



HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.
(From a Photograph by Topley, Ottawa, 1888.)



MRS. MACKENZIE.

(From a Photograph by Topley, Ottawa, 1888.)

THE
HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE
HIS LIFE AND TIMES

BY
WILLIAM BUCKINGHAM
PRIVATE SECRETARY
AND
HON. GEO. W. ROSS, LL.D.
MINISTER OF EDUCATION, ONTARIO

“The better I have become acquainted with you, the more I have learned to respect and honor the straightforward integrity of your character, and the unmistakable desire to do your duty faithfully by the Queen, the Empire and the Dominion. . . . In my opinion, neither in England nor in Canada has any public servant of the Crown administered the affairs of the nation with a purer patriotism, with a more indefatigable industry, or nobler aspirations than yourself.”—LORD DUFFERIN.

“It will be a bright page in the history of Canada that tells that the first Reform Minister of this great Dominion was the noblest workingman in the land.”—HON. GEORGE BROWN.

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TO
THE WIDOW AND FAMILY
OF
The Late Hon. Alex. Mackenzie,
THE FIRST LIBERAL PREMIER OF THE DOMINION,
CANADA'S STAINLESS STATESMAN,
THIS VOLUME
Is Respectfully Inscribed.



INTRODUCTION.



HE history of an individual is often the history of a nation. The domination of a single mind may determine for centuries the course of a nation's life. The mere statement of this proposition calls up such names as Cromwell, Chatham, Peel.

The writer of biography is not, however, an historian. He has to do with the forces which make history rather than with history itself. He has to look from the effect to the cause—from the cleft sea to the wondrous rod in the leader's hand. The effect of social environment on the subject of his narrative, the influence upon him of education, of business, of wealth or of poverty, he is bound to consider; but while doing so he is ever conscious of the fact that many millions of the race whose biographies, happily, have not been written, were similarly conditioned. He finds that thousands of American citizens toiled upon the farm and split rails as did Abraham Lincoln; yet only one of these thousands became President of the United States. Scotland had generations of peasant ploughmen; yet only one was a Robert Burns. England produced many novelists and brilliant adventurers; yet only one ever became Premier. Why this discrimination is what constantly occurs to the biographer. Is it owing to native

talent? If so, how did that talent first express itself? How was it first discovered? Or, was success owing to some adventitious circumstance, which would be equally effective in securing distinction for the many thousands whose names have passed into oblivion?

The subject of this memoir was not presented to the world as an object of admiration, because of ancestral lineage or rank. No doubt his presence gladdened his Highland home, as such "sweet pledges of immortality" gladden other homes. At his father's fireside, or at the parish school, he was like other boys. It seems no one in early life smoothed down his flaxen curls, and whispered in his ear, prophetically, the story of his future greatness. Not even when toiling in the "bothy" with his fellow masons did any prescient comrade see in him the germs of statesmanship; and yet there must have been at work even in those early days that hidden growth of mind and character, which afterwards developed into a great leader of public opinion. How strange is destiny! See in the humble stonemason, shaping, with mallet and chisel, the rough granite of his native country into the stately column or the well-proportioned capital, a future Premier of Canada, shaping the policy of a great country, and giving it an enduring name among the nations of the world, and explain in advance, if you can, how it is to be brought about.

Mr. Mackenzie's early days in Canada were as uneventful as his Scottish life. Like thousands of others, who clambered over the bulwarks of an emigrant ship to seek subsistence in the colonies, he came unheralded. His was no well-filled purse. He had no letters of introduction to men of wealth or influence. He bowed at no man's door for preferment. But though his wealth did not consist in current coin of the realm, yet he was not poor. He had a trade; he had health;

he had self-reliance; he had energy; he had character; and with such possessions who would call him poor? Without waiting for anybody to take him by the hand, he applied himself to his trade. What he thought of his new home at that time, no one can now tell. It may be he often longed for his native hills—for the dreamy twilight of the summer months—for a sight of his Scottish home—for his friends. Or it may be, that he saw the great possibilities of the land of his adoption, although still held by nature in its rugged grasp. Whatever may have been his thoughts, certain it is, he was no laggard. "Whatsoever his hand found to do, he did it with his might," unobtrusively and unostentatiously. For nearly twenty years after his arrival in this country, he was, in the strictest sense of the term, a working-man—all honour to him. But, while toiling with his hands, his mind was active. He combined with the dignity of labour, the thoughtfulness of the student. He felt he was a citizen, not an alien, and that as such his country had claims upon him.

The questions engaging public attention were peculiarly congenial to a man of his temperament. Upper Canada, which contained the great bulk of the English-speaking population, had just been united to Lower Canada as a counterpoise to the influence of the French race. Responsible government, the great balance-wheel of the British constitution, was on its trial, and, in spite of partisan governors and cabinets, promised well. The commercial growth of the country sought freer channels with the United States in the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Religious liberty and equality were clamouring for the secularization of the clergy reserves and the abolition of rectories. The advocates of a broader education were appealing for the establishment of free schools. Great issues were before the country—issues which, to Mr. Mackenzie, were fraught with

momentous results, and which, no doubt, gave the direction to his political career. As a Nonconformist in Scotland, knowing and feeling the disabilities under which Nonconformists laboured, not only in the United Kingdom, but in every colony of the Empire, he could, without reserve, take up the policy of the Liberal party on that question.

His great leader, Mr. Brown, had said in 1851: "By means of Church Endowments, church has been set against church, family against family, sectarian hatred has been fostered, religion has been brought into contempt by the scramble for public plunder, and infidelity has been in no small degree promoted by the sight of men preaching one day the worthlessness of lucre, and battling on the next to clutch a little of that same commodity, though gained by the grossest partiality and injustice—and all this to serve the cause of religion."

With these sentiments he heartily coincided. To fight the battles of the Liberal party, then, was simply to express his own convictions. And every one who heard him speak in those days felt that he was not the mere champion of liberalism, but an embodiment of liberalism itself.

Long before Mr. Mackenzie entered Parliament, his ability as a debater was recognized by all who knew him. His stunning blows and corrosive humour were felt and feared by every antagonist. With a courage that never quailed, with a logic as inexorable as one of Euclid's demonstrations, and in language, simple, exact and forcible, none the less effective because of its Scottish accent, he would tear into tatters the arguments of the enemy. The interruptions of his opponents but assisted in their discomfiture, for he was a master at repartee, and no one ever crossed swords with him without realizing that he had a foeman worthy of his steel.

But these were only the training days of the young athlete;

he had not reached the maturity of his power, although he entered Parliament in his thirty-ninth year. The great demand upon his time and physical strength by his vocation made it impossible for him to give much time to public matters. His whole attention was now, however, at least for a considerable portion of the year, to be given to politics. He was brought face to face with men who directed the public opinion of the day. He had a parliamentary library at his elbow, and it remained to be seen whether the platform champion of the rural school-house and the dimly-lighted town-hall would hold his own with the Ruperts of parliamentary debate. His friends had not long to wait. Modestly, but with an unaffected consciousness of power, he took part in the debates; and parliament, with its traditional consideration for young members, heard him with respect.

His advancement was unusually rapid. In 1864, he was an active member of the party caucus. In 1865, he was asked by Sir John Macdonald to join his Government. In 1867, he was the acknowledged leader of the Liberal party. And, in 1873, just eleven years after first subscribing to the roll as a member of parliament, he was Premier of Canada. Few men, even with the assistance of wealth and social position, can furnish such a record. Of him it may be truly said :

“ We build the ladder by which we rise
From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies,
And we mount to the summit round by round.”

The writers of Mr. Mackenzie's biography have sought to show the public what manner of man he was, by simply stating how he conducted himself in the various positions in which he was placed. His career from the time he entered parliament until he ceased to be the leader of his party in 1881 supplies a

sufficient test of every quality of head and heart which our readers can have any desire to know.

As a private member of parliament he was attentive to his constituents, considerate towards his friends, and manly and frank with his opponents. He sought political support because of the principles which he represented. He paid no man for his franchise. He was under personal obligations to no man for his vote.

As a representative on the floor of parliament, no one could have served his constituents better. While he regarded himself as the representative of the whole country, and not as a delegate from any section, the records of parliament show how attentive he was to all matters of local interest. Few members of parliament were more constant in their attendance in the House, and few did more committee work.

Mr. Mackenzie's relations with his fellow members were generally cordial: although pugnacious, he was not quarrelsome, and seldom, if ever, struck the first blow. He acted on the advice given by Polonius to Laertes, his son:

"Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,

Bear't that the opposed may beware of thee."

In some of these encounters it happened that blows were struck, the stinging effect of which was felt for a few days. He never allowed, however, the combats of the platform to degenerate into a personal feud with an opponent. Even in his bitterest attacks there was no malice. It was apparent that his object was a public, not a personal one. "To strike below the waistcoat," to use Lord Dufferin's expression, was a thing he despised.

Mr. Mackenzie was apt in literary quotation, and exceedingly well read. The religious discussions of his early days

in Scotland led to much theological reading on his part, and few men were better informed as to the differences which divided the various Protestant denominations of Great Britain and Canada.

In the political history of the British Empire he was also well-informed, and could refer with great readiness to the different administrations of the present century, and to the views and sentiments of the great leaders of political thought.

His cast of mind was eminently logical. He would have made his mark, had he been trained for that purpose, as a professor of logic, even in a Scotch university. His readiness to detect a flaw in an opponent's argument was almost phenomenal, and his skill in pointing out the inconsistencies and incompatibilities of the positions taken during a debate was one of the sources of his great strength. No member of parliament since the Hon. Geo. Brown's time was more effective in the use of the *tu quoque* form of argument than Mr. Mackenzie. An opponent might consider himself fortunate if he escaped being confronted with his previous record, on any question in which he had been in the slightest degree inconsistent.

In the arrangement of a speech, the same logical power which shattered an enemy's argument was exercised. His common expression, "and more than that," would show almost as on profile the steps by which he proposed to lead his hearers to a climax. With him, the less important invariably preceded the more important, and his conclusion, like the key of the arch, fastened the whole structure.

As a speaker, Mr. Mackenzie, if not fluent, as that quality in speaking is ordinarily understood, had no difficulty in finding the right word by which to express his thoughts, and he always spoke with apparent deliberation. Indeed

so accurate and deliberate were his speeches, that he was one of the few parliamentarians of the day who could with credit be reported verbatim. In the destructive rattle of his artillery he had no superior in the House of Commons.

Mr. Mackenzie's power over an audience was very great. His intensity and earnestness at once rivetted attention, and his distinct enunciation made it easy to follow him. He was never vociferous, even under excitement, and never impatient under criticism. If asked a question or interrupted, his answer came instantaneously, and one answer was generally sufficient for most questioners.

His Scottish humor gave him great power. It was often sarcastic—for his own sake, perhaps too often so. When turned against an opponent with all the force with which he could command it, it was destructive as a live electric wire. When playful, it was as amusing as a chapter from Dean Ramsay.

In conducting election campaigns, although Mr. Mackenzie had a great deal of confidence in the press and the platform, he had still greater confidence in organization. His experience in this respect, as secretary of the Hon. Geo. Brown's committee, before he entered public life, and his subsequent experience in his own elections, impressed him with the importance of this kind of work. In writing to a friend in 1873 he says: "I am sure that a close organization and canvass are of infinitely more importance than meetings. Meetings do not accomplish much compared with canvassing and organizing, and a resolute effort to have every man out on polling day."

When meetings were held, however, like Rufus Choate with the jury, he was bound that they should be carried in his favor. The moral effect upon his opponents of a complete

rout upon the platform he valued very highly. It is safe to say that his large majority in 1867 was owing as much to the Hon. Wm. MacDougall's weakness in his hands as to party organization.

As leader of his party in Opposition, Mr. Mackenzie was courageous and aggressive. Whenever he took a position on any question, he was prepared to defend it with all his force. He took no pleasure in expediency. What he advocated was right, because it was right, and not simply expedient; and when a certain course was determined upon, he turned neither to the right hand nor to the left, no matter what obstacles lay in the way. He never studied, apparently, the modern methods of "wire pulling" and "pipe-laying," which are so much depended upon in party warfare. How to evade an issue or how to appear to be supporting a movement, while he was in reality opposing it, or how to lead two opposing factions to believe that he sympathized with each and opposed the other, was a political accomplishment which he never studied. If he moved a resolution, it was so worded as to mean what it said; and if he made a speech, it was so expressed as to be incapable of two interpretations. Had he been less straightforward, he might have coquetted with the Nova Scotians in 1870, or with Manitoba in 1871, or with Quebec during the Riel agitation.

To have maintained the confidence of the Liberal party as acting leader from 1867 to 1873, in the presence of many other distinguished men, was, in itself, a great achievement. It may be fairly assumed that men like Holton and Dorion would not have followed any leader of inferior ability.

Turning to him next, as Premier, there is much in his character to admire. His transfer from one side of the House to the other made no change in his manner. The First Minister

of Canada directing the legislation of one of England's greatest colonies was quite as unpretentious as the man who yesterday was the leader of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition.

In his new position his responsibilities were increased. Leadership now involved much more than managing and directing party warfare. He had not only to keep his party in hand, but he had to maintain the dignity and honor of parliament. His voice was the most potent voice in British North America. How to use the power with which he was invested, to win the confidence and respect of the people of Canada, was the problem before him.

The leader of a Government requires to be a man of great decision of character, firmness, resource, good temper, and above all, of patience. The latter quality was said by the younger Pitt to supersede, in importance, all other qualities of a leader. To occupy the time of the House in protracted discussions, which could serve no useful purpose, was doubtless annoying to a man, every moment of whose time was more than fully occupied. And yet, experience shows that to resist the disposition of members of parliament to continue a debate, prolongs rather than shortens it. An Opposition is apt to do the very thing that is distasteful to the Government.

Though not open to the charge of impatience, Mr. Mackenzie sometimes failed in answering questions put to him by opponents in a conciliatory spirit. The soft answer which turns away wrath was not always at hand, and instead of it was used, sometimes to his own disadvantage, the sarcasm which sears and scorches and provokes to enmity and retaliation.

To badger and banter a Government is the peculiar privilege of an Opposition. The Opposition who confronted Mr. Mac-

kenzie were possessed of large powers in this direction. Their leader, Sir John Macdonald, was an adept at parliamentary fence, and knowing, as he did, the position of every public question when the Government came into power, he was able from year to year, to catechize the Government fully as to the different phases which such questions assumed. There were other members of the Opposition who had made a study of the details of each department of the public service, and who were most irritating, and very often unreasonable, in their criticisms. That human nature would occasionally resent such attacks, was not to be wondered at, and if Mr. Mackenzie threw himself with all his force upon some troublesome Oppositionists, he might very well be excused.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Mr. Mackenzie's leadership was dignified and judicial. The views of the Government he always presented with frankness; and where the honor of parliament, or any great national interest, was at stake, his manner plainly indicated the noble instincts of his nature. He never lowered the tone of the debate by act or speech; nor, so far as he could prevent it, did he allow parliament to degenerate into a mob.

Mr. Mackenzie strongly believed that it was greatly to the advantage of Canada to continue her present connection with the Empire. So long as the colonial office did not wantonly interfere in our domestic affairs, we had, in his opinion, all the advantages practically of self-government, and, in addition, the prestige of sharing in the honor and dignity of the British Empire. The independence of Canada, even in the remote future, was a possibility which he seems never to have entertained; while annexation to the United States involved such considerations of national weakness and faint-heartedness as to be unworthy of a moment's consideration.

"The fierce light that beats upon the throne" allows no distinction to be drawn between the private life of a First Minister and his public presence under the argus eye of the Press. The duty of dispensing hospitality, as became the First Minister, was discharged with a liberality which left nothing to be desired. As a host, he was entertaining and agreeable, and no one left his table without pleasant recollections of his courtesy and his attention.

Mr. Mackenzie's biography, which is in perspective a history of the Liberal party during the last thirty years, contains much to inspire and encourage the Young Liberals of Canada. Though not a Gladstone or a Pitt, or perhaps not in all respects equal to Mr. Brown, he was nevertheless a Canadian whose services to his country should not be forgotten. "To break his birth's invidious bar, and breast the blows of circumstance," and to advance step by step until by the favor of his countrymen he became First Minister of the State, represent qualities, in his case particularly, worthy of imitation. He who wears the white flower of a blameless life through all the vicissitudes of time and place, he who listens to the voice of conscience in the midst of temptations, and pursues the path of honor with heroic self-denial in the discharge of every public duty, is too valuable a representative of the better elements of Canadian politics to be allowed to pass from memory with the procession which bears him to his grave.

THE AUTHORS.

August 31st, 1892.



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NOTE.

The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to many persons for the use of the original letters and papers which appear in this volume. They are under special obligations in this respect to Mrs. Mackenzie, Mr. Robert Mackenzie, Mr. Charles Mackenzie, M.P.P., and Rev. Dr. Thompson—the two last named being the Executors. The literary memorials of the deceased statesman have been unreservedly placed at their disposal; and they have proved a mine of wealth, which has been extensively drawn upon for the enrichment of the work. Mr. Mackenzie's habit was to preserve all letters and papers which came into his possession, and they were methodically endorsed. They were not, however, classified or arranged; so that it became at once obvious that there was no preparation of material looking to a record of his life. He was consulted about a biography some years before he died, but he spoke of it as a matter to which he had devoted very little thought, and the subject was one to which he did not revert.

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THE
HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE,
HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE'S YOUTH.

Record of Mr. Mackenzie's Birth—His Paternal Ancestry—His Father's Loss of Fortune—"Peregrinities"—The Memorial Tablet—The Mother's Family—The Parents' Endowments—Mr. Mackenzie's Birthplace—His "Schooling"—The Old Clockmaker Schoolmaster—His Hard Necessity—He Learns a Trade.

ALITTLE over seventy years ago there was born in a Scottish village, to parents in unpretentious circumstances, a lad who, like Clive, was destined in after life to play an important part in a wide field in another hemisphere—whose destiny it was to realise in his own person, and in our own day, the fairy-book romance of "Turn again Whittington, Lord Mayor of London." This lad was Alexander Mackenzie, Prime Minister of Canada. He came to Canada, in 1842, a working stonecutter; he returned from Canada, in 1875, at the head of its Government. In a letter descriptive of the voyage home

in the latter year, he himself marks the strange contrast in his position and fortune. "Leaving Quebec," he says, "we had a delightful sail down the St. Lawrence, that queen of rivers. My mind went back to the time when, as a nameless mason lad, I had sailed up that same river, 33 years before, the country and future all unknown to me. Little did I think that I should ever return, as I did to-day, full of responsibility, if not of honor." "His," says the *London Times*, "was a remarkable career. He rose from toiling in a stone-yard to rule the greatest territory in the British Empire." "To-day," remarked the great French journalist, Paul de Cazes, when referring to Mr. Mackenzie's visit to the Queen, "the poor mechanic of the past is welcomed and feasted at the most aristocratic court in Europe, while, for the proud nobles who surround him in the gilded salons of St. James, his lowly origin is disguised under the imprint of ability stamped upon the Canadian statesman."

He was the third son of Alexander Mackenzie and Mary Stewart Fleming. As annalist of the family, his father has methodically recorded in a small book the domestic events as they occurred. The book is now in possession of the eldest son, and from it the following extract is taken: "1822, at Logierait, Monday, 28th day of January. Born to me at a quarter past twelve, Sunday night, my third son. Baptized on Friday, 8th of February. Named Alexander." There were ten children born to these parents—all sons. They were named Robert, Hope Fleming, Alexander, Thomas, Donald, John, Adam Stewart, James, Charles and Daniel. Thomas, Donald and Daniel died in infancy.

The father died at Dunkeld in 1836, aged 52. Six years after his death, the son, Alexander, came to Canada; he was followed one year subsequently by Hope, and four years after

by the other brothers and their mother. On February 16th, 1861, at the age of 66, the mother, whose maiden name was Mary Stewart Fleming, died in Sarnia, surrounded by her seven children. She lies buried in the cemetery there, in the midst of five of those sons; the only ones now living being the eldest and the youngest, Robert and Charles.

It is our main purpose in these pages to follow the career of Alexander, both in Scotland and Canada, and as the starting place is a little earlier in point of time, let us see what may be found borne on a couple of the stems of the genealogical tree. And first, as relates to the ancestry of the father.

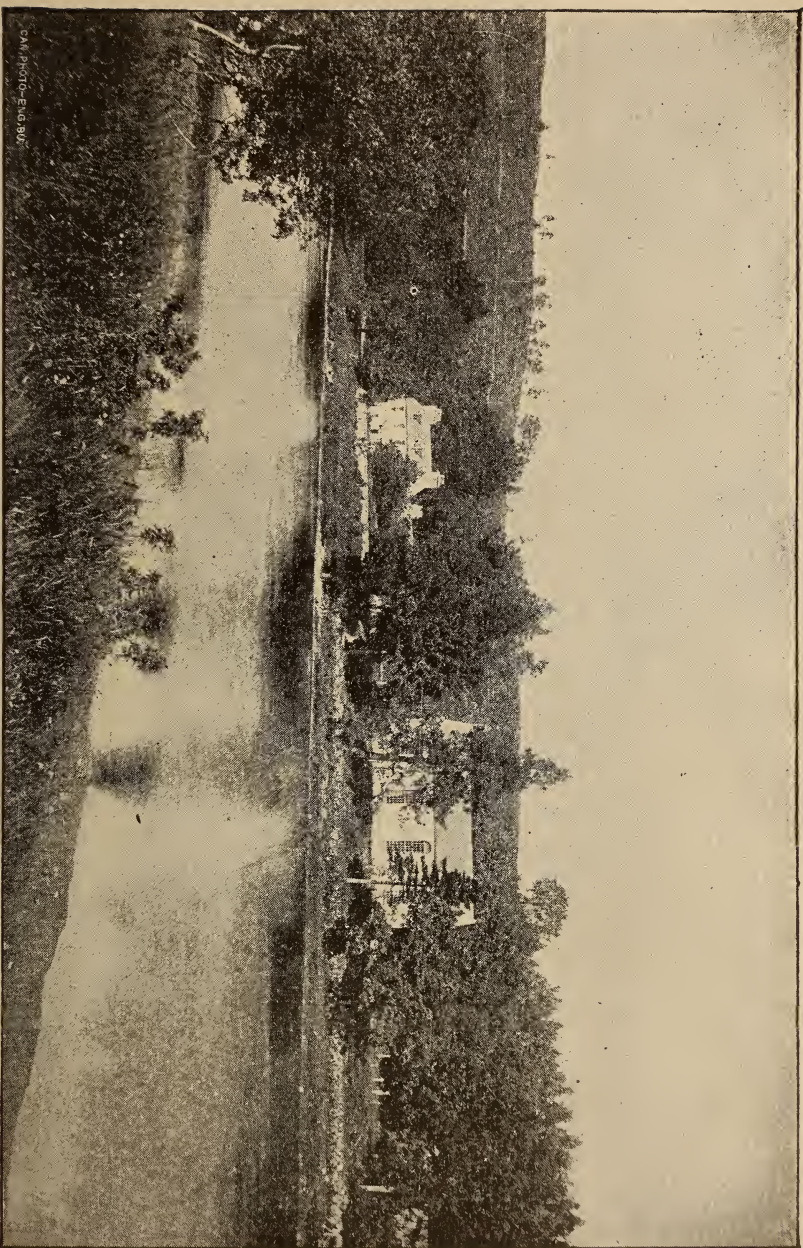
The name of the paternal great-grandfather of the Canadian Mackenzies was Donald, a Ross-shire Highlander, who came south to Perthshire, where he married Margaret Ferguson, and where, in 1742, their grandfather, Malcolm, was born, on the banks of the Tummel, near its confluence with the Garry, at the foot of the famous Pass of Killiecrankie. The families of Donald and of Malcolm, who married Catherine McDonald, of Strathtay, all remained in Perthshire; here they were born, and here they died, and were buried—Donald and his generation in the churchyard of the parish of Moulin; Malcolm and his in Logierait, where the elder Alexander and his three little children also lie—all of two generations and part of the third sleeping their peaceful sleep in this most beautiful part of the Perthshire Highlands.

Malcolm Mackenzie was a millwright and miller, and, as we learn from the original document now before us, signed by the Duke, leased from His Grace, John, Duke of Athol, "the miln, miln-croft, houses, yards, and appurtenances thereto belonging of Kincraigie, together with the thirlage," the "thirlage" being defined by Webster as "the right which the owner of a mill possesses, by contract or law, to compel the tenants

of a certain district to bring all their grain to his mill for grinding."

In this old mill of Kineraigie, haunted with all manner of "spooks," and which we have heard Mr. Mackenzie say he never went past when a boy except on the run, and then with a feeling of dread, as one pursued by the sheeted dead, Alexander, the miller's son, was born in the year 1784, and he, like his father, became skilled in the use of tools. He served an apprenticeship as a carpenter, and during the period of feverish activity in the fitting and refitting of battleships in the early part of the century, he found profitable employment as ship-joiner at Portsmouth. But he was much more than a mere mechanic; he was an excellent architectural draughtsman. After Waterloo he returned to the former scenes in Perthshire, where he superintended the erection of manorial houses, and took contracts of his own. He was of an adventurous and enterprising turn of mind, and branched out into other undertakings. The right to cut, chiefly for the tan bark, oak timber in the coppices of Scotland, is let by the landed lairds every twenty-one years. A good deal of employment is given to the people in this way, and before the close of the French wars large profits were derived from these enterprises. Alexander, as appears by his diary, engaged in them. But the war expenditures having now been stopped, great financial distress came upon the people, and this once prosperous man met with such considerable reverses that he never regained his former good fortune. Henceforth, with his increasing family, life was to him a stern reality, which impelled him to make frequent movements from place to place in search for the means of bettering his circumstances.

He married in 1817, when he was living in Logierait. In the year 1825, the family were in Edinburgh, where, he says,



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Parish Church and Manse, Logierait, (the Birth-place of Mr. Mackenzie), Perthshire, Scotland.

"my sons Robert, Hope F. and Alexander, had the measles. Robert and Alexander got them easily over, but Hope for several days was considered dangerous, having been bled, leeches, and blistered"—from which pleasant and heroic treatment, as well as the measles, he at length, after a severe struggle, miraculously recovered! On the 10th of March, 1826, it is written that the two "sons Robert and Hope Fleming went from here to Cluny, Strathtay, for some time to attend school and learn the Gaelic." They had missed acquiring the Gaelic as an ordinary vehicle of talk, although their father and mother habitually conversed together in that ancient tongue.

"Perth, Nov. 26, 1827. Arrived here with my wife, and Alexander, my son." "1829, May 15. Removed from Perth to Pitlochry."

In the summer of 1834 they removed to Dunkeld, where, to borrow an expressive word, Alexander Mackenzie's "peregrinities" ended, for here, in 1836, he died. He was buried at Logierait, where Malcolm, his father, who lived to the advanced age of 94, had already been interred. Like all his race, Alexander was a sober-minded, God-fearing man, and the certificate is preserved which gave him warrant for admission to the Lord's table in Glasgow at the age of 21. We copy from the original paper now before us the certificate of church membership given to this couple, the father and mother of the Canadian Mackenzies, by the session clerk of Logierait: "These do certify that the bearers hereof, Alexander Mackenzie and Mary Fleming, his wife, have been residents in this parish for nearly twenty years, always behaving themselves regularly, under a fair character, and free from any grounds of church censure, in full communion with the church, and may be freely admitted into any christian congregation, or society, wherever they may happen to reside. Given by appointment

of the kirk session of Logierait, the twenty-seventh day of March, eighteen hundred and twenty-five years.

“ THOMAS MENZIES, Min.

“ DONALD FLEMING, Session Clerk.”

From Kincaigie, where Alexander was born, to Dunkeld, where he died, the distance is about six miles ; and from Dunkeld to Logierait, where he was buried, and where the younger Alexander was born, is from eight to nine miles.

Fifteen years after coming to this country, the future Canadian premier returned for the first time to the scenes of his earlier days. Wishing to place an inscription while there at the head of his father's grave, two difficulties presented themselves. The first was that the family burial plot abutted on the east wall, near by the main door of the church, leaving no room for a monument, and thus necessitating the insertion of a tablet into the wall, and next that the sanction was required of the heritors or landowners, on whom lay the responsibility of building and upholding the parish church. To the credit of the heritors, be it said, the requisite permission, notwithstanding some objections, was granted as a special favor to the claims of an exiled parishioner to thus perform a filial duty ; and the tablet remains there as the only attachment of the kind possessed by the old church walls. The widow and the family continued to reside at Dunkeld from the death of the husband and father until their removal to Canada in 1847.

We now turn to the mother's side of the house. The mother of the Mackenzies was the daughter of Donald Fleming and Jean Stewart, both persons of good social position. Mr. Fleming was society schoolmaster and session clerk of Logierait. Society schools were supplementary to parish schools, and were what mission schools are here ; they were

maintained by the society for the propagation of christian knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Mr. Fleming acted also for the people in secular matters. Lawyers were unknown in those days in this secluded part of Scotland, and he was therefore the chief adviser and administrator of the affairs of the people of a very extensive district—a position which gave him a high standing and great influence. These peaceful occupations he preferred to the more stirring life of the army, in which in his earlier days his wife's relatives proposed to purchase for him a commission. He was not of Celtic origin, and he had of necessity to master the Gaelic language, which he spoke without the Highland intonation. He died in 1826, aged 70 years.

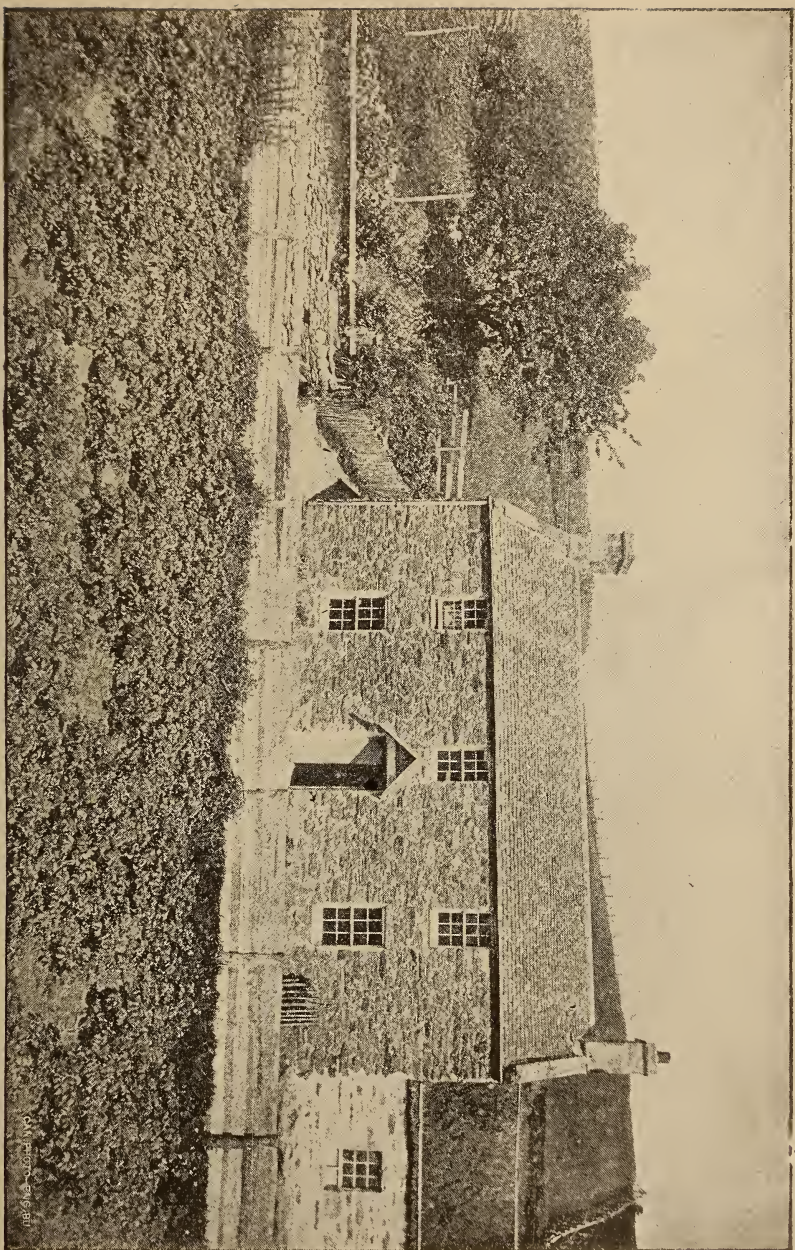
Jean, his wife, was the eldest of the four daughters of Adam Stewart, a regimental captain and a landed proprietor of Strathtay, owning, as he did, the estates of Blackhill and Cluny, with their two manorial houses. These estates, which are about six miles up the Strath or valley of the Tay from Logierait, are still in the possession of the family, the present proprietor being Captain Robertson. The manor house of Cluny and the shooting privileges on the estate are now, or have been, under lease to Sir Donald Currie, the great ship-owner, and member of the House of Commons for West Perthshire. It was to this house, then in the possession of Miss Anne Stewart, their grand aunt, that the two elder boys, Robert and Hope, went to live in 1826, in order to "attend school and learn the Gaelic."

Mary Fleming, the mother of the Mackenzies, was the fourth of seven children, four sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Thomas, went to Jamaica, and died there of yellow fever. Another son, Hope Stewart, was bred to the profession of medicine, and took the degree of M.D. He, however, never

practised. His family influence procured for him a commission in the service of the East India Company. He attained high rank in the Madras Presidency, and acquired considerable wealth. He died in 1874, in London, England, leaving handsome legacies to his numerous nephews and nieces, and the remainder of his fortune to his cousin, the Captain Robertson already mentioned, who was his executor and residuary legatee. The Lord Provost of Perth, who presided at the public banquet given in Mr. Mackenzie's honor in 1875, and Rev. Dr. Macdonald, of Leith, a distinguished minister, and an author of some note, are, like Captain Robertson, cousins of the Mackenzies.

On both sides of the house, therefore, the Mackenzies came of good families, as the phrase goes, and their ancestors were of the best stock, but this they never referred to in any way whatever. They relied solely on their own merits. Their creed on the social structure question was based upon the two celebrated sentences of the Prime Minister in his speech in 1875 before the working men of Dundee: "For my own part, sir, I never allude to the fact that I have been a working man as a reason why I should be rejected or why I should be accepted. I base my entire claim for public confidence upon the expressions of opinion which I believe command that confidence, and upon the strength of those principles of which I have been a humble advocate for many years."

Having written at some little length of Alexander Mackenzie, the father, it is proper to say of the mother, not only whose features, but whose large intellectual endowments the children inherited in a very marked degree, that she was a woman of great insight and wisdom, gentle of manner, though firm and independent in character, and eminently fitted to instil those solid principles into the minds and hearts of her



House at Logierait, Scotland (still standing), where Mr. Mackenzie was born.

sons, which made them the strong-willed, self-reliant, unselfish, honorable, public-spirited men that they were. They had a warm attachment for each other, and the greatest affection for their parents, of whom they invariably spoke, not in the ordinary way of "father," or "mother," but in the more exclusive and tender, almost sacred, sense of "*our* father," and "*our* mother."

A well-informed Scottish writer some years ago, in a sketch of Mr. Mackenzie and his ancestors, said that though his parents were in humble life, his father being a country joiner, the joiner "was so well endowed with brains and information, and the gift of the tongue, that he was the oracle of the village, the life and soul of any social organisations which it had. His mother was daughter of Mr. Fleming, long schoolmaster at Inver of Tullipourie, whose family talent, intelligence, and refinement raised them decidedly above the average of their peers."

As we shall in this narrative employ the language of Mr. Alexander Mackenzie himself, wherever it can be introduced, so now we give his own brief description of the place where, "in a blast of Januar' win'," he first saw the light of day, and where his home was for the earlier four years of his childhood life. He speaks of his father's house at Logierait as "a stone cottage prettily situated near the confluence of the rivers Tay and Tummel—one of the most beautiful spots in the Southern Highlands, where, within a few miles of the ancient cathedral city of Dunkeld on the south, and the famous pass of Killiecrankie on the north, a rich cultivation in the broad valleys contrasts strongly with near mountain scenery, rendering the spot no less celebrated for natural beauty than it is for its historic recollections." The house was built by his father about eighty years ago.

Logierait is a village of ancient fame, even in the crowded history of Scotland. It has a Gaelic name, signifying "the hollow of the fortress." In early days it was associated with royalty, and was the seat of the Duke of Athol's regality court, a tribunal which had extensive jurisdiction in cases criminal and civil, and, to a lesser extent, in matters ecclesiastical. So great, indeed, were the criminal powers of the court, that a "gallows-hill" was a necessary appendage to it. The village has been the birthplace and home of other distinguished men than the Prime Minister of Canada, notably Dr. Adam Ferguson, the historian and philosopher, and Dr. Robert Bisset; while Major-General Sir Robert H. Dick, Bart., who fell at Sobraon, in 1846, in the hour of victory, also shared the honors of the parish.

Pitlochry, where the family lived for a time, after leaving Logierait, in a comfortable stone house still standing there, is almost six miles further north, and nearer the entrance to the famous Pass. It is a delightful spot on the banks of the Tummel, which a poet might envy. The river at this point carries both its own waters and the waters of the Garry; the Garry joining it a few miles higher up. Both streams are celebrated in song, and abound with national reminiscences.

"Cam' ye by Athol, lad wi' the philabeg,
Down by the Tummel, or banks of the Garry?
Saw ye our lads wi' their bonnets and white cockades,
Leaving their mountains to follow Prince Charlie?"

The old village, with its many and varied attractions, has of late years grown into quite a summer resort. Probably there is nothing more beautiful than this favored spot in all Scotland. Such was the opinion of a warm lover of nature, the late Charles Kingsley. When dining with Mr. Mackenzie some years ago in Ottawa, he said: "I have travelled all over

the world, and I know no place more lovely, or a drive more glorious, than that from Blair-Athol to Pitlochry, through the Pass of Killiecrankie." In his tour of Scotland in 1883, Mr. Mackenzie pointed out the old cherry tree at Logierait, from which when a boy he had fallen when striving to get its fruit, and for which he narrowly escaped a thrashing, not for the injury done to himself, but to his jacket.

While residing at Pitlochry the three elder boys went to the parish school of Moulin, distant a little over a mile. The schoolhouse was then, and is still, a small, quaint, uncomfortable building. Writing from Ottawa, over fifty years after he had received his scanty "schooling" here, to a friend in Dunkeld, Mr. Mackenzie paints a picture of the surroundings, which recalls Mrs. Gaskell's description of the graveyard and parsonage at Haworth, where Charlotte Brontë and her weird sisters nursed their strange genius in the bosom of the wild Yorkshire moorlands: "What a mistake our grandfathers and our immediate predecessors made in having church, manse, graveyard, and schoolmaster's premises all crowded together. I remember our old schoolhouse in Moulin, like that at Logierait, had one part in the enclosure of the graveyard. The vast accumulation of bodies for centuries had raised the ground in the graveyard some five or six feet, and the back windows of our school were half covered by the growing soil. Let me add that I met an old woman here lately whose husband worked for years with my father at Logierait before I was born."

When he was at Moulin in 1883, Mr. Mackenzie, pointing out the old school-house on whose benches he had sat as a little boy, said: "It still looks as old-fashioned and antiquated as if it had stood there since the times of the flood—a fit place for the education of Noah and his family." He also

related some interesting anecdotes of the old teacher whose power in wielding the tawse and authority over his subjects made him more terrible to them than the Czar of all the Russias. Robertson was the name of the Moulin dominie, and he eked out his scanty pay in pedagogy by tinkering old clocks and watches, upon whose bodies he was accustomed to work, while driving the arts of reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic into the minds of the unwilling urchins. It is to be apprehended that Alexander got little under the ferule of the mechanical old Robertson, or at either of the two or three other similar educational establishments which he attended within the brief compass of his so-called scholastic life. But what says a great master on this subject, his countryman, who, as the scholar of the family, had the advantages of a university education—though *his* father, too, was but a working mechanic—Scholar Tom? "To him," speaking of John Sterling, "and to all of us, the expressly-appointed schoolmasters and schoolings we get are as nothing, compared with the unappointed, incidental, and continual ones, whose school hours are all the days and nights of our existence, and whose lessons, noticed or unnoticed, stream in upon us with every breath we draw."

Robert, the eldest brother, has told us that Alexander left school altogether when he was thirteen, and that from ten to thirteen he worked in summer with the farmers, and went to school in the winter. Three winters' schooling at such institutions as ancient Robertson's, the clock-mender, must have been a poor equipment for a lifetime, and if Thomas Carlyle himself had been compelled to put up with it, instead of having entered at the college at Edinburgh, we certainly would not have had "Sartor Resartus" or "Frederick the Great." How Mr. Mackenzie throughout his career felt the hampering influences of his early surroundings, appears in a letter of

lament, written to his friend, Mr. George Brown, in 1872, when he had become a great parliamentary leader—a letter so full of pathos as to evoke sympathy from the strongest, for the inadequately furnished, if still powerful man: “I know too well my own deficiencies as a political leader to wonder at other people seeing them as well. The want of early advantages was but ill compensated for by an anxious-enough effort to acquire such in the midst of a laborious life, deeply furrowed by domestic trials, and it has left me but ill-fitted to grapple with questions and circumstances constantly coming up in Parliament. I am quite aware of the advantages possessed by a leader of men, of high mental culture and having ample means, especially when these are joined to intellectual power and personal excellence. Therefore, I do not wonder at, or complain of, those who see in others possessing such, greater fitness for the work required of them than myself.”

He had at that time, by his own unaided efforts, won a position which it is the good fortune of but one in millions to achieve, however gifted or well-trained he may happen to be. By these efforts Mr. Mackenzie's mind became one of continuous development, ever acquiring knowledge, and constantly expanding and growing upon what it fed. It will be curious and interesting to mark as we go along, from the outer rather than from the inner evidences, the progress he made, often by leaps and bounds, from the period of 1841, when he struck out for himself as journeyman stonecutter, until he reached, in 1873, the highest attainable altitude as chief adviser of the Crown.

But if it was hard for the boys to get a livelihood, much less an education, while the impoverished father was alive to struggle for them, it was harder still after his death. There were seven of them, ranging from the age of two to seven-

teen, Alexander being fourteen. The three elder boys had already left school, for stern necessity had driven them to do something in the way of support for themselves. When he was but ten years of age, Alexander had been compelled to start forth in the battle of life by hiring himself out as a herd lad to various farmers in the neighborhood, with the attendant duties of caring for their cows and sheep. When he was sixteen he held the plough, and did at that honorable employment a man's full work, for he was very strong for his age, and full of pluck and resource. One who knew him as a lad has said of him: "He was remarkable for strength and energy; always on the alert, and ever ready for fun or frolic." From his youth he was a born leader, and headed his companions in their every harmless mischief-making expedition. But he was, from first to last, self-respecting, and there was never anything in him approaching in the slightest degree to badness. There was a boldness and aggressiveness, an independence of character and thought about him, a habit of forming his own opinions and of sticking to them when formed, which all feared, and many liked him for. But whether they did the one or the other, he chalked out his own way and kept it. "Hew straight to the line, and the man's work is not only the better for it in itself, but is more commendable in the eyes of his fellow men."

As the boys in turn grew to a proper age, each was apprenticed to a trade. The eldest two, Robert and Hope, became carpenters and cabinetmakers, Alexander a stonecutter, John a tin and coppersmith, and Adam a druggist. The other two children were too young to learn trades in Scotland, but after their arrival in Canada James became associated with the two elder brothers in building and cabinetmaking, and Charles joined John in the hardware and tin and coppersmithing business.



CHAPTER II.

HIS ARRIVAL IN CANADA.

Aspirations not Realised—Hugh Miller's Case Exemplified—Journeyman Stonecutter Before the Age of Twenty—Works and Muses in the Land of Burns—Beginning of His Religious Life—Becomes Attached to Helen Neil—Emigration to Canada—His Deportment on the Voyage—Love for the Old Songs—Arrival in Kingston—A Scottish Scene of '43.

FROUDE has told us that there is in most Scottish families a desire that one of the sons shall receive a liberal education. It seems to have been so in the family of the Mackenzies. Alexander had always felt a thirst for knowledge. He was a greedy reader, and never tired of poring over his books. In this way, with his prodigious memory, he was constantly storing up funds of most valuable information. It was his own wish and that of his mother and the rest that he should obtain what is known as "advantages." But this wish was not to be realised. There were seven children and the mother to be provided for, and the brave, manly boy resolved to take his turn at wage-earning with the rest. So at about the age of 16, from his hard preparatory school of existence, he entered life's university by binding himself with a builder of the name of John Ireland, of Dunkeld, to learn the trade of a stonecutter. Who does not recall in these circumstances, with this chosen occupation, but with these desires and aspirations unfulfilled, the author of "My Schools and Schoolmasters," his

countryman, Hugh Miller? Were not their characters and their tastes and followings almost identical? One of the most vivid and widely-read of Hugh Miller's chapters is that in which he tells the story of his choice of a calling, its impelling motives, and his unsatisfied early ambition to gratify his tastes in other ways than that of shaping stone. Though the passage is a little long, and pressed as we are for space in these crowded chapters of events, it fits the case of Alexander Mackenzie so well, with the one exception of the reference to the misspent period of boyhood, as to tempt us to quote it, with but small abridgment.

Says Hugh Miller: "Finlay was away, my friend of the Doocot Cave was away; my other companions were all scattered abroad; my mother, after a long widowhood of more than eleven years, had entered into a second marriage; and I found myself standing face to face with a life of labor and restraint. The prospect appeared dreary in the extreme. The necessity of ever toiling from morning till night, and from one week's end to another, and for a little coarse food and homely raiment, seemed to be a dire one, and fain would I have avoided it, but there was no escape; and so I determined on being a mason. . . . I, however, did look, even at this time, notwithstanding the antecedents of a sadly misspent boyhood, to something higher, and daring to believe that literature and, mayhap, natural science, were, after all, my proper vocations, I resolved that much of my leisure time should be given to careful observation, and the study of our best English authors. Fain would I have avoided going to school—that best and noblest of all schools, save the Christian one, in which Labor is the teacher—in which the ability of being useful is imparted, and the spirit of independence communicated, and the habit of persevering effort acquired, and which

is more moral than the schools in which philosophy is taught, and greatly more happy than the schools which prefer to teach only the art of enjoyment. Noble, upright, self-relying Toil, who that knows thy solid worth and value would be ashamed of thy hard hands and thy soiled vestments, and thy obscure tasks—thy humble cottage, and hard couch, and homely fare. Save for thee and thy lessons, man in society would everywhere sink into a sad compound of the fiend and the wild beast, and this fallen world would be as certainly a moral as a natural wilderness. But I little thought of the excellency of thy character and of thy teachings when, with a heavy heart, I set out about this time, on a morning early in spring, to take my first lesson from thee in a sandstone quarry.”

The studious herdboy had certainly read Hugh Miller; and the elder stonecutter’s noble apostrophe to labor must have influenced him in following his precepts and his example.

Young Mackenzie was a faithful and zealous apprentice; he served his master well, acquired a complete knowledge of his trade, and turned himself out a most competent workman when he was even yet in the period of his teens. In the few years that he had passed from the days of mere childhood until now, the sagacious Scotch lad had learned by heart in a stern school the true lessons of life, the first of which is to win “the glorious privilege,” that was now his own, “of being independent,” and to acquire those talents of prudence, self-discipline, industry and sobriety without which it is given to no one to achieve the best results.

He could not have been more than three years or a little more under indentures, for he went to Mr. Ireland as apprentice when he was about 16, and in 1841, before he had reached 20, he was working at Irvine as a journeyman stonecutter.

On being loosed from his indentures the young man began to look around him for employment; for through all his days he hated to be idle. In Dunkeld there was no scope, as there was little building there of any kind. But in the west of Scotland the Ayr and Glasgow railroad was being constructed, and this involved the erection of bridges and culverts. And so the young lad, when barely nineteen, in the spring of 1841, left home and friends, and went to Irvine, where he at once got employment as a stonecutter on a bridge over the river. Before this time he had been an enthusiastic reader of Burns, and now it was his privilege to be in Burns' country, and to work in the very place associated with the name of Burns, who was a craftsman in the Masonic Lodge of Irvine. Shortly after entering upon work here, Mr. Mackenzie took an opportunity of visiting the home and haunts of the poet, examining with a curious eye the auld and new "Brigs of Ayr," Alloway Kirk, and "Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon;" filling his mind afresh with many a noble picture, and warming his heart with some of the richest effusions that ever welled forth from poet's soul, while working among the stone and mortar during the day.

Even at this early time he had begun to take a deep interest in the political history of his country, and to discuss economic questions. He was a keen observer of the Chartist movement; he attended some of the Chartist meetings, and even took part in the debates. He was well acquainted with the celebrated "six points," some of which he approved, while he detected the fallacy of others. For though there was a good deal of the radical in his composition, he could perceive both the strong and the weak planks of the Chartist platform. He had no sympathy whatever with the extreme measures the followers of Ernest Jones were ready to adopt, and so he never associated himself with them.

Up to this time we know nothing of his religious life. He was always a moral, upright lad, reverential toward Divine things, and had great respect for all good men. But at this period of the history of the Church of Scotland there was not a little of cold formality in the place where he lived, and it is probable that during his apprenticeship he had met much of that open disregard to religion which characterised the operative mechanics in many parts of the country. All his life his moral nature craved for reality, and hated pretence; he saw through hollowness on any subject very readily. And now in Irvine he met some zealous Baptists of the Haldane school, and, attending their meetings, he came under the influence of their teaching. He attached himself to the Baptist communion, and continued in it ever after. In all things, however, save baptism, he remained warmly sympathetic with the Presbyterians, and of late years it was the subject of baptism only, and not the mode, that was the dividing line between him and his former church relations. Hence, as he often said, he had, in a measure, to make his religious home in both churches, his old associations and most of his personal friends being in the Presbyterian Church. When in his former home in Sarnia he attended, both morning and evening, the Presbyterian church, and in other places often one of its two Sunday services. He was never charged with being a bigot. So far from that, he was in religion, as in politics, a large-minded man, readily acknowledging good wherever he saw it, and deeply interested in all social, moral, and religious movements. He was fond of quoting, especially to those who thought much of forms and creeds, the remark of Robert Hall, the celebrated English Baptist divine, that he would do a good deal to make a man a Christian, but would hardly cross the street merely to make him a Baptist.

While in Irvine he became acquainted with a family of the name of Neil. The father and eldest son were stonecutters, like himself. Into this family he afterwards married. In addition to the other members of the Neil household, there were two daughters. The eldest, Agnes, was married to a Mr. Steed; the other, Helen, but seventeen years of age—an attractive girl of good mental endowments—laid hold of his heart, and ruled supreme in it.

He spent only a year at Irvine, but the circumstances of that year determined his life's destiny, the destinies of his whole family, and was pregnant with influence on the destinies of millions of his race in a distant country.

In 1842, when the young stonecutter was twenty years of age, the Neil family conceived the idea of attempting to better their fortunes by emigrating to Canada. Alexander Mackenzie, who looked upon himself, and was looked upon by them, as virtually a member of the family, resolved on accompanying them. They sailed in the good ship, *Monarch*, a passenger sailing vessel, from Greenock, on 5th of April, and after an adventurous passage of thirty-two days, encountering icebergs on the way, by one of which they were nearly wrecked, they arrived in Montreal on the 6th of May. Mr. and Mrs. Steed were also of the party. The *Monarch* carried seventy passengers. The Neil party preferred taking a passenger to an ordinary emigrant ship, so as to secure greater seclusion and comfort. On the voyage, worship was daily celebrated by this family, and Alexander Mackenzie took his part in the hymns and prayers. A fellow-passenger, who is still living in Kingston, says that while the other passengers were enjoying themselves at various games on board the vessel, Alexander was generally to be found aloof in some corner, reading a book. "He was retired in manner, but always willing to give advice if asked."

Before embarking for Canada, Alexander was unable for want of means to visit his family at Dunkeld. They gave him, however, the best send-off they could afford in the shape of a substantial chest of clothes and other necessities, got ready by his mother, and packed by his elder brothers, Robert and Hope.

He had much pleasure on the voyage in listening to the singing of Scotch songs, in which some of the younger members of the party were proficient; for in music, and especially in the beautiful lyrics of his country, he took pleasure to the end of his days. During the weeks preceding his last illness nothing could gratify him more than for his grand-daughter to play and "sing the auld Scots' songs—the songs he loved so well."

Just three weeks before his death, letters were received from two fellow-passengers, who had learned of his illness, and after a silence of 50 years had written from different and distant parts of Canada, expressing their sympathy, and recalling the incidents of their voyage together across the sea. He remembered both men perfectly, though he had never seen or heard of them before or after, and gave instructions to reply to their kind notes, and to be warmly remembered to them.

Thus, with song and story, book and musing, the time of the voyage was agreeably spent. When the vessel entered the gulf, and came in sight of the long, low, dreary-looking island of Anticosti, densely clothed with spruce that was dwarfed by the distance, Mr. Mackenzie remarked that he had seen better heather growing on the Scotch hillsides.

When the *Monarch* got to Quebec he despatched a long letter to his mother and family, telling of his safe arrival, and of the incidents by the way. In that letter, too, he poured out to the dear ones at home all the love of a tender heart.

He took occasion while in the ancient city to visit the

Plains of Abraham, where he marked the precipice up which the British troops had scrambled under cover of that eventful night, and viewed the scene where the great engagement was fought in which "fell Wolfe, victorious." By the observations he made to a companion, he showed that he was minutely acquainted with the incidents of the battle, and of the history of the country at the time it was fought. On his return from the plains he introduced himself to a Scotch soldier who took him through the defences. He was like a schoolboy let loose on a holiday, and utilised to the utmost every minute of time he had to spend in this historic and interesting city.

Next day the vessel sailed up the river to Montreal, where he made arrangements with a Frenchman, captain of a battue, to take the family and himself to Kingston. In after life he reverted with pleasure to the time he spent in Kingston, and some of the acquaintances he formed there were his life-long friends; among them, Dr. Machar, and Rev. Wm. Gregg, now Professor Gregg, Knox College, Toronto, whose ministry Mr. Mackenzie often attended. The ties then formed became stronger as time passed on, and thereafter each entertained for the other a high measure of respect. Mr. Mackenzie's family thought it fitting that Dr. Gregg should be asked to conduct the services at the funeral in Sarnia, and were much gratified at his consenting to do so.

In 1843, the year after the departure of Mr. Mackenzie for Canada, a scene of dramatic interest which is illustrative of the religious life of Scotland, took place in the old town of Dunkeld. Prior to that date the only church in Scotland was its National Church. But in 1843 the great Free Church movement, which was known as the disruption, culminated. The much-hated matter of patronage was the cause. The

landed proprietors had the church patronage, and appointed the parish ministers. They were thus designated "intrusionists"—intruders within the sacred domain of religion and of conscience. The contest was a very bitter one, and was shared in, not alone by the sires and matrons, but the young men and maidens, and the very children, whether they understood anything about the question or not.

One of the old Kirk ministers to follow the lead of Dr. Chalmers in this struggle was the Rev. John Mackenzie, who had up to that time conducted his services in the parish church—in ancient days the Roman Catholic cathedral church—of Dunkeld. He left church and manse and everything behind him for the sake of his cherished principles of religious freedom. Who of his former hearers in the old town were to take example from him and continue as his flock was now the question for these people to determine. As they were divided, a canvass was necessary. The younger children of the widow Mackenzie, who remained at home, well remembered the circumstances of the interest excited by the good pastor coming down their street in Dunkeld, visiting in turn each of the houses of the parishioners, the earnest reading of the Scriptures, the solemn prayer, and then the all-important question: "intrusion or non-intrusion?" and how, without having previously given any intimation of her intentions, when their mother said "non-intrusion," they rushed into the streets, tossed up their hats and gave the non-intrusionists there assembled, occasion for another hurrah! Such scenes can never be forgotten.

"From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad;
Princes and lords are but the breath of kings,
'An honest man's the noblest work of God.'"

We stop in our narrative at this point to give a very brief sketch of the state of parties and issues when Mr. Mackenzie came to this country, and what they were from the time of his coming to Canada in 1812 until he entered Parliament in 1861.





