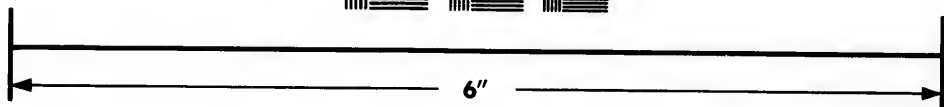
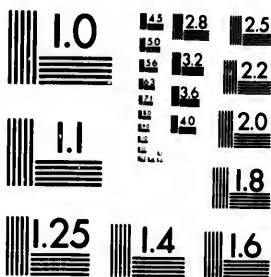


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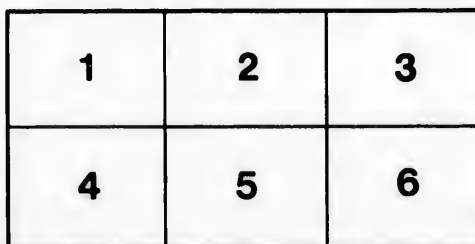
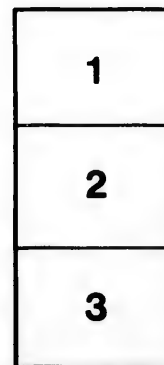
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SPEECH

OF THE

HON. J. A. CHAPLEAU, M.P.,

ON THE

FRENCH LANGUAGE IN THE NORTH-WEST

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 20th February, 1890.



OTTAWA:
PRINTED BY BROWN CHAMBERLIN, PRINTER TO THE QUEEN'S MOST
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FOURTH SESSION—SIXTH PARLIAMENT.

SPEECH OF HON. J. A. CHAPLEAU, M.P.,

ON THE

FRENCH LANGUAGE IN THE NORTH-WEST.

THURSDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 1890.

Mr. CHAPLEAU. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the sentiment will be re-echoed by many of us, when I say that it was not without a deep feeling of anxiety that I heard the beginning of this debate. I am still surer to respond to the feelings of all in expressing the sincere hope that, after all, it will be for the better that the debate had taken place, as it will dispel every suspicion and prevent any misunderstanding; and in that respect I cannot refrain from thanking the hon. gentlemen opposite, for their moderation, their sincerity and their patriotic stand, in discussing this delicate, this dangerous question. Let us hope that the debate will continue in the same spirit. The sensation-mongers who expected to see the parliamentary arena transformed into a regular battle-field will be disappointed, but the good name of the Canadian representatives, the good credit of the country will gain in value all that our detractors will lose in their expectations. It was thought, nay, it was predicted, that the inflammable materials which enter into the composition of all societies would be set on fire, and that our fine Dominion would soon be all in a blaze; let us hope—and it looks so, fortunately—let us hope that those inflammable elements, suspicion, prejudice and rivalry, will all be consumed and nothing will be left but the fine, solid, sterling gold frame of our young Confederation, more solid and brighter than ever, inviting the admiration of the world as it in-

vites the covetous eye of our powerful neighbor. Were it not for that hope, were it not for the happy turn that the discussion has taken, I would say that it is with a sense of deep regret that I have seen the Bill placed before the House by the hon. member for North Simcoe. I thought, and I had hoped the day had gone by when we would be called upon to discuss questions conducive to no public good, irritating in their nature and unjust in their object. It was to be expected that in the latter end of the nineteenth century, ideas which savor of what are considered by many as dark ages, would not be advocated in a British Canadian Parliament, advocated by one of the most eminent members of a profession where forbearance, liberality and good fellowship are so universally practised. The hon. member for Simcoe has argued very strongly against the propriety of enacting the right to dual language in the North-West from the fact that, at the time of the cession of Canada, no such clause was inserted in the Articles of Capitulation, in the Treaty of Paris, in the Quebec Act of 1774, and in the Act of 1791. Discouragingly blind in the perception of historical facts, in the appreciation of significant events, the hon. member has not seen that the law of nations secured that right to a people who had against them the fate of war, but who were not conquered, in the strict sense of the word, since the last regular engagement of that war, the battle at Ste. Foye, was a brilliant victory for the French;

and if the hon. member had only taken some of the first official documents under the military regime which followed the Cession, he would have found that the British generals, still smarting under the irritation of a long and obstinate struggle, were more generous to their foes of yesterday than is my hon. friend for the inoffensive descendants of the discoverers and first settlers of the Hudson's Bay and Rupert's Land. It is a fact worthy of consideration, a fact which should not be overlooked, that, acting according to his instructions, or applying simply the general laws which govern the relations between the conquerors and the vanquished, General Murray, the first Governor of Quebec, used the French language in all his dealings with the King's new subjects. I hold in my hand his proclamation, dated 1764, which enacts in what manner his future proclamations shall be published, and it is in French. General Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, issued a proclamation in 1770, before the "Quebec Act," in which he states that proclamations shall be made in English and in French. All the ordinances of the *Quebec Gazette*, which is made up chiefly of official documents, are printed in English and in French, from the date of its first issue in 1764. Have I not reason to wonder, Mr. Speaker, that over one century ago we can find such liberal ideas prevailing, in comparison with those of self-styled high-toned and high-minded gentlemen of this enlightened age? Taking at a glance a general view of the policy of the British Government in this country, I am glad to say that I find that it has always been most intelligent, most liberal, except for some period when the home Government was inspired by the misrepresentations of some of their friends in Canada. I regret also that the hon. member should have thought fit to bring in this Bill—which, according to the plan of campaign expounded in the press and in the public meetings of the Equal Righters, is the first practical step in the hostile movement directed against a people whose loyalty to the Crown and British institutions is above suspicion. I say that this is the first step, because we all know that what is asked for in this Bill is only a small portion of what is desired. Judging from the utterances of the hon. member, outside of Parliament, we must expect blows to be directed at the Catholic minority of Ontario, of Manitoba, of the North-West Territories; it is hoped for that the day will soon come when the Catholics and the French, if they wish to have schools of their own, will have to support them and also the public schools of those portions of the country. This Bill, therefore, is the initial step in a direction leading to all sorts of strife, is the first step in the reversal of a generous policy which all classes of the population of Canada have approved of for upwards of fifty years. This enlightened policy has given us prosperity, good feeling among the different races, good fellowship among public men. We have been taught to esteem each other, in working together for the common good of the country, sinking down all race and creed prejudices, agreeing to disagree on several subjects, but all agreeing to push the country forward in the path of material prosperity. We are asked to-day, to reverse that policy, to go back to the days of strife, of bitter feeling, out of which no good can come. It behoves all men

