcoe, which he had no doubt had been lithographed and framed by all the leaders of the Conserative party and hung up as an ornament in their houses—an heirloom to be handed down to their children's children to the third and fourth generations. They had taken the trouble to lithograph it, so that each member of the party might have a copy; and perhaps the member for Simcoe, being a shining light in the great spittoon party, had been entrusted with the keeping of the original document. How that might be he did not know, but it was one of those exceeding rare treasures that no doubt would form one of the permanent documents of the great party of which he supposed the hon. member had not hesitated to pronounce himself the leader, namely, the great spittoon and water-closet spoliation party. What he (Mr. W.) did with this paper he did not know. He believed he tore it in two pieces and threw it on the floor. That was the whole foundation for the charge of the hon. gentleman. Persons might infer from that just precisely what they chose. But what the hon. gentleman charged was that while he was a member of the Government and sitting upon the Treasury benches he received a note from Mr. Blake, telling him that was the proper time to rise and make his resignation. That was the charge. If that were not the charge, there was no pertinence in it. He

gave that an emphatic and strong denial, and if there had been words in the English language stronger than the words used he would have used them and stamped the person making that charge with that infamy he deserved. That gentleman's hairs would be white with the snow of eighty winters before that stain would be wiped out of his character. Those who knew him (Mr. Wood) for many years would know whether or not *a priori* he could be guilty of such a charge. The hon. member had nevertheless so far forgotten his honor as a man as to repeat the charge to-night. The hon. gentleman said he did not pick up this paper and paste it together, but the receiver was as bad as the thief.

As to this matter of private letters, if they and private conversations were to be disclosed, then all intercourse between hon. gentlemen would be at an end. He had often been tempted to make allusions to private matters, but he had never done so. He adverted to the conduct of Sir John A. Macdonald in disclosing the contents of private letters from Mr. Scott. He had been charged by the member for Lincoln with accepting a brief from both parties, and at one time supporting and at another time opposing the Government. Did the hon. gentleman suppose that he must either support all the acts of the Government or oppose all their acts? He would not so denude himself of his manhood. Hon. gentlemen might call him inconsistent, but the people could discriminate between a slavish support of either side and an independent, honest, and outspoken course. He would not stop to handy words with the hon. member for South Grey; he had more important

matters to attend to. He was really not worth a quarrel, and that upon the whole he rather liked the hon. gentleman; he was good-natured; his bite was not half as bad as his bark. He was great at barking, but he was not much of a biter after all. He was great at using big, high-sounding words. He reminded him of the lines:

Uplifts the club of Hercules; for what?
To brain a butterfly or crush a gnat;
Sets wheels in wheels on motion, awful clatter,
To force up one poor nipper skin of water;
Bid ocean labor with tremendous roar,
To heave a cockle shell upon the shore.
In every theme the same his wondrous art,
Heaven's awful thunder or a rumbling cart.

His constituents evidently did not believe in the accusation made against him, for they returned him as a member for the House of Commons at the election held in 1872. But notwithstanding this and notwithstanding the self-vindication of his speech, there was a feeling throughout the country that there was a secret understanding between himself and Mr. Blake, or the "Speak now" direction would not have been written.