CHAPTER III.

TWENTY YEARS OF EXCITEMENT.

Political and Historical Sketch—From his arrival in 1842 to entering Parliament in 1861—The U. E. Loyalists—The Clergy Reserves—Louis J. Papineau and Wm. Lyon Mackenzie—Robert Gourlay—Barnabas Bidwell—The Rebellion—Baldwin, Draper, Morin, Lafontaine—Sir Charles Metcalfe—Hazy Notions of Responsible Government—Lord Elgin—The Rebellion Losses—The Governor-General Mobbed—Sacking and Burning of the Parliament Buildings—George Brown—Dr. Rolph and Malcolm Cameron—Francis Hincks—John A. Macdonald—The Seigniorial Tenure—Representation by Population—The Double Majority—Rapid Growth of Upper Canada—"French Domination."

FROM the signing of the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, to the passing of the Quebec Act, in 1774, military rule prevailed in Canada. In the latter year, under the Quebec Act, a Council was appointed by the Crown with the power to make all colonial laws or ordinances. By the Constitutional Act of 1791, the colony was divided into the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, each having its own Legislature of two Houses and its own Governor. In each the Legislative Assembly was made elective. The members of the Legislative Councils, however, were practically king-appointed, and held their seats for life; and the Governors, who were also king-appointed, ruled with the help of king-appointed Executive Councillors, who owed no responsibility to the elective chamber. The Governor, Legislative Councils, and Cabinet had therefore all the power—the people's house of parliament, only its shadow.

It is surprising that enlightened statesmen like Pitt and Burke did not see in their measure creating these Provinces, on this model, the many evils it was destined to inflict upon the infant colonies, and the struggle for popular rights which would be certain to grow out of it. The dangers ahead were visible enough to the far-piercing eye of Fox. Says Watson, in his "Constitutional History of Canada:" "Almost everything to which he took exception proved, in the after years of Canadian history, a source of heart-burning to the people, and of imminent peril to the State. He opposed a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown; the appropriation of public lands for ecclesiastical purposes; the division of the Province, and the consequent isolation of the inhabitants of both races. The first two of these questions was destined, for over half a century, to be the political plagues of Canada, and the chronic perplexity of Great Britain. The third question is left to time."

Fitting soil had thus been formed for the reception therein of so monarchical a body as those who were too loyal to remain in the thirteen States of the neighboring Union after they had thrown off their allegiance to Great Britain, and who then sought refuge in Upper Canada. These persons were designated "United Empire Loyalists," and through the large grants that were made to them of the Crown territory, they became the landed gentry of the Province.

An aristocratic band of rulers would have been wanting in dignity and exclusiveness had not a state church been provided. This, too, was supplied by the endowment of Anglican rectories, and the setting apart of the seventh portion of the ungranted land, or two million five hundred thousand acres, as reserves for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy in Upper Canada.

We shall see that the establishment of the "Family Compact," as the oligarchists were called, the founding of the rectories, and the formation of the Clergy Reserves, were the causes of great trouble to the growing people.

The leaders in the demand for equal rights were, in Upper Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie, and in Lower Canada, Louis Joseph Papineau, and in neither Province was any portion of these rights wrested from the hands of the colonial tyrants until the people had risen in rebellion. There were many painful struggles which led up to this most humiliating of all the events in Canadian history.

Use and wont had accustomed the first settlers of Upper Canada to the doles and charities of a paternal government. The Province in 1791 comprised but 20,000 of a population, and the people had, of necessity, in order to make a start in these wilds, to accept aid from the Government in the shape, not only of implements for subduing and cultivating the land, but also of food and clothing.

Twenty years later, the census exhibited a considerable growth, the number of souls in Upper Canada being in 1811, 77,000, and among them were people who were of an enquiring turn of mind—who asked questions, and who were not wholly satisfied with the answers given them. That these people, however, were as loyal as the United Empire Loyalists who governed them, and as resolute as they to defend their homes and country, was seen in the measures they cheerfully took on the outbreak of the war with the United States in 1812. In both Provinces they trained themselves to the use of arms, spent their money on munitions of war, and risked their lives in the service of the King, for whom they were foremost in achieving the victories of Queenston Heights and Chateauguay. Yet the Loyalists *par excellence*, who fought by their

side, made issue with these brave men on the question of their political creed, denying them the most elementary rights pertaining to freemen.

In 1817 the Assembly presumed to enter upon, among other causes of complaint, the consideration of the grievance so long borne, which had arisen from the setting apart of the clergy lands, whereby continuous settlement was prevented; but the members were, in Cromwellian fashion, summarily sent about their business by the appearance of the Governor with the mandate of prorogation. Next year, for presuming on enforcing the right to petition, Robert Gourlay was cast into Niagara gaol. In 1821, for the crime charged of being a United States citizen, and of having committed misdemeanors before coming to the province, Barnabas Bidwell was expelled from Parliament, and a law was passed requiring a residence in Canada for seven years, on the part of a foreigner, before he could qualify for the Legislature. The Upper Chamber, the same session, denied the right to the Wesleyan Methodists to perform the ceremony of marriage. In 1825, the Tories gutted and destroyed the printing office of William Lyon Mackenzie. In 1831, Mackenzie suffered by expulsion, the fate, ten years before, of Bidwell. Next year, he was expelled again. In 1834, after he had been elected Mayor of Toronto, and while in England with a petition for the redress of grievances, he was a third time expelled. On two occasions subsequently he was the victim of the same kind of tyranny.

It was by acts like these that the way was paved for the rebellion of 1837, in which Papineau, as leader of the "patriots" of Lower Canada, promised his co-operation.

The followers of Papineau were regarded in the West as anti-British, and consequently the majority of the people of Upper Canada, who at that time numbered nearly four hundred thousand, sided with the Governor, the hare-brained Sir

Francis Bond Head, looking upon the combined movement in Upper and Lower Canada as an attempt to sever the Imperial connection. Some cause was given for this contention by appeals from the exasperated Mackenzie to the people to take up arms, in order to the throwing off of the British yoke, and the achievement of the independence of the country. The circumstances attending the actual resort to armed force, both in Upper and Lower Canada, and the lamentable consequences, ending in the failure of these rash movements, need not be here repeated.

Of the merits of the insurrection itself much has been said and written in the fifty odd years which have since elapsed. One of the latest public writers on the subject, who is least friendly to Mackenzie, has pronounced the following deliberate judgment on the movement: "In the face," he says, "of such facts as are now admitted by persons of every shade of political opinion, it is impossible to say that the movement was unjustifiable. Nor can it truly be said that the price paid for the benefits it conferred was out of proportion to those benefits. . . . Public opinion has long since done justice to the men who struggled to obtain for Canada the advantages of the English constitution. Everybody now admits that in the long contest which culminated in the reunion of the provinces the Reformers were in the right and their opponents in the wrong. . . . The essential advantages of free government have long been ours. They would probably have been ours ere this if there had been no Rebellion, but our fathers would have had to wait for them, and they had already waited long. Feeble and rash as the movement undoubtedly was, it hastened the inevitable end, and the benefits remain to us and to our children. Doubtless there are those among us who believe that even such manifold abuses as existed half a century ago

in Upper Canada were preferable to Rebellion. But even such persons will hardly deny that great allowance should be made for those who took up arms. Others, who have less reverence for authority, will echo the aspiration of Sir John Falstaff: 'God be thanked for these rebels!'

Judged by the light of subsequent occurrences, we can well believe that this spurt of civil war—for such it really was—hastened the redress of grievances which the agitation of the people on constitutional lines had utterly failed to secure. The Home Government became aroused to the dangers of the situation in the two Canadas, and at once prepared to move in the direction of the measures which, on the recommendation of Lord Durham, gave the provinces the Act of Union of 1840.

This great charter of Canadian liberty brought with it responsible government, and the independence of the judiciary. The clergy reserve and rectories question still, however, remained a bone of contention, and continued so until 1854, when the clergy reserves were secularised, and the rectorial claims were commuted.

We are now nearing the period of 1842, when Mr. Alexander Mackenzie appeared upon the scene.

Kingston, the city chosen by Mr. Mackenzie and his little party for their place of abode, had become in the previous year the seat of the Government. Parties were very evenly divided in the Legislative Assembly of the united Provinces, as the result of the election of 1841, and the Cabinet was a compound of such diverse elements as Baldwin, Sullivan, Daly and Draper. If anything, the Reformers had the majority. In 1841, the municipal system was established in spite of the sneers of the Family Compact faction, that the municipal councils of the country were simply so many "sucking Republics."

The waning influence of that faction, as a consequence of the union and the growth of population and public sentiment, now led them, under the guise of Conservatives, to try milder measures, and things might have gone on with tolerable smoothness under the beneficent influence of Lord Sydenham, but for his unfortunate death on the 19th September, 1841, and the death also of Sir Charles Bagot, his successor, in May, 1843, when the country became afflicted by the evil genius of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Sir Charles found in power, and in possession of the confidence of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Hincks, with Messrs. Lafontaine, Morin, and Aylwin as their colleagues. The Governor-General was not long in manifesting his tendencies, which it was feared from the first would be to stem the current of popular liberty. He insisted on his prerogative to make appointments, without the necessity of seeking the advice of his Cabinet, and thereupon the Government of Mr. Baldwin resigned. Mr. Baldwin was further advanced in the principles of constitutionalism than either Sir Charles Metcalfe or the bulk of the Canadian people. The Governor-General held it to be a degradation of his office to allow party leaders to make appointments, and maintained that, by taking these appointments into his own hands, the appointees would be higher in character and truer servants of the State. He also considered that the surrender of the principle he contended for would be the abnegation of one of the prerogatives of the Crown. In view of his narrowness of vision, and his inexperience in the government of a free people, it must be remembered that Sir Charles Metcalfe's previous training as an administrator had been in the civil service of India, and in discharge of the functions of Governor of Jamaica.

The generally prevailing ideas of responsible government

were so hazy that the proposition that public officers should be servants of the Crown, and not of the Minister, was calculated to make an undue impression upon the popular mind.

In the perplexing circumstances which arose out of a conflict of a Governor with a Ministry supported by a majority in the popular House, on a question of patronage, party leaders did not know how to proceed, but after a long interregnum, during which nobody but a figure-head could be got to take any of the various offices, Mr. Draper stepped into the breach; the Cabinet was filled; an appeal was made to the people; and, aided by the influence of the Crown, Mr. Draper succeeded at the polls by a narrow majority.

The new Parliament met in Montreal in November of 1844, with Mr. Baldwin in opposition, and the Government maintained a precarious existence until another appeal was made in January of 1848, when the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government took the reins, Mr. Draper, "Sweet William," retiring to the bench. Meanwhile, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been made a Baron, had been compelled to ask for his recall on account of ill-health, and the Government was administered by the Earl of Cathcart, the commander of the forces, until the arrival of Lord Elgin, as successor to Lord Metcalfe, in January, 1847.

The elections of 1848 brought in an Assembly and a Government in accordance with Lord Elgin's own views of what constitutionalism really meant.

During Mr. Draper's administration, he was placed in a dilemma by the claims which were made upon the public treasury by persons who had suffered losses in both Provinces at the time of the rebellion. The difficulty was in determining who were truly loyal. In this category were naturally placed by Mr. Draper's Ministry most of the sufferers from the rebellion in Upper Canada; and most of those who had suffered in Lower



J. MURRAY & CO. ENGRS.

Old Parliament Buildings, Toronto.

Canada—a Province full of “rebels”—were as naturally excluded. The consequence was that the indemnity given to the people of the Eastern Province was regarded by them as so small and inadequate as not to be worthy their acceptance, while the Loyalists in the Western Province were dissatisfied that such a nest of “rebels” should receive any public aid whatever.

In the second session of Mr. Baldwin’s Parliament, in 1849, Mr. Lafontaine, his colleague, introduced and carried, against much opposition, a measure to pay the balance of the compensation claimed to be justly due for the loss of property by the rebellion in Lower Canada. This gave rise to intense excitement in Upper Canada, and also in Montreal, where the Loyalists raised the cry of “French domination,” rather than submit to which, they declared in their wrath, they would seek annexation. They trusted to Lord Elgin withholding his assent, and when this hope was gone, and he left the bill to its operation, mobs assembled, covered him with every kind of insult and pelted him with missiles, ending their orgies by wrecking the furniture of the parliament buildings, and burning the buildings to the ground. These acts of violence caused the removal of the Government to Toronto, which, from that time, shared its advantages alternately with Quebec, until its permanent location in Ottawa. Parliament sat for many a long, weary day and night in the red-brick pile of dreary and unhealthy buildings in Front-street, Toronto, to be now at last abandoned for the magnificent structure nearing completion in the Queen’s Park.

The most serious of the agitations for some years to come was that having for its object the abolition of the rectories and the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves. The Baldwin-Lafontaine Government declined to accede to the demand of

their more advanced outside supporters to deal with this question, and in 1850, Mr. Brown, with his friends, withdrew from the Government their support.

The difficulty with the Upper Canadian Liberal leaders in those days, in legislating on the Clergy Reserves, was in converting to their views their Lower Canadian allies. As with the question of representation by population, which was to become a burning question a few years later, the two Provinces were unable to reach an agreement; for the Liberals as well as the Conservatives in that Province were bound to maintain the endowment, which, in Lower Canada, amounted to nearly a million of acres. The more fiery spirits in the Liberal ranks in Upper Canada were impatient, and would not wait. The question, however, was merely one of time; for the handwriting was so clearly seen upon the wall that Dr. Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, warned his clergy, in his charge delivered to them in May of 1851, that they had to gird up their loins to meet the impending change. "The necessity," he said, "is upon us; there is now no alternative." "There is nothing of moment left us but the voluntary principle."

The attitude of Mr. Brown on the question is seen in the position he took before a public audience in Toronto in the same year. "I contend that the voluntary principle brings a purer gospel to mankind than national establishments. It matters not whether you regard the connection of Church and State under the pomp of prelacy, or the less pernicious form of clerical stipendiaryism, the system raises a barrier between the pastor and his people. . . . Establishments make religion a matter of party politics—the Church becomes the source of endless discord—and, perhaps, more infidels are produced by the exhibition of Christian pastors scrambling for

the loaves and fishes, while they are preaching their worthlessness, than from any other cause. The very preaching of an established church is cold and lifeless." He concluded by declaring that there was no middle ground; that theirs must be the resolute determination to uproot the whole fabric—to leave not a vestige of it in existence; and that they had to keep ever before them the goal they must reach: "No reserves!—no rectories!—no sectarian education!—no ecclesiastical corporations!—no sectarian money grants!—no sectarian preferences whatever!"

In 1851, Mr. Baldwin met with an adverse vote from Upper Canadian members on a resolution looking to the abolition of the Court of Chancery, and rather than rule with a merely sectional majority—not having a "double majority," which was held to be essential to the life of a Ministry from the union of 1841 until the elections of 1857—he resigned. Mr. Hincks then took the lead, with, as his colleagues, two advanced Liberals in the persons of Dr. Rolph and Mr. Malcolm Cameron. In the general election which followed Mr. Bald-

Agnes *Malcolm Cameron*

win lost his seat. There was at the same election a contest in Haldimand between two notable men, Mr. George Brown and Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, in which Mr. Mackenzie was the victor. These changes in parties and in the Government, as may reasonably be supposed, gave rise to much personal rancour.

The Hincks administration remained in power until 1854. In the summer of that year it appealed to the country, but Mr. Hincks was deserted by some of his friends, and the Government was defeated on the assembling of the new parliament in the following September. Mr. Hincks had his revenge on the deserters by promoting a coalition cabinet, though he did not himself enter it, with Sir Allan McNab at its head, and Mr. John A. Macdonald as one of its members. The Liberals, who had joined with the Conservatives in defeating Mr. Hincks, were still more strongly in opposition to the new combination.

Much of importance transpired during the administration of Mr. Hincks. The Grand Trunk Railway and other railway companies were incorporated; the Municipal Loan Fund was established, giving the credit of the Government, to a limited extent, to municipalities for borrowings for local works, which, it is needless to say, led to extravagance and losses; the parliamentary representation of each of the provinces was increased to sixty-five members; the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States was negotiated by Lord Elgin; the power hitherto held by the Imperial Government to deal with the Clergy Reserves was conceded to the Province, but with protection to vested rights; and an unfruitful attempt was made to modify the harsh action of the seigniors towards the censitaires, or commonalty, in Lower Canada. Persistent attacks were also made upon Mr. Hincks, as had previously been the case with Mr. Baldwin, for his refusal to deal with the Clergy Reserves.

Both the Seigniorial Tenure question and the Clergy Reserves question were settled by the Government of Sir Allan McNab. The clergy lands were secularized for educational purposes, and the claims of the rectors were commuted. Of

the semi-agrarian discontent in Lower Canada, caused by a legacy of the ancient feudal system, something further may here be said. Of the old order of things, it was the one that died hardest; it even reappeared, like some mediæval spectre, to vex the spirit of Mr. George Brown during the fleeting hours of his premiership.

The feudal system of land tenure, known as the Seigniorial Tenure, which had been established by the French Crown in Lower Canada, when the country was first colonized, had long since lost any virtue it ever possessed. Its pristine goodness was gone, and the dregs alone remained. Under the French régime, a functionary called the Intendant, and the local governor, had compelled the seigniors to deal justly with their tenants, the censitaires. The Conquest abolished this species of paternal authority, and in course of time the exactions of the seigniors became oppressive. The principal complaint was that the rents charged by the seigniors were excessive, and should be reduced, and that legislation of some kind was imperative in the public interest. The grievances of the censitaires had been fomented by popular agitation in the press and otherwise; so much so that the Lafontaine Government was obliged to consider them. This was done by a committee which sat in the session of 1851, and of which the Solicitor-General, Mr. L. T. Drummond, was chairman. Briefly stated, the report of this committee defined the rights of the seigniors. It proposed legislation to fix the maximum of rents which the seignior should receive, and to compel him to accept it. Attorney-General Lafontaine thought this was objectionable. He regarded the proposal of the committee as equivalent to confiscation, and, in any event, as not striking at the root of the system. After the general election and the fall of the Lafontaine Government, Mr. Drummond, who became Attorney-

General in the Hincks-Morin Ministry, introduced a bill which was designed to meet the objections of his old colleague, Mr. Lafontaine. This new measure provided that the courts should determine the legality or illegality of the rents then charged the censitaires, that there should be a certain maximum limit for all future rents, and that in the event of the courts deciding in favor of the old rents, which were on a decidedly lower scale, the seigniors should receive public compensation. These were the prominent features of a bill which earned for its Liberal author "the distinguished honor of having been the leader in overthrowing the feudal tenure, and endeavoring to replace it by land tenure more suited to the age." It was passed by the popular assembly in the session of 1852-3, but came to grief in the Upper Chamber. The Cabinet, it would appear, was not thoroughly united on the measure; it was more or less a measure of compromise. Mr. Hincks, the Upper Canadian leader, favored total abolition of the real burthens of the system, such as the *lods et ventes*, which were admittedly legal, and the giving of adequate compensation therefor. He also favored a continuance of the rents, if the claim to them was legally established; if not, that they should be reduced as the courts might direct. Lord Elgin is said to have shared these views.

The rejection of the bill by the Legislative Council only added fuel to the flame of popular agitation. In some of the more populous districts of Quebec there was a cry for the abolition of the tenure *in toto*. In the midst of this ferment of public feeling, the Hincks-Morin Administration vanished from the scene. The new Government, the McNab-Morin coalition, was perplexed with the difficulties of the situation, but was forced to face and solve them in some fashion. It did so with a happy-go-lucky piece of legislation. The bill

was introduced in the Lower House with a multitudinous lot of clauses, of which it was almost completely shorn by the time it had run the gauntlet of the Upper Chamber. Col. Taché had charge of the measure in the Lords. The crucial difficulty was solved in this way: A reduction was made of the maximum rent from two-pence to one penny per arpent, and a commutation at that rate was forced upon the long-privileged seigniors. This, with the indemnity which followed, and which was extinguished in the year 1860, was in effect the practical abolition of the Seigniorial Tenure, the most vexatious of all Lower Canadian social evils.

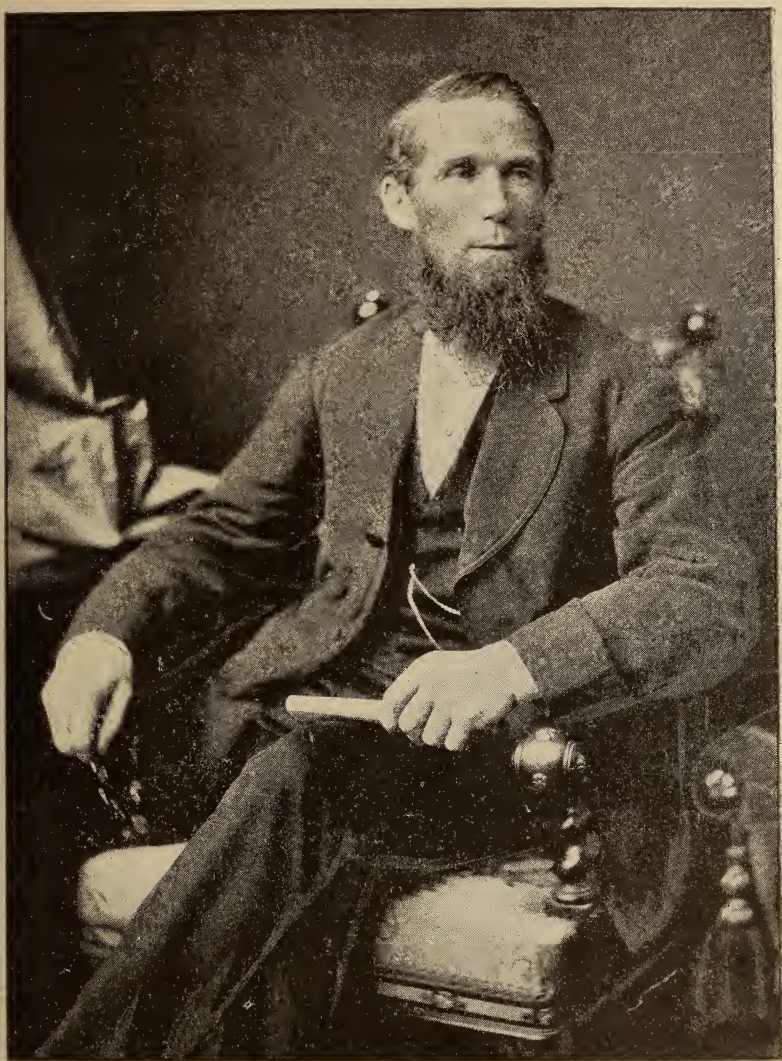
Lord Elgin retired in 1854, and Sir Edmund Head took his place. During his régime Mr. Cartier came into the Cabinet.

By an amendment to the Militia Act, the first bodies of volunteers were now formed, superseding the sedentary forces. Col. Taché succeeded Sir Allan McNab as Premier, Mr. John A. Macdonald, however, being the sense-carrier of the Administration. The Legislative Council was made elective. The Queen was asked to select a place as the permanent seat of Government. Mr. John A. Macdonald in turn succeeded Col. Taché as leader, and at the close of 1857 Parliament was dissolved, and there was a sharp appeal to the country.

The chief issue in this memorable struggle had regard to the inequalities of the representation. The number of members given to each Province had been fixed, as already stated, at sixty-five. But the rapid growth of Upper Canada had made the demand for representation by population, or Rep. by Pop., as it was shortly called, irresistible. Mr. Brown came back with a large following from Upper Canada, so that in the session of 1858 Mr. Macdonald had to abandon the principle of the "double majority," and keep himself in power by

the preponderating votes of the Lower Canadian members. He resigned the seals of office, however, on the adverse vote of the Assembly disapproving of the choice of Ottawa as the seat of government, only to resume his place a few days after by the grace of the "double shuffle"—a phrase which is more fully explained hereafter. In 1859 the great Reform Convention was held in Toronto. As the result of its deliberations Mr. Brown proposed in the session of 1860 resolutions pointing to the failure of the existing union of the two Provinces, and declaring that the true remedy for the existing evils would be the formation of two or more local governments, to which should be committed all matters of a sectional character, and the erection of "some joint authority" to dispose of the affairs common to all. In these resolutions the germ appears of the existing Confederation. But the concession of the principle of representation according to population was for the time being withheld.

As early indeed as 1858, Mr. Brown, with true prescience, saw that the existing constitution could not continue. Writing to Mr. Holton on the 29th of January of that year he suggested three changes: "A genuine legislative union, with representation by population, a federation, or a dissolution of the present union." He discusses each of the three plans, and rejects dissolution as ruinous and wrong. "A federal union, it appears to me, cannot be entertained for Canada alone, but when agitated must include all British America." He despaired at the time of the feasibility of so large a scheme, and predicted that "*we* will be past caring for politics when that matter is finally achieved." His powerful advocacy, however, of representation by population hastened the consummation of the project at a much earlier day than at that time to any one seemed at all possible.



Alexander Mackenzie.

(From a Photograph by Notman & Fraser, 1870.)

In 1861, the year in which Alexander Mackenzie came into Parliament, his namesake, William Lyon Mackenzie, died. Sir Edmund Head was succeeded as Governor-General by Lord Monck. The decennial census was taken, and showed an

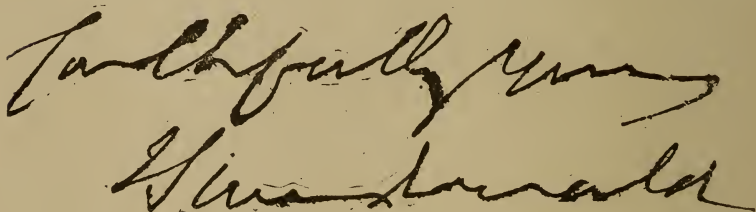
*Believe me Sir
Yours very truly
Monck*

enormous advance in population in Upper Canada over the number of the people of the Province in 1851. The population of Upper Canada in 1841 was 465,000—of Lower Canada, 691,000; in 1851 Upper Canada had 952,000—Lower Canada, 890,000; in 1861 Upper Canada numbered 1,396,000—Lower Canada, 1,111,000.

When Mr. Brown moved in 1857 that representation should be based upon population, without regard to a separating line between Upper and Lower Canada, he was able to show that while Lower Canada doubled her population once in twenty-five years, Upper Canada doubled hers once in ten years. Mr. Cartier met this statement by the celebrated argument that, against the disparity of numbers of the people, the cod-fish of Gaspé Basin should be counted. If he meant by this that wealth should be an element in the calculation, Mr. Brown was able to answer him by pointing to the greater wealth of Upper Canada, whose contributions to the revenue he estimated to be as three to one. There were at the same time great inequalities in the population of the respective constituencies of Upper Canada—greater even than exist under

the gerrymander acts of recent times—and as interference with any part of the structure would endanger the whole edifice, these glaring anomalies remained to give additional force to the contention. In Bruce there were 80,000 people without representation.

Lower Canadians were all but a unit in opposition to the principle, and they were joined by some of the members representing eastern constituencies in Upper Canada, where the growth of population was not nearly so great as it was in the western counties. The representative man among the members from the eastern constituencies of Upper Canada was Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, whose constitutional rem-

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of two lines. The top line is a cursive, flowing script that appears to read 'John Sandfield Macdonald'. The bottom line is a more stylized, less legible cursive signature, possibly 'J. S. Macdonald'.

edy was the "double majority," which Mr. John A. Macdonald had been compelled to abandon as no longer feasible, and which was becoming more and more impracticable as the disparity between the populations of the two Provinces grew wider and wider. In Lower Canada the cry was raised of danger to "our language, our laws, and our institutions," and M. Loranger in impassioned words called upon his compatriots to profit by their advantage: "Nous avons l'avantage; profitons-en." They were answered by the old shout of "French domination." The cure-all came at last in the shape of Confederation.

With this rapid and imperfect outline of events, in which Mr. Mackenzie took his part, we shall return to a consideration

of his own surroundings; after prefacing it with short sketches of three men who, like himself, took their start on their Canadian career in Kingston, and at about the same period, and whose political lives were destined to produce a profound impression upon his own—Mr. Brown, Mr. John A. Macdonald and Mr. Mowat.





CHAPTER IV.

LIFE IN AND ABOUT KINGSTON.

Mr. Mackenzie's Contemporaries—Sketch of Mr. Geo. Brown—His Relations to Mr. Mackenzie—Characteristics of Sir John A. Macdonald—Mr. Holton's Estimate of Sir Oliver Mowat—The Young Stonecutter meets his Match, but is not Overcome by it—His Letter from Kingston to Scotland—Plodding in the Forests of the Far West—"Home, Sweet Home"—Cheated out of his Wages—Goes on the Land—A Friend in Need—His Associates and Surroundings—His Brother Joins Him.



MR. MACKENZIE and Mr. Brown came to Canada in the same year—Mr. Mackenzie in the summer of 1842, to make this his home; Mr. Brown, late in 1842, to extend the circulation of the paper which, with his father, he had recently started in the city of New York. Mr. Brown was, in age, the senior of Mr. Mackenzie by about a year. Kingston was at that time the seat of government, and Mr. Brown went to Kingston in furtherance of his journalistic mission, but it does not seem that the two men who, in subsequent years, were to become such ardent friends, at that time met. The Baldwin-Hincks Ministry was then in power, with Sir Charles Bagot, Governor-General. Mr. Brown conferred with various members of that Government, and the impression produced upon him by all he had seen and heard caused him to return to New York and induce his father to remove their newspaper enterprise to Toronto. They commenced the *Banner* in Toronto in August of 1843, and in the struggle which ensued for

the maintenance of constitutional government and the establishment of religious equality in Canada, found full scope for all their energies. The *Banner*, which was semi-religious, semi-political in tone, was superseded in 1844 by the *Globe*, and this powerful paper from the start became the leading political journal of the Liberal party. During the many years that it was conducted by Mr. Brown, the charge was frequently brought that it was dictatorial in tone and intolerant of the views of others. The opinion formed by Mr. Mackenzie on this head, and his estimate of the functions of a great newspaper, were expressed some thirty years afterwards in reply to a letter of remonstrance addressed to him by a journalistic friend in another part of the country: "In your remarks concerning the so-called domineering of Mr. Brown and the *Globe*, I have no doubt you represent a large number of journals. I am bound to say, however, I never knew Mr. Brown in any way to be so. No one living has had so much to do with Mr. Brown as myself, and I always found him reasonable, so that I had my say as often as he had his. Since the formation of this Government, I have not received a single letter from him asking for or pushing any favor or opinion upon me. He has been of all politicians, of all men, the most considerate. When out of public life, he never wrote me, on public matters, a single letter, if I except congratulatory letters, on our course in the House. I am aware that he is a man of strong will and decisive character (and Canada has reaped the benefit of that trait), and such a man must, in the possession of a paper having an immense circulation, hold a decided view on public affairs, and of his own and his paper's influence, so that it is natural that its utterances may seem, in its consciousness of power, to be sometimes domineering. But we must admit that it is generally right, and always actuated

by high principle. Injudicious often, perhaps, and occasionally injurious to the Government, as other papers are, still the Liberals owe much to its integrity, power, and influence, and when they take up the cry of domineering, they should remember that this is the Tory complaint, and should be used sparingly by us, for they will quote it in their own support. Our papers have to guard against rushing off in pursuit of hobbies on mere speculation, seeing how calculated the hobbies are to weaken the central party authority. The English and Canadian Tories held office for many years in consequence of such follies, and what has happened already may happen again. Principles we cannot abandon for any Government; speculative political movements we can always let stand to a convenient season."

The marked individuality of Mr. Brown's character is seen in this little picture of him and his paper; the paper being his exact reflex. In person, Mr. Brown was broad and muscular, and of towering height, so that his very powerful presence gave an immense impetus to his platform thunderbolts. These were forged in a glowing, fiery furnace, and launched, as they were, with the accompaniments of a voice as from the clouds, and with great vehemence of action, they were, in spite of some defects of oratory, always telling in their effects. After delivery, the reporters' transcripts of Mr. Brown's speeches were subject to the most careful polishing and revision at the hands of the master workman in the journalistic craft, and in their strongest and most perfect form were printed in the *Globe*, to electrify and inspire the admirers of Mr. Brown throughout the country.

Mr. Macdonald practised law in Kingston, and Mr. Mowat studied for his profession in Mr. Macdonald's office; Mr. Mackenzie was working in Kingston at the same time. It does

not seem probable, however, that, while there, he associated with Mr. Macdonald or Mr. Mowat. Their circumstances and walk in life were of course different. John A. Macdonald was called to the bar in 1836, and Oliver Mowat in 1841. At the same age as Mr. Mackenzie, we have no evidence that either was infected with the fever of politics to the extent of the young stonemason. With easier social environments, the problems of life were not likely to press so severely upon them as they did upon him. We have seen that, when a mere boy, Mr. Mackenzie was what is called an advanced thinker, which means that at that time he was an advocate of reforms which it took years of agitation to bring about.

But if Mr. Macdonald was not so much of a politician as a youth, when he came fairly on the stage, he was found to be a very active one indeed. His forte as a leader was in management. He was a clever political chess player, whose pawns were men. These he moved about the board in a series of extraordinary and unlooked-for combinations. Nor was he backward in stealing a piece from the adversary; using it, when he wanted to do so, as his own, and when it had served his purpose, casting it away; so that it was said of him that his path through life was strewn with political tombstones. He had fascinating manners, an epigrammatic, though jerky, style, both in public speaking and conversation, and an ingenious faculty of making the worse appear the better cause. He was also an inventor of *bon mots* and a *reconteur* of piquant stories. These qualities were very attractive, especially to young men, and, associated as they were with the prestige of almost unvarying success, they constituted Sir John, in spite of his devious ways, the idol of his party. His letter to Mr. McGreevy, not long since published, shows the relation in

which he held both colleagues and followers. He kept them or detached them, exactly as it suited his occasion.

“He cast off his friends, as a huntsman his pack,
For he knew, when he pleased, he could whistle them back.”

We know of but one exception to his success in the exercise of his magnetic power—the rebellion at the perpetration of the Pacific scandal. Then, for the first and last time, the huntsman’s whistle blew in vain. It piped, however, to the old purpose when he coaxed his forces to follow him again five years afterwards, on his newly-invented issue, the N. P. The claim of Sir John’s supporters that he had statesmanship of a more than usually high order will not be denied, though their faith in his profundity as a great constitutional lawyer must have received a severe shock in the unbroken series of defeats it was his lot to encounter in the courts, after confederation, at the hands of his old student, Sir Oliver Mowat.

Rarely were two men more the antipodes of each other than these. Sir Oliver Mowat’s bearing and manner, and his habits and modes of thought and expression, are altogether different. He is most conscientious in the discharge of public duty, and high moral principle is part of his nature. Twenty years of continuous service have given the Province many noble monuments of his statesmanship, and have left his character without a stain. Honors never sought one more worthy of them than Sir Oliver Mowat. They were earned by a long and laborious life of unselfish devotion to his country’s cause, by many a brave and successful defence of the rights committed to his charge, by the highest attributes of a Christian gentleman, who was *sans peur* and *sans reproche*. The splendid estimate of him, which we find embodied in a letter addressed to Mr. Mackenzie by his colleague in the Brown-Dorion

Government, Mr. Holton, of date 25th Oct., 1872, and hitherto unpublished, we reproduce. The letter was written on the assumption by Mr. Mowat of the office he took at that time, and which he has since uninterruptedly held: "Mr. Mowat's Premiership is a master stroke, and I congratulate you all upon it. I only wish I could welcome my old friend and colleague among us at Ottawa. Of none of the many public men with whom I have been intimately associated do I cherish pleasanter memories than of Mowat. His high moral qualities—his sensitive conscientiousness—his transparent honesty—his perfect sincerity, united with great logical acumen, with extensive information, and with rare power of continuous and concentrated labour, led me to regard him as the *beau ideal* of a public man. I sincerely rejoice that he has returned to political life. His assumption of the Ontario leadership, at this juncture, cannot fail to be of incalculable benefit to the country." Never were truer words spoken, as no one can but admit when he reflects upon what Mr. Mowat has since done for his Province, and what it might have been without him, in the assaults that were made upon its rights and liberties. Sir Oliver Mowat has wonderful power of analysis, an extraordinary faculty of getting at the salient points in complicated masses of facts, of digesting evidence, of quickly reaching the marrow of a case, and he has a persuasive and argumentative style of speaking and writing which makes him a hard man to resist. Joined to these qualities is a truly democratic readiness of approach to any one having a grievance or request, and a patience and earnestness of attention to representations and appeals that lead insensibly to the conviction that he has made the cause of the suppliant his own. In the enjoyment of a close personal and political friendship with Sir Oliver Mowat, for the thirty-one years, from the time he entered Parliament until his death.

Montreal Oct
25th 1872

My dear Mackenzie

The Most

Friendship is a Master
stroke and I congratulate
You all upon it. I only
wish I could welcome my
old friend and colleague
among us at Ottawa. Of
none of the many public
men with whom I have been
intimately associated do I
cherish pleasanter memories
than of Mount His high
moral qualities - his sensitive
conscientiousness - his transparent
honesty - his perfect sincerity

(Fac-simile of Hon. Luther H. Holton's hand-writing.)

Mr. Mackenzie, to whose early fortunes we must now again revert, had great comfort and great profit.

Before leaving Montreal, a builder had offered the youthful stonecutter fair wages to engage with him, but judging that if wages were so good near the sea, they would be still better inland, he resolved to push on up the country. But in this he was mistaken, for the times were dull in the United States, and many artizans, thrown out of employment there, had come over to Kingston, so that the place was filled with alien laborers.

In this case, however, he found work. On the morning after his arrival in Kingston, he went out to seek employment, and was at once successful. But in the meantime he discovered that the tools he had brought from Scotland were too soft to cut the limestone, and not being in a position to incur the additional expense of getting a new kit of cast steel, he offered himself as a builder on a house then being erected on Princess-street; a change of employment from stonecutter to builder, which showed, as much as anything else, the resources and adaptability of the young artizan. He had only worked six months in all at the building during his apprenticeship, but, watching the men on the wall, he thought he could do as well as they were doing, and he did not overestimate his abilities. His employer scrutinised him narrowly for a few hours, and then, without saying anything, went away. But as his wages at the end of the week were equal to those of the best workman, he knew that the master regarded him as at least equal to any of them. In a short time he was as expert at building as he had been previously at stonecutting.

His experience and expectations as to remuneration, with the vision, ever before him, of cherished independence, find expression in a well-written letter, which we have before us,

in a boyish hand, evidently more accustomed to the use of the steel hammer and chisel than to the steel pen, addressed, on the front of two folded quarto pages of the epistles of those days, to his brother:

“MR. ROBERT MACKENZIE, Carpenter,

“PITLOCRY, PERTHSHIRE, SCOTLAND.

“KINGSTON, June 7, 1842.

“DEAR BROTHER,—You will, no doubt, be surprised that I have not written you before now. I arrived here yesterday fortnight, but the English mail went off before I could write you, and I had to wait patiently till the next, which is to be made up on Friday, so you will see that I could not address you any sooner. I began work on Thursday after I arrived, at a house in the principal street in Kingston. I found the stone to be much harder than I imagined—all limestone, and so hard that no tools would work them but the best of cast steel. Of course I had none of that kind, and had no money to buy them, and far less had I any inclination to work at such material. This staggered me a little, but as I had a hammer and trowel with me I resolved not to be outdone; so I commenced builder, and I have built constantly ever since, and got on pretty well, so that I pass for a regular hand. I am not exactly certain what wages I am to get yet. He told me he would give me the current wages, which are 7s. 6d. a day, or 6s. British money. Some inferior hands are paid with less, but whether or not I am to be considered among them, I know not yet.”

He then speaks of the labour market in the United States and Canada, and says he was disappointed in the belief that there would be more demand for hands further up the country than at the lower ports. He also gives the cost of living, deducing the conclusion that the married existence was as

economical as a single man's life in a boarding-house—an evidence of the direction in which his thoughts were turned. He speaks, too, of meeting with one Robert Urquhart, a carpenter, whom he had known in Scotland, and who had come to Kingston a while before him; and he proceeds:

“I may say that Kingston and Montreal are two as handsome towns as the best in Scotland, with mechanics' institutes, strong total abstinence societies, and meetings and lectures of every kind. They are surrounded by the most picturesque scenery, and front on a majestic river. I only wish mother and all the rest were out here with me. We could live here very happily together, and if we had some land (as I expect soon to have) we might shortly become independent. This, however, is no country for idlers. Hard work for sometime at least would be required of those beginning to clear and cultivate the soil. But then we would have the satisfaction of knowing that we were working for ourselves, and there would be no tax gatherer standing over us thrusting his hands into our pockets. The Sabbath appears to be pretty well kept here, but there is very little true religion among the great mass of the population. Altogether I feel very happy until I begin to think of home and its inmates. Give mother and my younger brothers the warmest good wishes of an affectionate son and of a loving brother, and when you are all gathered together under the maternal roof and see (as the poet says) ‘the vacant seat, the empty chair,’ forget not that there is one of your number, who would appreciate the happiness of the family circle, plodding in the forests of the far west. Often am I in imagination, delusive though it be, transported among you, enjoying the presence of a fond mother and no less fond brothers. I hope we may all meet in reality once more on earth; but if not, God grant we may meet at last in that

happy land which is the promised inheritance of all believers, and the anticipation of which is the greatest happiness given us on earth.

"I will write Peter Ellis as soon as I can. When you get this, give him all the information it contains, and my compliments. I hope you will write and tell me what is going on at home, and send me a newspaper if you can get one [the Government stamp duty making newspapers at that time very expensive], and you will much oblige,

"Your affectionate brother,

"ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

"P.S.—You will find a newspaper along with this that Robert Urquhart sends you, and a curious epistle of his. Address to the care of Mr. Coombs, Baptist minister, Rear-street, Kingston, Upper Canada.

"A. M."

The contractor, under whom he worked the greater part of this summer—by the name of Schermerhorn—paid his men with goods out of a store owned by the proprietor of the house in which the contractor was himself financially interested, and as Mackenzie needed no store pay, and as money was not forthcoming, he was put off with fair promises. When the building was nearing completion, only three masons were retained on the job, of whom Mackenzie was one. The others received their store-pay and left. At this juncture, hearing that his employer was in difficulties, though he had previously been reputed to be well enough off, he waited upon him for a settlement, and got for himself and a companion a promissory note. This piece of worthless paper was all they ever received for their faithful summer's work. We saw that note only a short time ago. It had been preserved as a memorial of the earnings of former days, and was folded and kept with many

others of the same nature, representing moneys long past due, but never paid. The loss of nearly all his first summer's wages, at a time when every dollar was of consequence, was a severe blow to the young lad, which he deeply felt, and it made him chary of irresponsible contractors for the rest of his days. This was the first time Mr. Mackenzie was deceived by relying on a false promise; we often wished we were able to say it was the last.

He speaks in his first Kingston letter home of his intention to buy land. Like most young Scotchmen coming to America, he had a desire to secure a place for himself, and so we next find him negotiating for the purchase of a farm.

The transaction by which he was cheated out of his summer's pay coming to the ears of Mr. Mowat, of Kingston, the father of the present Premier of Ontario, he kindly offered, on very easy terms, a farm in the township of Loughborough, distant from Kingston about 22 miles, where, with the Neil family, he might tide over the winter. They were to pay for the land when their prospects brightened. Such was the occasion of the first introduction of Mr. Mackenzie and the elder Mr. Mowat, two names which, as stated, were destined to be closely associated in the history of our country for many years thereafter. The esteem young Mackenzie always cherished for the father was in after years given to the son with tenfold interest.

The farm lay among dense woods, and was the only occupied piece of land in the concession. It was located behind the more settled parts of the township, and had on it a clearing of two acres and a log house, 18x16, covered with boards, through which, Mr. Mackenzie has since said, he had a fine opportunity for studying astronomy on clear nights. There was also a little back shanty, 12x10, which leaned against the larger

building. Such was the future Premier's palatial residence during his first winter in Canada.

When he had located the family, he succeeded in getting employment for a few months for himself in a small place called Sydenham, about three miles distant from the farm. Here he worked at various jobs for an Englishman, the owner of the flouring and oatmeal mills, in building foundations and chimnies for some dwelling houses for his employés. But on the setting in of winter, he went back to the farm, and helped to cut from six to eight acres of timber, which had been underbrushed during the previous summer, in order to prepare it for the spring crops. While thus employed, he narrowly escaped being killed by a falling tree. In the spring of 1843 he left the farm for Kingston, and never returned to it again.

The family were ill-fitted for such an enterprise as roughing it in the bush. Except Mr. Mackenzie, who had held the plough, and worked on a farm for some time in his schoolboy days, not one of the company knew any more about farming than Horace Greeley.

Mr. Steed was a ship carpenter by trade. He was a widely-read man. He was, however, a dreamy idealist who never came within a thousand miles of a practical question—a philosopher, in fact. As for Hugh Neil, the eldest son of the family, he had had thoughts of entering the ministry. He was a sort of prophet; great on the beasts and red dragon of Revelation, and on the restoration of the Jews. Mr. Mackenzie was the politician of the party, and was ever ready to discuss all phases of economy—domestic and political. We have heard an old man say, "I knew Mackenzie in Kingston; he had an awfu' tongue even then, and was a great speaker on politics." The women possessed their full share of the brains and of the intelligence of the family. The mother and

two daughters were endowed with fine intellectual and social qualities, and were well-read. But of farming they knew nothing, and neither had ever seen a cow milked.

The kind of farming done on this estate by these people can therefore easily be conceived. But, notwithstanding, they all spent a happy winter together, in the long evenings sitting round the wide, old-fashioned fire-place, cheerful and ruddy with the blaze of the big logs, reading and discussing literary subjects and authors, especially Shakespeare and Byron, two prime favourites of theirs. It was a very interesting group, and its intellectual life was a fitting preparation for the future statesman. All who have heard Mr. Mackenzie speak, know that he could readily quote from the poets, and from current literature, and that his addresses were invariably pitched on the high plane of presupposing intelligent hearers. Never once was he guilty of belittling an audience or trying to mislead them by plausible and sophistical arguments. His hearers knew just where he stood, and readily perceived that he had faith in their intelligence. He was, again, like Hugh Miller, who said: "If the writer of these chapters has been in any degree successful in addressing himself as a journalist to the Presbyterian people of Scotland, it has always been, not by writing down to them, but by doing his best on all occasions to write up to them; and, by addressing to them on every occasion as good sense and as solid information as he could possibly muster, he has at times succeeded in catching their ear, and, perhaps in some degree, in influencing their judgment."

The monotony of farm life in the backwoods was relieved by occasional pranks of a harmless kind which young Mackenzie was continually playing; the philosopher of the party, Mr. Steed, being usually the object of these pleasantries. He

and his wife occupied, during the winter, the shanty or lean-to. One night Mr. Mackenzie stuffed up the chimney, and the little place was soon filled with smoke. The philosopher thereupon went into an elaborate explanation of air currents, and showed how draughts are interfered with by a change of wind, and that, though disagreeable for the time being, it could not be helped, the shanty being filled with smoke on philosophical principles, affording a grand illustration of the correlation of forces. All listened with befitting attention to an exposition so learned; none more so than he who had stuffed up the chimney. But next morning the wind having got back to the old quarter, the trick was discovered, and the stuffing taken out.

This season, 1843, in Kingston, Mr. Mackenzie tendered for and obtained the job of cutting stones and building a bomb-proof arch at Fort Henry, and he wrought at this with his men, and at other public works during the summer. He was joined, during the summer, by his brother Hope, who had arrived from Scotland. The brothers had not seen each other since Alexander left Dunkeld. By enquiry, Hope found his brother out; but the two years of separation at that particular time of life had wrought a great change in the half-grown lad. In his first letter back to the family, Hope tells them that Alexander was so changed in appearance that he scarcely knew him: the youth he had last seen at the end of his apprenticeship, had developed into a full-grown man, strong and active, and was now in Kingston, a contractor, though just turned twenty-one, standing at the head of a number of his own workmen. Hope obtained work at Kingston at his trade of carpenter and cabinetmaker, and wrought at it there for about three years.



CHAPTER V.

SETTLES IN SARNIA.

Rises in his Position—Suffers for his Opinions—Goes to the Beauharnois Canal—An Emeute there—A Painful Accident—Removes to the Welland Canal—Returns to Kingston—Is Married there—Builds the Defences of Canada—Foreman on the Canal Basin, Montreal—Settles in 1847 in Sarnia—Joined in Sarnia by the other Brothers and their Mother—Death of his First Wife.

ONE of the stonemasons who worked under Alexander Mackenzie in Kingston, and who resides still at a ripe old age at Portsmouth, near that city, says: "He thoroughly understood his work. As a mechanic and man of lines, he always had my sincere gratitude, for I learned much from him. He knew what he wanted, and expressed his ideas so clearly that I had no difficulty in procuring for him what he required. He was always the same. When I met him in Kingston, in his early days, and in Ottawa, in the height of his power, he was the same plain, unaffected, common-sense man. He frequently chatted with me over his early days in Kingston and elsewhere. Mr. Mackenzie was my friend—my true friend ever. Frequently people would ask me if Mr. Mackenzie was wealthy. I invariably said, 'No; his character is against his being wealthy.' I can truthfully say he was a most benevolent man. He was not a friend of 'beats,' but when he met needy persons who were worthy of confidence and in misfortune, he would give his last

dollar to aid them. I know this to be a fact. Mr. Mackenzie was a clear Scotchman, plain and true. He was reserved among strangers, but jovial and entertaining with intimates. He was a real temperance man. He attended the Baptist church in Kingston, located then as now."

In the same "interview," the narrator stated:—"My first recollection of Mr. Mackenzie was while he was dressing stone for the front doors of St. Mary's Cathedral, Kingston. The clergy reserve question was hotly discussed at that time, and Mr. Mackenzie, as a Baptist, was in vigorous opposition. Because of his outspokenness, one morning he went to work to find his stone damaged and defaced."

So the liberty-of-conscience Tories had degenerated into cowards since 1837. Then in open day they wrecked the types and press of William Lyon Mackenzie; now in meaner fashion, under cover of the night, they visited their vengeance on his namesake, Alexander Mackenzie, by destroying the work with which the youthful stonemason earned his daily bread.

The chief comments we have heard Mr. Alexander Mackenzie make in connection with his undertakings at this time were on the evil consequences to the mechanic and working man of the drinking customs. The canteen stood always open, as a trap to ensnare them, and many a one fell a victim. "Well was it for me," we have heard Mr. Mackenzie say, "that during my apprenticeship, and at this period, I was a total abstainer, and never on principle let a glass pass my lips." Hugh Miller tells us of the narrow escape he had from the evil that ruined so many of his fellow-workmen.

In the spring of 1844, finding that work was likely to be dull in the city and neighbourhood, Mr. Mackenzie left for Beauharnois, where the canal was being constructed. Here

he became acquainted with the late John Redpath, of Montreal, who was also connected with the public works then being pushed forward. The general foreman—a Mr. Robert Neil, but in no way connected with the Kingston Neils—a splendid specimen of a man, physically and otherwise, being six feet, four inches in height, and stout in proportion, a frank, honest, intelligent, fearless Scotchman, who saw corresponding traits to his own in young Mackenzie, gave him charge of a gang of men who were laying the large cut stone that formed the sides of the lock. These stones were swung into their position by a powerful crane. Almost an army were engaged at the various locks along the canal, and they were composed of inflammable national and religious material, which caused Mr. Mackenzie to divide them into two bands. This, however, did not prevent the outbreak of a fierce faction-fight that for a time endangered both life and property, and necessitated the calling out of the military. A company was sent up from Montreal, before whose approach the rioters quieted down.

About two months after this a severe accident befell Mr. Mackenzie, by the descent of a stone more than a ton in weight on the lower part of the leg and foot. Though his face looked like death from the pain, not a cry escaped his lips. On the removal of the stone, it was found that a deep bed of mortar had partially saved the leg, which, though fearfully crushed, was not hopelessly hurt. He was carried to his boarding house, where he lay for weeks and suffered much, but without complaint. Thanks to his good constitution and temperate habits, the wound healed, but the limb never regained its former strength.

For a time he was unable to endure much fatigue, or to labor at building, so Mr. Crawford, the contractor, pro-

cured for him the position of foreman on work being done on the enlargement of the Welland Canal. In June, 1844, he went from Kingston to Slabtown, between St. Catharines and Thorold, as foreman for Messrs. Thomson & Haggart, on Lock number 12. In the fall of that year, when frost had stopped further work, he returned to Long Island, opposite Kingston, where a good quarry had been found, and here he superintended the men that winter in getting out stone to be built into the Welland Canal during the coming summer. On Saturday evenings, when the frozen channel was deemed safe, he was in the habit of crossing over to spend Sunday with friends in the city, and especially to visit her who in a few weeks was to become his wife. On two of these trips he had a narrow escape from drowning by falling through the ice. The last time he was warned of his danger, but persisted in the perilous enterprise, and, with the aid of a long pole which he carried, he saved himself by a miracle.

His marriage took place in the spring of 1845. It was solemnized in St. George's Church, Kingston, by the Rector, the Rev. George Okill Stuart, LL.D. The groom was twenty-three years and two months old, and his bride was barely twenty-one. We have lying before us the marriage certificate:

“KINGSTON, CANADA, March 28th, 1845.

“I do hereby certify that the religious ceremony of marriage was duly solemnized between Alexander Mackenzie and Helen Neil, both of the town of Kingston, who were married on Friday, the twenty-eighth day of March, one thousand and eight hundred and forty-five, by license from J. M. Higginson, Deputy-Governor, by me.

“GEORGE OKILL STUART, LL.D.,

“*Rector of St. George's Church.*”

The ritual of the English church sets down the words for the groom to say, “With this body I thee worship,” but this

groom said nothing of the kind. Whether he objected to the expression or the sentiment, we cannot tell; but he was obdurate, and neither the clergyman nor his brother Hope, who acted as his "best man," could move him; and as a special dispensation in his case, the officiating minister married him with that vow omitted.

Three children were born to them. On the reverse side of the marriage certificate are the following entries in Mr. Mackenzie's well-known handwriting:

"Mary, our eldest daughter, was born June 25th, 1846.

"Mary, our second daughter, was born August 25th, 1848.

"Our only son was born April 3rd, 1850.

"Our eldest Mary died on the 29th of May, 1847.

"Our boy died on the 29th of August, 1850."

Thus, of their three children only one grew up to womanhood—Mary, their second daughter, the wife of Rev. Dr. Thompson, who has been the minister of the Presbyterian Church in Sarnia for over twenty-six years.

During a part of the summer of 1845 the newly-married couple lived at Matilda, but on the close of the works there, they removed back to Kingston. Early in the year 1846, when the erection of the martello towers commenced, he again secured a foreman's place under Mr. Matthews, the contractor, and here he worked once more at Fort Henry in building the material defences of his country. In the early part of this season, his wife, who had a severe attack of fever and ague the previous summer, was again taken ill, and under the wrong treatment of a practitioner, who, because of drink, had not always the command of his faculties, her constitution was undermined and ruined by excessive doses of calomel.

Leaving his wife in her delicate state of health with her

mother, he went down to Montreal in the spring of 1847. His well-known ability was now fully recognised as an expert builder, and capable manager of men, and so he readily obtained a good position as foreman on the canal-basin works that were being constructed in that city.

The previous year, Mr. Hope Mackenzie and Mr. Steed went west in search of a new location. Steed took a notion to Wallaceburg, but Hope's choice was Sarnia, and this village they made their permanent home. Steed and Hope entered into contracts for building ships for Hon. Malcolm Cameron, the shipping interest being at the time in a prosperous condition, owing to the rapid development of the country, and to the existence, as yet, of only the execrable common roads which preceded the railway era. They provided at Sarnia household accommodations for the rest, and in the summer of 1847 were joined by Alexander and his wife.

Towards the fall of the same year, Hope was sent home to Scotland to endeavor to bring to Sarnia the rest of the family, the desire of the young men being that they should all settle down in Canada together.