that value the peace and prosperity of the country, to stamp out this dangerous agitation, to discourage it at the outset and let well alone. Many right-meaning men do not see the ultimate result of this first move, because if they understood it I am sure it would receive condemnation at their hands. The legislation which we are asked to place in our statutes, not only savors of persecution, but is also retrograde. I take it for granted that the quality of British citizenship is not incompatible with a foreign origin, that a British subject may be of French origin and a Roman Catholic. If you admit of this double proposition, which I claim to be a fair and just one, which I have never heard contested, I do not see how any one can countenance the Bill now before this House. If you admit my proposition, if we of the Province of Quebec are British subjects enjoying all the privileges and rights which this quality confers, I cannot understand how the member for North Simcoe can ask the House to accept his Bill, in the light of what has been done in the Province of Quebec to satisfy the claims, the just claims of the Protestant minority. This extraordinary war, declared on the minority of the western part of the country cannot be looked upon otherwise than as cruel and uncalculated for by every inhabitant of the Province of Quebec. The different sections of the population have managed to work in harmony, presenting the pleasing spectacle of a people divided by nationalities and religion, but united for all other purposes. Does the promoter of the Bill now before the House know how the minority there have been treated? Does he know that when Confederation took place, it was agreed between the leaders of Quebec that the limits of twelve counties of Quebec Province, in which the English element predominated at that time, would never be changed without the consent of the representatives of those counties? Does the hon. gentleman ignore that the Protestant minority have practically a Council of public instruction of their own, which has complete control of educational matters? Does he know that in the smallest municipalities of the Province of Quebec this control exists? Surely he must be aware that every request of the minority in Quebec has always been granted by the majority? A few years ago it was suggested that a separate gaol be set apart for the Protestants, and this suggestion was acted upon and has now become a fact. Later on it was likewise suggested that a special lunatic asylum should be constructed for Protestant patients, and the scheme is now being carried out. The Protestants of Quebec are satisfied; but, strange to say, they are taken to task by men like the promoter of the coercive legislation now proposed to this House, and are blamed for their being satisfied. People have been speaking of the power of the Catholic Church. Power from whom? My English Protestant friends, I suppose, do not pretend that the Roman Catholic Church extends its power over them; what, then, their grievances are, I am at a loss to know. But I would read here the opinion of a man who has been living all his lifetime in the Province of Quebec, of a man whose literary merit is only equalled by the keen perception of an unprejudiced and thoroughly informed observer as set forth in an article published in one of the periodicals of Toronto, which must have

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attracted considerable public attention. It is an article written by Mr. S. E. Dawson, of Montreal, and I will quote a few sentences from it just to show what is the true feeling of the Protestant minority in the Province of Quebec in regard to those pretended grievances:

"The English Protestant minority in the Province of Quebec ought to be very unhappy, if for no other reason, because so many estimable people in the sister Provinces and in the United States seem to be distressed on their account. It is not pleasant to be the object of so much solicitude. Besides, it is too late. The doctrine of 'States' rights' has been so persistently maintained by the other Provinces, especially by New Brunswick and Ontario, that it is impossible to deny to the French in Quebec those powers which the English majorities in the other Provinces have successfully asserted. What assistance, then, the other Provinces can afford to the minority of Quebec does not clearly appear, even if that minority shared generally in the gloomy apprehensions felt elsewhere on their account.

"The English minority ought also to be unhappy because of the civil and religious disadvantages which it would appear from outside sources that they are obliged to endure. And, then, if perchance any one of the minority faintly suggests that he cannot perceive anything unusually hard in his lot—anything beyond what falls to minorities elsewhere—he is chidden by 'superior persons' for not realising his abject condition. So that he becomes discouraged because he is not unhappy enough to please his neighbors.

"For, after all, in real deed, the most of us who have long resided in this Province do not find it in the least disagreeable. Unless the Anglo-Saxon mind is at an early age familiarised with other races and religions, it is apt to form fixed ideas. And so it often happens that the French Roman Catholic, as imagined by our outside friends, is different from the person we come in daily contact with. An Englishman may dwell a life-time in peace in the heart of French Canada. Nobody will leave traces at his door or give them to his children. He may be on excellent terms, and even exchange hospitalities, with the *coeur*; but if that reverend gentleman should feel any doubts about his host's future state, he will never be disagreeable enough to express them."

Yes, Mr. Speaker, this is, unfortunately, the position of affairs in the Province of Quebec since the beginning of this agitation. Nobody knows where the evil is. The evil does not exist; but our Protestant friends in the Province of Quebec, who have not complained, are taken to task and are lectured because they do not understand that they are unhappy, even if they do not see it or feel it. Mr. Speaker, what is the principle, or rather the negation of principle, at the bottom of the Bill presented by my hon. friend from Simcoe? It is coercion in a matter where coercion cannot exist. Coercion has been tried in several countries in matters of language and religion, and everywhere it has been tried the result has been contrary not only to expectations, but in a large measure contrary to the wish of those who have employed such means. Now, it is a very sad thing to see how the lessons of history are lost for our Equal Rights people, and how much, by neglecting this part of their education, they are drifting into a channel of narrow ideas. During the early part of the British regime in Canada, compulsion and coercion was tried with a view of welding together the different elements of population, so as to form a homogeneous nation, and it was always found that this coercion had a result quite contrary to what was expected. The most enlightened of our governors have declared time and again that the only way to strengthen British rule in Canada was to conciliate the King's new subjects. Such was the opinion of General Murray, of Lord Dorchester, of Sir J. Prevost, and of many others, including and foremost amongst them,

Lord Elgin. The Equal Righters, who are also, most of them, Imperial Federationists, think differently; but I may tell them that if their aim is to perpetuate British institutions in America by sowing the seed of dissatisfaction, they are wide of the mark. There is one consideration which naturally springs from what I have just said. It is this: That they appear to have lost sight of the broad policy inaugurated by the English Government years ago, but they should not overlook the fact that if they can boast to-day of the title of British citizens, which they profess to value so much, they owe it to the ancestors of the very people they seem to hate and despise. What would have become of the British rule in the wars of Independence and of 1812, if French Canada, instead, I do not say of fighting, but of being loyal, had simply remained neutral. None but stone-blind men would say that this Canada of ours would still be a British country. It is a matter of history that the Governors of Canada in olden times would arrive here induced with prejudices against the "Canadians," and that, after studying the country, these prejudices would make way for sounder notions leading to a change of policy. Immediately after the conquest, General Murray wrote to the Home Government in praise of the King's new subjects. Lieutenant-General Carleton, who, during the war of Independence, was saved from falling into the hands of American soldiers in his flight from Montreal to Quebec by a Canadian officer—General Carleton was a fast friend of the people he was expected by some newly landed emigrant to crush out of existence. I could lengthen this list until your patience would be exhausted; but I must turn to things of the day, and say, that I am amazed to see men, very few I hope, brought up in contact with us, having for years professed the greatest friendship, accepted the hand extended to them, suddenly turn around on the Government to persecute and bound down the men they were so friendly to some months ago. I am amazed to find men of the day, aspiring to be the leaders of the people, reversing the policy inaugurated by men whose position placed them above the passions of the moment. When I see that the first Governors under the British rule, before the Quebec Act of 1774, and even during the military rule, condescended to publish the laws and the ordinances in French, I have a right to express my surprise that this meagre measure of justice appears in the eyes of certain gentlemen to be too large for the French population of the western Territories. French was used, more than a century ago, to bring the ordinances before the people, and that, after a terrible war, when vanquished and conquerors were face to face; and now, after a union of over one century, this simple act of justice, of international courtesy, which costs the country the enormous sum of five hundred dollars a year, is considered out of place and too generous. If you expect to make a great country with such ideas you are sadly mistaken. Sir Henry Sumner Maine and Sir Alfred Lyell have claimed as one of the brightest titles of Great Britain to the admiration of the civilised world that, following the example of Rome, which left the conquered people their customs and institutions, England, in its acquisitions of territory, granted to the Crown's new subjects their former laws and customs. If we look at the British Empire we find it carrying into effect this generous

principle of international law. The Equal Righters seem to think that the use of the French language is a monstrous privilege, something unheard of in other countries. They would not have to travel out of the British Empire to find out that we are not a privileged class, and that in many British colonies several other languages are spoken besides the idiom of Shakespeare. In the Windward Islands they will find the French laws and the French language accepted and used. In Mauritius French is spoken in the Legislative Council, and last year a proposition was made to introduce it in the law courts, and no one opposed it. I may here quote a remark which was made in that Assembly, and which will receive its application in the North-West, if the Equal Righters have their own way. One of the speakers in the Mauritius Assembly said that a man coming out of court had remarked: "I have been accused and condemned, and I do not know what for." Coming back to the British colonies I find also that French was introduced in the Seychelles Islands. Let us come nearer England. The Education Commission of 1886-7-8, in their final report, say, in regard to the demands from Wales, that the Welsh language should be used in the schools of Wales:

"It is felt that they should be allowed to take up Welsh as a specific subject recognised in the code; to adopt an optional scheme for English as a class subject suitable to the special needs of Welsh districts, such scheme being founded on the principle of substituting a graduated system of translation from Welsh to English for the present requirements in English grammar; to teach Welsh along with English as a class subject; and to include Welsh among the languages in which candidates for Queen's scholarships and for certificates of merit may be examined."

With reference to Scotland, the same Commissioners say:

"In districts where Gaelic is spoken the intelligence of the children examined under any paragraph of this article may be tested by requiring them to explain in Gaelic the meaning of any passages read or recited."

In India, according to the Progress Report, India, 1882-3, the native laws and language are recognised as follows:—

"1. *Law.*—The natives of India, Hindu, Mohammedan or other, are amenable, so far as regards succession, inheritance, marriage, caste, or religious usages, each class to their own law, except when modified by express enactment." (Progress Rep. (India) 1882-3, p. 46.)

"2. *Language in the Courts.*—In the Punjab, Urdu and Hindustani are the official languages of the courts. (Progress Rep., 1882-3, p. 322.)

"In the native minor courts the native languages are spoken."

"3. *Schools.*—In the Government schools of the Punjab, Urdu and Hindustani are the languages in which the instruction is given."

"4. *Literature.*—In 1886 the register of publications for British India showed 8,877 books and magazines published within the year; of these more than nine-tenths were in vernacular languages."

In Heligoland education is compulsory. The children, mostly of Frisian origin and speaking their own language, are taught English and German in addition to the English. In Malta Italian is the official language of courts and documents. In the Cape of Good Hope, in the Session of 1888, it was resolved that the notices of motion and orders of the day and all bills submitted to the Council be printed in the Dutch as well as the English language, and this resolution was carried by twelve to seven, and the Finance Committee asked to have a sum of money placed in the Estimates for this purpose, which was done. And in 1884 an Act

was passed under which judges may, and other judicial officers shall, allow the use of either the Dutch or the English language in courts of justice and divisional councils of a certain number of voters could ask to have summonses and notices issued in Dutch. I shall have occasion to put before the House, in a moment, the opinion of a gentleman who visited Canada not long ago, one of the most prominent men of England, and a well-known writer, who drew a comparison then between the Cape of Good Hope and Canada, which he concluded by saying that the people of these two colonies are the last and best specimens of British conservatism which still exists, and that these colonies were kept true to England by the generous and liberal treatment which they received at the hands of the Imperial Government. I refer to Sir Charles Dilke. The debate on this subject has considerably widened. My hon. friend who proposed this measure, and those who support it, felt themselves compelled to seek other reasons beyond the practical question to which they would like to reduce it; and in their search for reasons they went to foreign countries. But in their search they were equally unfortunate. For what do we find? Take Austro-Hungary, we find that Louis Leger, in his history of Austro-Hungary, says:

"The Universities of Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck and Giesnovic teach in German. The Chekh Universities teach in Chekh. The Cracow University teaches in Polish. The Universities of Livov in Polish and Rotherman. The Universities of Buda-Pesth and Kolosovar teach in Magyar. The University of Zagreb teaches in Croatian."

"The University of Prague, which was first Latin and then German, has recently been divided into two universities, one teaching in German, the other in Chekh, the Hungarian tongue."

Article 19 of the Fundamental Law promulgated in 1867 under the authority of Count Beust, is as follows:—

"All the races of the Empire are on a footing of equality and each one of the nations severally has a right that the inviolability of its nationality and its language shall be secured. The equality of all languages used in the Empire for the purposes of administration for schools, and for public life, is recognised by the State."

Vambery, in his History of Austria, says:

"In 1859 a most important concession was made by the Imperial Government to the spirit of nationality. By a ministerial order, the languages used in the higher schools was, for the future, to be regulated according to the circumstances of nationality, the predominance of German being thereby abolished. In the same year was issued what was known as the Protestant Patent, which granted to the communes the free administration of their own educational and religious matters."

These examples show that the countries which have been wisely guided by the necessities of the different nationalities comprising them are those whose vitality is the most pronounced. If, in order to make a nation great, its people should speak but the one language, could it not be argued that there should be in the whole world but one language in order to make it perfect. If there is to be assimilation, let there be assimilation all over the world; let there be but one language all over the world. If that is necessary for one nation, it is equally necessary for the whole world. That is the view held by Socialists. They say there should be no differences, no classes, that every citizen in the world should be treated as his neighbor is, and that Christian fraternity should be put in practice, in politics and in the administration of the material and moral affairs of the

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people. They hold that all men should be equal in rank, in privileges, in right, and in every possible way. This is communism, radicalism and demagogism. (I must say that in its logical consequences the Bill we discuss has that tendency.) The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) has argued against the propriety of allowing the French language to be used in the North West, on the ground that at the time of the cession of Canada no such law was inserted in the articles of capitulation, that it was not inserted in the Treaty of 1763, and that it was not in the Quebec Act of 1774, or in the Act giving constitutional government to Canada in 1791. I say that is no argument. If it was not then enacted, the reason is this: there was a tacit understanding that the right of the people to their language should be respected. But my hon. friend has gone further, and has said: Oh, in a new country, where people are beginning to colonise and settle, it is wrong in principle and it is a wrong policy to permit differences of language. But there is no difference between the two cases. In the one case, you find the people in a conquered country attached to their own language, and you all allow them to speak it; in the other case, you are asking people to come from all parts of the world to settle in your country; is it not a wise policy to assure them that when they arrive here, they will find the laws of the country promulgated at least in a language they can understand. This has been the wise policy followed in England. It is true, however, the Equal Righters in this country have had ancestors in England. The Solicitor General in England, in the debate on the Act of 1774, speaks of a Canadian Grand Jury who some years before had returned an indictment against all the Roman Catholics of the country. But Sir, I repeat, it here; the British statesmen have framed a generous and liberal policy for the early government of this country, a policy which has saved this colony for England instead of sending it over to the "Stars and Stripes," or of creating a sort of Ireland here in America. In presence of the noble conduct of these statesmen I say that the policy to foster religious strife or race animosities, whether coming from a Quebec "Nation alist" or a Toronto "Equal Righter" is the greatest enemy of British rule in Canada. More than one hundred years ago, when the English Parliament was meeting on its first measure of justice to the French Canadians, in 1774, an English statesman, defending the Quebec Act, said that no address or eloquence:

"Will succeed in inducing a polished assembly of men to adopt the barbarous principle that the moment a conquest is obtained, it consists with humanity, it consists with wisdom, it consists with common honesty to take away all the laws of the conquered country, and more especially that portion of the laws which regulated the proceedings of the inhabitants in civil matters. Speaking of the rights of conquest, Grotius has these words: *Con non-impositum esse videtur ut hinc illis quousque cetera respectibus de publicis, non leges, sicutque mores et instituta.* Since all authority is snatched from the conquered, leave to them their own laws, their own customs and magistracies which are of advantage regarding private and public matters."