Robert at that time was working at Edinburgh. Hope went to him to that place, and readily got his consent to the undertaking. From there Hope proceeded north to Dunkeld, and prevailed in the same manner with the rest of the family. A difficulty arose in regard to John, who was nearing 20, and was still serving his apprenticeship, under indentures, to the tin and coppersmithing trade. His good master, however, helped forward the arrangements by giving John his release, and the mother and her children shortly afterwards set out from Dunkeld on their journey. Its first stage was Edinburgh, where Robert joined them. From Edinburgh they went by the recently-opened railway to Glasgow, whence they took pas-

sage in a sailing ship for New York, and arrived in Sarnia in the month of November. One can imagine the joy which was felt by the reunion of the mother and the seven sons, who were never again to be parted except by death.

The Mackenzies lived in Sarnia prosperous lives, and lives of the best example to their fellow-men. The brothers stood unselfishly one by the other, sympathised with and came to each other's help, held mutual counsel and gave advice, and kept all family matters strictly to themselves. Their loyalty one to another gave the family great influence in the place where they resided, and this was soon felt and acknowledged in all the civic and political affairs of both the town and county. A correspondent says: "When I came to Sarnia in 1864, I found the influence of the Mackenzie family supreme. They were the leading, guiding spirits of the place, and their name was associated with the town in all her affairs." In some cases this might prove a dangerous combination, but with them it was most beneficial, for they were public-spirited and disinterested, and their influence was always wisely and conscientiously exercised.

Alexander Mackenzie engaged in considerable building enterprises in Sarnia and the Western district, including the Sandwich court-house and gaol, and these records will remain, with the records of the State, to hold his name in honorable remembrance.

In the words of Carlyle, in speaking of the workmanship of his mason father: "No one that comes after him will say 'here was the finger of a hollow eye servant.' Let me learn of him. Let me write my works as he built his houses." Young Mackenzie built fortifications, canals, court-houses, reputation, the foundation of the State itself, on an enduring basis.

In 1852, he was saddened by the death of his wife, as witness this further endorsement on the back of the marriage certificate: "Our earthly separation took place on the fourth day of January, 1852, at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 o'clock p.m., when my dear Helen was taken home by her Heavenly Father. She was born on the 21st October, 1826. She will meet in heaven her husband, ALEXANDER MACKENZIE."





CHAPTER VI.

THE WESTERN DISTRICT.

Politics and Men in the Western District in the Early Days—Clear Grits—George Brown to the Rescue—His Letters to Alexander Mackenzie—The “Brownies”—Ancient Sectarian Issues—The “Old Ladies”—Mr. Mackenzie as Editor—A Rival Paper—A Great Libel Suit—Valedictory—Fine Letter from Wm. Lyon Mackenzie—Growing Political Influence—Friends Once More—Meets “Leonidas.”

EARLY in the fifties the western counties were ablaze with political fervor and rancor. Hon. Malcolm Cameron was in the zenith of his power and influence. In that far-off region, access to which was easiest by water, he was a sort of Robinson Crusoe—monarch of all he surveyed, whose right there was none to dispute. He was a man of great respectability of life and character, enterprising and energetic in business, an unselfish helper of other less fortunate men, a strong advocate of temperance principles, an omniverous reader, and a ready man at quotation, though he was not accurate or literate with the pen. He may be said to have been the father of the infant Sarnia, which owed much of its growth to his public spirit and energy. He sat in the Legislative Assembly for the united counties of Kent and Lambton. He had opposed, as an intense Liberal, the *laissez venir* policy of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government, particularly on the clergy reserves question; and, on the fall of that Administration, took office with Dr. Rolph, under Mr. Hincks, in which, at the instigation of his

Lower Canada colleagues, he had to adopt a similar course. At the elections of 1851 he had signified his intention of going from Kent and Lambton to Huron. But in the autumn of that year, a split having previously taken place in the Reform ranks, Mr. Brown resolved to beard the lion in his den by accepting the nomination of the Dresden convention to contest the Kent and Lambton constituency. Mr. Brown, through the *Globe*, had been a supporter of the Baldwin Ministry at the time that Mr. Cameron withdrew his confidence from it, and the *Globe* thereupon gave the Cameron men the appellation of "clear grits," a name which was afterwards extended to the entire Reform party, and which has stuck to that party to this day. Mr. Cameron brought out Mr. Arthur Rankin on the Liberal ticket to oppose Mr. Brown, but finding he did not take well, another Liberal candidate was induced to present himself, in order to divide the vote; and four men, Brown, Rankin, Wilkes and Larwill, the latter a pronounced Tory, went in December to the polls. The Brown men, however, of the two counties, were too many for all the rest, and their forces carried the day. We have before us a handbill issued by Mr. Cameron, over date Nov. 21st, 1851, in which he calls Mr. Brown some very unpleasant names.

In this election, as secretary of the Reform Committee, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie took an active part. A warm intimacy was, through this relation, established between him and Mr. Brown, which lasted for a period of over thirty years. The beginning of the intimacy and its nature we find disclosed in some hitherto unpublished letters from Mr. Brown to Mr. Mackenzie, which are too good to be kept longer buried. They are exceedingly characteristic of Mr. Brown, who was thus early what he continued to be through life, immensely energetic, uncompromising in character, confident in the righteous-

ness of his cause, exuberant of spirit, full of self-reliance, and sometimes wrong. He had, as we have seen, plumed his wing for Parliament in Haldimand, and had been defeated by William Lyon Mackenzie. But his great speeches had drawn all eyes towards him, and the Liberals of Kent and Lambton wanted him as their member. Mr. Mackenzie wrote to Mr. Brown, and received the following answer, dated :

“GLOBE OFFICE, TORONTO,

23rd October, 1851.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have just received your two letters. I hope you are not too confident of success. There will be great opposition, and unless Lambton goes almost unanimously for me, it will be all up. Depend upon it, when I do come out, I will not let the grass grow under my feet. It is war to the knife. Can you stand all this? You are “regular bricks” if you can put your faces to it. Look at it fairly, and if you say so, I am with you.

“Yours faithfully,

“GEORGE BROWN.”

Mr. Mackenzie seems to have satisfied the warring young candidate with the knife that they were equal to the work, as a couple of weeks later Mr. Brown made answer: “I will run for Kent and Lambton. Scatcherd will run for Oxford, and we will, without a doubt, put out the Hyena.” (Old politicians will readily understand that he refers to Sir Francis Hincks.) “Put plenty of work on me. I can speak six or eight hours a day easily.”

He was elected, and was able to address the next letter we find in his writing from Quebec (where, under the perambulating system, Parliament was then sitting) on August 23rd, 1852. He had previously written, in mistake, to Mr. Mackenzie's brother, Hope Mackenzie, on some matter of patronage; “but,” said he, “I have been turning over my election papers, and I see *you* are still the man of the people. However, I suppose

it is all the same thing. Do you Heelanders keep your blood warm on the banks of the St. Clair. I am half a Mackenzie man myself" (his mother was a Mackenzie), "and I feel my full right to be as proud as Lucifer."

On the 4th September, 1852, he writes to Alexander Mackenzie from Quebec, addressing the latter in his quality as "Secretary to the Reform Committee, Port Sarnia," on the all-important matter of the spoils. The sturdy young secretary appears to have claimed the right for his committee, at least to advise, if not to direct. Mr. Brown replies that nominations to office belong to the county member, but he is sure that the committee and himself will never disagree, "both having consciences, and always trying to find the right man." "I go dead for getting every office for Reformers—especially Brownies. But we must not forget the public interest. Where another man is decidedly better for office, even the Brownies should go to the wall." "Do shoal down petitions about the Reserves, Rectories, Sectarian Schools, Maine Law, and Sabbath desecration. The more the merrier. You will see me abused in the papers, of course, like a pickpocket, but don't pronounce against me until you hear me out. I know you won't. You shan't have occasion to be ashamed of me unless very much left to myself. I am sure I try to do right. Remember me to all our friends. Write often, and speak plain."

It will be seen that the public interest had to be served before even "the Brownies."

This, to his correspondent in March, 1853, sounds like the sigh of Mr. Mackenzie himself, in the midst of his cares and burdens, thirty years later, and describes the order of his work very much in the same manner. Mr. Brown apologises for neglecting friends, owing to the mountain of labour which weighs upon him; "but," he says, "when I get rich on politics,

perhaps I will be able to pay some one to assist me. Meantime I do the best I can. I attend to public matters first; my private affairs second; and so much correspondence afterwards as I can overtake."

On the 19th December, 1853, Mr. Brown finds himself with a "pile of letters unanswered big enough to stuff a reasonably sized sofa," but still he steals the time to give a characteristic paragraph about his perpetual torment, William Lyon Mackenzie: "That little vagabond, Mackenzie, is going up to oppose me, at the instigation of the Ministerialists, and as there is a good deal of dough-faceism up there, it is possible he may make something of it. No one can tell the result of any public meeting—but this I can promise him, he will not get off with both ease and honor. The worst of it is, that one makes nothing by defeating him; the encounter is a disagreeable business—a regular mud-pelting affair—and the end nothing. But in for a penny, in for a pound—it has got to be done."

As Lyon Mackenzie and Brown were in 1853, so they remained to the end. In 1857 the "little vagabond" was the same porcupine sort of ally, who might not be safely asked to their meetings, for fear of a rebuff. The italics are Mr. Brown's: "I think it of no use trying to conciliate Mackenzie—but you must judge as to the propriety of inviting him. *It may expose you to an awkward reply.*"

This glimpse of the inner thoughts of the then younger champion of reform, in regard to the old Liberal leader of family compact days, will surprise no one who knew either of the men and their political relations to each other. Brown, although careful about criticising Mackenzie openly, never quite recovered from his defeat by the newly-retained exile, in Haldimand, while Mackenzie, with his strong individuality

and uncompromising independence, brooked nothing that savored of political dictation. He had little regard for party discipline, whenever he conceived a principle was at stake. That they were hard hitters in the press, on the platform, and in parliament, goes without saying, and the arcana of the campaign correspondence of forty years ago only accentuates the fact. Although here discovered at cross purposes, the goal of their aims and hopes was the same. Each was a true Liberal because he placed the happiness of the many above the privileges of the few, and because he believed that disastrous revolutions are best averted by timely reforms. The liberalism of each was dominated by intense earnestness; it was intolerant of every obstacle in its path, and unsparing of every form of opposition; in the general conflict along the hostile lines it gave no quarter, and asked none. But in its least agreeable aspects it was redeemed by qualities that will ever be gratefully remembered. Its character was not unlike that ascribed by a noble biographer to a great tribune of the people who played his part on a wider arena less than a century before. Writing, in the memoir of Pitt, of Fox's liberalism, as displayed in his oratory and the vicissitudes of his public career, Lord Rosebery says:

“His nature, apt to extremes, was driven with an excessive reaction to the most violent negative of what he disapproved. It is this force of extremes that makes orators, and for them it is indispensable. Few supreme parliamentary speeches have, perhaps, ever been delivered by orators who have been unable to convince themselves, not merely that they are absolutely in the right, but that their opponents are absolutely in the wrong, and the most abandoned of scoundrels, to boot, for holding a contrary opinion. No less a force, no feebler a flame than this, will sway or incense the mixed



temperaments of mankind. The mastering passion of Fox's mature life was the love of liberty: it is this which made him take a vigorous, occasionally an intemperate, part against every man or measure in which he could trace the taint or tendency to oppression: it is this which sometimes made him write and speak with unworthy bitterness: but it is this which gave him moral power, which has neutralised the errors of his political career, which makes his faults forgotten, and his memory sweet."

There is much in this passage, penned by a lover of Liberal traditions and an impartial critic of those who cherished them, that is not inapplicable to George Brown and William Lyon Mackenzie. If sometimes at variance with each other, they were always at war with public wrongs and injustice; each in his day was the petrel of the storms that swept the political sea.

The correspondence discloses the further interesting fact that in 1853 the Upper House was held a good deal in the same sort of estimation that has been formed of it ever since. There is a change, of course, in name, and a difference in political complexion, but in the contemptuous treatment of public opinion, it is in all essential respects to-day what it was forty years ago. Mr. Brown boasts somewhat exultingly of his successful efforts in the Legislative Assembly, sitting under the shadow of the Archevêché, in the ancient city, in fighting the religious Corporation Bill, the Three Rivers Cathedral Bill, and the St. Hyacinthe Bill, designations which bring back recollections of those too familiar sectarian times. "The St. Hyacinthe Bill," he remarks, with his peculiar individual characterisation, "was pitched out in the Lords. I lobbied the Old Ladies for a week before, and they came up to the scratch like trumps." When ill, in 1882, it was hinted to Mr. Mackenzie that if he failed in

his election in consequence of the gerrymander, which was freely applied to him as well as to other Liberals, he might possibly be elevated to the Canadian Lords, he asked in his dry, caustic way, "Don't you think they have too many invalids in the Senate already?"

In support of "the Brownies," in the beginning of 1852, a printer from Toronto, named Robertson, established in Sarnia a journal named the *Lambton Shield*. Mr. Mackenzie assumed the editorship of the paper, and wrote for it with great vigor and ability until May 5th, 1854, when Hon. Malcolm Cameron ended its existence by an action for libel. The publisher was said to have been a former employee of Mr. Brown on the *Globe*. Mr. Mackenzie never seems to have had any pecuniary interest in the concern, but for all that he set to work *con amore* to sustain his leader and down the enemy. The *Shield* was a seven-column, four-page sheet, and had for its motto a couplet purporting to be Byronic:

"With or without offence to friends or foes,
I sketch your world exactly as it goes."

As may be supposed, there was a good deal of individuality of character about it, and being in those days without competition either in the local field or from outside journals, it must have wielded a wide influence. In a little while Mr. Cameron found the fire too hot, and induced the publisher of the *Lanark Observer* to move his paper to Sarnia, and to continue it there as the *Lambton Observer*, so as to pour in some broadsides in return. Then it became exceedingly bad for the people of that neighbourhood. We have had before us files of one of these papers for the purpose of studying the politics of the place and time, and regard for truth compels us to join in the opinion expressed by Martin Chuzzlewit to Colonel

Diver in regard to the writings of Jefferson Brick, that they were "horribly personal;" though probably only a little less so than the platform sentiments of politicians in general in those degenerate days—so different from our own time! Both from the platform and the press came very freely and with the greatest naturalness charges of apostacy on the questions of the secularisation of the clergy reserves and the abolition of the rectories, and charges also of land and Grand Trunk jobberies and jobs.

The *Lambton Observer* was started on Nov. 16, 1853, and in its salutatory it declares its mission to be "to promote the great principles of Reform and Progress, and Civil and Religious Liberty." Favouring religious equality, it would advocate the secularisation of the clergy reserves; cautiously adding: "And that forthwith!—unless other reasons for delay exist that we are not now aware of. The principal political question at present engaging the attention of the politicians of our Province is, 'Are you a supporter of the Government?'" It attempts an answer by the assertion that the struggle was no longer between Radicalism and Toryism, the Tories being virtually defunct, but between two opposing sections of the Reform party. The smaller of these sections, it said, appeared to think the Administration the most villanous that ever cursed the Province, though, strange to say, those who composed this section were not long before the warm defenders of the very policy they now condemned. The present Government, though following out the same views of their predecessors "as close as the nature of the circumstances will permit," were set down as "a set of non-progressives, because they cannot keep pace with the new-born zeal of those political Jim Crows!" "Forward, forward! blow the whistle—up with the steam! The car of progress lingers. The engineer

is not to be depended upon. We want another who will be subject to our dictation, and who will drive ahead just as we order." "We have private ends to be served," it goes on sarcastically to observe, "and private animosities to gratify, and care not by what means we accomplish our purpose." The *Globe* had said that the *Observer* had gone to Lambton as a "ministerial transplantation," to support the Postmaster-General, Hon. Mr. Cameron, its master, and to engage in the "rare sports of Wabash coon hunts." The *Observer* parries the thrust by the retort that Lambton was no longer a hotbed of Brownism, and that people up there had "become tired of being dosed all the time with BROWN pepper."

The libel suit, from whose consequences the *Shield* was powerless to find protection, was contained in a paragraph of half a dozen lines. A certain newspaper had charged, on the authority, as alleged, of an ex-minister, that an application made to Mr. Baldwin's Government in 1848 or 1849 for the purchase of some seventeen thousand acres of land at a merely nominal price, had been intercepted by a member of that Government, who had procured friends of his own to put in a memorial for the same territory, and that when the memorial came before the Council the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. Price, having learned the particulars of the transaction, threatened his colleague with exposure; whereupon a rumpus ensued which resulted in the disruption of Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet by Mr. Price's enforced retirement. Another paper asked for the names, which the *Shield* volunteered to indicate so far as to say that the lands were in Kent, that the minister who applied for them was connected with that county, and that it was in all likelihood Mr. Price himself who told the story.

Mr. Cameron, on this, commenced an action against the

Shield, or, as he termed it, made his appeal "to God and his country." The trial of "Cameron vs. Mackenzie, et al.," came on at Sarnia, on April 27th, 1854, and was quite an affair of State, the Honorables Messrs. Baldwin, Price and Merritt being present on their subpoenas as witnesses, with Mr. Stephen Richards as principal counsel for the plaintiff, and Messrs. Vankoughnet, the ex-chancellor, of Toronto; Becher, of London; Albert Prince, of Sandwich, and Vidal, of Sarnia, for the defence. The plaintiff rested his case on the admission of publication, and on proof that Mr. Cameron was member for Kent, and a member of Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet in 1848 and 1849. The defendants' plea was justification, on the ground that their statement was true, and that it would by Mr. Price be proven to be so. Mr. Price was then called, but claimed his privilege, as an executive councillor, to decline to divulge the secrets of the council chamber. Mr. Justice Draper sustained the objection, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for £20 and costs. The party papers spoke severely of Mr. Price for having first allowed the statement to find circulation with his supposed authority for it, and then left the publishers to bear the brunt.

In its next issue of May 5, the *Shield* published its valedictory. It spoke of the libel prosecution as now "a part of the political history of Canada;" asserted that "malice was no part of our motive, and infamy is no portion of our punishment, but we suffer pecuniarily for our outspokenness;" and stated the costs to be from £120 to £150. "That sum we *can pay*, but not without embarrassing seriously the business upon which we depend for a livelihood. The editorial labor connected with a weekly journal we have long found a serious encroachment on our time, robbing us of the enjoyment of many of the evening hours of rest, after spending the day in

the exercise of a laborious manual occupation. We leave the profession as we entered it, with clean hands; and it was not because we had not the opportunity to follow an evil practice that we kept our hands clean in the management of a public journal. We deemed it a sacred duty to seek no man's favor, and to be regardless of any man's frown."

Said his namesake, William Lyon Mackenzie: "One word about the man who penned the above noble sentiments. His name is Alexander Mackenzie, by birth a Scotchman, and by trade a labouring mason. He is every whit a self-made, self-educated man. Has large mental capacity and indomitable energy." In addition to that, William Lyon wrote Alexander a gratifying letter, which Alexander Mackenzie carefully preserved with his papers, and which we cannot refrain from publishing. It will be seen that it was written the day following the dissolution of 1854:

"QUEBEC, June 23, 1854.

"MR. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE,

"DEAR SIR,—I see that you are a Scotsman, and I fear that you have been sacrificed. For many years the knaves in authority in this infant colony harassed me almost to death with libel suits. The first grey hair that I ever saw in my own head was when preparing to defend, without legal aid, a heavy civil action for libel.

"I merely write, because I cannot call upon you, to convey good-will and sympathy, and to express a hope that when the elections come you will stir yourself up to return capable and honest men—so that, tho' working apart, we may be working for one and the same good object.

"The Hincks-Elgin-Cameron Government sent us summarily to the rightabout yesterday. Now is the time to work.

"Your faithful admirer, and I wish

"I might be permitted to add, friend,

"W. L. MACKENZIE."

One can imagine how the younger Mackenzie would be sustained in his trouble and inspired by a sympathising and

stirring letter like this from the veteran and persecuted Reformer.

It is pleasant to know that subsequently Mr. Cameron was again working in harmony with his former political allies. Alexander Mackenzie did him signal service at the Convention of Reformers, called at Strathroy in the summer of 1860, to select a candidate for the St. Clair division of the Legislative Council, which body had recently been made elective. There were many aspirants for the position, including Messrs. Glass, Leonard, Cameron, Campbell, Wilkes, and a gentleman from Toronto. Mr. John A. Sym, of Strathroy, was chairman, and Mr. Mackenzie was chosen secretary. It was speedily made manifest that there were serious sectional differences, and that a satisfactory choice would be one of difficulty. There was a wrangle which threatened to end the proceedings, the chairman being feeble and ineffective, and the duties devolving, without the power, on the secretary. Mr. Mackenzie is said to have acquitted himself on the trying occasion with much firmness, tact and discretion. The Lambton and Kent men were mostly Cameronians, but the other members of the convention were much divided between Mr. Leonard and Mr. Glass. In the midst of the uproar, Mr. Mackenzie obtained an adjournment for an hour. A caucus was then held, with the result that Mr. Leonard withdrew, and his supporters turning in for Mr. Cameron, that gentleman, thanks to Mr. Mackenzie, became the choice of the convention, and won the seat. Mr. Cameron published a reply to Mr. Sym and Mr. Mackenzie expressive of his very warm thanks for the honor that had been done him; and he continued friendly with Mr. Mackenzie to the end of his life.

It is related by old residents in Sarnia that about the first time Alexander Mackenzie gave evidence there as a public

speaker of the stuff that was in him, was in a contest with the redoubtable controversialist "Leonidas," Rev. Dr. Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. It was at a school convention for the County of Lambton, held in Sarnia, on Wednesday, 2nd February, 1853. Dr. Ryerson addressed the convention at length, in explanation and justification of his public school policy. While he was speaking, Mr. Mackenzie sat listening in the body of the hall. All at once he asked our informant, who sat beside him, for a piece of paper to enable him to take notes, which he jotted down with a pencil, the paper resting on the back of a bench. When the doctor had concluded, Mr. Mackenzie entered upon so severe a criticism of his statements that he carried the meeting with him. By request of the doctor, the chairman invited his doughty opponent to the platform, where the two foemen shook hands. From the time of this disputation onwards, Dr. Ryerson was very wary of his antagonist.

Mr. Mackenzie also displayed a good deal of pluck and ability in his address from a Sarnia balcony to a crowded street audience, prior to Mr. Brown's election for Lambton and Kent, in 1851.





CHAPTER VII.

THE BROWN-DORION GOVERNMENT.

The General Election of 1857—More Brown Letters—Hope Mackenzie—"Lambton Bricks"—Alexander Mackenzie's Second Marriage—Where He Worshipped—The "Double Shuffle"—George Brown's Colleagues—Their Policy—Precedents for a Dissolution—Alex. Mackenzie as an Essayist—Advocacy by the Liberals of a Federal Union.

MR. BROWN sat for Kent and Lambton until the elections of 1854, when the constituency having been divided, he was elected for Lambton by a considerable majority over Mr. Malcolm Cameron, who had now the temerity to oppose him in person. The Parliament to which he was elected was dissolved in 1857, and never did man display greater power, energy and capability for work, and more endurance, than did Mr. Brown in the campaign that ensued. He was in fact ubiquitous.

On November 25th, he writes from the *Globe* office, Toronto, to Mr. Mackenzie, saying he is unable to give the time he would like, exclusively, to Lambton, and is willing to retire. "Keep in mind," he remarks, "that my services here for the next three weeks may save half a dozen counties—there is literally no one else looking after the success of the whole—and that it is hard for a man to occupy a part he cannot feel conscientiously he is filling satisfactorily. The prospect," he adds, "is excellent. I cannot see how we can fail to beat them in Upper Canada. What they expect to gain by going to the

country I cannot conceive. Only think! In a Cabinet of twelve, there are eleven lawyers and one auctioneer. Going! Going! Gone!"

Notwithstanding, he confesses he has no heart for politics, "but, like a dog in the traces of his cart, must drag on." He had intended, he said, to retire from political life, but were he to leave at the time of the sudden dissolution, it would be destructive of the cause, and he was determined to go in. Four counties offered, but he preferred Lambton, if they desired it. In that event his address would be out at once; "and then for a thorough fight," which nobody loved better than George Brown.

The desire to win Toronto was so tempting to Mr. Brown that he decided on retiring from Lambton. He succeeded in the object of his ambition, beating Hon. J. H. Cameron, but, for fear of failure there, he was also returned for North Oxford. He elected to sit for Toronto, and induced North Oxford, with some hesitation, to return for that riding Mr. William McDougall.

Mr. Brown had advised that a constituency should be obtained for Mr. Hope Mackenzie, who was a gentle-hearted man of considerable capacity and great future promise, which an early death prevented from being realised. When, therefore, Mr. Brown suddenly left Lambton, a Liberal gathering was hastily called at the house of Mr. Charles Taylor, in Sarnia, and Mr. Hope Mackenzie was their choice. He did not consent at first, the risk being thought by the brothers to be too great. However, he was persuaded against his own better judgment, and at once entered upon a vigorous canvass, in which he was materially aided by his brother Alexander, who went specially to Toronto for material for a broadsheet that he got out, giving a vast amount of well-arranged information

for the electorate. A considerable effect was produced in the country, every polling place declaring for him; notwithstanding, he was defeated by a small majority—his opponent, Hon. Malcolm Cameron, having secured a strong vote from the town of Sarnia, through the influence, it is alleged, of the bogus votes of men who were at that time building the railway.

This was the general election in which, if the Tories were not actually beaten, they were so terribly shaken up that the stability of parties was gone, and the constitutional changes of a later day were the consequence. The Cabinet of the “eleven lawyers and one auctioneer” suffered by the defeat of Morrison, Receiver-General, in South Ontario; Spence, Postmaster-General, in Wentworth; and Cayley, Inspector-General, in Huron and Bruce. Mr. Cayley seems to have adopted a different system of bribery from its grosser forms of the present day. He circulated the Scriptures. This led D’Arcy McGee to say that, while the people up there accepted the Bible, they rejected the missionary.

On the retirement of Hon. Malcolm Cameron from Lambton, in 1860, to become a candidate for the St. Clair division in the Legislative Council, Mr. Hope Mackenzie was again nominated by the Liberals for the Lambton seat. He was opposed by Mr. John Dobbyn, but was elected. Mr. Brown wrote to Alexander, expressing his pleasure at the result. “I cannot tell you how rejoiced I was at Hope’s return. He will be invaluable in the Lower House. I really expect from his practical way that he will make a mark that few new men have ever done. Tell him he must take hold from the start, or he will find it tenfold more difficult afterwards. It is just like ‘dooking.’”—(A Scotticism for ducking or immersion under water—literally, a cold plunge.)

The Lambton men of Mr. Brown's first love he loved yet. He still describes them by his old familiar word—"bricks." "I have never seen any men like the Lambton bricks."

Hope Mackenzie sat for Lambton until the general election of 1861, when he declined renomination, and his brother Alexander was elected for that riding by a substantial majority over Mr. Alexander Vidal. Hope, however, was not permitted to remain long in retirement. In 1863, a vacancy having occurred in North Oxford, he was unanimously nominated, on the strong recommendation of Mr. Brown. The resolution was communicated to him at Sarnia by telegraph. For personal reasons he declined, until the pressure brought upon him became so great that he had to give way, and, after a short contest, in a riding in which he had never before set foot, and where the people were unknown to him, he was elected by a majority of 291. He was re-elected at the ensuing general election. Had he lived, there is no doubt he might have continued to represent North Oxford to the present time. He died at Sarnia, in June of 1866, aged 46, much beloved by all for his unaffected goodness of heart, and honored for his nobility of mind. He always spoke with affection of Hon. T. D. McGee, who nursed him tenderly in a sickness in Quebec, caused by exposure in crossing in the winter time, in an open boat, from Point Levis—a dreadful passage, which old Parliamentarians remember so well.

Mr. Mackenzie married a second time, on 17th June, 1853, the second wife being Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. Robt. Sym, one of the solid farmers of the county of Lambton, and a prominent man in municipal and political affairs. Mr. Sym was a member of the Dresden convention in 1851, which secured Hon. George Brown for the representation of Kent and Lambton.

At the time Mr. Mackenzie went to Sarnia, and for many years thereafter, there was no Baptist place of worship in that village, and on Sundays it was his habit, accompanied by a friend belonging to the same church, to walk out a distance of eight miles to attend a small place of worship, which had been established by the members of the Baptist denomination

*Unless I hear to the
contrary, I shall
continue here a few
days. The first effect of
the sea was to sicken;
I hope the next will be
to cure us all.*

*Yours always
Wm. L. Fee*

in the township of Sarnia, near Mr. Sym's residence. This house was the abiding place for the time being of those—chief among them being Mr. Ebenezer Watson, a farmer, married to a daughter of Mr. Sym—who went there to conduct the services; other friends of the cause were also made welcome by Mr. Sym, especially such as came from a distance. Mr. Mackenzie was one of the number who took part in the devotional

exercises, a custom which he continued after his removal to Toronto, and had entered into communion with the Jarvis-street Baptist church.

Another bond of union between Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Sym was that they both came from Perthshire, Scotland, where Mr. Sym had been engaged in farming. Mr. Sym came to Canada in 1821, and settled in the first instance in Bathurst township, county of Lanark, near the town of Perth. In 1837, the year of the rebellion, Mr. Sym left Perth for the western part of the province, with his friend, Mr. Malcolm Cameron, and they both settled in Lambton. While in Perth, Mr. Sym's wife, Agnes Wylie, died, by which event, Jane, the eldest daughter, became the head of the household. Some years after Mr. Sym died, Mr. Mackenzie went with Mrs. Mackenzie to Lanark, and erected there a monument to Mrs. Sym's memory. Mr. Sym's mother, Margaret Dick, was a cousin of Sir Robert Dick, the Baronet of that name, from Logierait, who fought under Lord Gough, in the war with the Sikhs. Sir Robert Dick was one of the widely-famed Black Watch, or 42nd Royal Highlanders. This regiment was at the battle of Quatre Bras, on the 16th of June, 1815, and was under four commanding officers in the course of a few minutes. Col. Sir Robert Macara was killed early in the engagement, and with him also fell Major Menzies. The command then devolved upon Col. Robert H. Dick, but he soon was severely wounded. Major Davidson succeeded, who likewise had almost immediately to retire disabled.

As often as he could make it convenient to do so, Mr. Mackenzie continued to worship in the little Sarnia township church, but after awhile there was a church erected by the Baptist people in Sarnia town. This edifice was in course of construction when Lord Elgin made his well-remembered progress of the Province, and in this building His Excellency was

entertained during his short stay in Sarnia. The services in the Sarnia Baptist church were conducted every fortnight by Mr. Watson, and on alternate Sundays by Mr. Mackenzie and other lay friends. Mr. Watson, however, was not strong enough in bodily health to continue the duties, and as the interest could not be kept up, Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie thenceforth regularly attended, so long as they remained in Sarnia, the Presbyterian church of their son-in-law, Rev. Dr. Thompson.

With his own voluminous papers, Mr. Mackenzie has preserved many of those which came into his hands as Mr. Brown's biographer. Among them are some of the original communications on the historical subject of the "double shuffle," which was perpetrated on the defeat of the Government in the summer of 1858, including the messages sent to Mr. Brown by Sir Edmund Head, written and "signed by his own hand," as the parliamentary phrase goes. On a subsequent page of this book we print in *fac-simile*, as a curiosity, the first portion of the celebrated letter which betrayed the plot, and presented a Governor-General of Canada in the position of "keeping the word of promise to the ear, but breaking it to the hope" of making his invitation to Mr. Brown to form a Government a mockery and a snare.

A brief description of the circumstances attending the "double-shuffle" is here given for the information of the generation who have come upon the political stage since that period; to those who were contemporaries of Sir Edmund Head and Mr. John A. Macdonald it is unnecessary; the events are indelibly fixed upon their minds.

The Macdonald-Cartier ministry suffered defeat on the selection of Ottawa—since called, by Mr. Goldwin Smith, "an Arctic lumber village"—as the permanent seat of Govern-

This Excellency the Governor
General forwards the
enclosed memorandum
to the Baron to sign
because it may be
convenient for him to
have it in his hands
in good time tomorrow
morning -

The part which
relates to a deposition
is in substance a
repetition of what this
Excellency said yesterday

(Fac-simile of Sir Edmund Walker Head's hand-writing.)

ernment. They resigned, and Mr. Brown was entrusted with the task of forming a new Administration. Mr. Brown had full reason to know that he would not be sustained in the existing House, but he relied upon his undoubted right to dissolution. Mr. Macdonald was evidently aware that there would be a denial of this right. Although his Government had received an adverse vote on the question of the choice of the capital, on the test motion which immediately followed for the adjournment of the House they were sustained by their old-time majority. Mr. Collins, Sir John A. Macdonald's apologist and biographer, says that notwithstanding the vote in their favor on the question of adjournment, or of confidence, Mr. Macdonald resolved on resigning, in order to "strike a decisive blow at the Opposition," being "absolutely certain that he (Mr. Brown) would not be sustained in the House," and knowing, we may add, that as there was no chance of a dissolution, he would be effectually "dished." "The resignation," says Mr. Collins, "was voluntary; but we must be frank enough to admit that it was not done out of any deference to any principle or to the sense of the majority of the Upper Canada section of the Cabinet. It was simply done to lure Mr. Brown into a pitfall." "Frank enough," indeed! Of course Mr. Brown was defeated by the Macdonald-Cartier majority in the Assembly, and equally, of course, he was refused an appeal to the people. The programme for "luring him into the pitfall" was therefore only too faithfully carried out. But there was yet another part of it to come. The path to real power which had been made so difficult for Mr. Brown was to be made easy for the return of Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Cartier.

A clause had been inserted in the Independence of Parliament Act the previous year providing that where a member

of an existing Government resigned one office and accepted another, within a month after such resignation he should not be required to return to his constituents for re-election. This Act was now strained to enable Mr. Macdonald and his former colleagues to resume, and avoid going back to their constituents, by being sworn into a double set of offices—by swearing in one hour that they would administer one set of ministerial duties, which they had no intention of undertaking, and the next hour that they would perform others wholly different. •

The courts, on being appealed to, interpreted the clause very strictly, so as to bring the wholesale action of the double shufflers within its purview, but public opinion was so strongly pronounced upon the trick that it was afterwards repealed.

With this digression, we complete the narrative. Mr. Brown received His Excellency's commands to form a Government on July 29th, 1858. On July 31st, which was Saturday, he acquainted the Governor-General with his acceptance of the duty. At ten o'clock on Sunday night—having no doubt spent the sacred hours of the summer Sabbath day in its concoction—Sir Edmund Head disclosed to Mr. Brown the treachery which had previously been hatched, in a memorandum denying to his new adviser his constitutional right of dissolving the notoriously adverse and partizan House of Assembly, knowing that without an appeal to the people, the commission communicated in the name of Royalty to the First Minister was a farce, and that through its medium he had drawn Mr. Brown into a snare. In view of the baseness of the Governor-General's conduct, well might Mr. Brown have addressed Sir Edmund Head in the language of his prototype in enmity with all but those of his own faith, in the "Merchant of Venice":

“*Shylock* :

Nay, take my life, pardon not that :

You take my house when you do take the prop

That doth sustain my house ; you take my life

When you do take the means whereby I live.”

The prop was taken from Mr. Brown's house ; the house became a house of cards ; his ministerial life was but a breath ; he died the death ordained for him from the first ; and the “double shuffle” which ensued, with Sir Edmund Head as the puppet in the hands of the chief conspirator, Bible in hand, administering the oaths, will be remembered for generations, to the disgrace of all persons concerned therein.

Put into clear type, the *fac-simile* which we give of the first sheet of Sir Edmund's covering note is as follows :—

“His Excellency the Governor-General forwards the enclosed memorandum to Mr. Brown to-night, because it may be convenient for him to have it in his hand in good time to-morrow morning.

“The part which relates to a dissolution is in substance a repetition of what His Excellency said yesterday.”

The man who, according to his biographer, conceived this outrage on the constitutional rights of the people, with a Governor-General as his tool, was he who fourteen years afterwards inaugurated with the “tens of thousands” of Sir Hugh Allan's money the frightful system of debauchery which has sapped the institutions of the country.

The Government formed by Mr. Brown possessed elements of great strength. From Upper Canada he had for his colleagues such men as John Sandfield Macdonald, Oliver Mowat and M. H. Foley, and from Lower Canada, A. A. Dorion, L. T. Drummond and L. H. Holton. Mr. Brown had always been met with the taunt that he was unable to form a Ministry, and

it was said there was literal truth in his playful designation of himself in his earlier career of being "a governmental impossibility." The formation of this Administration was his answer. And it was not merely a combination of men without a purpose. In their discussions of the old dividing differences, they had succeeded in laying the ground work for a settlement. Representation by population was to be conceded, but with adequate protection, either in the shape of a "Canadian bill of rights, guaranteed by Imperial statute, or by the adoption of a federal union." The "seigniorial tenure" was to be arranged by the purchase of the rights of the seigniors out of funds that were to be provided, without inflicting injustice to Upper Canada. Either by the introduction of some of the features of the Irish national school system, or by the giving of religious instruction during certain hours of the day, the necessity for separate schools was to be obviated. Whether this programme would have worked out or not, the Liberal party were not to have the opportunity of trying. As Mr. Brown stated, at a great public meeting in Toronto, he was exposed to the mockery of a hollow invitation to form a Government, and not in a hundred and fifty years of English history can a single case be found in which men in their position were refused a dissolution. Going back but half a dozen years in our own history, he gave all these cases in point: "Mr. Hincks went to the country in 1851; at the opening of his second session he was defeated, but the Governor-General came down suddenly and prorogued the House, and gave him one more chance for life. The McNab Government followed in September, 1854; in 1855 three members retired, and His Excellency consented to a reconstruction; in 1856 the Government was beaten twice, and twice resigned; but His Excellency would not accept, and Ross, Drummond and Cauchon,

nay, the Premier himself, were all driven out, but still a reconstruction was allowed, with Colonel Taché at the head. In 1857, Lemieux, Terrill, Ross and the Premier were all driven away; but another reconstruction was at once granted, with Mr. Macdonald as Prime Minister. Unable to fill up the vacant offices, suddenly and inconveniently, in the middle of the financial crisis, Mr. Macdonald demanded a general election, and at once he obtained it. And though three ministers were beaten in Upper Canada, still His Excellency permitted the thing to go on by the aid of irresponsible members of the Upper House, and an office left vacant from pure inability to fill it up. He permitted a session of five months to be wasted by the utter incapacity of his advisers; he submitted to all their departmental blundering and mismanagement; but he refused to the Opposition the only favor they asked, a fair appeal to the people against the misdeeds of his late ministers. If a designed intention had existed to get the leaders of the Opposition out of the House, and then pass the numerous obnoxious bills before Parliament, no more direct way could have been taken than that followed by His Excellency."

In the early days, Mr. Mackenzie kept a scrap book, but, to his credit be it said, it was not with the design of exercising political terrorism on a much-suffering community. He pasted into the book such good things as struck his fancy in his course of reading, and such things as more particularly concerned himself. As he grew into position, he no longer cared for these performances, and left the pasting in and posting up of his sayings and doings to the scrap books of smaller men.

The immediate cause of his starting this considerable volume of blank sheets of brown paper—this *tabula rasa*—was the delivery of a lecture by him, under the auspices of the Sarnia Mechanics' Institute, on the "Anglo-Saxon race," in April of

1858. The lecture achieved the dignity of print, and it was awarded the additional distinction of presentation in the first pages of the scrap book. Both honors it well deserved. The lecture is broad, comprehensive, and catholic in treatment and tone, and it gives evidence of a very acute and observing mind, as well as more than ordinary literary skill in presenting and marshalling the facts of history ; it is followed by Mr. Mackenzie's own clear and acute deductions from these facts. He considers our race under three main heads:—" I. Its Origin and History. II. Its Present Position. III. Its Destiny." There is a good deal of research, and no small amount of learning manifested in the treatment of the first branch of the subject, which, however, centres too narrowly within the ancient realm of Scotland—in the strifes between the warlike Gael and the hated Saxon. In this department, also, Mr. Mackenzie shows his acquaintance, afterwards so well-known, with the Biblical records. One of the most striking illustrations of the "present position" of the race, apart from its natural and moral greatness, is what it has achieved for the cause of human liberty. The war waged by Russia for empire was then just over, and in connection with that the lecturer starts out to consider our world-wide "destiny." This gives scope for a burst of patriotic sentiment, and the prediction of a reunion in heart and feeling of the English and American peoples, when "all lands will contribute, consciously or unconsciously, to their power and glory." Speaking of the estrangement caused by the war of England with the thirteen colonies, he says it is but natural that the harshness of the bigoted British statesmen and the king of those days should rankle for some time in the minds of American citizens, but he protests against their perpetuation by ignorant and selfish people. He justifies these feelings by what were his own as a boyish student of the history of Scot-

land : "I well recollect the feelings I entertained in my boyhood towards the English, while reading of the exploits of Wallace and Bruce when opposing the English armies—of the capture and execution of Scotland's greatest chieftain by England's king—how I wished for manhood and opportunity to wreak my vengeance on my country's oppressors ; and how I gloried in the thought that our land had never been conquered, and that our kings had finally ascended the English throne." "Manhood," in due course, came to the glowing youth, but happily for England's peace, if not her very existence, it did not bring with it the eager patriot's wished-for "opportunity." Under the auspices of wiser monarchs than those of Scotland, she still lives to fulfil, let us hope, in time, the destiny foreshadowed for her and her race by Mr. Mackenzie in his riper years.





CHAPTER VIII.

MR. MACKENZIE'S FIRST ELECTION.

Dissolution of Parliament and General Election—Return of Mr. Mackenzie for Lambton—Ministry Sustained—Defeat of the Hon. Geo. Brown—Mr. Mackenzie's First Appearance in Parliament—Defeat of the Government on the Militia Bill.



THE session of 1861 opened on the 16th day of March. The discussion on the address, in reply to the Governor's speech, shewed plainly that the Liberal party intended to keep before the country the platform of 1859. The Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald divided the House on a motion, declaring that the Cartier-Macdonald Government was unworthy of support, because a majority of the representatives of Upper Canada were opposed to its policy. The motion was lost on a vote of 49 to 62. Later in the session, Mr. Ferguson, member for South Simcoe, introduced a bill for the purpose of equalizing the representation of the people in the Legislative Assembly, which, after being discussed on several occasions, was finally rejected on a vote of 67 to 49, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald voting with the majority.

The debates of the session disclosed several irregularities on the part of the Government, which they feared would tell against them in the country. Large advances had been made to the Grand Trunk Railway through the Bank of Upper Canada. Mr. George E. Cartier had offensively referred to

the preponderance of the population of Upper Canada over that of Lower Canada as of no greater consequence than twenty thousand codfish in the bay of Gaspé. Large sums of money had been expended without the authority of Parliament. The Hon. Joseph Morrison was retained in the Cabinet, after he had been three times rejected by the people. The Hon. Colonel Prince was allowed to sit in the Upper House, although holding a commission as judge of the District of Algoma. Several members of Parliament held contracts from the Crown. And so the Government fearing the agitation that by delay would result from these disclosures resolved upon the immediate dissolution of the House.

To the great regret of his constituents, Mr. Mackenzie's brother, Hope, the sitting member for Lambton, declined to be again a candidate. It did not take the Reformers long, however, to decide upon his successor. A requisition was immediately circulated, for there was no time to call a convention, and Alex. Mackenzie was pressed to be the standard-bearer of the party. Though not desiring the honor, he felt it to be his duty to accept the nomination. On the 13th of June, 1861, he issued his address to the electors of Lambton, and immediately entered upon the campaign with Mr. T. B. Pardee as secretary of his committee.

His address to the electors of Lambton is an excellent summary of the issues before the country; and naturally gives the first place to the great question of representation. "Until the representation is reformed," he said, "sound legislation is impossible, as Western Canada will not consent to have her laws made and administered by a sectional majority. This, therefore, is the great question of the day. If I am returned as a member for this county, it must be as a determined opponent of a Ministry which has declared its hostility to any

alteration in the representation, and which has not scrupled for four years to rule Canada West, in defiance of her own people, by a sectional majority."

To those who remember the vigor with which Mr. Mackenzie was capable of denouncing the tyranny of the majority and the encroachments of power on the rights of the people, the character of his appeal for redress for Upper Canada will be readily recalled. Whether by heredity or from his high sense of justice or his inborn hatred of oppression, it matters not ; few men are to be found to whom wrong was more repugnant and the insolence of power more offensive, and from the brief reports of his speeches in his first campaign, it was quite evident that wrong-doing was not likely to find an apologist in him.

His views on the position in which Lower Canada would be placed, provided representation by population were conceded, are worthy of notice.

When the union of 1841 was accomplished, the two provinces were represented in the legislature by 42 members each. At that time, there was the disparity in population already stated. The people of Lower Canada felt that they had yielded a good deal in accepting a union on equal terms with Upper Canada, so far as representation was concerned. The increase in the population of Upper Canada, in the interval, they alleged, should not now be made the basis of a change in representation, as it was a mere transfer of preponderance from one side to the other ; and as Lower Canada entered the union with the same number of members as Upper Canada, notwithstanding the greater number of her population, Upper Canada should not press at this time for a change because this condition was since reversed.

Moreover, Lower Canada contended, as the people of Ulster

now do, and with probably no better cause, that if she were placed at the mercy of Upper Canada, her educational and religious institutions would be imperilled. This feature of the question Mr. Mackenzie at once recognized. In his address, he says : " The enlightened, sober statesmen of Lower Canada, under the leadership of such men as Dorion, Sicotte, McGee and Drummond, concede the justice of the demand (for representation by population), and express their willingness to yield to the claim, only asking as a condition that guarantees should be given that Canada West should not use its increased power to interfere with the peculiar ecclesiastical privileges and laws of Canada East. This every intelligent reformer will, of course, agree to." Mr. Mackenzie thus showed, at the very outset of his public career, that statesmanship, in its true essence, is frankness and justice ; that in the advocacy of the rights of his own party, he was unwilling to take the advantage of his opponents, and that behind the power which the Government possesses, there are inalienable rights with which no Act of Parliament should interfere.

In those early days, Mr. Mackenzie proclaimed himself the advocate of economy and low taxation. He denounced the Government, because in six years they had increased the debt from twenty-nine millions to seventy millions, the expenditure from four millions to nine millions, and the tariff from twelve-and-a-half per cent. to twenty per cent. He reminded the electors of the grants paid to Lower Canada for the erection of piers and public buildings,—as bribes for political support ; of contracts given to members of parliament for a similar object ; and of sundry violations of the constitution for the purpose of retaining power. Little did he dream, in 1861, that the increased expenditure and debt, and high tariff and constitutional breaches and political bribes, which he then

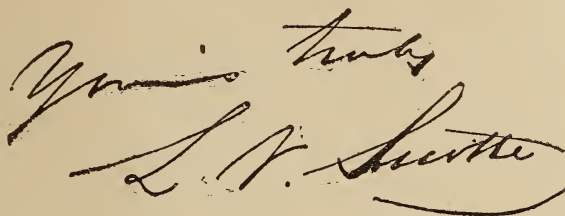
denounced would, *mutatis mutandis*, occupy so much of his attention for the next thirty years.

Mr. Mackenzie was opposed at the election by Mr. Alexander Vidal, now a member of the Senate. Mr. Vidal entered the field as an independent candidate, although a supporter of the Cartier-Macdonald administration, in its opposition to the demand of Upper Canada. The nomination took place on the 27th of June, Mr. Sheriff Flintoft being returning officer. Mr. Mackenzie was nominated by Mr. Simpson Shephard, of Plympton, seconded by Mr. Robert Rae, of Bosanquet, both of whom survive him. In order to meet the electors Mr. Mackenzie held three meetings a-day, speaking at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and at two o'clock and at seven o'clock in the afternoon. His extraordinary powers of endurance and capacity for political labor were thus early tested. After two days' polling, during which the ministerialists exerted themselves to the utmost, he was returned by a majority of 142.

The general results of the election were favorable to the Government, although some of their strongest supporters were defeated; among these were the Hon. Sidney Smith, Postmaster-General, and Mr. Ogle R. Gowan, in Upper Canada, and Solicitor-General Morin and Messrs. Dunkin and Campbell, in Lower Canada. The Opposition met with the following serious defeats: Mr. George Brown in East Toronto, and Messrs. Dorion, Lemieux, and Thibaudeau in Lower Canada. The Opposition victories are worthy of note; in Upper Canada the most important being the election of Mr. Alex. Mackenzie for Lambton, and, in Lower Canada, the election of Messrs. Joly, Taschereau, and Blanchet.

The seventh Provincial Parliament of Canada assembled in Quebec on the 26th of March, 1862. and continued in session

till the 9th day of June, Lord Monck being Governor-General. The first division of the session took place over the election of the Speaker, the Ministerial candidate being Mr. Turcotte, and the candidate of the Opposition Mr. Sicotte, both from Lower Canada. The Ministerial candidate was elected by a majority



The image shows two handwritten signatures in dark ink. The top signature is 'Y. Turcotte' and the bottom signature is 'L. F. Sicotte'. Both are written in a cursive, flowing style.

of thirteen, which was practically the Ministerial majority. As a result of the general election Mr. Mackenzie's name, which so frequently appears on the division lists of parliament during the last thirty years, was entered on the votes and proceedings of the House on this division for the first time. The Cabinet changes were unimportant, except for one thing, namely, that by the appointment of Mr. John Beverley Robinson as President of the Council, Mr. John Carling as Receiver-General, and the Hon. Jas. Patton as Solicitor-General West, the great question of representation by population—ministers being free to vote as they liked—was left an open one with the Cabinet, instead of being closed—as it previously was, because of the opposition of Lower Canada.

The Opposition lost no time in testing the new legislature on the question of representation, for on the 27th of March, Hon. William MacDougall moved, seconded by the Hon. M. H. Foley, that a paragraph be added to the address, expressing regret that "His Excellency had not been advised to recommend for the adoption of the House some measure for securing to Upper Canada its rightful share of parliamentary representation and

its just influence in the Government." On the 1st of April, the House divided, forty-two members voting for and seventy-six against Mr. MacDougall's resolution. Among the prominent Conservatives who supported Mr. MacDougall, were the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, the Hon. M. C. Cameron, Mr. Crawford, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and Mr. Street, member for Welland. Not a single member for Lower Canada voted with the Liberals, and only sixteen from Upper Canada against them. The debate on this question was the most interesting of the session, although many of those who took part in the discussion were, subsequently, found in the Ministerial ranks; among these were MacDougall, Foley and McGee. The representatives from Ontario who voted against Mr. MacDougall's motion were T. A. Bell, of Russell, Benjamin, Jones, Macbeth, Morton, Portman, Powell, Macdonald, John A. Macdonald, J. S. McCann, McLaughlin, Scott, Sherwood, Simpson.

On this question, Mr. Mackenzie made his first speech in Parliament. It is reported at considerable length in the *Globe* of the 1st of April. The Parliamentary correspondent, in referring to it, said: "Mr. Mackenzie made a capital maiden effort, causing his hits to tell with great force. Mr. Mackenzie is one of the ablest of the new members of the House." He began by denouncing coalitions, and said "he firmly believed that much of the maladministration we had to complain of was the inevitable result of an attempt to systematize the coalition principle in our Government, and that no sound, healthy Government, or Opposition either, could possibly exist where they were not held together by principles in common. Much as he differed from and disliked old school Tories, he would a thousand times rather see a Government composed of fossil-Tories in power than the present one, or any one, formed on the coalition principle. The present administration had representation

from every party, or section of a party, in the state. Constant changes were inevitable and constant corruption a necessary consequence." He pointed out that every candidate from Upper Canada, with the exception of the Attorney-General West (John A. Macdonald), and the member for Cornwall (J. Sandfield Macdonald), had pledged himself to his constituents to support a change in the representation of Upper Canada. He denounced the Government for their want of statesmanship in dealing with this question, and pointed out that the commissioners that settled the representation between Scotland and England, at the time of the union, regarded the element of population in adjusting the representation of the two countries in the House of Commons. He closed his speech by saying "now he was not rigidly bound down to representation by population as the only possible measure; if the opponents of that measure could suggest another remedy, he was willing to give it his candid consideration, and he was quite certain that the large constituency he represented would support him in considering any measure which would place it out of the power of the Government of the day to perpetrate sectional injustice."

As the session advanced, it became quite evident that the Government were weakening. The formidable attacks upon their policy and their maladministration of public affairs disturbed many of their most ardent supporters, and if a suitable opportunity arose for the withdrawal of that confidence, it was quite evident they would be ejected from power. On the 25th of April, Attorney-General Macdonald introduced a bill respecting the militia, the object of the bill being to reorganize the militia for defensive purposes. If accepted by the House, according to the statement of the mover, the bill would involve an expenditure of over a million of dollars,

and the annual training of from thirty thousand to fifty thousand men. Strong objection was taken to the measure, partly on the ground of expense, and partly because of the absurdity of a scheme which, for defensive purposes, though somewhat ambitious, would be totally inadequate. On the 20th of May the bill was rejected by a vote of 61 to 54, the main defection in the Ministerial ranks, by which its defeat was accomplished, being among the supporters of the Government from Lower Canada. On the following day the Government resigned, and the Cartier-Macdonald coalition was no more.





CHAPTER IX.

A LIBERAL GOVERNMENT.

The Macdonald-Sicotte Administration—Debate on Representation by Population—The Separate School Law—Return of Mr. Brown for Oxford—The Double Majority Principle—Reconstruction of the Cabinet—Hon. Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General.

THE country was greatly surprised when Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was called upon to form an administration. Although the defeat of the previous administration took place on the Militia Bill, the assaults upon their financial policy and particularly the discontent in Upper Canada with the action of the Government on the question of representation were the real cause of its weakness and ultimate defeat. On the great issue between the two parties—representation by population—Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had always supported the defunct Cartier-Macdonald coalition. He was in no sense the leader of any party in the House, and had, therefore, no claims upon the notice of His Excellency. However, he accepted the responsibility of forming a new Government, and adroitly managed to secure the co-operation of leading Liberals both from Upper and Lower Canada. Mr. Foley, who had been formally appointed leader of the Opposition, he made Postmaster-General; Mr. Wm. MacDougall, one of the most advanced Liberals of this House, he made Commissioner of Crown Lands; Mr. Sicotte, the candidate of the Liberals for the Speakership at the

opening of the session, and the recognized leader of the party in Lower Canada, was appointed Attorney-General East. And Mr. D'Arcy McGee, whose attacks upon the coalition cost them many a vote, he made President of the Council.

The Liberal party throughout the country was greatly disappointed at the turn matters had taken. The coalition that had so long resisted their demand for representation by population had been ignominiously defeated, and a new Government established, composed of Liberals, it is true, but formed on the distinct understanding that the great issue of the last election was to be set aside, and the old, worn-out principle, known as the "double majority," substituted. Although Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had not supported the policy of the Liberal party in the Assembly, he was evidently deeply impressed with the injustice done to Upper Canada by the coalition, which kept itself in power by the Lower Canadian contingent. To refuse, absolutely, any redress to the wrongs of the Upper Canadians, was a position which he dare not take and, therefore, instead of advocating the bold and clear-cut policy, of which the Hon. Geo. Brown was the exponent, he adopted the double majority compromise, which simply was, as previously explained, that no measure specially affecting one province should be forced upon it without the concurrence of the majority of its representatives.

The *Globe* was unsparing in its criticism of the Liberals who joined Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government, as only a year had elapsed since they had pledged themselves to their constituents to insist upon the rights of Upper Canada; to join an administration that was pledged not to disturb the equality of the existing representation during that parliament, was declared to be a breach of trust, and unworthy of the professions they had made; and, although the minor measures

promised by the Government, such as retrenchment, an amendment to the militia law, a new insolvent law and a re-adjustment of the tariff, were all good enough in themselves, still, nothing would condone their breach of faith in the great issue of the previous election. Had these Liberals promised Mr. Sandfield Macdonald an outside support, instead of joining his Government, Mr. Brown would not have complained. He thought the opportunity had thus arisen for redressing the wrongs of Upper Canada, and the defaulting Liberals were to blame for the postponement of the desired relief. The weight of opinion among Liberals, and in this the *Globe* shared, notwithstanding its denunciations of the individual members of the Government, was, that Sandfield Macdonald's administration should receive a fair trial.