These are the moderated ideas of conquest. Such has been the practice of nations between one another. Is it not extraordinary that, after one hundred years, that celebrated debate can be quoted in a Canadian Assembly in a most appropriate manner. Prejudices from past ages still linger in this

free land of America, but I hope that the vast majority of the citizens of Canada will stamp them out, will prefer peace and prosperity to religious and race strife, will leave to time the settlement of passing difficulties. I confess that the fate of the French language is in your hands; you can crush it out of official life, but I am sure that if the people of Canada rise, through their representatives, in their power and strength, it will be to assert, after the British Parliament, that right stands in their estimation far above might. How differently inspired was Lord Dufferin when he had occasion to mention the French Canadian race and its language. Speaking, at the time of his administration in Canada, at the Canadian Club in London, in 1875, that distinguished Governor General said:

"I may be permitted to remark on the extraordinary ability and intelligence with which the French portion of Her Majesty's subjects in Canada join with their British fellow-countrymen in working and developing the constitutional privileges with which (thanks to the initiative they were the first to take) their country has been endowed. Our French fellow-countrymen are, in fact, more parliamentary than the English themselves, and in the various fortunes of the colony, there have never been wanting French statesmen of eminence to claim an equal share with their British colleagues in shaping the history of the Dominion. What-ever may be the case elsewhere, in Canada, at all events, the French race has learned the golden rule and the necessity of arriving at practical results by the occasional sacrifice of logical symmetry and to the settlement of disputes, in the spirit of a generous compromise. The spectacle of two peoples, formed from nationalities so diverse, putting forth all their strength, in generous rivalry of each other, to prove their loyalty to their Queen and to the Government, and laboring with concerted action and in perfect harmony for the weal of their common country, will remain one of the most remarkable and pleasing facts in the history of the world, while also it will testify to the political wisdom and the magnanimous sentiments which pervade all the members of the great Canadian family."

And in Montreal in 1872, at the inauguration of the Queen's statue, on Victoria Square, Lord Dufferin, speaking of the minority in this Dominion, said:

"Brave and noble race, which was the first to afford Europe the means of bringing civilisation to the Continent of America, race valorous and hardy, whose pioneers, in the interior of this continent, gave scope to the industry of Europe to take root not only on the banks of the St. Lawrence, but also in the fertile valleys of the Ohio and of the Mississippi."

I could continue these quotations, but I will not take up the time of the House further by reading them. Sir, I ask myself, what credit, what glory does the hon. gentleman think he will get in craning from the pages of the Statute three inoffensive lines which, when erased, will not add an iota to the power, the success, the supremacy of his race in the North West, whilst, as he well knows, it will be considered as an unprovoked insult, as an attempt at oppression by those against whom his action is directed. No, Sir, the great legislators of the world—and my hon. and learned friend is well gifted enough to justify his ambition to be one of them—the great legislators of the world have not gained their fame by such narrow legislation. They have added to the code of humanity enactments in the sense of protection for the weak, of peaceful progress, of enlarged civilisation—in a word, they have added to the true "unity and comity" of nations.

"A wise prince," says Burke, "should study the genius of the nation he is called to rule; he must not contradict them in their customs nor take away their privileges, but

he must act according to the circumstances in which he finds the existing Government. It is less by terror than by love and confidence, says Montesquieu, that men are governed, and if absolute perfection in matter of Government is a myth, it is a fact that the best is the Government which adapts itself most closely to the climate, to the character, the usages, the habits, the prejudices even of the country."

The indisputable evidence of past history has long demonstrated the truth of those old but wise aphorisms. An hon. member—I think the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has quoted the example of Rome, but, if we go back to ancient history, what do we see? We see two great powers—according to the books of the colleges, which I suppose every one of you has read and translated—two great nations warring one against the other for the supremacy of the world—Carthage and Rome. If we look at the policy of those two great cities which founded two great nations, we find that the ruin of Carthage was brought about in great measure by the hostility which it developed to the nations it had subdued by its armies. In Sicily, where important Greek settlements had fallen into its power, a regular persecution was organised against the language, the customs, the opinions of the conquered. It succeeded in making of them irreconcilable enemies who rose against it at the hour of danger. Rome, on the contrary, courted the sympathies of the Greeks whom she had conquered. She encouraged the study of their language; she preserved their laws, respected their customs, their religion, their schools. The result of the two policies is written in history. Carthage was destroyed, when everything seemed to promise her success and domination. Rome gave to her citizens the freedom of the world and to her name an everlasting glory. What Carthage did, the Normans attempted in England after the conquest. There again the persecution saw the victims victorious in the long struggle, and England was founded, to continue the traditions, the success and the glory of the Roman Empire. If the proud and magic "Civis Sum Romanus" has had a rival in the talismanic "I am a British subject," it is due, in a great measure, to the liberal and generous policy of England, more than to the fear of her military power. The founder of the German Empire, Frederick the Great, understood the advantages which the conservative principles of the Catholic religion could give him in the Catholic provinces which he had subdued. He protected his new subjects in spite of the narrow-minded advisers who predicted that the court of Vienna would be served, in its intrigues, by the protection given to the Catholics of Silesia. The great emperor took no heed of those short-sighted counsels. In one of his letters I read these memorable words: "Emperor Joseph continues his work of secularisation without interruption. Here everybody remains as he was. I respect the rights of possession, upon which society is founded." And his Catholic provinces of Silesia remained faithful to him. Examples of the same kind are to be found in the history of all the great nations of Europe, where union began under the warm and beneficial influence of generosity and forbearance, leaving to the action of time the work of blending together nationalities and languages in the direction of perfect homogeneity. The great masters

in political science, the founders of vast and permanent empires, were above the prejudices of class, creed or race. Their wisdom enacted the great *Jus Gentium*, which is so, as Montesquieu observes, that "victory leaves to the conquered nations, besides life, those great things, liberty, laws, property, and religion always, when one is not blind, voluntarily." I might quote again, if I had not fear to weary the patience of the House, the authority that I quoted a moment ago, to confirm my assertion, that Great Britain acted wisely in granting those liberties and privileges to Canada, and that Canadians merited such a liberal treatment at the hands of the mother country. Lord Dufferin, in his reception at Windsor, Ontario, on the 19th August, 1874, spoke as follows:—

"But it is not merely on this ground that we are under obligation to the French Canadian race. It must not be forgotten that it is its loftiness of spirit, its love of liberty, and to its just appreciation of the civil rights contained in germ in the constitution originally granted by England to Canada, that we owe the development of this parliamentary autonomy of which the nation is justly proud; and I can assure you that, in the eyes of an Englishman, there are few things more deplorable to observe than the dignity, the moderation, and the practical capability, with which the French statesmen of Canada did their English colleagues in applying and putting into active operation these grand principles of law and of constitutional practice, which are the foundation of the free government of this country."

After such high tributes given to our nation, I was surprised, Mr. Speaker, and I was shocked when I heard the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) using the following language:—

"As to the loyalty of the Canadian bishops in refusing the offer of the Americans to join in the insurrection against England, I have my doubts about it; I am disposed to believe that they then obeyed the dictates of their own interests, to the interests of their church, more than to the true impulse of patriotism and loyalty."