An attack by Mr. John Hillyard Cameron upon the new Ministers while they were seeking re-election after accepting office, brought out an admirable reply from Mr. Mackenzie, which may be said to represent the views of the party. "He did not believe that the double majority principle was a remedy for the grievances of Upper Canada, though it might answer as a temporary expedient. And he felt deeply grieved when the new administration announced their formation on that principle. He thought the proper course was to adhere firmly to the Liberal policy and try to force it on every Government formed. For his own part he could not, on any account, abandon his advocacy of that policy, although he felt himself bound to defend those gentlemen who thought themselves justified in postponing active effort for a time, for the accomplishment of a present purpose. A change of Government having been made, he had to choose between the new men who asserted and believed they had a remedy, and the old men who did not admit the existence of the evil."

Other leading Liberals, such as Mowat, Connor, McKellar, Stirton, Rymal and Scatcherd, gave expression to similar sentiments, and generously awaited the re-election of Ministers and a fuller exposition of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's policy, reserving to themselves the right to deal with the Government on the question of representation by population, as they might deem expedient.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's position as Premier was beset with many embarrassments. He had no claim upon the Conservative party for support, and could not look for help from that quarter. The Liberals in Upper and Lower Canada were lacking in enthusiasm, on account of his abandonment of the principal plank in the Liberal platform; and in January, 1863, Mr. A. A. Dorion, because of a disagreement with his chief regarding the Intercolonial Railway, resigned.

Yours faithfully
A. A. Dorion

When Mr. Macdonald met the House, on the 12th of February, it was with misgivings as to how his Government should fare. He had not long to wait for the first shock. On the 19th of February Mr. M. C. Cameron moved an amendment to the address in reply, in precisely the same words as the amendment moved by Mr. MacDougall the year before, when the Cartier-Macdonald administration was in power. This amendment was defeated on a vote of 42 to 64. Mr. Macdon-

ald's majority consisted principally of his Lower Canadian supporters. The members of the Cabinet from Upper Canada were, no doubt, greatly embarrassed at having to vote against a resolution which they had supported the previous session; especially as the other Liberals in the House were united in their vindication of the policy of the party.

The debate, which was continued for several days, was a very spirited one. The Ministerialists sheltered themselves behind the policy of a double majority; while the Opposition endeavoured to show that the Upper Canada section of the Government was inconsistent in abandoning the principle of representation by population. Mr. Mackenzie pointed out that in addition to this great question there were other issues. He said: "The question of the day was the ejection from power of the late corrupt, unprincipled Government; that accomplished, the question of representation should be considered on broad grounds, free from all sectional spirit. It was to be deeply regretted that mere national feeling should be allowed so to influence separate sections of the country as to create a desire to maintain a number of semi-independent nations, while the nation was nominally one. He desired and trusted to see Scotchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen and Frenchmen fused into one harmonious whole; that Canada might be in reality, as it was nominally, one great nation, owning and inhabiting, without any distinction of race or creed, the whole country, from the slopes of the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic. Although the principle of a double majority was inadmissible, as it recognized different interests in localities divided from each other by imaginary lines, he felt, however, that in order to secure the blessing of good government and justice to the west, as far as practicable, it was their duty to support the present administration,

reserving to themselves entire liberty to act with reference to constitutional changes as they thought proper."

This patriotic speech from the new member for Lambton, during his second session, greatly pleased the Liberals from Upper Canada. His splendid powers as a debater were becoming apparent every day, while his broad views on every question which he discussed drew out the sympathies even of his political opponents.

Mr. Brown, who, on account of ill health and the pressure of private engagements, had refused various constituencies, consented to run for Oxford; and, to the delight of his old colleagues, was returned to parliament by a majority of 275.

The great measure of 1863 was Mr. R. W. Scott's bill respecting Separate Schools. Mr. Scott had introduced the bill several times, and had advanced it so far in the previous session as to reach a division on its second reading. The principle of Separate Schools was first introduced into Canada under an Act of 1841, and was further enlarged by the Act of 1855. Mr. Scott proposed still further to extend the privileges of Roman Catholics with regard to Separate Schools. The main features of Mr. Scott's bill were, extending the facilities for establishing Separate Schools in rural districts; permitting Roman Catholics to give notice of their intention to become Separate School supporters once for all, instead of annually as under the former Act; relieving trustees from certifying the average attendance of pupils under oath; providing for inspection of Separate Schools and their general administration through the Council of Public Instruction. In the session of 1862 the bill passed its second reading; but owing to the defeat of the Government, it stood over. The bill passed very quickly through all its stages, and was approved by the

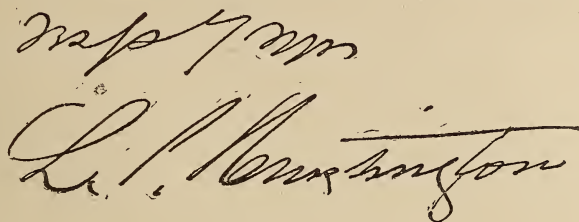
House on the 13th March, the yeas being 74 and the nays 30. When the second reading of the bill was under consideration, Mr. Burwell moved, seconded by Mr. Mackenzie, what is commonly known as the six months' hoist. On that motion Mr. Mackenzie gave his views on the question of religious instruction. He opposed the bill on three grounds: First, he feared it would be injurious to the common school system of the Province; secondly, he feared it would lead to a demand for Separate Schools from other denominations; thirdly, the establishment of Separate Schools in certain localities would divide the resources of the people, already very limited, and thus lower the standard of education. "He had no desire," he said, "to make this a religious question, as he was not disposed to vote against any bill, which even Catholics themselves deemed necessary to secure perfect freedom in the exercise of their religious faith; but as our school system was undenominational, the bill under consideration was therefore unnecessary."

The vote on this bill was the first substantial decision of the House to which the principle of double majority would apply, as 31 members from Upper Canada voted against it, while its supporters numbered only 22. Mr. John A. Macdonald rallied the Upper Canadian members of the Government—MacDougall, Foley, Wilson and Sandfield Macdonald—on their change of front on the question of Separate Schools, quoting from the journals how, in previous years, they had voted either against the principle of Separate Schools or for the repeal of the existing Separate School Act; while now, they were practically responsible for a bill extending the scope of Separate Schools. The Premier was also asked if the measure was to be forced on Upper Canada in the face of the opposition of a majority of its representatives. To this Mr. Sandfield Macdonald made no reply.

The agitation which arose in Upper Canada on account of the Separate School policy of the Government greatly weakened them in public estimation. Although in their general policy they were generously supported by the Liberal party under the leadership of Mr. Brown, the feeling everywhere prevailed that they were not a representative Liberal Government. This feeling, together with the unfortunate condition of the finances of the country, so encouraged the Opposition that on the first of May Mr. John A. Macdonald, seconded by Mr. Cartier, moved a direct vote of want of confidence on going into supply. On the Friday following the vote was reached, and the Government was defeated by a majority of five. On the 11th of May, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald announced his intention of proroguing the House the following day, and intimated that dissolution would immediately follow.

In order to strengthen himself with the Liberal party, several changes of an important character were made in the Government. During the session Mr. James Morris retired on account of ill-health, and was succeeded by Mr. Fergusson-Blair as Receiver-General. Mr. Adam Wilson ceased to be Solicitor-General and accepted a seat on the Bench. His place was not filled for several months. Mr. Dorion displaced Mr. Sicotte as leader of the Lower Canada contingent, and associated with himself L. H. Holton as Minister of Finance, I. Thibaudeau as President of the Council, Letellier De Saint-Just as Minister of Agriculture, L. S. Huntington as Solicitor-General East, and M. Laframboise as Commissioner of Public Works. The only change in Upper Canada was the displacement of M. H. Foley by Oliver Mowat as Postmaster-General.

The effect upon the Liberal party of the temporising policy adopted by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald forms one of the most interesting chapters in Canadian politics. What the result was likely to be, was clearly foreseen by Mr. Mackenzie. Opposed, as he was, to a coalition of political parties,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "L. Mackenzie". The script is cursive and fluid, with a long horizontal stroke extending from the end of the name.

he was unable to give his fullest confidence even to a so-called Liberal Government that accepted power with at least two Conservative planks in its platform. Its dependence upon its opponents, on the two great issues of Representation by Population and Separate Schools, had a demoralising effect on many of its supporters, and the animadversion which the leaders of the Liberal party were obliged to pronounce on its conduct with respect to these two great measures, naturally created some irritation. To be held up to contempt by one party for treachery, and to be claimed as political allies by the other party, was the *reductio ad absurdum* of political consistency. To a Liberal like Mr. Mackenzie, whose political convictions were part of his moral nature, the effect of such entangling associations could only result, in his opinion, to the injury of the party; and so it was. Foley, McGee, and the Lower Canadian members of the Government who were displaced on the reconstruction of the Cabinet, became its most pronounced and dangerous opponents, and before many years had elapsed, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald himself, and all his colleagues from Upper Canada,

with the exception of Mr. Mowat, were found in the ranks of the Conservative party. Had the Liberals acted as Mr. Mackenzie's high sense of duty suggested, there would have been no abnegation of party policy for the sake of power, and a Liberal Government, when formed, would have a right to claim the undivided loyalty of the whole party.





CHAPTER X.

WEAKNESS OF SANDFIELD MACDONALD'S ADMINISTRATION.

General Election—Mr. Wallbridge, Speaker—Narrow Majority of the Government—Losses in By-Elections—The Government Unable to Proceed—Resigned Office 21st March, 1864—Formation of the Taché-Macdonald Administration—Promises of the New Government—Committee on Representation.

THE dissolution of the House immediately followed prorogation, and the whole country gave itself over to an election contest of unusual interest. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had a strong Cabinet, all capable of defending their chief as well as themselves.


During their brief term of office, they reduced the expenditure of the country and administered public affairs with a due regard to constitutional usages and the will of Parliament. Still many Liberals stood aloof from them because of their attitude on the question of Representation by Population and Separate Schools.

Mr. Mackenzie, with his usual vigor, lost no time in placing his views before his constituents. In his address to the electors of Lambton, he says: "The attempt to substitute the Double Majority principle for Representation by Population, as a remedy for our natural difficulties, (to which the Liberal party never assented), has been an entire failure. A policy more consistent with the demands of Upper Canada has been adopted, and members of the Cabinet are now at liberty to advocate constitutional questions with perfect freedom. It is

true this is not enough; but making the representation question an open one, is a step in the right direction, and although I cannot rest satisfied with that, I am convinced that nothing more can be gained in the meantime; I therefore accept the full responsibility of giving them a generous support."

Mr. Mackenzie's career during his brief parliamentary term was not lost sight of by his constituents. Mr. Robert Rae, warden of the county, who had seconded his nomination two years previously, in proposing him as a candidate for a second term, spoke of him "as having exceeded the most sanguine expectation of his friends, and as entitled to the confidence of all parties who were in favor of good government." So strongly had he impressed himself upon his constituents and the country, that all opposition was withdrawn, and the returning officer declared him elected by acclamation. This mark of public approval was very much appreciated.

Throughout the whole of Canada, the contest was conducted with great energy on both sides, twenty-one members only being elected without opposition. Two of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's colleagues, Dorion and Holton, were defeated, but

The image shows two handwritten signatures in dark ink. The top signature is 'George Bay' and the bottom signature is 'L. A. Holton'. Both are written in a cursive, flowing style.

found seats in other constituencies. Mr. Drummond, his Commissioner of Public Works, who was defeated in two constituencies, resigned. In summing up the result of the election, it was claimed that 43 supporters of the Government were elected for Upper Canada, and 29 for Lower Canada. Eight of the elected members from Upper Canada were considered independent. It was claimed by the Liberals, however, that

one-half of these, at least, would support the Government; this would give Mr. Sandfield Macdonald a fair working majority.

Parliament was summoned for the despatch of business on the 13th of August, and the Hon. Lewis Wallbridge was elected Speaker on a vote of sixty-six to fifty-eight, several of the independent members supporting the Ministerial nominee. The first substantial test, however, of party strength took place on the address in reply on an amendment of Mr. Sicotte, seconded by Mr. Foley, both members of the previous administration. After a debate, which continued until the 29th of August, the House divided, sixty members voting for the amendment, and sixty-three for the Government. This was not a very comfortable outlook for the new administration. From the beginning of the session, it was quite evident that the Government would have no quarter. Mr. Sicotte, Mr. McGee and Mr. Foley were most bitter in their hostility, and lost no opportunity to attack them in every conceivable manner. The majority of the Government was so small as practically to tie their hands, and it was only by the greatest care and forethought, that any measure of a comprehensive character could be carried through the House.

Although supported by a majority from Upper Canada, they were in the minority in Lower Canada, and of this the Opposition was not slow to take advantage. A vote of want of confidence, moved by Mr. Galt, drew out a very caustic speech from Mr. Mackenzie, in which he charged certain opponents of the Government with the violation of their pledges to their constituents, and the Opposition, generally, with obstructing the business of the House. The Government was again sustained by the narrow majority of three. The only public measure of any moment which passed the House was the act respecting the militia. On the 15th of October the House was

prorogued. During the recess, Mr. N. A. Richards was appointed to the vacant Solicitor-Generalship, but in appealing to his constituents, was defeated, and accordingly resigned.

On the 16th of February, 1864,—a year long to be remembered in the political history of Canada,—Mr. Sandfield Macdonald again met Parliament. During his brief term of office he had practised the most rigid retrenchment; had conducted the Government with great energy and prudence, and had certainly strong claims upon the confidence of the country. It was impossible, however, for any Government to exist on so narrow a majority, and as he could not again ask for an appeal to the country, the only alternative was to strengthen his position or resign, as the absence through illness or any other cause of two of his supporters meant defeat. Accordingly, on the 21st of March, he placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor-General, and Mr. Fergusson-Blair was called upon to form a new administration. Being unable to obtain the required support, Mr. Cartier was next called upon. Mr. Cartier having failed, Sir E. P. Taché was then sent for by His Excellency. Sir E. P. Taché made overtures to the Liberals, with a view to the formation of another coalition, but these were unanimously rejected, the experience of the Liberal party with the Cartier-Macdonald coalition having satisfied them as to the dangerous character of political alliances involving the temporary suspension, at least, of the policy of each party. After negotiations, which were not closed until the 31st of March, Sir E. P. Taché succeeded at last in forming a Government, in which McGee and Foley, members of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's first administration, held seats. The Upper Canadian section of the Government consisted of J. A. Macdonald, Attorney-General West, Alex. Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands, M. H. Foley, Postmaster-General, Isaac Buchanan, Pre-

sident of the Council, John Simpson, Provincial Secretary, and Jas. Cockburn, Solicitor-General West.

Mr. Foley's action in entering what was a purely Conservative Government was a great disappointment to the Liberals of Upper Canada. Having been formerly leader of the Liberal party, and an active supporter of the Sandfield Macdonald administration, his acceptance of an office in the Government of which Taché and J. A. Macdonald were members, was looked upon with considerable disfavor. Two years before, he had charged the Cartier-Macdonald administration with the most reckless, wanton extravagance, and with every other political offence unworthy of a Government; now he was one of their warmest supporters. Mr. McGee had taken similar ground, and Mr. Cockburn had promised the electors to stand up for the principle of representation. The indignation of the people in Mr. Foley's case resulted in his defeat at the polls by Mr. Isaac Bowman. To this defeat Mr. Mackenzie contributed no inconsiderable assistance, and met repeatedly not only Mr. Foley but Mr. McGee during the contest, to the great discomfort of both gentlemen.

On the 3rd of May the House re-assembled, and on the 4th J. A. Macdonald announced the policy of the new administration. He declared that they were favorable to the renewal of the reciprocity treaty with the United States, departmental reform, retrenchment, the settlement of public lands, and early communication by railway with the Maritime Provinces. The question of Representation by Population was to remain in abeyance.

On the 14th of March, seventeen days before the resignation of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government, Mr. George Brown moved a resolution, based upon a despatch to the Col-

onial Minister, signed by Cartier, Galt and Ross, members of the Government of the day, in which they declared "that great difficulties presented themselves in conducting the government of Canada in such a manner as to show due regard to the wishes of its numerous population; that the harmonious working of the constitutional system of Canada was in danger, and that some mode of dealing with the difficulties, with a view to their removal, was desirable." The resolution closed with a request for the appointment of a select committee of twenty members, to report upon the best means of remedying the evils set forth in the said despatch, the committee to be composed of Messrs. Cameron, Cartier, Cockburn, Chapais, Dickson, Dorion, A. A., Dunkin, Mowat, Galt, Holton, Joly, Macdonald, John A., Macdonald, John S., MacDougall, McGee, McKellar, Scoble, Street and the mover. On the 19th of May, a decision on this motion was reached, and the appointment of a committee agreed to on a vote of 59 to 48, although opposed by the leader of the Government, John A. Macdonald, and his colleague from Lower Canada, Mr. Cartier.

On the 14th of June, Mr. Brown reported "that the committee had held eight sittings and had endeavored to find some solution for existing difficulties, likely to receive the assent of both sections of the Province. A strong feeling was found to exist among the members of the committee in favor of changes in the direction of a federative system, applied either to Canada alone, or to the whole British North American Provinces; and such progress had been made as to warrant the committee in recommending that the subject be again referred to a committee at the next session of Parliament." The only members of the committee who opposed the adoption of the

report were John A. Macdonald, John S. Macdonald and Scoble. On the same day the Government was defeated on a vote of censure proposed by Mr. Dorion, because of an advance of 100,000 dollars for the redemption of Montreal City bonds, without the authority of Parliament. Messrs. Dunkin and Rankin, who had usually voted with the Conservative party, voted with Mr. Dorion on this resolution, giving the Opposition a majority of two against the Government.

During the session, which closed on the 30th day of June, Mr. Mackenzie applied himself to his Parliamentary duties with much diligence. As chairman of the joint committee of both Houses on printing, he exhibited decided capacity in the despatch of business, and fairness in dealing with all matters referred to him. In the House he displayed great aptitude in debate, and although his speeches did not attract as much attention as in the previous session, his observations on many of the questions that came before him impressed the members with the extent of his general information, his knowledge of the rules of the House and his ability, when called upon, to express himself intelligently on all public questions. Had he been less diffident he might have attracted more notice, but he regarded himself still as a young member, and in the presence of the great leaders of the party he deemed it unnecessary to reiterate opinions that, as a rule, were fully expressed by those entitled to precedence in debate.

In speaking of the career of the administration, the *Globe* of March 22nd contains the following: "The Macdonald-Dorion administration has not enjoyed a long existence, and a very brilliant career was not, under the circumstances, within the scope of possibility. But, in the practical routine of administering public affairs, it has earned the hearty gratitude of the

public, and there has been a total absence of the jobbery and corruption that has disgraced our country for many years. We had not infrequently to dissent from the policy of the Government that has just expired, but under all the circumstances we cannot but feel that the country has deep cause to regret that it was not permitted to complete the measures of reform upon which it had entered."





CHAPTER XI.

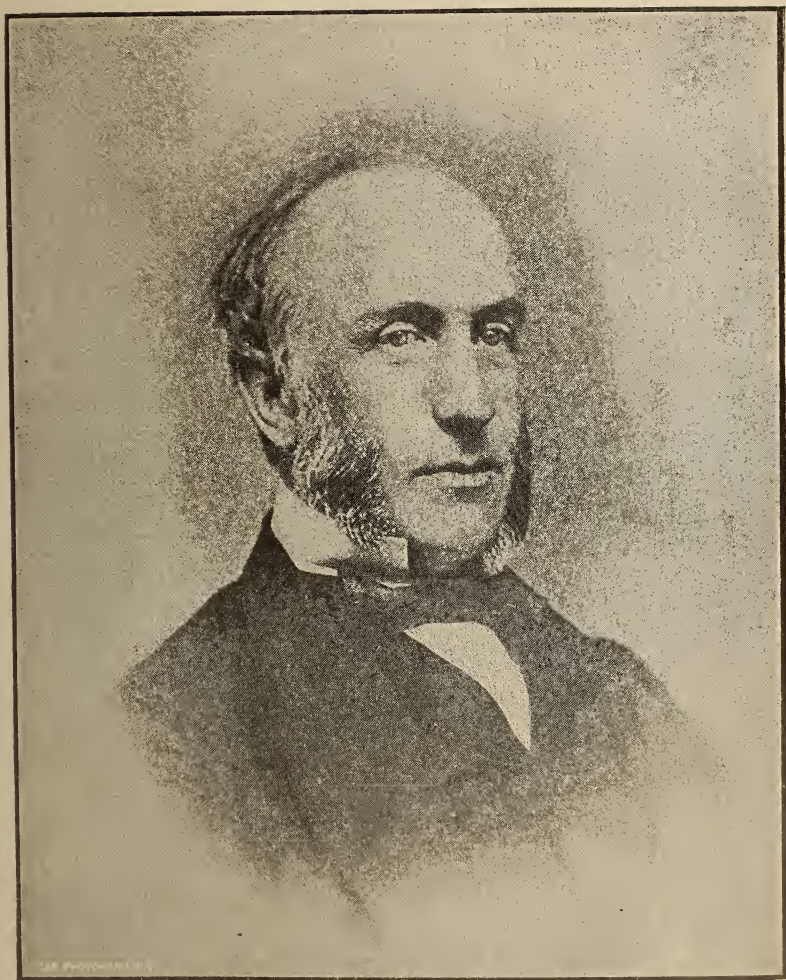
POLITICAL DEAD-LOCK.

Political Dead-Lock—Hon. Mr. Brown's offer of Assistance—Report of the Committee on the Federation of the Provinces—Formation of a Coalition—Mr. Mackenzie's attitude on this Question—The Policy of the New Cabinet.

WE are now entering one of the most interesting periods of Canadian history. The union of 1841, which was intended to abolish the war of races in Canada, and introduce a political millennium, was on its final trial. That community of action between the two Provinces, which it was expected to produce, seemed to be as remote as ever. Lower Canada, as already stated, clung to its rights under the Union Act; and Upper Canada was clamorous for the political influence to which it was entitled on account of its population and wealth. Each party had held itself in power at times by alliances with Lower Canada, and where alliances on strictly political principles failed, both parties resorted to the vicious principle of a coalition. Appeals to the electors were made, at brief intervals, by a Liberal Government and by a Conservative Government, but with no very satisfactory result, and thoughtful men began to ask the question what the end would be. To dissolve the union and to restore a puny provincialism was distasteful to all. To continue a union, which fostered faction rather than patriotism, and whose political honor was at the mercy of any cabal that chose to plot against it, was not a very

pleasant outlook. The double majority principle had been tried and proved a failure. What was to be done? There seemed to be but one way out of the difficulty, and that was on the lines of the report submitted by Mr. Brown. But Mr. John A. Macdonald had voted against the adoption of that report. He was the head of the Upper Canadian section of the Government, and the leading spirit in his party; as opposed to him was Mr. Brown, the leader of the Opposition, with a strong majority from Upper Canada. Unless some compromise could be effected between the two parties, the question must be referred to the people; and another general election within the year was not to be desired.

The report of Mr. Brown's committee on constitutional difficulties, suggesting a federation either of the Canadas alone, or of the British American Provinces, had just been laid on the table. Would this solve the question, is what occurred to many members of the House. Faction had long been at the helm of state, why not change the pilot? The grave character of the situation was so deeply felt by both sides of the House, that the smallest hint suggesting relief was eagerly seized upon. Such a hint came from Mr. Brown himself. He had by a large majority secured the appointment of his committee. The committee after duly considering the situation had, by a vote of twelve to three, expressed a strong feeling in favor of federation. The Government had the authority of His Excellency to dissolve and appeal to the country. In case of such an appeal, the Liberal party had reason to believe they would be successful. Should they abandon the prospects of a party triumph at the polls, or should they settle now, if possible, their constitutional difficulties by generously offering the Government their assistance on the lines of the report of Mr. Brown's committee? After consulting his political supporters, Mr.



Hon. George Brown.

Brown ascertained that the Liberal party was prepared to adopt the latter course, and in order that the Government might be informed of his attitude, he communicated this view to Messrs. Morris and Pope, who were supporters of the Government, and an interview with Mr. John. A. Macdonald and Mr. Galt was arranged.

Mr. Brown felt great difficulty in approaching his political opponents, and at his first meeting with Messrs. Macdonald and Galt frankly confessed "that nothing but the extreme urgency of the present crisis, and the hope of settling the sectional troubles of the Province forever, could justify such a meeting, with a view to common political action." In this opinion Messrs. Macdonald and Galt concurred and informed Mr. Brown that they were not meeting him simply as leading members of the Ministerial party, but as members of the Government, authorized by their colleagues to invite his aid in settling the difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada. He expressed his inability, on personal grounds, to join the administration, and he even feared that, if he would enter a Cabinet composed of men to whom he was so long and so strongly opposed, he would greatly shock the public mind. He added: "If the administration would pledge themselves clearly and publicly to bring in a measure, next session, that would be acceptable to Upper Canada, the basis to be now settled and announced in Parliament, he would heartily co-operate with them and try to induce his friends (in which he hoped to be successful) to sustain them until they had an opportunity of presenting their measure to the House." Mr. Macdonald urged that it was necessary that Mr. Brown should enter the Government as a guarantee of the bona-fides of the Opposition and the Government. To this Mr. Brown objected for reasons already stated. After further negotiations, the following memorandum

was approved by His Excellency in council with regard to the situation: "The Government are prepared to state that immediately after the prorogation they will address themselves, in the most earnest manner, to the negotiation for a confederation of all the British North American Provinces. That failing a successful issue to such negotiations, they are prepared to pledge themselves to legislation during the next session of Parliament, for the purpose of remedying existing difficulties, by introducing the federal principle for Canada alone, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be hereafter incorporated into the Canadian system.

"That for the purpose of carrying on the negotiations and settling the details of the promised legislation, a Royal Commission shall be issued, composed of three members of the Government, and three members of the Opposition, of whom Mr. Brown shall be one; and the Government pledge themselves to give all the influence of the administration to secure to the said Commission the means of advancing the great object in view.

"That subject to the House permitting the Government to carry through the public business, no dissolution of parliament shall take place, but the administration will again meet the present House."

Having settled a basis for the suspension of party hostility with the leaders of the Government, Mr. Brown called a meeting of his friends to ascertain how far they were prepared to support him in the negotiations which he was then carrying on. At this meeting the feeling of the Liberal party was expressed in a motion made by Mr. Hope F. Mackenzie, and seconded by Mr. McGivern: "That we approve of the course that has been pursued by Mr. Brown in his negotiations with

the Government, and that we approve of the project of a federal union of the Canadas, with provision for its extension to the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory, as one basis on which the constitutional difficulties now existing could be settled." Four members of the Liberal party declined to vote either yea or nay on this motion, namely, Messrs. Biggar, Macdonald, D. A., Macdonald, J. S., Macdonald (Toronto) and Scatcherd. But with these exceptions the motion met with the cordial approval of the party. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald then moved that the proposition for at least three members of the Opposition entering the Government be accepted. This was opposed by Mr. A. Mackenzie, who moved in amendment: "That the proposition for three members entering the Cabinet be rejected, and that the proposition for the settlement of sectional difficulties receive an outside support." Mr. Mackenzie's amendment was lost on a vote of 26 to 11. Its supporters were Messrs. Bowman, Brown, Burnett, Cowan, Dickson, A. Mackenzie, H. F. Mackenzie, McKellar, Mowat, Scatcherd and Scoble.

Being authorized by the meeting of his friends to continue the negotiations, it was finally agreed that he should enter the Government with two colleagues from Upper Canada, and on the 30th of June, Mr. Brown accepted a seat in the Cabinet as President of the Council, Mr. Buchanan having resigned to make way for him. His colleagues were: Mr. Mowat, Postmaster General, instead of Mr. Foley, and Mr. MacDougall, Provincial Secretary, in place of Mr. Simpson, afterwards appointed Assistant Auditor of Public Accounts.

Mr. Mackenzie had taken strong ground against his friends and his leader, Mr. Brown, on the formation of this coalition. Apart from his opposition to coalitions generally, which he believed could not be formed without the sacrifice of some

principle, he feared the Liberal party would be used by Mr. John A. Macdonald to advance his own political interests, and that object once served, occasion would be found for disagreement, which would place the Liberal party at a disadvantage. He had seen the serious inroads made upon the Liberal party, through the demoralizing effects of previous coalitions, and he feared the repetition of such evil results. True, the country was passing through a great crisis, a crisis so great as to warrant the application of extraordinary remedies, and although Mr. Mackenzie no doubt realized this, with that courage which always characterized him, and that forethought which subsequent events verified, he warned his political friends of the danger to which they were exposing themselves, assuring them at the same time of his cordial support in settling the constitutional troubles to which the party had committed itself.





CHAPTER XII.

CONFEDERATION IN SIGHT.

Confederation of the Maritime Provinces to be considered—Delegates called to meet at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in September—Representatives of the Government in attendance—Quebec Conference—Development of the Scheme—Draft agreed upon—Cabinet Changes—Mr. Mackenzie in favor of Confederation.

ALTHOUGH the federation of the Provinces had now assumed, for the first time, a practical form, in the two Canadas, the importance of such a confederation had been considered many years before. Both Houses of the Imperial Parliament as far back as 1837 adopted a resolution advising the expediency of such a union of the British North American Provinces as would make provision for the joint regulation and adjustment of their common interests. In 1838 Lord Durham, in his admirable report, suggested the appointment of "some joint legislative authority" which should preside over all questions of common interest to the two Provinces, preserving, however, to each Province its distinct legislature, with authority in all matters of an exclusively domestic concern. In 1849, the British American League, composed of many of the leading men of Upper Canada, advised a union of the British North American Provinces, on mutually advantageous terms. In 1856, Mr. Galt called the attention of the House to the necessity of a confederation of Upper and Lower Canada. In 1859, the

Liberals of Lower Canada issued a manifesto recommending the substitution of a federation for the then so-called legislative union, and in the same year the great reform convention of Upper Canada declared "that the best practical remedy for the evils now encountered in the Government of Canada is to be found in the formation of two or more local Governments, to which shall be committed the control of all matters of a local or sectional character, and some joint authority charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the Province."

The question of a union of the Provinces was brought before the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1854, by the great leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties, Messrs. Johnston and Howe, and in 1857, a deputation consisting of Mr. Johnston and Mr. Adam G. Archibald went to England to confer with the Imperial Government on this and other questions. So strongly were the Maritime Provinces impressed with the necessity of action on this line, that the legislatures of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island severally passed resolutions at their sessions in 1864, authorizing their respective Governments to enter into negotiations and hold a convention, for the purpose of effecting a union of the Maritime Provinces, "political, legislative, and fiscal." That convention was appointed to meet at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in the month of September.

It is a somewhat strange coincidence that in the different colonial legislatures of British North America, impelled by the same purpose, though from different motives and causes, a simultaneous movement should be taking place in favor of confederation. In the Maritime Provinces the question assumed a commercial character, and the union was urged mainly for commercial reasons. In Canada, as we have seen,

the difficulty was political. In both cases, however, there appeared to be aspirations towards a broader nationality, and for the consolidation of the different colonial Governments into a union which, while maintaining its colonial relationship, would fittingly represent British sentiment on the American continent.

The Government of Canada having now embarked upon a federation of the two Provinces, quickly perceived the importance of ascertaining whether the scheme, which they had projected for themselves might not very fittingly include the Maritime Provinces as well. Accordingly a deputation consisting of John A. Macdonald, Geo. Brown, Geo. E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, T. D'Arcy McGee, H. L. Langevin, W. MacDougall and A. Campbell, was appointed to meet the delegates from the Maritime Provinces, at Charlottetown, at their meeting on the 8th of September, to submit the case of a union of all the British North American Provinces, instead of the smaller question of a union of the Maritime Provinces, then under consideration. The delegates from Canada were received very cordially, and listened to with great attention. The constitutional aspects of such a union were presented by Messrs. John A. Macdonald, Brown and Cartier; the commercial aspects of the question were presented by Mr. Galt in an able speech extending over three hours. Before withdrawing from the convention, the Canadian deputation suggested that the convention should suspend its deliberations upon the subject for which it was called, and adjourn to meet at Quebec on a day to be named by the Governor-General, there to consider the confederation of all the colonies of British North America.

On their way to the seat of Government, the Canadian representatives accepted the hospitality of their friends from the east, and delivered several speeches on the new issue in

Canadian politics. From the manner in which these speeches were received, and from the comments by the press, it was quite evident the country was anxious that the political arena within which party warfare had so long been carried on should be enlarged, and a petty colonialism displaced by a comprehensive nationality. The incongruity of a number of petty provinces, contiguous to each other, all owing allegiance to the same sovereign, all equally interested in the development of half a continent, and yet acting independently of each other in matters of tariff and the enforcement of law and order, was so apparent that any reasonable scheme for the consolidation of their common interests could not fail to be acceptable. Eager eyes were, therefore, turned towards the city of Quebec, where delegates from all the colonies were to meet at the call of the Governor-General. On Monday, the 10th of October, 1864, at 11 a.m., in the Parliament House of Canada, the great conference out of which confederation was evolved was opened. The respective Provinces were represented as follows: Canada, Sir E. P. Taché, J. A. Macdonald, Geo. E. Cartier, Geo. Brown, A. T. Galt, A. Campbell, W. Macdougall, T. D'Arcy McGee, H. L. Langevin, J. Cockburn, O. Mowat, J. C. Chapais; Nova Scotia, Chas. Tupper, W. A. Henry, R. B. Dickey, A. G. Archibald, J. McCarthy; New Brunswick, S. L. Tilley, J. M. Johnson, E. B. Chandler, J. A. Gray, P. Mitchell, C. Fisher, W. H. Steves; Prince Edward Island, J. H. Gray, E. Palmer, W. H. Pope, Geo. G. Coles, A. A. Macdonald, J. H. Haviland, E. Whelan; Newfoundland, F. B. J. Carter, Ambrose Shea.

Sir E. P. Taché, Premier of Canada, was unanimously chosen president, and Mr. Bernard, secretary. Writing of this conference the Hon. John Hamilton Gray—himself an active member—thus refers to its organization: "There was organ-

ized a convention whose deliberations were to have a marked bearing upon the future of British North America. The time, the men, the circumstances were peculiar. The place of meeting was one of historic interest. Beneath the shadow of Cape Diamond, on the ruins of the old castle of St. Louis, with the broad St. Lawrence stretching away in front, the Plains of Abraham in sight, and the St. Charles winding its silvery course through scenes replete with the memories of Old France, where scarce a century gone by the Fleur-de-lis and the Cross of St. George had waved in deadly strife, the descendants of those gallant races—the Saxon and the Gaul—hand in hand with a common country and a common cause, met with the full sanction of their sovereign and the Imperial Government, attended by the representatives and members of the crown, sent from the parliaments chosen by the people. They were called upon to lay in peace the foundation of a state that was to take its place in friendly position beside the Republic which, wrenched from its parent land in strife, had laid the foundation of its greatness with the sword, and baptized its power in blood.”

The convention met with closed doors. All voting was to be by Provinces; that is on any question touching the character of the constitution, which was under consideration on which there was a difference of opinion, the representatives of each Province deliberated apart and reported their decision, through their chairman, to the convention. The principle of a federal union, as opposed to a legislative union, was accepted after a very short discussion, it being quite apparent that Provinces so widely apart geographically, and accustomed so long to govern themselves, would find, in local assemblies to which local matters would be entrusted, simpler machinery for the

administration of local affairs than could be supplied under a legislative union.

Owing to the war in the United States then going on—a war entered upon in defence of state sovereignty—the conference felt called upon to guard against a similar contingency by so framing the Canadian constitution as to place beyond all doubt the question of sovereignty. With this object in view, while following in many other respects the federal character of the American constitution, an attempt was made to apportion the powers necessary to the working of the constitution between the Central and Provincial Governments, preserving to the Central Government all power not specifically delegated to the Provinces. In its attempt, however, to avoid the question of state-sovereignty, the conflicts which subsequently arose, notably in Ontario and Manitoba, with regard to provincial rights, were evidently not foreseen. A federation purporting to give to the federated provinces certain privileges, which they could only exercise with the consent of the central authority, would not have been a federation at all, but a legislative union; and as the conference already rejected this principle, the Provinces that asserted provincial rights in their own assemblies, or before the Priyy Council, were only insisting upon a privilege which the framers of the original scheme for confederation must have intended they should enjoy. It is impossible for us to conceive of a small province like Prince Edward Island accepting a form of government, which would place the existence of its local institutions at the mercy of a parliament composed of over two hundred members, where its representation was only five or six members.

After discussions extending until the 28th day of October, the conference adjourned to the city of Montreal, and on the

31st day of October agreed upon the report to be made to their respective Governments.

The delegates then made a tour of Upper Canada, outlining as far as they were at liberty to do so, the constitution agreed upon at the conference, and receiving wherever they went the most cordial approval of the work to which they had committed themselves.





CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONFEDERATION DEBATES.

Session of 1865—Discussion of the Scheme of Confederation—Opposition from Quebec—Mr. Mackenzie's Share in the Discussion—Delegation to England—Short Session of Parliament—Final Adoption of the Quebec Resolutions.

WHILE the country was absorbed in the consideration of the scheme for uniting all the British North American Provinces, the Government was preparing itself for the opening of parliament and for discussing the details of the proposed confederation. In the meantime, however, Mr. Mowat, who had rendered the Liberal party substantial service during the past seven years, both in Opposition and as a Minister of the Crown, accepted a seat as one of the vice-chancellors of Upper Canada. His place in the Government was filled by Mr. W. P. Howland, Minister of Finance in the Macdonald-Sicotte Government and Receiver-General in the Macdonald-Dorion Government. Mr. Howland was known as a man of high character and financial ability, and his appointment was so well received by his constituency as to secure for him an election by acclamation. With the Government thus constituted and public expectation unusually excited, parliament met on the 19th of January.

In opening the House the Governor-General alluded to the resolutions approved by the conference at Quebec, to the important bearing the adoption of such a scheme as was there

outlined would have upon the future of the British colonies, and observed "in commending to your attention this subject, the importance of which to yourselves and to your descendants it is impossible to exaggerate, I would claim for it your calm, earnest and impartial consideration. With the public men of British North America it now rests to decide whether the vast tract of country which they inhabit shall be consolidated into a state, combining within its area all the elements of national greatness, providing for the security of its component parts and contributing to the strength and stability of the empire; or whether the several provinces of which it is constituted shall remain in their present fragmentary and isolated condition, comparatively powerless for mutual aid, and incapable of undertaking their proper share of imperial responsibility."

The debate was opened on the 6th of February on a motion by Attorney-General Macdonald: "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying that she may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island in one Government, with provisions based on certain resolutions which were adopted at a conference of delegates from the said colonies held at the city of Quebec, on the 10th of October, 1864." Mr. Macdonald supported the resolution by a clear and comprehensive exposition of the constitutional bearings of the resolutions agreed upon at Quebec; and while expressing his own preference for a legislative union, he was nevertheless confident that the scheme before the House would remove the political complications which rendered the government of the country so difficult, and, at the same time, give the colonies that importance

as an integral part of the British Empire, of which they were deprived by their present isolated condition.

The financial and commercial aspects of the question were presented with great ability by Mr. Geo. Brown and Mr. A. T. Galt, Mr. Brown's speech being specially characterized by its magnanimity towards his opponents and his hopefulness as to the future of the country. The debate was, in the strictest sense of the term, historical. Members of Parliament felt themselves confronted with the greatest issue ever submitted to their consideration. It was not the time for squabbling over personal grievances or about the appropriation of money for local improvements. Those who took part in the debate felt called upon to substantiate every position, not by the denunciation of their opponents or the rounded periods of the rhetorician, but by arguments founded on reason, experience and fact.

It was not until the 23rd of February that Mr. Mackenzie rose to take his place in the debate. Already many of the great leaders had spoken at considerable length, and where so much had been said to the purpose, it was no easy task to keep the attention of the House. Nevertheless Mr. Mackenzie's speech, on that occasion, was one of great merit, both for its conciseness, its breadth of view and its thoughtfulness. In his opening remarks he defended his own course and the course of the Liberal party in Upper Canada against the attacks of their former Lower Canadian allies because of alleged political inconsistency. What Upper Canada wanted, in so many words, was Representation by Population; what she wanted in fact was a remedy for her political grievances. He believed the scheme before the House provided this remedy; why, then, quarrel over the form in which it came? He supported Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's scheme of a double majority;

that had failed. Should we stand still and allow the union between Upper and Lower Canada to be dissolved? "That," he said, "would be one of the greatest calamities which could befall these provinces.

Mr. Mackenzie's industry is quite as apparent in his speech on Confederation as in his later speeches, when Premier of Canada. Objection was taken to the Quebec resolutions because the Upper House or Senate to be constituted was to be nominative and not elective. In dealing with this objection Mr. Mackenzie expressed his own opposition to an elective Senate and instanced the example of the other colonies of the Empire and nearly all the political divisions of Europe, giving such details as show how fully he had mastered this part of the subject. In answer to the charge that the federal system was a weak one, he pointed out that in the United States, notwithstanding the large influx of foreign population, the North was conducting, apparently to a successful issue, one of the greatest wars of modern times without a dollar of foreign capital. The federal system in Switzerland had worked most satisfactorily. The union between England and Scotland had added to the prosperity and comfort of both kingdoms.

In the course of the debate he greatly amused the House by quoting from a speech delivered by Lord Belhaven in the Scottish Parliament, when the proposed union with England was under discussion. His Lordship in depicting the dire calamity which he imagined would befall Scotland by joining her fortunes to England, said: "My Lord Chancellor—I think I see our learned judges laying aside their *prætiques* and decisions, studying the common law of England, gravelled with *certioraries*, *nisi priuses*, writs of error, verdicts in *dovar*, *ejectione firmæ*, injunctions, demurs, etc., and freighted with appeals and avocations, because of the new regulations

and rectifications they may meet with. I think I see the valiant and gallant soldiery either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for a small subsistence as a reward of their honorable exploits, while their old corps are broken, the common soldiery left to beg and the youngest English corps left standing. I think I see the honest, industrious tradesman loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water instead of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for encouragement to his manufacturer and answered by counter petitions. In short, I think I see the laborious ploughman with his corn spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth, dreading the expense of his burial and uncertain whether to marry or do worse. I think I see the incurable difficulties of landed men fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands and their sons for want of employment. I think I see our mariners delivering up their ships to their Dutch partners, and what, through presses and necessity earning their bread as underlings in the Royal English Navy." "And here," said Mr. Mackenzie, "comes the climax, and if I were asked to point to one of the *dramatis personæ* in our Canadian House of Assembly fitted to take part in a similar scene as is here depicted, I should unhesitatingly turn to the honorable member for Chateauguay (Hon. Mr. Holton), who could more suitably than anyone else I know personate Lord Belhaven when he exclaims: 'But above all, my Lord, I think I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our Senate ruefully looking about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending to the fatal blow and breathing out her last with *et tu quoque mi fili*.'" "In addition to political advantages, Mr. Mackenzie

claimed that the union would greatly tend to the development and growth of the country. It would lead to the enlargement and extension of our canal system. It would lead to the early construction of a railway connecting Canada with the Maritime Provinces, and it would strengthen the position of the country for defensive purposes. "Altogether," he said, "I regard the scheme as a magnificent one, and I look forward to the future expecting to see a country and a Government possessing great power and respectability, established under this scheme and of being before I die a citizen of an immense empire built upon our part of the North American continent, where the folds of the British flag will float in triumph over a people possessing freedom, happiness and prosperity equal to the people of any other nation on the earth. If there is anything that I have always felt anxious about in this country it is to have the British possessions put in such a position that we could safely repose without fear of danger from any quarter under the banner which we believe, after all, covers the greatest amount of personal freedom and the greatest amount of personal happiness that is to be found in the world. And when we look to the vast territory we have in the North-West; when we know that the great rivers which flow through that territory flow through immense beds of coal and that the whole country is rich in mineral deposits of all kinds—petroleum, copper, gold and iron—that the land is teeming with resources of wealth calculated to build up an extensive and valuable commerce and support a powerful nation; that all these we can touch and seize upon the moment we are prepared to open up a way to reach them and allow the settler to enter; when we remember this, I say, I think we can look forward with hope to a prodigious increase in our population and an im-

mense development of strength and power. So far our people have had to contend with the usual difficulties common to the people of all new countries; but now Canada is beginning to assume a position of commercial importance, and in proportion as that importance increases we will be able to devote ourselves to the opening up and settlement of the interior, and to the development of a new nationality—to use the term that has been so sharply criticised—in that vast western country where there is hardly a white man living to-day.”

As the resolutions were not before the House for consideration in detail, and therefore were not capable of amendment, the opponents of Confederation could only move amendments of a general character. Strong objection was taken to the adoption of any scheme practically changing the constitution of the country, without reference to the electors. The parliament, then assembled, had no mandate to draft a new constitution for Canada; and although it was urged in answer that parliament was authorized to seek some remedy for the constitutional difficulties that existed, the answer was not satisfactory or complete. In order to test the House on this question Mr. John Hillyard Cameron moved, seconded by Mr. M. C. Cameron: “That in view of the magnitude of the interests

Yours truly
M. C. Cameron

involved in the resolutions for the union of the colonies of British North America and the entire change of the consti-

tution of this Province, a constitutional appeal should be made to the people before these resolutions are submitted for final action thereon to the consideration of the Imperial Parliament." This resolution was lost on a vote of 35 to 84.

Mr. Holton then moved "that any Act founded on the resolutions should not go into operation until approved by the Parliament of Canada." This was also lost on a vote of 31 to 79. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, apparently to embarrass the Liberals from whom he was now alienated, notwithstanding that the Separate School Act of 1863 was passed during his premiership, moved an amendment expressing regret that the entire control and direction of education in Upper Canada was not entrusted to its own Local Legislature. The vote on this amendment was yeas, 8 ; nays, 95. Another amendment by Mr. Bourassa, "that the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada be placed on the same footing, as regards education, as the Protestant minority of Lower Canada" was also lost on a vote of 20 to 85. The resolutions were then agreed to on a vote of 91 to 33, and the great parliamentary debate on Confederation was brought to a close.

After transacting some other business of a minor character, the House prorogued on the 18th of March, the coalition between Messrs. Brown and Macdonald having shown itself strong enough and honest enough, contrary to the usual precedents of coalitions, to concentrate all the power of the Legislature on the solution of the constitutional difficulties which it was originally organized to solve. It is deeply to be regretted that, with its hold upon the public opinion of the country and with a scheme so cordially supported by Parliament, it lacked the courage to appeal to the country for a constitutional expression of opinion.

While Parliament is entrusted with a great deal of power,

and while it is hard sometimes to say whether the electorate has expressed an opinion on many of the questions which their representatives are called upon to determine, there can be no doubt whatsoever that a complete change of the Constitution, such as was contemplated by the Quebec resolutions, should have been submitted to the people at the polls. Had the Conference at Quebec made this part of their plan of campaign, many heart-burnings, all of which are not yet allayed, would have been obviated, and the people would have been made to feel that the Constitution of which they had approved was a Constitution which they were in duty bound to preserve in its integrity. Strange to say, Mr. Mackenzie, who all his life had shown such deference to the popular will, declared the action of Parliament a sufficient expression of public opinion.

Immediately after prorogation, a deputation consisting of Messrs. J. A. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown and Galt went to England to confer with the Imperial Government respecting Confederation and other matters of public interest.

On second thought, the Maritime Provinces, which had so cordially supported Confederation at the outset, became alarmed as to the consequences of their own acts, and offered on every hand the most stubborn opposition to the proposed constitutional changes. Fears were expressed lest the smaller Provinces should be overwhelmed by the numerical strength of the larger, and appeals were made to the loyalty of the people on the ground that our Constitution was an imitation of the Constitution of the United States, and that its adoption would undoubtedly lead to annexation.

A great outcry was also raised on account of the financial basis of the scheme. The Maritime Provinces had a low rate of duty, and for ordinary purposes of government, abundant

revenues. By the new scheme, duties would be increased, while the income of the Provinces was fixed for all time. The diversion of the trade of the west to Canadian ports by the proposed Intercolonial Railway was problematical. Their trade was with the United States, and there was no guarantee that it would be increased by Confederation.

In these and similar ways, an appeal was made to the people of New Brunswick in the general election which followed the return of the delegates from Quebec, the result being that an Assembly hostile to Confederation was returned with A. J. Smith, afterwards Sir Albert Smith, as premier. There was no general election in Nova Scotia through which the popular will could express itself, but at the meeting of the Assembly, following the return of the delegates, resolutions were adopted in favor of a union of the Maritime Provinces alone. Prince Edward Island not only passed resolutions opposed to Confederation, but went so far as to repudiate the action of the delegates. Newfoundland left the whole question in abeyance, and so it remains there at the present time.

To launch the new ship on such a stormy sea appeared to be a perilous task, but there was no help for it. The Constitution of the United States was ratified by the original thirteen colonies only after great dissension, and, in some cases, after the lapse of several years. To shrink from the decision of the misinformed public mind, or to take counsel from the timid, was not the duty of the hour. And so without any hesitation whatsoever because of the action of the Maritime Provinces, the delegates from the Parliament of Canada proceeded, according to instructions, to England.



CHAPTER XIV.

MR. BROWN RETIRES FROM THE COALITION.

Death of Sir E. P. Taché—Mr. Brown's Objections to Mr. Macdonald as Premier—Last Parliament in Quebec—Report of the Delegates to England—Feeling in the Maritime Provinces—Mr. Brown's Retirement from the Government—Abolition of the Reciprocity Treaty of '57—The last Session of the old Parliament of Canada.

ON the 30th of July, 1865, eight days before the re-assembling of Parliament, Sir E. P. Taché, Premier of the Coalition Government, died, and the question of selecting a successor gave rise to some difficulties. Col. Taché, though not a man of profound ability or statesmanship, was a devoted Canadian, and for many years actively identified himself with every measure submitted to Parliament for the advancement of Canadian interests. He believed our welfare lay in our continued connection with the Empire. His loyalty found expression in the words long to be remembered; "The last shot that would be fired on the American continent, in defence of the British flag, would be fired by a French Canadian."

Aside altogether from his high character, the part he took in drafting our present Constitution, and directing, as Premier, the Government of Canada, while great constitutional problems were being settled, would give him a prominent place in the annals of his country.

Mr. John A. Macdonald, who was the senior member of the

Government, was informed of His Excellency's desire that the Government should be continued as a coalition, at least until present constitutional difficulties were settled, suggesting at the same time that Mr. Macdonald should accept the Premiership vacated by Mr. Taché's death. To this proposition Mr. Brown strongly objected. Mr. Macdonald had always been his antagonist. He coalesced with him for a special purpose when the Liberal party controlled the House, and would continue in the Government only while he could do so on equal terms. To continue to serve under him as Premier would be a violation of the conditions of the original compact, and to this he would not agree. Already, the Liberals held only three seats in the Cabinet, while their political opponents held nine. He advised the selection of some gentleman of good position in the Legislative Council, under whom all the parties to the coalition could act with confidence. Failing this, he would agree to do what he preferred from the very first—give the Government an outside support, provided they would apply themselves to the removal of the existing difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, on the basis of a Federative Union. Mr. Macdonald then suggested the name of Mr. Cartier, who was the leader of the majority from Lower Canada. This proposition, Mr. Brown, after consultation with his colleagues from Upper Canada—Messrs. Howland and MacDougall—declined, and by mutual consent Sir Narcisse Belleau was chosen, who agreed to the terms on which the coalition was organized.

There can be no doubt whatever as to the propriety of the course pursued by Mr. Brown under the circumstances. He was a member of a cabinet formed for a special purpose. He represented beyond question the feeling of the majority of the Liberal party. No cabinet could exist, at that time, without his support. It was essential in the interests of the

party, and for the proper solution of the constitutional questions with which it was identified, that he should continue in the cabinet, not as a subordinate of Mr. John A. Macdonald, who had always opposed the Liberal policy, but as his equal. Under ordinary circumstances, Mr. Macdonald's claims to the premiership would have been conclusive. That they were urged at all, was, perhaps, not unnatural; that they were not unduly pressed, shows that Mr. Macdonald had accepted, as a finality, the verdict of the House in favor of constitutional changes, and that in keeping good faith with Mr. Brown, he was simply keeping good faith with Parliament, and with the well-known public opinion of the country.

On the eighth of August, parliament re-assembled to receive the report of the delegates to England, and to pass the estimates in detail, for which they had previously been given a vote of credit. The report of the delegates was very satisfactory. They had a conference on behalf of the Government with the Duke of Somerset, Earl de Gray, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Cardwell, Colonial Secretary, and received the strongest assurances that the federation, which they proposed with the Maritime Provinces, was very acceptable to the Imperial authorities. Some progress was also made towards the settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a promise received of an Imperial guarantee for the cost of constructing the Intercolonial Railway. The assurance from the Colonial Secretary that all legitimate efforts would be made to reconcile New Brunswick to Confederation, was very acceptable.

The session was uneventful, so far as general legislation was concerned, although many measures of a minor character were passed. Mr. Mackenzie took an active part in the work of the House, and was daily strengthening himself by his

aptitude in debate, and his familiarity with every question submitted for the consideration of Parliament. When the House prorogued on the 18th of September, it was on the understanding that Parliament should next assemble in the new buildings at Ottawa.

The Government, being now relieved of Parliament, at once gave its attention to the trade relations of Canada with the United States. It will be remembered that in 1854, under the administration of Lord Elgin, a Reciprocity Treaty of a very comprehensive character was made between Canada and the United States, valid for ten years, but revokable on notice by either party. The Americans had become dissatisfied with the treaty on the alleged ground that Canada benefited more by its continuance than the United States. They had passed through a great conflict; their taxes had become burdensome particularly their inland revenue imposts, and the admission of certain Canadian products free into the market of the United States, it was said, placed the American producer at a disadvantage. These were the commercial reasons which national courtesy considered the only ones expedient to put forth. There were behind these, however, the conviction that a treaty was an advantage to Canada, and that its repeal would be a serious injury to Canadian trade. In the long and worthy struggle which they had made for the Union, they had come to the conclusion, rightly or wrongly, that Great Britain and her Colonies would rejoice to see the Union dismembered. The attempts made by blockade runners, such as the steamship *Alabama*, to furnish the South with supplies, the determined attitude of Great Britain in the Trent affair, and the raid of St. Albans in Canada intensified this feeling. That it was unfounded, there can be no doubt. The British sentiment that abolished the slave trade sixty years before

could have no sympathy with the establishment of a confederacy, the corner-stone of which, as declared by its Vice-President, was to be slavery. If, here and there, British trade suffered as notably, in Lancashire, because its supply of cotton from the South was cut off, and in this way a word of sympathy was dropped for the rebel States, such intermittent expressions of sympathy should not have been mistaken for the real public opinion of Britain. Indeed, it is well known that had it not been for the action of the British Government, France would have recognized the Southern Confederacy as a new nation, and what would have been the consequences of such a recognition, no one can tell.

The sympathies of Canadians were strongly with the North. The *Globe* supplied its readers daily with the leading events of the war, and commented, editorially, from time to time on the various phases which it assumed, but always favorably to the North. Occasionally, in a Conservative newspaper, there would be found the suggestion that a Republican form of government was essentially weak, and that the struggle in which the North was engaged must necessarily be a failure.

Whatever may have been the motive, and this will always be a matter of speculation, the Americans notified the Imperial Government that the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 would terminate on the 17th day of March, 1866. To Canadians, this notice was a source of considerable anxiety. The trade relations which our merchants had established with the United States were to be practically brought to an end, and other markets had to be found for the surplus products of the country. The feeling then, was universal, that everything consistent with the dignity of Canada should be done for the renewal of the Treaty in some form or other. On the 15th

day of July, 1865, the Government decided to send two members of the cabinet to Washington to confer with Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Ambassador. By a despatch, dated the 22nd of July, the British Government suggested the formation of a Confederate Council, chosen by the different provinces, and presided over by the Governor-General, for the purpose of expressing an opinion to Her Majesty's Government on the negotiation of Commercial Treaties. Acting on this suggestion, such a Council was formed at Quebec, early in September, and called the "Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties." The members of the Council from Canada were Messrs. Brown and Galt; from Nova Scotia, Mr. Ritchie; from New Brunswick, Mr. Wilmot; from Prince Edward Island, Mr. Pope; and from Newfoundland, Mr. Shea. Messrs. Macdonald and Cartier were by courtesy admitted on behalf of Canada to be present at the Council, and take part in the discussion.