The member for Norfolk will allow me to tell him he must have read in very strange books the history of our country, or he must have drunk at poisoned sources his inspirations, with regard to the great factors of our nationality, to have been guilty of such a cruel anachronism. Why, Mr. Speaker, leaving the largest possible margin for the shortcomings, nay, the faults of a part of our clergy—and I am ready to admit that such a margin can be made use of—I affirm, without fear of contradiction, that no more admirable and uninterrupted succession and tradition of loyalty and devotion to the British Crown can be traced than to the history of the Roman Catholic Episcopacy of Lower Canada. I say, hoping that my words are not unparliamentary, that no more undeserved, no more unwarranted slander was ever written than the page of our *Hansard* where those unfortunate utterances of the hon. member for Norfolk are recorded. Disloyal and selfish, the bishops of Quebec! Who misled and repudiated the tempting offers, not of the Americans alone, but of the French generals whom the Catholic King of France had sent to assist the thirteen colonies in their rebellion against England? Was he disloyal, Mr. Speaker, the eminent Metropolitan of Quebec, who ordered a Thanksgiving to be observed, a solemn *Te Deum* to be sung in honor of the victory of Trafalgar, won by Nelson over the French forces, and who, in his pastoral letter, speaking of the reverse of the French arms, said this:

"What calamities would have happened to us if they (the Frenchmen) had seized His Majesty's possessions

a road, and so did their spirit. Was he to teach the Crown, who then appointed text the *procurator* that stru

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abroad, ruined his commerce, shut the gates to his wealth, and so diminished the means to check their rapacity and their spirit of domination."

Was he disloyal when he ordered his priests to teach their parishioners gratitude and fidelity to the crown. Was he disloyal and selfish the noble priest who preached the sermon on the Thanksgiving Day appointed by the Bishop, and who chose for his text the significant words "*Deus rex Dominus exercitus inimicum.*" "It is thy hand, O Lord, that struck the enemy." Adding these words:

"Does it not seem to you a cruel thing to call 'an enemy' a country to which this colony owes its origin, a nation which was so long united to us by the strong ties of race, of friendship, of language, of religion; a country that has given us fathers, protectors, pastors, models of all virtues, beloved sovereigns, whose wise and moderate government made us happy, whilst they deserved our affections and gratitude."

Who, after mentioning the generosity of the King, of England adds:

"What return must you give for so many favors? A deep feeling of thankfulness towards Great Britain, a sincere desire to remain under that protection, a full conviction that our interests are dependent of the mother country, and that our happiness is interwoven with that of the Empire."

Are these the words of disloyal men? And can a man in his senses find an excuse for saying that those loyal appeals were not sincere? That noble priest, Mr. Spenker, became, very soon after, a prelate of our church, Bishop Plessis, one of the most eloquent, one of the most illustrious, one of the most loyal bishops of the Province of Quebec, who fought for the rights and liberties of his countrymen, and who was afterwards favored with the friendship of the first statesman in England, and who received from the British Crown an acknowledgment of the services that he had rendered, both to his fellow-countrymen and to the British Empire. Wrongly informed by the books he read, the hon. member for North Simcoe said that the insurrection in 1837 was a war of races and not the result of misgovernment. I am at a loss to know in what book the hon. gentleman has read the history of Canada. First, he forgets that the insurrection was not limited to Lower Canada, that Upper Canada had its share of it; then, that several prominent Englishmen of the Province of Quebec took part in the Rebellion. Does he not know also that the principles upon which the constitutional battle was fought from 1791 to 1837 were those for which the English had been fighting for more than a century—in fact, for the articles of the Magna Charta—for the pure, prompt and impartial administration of justice, for the control by the people of the expenditure of public money, for the redress of abuses and shocking favoritism from the personal and tyrannical chief of the Executive. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) and his friends—for, after all, we must take them together, because they have a plan of campaign, they have entered upon an agitation which has been carried throughout the country—these gentlemen submit three reasons in support of the Bill now before the House. These are: First, that the North-West has been rapidly filled by Anglo-Saxon immigration, and that the number of people speaking the French language is so small in the Territories that the expenditure involved in the use of a second language in official proceedings is a waste of money. Second, a dual language is a source of contention and division, and should never be allowed in the

framing of the constitution of a new country. Third, the use of the French language was not allowed to the first inhabitants of the country after it fell into British hands; that it has always been a source of division and discord in this country, that it is inconsistent with true British loyalty; and that the sooner it disappears the better. I have endeavored to give answers to the two first reasons. But let us face squarely the argument with regard to the Territories themselves. What is the reason given for objecting to the dual language in the North-West Territories? The hon. gentleman has said that the Act amending the first North-West Territories Act was passed at a time when there were no people in the Territories to assent or consent to it. But the hon. gentleman should remember that there was a population there at that time; and they were people who, with their ancestors, had occupied the country for nearly a century. The North Saskatchewan, Lea in Faurche, Prince Albert, Edmonton and Battleford were settled. The Territories had a population in 1877, although it was not a teeming population. And why was it that the French language was allowed to those people? It was because at that time the great majority of the people of those Territories was French. Time has passed, and the country has been conquered peacefully by another race. Do hon. gentlemen imagine that we French Canadians of another Province had fault with that result? No; I speak here the sentiments of my fellow-countrymen when I say that the greater the Anglo-Saxon immigration is into those Territories the better for the Territories and for the country at large. They have put their money and their energies into that country. They have shown themselves good settlers, and they are now a large majority in those Territories. I am not sorry of it. I speak of it without any feeling or without any prejudice. As I have stated on many occasions, I have invited English to be spoken in my home, and the peace of that home has not been disturbed by the difference of language in our prayers to the Almighty. I do not envy my neighbor because he succeeds in the path of life, with another language, another creed than mine. The sun shines for all, and I leave him his right as I want him to leave me mine. We find from the census returns, which no one will controvert, that the French and French half breed population in the Territories is in the proportion of 13 per cent.—that is to say, that one-seventh, or a little more, of the population, is French, as to the language, in the North-West Territories. Now, in the Province of Quebec about one-sixth of the population is English, but nobody has ever dreamed of denying them the use of their language. My hon. friend may say you could not take from them the use of their language, because the constitution of the Province of Quebec would prevent you; nor could you do it, in view of the importance of the Anglo-Saxon race, their industry, their energy and the capital they have in the Province of Quebec. I will admit all that, but I say, and I speak for my countrymen when I say so, that, leaving those reasons aside, and considering only the paramount right of minorities, if a measure were proposed in the Province of Quebec to abolish the use of the English language, I would be the first to denounce it and I am sure the immense majority of my fellow-countrymen would

do the same. My conservative instincts would prevent me from endorsing a proposition, which would be, in my estimation, unfair, unjust, demagogic in its tendencies as is the measure advocated by my hon. friend.

Mr. CHARLTON. I rise to a question of order. An expression was used by the hon. Minister, for which my hon. friend on my right (Sir Richard Cartwright) was ruled out of order on a former occasion. I do not know if it is proper that it should be allowed to be used on one side of the House and not on the other.

Mr. CHAPLEAU. I am ready to withdraw it for the hon. gentleman, although I must say I was not thinking of him at the time.

Mr. McCARTHY. He was addressing it with regard to me, and I prefer that the word should not be withdrawn.