At a meeting of the Council on the 18th of September, 1865, resolutions were passed approving of the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854; recommending the British North American Provinces to combine cordially on a common commercial policy in the event of the abolition of the old Treaty; recommending communication to be opened with the West India Islands, Spain and her colonies, Brazil and Mexico, for new channels of trade; and requesting Her Majesty's Government to authorize the members of the Council, or a committee appointed from amongst them, to proceed to Washington in the event of negotiations being opened up for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, in order to confer with the British Ministers there, with respect to the British North American Provinces. Shortly after the adjournment of the Council, Mr. MacDougall went to the West Indies at the head of a com-

mission in order to enquire into the facilities which they afforded for trade with Canada, and Messrs. Galt and Howland went to Washington to discuss with the United States Government the difficulties in the way of the renewal of the old Reciprocity Treaty. On the 18th of December, Mr. Galt submitted to Council his report, in which he expressed his opinion that there was no reasonable probability that the Congress of the United States would adopt any proposal for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, but believed from his conversations with the Secretary of the Treasury that the commercial relations with the United States and the British Provinces could be made the subject of concerted legislation. He also found the United States authorities unwilling to give what he regarded as a fair equivalent for the privilege of fishing in Canadian waters.

Mr. Brown, who had been absent in the Lower Province in connection with public matters, was greatly surprised on his return that Messrs. Galt and Howland had gone to Washington, and had presumed to entertain propositions for the settlement of this question without the full authority of their colleagues. As a member of the Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties, he regarded it as an affront to be supplanted by Mr. Howland, and the proposal, on the part of the two countries, to accept concerted legislation in lieu of a definite treaty, was to him very objectionable. He argued that a treaty depending upon the whim of Congress would be of no value whatever, that under it the capitalist would have no assurance that his investments would not be disturbed by legislation at any moment, and that the effect of holding the Canadians "dangling from year to year on the legislation of the American Congress, looking to Washington, instead of to Ottawa, as the controller of their commerce and pros-

perity, would lead to the absorption of the provinces into the union;" that the action of Mr. Galt was contrary to the conclusions of the Confederate Council, which represented all the provinces, and therefore, would give them great offence, and perhaps imperil the whole scheme of Confederation. His colleagues having declined to accept his views, he felt it his duty to withdraw from the Government, and on the 19th of December placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor-General.

The wisdom of Mr. Brown's course in leaving the Government when he did has been the subject of much controversy. It is quite certain, from the reluctance with which he entered a Ministry in which Mr. J. A. Macdonald was one of the ruling spirits, that he anticipated dissension, and perhaps intrigue. To weaken Mr. Brown's influence in the country would be the surest passport to political power. To obtain his retirement from the Government, should the reasons be insufficient in public estimation, would be a great victory. Mr. Brown was known to be of an impulsive temperament; if, in a moment of irritation, he resigned, all the worse for him.

The suspicious attitude of his Conservative colleagues, and particularly of Mr. John A. Macdonald, was somewhat intensified by Mr. Brown's refusal to serve under him as Premier, on the death of Sir E. P. Taché, and when Mr. Brown objected to Mr. Galt's negotiations with the authorities at Washington, and hinted that those objections, unless removed, would lead to his resignation, he effectually closed the door against their removal, although Mr. Cartier and Mr. Campbell, who were also members of the Government, were anxious he should not retire.

No doubt the situation was a serious one to the country.

Mr. Galt was proposing to enter into negotiations with the United States for a Commercial Treaty, which, if adopted, would be worse than futile. What was Mr. Brown's duty under these circumstances? In the light of subsequent events, it is quite clear that the United States Government would not have passed a Treaty of any kind, and it seems equally clear that the people of Canada would not have accepted a Treaty on the conditions offered. At the time Mr. Brown resigned, however, the Government was not absolutely committed to any line of action. The report submitted to Council was not approved until the 22nd day of December, three days after he resigned. Why did he not remain and fight it out with his colleagues? Possibly Mr. Galt's recommendation could have been modified in Council, or a compromise obtained, or the question postponed. Evidently Mr. Brown had reached that frame of mind in which he preferred to take the consequences of retiring rather than the worry of continuing in office.

Unfortunately for Mr. Brown and the Liberal party, his colleagues, Messrs. Howland and MacDougall, did not retire with him. Probably, Mr. Howland felt that he was unwittingly the cause of Mr. Brown's annoyance. He was Mr. Galt's companion at Washington, and had taken part with him in the negotiations reported to the Council. To retire from the Government under these circumstances, would be to plead guilty to the charges made by Mr. Brown, and this could hardly be expected. Their remaining in the Government after Mr. Brown's retirement greatly weakened Mr. Brown's position. By a solemn compact entered into with the Liberal party, they were called to the Government to settle constitutional difficulties. Until their work was completed, they were bound to remain at their posts. Having entered as a unit, at the request of the party, the party should have been consulted before any of them retired.

Mr. Brown's great mistake was in not consulting the party before retiring from the cabinet, as he did on entering the cabinet, and the moment his Liberal colleagues from Upper Canada showed the least aversion to follow his leadership, he should have asked the authority of those who made him their representative in the Government jointly with Messrs. Howland and MacDougall before withdrawing from the Government, or openly separating himself from his colleagues. True, he left the Government with an assurance that he would stand by Confederation. In his letter to Mr. Cartier, dated December 19th, he said: "If you stick to the compact you made with me when Sir Narcisse came into the Government, my being out of the Government will not change my course in the slightest, and you will have my best aid in carrying out the constitutional changes we were pledged to."

On the other hand, it may be said that the Conservative section of the coalition, in pressing a question on which there was any probability of a division in the cabinet, did not keep faith with the Liberals, and that on the announcement by Mr. Brown that he could not accept Legislative Reciprocity the question should have ended there. In this view, there is much force. A coalition for a specific purpose has no meaning unless it involves the abandonment of all other questions on which there is a difference of opinion. Mr. Brown's views on Reciprocity were well-known; he had made the subject a study for many years. That his colleagues should lay the foundation for a new treaty, on terms of which it was evident he could not approve, and do this practically without his knowledge or consent, was, to say the least, a breach of faith of the grossest character. Believing as he did, he had no option but to retire from the Government if such a policy were insisted upon. Had he called the representatives of the

Liberal party, and in conjunction with his colleagues submitted the difficulty of the situation to their judgment, it is quite probable the political effect of his action would have been quite different.

And here it may very properly be asked, should Mr. Brown's colleagues have left the Government with him? To that enquiry there can be but one answer. If it appeared they were not acting in harmony with the party they represented, they should have placed their resignation in the hands of His Excellency at once. Under ordinary circumstances, so long as a Cabinet Minister satisfies the head of the Government, he is under no obligation to anybody else to resign, on the theory that the Premier is responsible for the conduct of his colleagues. A Coalition Government is, however, the creature of two parties, and may be said, in a certain sense, to have two heads, each responsible to its own party for its associates. If the head of one party retires, the leadership naturally falls to the next in command. It is the duty, therefore, of the next in command to see whether he has the confidence of the party in discharging the duties from which his predecessor has retired. Should it appear that the withdrawal of his leadership destroys that confidence, then the coalition is destroyed, and he becomes identified with the party representing the majority of the Government.

This was precisely the position occupied by Messrs. Howland and MacDougall. The leader under whom they entered the Government, and who was practically, though not theoretically, their Premier, retired. They were authorized to act in a certain capacity by the mandate of their party, and although the mandate was not formally withdrawn until the great Reform convention of 1867, it was quite evident that they remained in the Government without the approval of the Liberal party.



CHAPTER XV.

MR. MACKENZIE OFFERED A SEAT IN THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. MacDougall's Trip to the Indies—Mr. Galt's Financial Policy—Constitution of the Provinces—Retirement of Mr. Galt—Confidence Weakened in the Coalition.

THE most conclusive evidence that can be furnished of the position Mr. Mackenzie had taken in the House, and of his standing in his own party, was his being offered the seat in the Government vacated by Mr. Brown's retirement. This offer was made through Mr. Howland on behalf of his colleagues, and was fully considered at a confidential meeting of Liberals held in the town of Guelph, on the 25th of December, 1865. It does not appear that Mr. Mackenzie was at all anxious for office, although he might well feel flattered to be chosen as the successor in the Cabinet of the great Liberal leader. Notwithstanding Mr. Howland's explanations of the reasons for Mr. Brown's retirement, Mr. Mackenzie felt the step which he was asked to take was so important as to justify further enquiry. He therefore reserved his decision until he had consulted his leader. On the 27th of December, 1865, having seen Mr. Brown in the meantime, he addressed the following letter to Mr. Howland :

“SARNIA, December 27th, 1865.

“HON. W. P. HOWLAND.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Since our meeting at Guelph, on the 25th inst., when you were good enough to tender me a seat in the Cabinet, as President of

the Council, I have seen Mr. Brown, and have received from him a full statement of the causes which led to his resignation. You will recollect that I informed you of my desire to ascertain from himself how he regarded his present position. Mr. Brown at first declined giving me any information, on the ground that he was not authorized by His Excellency, the Administrator, to do so, and that such information should first be communicated to Parliament.

“On my informing him that I had already received from you a statement of the causes which led to his resignation, he consented to state minutely the causes which led to his withdrawal from the Government. Your statement of the reasons which you understood to actuate Mr. Brown in resigning his position in the Administration—as far as it went—is substantially the same as that given by Mr. Brown himself. I find, however, that very much of what, in my opinion, was essential to a proper understanding of Mr. Brown’s position was communicated at the meeting above referred to. I understood you to say that the issue between Mr. Brown and the other members of the Government was confined entirely to the sanction of the minutes of Council relating to the adoption of the Reciprocity Treaty, a copy of which you read to me, although personal feelings might have increased the dissatisfaction he felt, and which caused him to resign. I also understood you to say that the Government of the United States had formally intimated to the Canadian Government their final decision, that commercial treaties (affecting the revenue) between the United States and foreign countries are unconstitutional, and consequently that any commercial arrangement between the British North American Provinces and the United States must necessarily be provided by concurrent legislation in the two countries. Assuming these statements to be perfectly correct and full, I could see no sufficient reason for Mr. Brown leaving the Government, or that my entering the Government as his successor, would be distasteful to the party to whom I would look for support as a member of the Government, or be in any way wrong in itself. I am now led to believe that the adoption of the minute of Council referred to was but the culminating act of a series of circumstances connected with the pending negotiations against which Mr. Brown protested as improper and seriously prejudicial to our interests as a Province.

“Subsequent reflection also convinced me that there could hardly have been any formal declaration from the Government of the United States

announcing that commercial treaties were unconstitutional, inasmuch as that Government have very recently entered into treaties of a similar kind with other nations. I do not, of course, doubt that this idea of Legislative Reciprocity has been suggested from official quarters in the United States as the proper course for the purpose of accomplishing an object, but I have not heard anything which would lead me to believe that a treaty could not be obtained, similar to the Treaty of 1854, had that suggestion been firmly combated by the Canadian Government.

“As I stated at our interview, I regard this proposal of regulating our commercial intercourse by reciprocal legislation as of little value compared with a treaty extending over a term of years, and as calculated to keep the minds of our people engaged in traffic with the United States in a constant state of doubt and alarm.

“Under these circumstances, I feel that I could not defend the policy set forth and adopted in the Minute of Council, or justify myself for accepting office with the convictions I entertain. I must therefore decline the offer of a seat in the Cabinet you offered for my acceptance, with the concurrence of His Excellency the Administrator and your colleagues.

“I am, my dear sir,

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

Early in the following year the vacant seat was offered to and accepted by Mr. Fergusson-Blair, and the three places in the coalition Government held by Liberals were again filled.

In January, 1866, Messrs. Galt and Howland proceeded to Washington to secure an extension of the Reciprocity Treaty about to expire; or, if an extension were not obtainable, to secure such modifications as would prevent the anticipated injury to the trade of Canada. After six weeks spent at the capital in close intercourse with the United States Government, they returned to Canada without having accomplished the object of their mission.

Mr. MacDougall returned in May from his trip to the West Indies and Brazil, and reported that these tropical countries

afforded many openings for the enlargement of Canadian commerce.

On the 8th of June, Parliament assembled for the first time in the new buildings at Ottawa, and passed the Address in reply to His Excellency's Speech, after a brief debate on a motion by Mr. Dorion, seconded by Mr. Holton, protesting against Confederation being agreed to by Parliament without reference to the popular vote. The Ministerial explanations with regard to Mr. Brown's retirement, which were anticipated in the preceding chapter, were then given, and the House at once settled down to the business of the session.

The Liberal party occupied a very embarrassing position. Although Mr. Brown had retired from the Cabinet, he still held his seat in Parliament, and his followers in the House were sometimes obliged to choose between the policy which he enunciated, and the policy of the Government in which three Liberals still held office. But while he took strong ground against the Government on the question of reciprocity, and on its fiscal and banking policy, he never wavered in his allegiance to the great scheme of Confederation. The opposition, however, which he felt obliged to offer on much of their policy, tended greatly to the disturbance of that *entente cordiale* which should exist between the members of a party. Messrs. Howland, MacDougall and Fergusson-Blair could not help but feel that an attack upon the Government, of which they were members, was an attack upon them, and naturally enough those who approved of continuing the coalition, sympathised with the Liberal Ministers. The effect upon the country was equally demoralizing. The Reform party appeared to be divided into two camps, and although their differences were overshadowed by their unanimity on the question of Confederation, these differences had, nevertheless, a

disintegrating effect, the result of which became afterwards apparent in the general election of 1867. For instance, Mr. Brown opposed with great force and vigor Mr. Galt's resolutions for revising the tariff and in the division which followed carried many of the most active Liberals with him.

It was impossible for him, in denouncing the policy of the Government, to refrain from striking blows which would not be quickly forgotten. His attack on the tariff was peculiarly disturbing, and called for a remonstrance on the part of Mr. MacDougall, which clearly indicated that the breach between the Liberal members inside the Government, and the party outside the Government, was widening every day. Speaking for himself and Mr. Howland, Mr. MacDougall said: "They had made up their mind to stand their ground and defend their position, no matter by whom attacked. They would fire gun for gun, even although Mr. Brown had a powerful organ at his disposal, which he could hold over the heads of men in the Government and out of it, and coerce them to his views. He believed it was the duty of the Liberals to relieve the party and the country of the incubus, the terrorism and the domination exercised by Mr. Brown, who was inserting a wedge to split the Liberal party."

In the debate in which Mr. Galt's financial policy was so fully criticised, Mr. Mackenzie took a leading part, protesting then, as he did in 1878, against a tariff based upon protection ideas, and pointing out the utter futility of such a tariff to aid permanently the industries of the country. His reply to Mr. MacDougall was pointed and vigorous, and elicited the hearty applause of the Liberal members of the House. Hitherto, though not a cordial ally of Mr. MacDougall, he had supported him, as a representative of the Liberal party, in the Administration. It was evident, from this debate, that their attitude

towards each other was fast undergoing a change ; and their many encounters in parliament and on the public platform, during the next fourteen years, showed how strongly Mr. Mackenzie felt that Mr. MacDougall could not be trusted as an exponent of Liberal principles.

Mr. Mackenzie insisted very strongly that Mr. MacDougall and his Liberal allies in the Government had not kept faith with the Liberal party. The Liberals were not consulted with regard to the proposed change in the tariff. In rearranging the representation of Upper Canada in the Legislative Assembly, new constituencies were formed without the knowledge or consent of the Liberal party. "It would have been an easy matter," Mr. Mackenzie said, "for Mr. MacDougall and his colleagues to consult the Liberals on all these points. He (MacDougall) was made a member of the Government in the first instance at the request of the Liberal party, and he should not presume to represent the Liberals until he had ascertained their views. Many of the difficulties and dissensions of the present session were owing to the apparent determination of the Liberal members of the Government to act independently of the party."

The great measure of the session was the adoption by the House of the provincial constitutions, which were afterwards incorporated in the British North America Act. Resolutions providing for the local government and legislation of Lower and Upper Canada were introduced by Mr. John A. Macdonald on the 13th of July, and occupied the attention of the House for a considerable portion of the remainder of the session. Mr. Dorion, on behalf of Lower Canada, asked for a Legislative Assembly with one Chamber, similar to that proposed for Upper Canada, on the ground of economy and simplicity. This proposition was negatived on a vote of 31

to 69. Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, seconded by Mr. Morris, asked that the Legislature of Upper Canada should consist of two Chambers, a Legislative Assembly and a Legislative Council. This was negatived on a vote of 13 to 86. Mr. Dorion then asked that the members of the Legislative Council from Lower Canada be elected by the people; this also was refused by the House. The resolutions were finally passed, and an humble address to Her Majesty with respect to them agreed to on the 11th of August. Thus the second step, so far as Canada was concerned, was taken towards the great scheme of Confederation.

By the Quebec resolutions, in favor of Confederation, whatever legislation existed in each Province with regard to education at the time of Confederation was declared to be irrevocable, so far as the Local Legislatures were concerned. There were two bills before the House with respect to separate schools; one in the hands of Mr. Langevin, Solicitor-General East, and one in the hands of Mr. Bell, by which it was proposed to extend to the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada similar and equal privileges with those granted by the Legislature to the Protestant minority in Lower Canada. Mr. Galt supported Mr. Langevin's bill, although it was quite evident that it was not acceptable to the majority of the Roman Catholics in Lower Canada. In the same way, Mr. Bell's bill respecting separate schools in Upper Canada was opposed by every member of the Government from Upper Canada except Mr. John A. Macdonald. Had these bills gone to a vote, both would probably have passed, and, as stated by the Attorney-General, "there would have been the unusual spectacle of a bill affecting education in Upper Canada carried by a Lower Canadian majority, and a similar Bill for Lower Canada carried against the will of the majority of that section." The

Government having decided to abandon both bills, Mr. Galt felt it to be his duty to resign. His place was filled by Mr. Howland, as Minister of Finance.

Mr. Galt's retirement from the Government gave great satisfaction to the Liberal party. Under him the debt of the Province had largely increased. Deficits occurred with wonderful regularity, although the tariff had been several times advanced. His attempt to foist Legislative Reciprocity on the country, and to change our banking system, showed the dangerous tendency of his legislation. With his retirement from office it was expected many of those evils would be corrected.

On the 15th of August the House prorogued, and the last session of Parliament, under the Act for the union of the two Canadas, was brought to an end. During the twenty-five years that passed since Upper and Lower Canada were united under one Legislature, the country had been singularly prosperous. Immigrants from the old world, some with considerable means, others with little capital except a pair of strong arms, had cleared the forests of Upper Canada, and had made for themselves comfortable homes in spite of all the difficulties incident to new settlements. Although these immigrants were of mixed nationalities and creeds, they were, in the main, men and women of great physical vigor and force of character. The ownership of the soil was to them an extraordinary privilege, and added greatly to their attachment to their country. The disabilities under which they labored at home intensified their love of freedom, and with the right which they possessed, for the first time, of making their own laws, it was natural that they would resist the transfer to or the continuation of such disabilities in the land of their adoption. Under such circumstances, the enjoyment of the

fullest social and political liberty should have been the heritage of every citizen of Canada. That it was not so may be taken as an evidence of the strange perversity and *maladroit* character of human nature. For instance, who would have thought that the people of Canada, who had escaped from a system of tithing and church rents in the old land, would have loaded themselves down with exactions of a similar character in their new home? Or, who would have thought that to relieve the country of a state church, with its large endowments and constantly increasing revenues, would have necessitated years of agitation, and would have aroused religious animosities which the lapse of thirty years have not entirely abated? What had Canada to do with a state church and rectories and sectarian privileges such as the mediævalism of England had sanctioned and approved? And yet there were many patriotic men who believed that only in this way could religion be fostered and infidelity restrained even in Canada.

The claims for religious supremacy were, however, but the counterpart of that political pretentiousness which Toryism invariably asserts wherever it has the power. Within its favored circle only is to be found, so it believes, the capacity to govern and the right to rule. The more limited the area of this right, the more dignified the men who exercise it, and the more limited the privileges of the ruled, the more perfect the administration of the rulers. Why should Roman Catholics sit in Parliament? said the Tories of Daniel O'Connell's time. Why should the rotten boroughs be abolished? said the Tories of Lord John Russell's time. Why should the masses have free bread? said the Tories of Robert Peel's time. Why should the franchise be extended to counties and to agricultural laborers? said the Tories of more recent date. Why should

the Irish Church be disestablished, or Ireland be permitted to manage its own local affairs? say the Tories of to-day. *Mutatis mutandis*, Canadian Liberals had to answer all these questions; and, although their answer was not recognized by Parliament till after many a long struggle, it came at last, marred in some instances by restrictions which weakened its effect, but substantial enough to relieve, even where it did not remove, the grievance complained of. The Family Compact was a Tory institution so firmly intrenched in office as to be removable only by rebellion. The control of Parliament by placemen and officers of the Government was a Tory manoeuvre as indefensible as it was mischievous. The opposition to Upper Canada, in her demands for constitutional changes to which she was entitled, was in keeping with the traditions of Toryism from the beginning of the century.

The Liberalism, of which Mr. Mackenzie was such an able exponent, was diametrically opposed to the Toryism of the day. He wanted no placeman in Parliament, as he believed it impossible for Parliament to be a correct exponent of the public will so long as any of its members were dependent upon the Executive. The great council of the nation was, to his mind, a body invested with the gravest responsibilities, and that sensitiveness to the call of duty which should pertain to its decisions, was utterly inconsistent with its organization on any other than the most independent lines. He had seen too much of the evils of the Family Compact in Canada, and of the rotten borough system in the old country, to acquiesce quietly in a Parliament where officials had the same standing as the accredited representatives of the people.

Ecclesiastical influence in politics was equally repugnant to his mind. The sacerdotalism which too often preferred the fleece to the flock, inevitably followed the connection of church

and state, and the only way to preserve the one from domination and the other from deterioration, was to insist upon their absolute divorce. In this way only, he contended, would the sovereignty of Parliament be impartially maintained, and unless maintained in its integrity, representative institutions would degenerate into an oligarchy; and a self-interested majority would develop into a tyranny no less real than the autocracy of the Stuart period.

It was this uncompromising character of his political convictions that led him to oppose a coalition in every shape and form, and, in later years, to resist commercial combinations, which experience has shown to be as dangerous to our institutions as the ecclesiastical or social privileges of thirty years ago.





CHAPTER XVI.

CONFEDERATION APPROVED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Troubles in the Maritime Provinces—Delegation to England—Amendment to the Quebec Resolutions—The Education Clause—Additional Subsidies to Nova Scotia—The Royal Proclamation—The Father of Confederation—Claims of Mr. Brown to this Honor.

IT was already pointed out that New Brunswick, by an overwhelming vote, defeated the party that espoused Confederation, and that a change of Government had taken place. A second appeal to the people, a year later, resulted in the reversal of the previous vote, and the acceptance of Confederation by the people at the polls. In Nova Scotia, there had been no appeal to the people. The Government stood manfully by the Quebec resolutions and, with New Brunswick, sent a deputation to London to confer with the Imperial authorities respecting the completion of the scheme. Prince Edward Island had refused to take further part in the negotiations, largely owing to the irresolute manner in which the delegates to Quebec dealt with the question in their own Legislature. After some delay, owing to the Fenian invasion in Canada, delegates from the four Provinces finally met in London, at the Westminster Palace hotel, on the 4th of December, to prepare draft bills for submission to the Imperial Parliament, which was then about to assemble. The delegates were: From Canada, Messrs. Macdonald (John A.), Cartier, Galt, Howland, MacDougall, and Langevin; from Nova Scotia, Messrs. Tupper, Henry, Archi-

bald, McCully, and Ritchie; from New Brunswick, Messrs. Tilley, Fisher, Mitchell, Johnson and Wilmot.

It is not our purpose to discuss the necessarily limited authority which these delegates possessed in finally dealing with the Quebec resolutions. They were sent to London not to legislate, but to advise the Imperial Government with regard to the provisions of an Act based upon the Quebec resolutions. Although devoid of legislative power, they were not free, however, from responsibility neither were they beyond the pale of censure by their respective Provinces, provided the conclusions they reached were ill-advised. Of course, no one would object to any alteration in the Quebec resolutions that was immaterial in its effects, or that did not disturb the political or financial equipoise of the Constitution as accepted by the Provinces through their respective Legislatures, and though the final responsibility for legislation rested with the House of Commons, they, equally with the Imperial Parliament, may justly be held responsible for every clause in the British North America Act.

Only two amendments of the Quebec resolutions gave rise afterwards to discussion: First, the provisions of the forty-third resolution respecting education, affecting the rights and privileges of the Protestant and Catholic minorities in the two Canadas, were extended to the minorities in any Province having rights or privileges by law as to denominational schools, at the time when the Union went into operation. An additional provision was made, allowing an appeal to the Governor-General in Council against any acts or decisions of the local authorities which may affect the rights or privileges of the Protestant or Catholic minority in the matter of education.

The second amendment, which gave rise to much discus-

sion, was the "better terms" granted to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. By the original resolutions, each Province was to be allowed an annual grant of eighty cents per head of the population, according to the census of 1861. By the terms agreed upon at London, a subsidy, in addition to the per capita allowance, was to be paid to the different Provinces as follows: Upper Canada, \$80,000; Lower Canada, \$70,000; Nova Scotia, \$60,000; New Brunswick, \$50,000; and the capitulation subsidy was extended, in the last two mentioned Provinces, until the population reached 400,000. A bill based upon the Quebec resolutions, thus amended, was finally submitted to the Imperial Parliament, and passed on the 29th of March, 1867. The Royal Proclamation, declaring that the Act should come into force on the first of July, 1867, was issued at Windsor on the 22nd of May.

Now that Confederation had become a substantial fact, it is worth while to enquire through whose instrumentality was it specially brought about. Who was the real father of Confederation? There seems to be no doubt that George Washington was the founder of the United States; that Prince Bismarck secured the unification of Germany; that Count Cavour re-organized the kingdom of Italy; that William the Third gave a new meaning to Responsible Government in England. But who is the father of Confederation? is a question still in dispute. With one accord, the Conservative party claim this honor for Sir John A. Macdonald. This claim is disputed by the Liberals, and for good reasons.

At no period in the history of Canada, prior to the coalition of 1864, does it appear that Sir John A. Macdonald favored the Federal principle. He intrigued against the Brown-Dorion Administration of 1858, which had pledged itself to the settlement of the constitutional difficulties between Upper

and Lower Canada on the basis of Representation by Population. He ridiculed the conclusions arrived at by the Reform Convention of 1859, where a federation of the two Canadas on the principle of a joint authority over matters common to the two Provinces was suggested. Speaking of the joint authority at London, Mr. Macdonald said: "If we ask ourselves what this joint authority is, we shall see how crude the idea is. Is it a legislature, or is it a bench of bishops? If it means anything, it means that Canada is to be divided into two, that there are to be two separate legislatures with a central power. . . . To such a consummation I am altogether opposed." On the question of Representation by Population, he said in the Legislative Assembly, on the 19th of April, 1861, "to adopt the measure would be to take a retrograde step." And he argued at very great length against the bill introduced by Mr. Ferguson, of South Simcoe, in favor of Representation by Population. On the 1st of April, 1862, he voted against a resolution moved by Mr. MacDougall, in which a protest was made against the inequality in the representation between Upper and Lower Canada. On the 29th of August, 1863, he repeated the vote of the previous year. But more important than any of these was the motion introduced by Mr. Brown, on the 14th of March, 1864, for the appointment of a select committee of twenty members to enquire into and report upon the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada. Even this motion, Mr. Macdonald resisted, and when on the 14th of June the committee reported that a strong feeling was found to exist among the members of the committee in favor of changes in the direction of a federative system, applied either to Canada alone or to the whole British North American Provinces, and recommended that the subject be again referred to a committee at the next session of Parlia-

ment, Mr. Macdonald voted with two others against the finding of the committee.

Here we have the first expression of opinion in favor of Confederation, which met with the approval of a majority of the Assembly, and which became, a week later, the basis of the Coalition Government of which Mr. Brown was a member. To this we are indebted for Confederation. We have no desire to underrate Sir John A. Macdonald's usefulness in framing the constitution and in enlisting the sympathies of the Conservative party in its favor. But Sir John A. Macdonald never was a Federationist. It was the sharp shock of a defeat in the House, revealing to him the fact that his political existence depended upon the acceptance of such a scheme, that changed his views on Federation. Besides, the conditions on which the coalition was formed were determined by Mr. Brown, not by Mr. Macdonald, and Sir John was an assenting party, we need not say from love of office or from any sordid motive. It is sufficient for the argument that the terms of the coalition were acquiesced in by him, not originated by him.

It has been contended that because Mr. Brown left the coalition before Federation was actually completed, that he has forfeited all his claims to the distinction of being its originator. Such an objection is absurd. The resolutions subsequently embodied in the British North America Act were approved by the Quebec Conference, of which Mr. Brown was the leading member. They were carried through the Legislative Assembly of Canada while he was still President of the Council. From his resignation on the 18th of December, 1865, till the Royal Proclamation was issued in May, 1867, which announced the birth of the Dominion, Mr. Brown never wavered in his loyalty to Confederation. His retirement from the Government, though ill-advised as a political move

could not imperil a scheme which had been advanced as far as the Canadian Parliament had power to advance it. To the man then who first sounded the bugle-call by which the best men of Canada and afterwards of the Maritime Provinces were summoned to lay aside their political animosities and unite together for the present and future prosperity of British North America, must be awarded the first place in the hearts of his countrymen as the founder of a new nation, and the records of Parliament show that that man was the Hon. Geo. Brown, the leader of the Liberal party.





CHAPTER XVII.

THE NEW DOMINION.

Formation of the First Government—Another Coalition—Great Reform Convention in Toronto—MacDougall's and Howland's Defence—Speech by Mr. Mackenzie—Position of the Liberal Party—Mr. Mackenzie's Campaign in Lambton—Contests with Mr. MacDougall—Results of the Election.

AMONG some of the changes brought about by Confederation may be mentioned the new nomenclature, both political and geographical, which now marks its history. Upper and Lower Canada have disappeared from the map, their places being taken by Ontario and Quebec. The Dominion of Canada takes the place of British North America, and the Act of Confederation takes the place of the Union Act. The national horizon was certainly widened; the political horizon, unfortunately, was still very largely provincial.

With the inauguration of the new Dominion came the formation of a new Government. Lord Monck, who was sworn in as Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, called upon Sir John A. Macdonald, now knighted in recognition of his services in connection with Confederation, to form a new Government. He was accordingly sworn in as Premier, his colleagues from Ontario being Messrs. Blair, Howland, MacDougall and Campbell; from Quebec, Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Chapais and Langevin; from New Brunswick, Messrs. Tilley

and Mitchell; from Nova Scotia, Messrs. Archibald and Kenny.

In organizing his Government, Sir John Macdonald evidently desired that each of the four Provinces of the Dominion should be represented; and no doubt, in the interests of Confederation, this was necessary. That he was under the necessity of regarding provincial boundaries is unfortunate; and that his successors, for a quarter of a century now, have been unable to form a Government on the merits irrespective of provincial boundaries, is still more unfortunate. That perfect unity of sentiment, which Confederation originally contemplated, and which, it is fondly hoped, it will yet accomplish, can never be attained until it is practicable to form a Cabinet irrespective of provincial boundaries.

It is also evident that Sir John Macdonald had determined to ignore the party lines which formerly prevailed in Upper and Lower Canada, and to constitute a Government that could appeal to the people irrespective of the party issues of the past. To use his own words: "I do not want it to be felt by any section of the country that they have no representative in the Cabinet, and no influence in the Government. And as there are now no issues to divide parties, and as all that is required is to have in the Government the men who are best adapted to put the new machinery in motion, I desire to ask those to join me who have the confidence and represent the majorities in the various sections, who were in favor of the adoption of this system of government, and who wish to see it satisfactorily carried out."

Accordingly, both political parties, as heretofore known, were equally represented in the Government; so that, if its composition be regarded from the standpoint of ante-Confederation times it was, strictly speaking, a coalition. Sir John

Macdonald insisted, however, that, as the old order of things had passed away and with it old party lines, his Government had no political significance whatsoever. It was a "No Party" Government, whose primary object was to put into operation the British North America Act, and was therefore entitled to a "fair trial."

To this view the Liberal party objected, claiming that the Government was a coalition; that coalitions were essentially dangerous, except when formed for a specific purpose, and to solve difficult political problems; that there was no political problem now requiring solution, and to announce the dissolution of partyism was merely a pretext for claiming support to which he was not entitled. It was also urged that the Liberals who went into the coalition of 1864, having accomplished the purpose for which they had entered the Government, should now retire, and that to hold office any longer was an act of treason to the Liberal party.

To these views, Mr. Brown, Mr. Mackenzie and the Liberal party generally, committed themselves very strongly, not only during the last session of the old Parliament of Canada, but more particularly during the months preceding the general election of 1867; and when it was known that Messrs. Howland and MacDougall had decided to accept positions in the new Government, with Sir John Macdonald as Premier, the indignation of the Liberals of Ontario was most intense.

With the view to organize the party in the Province, and to obtain an expression of opinion, which it was thought would furnish the key-note to the pending elections, a Convention was held in Toronto, on the 27th of June, at which over six hundred delegates from all parts of Ontario were present. This convention was described by the *Globe* as "magnificent in number, in influence and in enthusiasm."

The Convention was organized by the appointment of Mr. Wm. Patrick, of Prescott, chairman, and after the appointment of committees of different kinds, the delegates present proceeded to the consideration of various resolutions bearing upon the issues before the country. The first four resolutions referred to the efforts of the Liberal party to reform political abuses, and particularly to secure to Upper Canada its full share in the government of the country. The fifth resolution embodied the views of the Liberal party on coalitions, in these words: "Resolved—That coalitions of opposing political parties, for ordinary administrative purposes, inevitably result in the abandonment of principle by one or both parties to the compact, the lowering of public morality, lavish public expenditure and wide-spread corruption. That the coalition of 1864 could only be justified on the ground of imperious necessity, as the only available mode of obtaining just representation for the people of Upper Canada, and on the grounds that the compact then made was for a specific measure and for a stipulated period, and was to come to an end so soon as the measure was attained. And while this Convention is thoroughly satisfied that the Reform party has acted in the best interests of the country by sustaining the Government until the Confederation measure was secured, it deems it an imperative duty to declare that the temporary alliance between the Reform and Conservative parties should now cease, and that no Government will be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is formed and maintained by a coalition of public men holding opposite political principles."

While this resolution was before the Convention, the chairman announced that Messrs. Howland and MacDougall, who were present by invitation, were prepared to address the dele-

gates. Mr. Howland was first called upon, and in the course of a carefully prepared address admitted "that the object for which the coalition of 1864 had been formed was effected, that the conditions on which it was entered into had been fulfilled, and that the compact came to an end on the first day of July, 1867." But he contended "that in the interests of Confederation it would be impossible for him to decline a seat in the new Government; particularly as Sir John Macdonald had declared that the Government which he proposed to form was one in which party lines would be entirely ignored." Mr. MacDougall took strong grounds against the resolution, declaring himself willing to be bound by the judgment of the majority at the polls and in no other way. He blamed Mr. Brown for leaving the coalition of 1864 before Confederation was completed, and claimed that he had the support of the Liberal party, in refusing to leave the Government as Mr. Brown did. In taking a portfolio in the new Government, he believed he was acting in the interests of the Liberal party, and that he would be sustained in his action by the Government. The work which the coalition of 1864 had undertaken was not yet completed, as other Provinces would be added to the Dominion, if public affairs were properly managed. He claimed for the Government the support of all parties, irrespective of politics; as it would be unfair to condemn them until it was seen whether they were true to the new constitution or not.

Mr. MacDougall's address, although an able defence of his actions, evidently did not meet the views of the Convention, as the scathing criticism to which it was subjected by Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie clearly indicated. Mr. Mackenzie was particularly severe on Mr. MacDougall and ridiculed him for his fondness for a seat on the Treasury benches. He

dissented entirely from Mr. MacDougall's views with regard to the coalition of which he was now a member, claiming that old party issues could not be entirely ignored, and that any Government of which Sir John Macdonald was Premier was a Tory Government and could not be trusted, and in ringing terms he asked : " What had been the policy of the Tory party in this Province ? Had it not been the constant struggle of the Reform party with the Tories, to fight against their encroachments on the rights and privileges of the people ? The policy of the Tories or the Conservatives had been what their name indicated,—to conserve and preserve all old abuses,—a policy of restriction and ecclesiastical despotism, which they would have fastened on us, if they had had the power. The policy of Reformers, on the other hand, had been to secure that every man should stand upon perfectly equal terms in the eye of the law ; that no church or other institution should receive special privileges from the State. The Conservative policy was here what it was in England, a restrictive one—one that cramped the energies of the people. It was the same policy as that which resisted the repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholicism in Great Britain ; which enacted corn laws to tax the bread of the people ; the policy which would build up and perpetuate a State Establishment. This policy had been imported here and we had had the most deliberate, persistent, and systematic attempts made to engraft on our system the abuses against which the Liberals of Great Britain had fought for centuries."

In the course of a speech extending over an hour, he reviewed the history of the coalition of 1864 and the object for which it was formed, dissenting *in toto* from Mr. MacDougall's views as to the necessity or propriety of its continued existence. When he declared that Mr. MacDougall was no longer a Liberal

but a subordinate member of Sir John Macdonald's Government, he was applauded to the echo. It was quite evident that next to that of George Brown himself, Mr. Mackenzie's speech expressed most aptly the sentiments of the Convention, as shortly after, when the vote was taken, only three persons declared themselves opposed to the resolution.

And here it may be profitable to pause in order rightly to understand the position of the Liberal party at the first general election under Confederation. It has already been shown that the greatest political power in the Province of Ontario was the Hon. George Brown. It was at his instance that the Reform Convention of 1859 was called and Representation by Population made the political watchword of the Liberal party. It was by him also that the Liberals of Ontario were induced to support Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Administration from 1862 till 1863 in order to the removal of political abuses, by which it was thought the way would be prepared for larger measures of reform. The personal sacrifices he made in 1864 and 1865 to bring about Confederation had greatly strengthened him in public estimation, and at the time he left the coalition, in December, 1865, he had, beyond doubt, the undivided confidence of the Liberal party.

His retirement, however, from the Government, or, as Mr. MacDougall put it, "his desertion of the ship in mid-ocean and taking to the jolly-boat," greatly weakened his position. Partly as a result of his own teaching, and partly as a relief from existing grievances, Confederation was regarded by the people of Ontario as the consummation of their most sanguine expectations respecting the future of Canada; and even so great a leader as Mr. Brown was unable to satisfy his party fully that his retirement was necessary. Even if Sir John Macdonald was the embodiment of duplicity and political

villainy, which he was represented to be, he was nevertheless loyal to Confederation; and although unable to retain his alliance with Mr. Brown, he was still able to retain his alliance with Mr. Brown's colleagues in the coalition of 1864. The appeal, therefore, which the Liberal party made to the country, was, to a certain extent, a personal one. It was Brown against MacDougall, Howland and Blair, or, to put it in other words, it was Mr. Brown and party government against Sir John Macdonald and a coalition in which it was said there were at least six Liberals.

There was still another difficulty. The enlargement of the political arena by the union of the four provinces, naturally obscured old party lines. To say that Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of Canada, at the head of a government, in which his own party had barely a majority, was as much to be dreaded as Sir John Macdonald at the head of a Tory Government, with Tory colleagues, did not appear reasonable. Then, there was the further conviction that as both political parties had coalesced for the purpose of accomplishing Confederation, it was not, to say the least of it, unreasonable that the coalition should be continued until Confederation was fairly launched. "What right," it was asked, "had one party more than the other to assume the reins of office, and to say that under it a new nation was to be organized? Had George Brown remained in the Government, and had Sir John Macdonald been preferred to him as the first Premier, he might have good ground for complaint. As it was, he should have acquiesced in the action of his friends who had remained in the Government."

No doubt, Sir John Macdonald's appeal for the confidence of both parties was one of those adroit moves for the retention of office so characteristic of the honorable gentleman. A

purely Tory Government would certainly have been defeated in the general election of 1867. The appeal for a "fair trial" on the ground that party issues had been obliterated, that we were beginning Confederation, as Mr. MacDougall said, with a *tabula rasa*—a clean slate—was very insidious. It enlisted the support of the Tory party through Sir John Macdonald's personality as a leader, and it enlisted the support of many Reformers, not so much because of the Liberals in his Government, but because of their anxiety not in the slightest degree to endanger Confederation.

The position in which the Liberals as a party found themselves in 1867 was most unfortunate, and the more it is examined, the more clearly does the soundness of Mr. Mackenzie's advice in 1864 appear. Had they refused to coalesce with Sir John Macdonald, and had they given his Government, as Mr. Mackenzie advised, an outside support, simply, they would have avoided those entangling alliances, which resulted in Mr. Brown's retirement from the Government in 1865, and also that division of opinion in their ranks caused by the action of Messrs. Howland and MacDougall.

Had Sir John Macdonald only acted with the independence and frankness of a British statesman, he would have said to the Governor-General in 1864, when defeated in the House: I am opposed to the union of the Provinces. I have lost control of the House. Here is my resignation. Send for Mr. Brown to form a new Government.

This vantage ground was, however, lost, in spite of Mr. Mackenzie's advice to the contrary. And when the elections of 1867 came on, there was only one of two courses open to the Liberal party—either to oppose the Government out and out, or to go to the elections without any distinctive political

cry, leaving to the future the reorganization of the party, on such issues as might arise in the natural course of events.

To a man of Mr. Mackenzie's temperament, the conduct of Messrs. MacDougall and Howland was most objectionable, and sooner than appear to approve of their course, he took issue with them boldly on party grounds.

In his address to the electors of Lambton, in the general election of 1867, he said: "I reluctantly agreed that the two great political parties should form a Government to carry the Confederation measure, with the express understanding that the passage of the bill should witness the termination of the coalition and that no party measures likely to divide us should in the meantime be introduced. The members of that Government not only violated the latter part of the agreement by the introduction of their financial scheme and their tariff arrangements during last session, but they seek to perpetuate a coalition for no other purpose than the retention of office.

"Under such a coalition we shall be compelled to witness extravagance in all our departments, the most unblushing corruption in Parliament, and a low state of public morality in high places, which must be communicated more or less to all classes. I shall therefore endeavor, if elected, to prevent the continued existence of a Government so constituted. Macdonald and Cartier were the leading spirits of the former corrupt coalition Government; they are masters of the present one, and we must expect a repetition of former evil practices. The accession to the Tory ranks of MacDougall and Howland does not change the prospects; as men who would commit such an act of treachery to their own friends are not likely to stand in the way of their leaders in other matters."

This was practically the key-note of the campaign. The

Liberals were called upon to oppose the Government because it was a coalition, on the ground that coalitions were dangerous; that this coalition was founded on treachery to the Liberal party; that its ruling spirits were Tories, in whom they could have no confidence, and that their continuation in office could only result in injury to the country. On this platform Mr. Mackenzie made a successful appeal to his old constituents in Lambton for support. His standing in Parliament, his extraordinary ability as a debater, the great confidence with which his judgment was regarded in all political matters, gave him a tremendous advantage over his opponents. Mr. MacDougall, who had received such a castigation at his hands, at the great Convention, endeavored to turn the tide of public opinion against him by holding meetings in his constituency; but to no purpose. Mr. Mackenzie's position was impregnable, and the splendid courage with which he defended it added greatly to his reputation. He was then, physically and mentally, at his zenith, and the enthusiasm which he evoked made the campaign of 1867 one long to be remembered by the electors of Lambton.

The forensic qualities of the two great rivals for public favor are worthy of a moment's notice. Mr. MacDougall was a man of good presence, large physique, with a pleasant voice and easy manner. His style was calm and ordinarily judicial; his language well chosen, pointed and clear. He was, however, wanting in personal magnetism, in humor, and in that enthusiasm so essential in popular debate. He was well informed—few men better—in the political history of the times; had a long experience as a journalist, and had shown considerable aptitude for public affairs. For many years he was in the first ranks of parliamentary debaters, and his position in the Government naturally added weight to his utterances. As

to his ability, there can be no doubt. He was a man far above the average in natural endowment, who, by his long experience on the platform, had acquired a literary finish quite perceptible in all his speeches; and when he appeared in Lambton to oppose Mr. Mackenzie, there was exultation in the Tory camp from one end of Canada to the other.

All these qualities, however, availed nothing; for what Mr. Mackenzie may have wanted in the easy rhythm of his sentences, he more than made up by the use of incisive Saxon, which went directly to the convictions of the people. He arraigned Mr. MacDougall for the desertion of his party, for his fondness for office, for his alliance with Sir John Macdonald, for his disloyalty to his leader, Mr. Brown, for his support of Mr. Galt's financial blundering, for his insincerity in the advocacy of Liberal principles, and, by quotations from his former speeches, and from his editorials, completely destroyed the force of his attack. Mr. MacDougall's appeal for the loyal support of the Liberals, inasmuch as he was still a Liberal, was met by the statement "that loyalty to a party should not require us to bow down to its man-servant, its maid-servant, its ox, or its ass." His appeal for a fair trial for the new Government was met by the statement that a Government founded on treachery was not entitled to a moment's trial. It was self-condemned in its organization. To all of Mr. MacDougall's arguments, Mr. Mackenzie made answer in terms so conclusive, in language so clear, and in a manner so transparently honest, as to completely overwhelm his opponents. No Benjamite ever used the sling and stone with better effect than Mr. Mackenzie. There was no circumlocution in his argument. Every word had its place. His voice was clear and penetrating, and his quaint humor, sometimes strengthened by an apt anecdote, made him a dreaded antagonist.

Mr. MacDougall's defeat on the platform simply meant Mr. Mackenzie's election for Lambton. The principal athlete of the coalition party had grappled with him in the presence of friends and foes and had been worsted. It was only six years since he laid aside the mallet and the chisel for political life, and already his enemies flee before him. His majority of 688 over his opponent, Mr. Vidal, shows how completely he had won the confidence of his constituents.

The dual character of the general election of 1867 added very much to the obliteration of party lines. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, who was chosen Premier for Ontario, and who had organized his Government on the coalition principle, united his influence with the Liberal supporters of the Dominion Government for the purpose of carrying the country. As a Liberal, he had less claim upon the party than either Mr. Howland or Mr. MacDougall; for he had steadily opposed the wishes of Ontario both in power and out of it. His support of Mr. Scott's Separate School Bill, however, which was passed in 1863, during his Premiership, won for him the confidence of many Roman Catholics; while the simple fact that he was chosen by Sir John Macdonald as first Premier of Ontario, and had called to his Government such well known Tories as Mr. M. C. Cameron and Mr. John Carling, secured for him the confidence of the Conservative party.

There was no circumstance in connection with the whole campaign that so greatly annoyed the Liberals as the appointment of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald Premier, and the formation of a coalition Government, under him. Ontario had for many years supported the Liberal party. To foist upon the Dominion the coalition Government, was bad enough, but to ask the Liberal party to support a coalition in Ontario, was intolerable.

After a campaign extending almost into autumn, the feeling of the country with regard to the new Government was ascertained. Nova Scotia, led by the Hon. Joseph Howe, returned only one supporter of the administration—Dr. Tupper. In New Brunswick, twelve seats out of the fifteen were won by the administration. In Quebec, only twelve anti-coalitionists were returned; and in Ontario the Government's majority was unexpectedly large. The defeat of Mr. Archibald, Secretary of State, and Mr. Chapais, Minister of Agriculture, was but a trifling compensation for the losses suffered by the Liberal party. Mr. Brown, who could have had an easy seat, was pitted against Mr. Gibbs, of South Ontario, and as a result of his defeat practically retired from active political service.

In the local elections, the results were somewhat similar. Nova Scotia returned thirty-six anti-unionists to a House composed of thirty-eight members. New Brunswick supported the Government in the local election as well as in the Dominion election, and so did Ontario and Quebec. The representation of the people in their different Parliaments was now completed, and the new constitution adopted by the country was soon to have a trial.





CHAPTER XVIII.

MEETING OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF CANADA.

Mr. Joseph Howe and Confederation—The North-West Territories—Intercolonial Railway—Retirement of Mr. Galt—The Country to be Fortified—Assassination of Mr. McGee—Conservative Tendencies of the Government.

BY the sovereign voice of the people of Canada expressed at the polls, Confederation was at length ratified, and the advent of a new nation, with a population of about four millions, was inaugurated. In one instance only was the voice of the agitator stronger than the demand for a larger national life.

What was expected from the representatives of the people, and what was to be the spirit with which Parliament should address itself to the new problems necessarily arising under the British North America Act, were well expressed by the late W. A. Foster in an address on "Our New Nationality," published in 1871: "Let but our statesmen do their duty, with the consciousness that all the elements which constitute greatness are now awaiting a closer combination; that all the requirements of a higher national life are here available for use; that nations do not spring, Minerva-like, into existence; that strength and weakness are relative terms, a few not being necessarily weak because they are few, nor a multitude necessarily strong because they are many; that hesitating, doubting, fearing, whining over supposed or even actual weakness, and conjuring up possible dangers, is not

the true way to strengthen the foundations of our Dominion, or to give confidence to its continuance. Let each of us have faith in the rest, and cultivate a broad feeling of regard for mutual welfare, as being those who are building up a fabric that is destined to endure. Thus stimulated and thus strengthened by a common belief in a glorious future, and with a common watchword to give unity to thought and power to endeavor, we shall attain the fruition of our cherished hopes, and give our beloved country a proud position among the nations of the earth."

It would be strange, indeed, if the men composing the first Parliament of Canada were not deeply impressed with the responsibilities resting upon them. Many of them had served their country in other Assemblies, and had considerable experience of the bitterness and hate of sectional strife. To them, the higher plane of Dominion politics and the wider arena on which they had entered must have been a great relief. To others, who saw in Confederation the fruition of many years of labor and anxiety, the first Parliament must have been like his arrival in port to the storm-tossed mariner after months of weary struggle with wind and wave.

Parliament was opened on the 6th of November—Mr. Jas. Cockburn, Speaker. His Excellency, after congratulating the members present on the position they occupied as representing a new Dominion, pointed out some of the duties devolving upon them under the British North America Act, such as the assimilation of the laws relating to currency, customs, excise, the postal service, militia service, Indian affairs, the criminal law, etc.

While the address was under discussion, Mr. Joseph Howe made a fierce onslaught upon Confederation, declaring his belief that it would be a failure, that Nova Scotia would

never consent to it, and that the Imperial Parliament took very little interest in Canadian affairs, one way or the other.

Several members of the House undertook to reply to Mr. Howe, among others, Dr. Tupper. But of all the speeches delivered, there was none couched in such friendly terms, or none which shewed as broad a statesmanship, as the speech delivered by Mr. Mackenzie. Among other things, he said : " He felt that it devolved particularly on the people of Ontario to act the part of hosts towards her Lower Province brethren, and to extend to them that just consideration which was most likely to cement their future relations, and to produce that spirit of harmony which ought to prevail among them, if they were to live together and prosper as a nation."

Evidently Mr. Mackenzie felt from the outset that Mr. Howe, who had fought for Responsible Government, had some ground for complaint because the Quebec Resolutions, on which Confederation was founded, were not submitted to the people, and as an ardent supporter of the Confederation Act, he was most anxious to see it accepted by the people of Nova Scotia.

Two questions of unusual magnitude and importance engaged the attention of the first Canadian Parliament. One was the acquisition of the North-West Territories, and the other the construction of the Intercolonial Railroad. With regard to the former, almost every obstacle in the way had been removed before Mr. Brown retired from the Government, in 1865. There remained now but the settlement of details, requiring ordinary business attention. A Confederation that did not embrace the Territories lying to the west of us would be a poor representative of the British empire on this continent, and would afford a very limited area for the development of the latent powers of the people. Any person aspiring to

Leiche 29 June 1864.

Dear Sir

Wondrous changes! The
sacrifice of feeling was
great & hard to make - but
it was right. I have not
a shadow of a doubt that
I have acted rightly & that
the end will prove this.

Yours Truly
Wm. Brown

(Fac-simile of Hon. Geo. Brown's hand-writing.)

statesmanship certainly misunderstood his mission if he hesitated for one moment in endeavoring to extend our Canadian empire westward.

Mr. MacDougall, who was concerned in the original negotiations for the acquisition by Canada of the North-West Territories, introduced the resolutions on which it was proposed to form a bill for the consideration of Parliament. With the exception of the objections taken by Mr. Howe and some others not in full sympathy with Confederation, the resolutions met with universal favor. Speaking of these resolutions, Mr. Mackenzie said that "in his opinion, it was necessary for the consolidation of British power on this continent, that we should take a firm hold of the vast country that lay to the west of Canada. He had an aversion to the Republican institutions of the people living alongside of us, and he had no wish to see this country absorbed by the United States. He was aware of the grasping, avaricious spirit that prevailed in the United States, in regard to the acquisition of territory, and he had no doubt many people there were anxious to lay their hands on the rich and fertile regions of the North-West. He looked upon the acquisition of this territory as a necessary outlet for the energies of our young men, who were now compelled, in consequence of the limited field for settlement offered in Canada, to seek homes for themselves in the United States. He believed that a large portion of the territory would open a wide field for settlement to emigrants, and become a valuable addition to the territorial possessions of the Province. He demanded, however, that before the House was committed to the details of the scheme, Parliament should be consulted." This was agreed to by Mr. MacDougall. The bill was finally passed, and the Government authorized to continue negotiations by which

all the territory between Ontario and British Columbia—an empire in itself—was placed under the control of the Dominion.

The other great measure, relating to the Intercolonial Railway, was part of the original compact entered into between the Provinces, when the Quebec resolutions were agreed upon. The only difference between the Opposition and the Government was with respect to the authority of Parliament in determining the route of the railway, the Opposition holding by the sovereignty of Parliament in all such matters, as against the claim made by the Government to determine the route without reference to Parliament. Unfortunately, the Government policy prevailed, and a circuitous route, of comparatively little value for commercial purposes, was adopted.

It was evidently the policy of the Government to conciliate Quebec at the expense of the whole Dominion; otherwise, a route much shorter would have been adopted. The declarations that Imperial interests had to be considered and a railway built as far removed as possible from the American frontier, for military reasons, was a mere pretence. In later years, no such policy prevailed with regard to the Canada Pacific Railway, although Imperial interests were as great in one case as in the other. The fatal consequences of the action of the Government have become very apparent in recent years. Not only have the people of Canada paid an excessive sum for the construction of the road, owing to its engineering difficulties as well as its length, but its location is such as to have rendered the construction of purely commercial lines between Montreal and the sea coast absolutely necessary. Some of these lines have been liberally subsidized by the Government, as their construction was deemed to be in the public interest; and as a consequence the Intercolonial failed, not only to pay

interest on the original investment, but even to pay running expenses. Had Mr. Mackenzie's advice been taken, millions would have been saved on a profitless route and millions more in subsidies to other routes that were considered necessary for commercial purposes.

On the retirement of Mr. Galt, Minister of Finance, the Hon. John Rose was appointed to the vacancy. And on the 21st of December the House adjourned until the 6th of March, in the following year.

Speaking of the first Parliament of Canada, Mr. Dent, in his history of the last forty years, says: "The tone of Parliament perceptibly improved. Even the discontented members from Nova Scotia treated questions as they arose, on their merits, and shewed no disposition to monopolize the debates by long discourses on the injustice to which their Province had, as they believed, been subjected. The old obstructive policy was for the time numbered among the things of the past, and Parliament seemed to be actuated by an honest desire to test the working qualities of our new constitution."

On the re-assembly of Parliament, the Militia Bill and the other measures foreshadowed in the address were taken up and disposed of, Mr. Mackenzie strongly objecting to the enormous expenditure which the Militia Bill involved, and the utter futility of attempting to provide for the defence of Canada by fortifications at Montreal and elsewhere, which would probably cost them millions of money. He took the ground that there was nothing in our relations with the United States to justify the expenditure of so much money, and that in the case of war, should it unfortunately occur, our main security would be the protection of the Empire.

In the session of 1868 the necessity of maintaining the independence of Parliament was urged upon the House by the

Liberal party. Several protests were made against the occupation of seats in the House of Commons by members holding seats in the Provincial Legislature. A formal motion by Mr. Blake declaring sheriffs, registrars and other persons holding any employment or profit under the Crown, in Canada or any of the Provinces, ineligible to sit in the House of Commons, was rejected by a large majority, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Liberals. And thus, unfortunately, the House of Commons showed a disposition to follow those vicious tendencies, with regard to the appointment to public offices, which had created so much irritation in olden times in Upper Canada.

During the session of 1868 a circumstance occurred which strongly showed Mr. Mackenzie's tenderness of heart, notwithstanding the vigorous blows which he was disposed to deal to an opponent. Mr. Thos. D'Arcy McGee, who, in spite of his political vacillation, had acquired great prominence in the country on account of his geniality and his wonderful eloquence, was basely assassinated on the 7th of April while returning to his lodgings after a long session of the House. On the evening before his death, the House had been discussing a resolution moved by Dr. Parker, demanding that Dr. Tupper, who had gone to England to neutralize Mr. Howe's opposition to Confederation, should be recalled. Both Mr. McGee and Mr. Mackenzie had taken part in this discussion. Mr. McGee vindicated the Government for its action in sending Dr. Tupper to England, and expressed the hope that time would heal the existing irritation between Nova Scotia and the Dominion, and that by and bye the constitution of this Dominion would be as cherished in the hearts of the people of all its Provinces as the British constitution itself. Mr. Mackenzie, replying to Mr.

McGee, said that "Dr. Tupper's mission to England was exceedingly distasteful to Nova Scotia, and that if his withdrawal would have a conciliatory effect, it should be acted on at once. He urged that a policy of conciliation should pervade the whole proceedings of Parliament and the language of all its members. He was quite sure that in the course of a very few years we would be able so to harmonize all interests in our commercial policy and every other portion of our national policy, as to promote the prosperity of Nova Scotia."

Little did the members expect that Mr. McGee's appeal for the maintenance of the Union, supported by Mr. Mackenzie's demand for a conciliatory policy towards Nova Scotia, was the last appeal they would hear from his eloquent lips. When the House assembled next day, Sir John Macdonald moved an adjournment for one week out of respect to the memory of the fallen statesman. In speaking of his deceased colleague, Sir John described him as "a man of the kindest and most generous impulses—a man whose hand was open to every one, whose heart was made for friendship and whose enmities were written in water—a man with the simplicity of a child. He might have lived a long and respected life had he chosen the easy path of popularity rather than the stern one of duty. He had lived a short life respected and beloved, and died a heroic death, a martyr to the cause of his country. He has gone from us, and it will be long ere we see his like again, long ere we find such a happy mixture of eloquence, wisdom and impulse." As representing the Opposition, Mr. Mackenzie said, in rising to second the motion: "I find it almost impossible to proceed. But last night we were all charmed with the eloquence of our departed friend who is now numbered with our honored dead, and

none of us dreamed when we separated last that we should so very soon be called in this way to record our affection for him. It was my own lot for many years to work in political harmony with him, and it was my lot sometimes to oppose him. But through all the vicissitudes of political warfare we ever found him possess that generous disposition characteristic of the man and his country, and it will be long, as the leader of the Government has said, before we can see his like amongst us. I think there can be no doubt he has fallen a victim to the noble and patriotic course which he has pursued in this country with regard to the relations between his native land and the Empire, and I can only hope that the efforts to be made by the Government will lead to the discovery that to an alien hand is due the sorrow that now clouds not only this House, but the whole community."

In the course of the session, an interesting debate sprang up on a motion by Mr. Abbott for closing the Carillon and Grenville canals on Sunday. Objection was taken to this motion by many members of the House, notably by Wm. MacDougall and J. S. Macdonald. Mr. Mackenzie's early Scotch training and his well-known inflexibility of purpose on all moral and religious questions here asserted themselves. In reply to the arguments in favor of Sunday traffic on the canals, he urged with great earnestness that "the observance of the Sabbath day was a duty incumbent on them as a Christian people, and that they as legislators ought to do their duty in promoting the observance of the Sabbath. No good ever came of Sabbath breaking, whether by individuals or communities. He believed that the observance of the Sabbath was in the interests of all legitimate labor, and that public servants were entitled to rest on that day. And as many of them desired

to observe the Sabbath day properly, they should not be prevented from so doing."

The session closed on 22nd of May, and from the tendency of legislation and the policy of the Government, it was quite evident that it ceased to be a coalition, and that Sir John Macdonald had won over to his way of thinking his Liberal colleagues for Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. The expensive quixotic scheme for reorganizing the militia and fortifying the country could never have originated except with a Tory Government; for the scheme, as pointed out by Mr. Mackenzie, placed a premium upon officialism rather than on loyal service in the ranks; and although it was, with very slight modification, adopted by the House, the vigorous manner in which it was opposed by the Liberals led to its ultimate abandonment.

The action of the Government with respect to the selection of a route for the Intercolonial Railway, equally savored of Tory tactics. As we have already pointed out, political exigencies were allowed to prevail as against the public interest and the commercial advantages of the country.

In the management of public works, in the independence of Parliament, and in regard to many of the changes made in the tariff, the impress of Conservative policy was quite unmistakable, and whether the coalition of 1864 may be regarded as having terminated on the 30th of June, 1867, by agreement, as Mr. Howland said it had, it is quite certain that, as a matter of fact, the Reform element in the Government in 1868 had ceased to exert any influence on the policy of the country. To Mr. Mackenzie, the session was one of unusual distinction. Although not formally appointed leader of the Opposition, he was by universal consent awarded the leader's place and expected to discharge the leader's duties. The Liberal members from Quebec, such as Messrs. Holton, Dorion and Huntington,

although men of great parliamentary experience and ability, were evidently not disposed, even were it desirable, to undertake the burdens of leadership. Mr. Blake's professional duties, and his great interest in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, prevented that regular attendance in the House of Commons which would be necessary in the case of a leader. It was indispensable that some one should speak for the party in Opposition, and so by an acquiescence as substantial as could be expressed in any formal vote, all concurred in giving Mr. Mackenzie this place. His power as a debater was universally admitted. His fearlessness in defending his own views, his frankness and fairness in criticizing his opponents, his wonderful grasp of details, combined with a memory that never failed him, entitled him to the honor; and right well did he acquit himself, as the debates of Parliament show. Indeed it is doubtful if there was a single member in the House or in the Government so well informed in every matter submitted to the House as Mr. Mackenzie was. Certain it is that no member of the House could devote himself with greater diligence to his parliamentary duties than he did, and it was quite apparent that no member was more anxious to give Confederation a fair and honest trial.





CHAPTER XIX.

POLICY OF THE LIBERALS ASSERTED.

Independence of Parliament—Governor-General's Salary—Reciprocity with the United States—"Better Terms" with Nova Scotia—Mr. Howe enters the Government—Changes in the Cabinet—Mr. Mackenzie as Leader.

THE line of cleavage between the Government and the Opposition was pretty distinctly drawn during the session of 1867-8. The session of 1869 left no room for doubt as to the existence of two political parties in the Dominion of Canada. That there is in the political as in the natural world a duality of force is strikingly apparent. By some occult law of nature, the citizens of every state divide themselves at least into two camps. Lord Elgin said "that where there was little, if anything, of public principle to divide men, political parties would shape themselves under the influence of circumstances, and have a great variety of affections or antipathies, national, sectarian and personal." In a country like Canada, where there were so many interests to be considered, there was ample room for the formation of two parties on broad lines. If they are organised on any other, it must be due either to the depravity of the rank and file, or to the want of statesmanship in the leaders. No doubt great firmness and integrity are required in dealing with provincial and sectarian demands. The temptation to barter the public interests for political support is the besetting sin of the politician, and he who esteems office

of greater importance than the good of the country, is sure to listen to the voice of the tempter.

From the very outset of his career, Mr. Mackenzie took high ground on all questions of political morality. To be inconsistent with himself, which often means nothing in fact, was something he very much dreaded; but to subordinate the national interests to the demands of a section, or to wrong the nation in order to pacify a class, was most repugnant to his mind. Party government, as he understood it, was government by the people, for the people, and through the people; and his speeches and votes during the session of 1869 illustrated very fully the sincerity of his motives.

The great principle of maintaining the independence of the House of Commons was a question of policy of the highest national moment. If dual representation, which was possible under the Constitution, were allowed to prevail, members of the Dominion Parliament would find themselves unable to decide equitably between Provincial and Dominion interests. In the natural order of things, questions arise in which the interests of the Dominion might conflict with the interests of a local legislature. The holder of a seat in both Houses, in such cases, was not an independent man in the parliamentary sense of the term, as he was practically serving two masters. Early in the session of 1869 a bill introduced by Mr. Mills for the abolition of Dual Representation came to a vote, and with singular unanimity the Government of the day and their followers voted it down. To allow such a bill to pass would compel several of their supporters to choose between the Legislative Assembly of the Province they represented and the House of Commons—a choice which in all reason they should have been obliged to make. A few years later, when to impose such a choice upon members of the House of Commons was

likely to embarrass the Liberal Party, a similar bill was introduced by a supporter of the Government and carried through the House. Mr. Mackenzie's defence of the Constitution in this case, even where the principle urged affected his own seat in Parliament, was a proof of his unselfishness and his loyalty to principle.

The next question in which it was sought to vindicate the supremacy of Parliament was on a motion made by Mr. Oliver of Oxford for a reduction of the Governor-General's salary from £10,000 sterling to \$32,000 per annum. When the question came before the House, Sir John Macdonald proposed an amendment to the effect "that it was undesirable to make any alteration in the British North America Act which already fixed the salary the Governor-General should receive." As the British North America Act was an Imperial Act and not subject to the approval of Parliament, it was contended that to accept Sir John Macdonald's amendment, would be to acquiesce to a certain extent in the control of the revenues of the Dominion by the British Government. Mr. Mackenzie opposed this view, claiming that it was the undoubted privilege of Parliament to fix and determine the amount of all salaries and expenditure chargeable upon the public funds of the Dominion, and that the salary of the Governor-General should therefore be fixed by an Act of the Canadian Parliament. To this the House agreed with one exception, and the last vestige of an Imperial tax on the people of Canada by the Parliament of Great Britain was removed. Whatever salary is now paid the Governor-General as the representative of Her Majesty is therefore the voluntary gift of the people of Canada, as it ought to be. Subsequently, by a resolution of the House, the matter was definitely settled and the sum of £10,000 agreed upon as a reasonable amount on

which to maintain the dignity and usefulness of the Governor-General's position.

A motion introduced by Mr. A. A. Dorion, calling for some measure of reciprocal trade with the United States, was the occasion of a vigorous debate on the attitude which Canada should assume towards that country, and our trade relations generally. The mover of the resolution pointed out the great advantages to Canada from the treaty of '54, and claimed that if the Government would only open negotiations with the authorities at Washington in all probability a new treaty could be obtained. The question, it was alleged, was one deeply affecting our agricultural and industrial interests and should engage the immediate attention of the Government.

Mr. Mackenzie's attitude on this question was a vindication of the right of Canada to negotiate her own commercial treaties with the United States. It was also among the first public expressions of opinion in Parliament that we had attained to our majority, and should conduct ourselves towards our neighbors with that self-respect and independence which our national position warranted. "He had for his own part," he said, "an instinctive repugnance to do anything like soliciting what he considered only a fair trade relationship. We occupied, in that respect, a position as independent as the people of the United States did, inasmuch as whatever arrangements we might arrive at would undoubtedly be ratified by treaty by the Mother Country. We were, therefore, in a position to deal with the United States as a mere neighbor, whose trade would always be valuable to us, while our trade would, perhaps, be equal, if not more valuable, to her. He had no doubt that in the course of a few years the protectionist theories which now prevailed in the United States, would, with the mass of the people, lose their force,

and that they would see that they were in reality losing a good deal by that system by which they fancied they could enrich themselves; and as that feeling gained ground, there would spring up a desire to renew trade relations that existed for many years with mutual benefit between Canada and the United States. Under these circumstances he was not willing to place himself in the position of a supplicant. He declared himself against a retaliatory policy as one that would not commend itself to the mind of any statesman."

The views expressed by Mr. Mackenzie commended themselves to both sides of the House, for, in the division that took place, Mr. Dorion's motion was supported by only nineteen members in a tolerably full House.

It must not be supposed that, though Mr. Mackenzie took such an independent stand with respect to reciprocity, he undervalued the trade relations of Canada with the United States. He believed that in maintaining the dignity of the country, its position would be strengthened in dealing with the question whenever the opportunity arose; that to under-rate our own standing as a people, or to appeal to Washington as supplicants, would not only be humiliating from a national standpoint, but would increase the demand which the United States would make for more than a *quid pro quo*. To be self-reliant, without bravado, in the presence of our neighbors, would win their respect, and the respect of the Mother Country, and if Canada was ever to be worthy of recognition as a political factor in the settlement of difficulties on this continent, it could only attain such a position by a manly confidence in its own resources. Statesmanship and subserviency were not, to his mind, convertible terms.

The attitude of Nova Scotia towards Confederation has already been referred to. At the general election in 1867, Dr.

Tupper was the only Unionist elected to the House of Commons from that Province. The opposition to Confederation was directed, mainly, by Mr. Howe, whose influence with the people of his native Province was phenomenal. One is at a loss to understand how a man of Mr. Howe's breadth of view on all public questions failed to see the advantages to the British North American colonies in the union proposed by the Quebec resolutions. Mr. Howe's chief objections to Confederation were that it was premature, and that in the present attitude of Great Britain towards the colonies, we were extending our frontier under a new constitution, without any increase in our facilities for self-defence, but particularly that the measure had been passed by the Imperial Parliament without being submitted to the approval of the people whom it affected. It was quite evident that Mr. Howe's strength in Nova Scotia, as a leader, was a great obstacle to the consolidation of the union, and that to conciliate him and his followers, if such were possible, in a constitutional way, was the duty of both sides of the House. As a matter of fact, the amendments made to the Quebec resolutions in London, after they had been approved by the Provinces, were largely in the interest of Nova Scotia, and their acquiescence in these changes that were made without their authority, shewed how anxious the other Provinces were not to imperil Confederation by any sectional cry. But Mr. Howe was not to be conciliated by sentimental reasons.

During the Session of 1867-8, on the floor of Parliament, and on the platform, he expressed the strongest hostility to Confederation, and even appealed to the Imperial Parliament to allow Nova Scotia to withdraw entirely from the union. It was suspected in some quarters that his personal hostility to Dr. Tupper was largely the basis of his opposition. This,

however, could scarcely be considered a sufficient motive for a man of Mr. Howe's political experience.

In the autumn of 1868, Sir John Macdonald visited Halifax for the purpose of endeavoring to reconcile Mr. Howe to Confederation; and as a result of this visit, Mr. Howe took a seat in the Government as President of the Council, and also came to an understanding with Sir John that Nova Scotia should obtain "better terms" than were allowed her under the British North American Act. There could be no objection to the acceptance by Mr. Howe of a seat in the Government, although his sudden change of front on a question which he deemed of such vital importance to his Province, was strangely abrupt. Even the "better terms," which he obtained, did not remove the main objection which he urged, namely, that Confederation was thrust upon the people of Nova Scotia without their consent. He was, therefore, open to the triple charge of accepting a seat in a Government which he declared had inflicted the great wrong upon Nova Scotia of having abandoned a vital principle in constitutional Government, and of having bartered away provincial rights, for a trifling financial consideration. No doubt the withdrawal of his active opposition weakened the anti-Unionist cause very greatly, while his acceptance of a seat in the Government destroyed forever his influence as a leader. No deserter in the hour of battle ever drew down upon himself the malediction and contempt of his companions more completely than did Mr. Howe, by his acceptance of the conditions offered him by the Dominion Government as the price of his support.

On the 11th of June, on a motion by Mr. Blake, seconded by Mr. Mackenzie, the terms made by the Government with Nova Scotia were challenged in the House on the grounds, first, that the British North America Act settled the mutual

liabilities of Canada and of each Province in respect to the public debt; second, that the British North America Act did not empower the Parliament of Canada to change the basis of union; and third, that any change in such basis of union would imperil the interests of the several Provinces and impair the stability of the Constitution. In the discussion of these resolutions it was shown that injustice was done to the other Provinces by increasing the financial advantages of Nova Scotia under Confederation, while no change was made in the terms of Confederation so far as they were concerned; that the British North America Act was of the nature of a treaty between all the Provinces, and that if the Parliament of Canada could increase the subsidies, as was proposed in the case of Nova Scotia, it could also reduce them, and that if it could deal with the subsidies it might deal with any other feature of the Act and practically destroy Confederation.

Perhaps there was no debate of the session that excited more interest or illustrated better the speaking force of both sides of the House. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Blake, in an argument exceedingly clear and forcible, gave the constitutional view of the question, and was ably supported by Mr. Mackenzie. During a later stage of the discussion, Sir John Macdonald attacked the Liberal party, and particularly Mr. Mackenzie, for their opposition to the arrangement made with Mr. Howe. He charged them with disloyalty to Confederation. "If this motion carried," he said, "there would be a jubilee among the avowed anti-Confederate rebels and annexationists of Nova Scotia, and a corresponding depression among those in that Province who desire the union to be successful. If honourable gentlemen repudiated this arrangement which had been entered into with Nova Scotia they would give a death-blow to Confederation, and on them, not

on him, would rest the responsibility of so suicidal an act." Mr. Mackenzie was greatly incensed by Sir John's imputation, and replied with great vigor. He contended, "If Sir John Macdonald was able to set aside the Act of Union by the subserviency of a Parliament which he had at his command, the Act of Confederation was not worth the paper it was written on. . . . By tampering with the Imperial Act he did away with the only security we had for our rights. What was it that originated the difficulties they had in the old Province of Canada? What but that honourable gentleman's recklessness and extravagance? What raised those sectarian difficulties which compelled them to seek a new state of political existence? Was it not the honourable gentleman's misconduct and maladministration of public affairs? The honourable gentleman had no right to say that those who voted for the amendment before the House voted to break down the Dominion. The real enemies of the Dominion were those who disregarded the obligations of its Constitution, and thus outraged every sound principle of statesmanship and party government."

Notwithstanding Mr. Mackenzie's earnest warning to the House, that to purchase the conciliation of Nova Scotia at the expense of the Constitution was a most dangerous precedent, the "better terms" were finally agreed upon, every member from Nova Scotia voting in favour of them.

The political effect of Mr. Mackenzie's attitude upon the Liberal party in Nova Scotia was certainly unfavorable. He was no doubt aware at the time that every word said in Parliament against "better terms" would be represented by his opponents as expressions of hostility to Nova Scotia, and that in future election contests the Liberal party would suffer accordingly. It would have been easy for him, had he been

so inclined, to suggest even better terms than those proposed, or to promise, should he come into power, to deal with other grievances then unsettled, but, "to do so," to use his own language, "would be treason to Confederation." Besides, he was laying down the policy of a great party under a new order of things, and it was well that the Liberals should, through their leaders in Parliament, recognise the British North America Act as a compact too solemn to be set aside, varied or altered, except by the authority that gave it existence, and then only with the concurrence of all parties originally concerned.

The pending negotiations with the Imperial Government and the Hudson Bay Company were closed in 1869, the Dominion Government agreeing to pay the sum of £300,000 sterling to the Hudson Bay Company, and also agreeing to certain reservations in the interests of the Company. The rights of the Indians and half-breeds in the territories were to be respected. Provision was made for the administration of this vast territory by a Lieutenant-Governor, to be appointed by the Governor-General. All laws in force in the territories, not inconsistent with the British North America Act, or terms of admission, were to remain in force until amended or repealed. Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis was appointed to organise a system of public surveys of the new territory, and the Hon. William MacDougall, who was concerned in negotiating the acquisition of the territory, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor.

The changes made in the Government are worthy of note. Sir Francis Hincks succeeded Sir John Rose, as Minister of Finance, Mr. Dunkin was appointed Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Alexander Morris, Minister of Inland Revenue, and Mr. J. C. Aikins, Secretary of State for Canada; Mr. Howe was appointed Secretary of State for the Provinces.

The session of 1869 emphasized, even more than the preceding session did, Mr. Mackenzie's usefulness as a member of Parliament. Even his opponents were obliged to recognise his ability and fairness. The correspondent of the *Montreal Gazette* closed certain observations on the work of the session by referring to Mr. Mackenzie as follows: "We must regard the leader of the Opposition as a remarkable man—remarkable for his self-acquirements, his extensive reading, his large stock of information on all public matters, his power of reason, and his readiness of speech and strength in debate. As a leader of the Opposition, he has shewn himself, especially during the recent session, eminently fitted for the position."





CHAPTER XX.

REBELLION IN THE NORTH-WEST.

Customs Union—Commercial Treaties—Speech by Mr. Mackenzie—Rebellion in Manitoba—Alarm of the Settlers—MacDougall Refused Admission—Riel, President—Murder of Scott—Debates in Parliament—Expedition under Wolseley—Mr. Archibald Appointed Lieutenant-Governor—Reward Offered by Ontario Government—Trial of Lepine—Discussion in the House of Commons—Amnesty Granted—Lord Dufferin's Action.

THE first great debate of the session of 1870 took place on a motion by Mr. Huntington in favor of Reciprocity and a Customs Union with all countries trading with the Dominion, and demanding the right of making commercial treaties, subject to the approval of the Imperial Government, with all foreign States that might be disposed to negotiate such commercial treaties upon terms advantageous to Canada. Mr. Huntington, in a speech of much eloquence, called upon Parliament to recognize the commercial standing of Canada, its great natural resources, and the necessity of providing an easy outlet for its manufactures. To be allowed to negotiate her own treaties would be a due recognition of her national standing, and so long as such treaties were subject to the approval of the Imperial Government there could be no danger of conflict with Imperial interests. With larger markets for our produce, the enterprise of the people would have more scope. Foreign capital would be attracted, and employment would be given to our people at home.

The Government objected to Mr. Huntington's resolution on the ground, set forth in the amendment moved by Sir John Macdonald: "that in any attempt to enter into a treaty with any foreign power without the strong and direct support of the Mother Country, the principal party must fail, and that a Customs Union with the United States, now so heavily taxed, would be unfair to the Empire and injurious to the Dominion, and would shatter the ties now so happily existing between them."

In the debate which followed, Mr. Mackenzie took a leading part, expressing at the very outset his opposition to a Customs Union as proposed by Mr. Huntington. He then, as always, avowed himself in favor of the freest possible intercourse with all nations whose markets we seek, and claimed for Canada the right of making her own commercial treaties, as she understood her own wants better than any foreign diplomatist. He pointed to the blunders of Lord Ashburton in 1846, by which we lost almost the whole of Minnesota, Michigan and the States lying to the west, and asserted that we owe many of our present disorders to the fact that we were not entrusted with any share in conducting the negotiations so essential to our own welfare. "I have heard it said that the United States and Great Britain would guarantee our independence, and then we would be quite safe. Sir, I do not want any guarantee of our independence. I want no guarantee of any kind. We are now a part of the British Empire, and if we are to cut loose from it, I would scorn the position of a principality having its independence guaranteed by any country. Remember, however, I am not advocating the separation of Canada from the Mother Country. Canada was a British possession when I chose it for my future home, and I shall regret the occurrence of anything that would tend

in the slightest degree to weaken the ties that I trust will be perpetuated between the Mother Country and her British American Colonies."

The ministerialists, with their natural leanings towards prerogative, declined to entertain the idea that Canada should be a party even to treaties, no matter how greatly she may be affected by the conclusions arrived at. The great injuries suffered by British diplomacy in the past, as pointed out by Mr. Mackenzie, were apparently of no consequence in their eyes. Although the future of half a continent might be affected by the blunders of a plenipotentiary ignorant of the geographical or commercial trend of the country why complain? We were not a nation, but a colony. To affect the natural instinct of a nation, that is, to look out for ourselves, would be derogatory of Her Majesty's Government, and colonists must be careful never to give offence on this score.

Even Mr. Howe, who was ready to defy the Imperial Act by which Nova Scotia was united to the other Provinces, could not entertain the idea that Canada should, on her own motion, make a treaty with any foreign country for the reciprocal interchange of commodities. It remained for Mr. Mackenzie and his Liberal allies, in the earliest days of the history of the Dominion, to express the aspirations of Canadians for national autonomy, and to proclaim on the floor of the House of Commons their unbounded confidence in the future of the country, commercially and politically.

In the previous chapter, reference was made to the Bill for the establishment of territorial government in the North-West Territories. The Hon. Wm. MacDougall was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor. When it became known to the settlers at Fort Garry and other points in the Territories that the Dominion Government was to assume the control of

their affairs, they became greatly alarmed—perhaps without sufficient reason; although, had the Government exercised proper forethought, it is quite clear the alarm of the inhabitants would not have assumed the aggressive form which it did. They felt that to send up a ready-made Government to take charge of their affairs was a poor compliment to their intelligence. Many of them, half-breeds as they were, were well educated and had accumulated considerable property during their residence in the country. They had been contented and prosperous under Hudson's Bay rule, and they felt that their transfer to another power, without consultation, was treating them somewhat cavalierly. Besides, rumors, no doubt false, with regard to Mr. MacDougall's treatment of the Indians, while Commissioner of Public Lands, were promulgated for the purpose of arousing the hostility of the half-breeds. And so, personal opposition to their future ruler was added to their aversion to the methods by which it was proposed to govern them.

Colonel Dennis, who had been sent up in advance of Mr. MacDougall to survey the country, was also regarded with suspicion. The settlers could not understand what the surveying of their lands by a band of officers meant, if they had no sinister object in view, as they believed that their farms were already sufficiently well defined for their own purposes. To add to their alarms, Mr. Howe's visit, as Secretary of State, was inopportune. Instead of pouring oil upon the troubled waters, and reassuring the discontented that due consideration would be given to all their complaints, he connived at their threatened opposition to Mr. MacDougall, should he presume to enter the country, as Lieutenant-Governor, and in this way perhaps inadvertently, strengthened their determination to offer resistance to his authority.

Under these circumstances, a provisional council of the settlers was organized, of which Mr. John Bruce was president, and Louis Riel secretary.

In the meantime, Mr. MacDougall and several gentlemen, some of whom were to constitute his new council, reached Pembina on their way to Fort Garry to assume the government of the country. They were unexpectedly met by some French half-breeds, who, in the name of a national committee, warned them not to enter the country. Mr. MacDougall did not consider it prudent to advance in the face of such warning. After trying, in vain, for about a month to communicate with the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and finding the opposition to his entering the country increasing, he retired across the boundary line into the United States.

The Government, so soon as it became aware of the disturbance, declined to pay over to the Hudson's Bay Company the sum of £300,000 agreed upon, on the ground that they stipulated for the peaceable possession of the territory. The transfer was fixed for the first of December, and on that date, according to Mr. MacDougall's commission, he was to be Lieutenant-Governor of the territory. He issued a proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse and return to their homes, and threatened the usual penalties in case of disobedience. He also made an attempt, by the assistance of Colonel Dennis, to raise a force and put down the rebellion. His proclamation was treated with contempt, and Colonel Dennis was unable to raise the force required. Mr. MacDougall had no choice, therefore, but to return to Ontario, which he did.

The country was now in the hands of the insurgents, with Louis Riel as dictator. The authority of the Dominion Government was defied, and the Hudson's Bay Company seemed helpless to maintain order. Peaceful citizens were imprisoned

at the caprice of the leader of the rebel party, and the country was greatly agitated as to what the end would be.

In order to repair, if possible, the evil effects of their blundering, the Government sent a commission to the North-West, consisting of Vicar-General Thibault, Col. de Sallaberry and Mr. Donald A. Smith, chief agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Montreal, "to enquire into the causes of the rebellion and to explain to the people the intentions of the Canadian Government." Bishop Taché, formerly a resident of the country, but then at Rome, was telegraphed for. It was thought that his ecclesiastical position and his influence with the French half-breeds would be helpful in restoring tranquillity. Riel, who seemed to have cast off all restraint, discharged the duties of the presidency with the tyranny of an eastern Pasha. Major Bolton, a Canadian officer of militia, whom he had captured at the head of a little force of loyalists, was put under sentence of death, and were it not for the interposition of Mr. Smith, the sentence would have been carried out. Mr. Thos. Scott was not so fortunate. He had, in some way or other, incurred Riel's displeasure, and in spite of remonstrances from several influential quarters, Scott was cruelly executed on the 4th of March, the circumstances attending his execution being most distressing.

At a meeting of a council of the settlers, Judge Black, Father Richot, and Mr. A. Scott, were appointed delegates to go to Ottawa to lay their grievances before the Government. The commissioners had made in the meantime a report as instructed, and the Government was officially informed as to all the difficulties of the situation.

Enquiries were made of the Government at different times with regard to their intentions in dealing with the North-West troubles. The prevailing feeling of the House appeared to be

that the rebellion must be suppressed at once, and communications were opened with the Imperial Government to find out how far they were willing to assist in establishing the supremacy of British law in the Territories. Mr. MacDougall, who still held his seat in Parliament, was greatly embittered by the unjust treatment, as he supposed, to which he was subjected by the Government, and he lost no opportunity to attack Mr. Howe for the sinister influence which he believed he exerted in fomenting opposition to his entrance into the Territories. When the Manitoba Bill was under discussion, he went so far as to charge Mr. Howe with being a traitor to the British Crown, and of doing all he could to destroy the character and authority of the Canadian Government in the Red River settlement.

On the 2nd May, 1870, Sir John Macdonald introduced a bill for the establishment of a Provincial Government in part of the territory, the new Province to be called Manitoba, and in the discussion of this bill an opportunity was afforded for ventilating fully the complaints of the Opposition with the Government policy in the North-West Territories. It was pointed out, in the first place, that had the Government been liberal enough to trust the settlers the year previous and given them Responsible Government, as they were now doing, there would have been no rebellion and no sacrifice of life, that all the expenses of commissioners and delegates would have been avoided, and that the distracting effects which the North-West troubles produced upon the further settlement of the territory would not have occurred. Attention was also called to the limited character of the Province about to be established. In area it did not exceed 11,000 square miles, and it was so outlined as at first to exclude the large English settlements at Portage la Prairie, only 60 miles from Winni-

peg. This was, however, amended at a subsequent stage of the bill.

The bill, though a great improvement on the oligarchy for which it was intended as a substitute, was not as liberal in its provisions as the circumstances of the case required. Mr. Mackenzie expressed his preference for temporary legislation respecting the territories, giving the people representation and the right to manage all local affairs until after the lapse of a few years the House became better informed with regard to their wants. But his amendment was rejected. He also proposed an amendment for the enlargement of the Province. This also was rejected, as was his amendment in favor of giving the settler the right to præempt a certain quantity of land free of charge. It was also proposed to eliminate from the bill the clause respecting education, which has given rise within the last few years to so much trouble.

Before the bill passed its final stage, a motion by Mr. Masson, affirming the inexpediency of sending Canadian and Imperial troops to the North-West for suppressing the rebellion, came up for discussion. Doubts were expressed by several members of the House as to the wisdom of sending an armed force into the country, as it might lead to the loss of many valuable lives, and the people, so overawed, would look with less favor hereafter upon the relations with the Dominion. Mr. Mackenzie strongly protested against any further dilly-dallying with rebels, and insisted that the Government should at once take decisive action. "He would like to see if there was a majority in the House who would refuse to give protection to the loyal inhabitants of that country in face of the public opinion of the Dominion. He would like to see if there were a dozen members in the House with such a want of manliness and honesty as to allow rebels to drive

loyal men from the Territory, seize their property, endanger their safety, and even take life where there was no excuse for it. The first thing to be done by any nation or country pretending to have any power or love of law and order was to enforce its authority and then, if any injustice or grievance should be found to exist, have the one removed and the other redressed. But there had been not only a violation of law and order, but murders had been committed, and the murderers must be brought to justice if the arm of British law could reach them. If we could not punish these men and restore authority, then it would be better to seek other political relations where there would be sufficient power to protect life and property and preserve order. He had but one view of the matter, either restore order there peremptorily, or cease to be a nation. If the force proposed to be sent was not sufficient, send more. They should send five, ten, twenty thousand men if necessary, but order should be restored. He would, in that case, support the Government with all his power and force, though he felt humiliated at the position they had taken in passing the bill."

On the day on which this speech was delivered, payment was made to the Hudson's Bay Company of the sum stipulated for the transfer of their interests, and the territories then formally passed to the possession of Canada. Whatever halting there may have been in the minds of the Government with regard to the propriety of putting down the rebellion with a strong hand, there can be no doubt that the public opinion of Ontario was in favor of decisive measures. The motion made in the House by Mr. Masson, already referred to, and the attitude of the French-Canadian press, created the impression that Riel, even in those early days, had more sympathisers than his cause deserved, admitting that the

discontent which his actions represented was not without foundation. It is due, however, to the French members of the House of Commons to state that the proposition to strike out of the Bill of Supply the sum of \$1,460,000 for the Red River expedition, and for opening up the North-West Territories, received only thirteen votes.

The House was prorogued on the 12th of May. On the following day, the expedition, which was under preparation for some time, started by way of Collingwood and Thunder Bay for the Red River, under the command of Colonel Wolseley, afterwards Lord Wolseley. The course lay along the well-known Dawson route, and it was not until the 24th of August, after a very fatiguing journey, that they reached Fort Garry. Riel and his companions took refuge in flight, and a rebellion which might have been avoided, as Mr. Mackenzie pointed out over and over again, had the Government paid reasonable deference to the wishes of the people, was at an end.

On the 2nd of September, 1870, Mr. Adams G. Archibald, the new Lieutenant-Governor, arrived in the Province and on the 6th entered upon his official duties, and by so doing Manitoba was entitled to be recognized as a member of the Sisterhood of Canadian Provinces.

The year following Mr. Archibald's appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Manitoba, it was rumored that a considerable body of Fenians were gathering along the southern frontier and preparing to invade the country. The leader of this movement was one O'Donoghue, who had been associated with Riel in the rebellion of 1869. It was feared that O'Donoghue was acting in concert with Riel and Lepine and in that case the loyalty of the French half-breeds could hardly be depended upon. Mr. Archibald had no adequate

means of defence, and was consequently thrown entirely upon his own resources. The people of the Province were of different nationalities and different religious faith, and as only a few months before they had arrayed themselves against the Queen's Government, it was very uncertain what they would do, should the standard of rebellion be hoisted a second time. Under those circumstances, it was but natural to suppose that the Lieut.-Governor should consider the defence of the Province and the safety of the population to be his first duty. If the French Métis and their leaders could be depended upon, all would be well; if not, the events of 1869 might be repeated, and probably with greater enormity. Governor Archibald therefore determined to place himself at once in communication with Riel and Lepine, and, if possible, secure their good offices for the defence of the country. Riel and Lepine immediately organized the inhabitants for defensive purposes. The Lieut.-Governor showed his confidence in their *bona fides*, promising them at least a temporary immunity from molestation on account of the crime of which they were accused, shook hands with them and complimented them on the loyalty they had shown, and the services they had rendered. In his evidence before a committee of the House of Commons he stated, to use his own language, that "if the Dominion has at this moment a Province to defend and not one to conquer, they owe it to the policy of forbearance. If I had driven the French half-breeds into the hands of the enemy, O'Donoghue would have been joined by all the population between the Assiniboine and the frontier, Fort Garry would have passed into the hands of an armed mob, and the English settlers to the north of the Assiniboine would have suffered horrors it makes me shudder to contemplate."

We next hear of Riel and Lepine on the 11th of April,

1871, on a motion in the House of Commons by Mr. Rymal, expressing regret "that the Government had done nothing towards procuring punishment for the murderers of Thomas Scott, and that an humble address be presented to His Excellency that he would take such steps as would be calculated to bring these men to justice." The indifference which the Government manifested in this matter was made the occasion for a very indignant speech from one of its supporters, Mr. Bowell, who pointed out that many of those engaged in the rebellion, who were directly or indirectly concerned in the murder of Scott, had received recognition at the hands of the Government or their friends. Mr. Lepine, Riel's Adjutant-General, was appointed scrutineer on behalf of a Ministerial candidate. Mr. Bannatyne, who sympathized with the rebels and tampered with the letters of the loyalists, was also marked out for favor. Mr. O'Donnell, one of Riel's council, was appointed to the Legislative Council of the Province, and Mr. Spence was made clerk of the same. To allow Riel, and particularly Lepine, to run at large without any effort to arrest them, or, if they took refuge in the United States, to make no effort to secure their extradition, was declared to be a reproach to the administration of justice for which there was no excuse. Mr. Rymal's motion was, however, voted down, and for a short time the rebellion in the North-west passed from the purview of the Dominion Parliament.

The establishment of a Provincial Government in Manitoba, which under the constitution had the right to administer justice, was used as a means of creating greater uncertainty than ever with regard to the prosecution of the murderers of Scott. When the offence was committed on the 4th of March, 1870, the Red River settlement was under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. From that time till Lord Wolseley

arrived, on the 24th of August, the provisional government, of which Riel was president, had possession of the country. When Governor Archibald arrived on the 2nd of September, the provincial constitution took effect and with it rested the enforcement of law and order. When complaint was made against the Dominion Government for its inaction, the plea was advanced that the Dominion Government had no jurisdiction, at least after the establishment of the Provincial Government, and therefore could not be held responsible for the prosecution of Riel and his associates.

This defence did not, however, satisfy the people of Ontario. The inaction of the Dominion Government was attributed to Quebec influence in the Cabinet. For, as it was put by Lord Dufferin in one of his official despatches: "The French section of Her Majesty's subjects (although in Canada, most of them regret the death of Scott) are united to a man in the opinion that the part played by Riel in the North-West was that of a brave and spirited patriot; that it is principally to him and to those who acted with him that Manitoba owes her present privileges of self-government and her parity of rank and standing with our sister Provinces." It was well known, as we have already pointed out, that the Métis of Manitoba were considered to have rights which were not duly respected, and that Riel, in stirring up rebellion, was merely asserting his political standing as a citizen of the Territories.

On the other hand, in Ontario, Riel was looked upon as a rebel against constituted authority, who, in the assertion of his power, had cruelly and wantonly shed innocent blood, and that any Government that condoned or palliated such an offence was unworthy of public confidence. So strong was the feeling in Ontario, that the proposal to offer a reward of

\$5,000 for the arrest of the murderers of Scott, received the unanimous support of both sides of the House.

In the meantime, the general election of 1872 took place, and during the session of 1873 the North-West troubles were allowed to slumber. Owing to the death of Sir Geo. Cartier, who was elected in 1872 for Provencher, on his defeat in Montreal, that constituency became vacant and Riel was elected by acclamation. Although a warrant was out for his arrest, he went to Ottawa and signed the roll as a member of Parliament. His election took place on the 11th of February,

On the 30th of March, 1874, H. J. Clark, Attorney-General of Manitoba, was examined at the bar of the House with regard to the action taken by Manitoba for the prosecution of Riel and Lepine. He explained that the reason, so far as he knew, for the delay in arresting Riel was that no information had been laid before a magistrate for his arrest at an earlier date, that it was not until September, 1873, that such information was laid, that in November of the same year a bench-warrant was issued from the Court of Queen's Bench to the Sheriff of Manitoba, commanding him to bring Riel before the said court to answer upon an indictment found against him for the murder of Thos. Scott, and that so far the Sheriff had made no return to the bench-warrant. A warrant was also issued by the police magistrate of Ottawa for the apprehension of Riel, when it became known that he had signed the members' roll, but to no avail. On the 31st of March, Mr. Bowell moved that Mr. Riel be ordered to attend in his place in the House on the following day, and as he did not appear he was, on the 16th of April, by a vote of 124 to 68, expelled from the House, and a new writ issued for the constituency which he represented. A special committee was, at the same session, appointed to enquire into the causes of

the difficulties in the North-West in 1869-70, and to report from time to time. The report of the committee was not submitted till the 22nd of May, and as the House was prorogued on the 25th, it was impossible to take any action with regard to it that session.

The battle royal, in which the whole of the North-West troubles were reviewed from beginning to end, opened in the House of Commons on the 11th of February, 1875, on a motion by Mr. Mackenzie to grant a full amnesty to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles, excepting Riel, Lepine and O'Donoghue. In the case of Riel and Lepine, it was proposed to grant an amnesty, conditional upon five years' banishment from the Queen's dominions. As O'Donoghue had placed himself at the head of a Fenian invasion, it was not considered that he should come under the same conditions as Riel and Lepine.

The question with which Mr. Mackenzie had to deal now was beset with many difficulties, and was one of the many legacies of maladministration which had come down to him from the previous Government. It was further complicated by the fact that Lepine, who was equally involved with Riel, had been arrested and convicted as a principal in the murder of Scott, and was lying in the Winnipeg gaol under sentence of death. Public opinion, too, had been greatly excited, and both creed and nationality were appealed to with considerable success. On behalf of Riel, it was claimed that he had been promised an amnesty without reservation, if he would withdraw his opposition to Her Majesty's Government, and recognize the authority of the Dominion in the North-West. *Per contra*, it was urged that he was a murderer and a fugitive from justice, and that he should pay with his life the penalty of his crimes.

From the evidence submitted to the special committee, already referred to, the promise of an absolute amnesty was not, however, conclusive, although the evidence bore strongly in that direction. It was shewn that Riel had rendered substantial service in resisting the Fenian invasion under O'Donoghue, and that this circumstance should be taken into consideration in dealing with his case. It was on these grounds that Mr. Mackenzie took the middle course of recommending to the House the resolution already referred to. In the course of the debate, several interesting circumstances were alluded to. First, it was shewn that Sir John Macdonald acknowledged the insurrectionary party in Manitoba by the recognition of their delegates, Father Richot, Mr. Black and Mr. Scott—a letter from Joseph Howe, Provincial Secretary, fixing the time and place at which they could meet Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier in confidence, being proof of this. It was also shewn on the evidence of Archbishop Taché, that the authority of Riel, as Provisional President of the settlement, was recognized by Sir George Cartier, during the interval between the formation of the Provisional Government and the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor. Both of these circumstances occurred after the murder of Scott.

The main question, however, before the House was, did the evidence submitted warrant the conclusion that an amnesty had been promised by the previous Government, and if so, was it binding on the present House. In a very able state paper addressed to the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Dufferin discusses, very fully, this question. First, he states, that in his opinion, no claim for amnesty would lie on the plea that Archbishop Taché was empowered by the Imperial and the Dominion Governments to secure the tranquillity of the country by the issues of such assurances of immunity to

those concerned in the recent disturbances as he should deem fit. Neither the written instructions he received from Lord Lisgar nor Sir John Macdonald gave him such authority.

Second, in the interviews between Sir George Cartier and the delegates from the North-West, particularly Abbé Richot, the weight of testimony appears to be that when Sir George Cartier spoke of an amnesty, he intended that term to apply to political offenders, not to those concerned in the murder of Scott. To quote Lord Dufferin's words: "The tenor of his language implied that if only matters were peaceably settled in Red River and the population quietly submitted to the new order of things, a settlement would ultimately be arrived at, satisfactory to all parties." Third, to grant an amnesty on the ground that the Provisional Government established by Riel was a lawfully constituted government, was out of the question. The execution of Scott could only be a judicial execution, when ordered by a legitimately constituted authority.

The fourth plea for an amnesty, namely, that Governor Archibald availed himself of the services of Riel and Lepine in repelling the Fenian invasion of 1871, his Lordship considered worthy of careful consideration. His Lordship remarks: "The acceptance of such service might be held, I imagine, to bar the prosecution of the offender, for, undesirable as it may be that a great criminal should go unpunished, it would be still more pernicious that the Government of the country should show a want of fidelity to its engagements, or exhibit a narrow spirit in its interpretation of them."

In replying to Lord Dufferin's despatch, from which we have already quoted, Earl Carnarvon recognizes the claim on the clemency of the Crown which Riel and Lepine established for themselves because of their services in 1871. He said:

“Although a murder, such as that of Scott, cannot be allowed to go unpunished on the ground that it was connected with political disturbances, yet in so far as it did result from political circumstances, those who were guilty of it may be deemed to have earned a merciful consideration through their subsequent good service to the State, and that for these services their lives should be spared. While this is no doubt the judicial construction of evidence reported by the special committee, it is quite evident that it was not the sense in which the Government was understood either by Archbishop Taché or by the delegates from the Provisional Government. That the impression was left upon their minds, that a full and unconditional amnesty would be granted if they recognized the authority of the Dominion Government, there cannot be the slightest doubt on reading the evidence.”

The third point of note is the duplicity practised by the Government on the people of Canada with regard to the arrest of Riel. We have already pointed out that until a local Government was organized in Manitoba, there may have been some difficulties in the way of arresting Riel and Lepine. After that, however, there should have been no difficulty whatever. Instead of exercising his influence with the Manitoba Government for enforcing, through the Attorney-General, the Criminal Law of the Province, Sir John Macdonald entered into negotiations with Archbishop Taché for the retirement of Riel from the Province of Manitoba, for the space of one year, and for his maintenance during expatriation out of the public funds of Canada; and later on, Sir George Cartier arranged, in the same way, for the retirement of Lepine and the payment to him and his family of their maintenance abroad. To meet this expenditure, the sum of \$1,000 was taken out of the secret service fund, and the sum of £600 was advanced by the

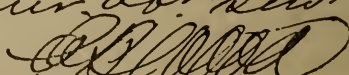
Hudson's Bay Company. Notwithstanding that these arrangements were made by Sir John Macdonald himself, and, perhaps in some respect, Riel's absence from the country was an advantage. Sir John contended, at a meeting in Peterboro', in the general election of '72, that Riel retired because of the reward offered by the Ontario Government, under Blake's premiership, for his arrest. "Anxious," Sir John said, "to vindicate the sacred cause of justice, Mr. Blake issued a proclamation offering a reward for the capture of Riel, and now this murderer is no longer in the country. He no longer pollutes the soil of Canada by his presence. He is now living in peace, prosperity and comfort across the border, and, like men of his stamp, ready to stir up another row should opportunity offer. He knows he is safe, thanks to Mr. Blake." In light of the fact that Riel was living in the United States on money paid out of the secret service fund on Sir John Macdonald's own authority and at his request, this was certainly an extraordinary speech to make.

There remains but one other point to be considered—and that a somewhat technical one—in this perplexing case; that is, fourth: How should the clemency of the Crown be exercised? The Government was taking its full share of responsibility by the course which, through Mr. Mackenzie's resolution, Parliament was advised to take. Usually, the Governor-General can act only according to the directions of his constitutional advisers. In the instructions from the Colonial Office up to this time, however, the right to exercise the clemency of the Crown in the case of capital offences was one solely vested in the Governor-General. For the manner in which that right was exercised, his ministers were not responsible, as the Governor-General, under his commission from the Crown, was vested with independent authority. In the state

despatch, already referred to, Lord Dufferin informed the Colonial Office he intended to act on his own authority.

In communicating this view to the Minister of Justice, Lord Dufferin said that "the case had passed beyond the province of departmental administration, and in his opinion could be best dealt with under the Royal instructions which authorized the Governor-General, in certain capital cases, to dispense with the advice of his ministers, and to exercise the prerogative of the Crown according to his independent judgment and on his own personal responsibility." He accordingly commuted the sentence of death pronounced upon Lepine to two years' imprisonment and the permanent forfeiture of his political rights. An amendment by Mr. Mousseau, proposing an unconditional amnesty to all concerned in the North-West troubles, received only 23 votes. Mr. Mackenzie's motion was finally carried on a vote of 126 to 50.

It has already been mentioned that on the 16th of April, 1874, Riel was formally expelled from the House. On a new election being called, he was re-elected in September of the same year. On the 24th of February, 1875, Mr. Mackenzie caused to be read before the House the exemplification of the judgment roll of outlawry pronounced in open court at Winnipeg, by E. B. Wood, and then moved that Riel be declared an outlaw, the

*I call the subject to your attention
for you take such active interest
in the justice and expediency
and your ast. secy*


effect of which would be, of course, to vacate his seat. On the adoption of this motion, the Speaker was directed to issue his

warrant for a new election in Provencher. In the session of 1876, Mr. Costigan moved that O'Donoghue be included in the amnesty granted to Riel and Lepine. Mr. Costigan renewed his motion in the session of 1877, but to no purpose.

The later events in Riel's career are dealt with in their proper place. Suffice it here to say that after fomenting a rebellion in 1885, and putting the country to an expense of nearly \$10,000,000, and causing the loss of several valuable lives, he was arrested, tried and executed at Regina on the 16th of November, 1885. His execution was the occasion of a long debate in the House, and of many vapid appeals to race and religious prejudices, Mr. Mackenzie voting that, in his opinion, the execution of this restless and adventurous spirit was justifiable.

Now that he has passed from the scene, and that his conduct and career have furnished so much political capital for party purposes in the Parliaments of two Provinces, as well as in the House of Commons, we might reasonably enquire what were the impelling motives in the agitation of which he was the central figure. So far as he was concerned himself, he was in the first instance but the embodiment of the feeling of the settlers of Red River which he represented, and although armed opposition to constitutional authority is not recognized in modern times as the proper way to remedy political grievances, yet the history of the world shews that it is by no means exceptional. More than once, even on this continent, leaders of public opinion have become restless with the "law's delay," and have adopted decisive remedies. More than one gordian knot has been cut with a sword.

When Riel organized against Mr. MacDougall's entrance into the Province, he had probably no intention of shedding blood; but like the other settlers he felt that if a new government

took possession of the country and became installed in power, their grievances might be treated with contempt. He and his followers were in possession, and before that possession was surrendered was the time to press their claims. Unfortunately for himself and for the peace of Canada, as in the case of many others, he abused the power which the settlers gave him, and forfeited the sympathy of all well-thinking men.

The outrages which he committed took place under a Conservative Government. To proceed boldly and fearlessly to punish him would be to condemn themselves. The sympathy existing between the French in Lower Canada and the French in Manitoba—for both were of the same stock—restrained Sir John Macdonald no doubt from acting with the promptitude which the case required, and particularly in dealing with the chief offenders as their crimes warranted. This hesitancy was at once seized upon by many in Ontario, and by none more sternly at first than by the Orange party, as a ground for attack upon the Government. To some, Riel's offence was simply the murder of a Protestant Orangeman by a Roman Catholic. To others, the tardiness of justice was attributed to Sir John Macdonald's desire to conciliate the French, and the gauge of battle once formed on this line, a quasi war of race and creed was the inevitable result. Even in a very recent campaign in the Province of Quebec, the gallows on which Riel was hung was as much a party cry as the "bloody shirt" in American politics fifteen years ago.

But while this circumscribed view of the question was the prevailing one for a time, when the committee appointed by the House of Commons in 1874 presented their report to the House a larger view of the question was presented. By redressing many of the grievances complained of, the Government admitted they were in the wrong. By using Riel's

services in repelling a Fenian invasion, they admitted, murderer though he was, his power in the State. By directing, in terms too diplomatic perhaps to be conclusive in a court of law, the men they employed to pacify the settlers, to promise an amnesty to all offenders, they admitted the necessity for conciliation. By securing Riel's retirement in '72 from his candidacy in Provencher in favor of Sir George Cartier, they admitted his political services to the Conservative party, and by providing and paying for his retirement from the country, they admitted the right of the authorities to arrest him so long as he remained in Manitoba.

All these circumstances gave a factitious prominence to Riel, which, ordinarily, he could not have obtained. It was not his fault, so much as the fault of the Government, that Canada was so long politically vexed by his conduct and his presence. With the report of the committee before him, Mr. Mackenzie had but one course open to him, and that was to take the line best calculated to heal the national and political sores caused by his predecessors, and with strange ingratitude, it appears this course was not supported by the Conservative party.

To pacify the whole Dominion, was the task to which Mr. Mackenzie addressed himself, and that he did it courageously and successfully, no one will deny. Following the precedent of the rebellion of 1837, in Upper and Lower Canada, and acting with that regard for the intentions, however vaguely expressed, of the previous Government towards the rebels in the North-West, he asked Parliament to interpose between those who were so ill-advised as to precipitate a rebellion, and who, in their recklessness, sacrificed human life.



CHAPTER XXI.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Fishery Claims—Sir John Macdonald at Washington—The Washington Treaty—Concessions to the United States—The Fenian and Alabama Claims—The Manitoba Bill—British Columbia Enters Confederation.

THE first question of any importance that engaged the attention of the House in the session of 1871 was the settlement of the fisheries disputes between Canada and the United States. By the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, the privileges of the Americans to fish in Canadian waters ceased, and the treaty of 1818 was revived. In order to avoid irritation with the fishermen of the United States, and pending some settlement of other questions in dispute, it was agreed between Canada and the Imperial authorities that Americans, on payment of a license fee of one dollar, should be allowed to fish in Canadian waters. For a few years the license fee was paid, but was gradually discontinued, and the Canadian fisheries came to be used as freely by Americans as by the people of Canada.

While the fishery question was under the consideration of the Imperial authorities, attempts were also being made to settle with the Government at Washington for the depredations committed by the Alabama during the war which had closed a few years before; and acting on the suggestion of the British Ambassador at Washington, the Imperial

Government appointed a commission consisting of Earl de Grey, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir Stafford Northcote, Professor Bernard and Sir John Macdonald, to whom were referred the Alabama claims and the fisheries disputes. The whole question was brought before the House on the 24th of February, 1871, on a motion of Mr. Galt affirming the importance of the Canadian fisheries *per se*, and particularly their importance as a leverage in obtaining a modification of the United States commercial system in any negotiations that might be entered into for better trade relations between the two countries. In the discussion which followed, Mr. Mackenzie urged upon the Government very strongly the propriety of securing compensation for the losses caused by the Fenian raids, inasmuch as such losses were on a par with the alleged injury done to the United States by the Alabama. He also endeavored to protect the country against any compromise that would prejudice the rights of Canada. British diplomats, as he pointed out in a former debate, were too apt to sacrifice, either from ignorance or indifference, Canadian interests to Imperial policy. No doubt it was an advantage to the whole empire to avoid war with the United States, and reasonable concessions were legitimate to avert such a calamity. At the same time, the value of her fisheries to Canada could not be over-estimated. They were the nurseries of her seamen; they formed a large part of her natural wealth; and gave employment to thousands of her people. To surrender the advantages they afforded without a full equivalent must not be thought of.

Sir John Macdonald left for Washington on the 27th of February as a member of the joint high commission, and on the 8th of May the agreement known as the Washington Treaty was signed by the representatives of Great Britain and

the United States. Although Sir John Macdonald was no doubt appointed because of his position as Premier of Canada, and of his distinction as a leading statesman, he was in reality an Imperial Commissioner; and although he may have been intended as the interpreter of Canadian opinion, he was liable to be overborne by his colleagues representing Great Britain. At all events, the Washington Treaty as finally agreed upon was a surrender of many Canadian interests for which Sir John Macdonald was responsible—as the debate in the House clearly showed.

The first point on which the Government was challenged in connection with the treaty was the abandonment of the Canadian claims in regard to the Fenian raids, and an Imperial guarantee of an uncertain loan to Canada accepted in lieu thereof. In the discussion which took place on this phase of the question, the words used by Mr. Blake as being exceedingly apt may be quoted. He said: "Shall we allow American citizens to drill, organise, parade, and call for subscriptions and to arrange for the invasion of a friendly power? These were questions which in their magnitude entirely overbore the simple question of money-loss in the past; and to say that it was not to be settled at the same time and under the same circumstances in which the United States were presenting their claims with reference to the Alabama was certainly most extraordinary."

The defence of the Government to Mr. Blake's argument was exceedingly weak. Even at the time the treaty was under discussion the Fenian organisation had not been disbanded. To admit practically that the United States Government was not responsible for their depredations was, in effect, to encourage their continuation, and was very different from the provisions of the treaty with

reference to the Alabama claims. Who was responsible for the surrender of Canadian rights? was the question asked. If Sir John Macdonald was in any sense the guardian of Canadian interests, then why did he not carry out the wishes of the Canadian people? If it was Imperial policy that Canada should be sacrificed, where was the evidence that he had protested against such a sacrifice? To these questions the answers were very unsatisfactory.