Mr. CHAPLEAU. I was referring to the member for North Simcoe when the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) called me to order, and I was calling this measure of the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) a revolutionary measure, a demagogic measure and I do not think the expression unparliamentary. I say, that if such a measure were proposed in the Province of Quebec, even though the English race occupied only the same position with regard to the French as the French do with regard to the English in the North-West Territories, I would not say "no" to such a proposition. I would decide that no offensive pre-eminence should be given to the majority in a country where both races should be united. I ask myself what is the object to be gained by the measure proposed by my hon. friend? Is it to make the members of the Legislature of the North-West speak English? That cannot be the object, because they all speak English now, and I understand there is not a single elected man who is French. Is it his object to prevent the votes and deliberations of the North-West Assembly being printed in French? That cannot be, for I believe they are, in fact, only printed in the English language now, for the obvious reason that the members are all English.

Mr. DAVIN. They never have been printed in French.

Mr. CHAPLEAU. My hon. friend tells me, as a matter of fact, they never have been printed in French, and there is, therefore, no reason to make a law that they shall not be printed in that language. In the Privy Council at Ottawa our proceedings are all in English, and there is no necessity for having them printed in French, not by law, but for the mere convenience of the case, and nobody complains. So it would be in the North-West Assembly. But, as regards the promulgation of the laws, I appeal to the hon. member for Simcoe if it is not necessary that a large portion of that population, who understands only the French language, are entitled to know what laws they should obey and to have them printed in their own language? The French Canadians can lay claim to the title of being the first settlers of that country, and there is some value in that title. That title has been acknowledged to the

Indians, even by the American Government, at a time when their policy towards the Indians was I will not say barbarous—but most severe, and in the North-West the first settlers were French, and the Hudson Bay Company respected their language and their customs. Why should we not treat them as well as they were treated when there was no regular government in those Territories? I say that if the measure of my hon. friend became law, a large portion of the population would be without knowledge of the laws they are supposed to obey. And as the Legislature has in its hands the whole of the municipal government of the country, the injustice would be more cruel. If he had only said: it is useless that the Legislature of the North-West should have French in their proceedings, the answer would be the sentimental one that they have, as an important minority composed of the first settlers of the land, a right to speak French in that Legislature. But against that I would have said: Wait for the sub-division of the country, when there will likely be three or four French-speaking members elected to that body; then we would not have to pass Draconian laws here to prevent them having French, because they would have it. The English-speaking people of the North-West would be as courteous to them as the French-speaking majority in the Province of Quebec have been to the English-speaking minority in that Province; and we know very well that if there were French members in the North-West Council it would be allowed to them to speak French. There will soon be a very large German immigration into that country—and I hope there will be, the Germans make very good settlers—and suppose three or four members elected for the Legislature were German; if they wanted to speak German, they would have a right to do so. Sir, if you do not respect the covenants which have been entered into between the two important races in the Dominion, to the extent of permitting the laws of the land to be published in the language of the minority, you are committing a cruel injustice, and retarding the progress of the country. Why Sir, we spend thousands of dollars every year to publish pamphlets for distribution in France, Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine and elsewhere—for what purpose? To bring French immigration to Canada, to say to those people that when they arrive here they will find the ordinances of the country and many of those ordinances refer mainly to local interests and objects—and its laws printed in their own language. To deprive them of this privilege would be a gross injustice. But my hon. friend knew this very well; he knew that if he could prevent the promulgation and publication of the laws and ordinances of the North-West in French, he would prevent French immigration into that country. He knew it, and he did it with that object in view; he had the courage to acknowledge it. I am sorry to say that the Equal Righters who are acting with the hon. member for North Simcoe are to blame if a war of races is the result of their agitation; but I hope I am not mistaken in believing that many hon. gentlemen, whose names have been connected with those of the hon. member for North Simcoe and the hon. member for North Norfolk, do not carry their feelings to that extent. I know that amongst them there are men who do not wish anything of that kind to happen. It is very

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easy to set fire to this very inflammable piece of timber, a race agitation, and take that agitation as a means to achieve success; but I must say that if there is a glow for the ambition of a public man, it should not be a glow coming from the fires of prejudice and passion which he himself has kindled. The hon. gentleman has taken charge of a measure which the people of the North-West would have confided to any of the members representing them here if a real grievance had existed. Who has moved him to introduce this Bill? Has he done it of his own motion or had he a mandate for doing it? He went up to the North-West on a mission, and he has accomplished it; but I hope and believe that he will accomplish nothing by his measure. This question should have been settled quietly among the people of the North-West as a local question, to be determined between them and the Federal Government, from whom the legislative power of the territories emanates. But the promoters of this measure do not think of making it a local question. Leave the question to the people to settle, and you may be sure that probably in two years hence there will be nothing left of the little fire which has been raised by the hon. member for North Simcoe. Has not the North-West disinterested members enough in this House to take charge of such a measure? Is it not an insult to them that a member from an eastern Province should take upon himself to put it forward and advocate it? It shall not pass here, because on every side of the House people are alarmed, if not disgusted, by the way in which it has been taken up and agitated. We might very well agree among ourselves to leave to the North-West Legislature the settlement of this question. We would say to them: You have not been elected in the North West to settle that question; it relates to one of the organic articles of the constitution of those Territories, which only the Parliament of Canada has a right to change; but we will be a paternal Parliament to you, and we will say to you, consult the people, and let the people of the North-West say whether there is any use of your speaking French when you sit around the table of the Legislature. The elections would come, and after those elections they may come back and say: If we are to have a useful representation in that assembly, if we are to have a population in those Territories, who will live harmoniously with their neighbors, we must not repeat the mistake of hurting the feelings of those with whom we are in partnership for the building up of this country. I say that to try to prevent those people publishing their laws in the language of the population, either in the French language or the English, would be an atrocity, a cruel measure, and a measure which would not induce immigrants or settlers to go into that country. There is one thing which I feel bound to say to correct a wrong impression, unjust to the hon. gentleman. My hon. friend from North Simcoe has been taken to task as being a Tory. I do not attach much importance to that little digression of my hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition. That is an eye-catching color which he puts in his political paintings when before an election audience; the "Tory" is always brought into the back ground so as to bring out in greater contrast the great display of the Liberal principles which it is the hon. gentleman's wont to picture to his hearers. But in the subject under discussion there should be no question of party politics. The

right hon. the leader of the Government answered my hon. friend from Quebec East (Mr. Laurier), by showing that the Tories have been at times the best protectors of our French Canadian nationality in this country. But in calling this Bill a Tory measure, my hon. friend wanted to make out that it was an arbitrary, a retrograde measure.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. It was inflammatory.