Objection was also taken to the inequality of advantage in conceding to the Americans the free navigation of the St. Lawrence in perpetuity for the navigation of Lake Michigan for a period of ten years. It was also pointed out that the mode of providing compensation to Canada for the use of her fisheries by the Americans was uncertain; and that, judging from the past, it might result in very little advantage to Canada. Then, questions that would naturally arise in the future were left unsettled. No definition was given of what was intended by the Treaty of 1818, with regard to headlands, and no effort appeared to have been made to obtain any equivalent in matters of trade for the concessions contained in the Treaty. The settlement of the San Juan boundary, so long in dispute, was left to the arbitrament of the Emperor of Germany, who, unfortunately, as was expected, decided against Canada.

The debate was carried on from the 8th till the 16th of May, and was closed by an able speech from Mr. Mackenzie, in which he reviewed the arguments of the preceding speakers, and in summing up the whole question, appealed to the House to vindicate the honor of the country and to insist upon a due recognition of Canadian rights. But, in spite of all the efforts of the Opposition, the Treaty was agreed to on a vote of 121 to 55.

An important discussion took place with regard to the

power which the British North America Act conferred upon the House of Commons in the establishment of new provinces in the North-West Territories. When the Manitoba bill was before the House, the previous session, Mr. Mills expressed the view that a new provincial government could only be organised by Imperial Act, and therefore the bill establishing the Province of Manitoba was *ultra vires* of the Parliament of Canada. The question was considered by the Government during recess, and the conclusion reached that Mr. Mills was sound in his contention. Accordingly, in the session of 1871, the House was asked to approve of a draft bill for Manitoba, preliminary to its submission to the Imperial Parliament, and further to amend the British North America Act so as to empower the Canadian Parliament to make such provisions for the organisation of other provinces thereafter, as they might deem expedient.

Confederation is growing apace. In 1870, Manitoba was carved out of the great North-West Territories; and now in 1871, Parliament is asked to consider a bill for the admission of British Columbia into the union. To the Liberal party, the extension of Confederation was always a source of pleasure. They were, however, bound to see that the enlargement of the Dominion was not accompanied by such conditions as would be unjust to the other provinces or involve financial obligations burdensome to the treasury. The terms made with British Columbia were even more objectionable in many respects than the concessions of the Washington Treaty. Although the white population of the colony was estimated at only 10,000, they were to be allowed six representatives in the House of Commons and three in the Senate. The Government of the Dominion was to commence within two years of the date of the union, and to complete within ten years of the same period, a

railroad from the Pacific coast to connect with the Canadian system of railroads. They were to maintain an efficient mail service fortnightly between Victoria and San Francisco. They were to pay \$100,000 a year for lands to be ceded to the Crown in aid of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. And they were to guarantee the interest on £100,000 sterling, for ten years after its completion, for an efficient graving-dock at Esquimalt, and also to provide pensions for such officers in the service of the British Columbia Government as might lose their positions on account of the Union.

When the resolutions were submitted to the House it was pointed out with great force by Mr. Mackenzie that they imposed burdens far beyond the resources of the Dominion, particularly the obligations assumed with respect to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He proposed an amendment to the Government's scheme that so far as the railway was concerned, "Canada should not be pledged to do more than proceed at once with the necessary survey, and after the route is determined, to prosecute the work as rapidly as the state of the finances would justify." Various other amendments to the same effect were proposed, but to no avail. The scheme had to be accepted in its entirety or rejected; and accepted it was, with all the tremendous obligations which it involved.

In dealing with the admission of British Columbia to Confederation, the Liberal party was placed in the same dilemma as when dealing with the "better terms" for Nova Scotia. On the one hand, they were confronted with an agreement made by the Government, of a startling character—an agreement which has added nearly \$100,000,000 to the national debt; or an annual outlay of interest alone of \$4,000,000. On the other hand, it was all but certain that the supporters

of the Government would assume the responsibilities of the terms proposed with British Columbia if the opposite course would involve the defeat of the Government. To oppose the terms of admission would be construed by the British Columbians as opposition to themselves; and they would therefore, as a matter of course, ally themselves with the party in power. It was in vain that Mr. Mackenzie avowed himself, both in the resolutions he moved and in the speeches he delivered, a supporter of the admission of British Columbia on reasonable terms. The sentimental appeal which the Ministerialists made to the House for the extension of the Union from the Atlantic to the Pacific was stronger than the voice of reason. To say that the Union would be imperilled by the weighty burdens which it was about to assume was construed into want of confidence in the Dominion; although when the Committee rose and reported the resolutions to the Speaker of the House, every one felt that a serious step had been taken, the consequences of which were not fully realised.

The Liberal party made very strenuous efforts during the session of 1871 to reform the election laws. The old practice of holding the elections first, in constituencies favorable to the party in power, with a view to influence doubtful constituencies, was very objectionable. It was proposed that there should be one polling day for the whole Dominion, except in a few outlying districts; but this was rejected. Then it was proposed that the elections should be held on the same day in each of the provinces. This also was rejected. An effort to introduce vote by ballot was successfully resisted by the Government, as was also a proposition to try contested elections before the judges.

Mr. Mackenzie's efforts on behalf of the Liberal party during the session of 1871 greatly increased the confidence of the

country in his ability as a leader. His intimate knowledge of the extent of our trade with the United States and of the manner in which our trade relations would be affected by the Washington Treaty showed how thoroughly he had studied the whole question, while his determination not to sacrifice the rights of Canada for a mere temporary adjustment of our difficulties was a proof of those qualities of statesmanship which have made England strong in the Councils of Europe. The surest way, he contended, by which to establish permanent friendly relations with the United States, or with any people, was to insist firmly, but reasonably, on the rights of Canada. Any other course was an invitation to encroachment in the future, should any difficulties arise. The true spirit of nationality, he said, could never be developed by a craven submission to injustice.





CHAPTER XXII.

MR. MACKENZIE AND PROVINCIAL POLITICS.

Mr. Mackenzie Elected for West Middlesex.—Defeat of the Sandfield-Macdonald Administration.—Mackenzie a Member of the New Government.—His Position in Local Politics.—Speech as Provincial Treasurer.—Dual Representation Abolished.—His Choice of the Commons.

IN order to give color to the “no-party” cry on which Sir John Macdonald was appealing to the country in 1867, he secured for the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, a well-known Liberal, the appointment of Premier of Ontario, it being well understood between them that a coalition Government would be formed for the Province of Ontario, and that both should appeal for support on the same “no-party” cry. The object of this arrangement was to divide the Liberal party, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald expecting that with the aid of his Liberal colleagues, Wood and Richards, he would carry the Liberals of the Province; while his Conservative colleagues, Carling and Cameron, would swing the Conservatives into line. This move which was to benefit himself, was also to be of service to Sir John Macdonald.

For a time, the leadership of the Opposition was entrusted to Mr. Archibald McKellar, the sturdy member for Kent. But before the first session expired, it became quite evident that Mr. Edward Blake, who represented West Durham in the House of Commons, and South Bruce in the Legislative Assembly, was the foremost member of the House on either



Hon. Edward Blake.

side, and entitled to the first place in the Liberal ranks. He was accordingly elected leader, and entered with great energy on the discharge of his duties. It is but fair to the Government to say that it was economical and progressive. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was not a statesman, although a good administrator. He was a man of quick business habits, tenacious and aggressive, and always repelled, with great vigor, the attacks of his opponents. By his economy, he accumulated a large surplus. How to invest this surplus in such a way as to meet the necessities of the people, and develop the resources of the Province, was, apparently, the worthy purpose to which he applied himself. With the character of these investments no fault can be found; for instance, the establishment of the Agricultural College, the Institute for the Blind, the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the Central Prison, the erection of new asylums, and the granting of aid to railroads were all commendable, and in harmony with Liberal ideas. But, when it appeared that these institutions were distributed as rewards for political support, that his scheme for aiding railroads was likely to be used for a similar purpose, and when, above all, it appeared that his influence as a Liberal was used to keep Sir John Macdonald in power, the revolt of the Liberal party against his Government was complete.

Although Mr. Sandfield Macdonald claimed to be a Reformer, except in one or two instances he conducted the Government of Ontario after the most approved Tory methods. When it was pointed out that several members of Parliament held offices which necessarily affected their independence, he declined to make a change, and called upon his supporters to vote down any resolution having that object in view. When Mr. Blake's resolutions respecting the "better terms" to Nova Scotia were before the House, his tactics remind

one forcibly of Sir John Macdonald's course with regard to the report of Mr. Brown's committee recommending a federation of the Provinces. The resolutions were thirteen in number. What is called in Parliamentary practice the six months' hoist was moved by the Government to each of them. On coming to the thirteenth, the House refused to follow the leader of the Government, and the six months' hoist was voted down. The House then divided as to whether the resolutions should be adopted; and Mr. Sandfield Macdonald and his Government, who a few moments before had voted for the six months' hoist, supported this resolution, which was to the effect that, "in the opinion of this House, the interests of the country require such legislation as may remove all color for the assumption by the Parliament of Canada of the power to disturb the financial relations established by the Union Act as between Canada and the several Provinces."

The murder of Scott which had occurred the year before was also made to do duty in the Local election. Mr. Thos. Scott was a citizen of Ontario. A year had passed since the sad event of his death, and little or nothing had been done to bring the offenders to justice. To ask a Legislature to express an opinion upon a question beyond its own constitutional limitation is, as a rule, inadvisable. The House of Commons has on several occasions volunteered its advice to the Imperial Parliament, notably on Home Rule, and on the Disestablishment of the Irish church; but the tendering of such advice neither added to its influence with the Imperial Government nor to its usefulness as a deliberative body. Both parties in the House of Commons and Local Legislature have occasionally indulged in similar kite-flying with very indifferent results.

Mr. Blake's resolution with regard to the murder of Scott

was largely sentimental. He asked the House simply to say that "the cold-blooded murder for his out-spoken loyalty to the Queen of Thos. Scott, lately a resident of this Province, and an emigrant thence to the North-West, has impressed this House with a deep feeling of sorrow and indignation; and in the opinion of this House, every effort should be made to bring to trial the perpetrators of this great crime, who as yet go unwhipped of justice; and that an humble address be presented to His Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, embodying this resolution, and praying him to take such steps as may be best calculated to forward its views." The Government, in resisting Mr. Blake's resolution, took the ground, while expressing their sympathy with the untimely fate of their countryman, "that it would be unwise and inexpedient to interfere with the prerogative which properly belongs to another Government, and to discuss a question over which this House has no control." This was the only ground which the Government could take. To accept Mr. Blake's motion would be to act contrary to the course of the Dominion Government; and this Mr. Sandfield Macdonald and his Tory allies could not conveniently do, as they were looking to Ottawa for support in the general election, then pending. How far Mr. Blake's resolution was helpful to the Liberal party, it is hard to say. It is possible in some counties it secured for the Liberal candidate a few votes. But its effect over the whole field of Ontario politics is believed to have been trifling.

Objection was taken to Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government because it frequently asked Parliament to place in its hands, unconditionally, the expenditure of public moneys. More than once the estimates contained a large item for the erection of public buildings and asylums; and when the House enquired where such buildings were to be located, the Govern-

ment invariably refused an answer. The Liberals saw in this attitude of the Government two very objectionable features—First, Parliament and not the Executive should determine, finally, the location of public buildings. Secondly, trading in the location of public buildings for political purposes tended to the debasement of constituencies. This was clearly seen from some of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's speeches, as well as from the speeches of some of his colleagues. Speaking in South Ontario, he said: "We promised them that the next session there would be the biggest fight they ever saw in this country when they came to expend \$2,000,000 at the credit of the Government, and no doubt South Ontario would like to get some of that money." At Hamilton he suggested that if the people had any "axes to grind," they had better support the Government. Mr. M. C. Cameron, his Provincial Secretary, assured the people of Belleville that they obtained the Deaf and Dumb Institute as a reward for their political support. In the same way, counties were divided for registration purposes and new registry offices opened with a view to aid the Government candidates. The imitation of Ottawa methods was perfect, as far as it went. Happily for the people of Ontario, as Mr. Mackenzie said in one of his speeches, "such miserable, pettifogging, peddling practices" were checked by the defeat of the Sandfield Macdonald Government.

The main issue of the election, however, turned on a resolution, moved by Mr. Blake, with regard to the distribution of the surplus and the mode of aiding railways. Under an Act of the old Legislative Assembly of Canada, municipalities were allowed to borrow money from a fund called the Municipal Loan Fund, set apart by the Government for public improvements, such as roads, bridges, harbors, and public buildings. The facility which this fund afforded for obtaining money at

a low rate of interest, and the influence used with the Government of the day to postpone the payment of principal or interest, in some cases involved many municipalities in debt far beyond their ability to repay the amount borrowed. The Liberal party contended that any scheme for the distribution of the surplus which did not consider the condition of the indebted municipalities, would not meet with the approval of the country. As will be seen, the resolution also struck a death-blow at the distribution of railway aid on the authority of the Executive, as to the railways proposed to be aided. The Liberal party called upon the country to vindicate the right of Parliament to be consulted with regard to the great public interests involved, and particularly to restrain the Government from using the tremendous influence which the granting of railway subsidies on its own authority would place in its hands for political purposes.

When the Liberal policy was placed before the electors, and when it was shown that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government was in practice, at all events, no longer a coalition, but a feeble imitation of its Ottawa prototype, the Liberals had no difficulty in deciding what course to take. And with Mr. Blake as leader, they entered upon the campaign with unbounded enthusiasm.

The west riding of Middlesex is geographically, contiguous to Lambton, the county represented by Mr. Mackenzie in the House of Commons, and the electors of that riding were intimately acquainted with Mr. Mackenzie's parliamentary career. Many of them had heard him on the platform in his own county as he defended the policy of his party, or as he exposed the weaknesses of his opponents, and were deeply impressed with his courage, honesty and ability. When his name was mentioned, therefore, as a possible candidate, the

general enquiry was, would he accept the nomination? To insure his doing so, a convention was called and a requisition immediately circulated inviting him to take the field. In the course of a few days, 1,300 signatures were obtained to the requisition, and if he would only allow himself to be placed in the field, the Liberal party were assured of an easy victory. Although much gratified, as he said in his address, by their appreciation of his public services so amply sustained by such a large requisition, he was by no means anxious to be a candidate. The House of Commons was in session, and his duties as leader of the Opposition demanded all his time and strength. To the great delight, however, of the Liberal party in the west riding of Middlesex, and under a deep sense of his duty to his country, he waived all personal considerations, and entered upon the contest with an energy which evoked the heartiest co-operation of his friends. In his address to the electors he said: "Having no personal object to gratify, I engage in this contest solely for public and political reasons, and to assist as far as my humble efforts can do a return to sound constitutional principles of government. The present Government of Ontario has been from the first the mere creature of the Dominion Government, existing by its sufferance and subject to its control. Formed on the same pretended "no-party" principle as the Ottawa Government, it has established its right to be classed with it in its status of political morality. The Government openly avows its intention to locate public buildings and public works where it received the greatest amount of parliamentary support. Such practices and such avowals are, however, the natural result of a coalition of men in a Government holding different political opinions and having no common object in view but their retention of office. In

my opinion, no more shameless admission could be made by any Government, and this alone should secure its condemnation by the electors of the country. It shall be my earnest endeavor and desire to secure a return to a correct administrative system and the supremacy of parliamentary purity and control."

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was determined that the country should not be allowed much time in which to criticise the policy of his Administration; and so without warning, and contrary to expectation, the House was dissolved and the general election fixed for the 21st day of March, 1871. Mr. Mackenzie accepted the nomination on the 5th of March, and the task of making himself known to his new constituents was limited to fifteen days. Under ordinary circumstances, to canvass a large constituency in two weeks is no easy matter. Owing to the early breaking up of winter and the unimproved condition of many of the roads at that time, the task was doubly difficult. Nevertheless, mounted on horseback, with a trusty Liberal as his guide, he canvassed the riding from one end to the other, holding two meetings a day, organising the party and making havoc of his opponents wherever he met them. Never was he more vigorous, more buoyant or perhaps more successful. He was received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm. His straightforwardness, his wonderful grasp of every question discussed, his incisiveness and lucidity as a speaker, impressed the electors as they were never impressed before. In vain did his opponent, Mr. Currie, struggle to stem the tide of excitement. He called meetings in order to vindicate his course in Parliament; but his own meetings were turned against him by Mr. Mackenzie, and many Tories

"Who came to scoff remained to pray."

His victory was decisive, and was both a personal and a party triumph. To the party, it was a constituency wrested from the enemy. To Mr. Mackenzie, himself, it was an expression of confidence in the integrity of his career and his usefulness in the public service.

The result of the general election was very satisfactory to the Liberal party. The estimate made by the *Globe* on the day following the election was as follows :

Ministerial members returned, 32.

Opposition members, 41.

Independents, 7, with Addington and Algoma to hear from.

Many of the leading Liberals were returned by large majorities, and it was quite evident that the sentiment of the country was against the Administration.

Parliament was called for the despatch of business on the 7th of December, 1871, Mr. R. W. Scott being elected Speaker. It was quite evident from the excitement in the lobbies and the anxiety depicted on the faces of the members of the Government, that a great political struggle was pending. On the 11th, the battle began on a motion by Mr. Blake, expressing regret at the action taken by the Legislative Assembly, during the previous session, under the guidance of the Government, with reference to the large powers given the Executive as to the disposition of the railway aid fund. This motion was resisted on the ground, as stated in the Government's amendment to Mr. Blake's motion, that one-tenth of the constituencies of the Province were unrepresented in the House, and that it was inexpedient to consider the question involved in Mr. Blake's motion until all the constituencies were duly represented in Parliament. To this plea of the Government, the Opposition made answer that the House was called for the despatch of business, that the Government pro-

posed to go on with business, as they asked the House to consider the Lieutenant-Governor's address, that if the House was competent to do business, at all, it was equally competent to sit in judgment on the Government; and that the appeal for a postponement of its action was an acknowledgment of weakness which the House was not bound to respect.

On a vote being taken, the Government was defeated by a majority of eight. Mr. Blake's resolution was then carried on a vote of 30 to 40. This was on the 14th of December. On the same day Mr. Mackenzie moved: "That we have no confidence in a Ministry which is attempting to carry out in reference to the railway fund of \$1,500,000, an usurpation fraught with danger to public liberty and constitutional government." On this motion, Mr. Mackenzie delivered his first address "which both for the material it contained," said the *Globe* of the following day, "and the manner of its delivery, was a model of aggressive parliamentary warfare." He reviewed Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's policy in the old Parliament of Canada, and contrasted his conduct as a Liberal then with his well-known Conservative tendencies now. He exposed his treachery to the Liberal party in combining with Sir John Macdonald for the defeat of the Liberals in 1867, and rallied him severely for his want of independence in not resigning when he saw clearly that the feeling of the House was against him. After a brief reply from Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, a vote was taken, and Mr. Mackenzie's resolution was carried by a majority of one.

When the House re-assembled on the 18th, Mr. Blake determined to show the Government that he was master of the situation by moving a direct vote of want of confidence. Among other things, he said "that the continuance in office of the Government of the day is, under existing circumstances,

at variance with the spirit of the constitution." The Government met this resolution by a motion to adjourn the House until the 9th of January. This was lost on a vote of 26 to 43 ; and Mr. Blake's resolution was carried on a vote of 44 to 25. With this vote, the Sandfield Macdonald Administration was at an end ; and on the following day Mr. Blake was called by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to form a new Administration.

Mr. Blake was not long in forming his new Government. His arrangement of Cabinet seats was as follows :

Mr. Edward Blake, Premier of the Council ; Adam Crooks, Attorney-General ; Peter Gow, Provincial Secretary ; Alex. Mackenzie, Provincial Treasurer ; R. W. Scott, Commissioner of Crown Lands ; A. McKellar, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works.

According to constitutional usage, the new Ministers had to appeal to their constituents for re-election.

The 5th of January was the day mentioned in the writ for the nomination of candidates in West Middlesex, and Mr. Mackenzie had of course to appear before his constituents. In asking for a renewal of their confidence, he pointed out that the policy of the new Government embraced measures to better secure the independence of Parliament and to make it impossible for a Government to purchase the support of members by gifts of office and emolument. The railway act of last session was to be amended so that no railway could obtain one cent of aid without the previous assent of the House of Assembly. The location of public buildings would be made known to the House before the estimate for their construction was voted. Dual representation would be abolished, and the Government of Ontario would no longer be subordinated to the party in power at Ottawa. He repelled the charge that they had formed a coalition with Mr. Scott, by stating that Mr.

Scott had accepted every plank in their platform and was prepared to join them in giving their principles effect in legislation. How, then, could it be a coalition? "The Administration," he said, "was formed of men that would work in harmony together, of men who would give effect to those principles of public policy which lay at the foundation of good government, and would put an end to the scandal of a Minister of the Crown perambulating the country, offering his principles and the patronage of the Government for public competition. They intended to carry their principles fully into operation and to administer the Government not only without reference to the political opinion of any particular quarter, but in the interests of the whole country. It had been his proud privilege since he entered public life to adhere closely to those principles which he had imbibed in his early years. It had been his privilege to obtain some measure of moral support and influence throughout the country, and that support and influence he prized infinitely higher than he did any official position in the land, and he would not sacrifice it for the best gift in the power of the British or the Canadian Government. He hoped at the close of his career to be able to look back without a single pang of regret at the course he had taken in the public affairs of the country."

In the face of the large majority obtained the previous year, all opposition was withdrawn, and for the second time the electors of West Middlesex expressed their confidence in the future leader of the Liberal party.

The House met pursuant to adjournment, on the 18th of January. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald declined to accept the leadership of the Opposition, and at a caucus of the party, Mr. M. C. Cameron was appointed to that position. The early

days of the session were taken up in the discussion of a number of paltry charges against the new Government. Mr. Scott, who resigned the Speakership to which he was appointed under Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, to accept the portfolio of Commissioner of Crown Lands, was singled out for special attack. He was charged with being in the pay of the lumbermen and consequently unfit for the duties of his office. Being elected, it was claimed, as a supporter of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, he could not take office under Mr. Blake except either by a sacrifice of his political principles or on the understanding that the Government which he entered was a coalition. All these charges were, however, repelled both by Mr. Scott and Mr. Blake in the most vigorous terms. As Mr. Mackenzie said, "Mr. Scott accepted every plank in the Liberal platform;" and Mr. Blake, in his defence of his Government, stated that there were no "open questions" left over for future consideration.

The Opposition next attacked Mr. Blake on the ground that he had offered a corrupt inducement to Hon. E. B. Wood, a member of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Administration, to resign his seat in the Government and support the Liberal party. The charge, briefly summarised, is as follows: While Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government was being arraigned by the Opposition for its misdeeds, a page conveyed a message from Mr. Blake to Mr. Wood; that subsequent to the receipt of that message Mr. Wood arose and moved from his usual place in the House to a seat on the back benches; that in doing so he received an approving nod from Mr. Blake, which he returned; and that these circumstances indicated a corrupt collusion between Mr. Blake and Mr. Wood. On the strength of this suspicion, Mr. Cameron asked for a special committee of investigation. His motion was amended in the usual

parliamentary way in the case of charges by one member against another so as to make him responsible as a member of the House for the complaint which he had previously formulated in general terms. Mr. Cameron refused to appear before the committee. Both Mr. Wood and Mr. Blake denied the charge, and so the matter ended.

Mr. McKellar, who was Commissioner of Public Works, had also transgressed the proprieties of Parliament—so the Opposition said—and a special committee was called for to inquire into his conduct. It was alleged, in his case, that he had commissioned one Lewis, a Government inspector of lands, while an election was pending in the south riding of Grey, to say that if the electors voted against Mr. Lauder, the Opposition candidate, “they should have the full benefit of the low estimate which had been made of the value of their lands, but not otherwise.” The investigation into this scandal was a complete vindication of Mr. McKellar and a sore disappointment to the Opposition.

Mr. Mackenzie, who had taken an active part in the discussions of the House, was now called upon to show his knowledge of the financial affairs of the province and to unfold the policy of the Government in all matters affecting his department. It is needless to say that, although sworn in as Treasurer but two months before, he showed a marvellous grasp of the details of his office; and his budget speech is in no sense inferior to the budget speeches of many worthy successors, who had the advantage of experience in their favor. He opened his remarks by a running commentary on the privileges enjoyed by Ontario, under the Union Act. “It was the constant complaint prior to 1867, that we were subjected, as a people, to unfair influences. We were placed in the position of contributing from two-thirds to three-fourths of the revenue of the

country, while we were always unable to obtain for any local purposes, such as we tax ourselves for under the present system, the half of the actual revenue of the united provinces. In this respect, he believed the change effected by the confederation of the provinces was extremely beneficial to us as a province; and he hoped to the Province of Quebec also, by stimulating people to greater exertions in regard to local affairs, instead of depending upon the general resources."

He then pointed out the benefits accruing to Ontario from her admirable municipal system and the consequent relief which it afforded to the Treasury. "Our surplus," he said, "was not owing so much to the accumulation of balances in the Treasurer's hands as to the relief to the Treasury of Ontario from charges for a variety of public works which in the other provinces were paid by the Provincial Government." He advocated the free education of indigent pupils at the Belleville Institute for the Deaf and Dumb and the Brantford Institute for the Blind, using the expressive words: "It was the bounden duty of the country to see that such children were properly educated."

In proposing an increased grant for education, he said: "The education of the people was one of the very first considerations that should actuate a Government in preparing estimates of public expenditure." Speaking of the teachers, he said: "It was extremely desirable to raise the profession of teachers as much as possible. They were a most important class of persons, and much of the future prosperity of the country depended on the class of teachers that were employed in our public schools. When, under the late school act, higher qualifications were demanded of teachers, it would be quite unfair to demand these qualifications without demanding a remuneration somewhat larger than before."

He also advocated a vigorous immigration policy, and the settlement of the dispute between Ontario and Quebec as to our Western boundaries.

The promised legislation with regard to Dual Representation was brought down by Mr. Blake, by which members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario were thereafter disqualified from sitting and voting in the House of Commons. The Railway Aid resolutions were also submitted to the House for approval, as promised by the Liberals when in Opposition, and amendments were made to the Registry Act providing for the distribution, among the municipalities, of certain portions of the income of registrars in excess of the sums mentioned in the Act.

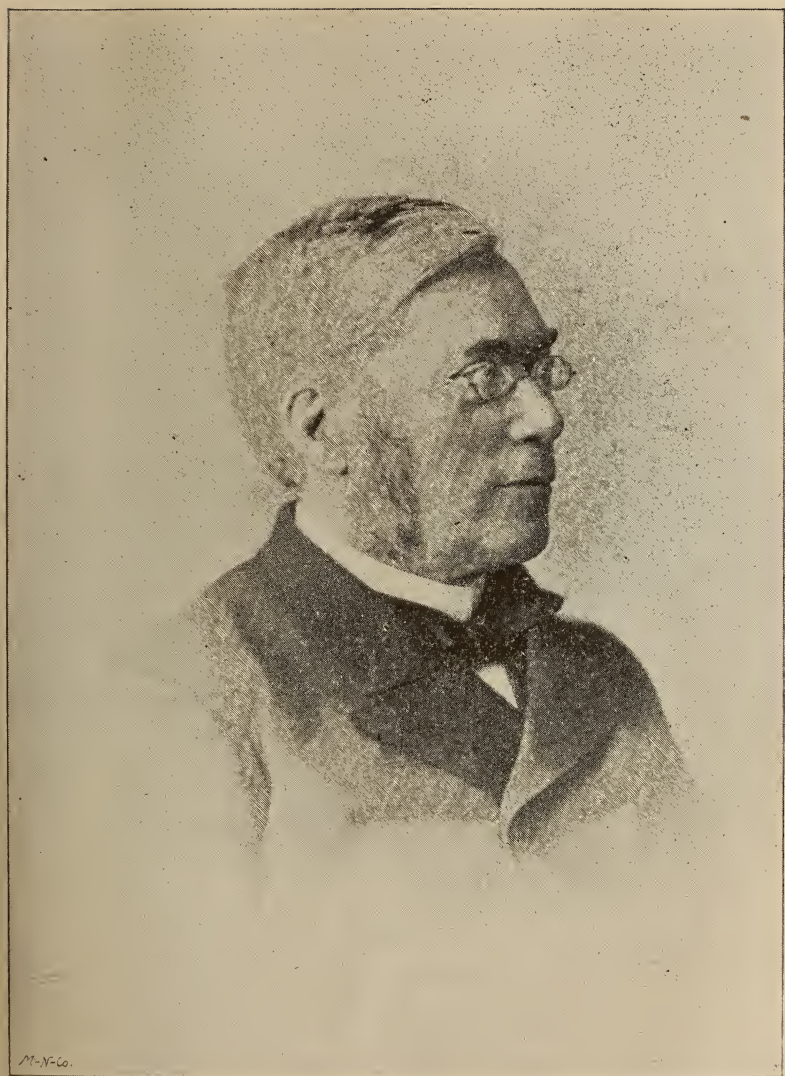
A sum of \$5,000 was placed in the estimates as a reward for the apprehension of the murderers of Scott; and on the 2nd of March, the House prorogued.

The great services rendered the Province of Ontario by Mr. Mackenzie, as a member of the Local Legislature, should not be overlooked. Had he declined the nomination in the west riding of Middlesex, it is more than probable its former Tory representative would have been re-elected, and this, on a division, would have counted two votes for Mr. Sandfield Macdonald. Besides winning a seat for his party, his courage and devotion in entering the field against the Sandfield Macdonald Administration stimulated the party to greater exertions all over the province. Success at the elections meant the formation of a new Government, of which Mr. Mackenzie would necessarily be a member, and the hope of this consolidated the party in many counties. In the struggle in the House, also, with the Administration, Mr. Mackenzie's counsel was of great value, as well as his pertinacity and destructiveness as a debater. Had he reposed on his laurels as leader of

the Opposition, at Ottawa, or had he been less devoted to his party, he would never have assumed the additional burdens of a seat in the Legislative Assembly. What Ontario owes to him for the sacrifices he made, and to those who acted with him, is it not written in the Books of the Chronicles of the Liberal party during the last twenty years?

When the members of the Local Legislature who held seats in the House of Commons were relieved from the discharge of their duties as provincial legislators, they were almost immediately called to meet at Ottawa ; and during the session of that year (1872) were told that they must resign their seats as members of the Local Legislature before they could be elected members of the Dominion Parliament. Both Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake, the only two members concerned, chose the House of Commons ; but before doing so, had agreed wisely and fortunately for the people of Ontario upon Mr. Oliver Mowat, as leader of the Government. Objection was taken to this appointment on account of Mr. Mowat's position as vice-chancellor for the province ; and it was many years before the country was relieved from the pitiful reiteration of the Tory press, that in accepting the Premiership he descended from the bench regardless of his judicial ermine. That no mistake was made in his appointment is abundantly proven by his record as the Liberal leader for twenty years. Those who were associated with him in the old Parliament of Canada recognised the great ability which he possessed ; and among the many letters of congratulation received by Mr. Mackenzie on account of this appointment, the one already quoted from the Hon. L. H. Holton may be taken as expressing the views of all his old associates in the Parliament of Canada.

The following letter also from the same writer is worthy of note :



Sir Oliver Mowat.

"MONTREAL, Jan. 7th, 1872.

"MY DEAR MACKENZIE,

"I need not say that I have followed your movements in Ontario with intense interest. The vigor of the onset that brought the crisis, and the sound judgment with which the crisis itself was dealt with, were equally admirable. I confess, however, to some concern at finding both you and Blake yoked to the local car. Am I right in the inference that this is merely a temporary arrangement rendered necessary, or at least expedient, by the newness of public life of some of your colleagues, and that after getting the machine in good running order, you and Blake will withdraw, and beyond preserving your seats in the Assembly confine yourselves to the Dominion service. This has been my theory from the start. The only debatable point in your proceedings is the appointment of Scott, but that I am prepared not only to defend but to commend. Our great need as a party is a conviction in the public mind that we can govern, and to have formed a Provincial Cabinet without an eastern man and without a Roman Catholic in it would have been nearly tantamount to a confession that you could not form what used to be 'a broad-bottomed administration,' and any other must be ephemeral. Now Scott fulfils both these essential conditions, and is in all other respects, saving of course his Tory antecedents, which he necessarily abandons in joining you, not merely an unobjectionable, but a most desirable colleague with reference to the efficiency of your Provincial Administration.

"Truly yours,

"L. H. HOLTON.

"Hon. Alex Mackenzie,

"Toronto."





CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Conditions for constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway—Debate in Parliament—Burdens involved—New Brunswick School Bill—Rights of the Minority—Mr. Mackenzie's Attitude—First Gerrymander.

THE great event of the session of 1872 was the formal proposition of the Government for the construction of a trans-continental railway. As we have seen, by the terms of union with British Columbia, Parliament was pledged to commence such a road within two years of the date of union, and complete it within ten years of the same date. The Eastern terminus of the road was to be some point on or near Lake Nipissing; the Western terminus, the shore of the Pacific Ocean. The course and line of the road was to be subject to the approval of the Governor in Council. The railway was to be constructed by a Company, to be approved by the Governor-in-Council. The Company was to receive a grant of 50,000,000 acres of land in blocks of twenty miles in depth, on each side of the line, alternating with similar blocks reserved for the Government. In case the 50,000,000 acres of land were not available contiguous to the railway, the deficiency was to be made up out of other lands held by the Government. A subsidy, not exceeding \$30,000,000 was to be paid the Company as the work progressed, and the Governor in Council was to be authorised to raise by loan this amount,

if necessary. Provision was also made to construct a branch line from Manitoba to some point on the American frontier, and another branch line to some point on Lake Superior.

The Opposition had, in a general way, expressed their opinion with regard to the construction of such a railway, when the terms for the admission of British Columbia were before the House; and there remained little to do except to formulate their objections. They first protested against investing the Governor-in-Council with the power of approving of the route along which the railway should be built, claiming that to place 50,000,000 acres of land and \$30,000,000 of money at the disposition of the Government for a railway, wherever they might choose to locate it, was an abnegation of the functions of Parliament. The country had suffered severely from the unwise choice the Government had made with regard to the route of the Inter-colonial Railway, not more than one-fourth the length of the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway. If they were faithless in the shorter road, how could they be trusted in the larger one? Sandfield Macdonald's Government, in Ontario, had suffered defeat largely because it had taken to itself the power of paying over \$1,500,000 to railways without first submitting to Parliament the allocation of the roads to be so aided. The public opinion of Ontario was, therefore, against granting the Government the extraordinary powers asked for. Their second protest was against the power claimed by the resolution to charter a company without first submitting to Parliament for its approval the conditions on which such charter was to be granted. Their third protest was against the assumption by the Government of handing over 50,000,000 acres of land—equal in extent to six provinces of the size of Manitoba—without reference to Parliament. Their fourth protest was

against chartering a railway company of which any member of Parliament might be a shareholder.

Never did a Government, in the history of any colony, under the British Crown, ask for such extraordinary power. No wonder, with the prospect of getting the authority which was asked for in the resolutions respecting this railway, that Sir George Cartier exclaimed, "The Governor-in-Council is a great institution." When Mr. Mackenzie protested against the usurpation of the authority of Parliament by the Executive, an appeal to the majority of the House was almost the only answer made. No evidence was produced even that the case was urgent, that any public interest would suffer by reasonable delay, or that public opinion was in favor of immediate action. Even so strong a supporter of the Government as Senator Macpherson objected to the immediate construction of the whole line of railway. On April 3, 1871, when the British Columbia resolutions were before the Senate, he said: "I do not yield to any honorable gentleman in the desire to see an interoceanic railway through British territory; but we should advance prudently, using the American lines to our South-Western frontier; then, build our railway westward through the prairie lands which are so attractive to settlers, and carefully explore the country between Fort Garry and Lake Nipissing before undertaking to build a railway through it. It is absurd to say that the exchequer of the Dominion is to be burdened with an expenditure of \$100,000,000 for the proposed railway. No one can seriously believe that there is any such design in contemplation. Would any Government be insane enough to propose such a thing? Would the country sanction such a policy; or would it be possible to borrow such a sum of money?" It is feared, however, that prospective contractors and others, whose influence with the

Government was so potent, had given assurances of substantial support of such a character as would enable the Governor in Council to act in defiance of public opinion; and before the close of the year it was pretty well known that this was really the case. The futility of an appeal to a purchased jury is well known.

For the first time since Confederation, the House was called upon to consider a question likely to arouse religious prejudices, and to lead to a misunderstanding between Catholics and Protestants as to the attitude of the two political parties with regard to the rights of minorities. In 1871, the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick passed a new school act, withdrawing from Roman Catholics the privilege of establishing separate schools, and providing for the support of public schools by general taxation without distinction of persons or creeds. The Roman Catholics of New Brunswick strongly protested against the passage of the bill, demanding the same privileges as were conceded to the minority in Ontario and Quebec. Their views being rejected by the Legislative Assembly, the Roman Catholics petitioned the Governor-General to disallow the Act, urging that if the Act went into operation, they would be compelled to contribute to the support of a school system of which they conscientiously disapproved. They contended that under the 93rd clause of the British North America Act, they had a right to the educational privileges which they claimed and of which, in their opinion, they were unlawfully deprived by the Legislative Assembly.

Their petition was referred to the Minister of Justice, Sir John Macdonald, who held that the Legislative Assembly had not exceeded its power, and that therefore he could not advise His Excellency to disallow the Act to which objection was taken. On May 20th, Mr. Costigan moved a resolution setting

forth the views of the Roman Catholics on this question and asking His Excellency in consequence, "to disallow the New Brunswick school law" at the earliest possible period. The debate extended over several days. It was plainly seen that both sides of the House were anxious not to interfere with the control of Local Legislatures over matters within their constitutional limitations, so Mr. Costigan's motion was lost, as were also several amendments. First, the amendment by Colonel Gray, affirming that the law passed by the Local Legislature in New Brunswick respecting common schools was strictly within the limits of its constitutional powers. Second, the amendment by Mr. Chauveau, proposing that the Imperial Government should amend the British North America Act of 1867, so as to secure to every religious denomination in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia all such rights, advantages, and privileges with regard to their schools as they enjoyed at the time of the passage of the British North America Act. Third, an amendment expressing regret that His Excellency had not been advised to disallow the New Brunswick School Act. A motion by Mr. Colby, expressing regret that the New Brunswick School Act was unsatisfactory to a portion of the inhabitants of that Province, and expressing the hope that the Legislature of New Brunswick, at its next session, would remove all just grounds of discontent, was carried, together with a motion moved by Mr. Mackenzie: "That the opinion of the law officers of the Crown and, if possible, the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be obtained as to the right of the New Brunswick Legislature to make such changes in the school law as deprived the Roman Catholics of the privileges they enjoyed at the time of the union, in respect of religious education in the common schools, with the view of ascertaining whether the case comes within the terms of the

93rd clause of the British North America Act, 1867." On November 29, 1872, the law officers of the Crown concurred in the opinion previously expressed by Sir John Macdonald; namely, "that the New Brunswick School Bill was within the jurisdiction of the Legislative Assembly." The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declined to express any opinion on the question, on the ground that the power of allowing or disallowing provincial acts is vested by statute in the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, acting under the advice of his constitutional advisers.

An attempt was made to bring the question before the Privy Council on appeal from the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, in which it was decided that the Provincial Act was valid; but the law officers of the Crown determined that such an appeal should not be submitted, as they still adhered to the previous opinion.

On the 6th of May, 1874, Mr. Costigan moved a resolution calling upon the Imperial Parliament to amend the British North America Act in the direction desired by the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick, which, with the permission of the House, he afterwards withdrew. Again, in 1875, on the 8th of March, he renewed his demand for an amendment to the British North America Act by which the Roman Catholic inhabitants of New Brunswick would be set on the same footing as the Roman Catholic minority in Ontario or the Protestant minority in Quebec.

The proposal to amend the Constitution of the Dominion in order to allow the establishment of Separate schools in New Brunswick, contrary to the expressed wishes of the people, was strongly deprecated by leading members of the House. Even those who sympathised with the contention of the Roman Catholics believed that to vote for the resolution

before the House would be subversive of the principles upon which the Constitution was founded. To destroy the local independence of one province would practically be to destroy the independence of all. If the Dominion Government began the practice of coercing one province, where was it to stop? Might it not lead to the transfer of the subject of education from the Local Legislatures to the Parliament of Canada, or to the abolition of any or all the privileges enjoyed by the provinces under the British North America Act?

In speaking of Mr. Costigan's resolution, Mr. Mackenzie said : " I believe in free schools and in the non-denominational system, and if I could persuade my fellow-countrymen in Ontario or Quebec or any other province to adopt that principle, it is the one I would give preference to above all others ; but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that in all the provinces, there is a very considerable number of people—in the Province of Quebec, indeed a large majority—who believe that the dogmas of religion should be taught in the public schools ; that it has an intimate relationship with the morality of the people, that it is essential to their welfare as a people, that the doctrines of their church should be taught and religious principle, according to their theory of religious principle, be instilled into the minds of their children at School. For many years after I held a seat in the Parliament of Canada I waged war against the principle of Separate schools. I hoped to be able—young and inexperienced as I was—to establish a system to which all would ultimately yield their assent. Sir, it was found to be impracticable in operation and impossible in political contingencies ; and consequently when the Confederation Act was passed in 1867, or rather when the Quebec resolutions were adopted in 1864-65, which embodied the principle that should be the law of the land, Confederation

took place under the compact then entered upon. I heartily assented to that proposition, and supported it by speech and vote in the Confederation debate. And, Sir, the same ground which led me on that occasion to give loyal assistance to the Confederation project, embracing as it did a scheme of having Separate Schools for Catholics in Ontario and Protestants in Quebec, caused me to feel bound to extend, at all events, my sympathy, if I could not give my active assistance to those in other provinces who believed they were laboring under the same disability and suffering from the same grievances that the Catholics of Ontario complained of for many years. But, Sir, there is a higher principle still which we have to adhere to, and that is to preserve in their integrity the principles of the Constitution under which we live. If any personal act of mine, if anything I could do would assist to relieve those who believe they are living under a grievance in the Province of New Brunswick, that act would be gladly undertaken and zealously performed; but I have no right, this House has no right, to interfere with the legislation of a Province when that legislation is secured by Imperial compact, to which all the parties submitted in the Act of Confederation. * * * * I may point this out to honorable gentlemen in this House and to the country that, if it were competent for this House directly or indirectly to set aside the Constitution as regards one of the smaller Provinces, it would be equally competent for this House to set it aside as regards the privileges which the Catholics enjoy at this moment in Ontario. It is not desirable that we should make the way open for such purpose, and it is not desirable that anything should be done which would excite religious discussions and promote religious animosities." Mr. Mackenzie closed his speech by proposing an amendment declaring that

legislation by the Imperial Parliament encroaching on any of the powers reserved to any of the provinces by the British North America Act would be an infraction of the British Constitution and that it would be inexpedient and fraught with danger to each of the provinces for the House to invite such legislation."

After considerable discussion, it was proposed to add to Mr. Mackenzie's motion an expression of regret that the New Brunswick Legislature had not modified the School Act of 1871 in such a way as to remove all just ground of dissatisfaction, and that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying her to use such influence with the Legislature of New Brunswick as would secure such modifications. The divisions in the House showed a very curious change of front on the part of the Conservatives. In 1872 they unanimously voted for a resolution expressing regret at the action of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick; and Sir John Macdonald, who was then Premier, expressed, on behalf of the Government, his willingness to bear the expenses of appeal to the Privy Council. They also voted down, assisted by Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Blake, and other leading Liberals, an amendment by Mr. Dorion, embodying the view that the bill should be disallowed. They then voted down another amendment proposed by Mr. Chauveau, calling upon the Imperial Government for such a modification of the British North America Act as would meet the complaints of the Roman Catholics in New Brunswick; while in 1875, they were unwilling to express regret at the action of the Legislature of New Brunswick in not repealing the obnoxious School Act, but were quite ready to ask the Imperial Parliament to amend the British North America Act, 1867, as desired. Even such a doughty champion of Protestantism as Mr. Bowell was prepared to amend the constitution

of New Brunswick *nolens volens* on the lines advocated by Mr. Costigan.

The action of the Liberal party on the New Brunswick School Bill is worthy of the highest praise. The real question at issue was not whether the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick should be granted Separate Schools or not; the question was, should the Dominion Parliament override the Constitution in order to redress a grievance which came within the province of the Local Legislature. No doubt many Roman Catholics in their conscientious zeal for Separate Schools, felt that in resisting the demand made by Mr. Costigan for the relief they desired, the Liberals were actuated by hostility to Separate Schools. They failed to see that the exercise of the power which would give them Separate Schools in New Brunswick might, in the hands of an unscrupulous leader, deprive them of Separate Schools in the Province of Ontario, or even in Quebec. The sections of the British North America Act which deal with education were specially intended for the protection of minorities. If the Parliament of Canada could so far forget itself as to ignore its own Constitution, then every safeguard provided for the protection of the minority in the Province of Ontario, would be swept away.

The session of 1872 will also be remembered as the session in which the first Redistribution bill of a Conservative Government was introduced containing the very objectionable features of the later measures of 1882 and 1892, for instance, the old borough of Niagara, with a population of 3,963, and Cornwall town and township, with a population of 7,114, were each allowed a representative in Parliament or a member for 5,500 inhabitants, although the mean average was 18,315 persons per member. North Simcoe, South Bruce, Essex and Lambton were only allowed one member each, or at the rate of

32,485 persons per member. The electoral district of Monck was carved out as a Tory preserve, and the county of Huron was adjusted for the purpose of sacrificing its Liberal representative, Mr. M. C. Cameron. It was also provided that the cities of Ottawa and Hamilton should not be divided into electoral districts the same as Montreal and Toronto. The bill, as submitted by the Government, passed the House—the first of a series of wrongs of a similar kind adopted for the purpose of stifling the free expression of the public opinion of Canada at the polls.





CHAPTER XXIV.

DOWNFALL OF THE GOVERNMENT.

General Election of 1872—Issues Before the Country—Sir John Meets Mackenzie at Sarnia—Appointment of a Leader—Selection of Mr. Mackenzie—Interesting Letter to his Brother—Irregular Elections—The Pacific Scandal—Huntington's Charges—Appointment of a Committee—Sir John Macdonald's Evasions—The Oaths Bill—Prorogation Amidst Great Excitement—Meeting of Liberals in Railway Committee Room—Memorial to the Governor-General—Appointment of a Commission—Meeting of Parliament—Speeches by the Opposition Leaders—Resignation of the Government.



THE country had now five years' experience of "no-party" Government under Sir John Macdonald, and the electors were called upon to consider how far he had fulfilled the promises made at the inception of Confederation. Certainly it was impossible for him, from the complexion of his Cabinet, and from the character of the legislation of the past five years, to raise the "no-party" cry a second time. Mr. Howland and Mr. MacDougall, his Liberal allies from Ontario in 1867, were no longer members of his Government; Mr. Fergusson-Blair had passed over to the majority; and the men called to fill their places from Ontario, whatever may have been their previous party antecedents, were everywhere regarded by Liberals as his most devoted followers. Sir Francis Hincks, his Minister of Finance, had forfeited all claims upon the Liberal party many years ago, and neither Mr. Aikins nor Mr. Morris could boast of a Liberal following. As, therefore, the "no-party"

cry could no longer be relied upon, a gigantic scheme for purchasing the election was inaugurated.

The questions to be considered by the electors were large enough for an empire, let alone a colony. Since 1867, Canada had acquired the North-West Territories, had given a provincial constitution to part of these Territories, and had placed the remainder under a Territorial Government. For the people of Canada to consider whether the project of "nation-building" on which they had now embarked was a wise one, and whether the constitution under which their borders were being extended was consistent with the interests of the other Provinces, were issues of no ordinary magnitude. If the foundations were well and truly laid, the prosperity of the country, as a whole, would be advanced. If, on the other hand, popular rights were disregarded, dangerous concessions made, or bad precedents established, then, like the union of Ireland with Great Britain under Pitt, the extension of her boundaries would have been effected at the expense of the future comfort and well-being of the Dominion.

Mr. Mackenzie and his Liberal allies found ample material in the blundering of the Government in connection with the North-West Territories, and in the organisation of the Province of Manitoba, by which to censure the Government and to array public feeling against them, and so the whole train of circumstances—the expulsion of MacDougall in 1869, the murder of Scott in 1870, the uprising of the people, rendering Colonel Wolseley's expedition necessary, and the suspected truculence of the Administration to Sir George Cartier—were the subjects of discussion on every platform. It is to be feared that in the prominence given to details the larger questions affecting the constitutional issues involved were lost sight of.

The terms made with British Columbia were also before the electors. Were these terms just to the other Provinces? Did they give British Columbia more influence in Parliament than she was fairly entitled to? The covenant to complete a line of railway, connecting her with the older Provinces, in twelve years, without an estimate of the cost of such an undertaking, was a fit subject for discussion. And here, too, it is possible that the rhapsodies of the Conservative stump-orator over the extension of our Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, impressed the electors more than the risks they were taking in endorsing the policy of the Government.

Then, there was the power taken by the Government to charter a company for the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway, and, of its own will and pleasure, to grant such a charter to whomsoever it pleased—capitalists, members of the Senate, members of the House of Commons, contractors or speculators, all of whom might have a financial interest in seeing the Government sustained. There was also the power of handing over to such a company 50,000,000 acres of land and \$30,000,000 of hard cash. Would the country approve of such prodigality? Could the country stand such a burden? Were we not going too fast? Was there any necessity for such an expenditure? And here again every attempt to obtain a sober answer to these questions, or to get the deliberate judgment of the people on an undertaking so vast, was interrupted by appeals to the imagination. It was said: "If the union is to be complete, permanent, and strong, West and East must be bound together by an iron band. The teeming millions of Europe must be invited to settle upon our fertile prairies, and the manufacturers of Ontario must be allowed an easy entrance to the markets of the West. England will lend us all

the money we want. Let us not be faint-hearted. Let us borrow freely."

The selection of the long route for the Intercolonial Railway regardless of the commercial interests of the whole Dominion; the granting of "better terms" to Nova Scotia, without considering the rights of the other Provinces to a readjustment at the same time of the financial basis on which they entered the union; the abandonment of the Fenian claims under the Washington Treaty; the surrender of Canadian rights on the St. Lawrence, had all to be pronounced upon by the electors of Canada. Seldom, indeed, have the people of any country been called upon to express an opinion upon greater questions constitutional, commercial, or financial. That such questions could arise in the government of a country, suggests the responsibility which representative institutions impose upon those who, in the last analysis, hold its destiny in their hands.

The Liberal party entered upon the campaign of 1872 with great energy. They felt they had a strong case against the Government, and were determined to make the most of it, through the press and on the platform. Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues were equally active; and Ontario, as usual, was the scene of many conflicts between leaders on each side. Mr. Mackenzie, who had charge of the campaign for the Liberal party, placed himself at the disposal of his friends throughout the Province, and in addition to the burdens of his own election, did valiant service for the Liberal cause in many other constituencies.

One of the most interesting episodes in the campaign was the visit paid by Sir John Macdonald to the county of Lambton, and his complete discomfiture by Mr. Mackenzie at a public meeting in the town of Sarnia. The Conservative party was very anxious that Sir John Macdonald should address

the electors. If he could only be prevailed upon to give them but one meeting, Mr. Mackenzie's defeat was assured. As in the case of Rhoderick Dhu, they believed "one blast upon his bugle horn were worth a thousand men."

The Liberals were equally anxious for his appearance, as they believed their untitled champion was more than a match for the knighted chieftain of the Conservatives. Public excitement with regard to this great meeting, which was to take place at Sarnia on the 21st of August—the day fixed for the nomination of candidates—became more intense as the time approached. By special trains and vehicles of all descriptions, the people of the country gathered in thousands. Sir John arrived early in the day in a gun boat which had been chartered to bring him from Goderich, and at twelve o'clock the proceedings were opened by the returning officer calling for nominations. Mr. Mackenzie was in the best of form, and appeared to be determined not to be misunderstood from want of plainness in speech—Sir John's presence arousing his best energies. He first expressed his great pleasure at being confronted by the leader of the Conservative party, in his own riding, as it gave him the opportunity of saying in his presence, as fearlessly as ever he did in his absence, what he thought of his policy and his party. During the course of Mr. Mackenzie's speech he was frequently interrupted by remarks from Sir John Macdonald. "I was going to call him my honorable friend," Mr. Mackenzie said, in alluding to Sir John, "but till he retracts a statement he made on the Kingston hustings I cannot call him that."

SIR JOHN—I certainly won't retract it.

MR. MACKENZIE—He says he won't retract it. I defy him to prove it. Until he does prove it, I shall treat him as a slanderer.

Later on, Mr. Mackenzie, referring to the desire expressed by Sir John Macdonald that he (Mr. Mackenzie) should join his Government, said it was the old story, "walk into my parlour said the spider to the fly." The "honorable gentleman's parlour was a very dangerous place for anyone with a political character to enter, and no one ever came out of it clean."

SIR JOHN—How about Brown? How about Brown?

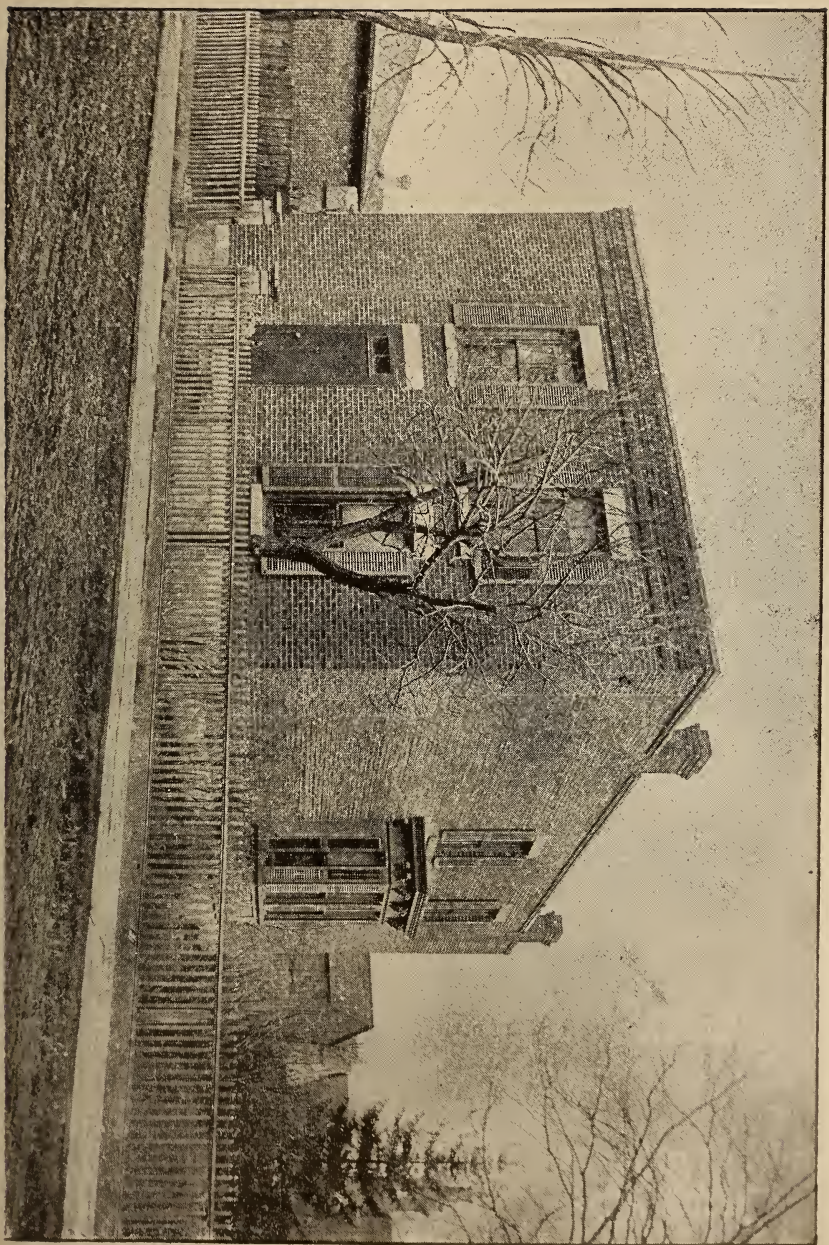
MR. MACKENZIE—Mr. Brown never entered your parlour. Mr. Brown and you sat in the Cabinet on equal terms.