Mr. CHA PLEAU. No, it was that "or-a-tory" of my hon. friend that brought it out. My hon. friend wished to give a political meaning to this discussion. It has none, and I think it is but just to those who, on other occasions, have voted with the hon. member for North Simcoe, to say that the hon. gentleman himself had the courage—and it is not courage he wants—to say that on this occasion he had separated himself entirely from the Conservative party. My hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, calls all the Conservatives Tories; and I know that whatever denial we may give to the expression, he is bound to call us Tories. If he enjoys in calling us by that name, let him be happy. The hon. member for North Simcoe has in this question completely disassociated himself from his party; he has declared that on this question he is not in harmony with his party, but he declared, and had a right to do so, that upon other questions he would follow those whom he had always followed, and would continue to vote as a conservative on such matters as, for instance, the National Policy. It would not be right to close the Conservative party against the hon. member for North Simcoe and those who hold his views. This Bill which he has introduced has nothing to do with that party; it is his Bill of his own, and I hope, before the debate is over, he will see that it is greatly restricted in his following. The hon. member for West Durham argued that the Federal Government should keep, in a certain measure at least, a portion of the power over the Territories. True, we have granted to the Territories a constitution; we have given them legislative power to some extent; but as we still have the administration of the Territories in our hands and to protect those whom we are inviting to come and settle there, this Government should keep a certain control over these Territories. We are bound to do that, as we are bound to give to the French population a free and easy access to the judicial tribunals we have established there. I do not believe that there are many in this House disposed to say that they are at heart in favor of the measure proposed. Its preamble is a provocation and a just cause of irritation to a large section of our people, and the principle of the Bill and its practical effect, if carried into a conclusion, would work injustice and bad feeling in the old Provinces as well as in the North-West Territories. There are amongst those who support the measure of the hon. member for North Simcoe men who, if they do not call themselves Equal Rights advocates, are Imperial Federalists. Many of them pose as the advocates of what they deem to be the grand and the loyal policy of Imperial Federation. Let me ask them how they expect to help on their cause by this unfair, unseemly, this persecuting agitation. The British Empire is composed of a greater variety of nations and creeds than was the Roman Empire. Do the Imperial Federalists think they are going to help

on their scheme by prosecuting a minority, even in such a remote territory as the North-West? We are not in the same condition of things in which we were some years ago. Modern science has given new wings to political thought; every incident that occurs in Canada, of any importance, is known to-morrow as far as Cape Colony and in the remote regions of India; and I appeal to Imperial Federalists, who might be tempted to support the Bill before the House, not to injure their own cause, and to remember that all men interested and responsible for the future of the Queen's dominion will condemn them for entering into an agitation which would tend to destroy the loyalty of a portion of Her Majesty's subjects. These gentlemen pose as the representatives of Ontario and pretend to speak the voice of Ontario in protest against the use of the French language in Canada. I venture to tell them that they do not represent Ontario in this matter, that they do not speak the voice of Ontario in this agitation. The true voice of Ontario may still be heard in the echoes of that splendid demonstration made in December, 1884, in Toronto, in honor of Sir John A. Macdonald. It was my good fortune to be present at that grand and imposing reunion of the forces of the great Conservative party. I shall never forget the ovation given to the Old Chief when he entered the hall where five thousand voices acclaimed him with enthusiastic cheers. I shall never forget the warm, the cordial reception given to my hon. friends the Minister of Public Works and the Minister of Militia, and to myself. It was my first visit to Toronto and the impression I received, an impression which will never be effaced from my memory, was that the bond of friendship, nay, the bond of affection, that linked together the two great races of this Confederation, would resist any attack which interest, jealousy or prejudice might direct against it. It was, it is true, a political demonstration, but it had a great character beyond that, which proved that different races, and different creeds, and different nationalities, might unite and work together in the best manner for the progress of our common country. This was the voice of Ontario, and I think it would be the voice of Ontario still. I say to the supporters, if there are any in Ontario, of the measure of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), that I believe the voice of Ontario would be still the same if the right hon. the leader of the House would appeal, on the same generous principles, to the same fair-minded population of Ontario to-day. Sir, I protest against that agitation, I protest against that plan of campaign as suggested in the speeches of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), and indicated here and outside by the speeches of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I do not quote their expressions here. They are too ugly for me to quote them or, at all events, they are too provoking. It is not for us here to talk about opening a free road through the St. Lawrence for the Anglo-Saxon to pass to the conquest of the world. If that course is to be persisted in, Sir, I cannot qualify it in any other words, that if it is a political game it is a dangerous mistake, and if it is a determined and premeditated movement to be earnestly carried on, it is a criminal attack against the "peace, order and good government of the country." Sir, I hope that the hon. gentlemen will

pause before venturing any further in the dark and dangerous path they have entered into. They will look in the past and around them, and they will see written on the walls the fate which awaits them. All public men who have tried to build up a political platform of such materials as prejudices and fanaticism have found out that the beams and rafters of their building did not long resist the action of time and the pressure of common sense; they went down with the wreck, helpless and crippled, giving to the world a cruel lesson as to the inevitable fate of those who would attempt to imitate their example. Sir, I appeal to the higher instincts, to the nobler feelings of those who sincerely wish the consolidation of these British possessions, and whom the chances of politics do not affect. I ask them to think calmly of all this. They must know how dangerous are the elements which are brought into contact in the agitation which is carried on. They may be in earnest in believing that the strong currents thus put in motion will produce great and good results. Let them not forget that in dealing with these questions of race, nationality and religion they are dealing with the great electric currents of national life. Guide and govern these currents wisely, and you may draw from their united influences power and light and all the beneficent effects of the natural forces with which Providence has provided you. Misguide and misgovern them—use them with ignorance, recklessness, or malice,—and you may draw down on your heads unknown and uncounted disasters, ruin to individuals, confusion to communities, and disaster to the State. Sir, I agree with the hon. member for West Durham (Mr. Blake), I am not ready to accept the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Berthier (Mr. Beausoleil), though I am in accord with the principles of it, but I cannot find too strong language to express my repudiation of the principles, the form, the surroundings of the measure submitted. The Bill of the hon. member for North Simcoe is opposed to his own political record, principles and career. He supported with intelligence and vigor the policy of unity of action and harmony of thought of the different races which form this Dominion, irrespective of creed or language. He was present when the Acts giving a constitution to the North-West Territories were initiated, revised and passed, and he gave his acquiescence to that legislation. The Bill is opposed to the policy that has prevailed in Canada, of protecting the rights of minorities in the schools, in the Legislatures, in the Senate. It is opposed to the law of the land, which was approved by two Administrations and three Parliaments. It is opposed to the spirit of British legislation, which, in the case of Manitoba, provided a perpetual guarantee to the minority in regard to schools and language, and, in the case of any new Province hereafter created in the Territories, provided a guarantee of stability to the constitution given to it at the time of its creation. It is opposed to the general policy of the modern British Empire, which, in India, in Manitoba, in Cape Colony, respects the right of the people of different origin to have the legal and legislative use of their own language. It is opposed to the plainest facts of science, which prove that race is stronger than language, as may be seen in the case of the Irish and the Scotch, the German-

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speaking Russians, the French, German and Italian-speaking Swiss, the Jews, the Spanish-speaking Mexicans, the German-speaking Alsacians. It is opposed to the true spirit of loyalty to the Crown, because no man, who is truly loyal to the Crown, would endeavor to stir up strife among the Queen's subjects by attempting to repeal, for the avowed purpose of persecution and extinction, laws which have had the sanction of the Crown in one form or another ever since the Cession of Canada. I wish to make one more remark as to the political record of the hon. member for North Simcoe. Let me refer to that great demonstration in Toronto, which showed so well the fraternity of the two races, and I wish that fraternity was more widely practised. I think that the public men of each Province ought to visit the other Provinces, and try to develop that good feeling which is so easily developed when we are better acquainted with one another. In that great demonstration in Toronto what do we find? An address was presented to Sir John A. Macdonald by the Liberal Conservative party of Ontario. My hon. friend from Simcoe knows something of that address. On that occasion the chairman was appointed on the motion of Mr. Dalton McCarthy, and when the meeting was organised the chairman read an elaborate, an eloquent address to Sir John Macdonald, two or three paragraphs of which I will read to this House, with as full an assurance of their being accepted here as they were accepted there:

"The happy results of British rule in North America began when the policy of Pitt was accomplished by the valor of Wolfe, would have been imperfect, if not frustrated, but for the cordial relations which you have for nearly half a century maintained, in spite of unjust and unparliamentary criticism, with the great men who have been the chiefs of the loyal Canadians of Quebec; and on this occasion we would mingle with our felicitations to yourself a tribute of grateful remembrance of Cartier, whose statue rises in another city to bear witness to his public deeds and to keep his memory green. * * * In a Confederation in which the people are divided by a very earnest and sincere difference of opinion in race, religion and political sentiment, unity of action and harmony of thought have been maintained with striking success by the wisdom, tact and true liberality with which you have made alike the Cabinet, the Provincial Executives, the Bench, the Bar, and the Public Service, bear witness to your forethought and care for the interests of races, creeds and opinions, as part of the forces by which nations are governed, and by the wise conduct of which they grow strong, united and prosperous."

No better inspired, no better worded sentiments of true patriotism were ever recorded, and the hon. member for North Simcoe will derive more glory for the part he took in that demonstration than he will in the melancholy crusade he is now leading.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. CHAPLEAU. Before this House rose at six o'clock I had been showing that it would be an injustice to the population of the North-West Territories, who were the first settlers there, and who, surely, deserve our consideration, if we were to deprive them of the privilege of having the laws published in a language that they understand. What has been the cause of the large influx of Anglo-Saxon settlers into the North-West? It is the millions of money that the old Provinces have voted to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. We all agreed to that; we all applauded the enterprise

and the energy of those who built that road. What, again, has brought that immigration into the Territory? It was the great, the richly subsidised colonisation societies which brought thousands of immigrants from Great Britain to take possession of the soil, and the railway companies who acquired large tracts of land as railway subsidies and have invested their capital there. All these newcomers were characterised by that spirit of enterprise which belongs to the English immigrants, and which leads them to take possession of the world wherever the world and its resources presents itself to them. We welcome those desirable immigrants, we help them in the full measure of a dutiful Government. But must we, for all that, despise and forget the first settlers of those remote regions, those who revealed to us the treasure we had there? Sir, will not my hon. friend from North Simcoe give to these old settlers of the North-West, at least, time to learn English? It has taken me a long time to learn to speak it, badly as I do. I think he ought to give them, at least, a few years to learn how to read the laws which will be enacted in those Territories. But there is something more. These people who live there, who are the owners of the soil, have disputes amongst themselves. The law must be obeyed, must be administered, and is he going to deny them the right of having justice administered to them in a language which they understand? He does deny them of that right; we must not be unjust as he wants us to be. I think that if this House comes to the conclusion that a certain measure of liberty to settle that question of language ought to be given to the Legislature of the North-West, we must in justice reserve to the old settlers, to that population which is now in the minority, the right to speak their language, to be heard in their language, as witnesses, jurors, and pleaders before the courts. I desire, in closing my remarks, to quote some observations from a powerful writer and a keen observer, who has visited this country, Sir Charles Dilke. How does he speak of the population, of whom the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) and the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) spoke, I will not say with contempt, but with suspicion as to their loyalty and with fear as to the future of the country so far as they were concerned. Sir Charles Dilke referred to one of the most prominent statesmen who represented the French Canadians, Sir George Cartier. Speaking of Sir George Cartier, who was very often accused by his opponents in politics, of being too much of a Britisher in Canada, Sir Charles said this:

"Sir George Cartier, the Conservative statesman who led the French Canadians at the time of Confederation, had himself as a young man taken part in Papineau's rebellion, but there was never a stronger supporter of a United Empire than my host at Ottawa in the year of the passing of the Bill."

Drawing a comparison between the French in Lower Canada and the South African Dutch, the author said:

"In both cases we found the alien people in the land had dispossessed the mother country of the province. In each case they have clung to their language and institutions, and in each country the language of the non-English Calvinists may now be made use of in the legislature. Both races are filled with intense Conservatism, and the French of Canada and the Dutch of South Africa are now in fact the only surviving true Conservatives living under free institutions."

This may not please the leader of the Opposition, but it could not but please an old Tory, like the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). Speaking of the loyalty of the French Canadians at the time of the American Revolution, Sir Charles Dilke said :

"Curiously enough, the only moments at which we were ever popular in Lower Canada, until we gave her free institutions, were the moments when the Americans were trying to expel us."

These few lines must be significant to those who believe that because we speak a foreign language we cannot be loyal to the Crown and true supporters of the British nation. I will not say, true as it may be, that Canada would have been American except for the assistance given by the French Canadians at the time of the American Rebellion, but as a loyal Britisher, I would say, with Sir Charles Dilke: we have been able to preserve our supremacy in North America with the approval and assistance of the French Canadians, and "curiously enough the only moment at which we were ever popular in Lower Canada, until we gave her free institutions, were the moments when the Americans were trying to expel us." Mr. Speaker, I claim for our people, as I read it in the opuscules of a late friend, Oscar Dunn, that "the first man who spoke of responsible government in this country was a French Canadian, Pierre Bedard, and the one who contributed the most to establish it was another French Canadian, Lafontaine. Our nationality had the honor to furnish the statesman who introduced British liberties into this country. It was the only revenge we drew from our conquerors." I do not speak here as a French Canadian; I speak as a Canadian. The hon. member for North Simcoe has said, that, in order to judge of the nationality of a man, you must ascertain the language he speaks; that a German subject speaking another language can hardly be a full German; that a man who speaks French as his mother tongue, even if he knew and could speak English, cannot be really and truly a British sub-

ject. But we claim to be Canadians, and although we may speak in French or English we are really not English or French, but we are truly Canadians, and we intend to remain such. I heartily endorse the sentiments of that eloquent and fervent apostle of Canadian nationality, Principal Grant, when, speaking before St. Andrew's Society, in Montreal he said :

"The Scotch are but one nationality in Canada, and not the first. That place belongs to the French Canadians; a sacred obligation is imposed upon the Canadian races upon ours. We ought to be, the one more than Scotch, and together more than French, we ought to be Canadians. There can be but one Canadian nation, and all the races which have chosen the sky of Canada as their own right to contribute to the building up and the consolidating of this nation. Every other dream is but a folly and every effort to realise it is but treason. And against treason all Canadians must unite, to combat and chastise it."

Sir, if the hon. gentleman intends to carry out his purpose, interpreted as it must be by the preamble of this Bill and by the speech which accompanied its first reading, if the hon. gentleman wants to go to the end of his programme, if he really intends to do as he has stated in this House and outside this House he intends to do, I can only tell him this, that if he wants to destroy and efface the French language from the Dominion of Canada he should begin higher up and remove its use from the highest order of chivalry in England; he should efface it from the arms of England; if he thinks in speaking French we are disloyal to our beloved Sovereign, Her Majesty the Queen, he must have forgotten the words "*Hon soit qui mal y pense*." If he wants to destroy French I answer him, in company with all my fellow-countrymen and all true British subjects in this Dominion: Sir, you shall not touch that language; you cannot efface it. We keep it with our religion, as a gift we owe to Divine Providence and to the kind liberality of Our beloved Sovereign. And whenever it is attempted to deprive us of that sacred deposit, we shall not despair as long as we read on the Royal Arms of England: "*Dieu et mon Droit*."

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