Mr. Mackenzie then charged Sir John Macdonald's Government with deceit in dealing with the troubles in the North-West Territory, quoting from a letter addressed by Mr. MacDougall to Mr. Howe in 1870, as follows: "Enough has transpired to satisfy every attentive observer that it never was your policy or the policy of a majority of your colleagues to send any expedition whatever to the North-West. The indignant expression of public opinion, chiefly from Ontario, and the bold and determined attitude of the leaders of the Opposition in Parliament compelled you to organize the force and put it in motion, and the same public opinion prevented you from recalling it after it had reached Thunder Bay. But you did the next best thing for the rebel president—Riel; you deprived the commander of the expedition of the power to arrest him or to invoke the aid of any magistrate for that purpose."

Speaking of the "better terms" granted to Nova Scotia, he pointed out the dangerous effect of the Government's course, and called upon Sir John Macdonald to say what he would do with reference to the "better terms" to New Brunswick.

SIR JOHN—What would you do?

MR. MACKENZIE—Wait till my Government is formed; then I will tell you.



Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's Old Home, Sarma.

SIR JOHN—God help New Brunswick then.

MR. MACKENZIE—I say, God help Sir John Macdonald then.

Mr. Mackenzie closed his speech by a review of the financial condition of the country, and expressed the hope, judging from the result of the elections thus far, that the Liberal party would not be much longer in opposition.

Sir John Macdonald's reply to Mr. Mackenzie was a great disappointment to his friends, and, instead of helping, materially injured the prospects of the Conservative candidate, Mr. Vidal.

A few of the contests of this election deserve special notice. Sir George Cartier, so long dictator in his own Province, was defeated in Montreal by an immense majority, and had to look elsewhere for a seat. As the elections in Manitoba had not then taken place, it was arranged that Attorney-General Clark and Riel, who were the candidates for Provencher, should retire in his favor. Sir Francis Hincks, Minister of Finance, who expected such an easy victory over Mr. Paterson in South Brant, was also defeated. A seat was found for him in British Columbia. The Hon. William MacDougall again offered himself as a candidate in the North Riding of Lanark in the Conservative interest; but his criticism of the Government after his return from the North-West, and his letters to Joseph Howe, had so alienated the affections of his old constituents as to render his defeat a comparatively easy matter. Mr. Aquila Walsh, Commissioner on the Intercolonial Railway, was defeated in North Norfolk, and Mr. A. P. Macdonald, a noted railway contractor, in West Middlesex.

The elections of 1872 were a great triumph for the Liberal party, and for the policy advocated by Mr. Mackenzie, as leader. Had he been permitted to grapple with his opponents on equal terms, the Government would have certainly been defeated.

The Conservatives from the beginning to the end of the campaign were put upon the defensive, and their defence of the mal-administration of the past five years was completely broken down by the crushing attacks of the Liberal leader. There were several circumstances, however, which operated to their advantage. First, as the elections were not held on one and the same day, they were able to manufacture a certain amount of public opinion in their favor by first opening those constituencies in which they were most likely to be successful. Second, they used the power which it was always felt open voting gave to the Government of the day, and that not only in the ordinary sense understood by undue influence, but in a far more questionable sense. Third, as will be afterwards shewn through the influence of Sir Hugh Allan and others, they had at their disposal an election fund sufficiently large to demoralize thousands of the electors; and there is no doubt that many constituencies were affected by the corrupt use made of this fund. Fourth, the position taken by the Liberal party with regard to the admission of British Columbia, and the "better terms" to Nova Scotia, was represented as one of hostility to these Provinces, generally, and not as a defence of the Constitution, which it really was.

In spite of all these circumstances, Sir John Macdonald's strength was considerably reduced, and in the Province of Ontario, particularly, the feeling was so decided as to leave him again largely in the minority.

The Liberal party assembled at the opening of Parliament in 1873 in good spirits. Although not successful in the election, their ranks were greatly strengthened, and they were confident that even if the Government could not be overthrown at once, its tenure of office would be of short duration.

The House was duly constituted by the election of Mr. Jas. Cockburn Speaker, after which His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin was pleased to make his first speech to both Houses of Parliament.

For five years Mr. Mackenzie had acted as leader of the Liberal party, although not formally appointed to that position. The time had now come, in his opinion, for the formal election of a leader. The record of the steps taken to this end is fully contained in a letter to his brother Charles, written from Ottawa on Thursday, March 6th, the day after the House met.

“We had a meeting of the Ontario members on Tuesday afternoon. I gave them my reasons for calling them together, and told them that Dorion had also called a meeting of the Quebec members, both meetings being with a view of forming a complete organization under one leader; that I had hitherto acted as leader, although not elected to that office; that I was now resolved to retire from the position; that we should have a friendly, open discussion on the subject, advising them to come to no decision until we could all meet together. I urged them to consider whether it would most advance the general interests of the party to make the choice from Quebec rather than from Ontario. I then said that my own impression was that the preponderating power Ontario held, would probably induce members from all sections to select one of the members from that Province, and in that case I thought Mr. Blake should be chosen, as his splendid abilities and his standing in the country gave him many advantages, while his legal knowledge gave him additional power, placing him ahead of all others in the House. Blake then spoke, agreeing in the general plans I suggested, but protesting against my conclusions. He spoke of my success during the last five

years, and said the local Government was defeated through my efforts, and the late elections were carried by my influence and exertions, and consequently if an Ontario man were chosen, it must be me; and at any rate he could not listen to any proposal. One or two expressed themselves in favor of Blake in preference to me, all the others avoided any comparison, but discussed the matter fully. Finally it was delegated to a committee to consider. This committee was previously appointed to confer with a committee from Quebec, respecting the speakership and other matters. Our committee were Rymal, Young, Blake, Richards and myself, the others, Dorion, Holton, Letellier, Huntington and John Young. We had three long meetings, during which we arrived first at the conclusion that it was advisable to have the leader from Ontario, Blake and I agreeing that all Ontario would take Dorion freely if they considered that step advisable. They were unanimous against it. I then proposed to agree on Blake, each of us promising our utmost efforts to support him. He would not listen to it. I also declined. The general meeting was adjourned till 4 o'clock this afternoon. The committee met again at 10, and I was pressed to yield which I reluctantly did. Dorion reported the result of the general meeting. Holton moved and Geoffrion seconded the motion to adopt the committee's report and declare me leader of the whole party. This was at once put by the chairman (John Young) and carried unanimously, seventy members being present. I was extremely unwilling to accept the post again, as I told you, but at last I saw no escape. Of course the honor is a great one, especially when accompanied by such speeches as Holton's, Dorion's and Blake's, and conferred with entire unanimity. I, however, feel oppressed with the work ahead and my inability to do such work as one in my

position should do. Political leadership should also exist where circumstances are easy. The absence of that condition caused me to determine on refusing it, and even now I fear I have made a mistake on that as well as on other grounds."

Nothing could show to better advantage the entire absence of selfishness in Mr. Mackenzie than the simple narrative above given. He could not be unconscious of his own strength, as he had already crossed swords with every Conservative of any standing in the House. Neither could he be oblivious to the influence which he exerted as a public man upon the country, and the appreciation with which his services were regarded by his party, and yet in the face of all those circumstances, he is more than willing to forego the honor of the leadership in favor of any person on whom the party may agree, and when there was no escape, he says, "I reluctantly accepted, perhaps I made a mistake." There is no elbowing of his way to the front, no supercilious disregard of others' claims, no arrogant assertion of his own fitness for the position, but, on the contrary, a humility and reticence worthy of the highest admiration.

The first few days of the session of 1873 were occupied in dealing with fraudulent election returns. The Liberal candidate for West Peterborough, Mr. John Bertram, received 745 votes at the general election. His opponent received 705 votes. Notwithstanding this, the returning officer declared the Conservative candidate duly elected. This irregularity was brought before the House on a motion by Mr. Blake, in which the gross invasion of the rights of Parliament and the flagrant violation of duty by the returning officer were exposed in a scathing speech.

Sir John Macdonald asked the House to refer the whole matter to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, instead of

following the precedents of previous Parliaments, allowing the candidate having the majority of votes to take the seat. This was agreed to in a vote of 79 to 95, or a Government majority of 16.

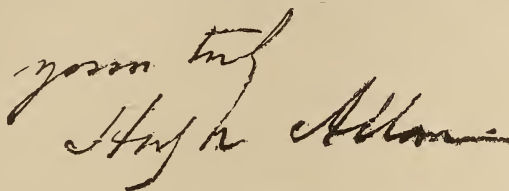
In the election in Muskoka, it appears that Mr. Cockburn, the Liberal candidate, had a majority of the votes cast, but that the Returning Officer declined to return Mr. Cockburn on account of certain irregularities in the election, thus leaving Muskoka unrepresented. From their narrow majority in the previous vote, the Government declined a division on this case, although the grounds for reference to a committee were much stronger. The Clerk of the Crown in Chancery was directed to amend the return, and Mr. Cockburn took the seat, of which he would have been deprived during the whole session, were it not for the bold step taken by the Opposition.

There were disputes, also, with regard to other seats in Ontario and in the Maritime Provinces, and in each case the Government used its majority to strengthen itself in the House.

After the disputes with regard to contested seats were disposed of, the House was called upon by Mr. Huntington to consider a motion, out of which grew the disclosures known as the Pacific Scandal, which, to the regret of every Canadian, has been a reproach to the country from that day till now.

By the Act passed the preceding year respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Government, as before stated, was authorized to charter a company having a subscribed capital of at least \$10,000,000, for the construction of this road. If more than one company should be formed, power was given for their amalgamation. Two other Acts were passed during the same session with regard to the same railway. One was an Act to incorporate the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company of

Canada, at the head of which was the Hon. David MacPherson. The other was an Act to incorporate the C. P. R. Company, at the head of which was Sir Hugh Allan. These three Acts completed the scheme for the building of the road. The Government found considerable difficulty in proceeding on

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Hugh Allan". The signature is written in a cursive style, with the first name "Hugh" and the last name "Allan" clearly legible. There is a small mark above the "H" that looks like a checkmark or a stylized flourish.

account of the strength of the rival companies. Mr. MacPherson's company was composed largely of capitalists from Ontario; Sir Hugh Allan's, of capitalists from Quebec. To amalgamate the two companies seemed to be impossible, as Mr. Macpherson insisted upon the chairmanship of the companies, if amalgamated, and to this Sir Hugh objected.

Sir John Macdonald, finding it impossible to effect a union of the two companies, announced the intention of the Government to promote the formation of a new one out of the strongest men in the different Provinces, and a short time before the meeting of the House, in March, 1873, such an organization was completed, of which Sir Hugh Allan was elected chairman.

The large subsidy of land and money to be granted to the railway excited the cupidity of Sir Hugh Allan and his friends, and as during 1872 it rested with the Government to say which of the companies chartered should be allowed to construct the railway, Sir Hugh Allan proceeded at once to ingratiate himself with the Government by providing Sir John Macdonald liberally with funds for the elections. This becoming known, Mr. Huntington, on the 2nd of April, moved the following resolution :

“That Mr. Huntington, a member of the House, having stated in his place that he is credibly informed and believes that he can establish by satisfactory evidence ;

“That, in anticipation of the legislation of last session, as to the Pacific Railway, an agreement was made between Sir Hugh Allan, acting for himself, and certain other Canadian promoters, and G. W. McMullen, acting for certain United States capitalists, whereby the latter agreed to furnish all the funds necessary for the construction of the contemplated railway, and to give the former a certain per cent. of interest, in consideration of their interest and position, the scheme agreed on being ostensibly that of a Canadian company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head ;

“That the Government were aware that negotiations were pending between these parties ;

“That subsequently an understanding was come to between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott, M.P.,—that Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the elections of the Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing general election, and that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the railway,

“That accordingly Sir Hugh Allan did advance a large sum of money for the purpose mentioned, and at the solicitation, and under the pressing instances, of Ministers ;

“That part of the moneys expended by Sir Hugh Allan in connection with the obtaining of the Act of incorporation and charter was paid to him by the said United States capitalists under the agreement with him. It is

“Ordered, that a committee of seven members be appointed to enquire into all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construction of the Pacific Railway, with the

legislation of last session on the subject, and with the granting of the charter to Sir Hugh Allan and others; with power to send for persons, papers and records; and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before, and all proceedings of, said Committee."

In moving, Mr. Huntington contented himself with saying that "He felt compelled by a deep sense of duty to place the motion he was about to make before the House at the earliest possible moment, in view of the very grave question raised. He had already stated in his place that he was credibly informed that arrangements had been made by Sir Hugh Allan and an American gentleman representing certain American capitalists for the construction of the Pacific Railway, in anticipation of the legislation of last session; that the Government were aware of this, and that subsequently arrangements were made between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan, by which a large sum of money was to be paid to the Government for the purpose of influencing the recent elections, in return for which Sir Hugh Allan and his friends were free to receive the contract for the construction of the railway, and that this was done."

This motion was regarded by the Government as a vote of want of confidence, which no doubt it was, and without reply or explanation, or even denial, a vote was taken and the Government sustained by a majority of 31.

On the next day, Sir John Macdonald gave notice that he would ask the House to appoint a special committee to inquire into, and report upon, the several matters contained and stated in Mr. Huntington's resolutions just voted down, the committee to consist of Messrs. Blanchet, Blake, A. A. Dorion, John Hillyard Cameron, and James Macdonald, of Pictou.

Mr. Mackenzie suggested that a short Act should be passed,

giving power to the committee to sit during recess and to take evidence under oath. To this, Sir John Macdonald agreed, intimating at the same time that he had doubts as to the power of the House to pass such an Act.

The committee met on the 17th of April, appointed John Hillyard Cameron, chairman, and recommended, as their first report, that an Act be passed to enable them to examine witnesses on oath. A Bill for this purpose passed speedily through both Houses, but on account of the doubt raised by Sir John Macdonald, His Excellency referred it to the home authorities. On the 3rd of May, it was transmitted to England, and on the 27th of June the Earl of Kimberley telegraphed the Governor-General that the Act was disallowed.

Immediately on the passing of the Oaths Bill, a meeting of the committee was called, apparently for the purpose of examining Sir Francis Hincks, who had been summoned as a witness. At the same time Sir John Macdonald appeared before the committee and stated that as Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott were absent from the country the committee had better ask the House for the privilege of adjourning to some day to be named on which these two gentlemen could be present. The committee concurred in Sir John's suggestion, and reported to the House accordingly. Mr. Huntington and the other members of the Liberal party objected to the proposed adjournment. Mr. Huntington said: "He had been prepared for days to proceed upon his own responsibility with the investigation. He had given the committee a list of his witnesses; that if the committee adjourned for two or three months he might not be in the same position as he was now, as in the interval there might be a manipulation of the witnesses by whom the charges could be proven. If the public men of this country who were charged with this crime were

innocent, then, by all means, it was in the interests of the House and the country that their innocence should be established as early as possible. If, on the other hand, the charges were true, they had all a deep interest that the proof should be forthcoming and that they should wash their hands of this terrible corruption which had fastened itself upon a great enterprise likely to exercise immense influence in the country."

Sir John Macdonald replied to Mr. Huntington in a very violent speech, charging him with taking undue advantage of the Government. He said: "The charge was a foul calumny. The Government denied *in toto* the charge. On behalf of the members of the Government, he told the honorable gentleman, Mr. Huntington, that he had been most woefully deceived, for neither by word, thought, deed nor action had the Government done anything of which they could or ought to be ashamed in the carrying out or the entering into, from the beginning to the ending of the charter."

Mr. Mackenzie replied at considerable length to Sir John Macdonald, pointing out that in various ways the investigation which the committee was appointed to conduct had been delayed, that the Government appeared to fear the proposed investigation, and that now the postponement of further enquiry until the 2nd of July was trifling with the House.

The postponement asked for, however, was granted in a vote of 107 yeas to 76 nays.

In order that the committee might take evidence during the recess, the House was not prorogued at the end of the session as is usual but simply adjourned till the 13th of August, at which time it was expected that the committee would be ready to make a report. On the 2nd of July, the committee met in Montreal; but as it was found they could

not examine witnesses under oath, they adjourned until the day fixed for the prorogation of Parliament.

Sir John Macdonald proposed to issue a royal commission to the members of the committee, which would give them the power to examine witnesses as was desired. Messrs. Dorion and Blake both declined to accept a commission. Mr. Blake's answer to Sir John Macdonald was most spirited :

"I believe that it would be of evil consequences to create the precedent of a Government issuing a Commission of enquiry into matters of a charge against itself, the Commissioners being, as they are, subject to the direction and control of the accused. I believe that the acceptance of such a Commission would be opposed to the sense of the House of Commons, as manifested by its action last session, and would, under present circumstances, be calculated to prejudice the enquiry ordered by the House, and to impair the full and efficient exercise of its most ancient and important powers. The House of Commons does not, I think, expect that the Crown, or any one else, least of all the members of its own committee, will interpose between itself and the great enquiry which it has undertaken. Apart from these and other difficulties, you have yourself interposed a barrier to my acceptance of your offer. During my absence from the House of Commons last session, you stated in your place that I had done wrong in not declining to fulfil the duty of Committeeman, which had been imposed on me by the House, that English statesmen in my position—which, however, you misstated—would have scorned to do as I had done, and that my speeches during the session shewed that your Government could not expect fair play from me on the enquiry. I shall not condescend to reply to these statements, but I have to say that although I reluctantly came to the conclusion that I was not free to decline to serve the

House, of which I am a member, I do not think it consistent with my self-respect to accept the commission here offered by a Minister who has chosen to characterize my conduct. I have sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Cameron for his information, as chairman of the committee."

The country was greatly excited on account of the apparently studied efforts of the Government to burke an investigation, and the evident desire of some members of the committee to encourage such delays.

Whatever powers the committee had, they certainly ceased on the 13th of August. But public opinion had become so excited, that although the Government had got rid of the committee, they could not get rid of the investigation.

His Excellency the Governor-General, who was summering in the Maritime Provinces, considered the situation sufficiently grave to warrant his return to the capital and to insist that Parliament should be called in six or eight weeks, so that cognizance might be taken of the charges made by Mr. Huntington.

The Liberal party, having been deceived so often by one excuse after another for delay, determined to make a strong effort, when the Speaker took the chair to receive the usual summons to the Senate chamber to hear His Excellency's prorogation speech, to place a resolution in the Speaker's hands, and force the discussion of the question at issue. They feared that if the House was prorogued even the promised Commission would not be appointed; but what they were most anxious for was that the investigation should not be taken out of the hands of Parliament. The government was, however, prepared for any action of this kind. The usher of the black rod, whose duty it is, with many bows and genuflexions, to summon the faithful Commons to the Senate chamber on such

occasions, was directed to stand at the main entrance of the Commons, so that the moment the Speaker took the chair he could deliver his message before a motion from any member of the House could be put in the Speaker's hands. Mr. Mackenzie, who had prepared a motion which embodied the views of the Opposition, was on his feet before the Speaker had scarcely ascended to his place, and began to address the House amid shouts and jeers from the Government benches. The usher of the black rod, apparently greatly alarmed at the stormy scene on which he had intruded himself, stammered out his usual orders: "I am commanded by His Excellency the Governor-General to acquaint this Honorable House that it is the pleasure of His Excellency that the members thereof do forthwith attend him in the Senate chamber." This summons the Speaker obeyed with the utmost alacrity, and left the chair while Mr. Mackenzie was vainly endeavoring to vindicate the honor of Parliament.

This *coup d'état*, by which Parliament was got rid of, greatly delighted the Conservative party. The committee which had been appointed by a series of evasions was not permitted to do anything; Parliament was not permitted to do anything, and it seemed to the Liberal party as if every means for bringing the offenders to justice had failed.

Having failed with Parliament, they next appealed to His Excellency the Governor-General, submitting a memorial as follows, signed by ninety members:

"The undersigned, members of the House of Commons of Canada, desire to respectfully approach Your Excellency and humbly to represent that more than four months have already elapsed since the Honorable Mr. Huntington made, from his place in the House, grave charges of corruption against Your Excellency's constitutional advisers in reference to the Pacific

Railway contract; that although the House has appointed a committee to enquire into the said charges, the proceedings of this committee have, on various grounds, been postponed, and the enquiry has not yet taken place; that the honor of the country imperatively requires that no further delay should take place in the investigation of charges of so grave a character, and which it is the duty and undoubted right and privilege of the Commons to prosecute.

"The undersigned are deeply impressed with the conviction that any attempt to postpone this enquiry, or to remove it from the jurisdiction of the Commons, would create the most intense dissatisfaction; and they therefore pray Your Excellency not to prorogue Parliament until the House of Commons shall have an opportunity of taking such steps as it may deem necessary and expedient with reference to this important matter.

"The names signed to this document were as follow :

"OPPOSITION.—Anglin, Archibald, Bain, Bechard, Bergin, Blain, Blake, Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowman, Boyer, Brouse, Buell, Burpee (Sunbury), Cameron (Huron), Cartwright, Casey, Casgrain, Cauchon, Charlton, Church, Cockburn (Muskoka), Cook, Cutler, Delorme, St. George, Dorion, A. A., Dorion, H. P., Edgar, Ferris, Findlay, Fiset, Fleming, Fournier, Galbraith, Geoffrion, Gibson, Gillies, Goudge, Hagar, Harvey, Higginbotham, Holton, Horton, Huntington, Jetté, Laflamme, Landerkin, Macdonald (Glengarry), Mackenzie, Mercier, Metcalfe, Mills, Oliver, Paquet, Paterson, Pearson, Pelletier, Pickard, Poser, Prevost, Richard, Richards, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Durham), Ross (Wellington), Ross (Middlesex), Rymal, Smith (Peel), Snyder, Stirton, Taschereau, Thompson, Thomson, Tremblay, Trow, White (Halton), Wilkes, Wood, Young (Waterloo), Young (Montreal).

“MINISTERIALISTS.—Burpee (St. John), Coffin, Cunningham, Forbes, Glass, Macdonell (Inverness), Ray, Schultz, Scriver, Shibley, D. A. Smith (Selkirk), A. J. Smith (Westmoreland).”

In his reply to this memorial, the Governor-General said that “To accept the advice tendered him would be simply to dismiss from his councils his responsible Ministers. It is true, grave charges have been preferred against these gentlemen—charges which I admit require the most searching investigation, but, as you yourselves remarked in your memorandum, the truth of these accusations still remains untested.

“Under these circumstances, what right has the Governor-General, on his personal responsibility, to proclaim to Canada, nay, not only to Canada, but to America and Europe, as such a proceeding on his part must necessarily do, that he believes his Ministers guilty of the crimes alleged against them? Were it possible at the present time to make a call of the House, and place myself in a direct communication with the Parliament of the Dominion, my present embarrassment would disappear, but this is a physical impossibility. I am assured by my Prime Minister, and the report of the proceedings at the time bears out his statements, that when Parliament adjourned it was announced by him, as the leader of the House, that the meeting on the 13th of August would be immediately followed by prorogation; that no substantive objection was taken to this announcement, and that, as a consequence, a considerable portion of your fellow members are dispersed in various directions. I should, therefore, only deceive myself were I to regard the present Assembly as a full Parliament.”

He then stated that a Royal Commission would be issued at once to three gentlemen of high legal standing, and that Parliament would be assembled within two months or ten

weeks of the date of prorogation, "to take supreme and final cognizance of the case now pending between his ministers and their accusers."

The members of Parliament who had signed the remonstrance to His Excellency and their friends then assembled in the railway committee room of the House, to protest against the prorogation of Parliament while grave charges were hanging over the ministers. Vigorous speeches were delivered by various members. Mr. Mackenzie said that "in this country which was governed by Parliament, a cry would go out from end to end of the land against the indignity which had been put upon it, and if the Government sought to escape from the consequences of their crime, they would find that their action would only tend to intensify the feeling. It now became the members, as rulers of the country, to do nothing unseemly, but to take every step to maintain their dignity, and at the same time to use every legitimate and lawful means to obtain the opinion of the country."

Mr. Blake was specially vigorous in his demand for investigation. "Parliament," he said, "was the proper court of enquiry for charges against ministers. To prorogue Parliament when such charges were pending, and to substitute a Commission appointed by the accused for a committee of the House, was trifling with the prerogatives of Parliament. He hoped there would be an investigation, not by gentlemen in the dock, but by those who should be chosen by Parliament indifferently to try the question of innocence or guilt, and make an exhaustive examination of the evidence."

Speeches were delivered by Mr. Huntington and other members of Parliament, in defence of the right of the House to determine how its honor should be protected against a corrupt Government.

On the 14th of August, a Royal Commission was issued to Judge Day, of the city of Montreal; Judge Polette, of the city of Three Rivers, and Judge Gowan, of the town of Barrie, with instructions to make enquiry into Mr. Huntington's charges against the Government.

The Commission was summoned to meet on the 4th day of September, and Mr. Huntington was invited to submit a list of witnesses and to proceed with the prosecution. Mr. Huntington declined to appear before the Commissioners. He said:

"I deem it inconsistent with my duty as a member of Parliament, and a breach of the undoubted privileges of the House, to recognize any inferior or exceptional tribunal created to enquire into the charges still pending before the Commons, and so essential to the privileges, dignity and independence of Parliament. I believe that it is a breach of those privileges that a Royal Commission, issued without the special sanction of the House, should take any cognizance of, or should assume to call on me to justify words which I have spoken on the floor of the Commons, and for which I am responsible to them, and to them only. I feel that I should do no act which may be construed into an acquiescence in the attempt to remove from the Commons the conduct and control of the enquiry. I believe that the creation of a Commission involves a breach of that fundamental principle of the Constitution which preserves to the Commons the right and duty of initiating and controlling enquiries into high political offences; that it involves also a breach of that fundamental principle of justice which prevents the accused from creating the tribunal and controlling the procedure for their trial, and that it is a Commission without precedent, unknown to the common law, unsanctioned by the statute law, providing by an exercise of the prerogative for an enquiry, out of

the ordinary course of justice, into misdemeanors cognizable to the courts, and consequently illegal and void."

The Commission reported to His Excellency the Governor-General on the 17th of October, and on the 23rd Parliament re-assembled. On the 27th, His Excellency's speech came up for consideration. On the second paragraph having been submitted to the House, Mr. Mackenzie moved an amendment as follows: "We have to acquaint His Excellency that by their course in reference to the investigation of the charges preferred by Mr. Huntington in his place in this House, and under the facts disclosed in the evidence laid before us, His Excellency's advisers have merited the severest censure of the House." On this motion, the Opposition challenged the Government to a discussion of the charges made by Mr. Huntington, and to a trial of strength on a division, if the Government would allow the matter to go so far.

The ministers were now at bay. There was no escaping from the judgment of the House. Mr. Mackenzie's motion had to be discussed and voted upon, and it was for the House to say whether the evidence submitted by the Commissioners would justify the condemnation of the Government.

The opening speech of the debate was made by Mr. Mackenzie. He reviewed the evidence submitted by the Commissioners, making copious extracts from Sir Hugh Allan's letters and from the correspondence between Sir John Macdonald and Sir Geo. E. Cartier.

It is impossible to do more than to quote some of the aptest passages from a few of these letters. For instance, "I think we will have to go it blind in the matter of money—cash payments. I have already paid \$8,500 and have not a voucher, and cannot get one."—(*Signed, Sir Hugh Allan.*)

"We yesterday signed an agreement by which on certain

monetary conditions the Government agrees to form a company of which I am to be President to suit my views, to give me and my friends a majority of the stock, and to give the company so formed the contract to build the Canadian Pacific Railway.

"The friends of the Government will expect to be assisted with funds on the pending elections, and any amount which you or your company shall advance for that purpose shall be recouped to you. A memorandum of the immediate requirement is below :—

"NOW WANTED.

"Sir John A. Macdonald, \$25,000; Hon. Mr. Langevin, \$15,000; Sir George E. Cartier, \$20,000; Sir J. A. Macdonald, additional, \$10,000; Hon. Mr. Langevin, additional, \$10,000; Sir George E. Cartier, \$30,000."—(*George E. Cartier to Sir H. Allan.*)

"Immediate; private. I must have another \$10,000; will be the last time of calling. Do not fail me. Answer to-day."—(*John A. Macdonald to Abbott.*)

"Draw on me for \$10,000."—(*Abbott to John A. Macdonald.*)

"In the absence of Sir Hugh Allan, I shall be obliged by your supplying the central committee with a further sum of \$20,000 upon the same conditions as the amount written by me at the foot of my letter to Sir Hugh Allan of the 30th ultimo.

"P. S.—Please also send Sir John Macdonald \$10,000 more on the same terms."—(*Mr. Cartier to Mr. Abbott.*)

Mr. Mackenzie was followed by Dr. Tupper, who claimed that the Government had done nothing wrong, and that a vote of want of confidence, proposed by Mr. Mackenzie, was entirely uncalled for. Dr. Tupper's speech called Mr. Huntington to his feet, who, in the most scathing terms denounced the

Government for trafficking in public contracts, with the view of keeping themselves in power. He appealed to the members to the House not to allow the honor of Parliament to be trampled in the dust by men so regardless of the great trust committed to them. He shewed how jealous the English House of Commons has always been of its honor, and appealed to independent members of the House to make themselves heard in this great crisis.

Mr. Macdonald, of Pictou, a member of the committee appointed by the House to investigate the charges, replied to Mr. Huntington.

On the fourth day of the debate, Sir John Macdonald rose to make his defence, and occupied for that purpose a period of about five hours. He was evidently impressed with the gravity of the situation, and determined that the opinion of the House, which was daily becoming stronger against him, should be turned in his favor, if it lay in his power so to do. In the course of his speech he reviewed the whole history of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the charters to different companies, and the progress of legislation for the purpose of connecting the East with the West. He enlarged upon the desirability of obtaining a Canadian company for a Canadian enterprise, and pointed out the necessity for supporting a Government that was favorable to the development of the country in this way. He concluded his speech by a fervent appeal for the support of the House:

“ But, sir, I commit myself, the Government commits itself to the hands of this House, and far beyond the House, it commits itself to the country at large. We have faithfully done our duty. We have fought the battle of Confederation. We have fought the battle of union. We have had party strife, setting Province against Province; and, more than all,

we have had in the greatest Province, the preponderating Province of the Dominion, every prejudice and sectional feeling that could be arrayed against us. I have been the victim of that conduct to a great extent, but I have fought the battle of Confederation, the battle of union, the battle of the Dominion of Canada. I throw myself upon this House; I throw myself upon this country; I throw myself upon posterity, and I believe that I know that, notwithstanding the many failings in my life, I shall have the voice of this country and this House rallying round me. And, sir, if I am mistaken in that, I can confidently appeal to a higher court—to the court of my own conscience, and to the court of posterity. I leave it with this House with every confidence. I am equal to either fortune. I can see past the decision of this House, either for or against me, but whether it be for or against me, I know, and it is no vain boast for me to say so, for even my enemies will admit that I am no boaster—that there does not exist in Canada a man who has given more of his time, more of his heart, more of his wealth, or more of his intellect and power, such as they may be, for the good of this Dominion of Canada.”

Mr. Blake rose at a quarter past two in the morning to reply to Sir John Macdonald. The opening sentences of his address were particularly apt. Referring to Sir John Macdonald's appeal to the intelligent judgment of the House, the country and posterity in vindication of his conduct, he said: “When he (Sir John Macdonald), was called upon by reason and argument to sustain his course at the last general election, and to prove his title to the confidence of his country, it was not to these high and elevating sentiments he appealed, it was not upon the intelligent judgment of the people he relied, but it was upon Sir Hugh Allan's money which he obtained

by the sale of the rights of the Canadian people which he held in trust."

Mr. Blake's speech was, throughout, a masterly argument in favor of Mr. Mackenzie's vote of want of confidence. "Let us not be carried away by the absurd notion," he said, "that there is a distinction between the standards of public and private virtue; let us not be carried away by the notion that that may be done in secret, which it is a shame to be known in public. Let our transactions be open, and, as the shame exists as it has been discovered, as it has been conclusively established, as it has been confessed, let us by our vote, regretfully it may be, give the perpetrators of it their just reward. Influence, I am aware, may be used to prevent this result, but, I am loath to suppose that it should ever be said of a Canadian Parliament, what a poet in the neighboring republic has said of the representative body of that country, when he described it thus:

"Underneath yon dome, whose coping
Springs above them, vast and tall,
Grave men in the dust are groping
For the largess, mean and small,
Which the hand of power is scattering;
Crumbs that from the table fall.

"Base of heart, they vilely barter
Honors, wealth, for party, place;
Step by step, in freedom's charter,
Leaving foot-prints of disgrace,
For the day's poor pittance,
Turning from the great hope of their race."

Notwithstanding the vigorous onslaught made by the Opposition on the Government, it was not until some of the independent members of the House declared themselves that it became evident their days were numbered. Many of their

supporters had carried the elections by the aid of Sir Hugh Allan's money. That they should stand by the Government, was quite natural. There were others, however, who were not bound to the Conservative party by any particular obligation. On the support of these they could not count with so much confidence.

Mr. Laird, of Prince Edward Island, was the first independent member to speak. He was followed by Mr. Donald A. Smith, of Manitoba, whose speech created great excitement in the House. Neither party knew what course Mr. Smith was going to take, although both sides looked for his support, and as a vote, one way or the other, might decide the fate of the Government, every word he uttered was listened to with the greatest anxiety. His exordium appeared favorable to the Government, and was loudly applauded from the ministerial benches. "With respect to the transaction between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan, he did not consider that the First Minister took the money with any corrupt motive. He felt that the leader of the Government was incapable of taking money from Sir Hugh Allan for corrupt purposes. He would be most willing to vote confidence in the Government—(Loud cheers from the Government side)—could he do so conscientiously. (Opposition cheers and laughter.) It was with very great regret that he felt he could not do so. For the honor of the country, no Government should exist that has a shadow of suspicion of this kind resting on them, and for that reason he could not support them." (Renewed opposition cheers.)

Mr. Smith's speech was delivered shortly before the adjournment of the House, about one o'clock in the morning of the 5th of Nov., and with it the confidence of the ministerial party vanished. That afternoon, at three o'clock, on the reas-

sembling of the members, Sir John Macdonald announced that he had placed his resignation in His Excellency's hands and that Mr. Mackenzie was called upon to form a new administration.

*Faithfully Yours
W. Buckingham } W. Brown
The Old Corruptionist Office
down at last!*

The political corruption disclosed by the Pacific scandal was a great shock to the country. It was long suspected that Sir John Macdonald, either by himself or by his authorized agents, had frequently drawn upon Government contractors for election purposes. Never before, however, had it been known the extent to which such drafts were made, and never before was it thought that ministers would become so emboldened in corruption as to ask over their own signatures for such large amounts of money. The press of the country was loud in its denunciations of what had taken place, and the almost universal feeling was that the honor of Canada was irreparably compromised.

To those who looked upon the public morality of Canada as a matter of pride, the humiliation was great indeed. Comparisons formerly made with politicians in the United States had now to be dropped. The Tammany ring and boss Tweed were duplicated on Canadian soil.

With the defeat of the Government, the power of Parliament was to a certain extent vindicated. That Sir John

Macdonald ever regained the confidence which he had forfeited by the sale of the Pacific Railway charter to Sir Hugh Allan, is one of the most extraordinary circumstances in his career. To retain office by a double shuffle, in connivance with the Governor-General, was comparatively a small matter. To form a coalition with the Liberals, and then, by a series of cunning manipulations, to use it for his own party purposes, was but an illustration of the art of a clever, though unprincipled, tactician. But to sell to a common stock-jobber, almost on the open market, a railway charter, in order to supply himself with election funds, is an offence which one would have thought the country would not soon forgive or forget, and yet a few days after his defeat in the House his friends elected him leader of the Conservative party, and five years later the country returned him at the head of an overwhelming majority.

When the Government was on its trial, and when its defeat was all but certain, Mr. E. B. Wood expressed the universal opinion of the House when he said: "Before many days the Government will have fallen like Lucifer, never to rise again." Dr. Tupper interjected, "but we shall rise." Mr. Wood replied: "Yes, but not till the resurrection morn, when the last trump shall sound." Mr. Wood's prophecies, unfortunately, were not fulfilled. The Government did arise long before the time specified, to repeat, we fear, on several occasions, the corrupt practices for which they were condemned in 1873, and to discredit in many ways the honor and dignity of Canada.



CHAPTER XXV.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

The New Cabinet—Dissolution of the House—Address to the Electors of Lambton—Meeting of Parliament—Mr. Mackenzie's Difficulties—Discontent of British Columbia—The Carnarvon Terms—Visit of Lord Dufferin—Brilliant Speech at Victoria—Irritation Allayed—New Reciprocity Treaty Considered—Honorable George Brown at Washington—Treaty agreed upon—Rejected by the Senate—Mr. Mackenzie's Loyalty to Canada—Mr. Cartwright's First Budget Speech—New Tariff Bill—Pacific Railway Bill—Mr. Mackenzie's Military Career—Military College—New Election Bill.

ON the resignation of Sir John Macdonald and his Government, His Excellency the Governor-General called upon Mr. Mackenzie to form a new administration. The task assigned him was not an easy one, particularly as it was necessary that the Government should not only represent the strongest men in the Liberal ranks, from a Dominion standpoint, but that it should also be composed of men most acceptable to the party. To make such a choice as would enable him to place at the head of the various departments of state, men qualified for the special work assigned them and who would at the same time bring him the political strength in each province which he required, was the basis on which his choice had to be made. His own experience warranted him in taking the department of Public Works. To Mr. Cartwright was assigned the department of Finance. Mr. David Christie, a member of the Senate, was made Secretary of State; Mr.

D. A. Macdonald, Postmaster-General; and Mr. Blake and the Hon. R. W. Scott were appointed members of the Executive without portfolio. The Province of Quebec was represented by Mr. A. A. Dorion, Minister of Justice; Letellier St. Just, as Minister of Agriculture; and Telesphore Fournier, Minister of Inland Revenue. New Brunswick was represented by Mr. A. J. Smith, as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and Mr. Isaac Burpee, as Minister of Customs. Nova Scotia was represented by Mr. Thomas Coffin, as Receiver-General, and Mr. Wm. Ross, as Minister of Militia and Defence. Mr. David Laird represented the Province of Prince Edward Island, now a member of Confederation, as Minister of the Interior.

The *personnel* of the new administration was, on the whole, satisfactory to the party. As between the House of Commons and the Senate the number of Ministers was eleven to three, and although Ontario held six seats in the Cabinet, two of them were without portfolio. Quebec held three, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick two each, and Prince Edward Island one. In speaking of his Government to his constituents, Mr. Mackenzie said: "I may with feelings of pride refer to the standing of the members of the Cabinet. No one will deny it has a large amount of ability. No debater in public life in our day can take rank with Mr. Blake, formerly Premier of Ontario. Mr. Smith and Mr. Laird were also respectively Premiers of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and no man stood higher in his own province than Mr. Dorion, Minister of Justice. In the matter of religious faith, there are five Catholics, three members of the Church of England, three Presbyterians, two Methodists, one Congregationalist and one Baptist."

The electors of Lambton, were, as might be expected, greatly

delighted with the elevation of the man whom for so many years they had elected to Parliament, and on his return to his county for the constitutional approval which his acceptance of a seat in the Government required, he was tendered a banquet by his old friends and admirers. The kind references to his public career, and to the great energy he had shown in overcoming obstacles which would have overwhelmed a weaker man, showed the esteem in which he was held by his constituents, while the response on his part, "You made me what I am, I owe my position to the confidence of the people of Lambton," indicated his appreciation of the support they had given him since he entered public life.

The Hon. Mr. Brown was unable to attend the banquet, but sent a ringing letter to the secretary. "In the midst of venality and corruption, Mr. Mackenzie's hands have never been defiled. It is such counties as Lambton that make such representatives as Alexander Mackenzie. It will be a bright page in the history of Canada that tells that the first Reform Minister of this great Dominion was the noblest working-man in the land, and the representative of one of the truest constituencies that ever upheld a great cause."

The Ministers having appealed to their constituencies and being constitutionally confirmed in their places, were now prepared to grapple with the political problems peculiar to the situation. Parliament was to be called for the transaction of business before many months, and the question very naturally suggested itself to their minds: "Shall we trust ourselves to a Parliament elected under our predecessors largely by Sir Hugh Allan's gold and \$10,000 drafts from Mr. Abbott? Sir John Macdonald had resigned without dividing the House. How many members were prepared to condemn him was unknown. Even if his condemnation had been secured by the registration

of their names in the Votes and Proceedings, could men whose seats were purchased for them be depended upon? Besides, was it not the duty of the new administration to give the people of Canada an opportunity of expressing their disapproval of both Ministers and members connected with or implicated in the Pacific Scandal, and how could this be done except by dissolution? So without any hesitation the Parliament of 1873 was dissolved on the 2nd of January, 1874, and a new election ordered. The elections were held as nearly as possible on the same day; although Mr. Mackenzie was not obliged by statute to deprive himself of the advantage of holding elections at such times as would best contribute to his political strength.

The issues before the country were very clearly and ably put in the address by Mr. Mackenzie to the electors of Lambton. "It was due," he said, "to the electors of Canada to give them the opportunity of pronouncing between ourselves and our opponents, and it was essential to a fair representation of the people and to the enactment of good laws that the House should be purged of members elected by the corrupt use of Sir Hugh Allen's money. Canada is asked to send to Ottawa a House of Commons free to do its duty to the State, chosen by the unbiased voice of the people, instead of men bound hand and foot to those to whom they owe their seats."

"We shall strive," he said, "to elevate the standard of public morality which our opponents have done so much to debase, and to conduct public affairs upon principles of which honest men can approve, and by practices which will bear the light of day."

"We shall endeavor to remove those sectional jealousies and local prejudices which were aggravated by our predecessors and to effect a genuine consolidation of the Union."

He then goes on to promise legislation for taking the votes of the people by ballot, an Insolvency Act, a Supreme Court Act, the revision of the Militia System, etc. With regard to the Pacific Railway, his address was very significant. Mr. Mackenzie frequently pointed out, in Opposition, the tremendous burdens which the terms with British Columbia imposed upon Canadians. And now, as leader of the Government, the necessity for a readjustment of these terms pressed itself upon his attention. In his address, he said: "We must endeavor to arrange with British Columbia for such a relaxation of the terms of Union as may give time for the completion of the surveys of the Pacific Railway, and the acquisition of the information necessary to an intelligent apprehension of the work and for its subsequent prosecution with such speed and under such arrangements as the resources of the country will permit without too largely increasing the taxation of the people."

As a temporary means for entering the North-West Territories, he proposed utilizing the water stretches between the Rocky Mountains and Fort Garry, and from Fort Garry to Lake Superior; and also to connect, by way of Pembina, the Province of Manitoba with the American system of Railways. "Our endeavor will be in all these and other matters requiring the attention of the administration to promote such an honest, vigorous, just and economical policy as may redound to the true welfare of the people of Canada."

The elections which followed were a great victory for the new administration. Many Conservative candidates, who were considered all but invincible, fell in the fray; and Mr. Mackenzie could confidently say that the country had approved of his policy.

Parliament was called for the despatch of business on March 26th, and was opened with great pomp and ceremony by His

Excellency, Lord Dufferin, with Mr. T. W. Anglin as Speaker. Mr. Moss, afterwards Chief Justice, who was entrusted with moving the address in reply to His Excellency's speech, in adverting to the great changes made in the representation of the House by the recent elections, said: "A great national crisis had occurred. Popular feeling and sentiment were keenly alive to the importance of the present and the coming time, and he believed the people of Canada had made their choice wisely and well, and he ventured to assure the Ministry that if they did, as they would do, their very best to administer the affairs of the country with a single eye to the public welfare, and if they exhibited that sagacity and statesmanship which Canada had the right to expect from her foremost men, they would receive the earnest support, sympathy and co-operation of the House of Commons." Sir John Macdonald, in his place as leader of the Opposition, questioned the propriety of the dissolution which had just taken place, and doubted very much if Mr. Mackenzie was supported in his course by English practice. He also expressed doubt with regard to the feasibility of readjusting the terms of union with British Columbia, and, after reiterating his objections to the ballot which the Government proposed, he informed the House that so far as he was concerned the address would be allowed to pass without amendment.

The first difficulty which confronted Mr. Mackenzie was the troubles in the North-West and the appearance of Riel before the Clerk of the House to sign the roll as member for Provencher. In order to ascertain the real causes of the grievances in the North-West and the extent to which the previous Government had committed themselves either to redress those grievances or to grant an amnesty to the offenders, a special committee was appointed, composed of Mr. Donald A. Smith,

John Hillyard Cameron, Mr. Bowell, Mr. J. J. C. Abbott, Mr. Blake, Mr. Moss, Mr. Geoffrion, Mr. Masson and Mr. Jones, of Halifax; the result of their investigation has been fully considered elsewhere. Riel was expelled from the House and a new election ordered in Provencher.

Mr. Mackenzie's second difficulty grew out of the terms made with British Columbia at the time of her admission to the Union. Four years had already elapsed since the terms were settled and little substantial progress was made towards their fulfilment. It was agreed that the construction of the Pacific Railway, by which that Province was to be connected with the East, should be commenced in two years from the date of Union and completed in ten. The Province was disappointed and indignant at the delay, and her representatives frequently called the attention of Parliament and the Government to their neglect of duty. On July 26, 1873, an official complaint by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, Mr. Trutch, was addressed to the Hon. Mr. Aikins, then Secretary of State for Canada, enclosing a minute of the Executive Council of the Province strongly protesting against the violation of the terms of Union. Owing, probably, to the difficulties in which the Government was involved by the Pacific scandal, no notice was taken of this remonstrance. The Lieutenant-Governor renewed his complaints, and on December 23, 1873, he was assured by Mr. Mackenzie's Government "that their grievance was receiving their most earnest consideration, and that a scheme would be devised as soon as possible which it was hoped would be acceptable to British Columbia and to the whole Dominion." These assurances, however, did not allay the discontent, and early in 1874, Mr. Jas. D. Edgar was sent as the agent of the Dominion Government to Victoria "for the purpose of ascertaining the state of feeling in the Province

with regard to certain changes which were deemed necessary in the mode and in the limit of time for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to bring about some such feasible arrangement as might meet the general approval of the Local Government and the people of British Columbia, in place of the original conditions respecting the commencement and completion of the railway contained in the original terms of the Union." On June 16th, Mr. Edgar submitted an elaborate report showing the intense feeling existing in the Province on account of the delay which had already occurred and the want of energy apparently shewn in making the necessary surveys. So high did public feeling run that the Local Legislature of the Province adopted a resolution to the effect "that no alteration in the terms of Union with Canada shall be permitted by the Government of this Province until the same has been submitted to the people for endorsement." In order to prepare the way for a settlement, Mr. Edgar, acting under instructions from the Government at Ottawa, suggested the postponement of the construction of the road until proper surveys were made, but that in the meantime a waggon-road should be constructed along the route of the railway in the Province and a telegraph line across the continent. In this way the interior of the country would be opened up and communication established with the Eastern Provinces. It was also proposed, as soon as the surveys were completed, to expend annually in construction proper the sum of \$1,500,000. These alternative proposals were spurned by the British Columbians, and Mr. Edgar, finding himself unable to make further progress, returned to Ottawa.

Having failed in coming to an understanding with the Dominion Government, the British Columbians authorized the Attorney-General of the Province, the Hon. Geo. A. Walkem,

to proceed to England to lay the complaints of the Province before the Colonial Secretary. The Colonial Office apparently became alarmed at the aggressive action of the British Columbians, and immediately communicated with the Dominion Government with regard to the matters in dispute.

In his anxiety to bring about a reconciliation, Earl Carnarvon addressed a despatch to the Governor-General of Canada, in which he intimated his regret that any difficulty should exist between the Dominion and the Province, and proposed "that if both Governments should unite in desiring to refer to me any arbitration of the matters in controversy, binding themselves to accept such decision as I may think fair and just, I would not decline to undertake the service." Mr. Mackenzie's Government did not apparently relish this interference of Downing Street in a matter of colonial concern. Accordingly, on the 8th of July, 1874, they replied to Earl Carnarvon's despatch in a long paper setting forth the whole case from the Dominion standpoint. It was pointed out that the terms with British Columbia were agreed to by the House by the small majority of ten, and that this majority was obtained on the condition "that the public aid to be given to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway should consist of such liberal grants of land and such subsidy in money or other aid, *not increasing the present rate of taxation*, as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine." It was also pointed out that the terms made with British Columbia were most extravagant and in excess of the terms originally demanded by the Province. A coach road across the Rocky Mountains was all that was asked for in the first instance, with an expenditure of \$1,000,000 after three years from the date of Union, on the railway proper. It was also pointed out that the company chartered under Sir Hugh Allan to proceed

with the construction of the road had relinquished their charter, as they were unable to obtain the necessary funds from English capitalists. The Government had not been indifferent, it was alleged, to their obligations, as they had sent Mr. Edgar to British Columbia in order to ascertain if some relaxation of the terms of Union could not be arrived at which would be mutually acceptable. They had shown their desire to help the people of British Columbia by advancing a quarter of a million for the construction of the graving-dock at Esquimalt, although not required by the terms of treaty to do more than pay five per cent. interest on the cost of construction for ten years after the work was completed, and also by their offer to build a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, a distance of about sixty-five miles.

To the Canadian case, Mr. Walkem, who for the time being remained in London, sent a very strong reply protesting against the proposed modifications of the treaty with British Columbia, and insisting on the interference of the Imperial authorities in behalf of the Province. On the receipt of Mr. Walkem's paper, Earl Carnarvon proceeded to give his final decision, which was afterwards known as the Carnarvon terms. These were as follows: (1), that the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo shall be commenced and completed as soon as possible; (2), that the surveys on the main land shall be pushed with the utmost vigor; (3), that the waggon road and telegraph lines eastward should be immediately constructed; (4), that two millions a year should be the minimum expenditure on railways within the Province from the date at which the surveys are sufficiently completed to enable that amount to be expended on construction; (5), that the railway shall be completed on or before the 31st of December, 1890, at least so far as to connect with the American railways at the

west end of Lake Superior. By a minute of Council dated the 18th of December, the Carnarvon terms were formally accepted by the Dominion Government, and on the 15th of March, 1875, Mr. Mackenzie introduced a bill into the House of Commons to provide for the construction of a line of railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo in British Columbia.

The feeling in the House of Commons was none too favorable to this proposal. The Liberal party had from the very first regarded the terms with British Columbia as onerous in the extreme, and to be obliged now to implement an agreement made by their predecessors, and which they had opposed at the time with all their power, was certainly asking a great deal. They were, however, between two fires. On the one hand, was a treaty of a most solemn character entered into with a sister Province. The honour of the country was pledged to carry out the terms of this treaty, subject to this one reservation, that in carrying out these terms, the general taxation of Canada should not be increased. On the other hand, was the Colonial Office, to which British Columbia had appealed, as it had a right, no doubt, against the *laches* of the Canadian Government. To repeal the terms of the Union, or so deal with British Columbia as to lead to its withdrawal from the Union, would, it was felt, discredit the Government in the eyes of all the people of Canada. To carry out the terms literally, or nearly so, as British Columbia insisted, would be to increase enormously the burdens of taxation.

That the Liberal party was disinclined to go further in its concessions to British Columbia was evident from the fact that Mr. Blake and several leading Liberals voted against the proposal to construct the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway for purposes of conciliation, and when the Senate rejected the

bill entirely, it was also evident that parliamentary sanction to any concession to British Columbia was not easily obtainable.

The irritation in Canada was further increased by the action of the British Columbian representatives in the House of Commons. On the 28th of March, 1876, Mr. De Cosmos proposed a vote of censure upon the Government for their delay in proceeding with the railway ; and in the debate which followed, the mover of the resolution, as well as all the other members for British Columbia, were most censorious in their observations. In the meantime, the Colonial Office was kept busy with despatches from the Executive Council of British Columbia, and with replies from Canada. But no solution of the difficulty seemed to be suggested to which both parties could agree. A proposition that the Columbians should be paid \$750,000 for the delay in beginning the road was uncere- moniously rejected by the Executive.

Diplomacy having all but exhausted itself, it occurred to Lord Dufferin, Governor-General, that if he paid a visit to the Province and had an opportunity of conversing with its leading citizens, he would be in a better position, as an Imperial officer, to advise the Colonial Office as to the true condition of affairs, and he might possibly be able to say something, without assuming to act in any ambassadorial position, that would mollify the discontent so unhappily existing. Mr. Mackenzie, who was greatly impressed with Lord Dufferin's affability and tact, concurred in the proposed visit. Moreover, he was anxious that His Excellency, during his stay in Canada, should acquaint himself with all parts of the Dominion. A visit, therefore, to British Columbia would not only be a source of pleasure to His Excellency, but would also give him an opportunity of acquiring information which might be of value to

The better I have
become acquainted with you, the
more I have learnt to respect and
honour the straightforward integrity
of your character, and your
unmistakable desire to do your
duty faithfully by The Queen, the
Empire, and the Dominion.

Yours sincerely

Dufferin

(Fac-simile of Lord Dufferin's hand-writing.)

the whole Dominion hereafter; and if he should succeed even in ever so small a measure in allaying the discontent, he might thereby possibly pave the way for some settlement of existing difficulties.

Lord Dufferin set out for British Columbia on the 31st of July, 1876, and arrived at Victoria on the 18th of August. He was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the people, was presented with numberless addresses and afforded every opportunity of visiting both the island and the mainland. Before leaving the Province, however, he very wisely determined to address a public meeting on the great railway question, which he found to be the all-absorbing one. Perhaps never did the Governor of any colony undertake a more difficult task or one requiring greater tact, judgment and prudence than the task that his Lordship assigned to himself on that occasion. As the head of the Government, he was debarred from uttering a single word derogatory of the conduct of his advisers in dealing with the Pacific Railway. To appear to be a counsel in their behalf would be sure to excite the animosity of his audience. How was he then to steer between Scylla and Charybdis? It was for himself to show how this was to be done, and the admirable skill with which he performed his task showed his genius as a diplomatist and tactician.

In plain and simple language, he recapitulated the various steps which had been taken to settle the difficulties of British Columbia since the first complaint was made to the Government at Ottawa. He showed how surveys were begun almost as soon as she entered the Union, and how these surveying parties had been strengthened, from time to time, with a view to the ultimate location of the road. He shewed the anxiety of the Government to find some modification of the treaty that would be acceptable, in proof of which Mr. Edgar had been sent on

a special mission to confer with the Local Government; and more recently a bill had been introduced into the Dominion Parliament for the construction of a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo. He shewed that this bill received the almost unanimous support of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, and that its defeat was owing to the action of the Senate—a body which Mr. Mackenzie could not be expected to control. In the strongest language, he exonerated Mr. Mackenzie from all blame for the rejection of the Esquimalt Bill by the Senate. He frankly told them that the feeling in Canada was becoming daily more opposed to the demands which they were making upon the Dominion Treasury, that it was doubtful if such a bill as that rejected by the Senate could now be even passed by the House of Commons, and if a money compensation could be agreed upon for losses and delays in proceeding with the railway, it would be, perhaps, the best solution of the difficulty. He assured them in eloquent terms that, although they were but few numerically, no advantage would be taken of their weakness. “Woe betide the Government,” he said, “or the statesmen who, because its inhabitants are few in number and, politically, of small account, should disregard the wishes or carelessly dismiss the representations, however rough, boisterous, or downright of the feeblest of our distant colonies.”

His Excellency's speech greatly pacified the people of British Columbia. Never before had they considered the question so calmly from a national standpoint, and never before was the impression so strong that Canada would do justly by them, even if it could not fulfil the letter of the bond. From this date forward, the grievances of British Columbia were daily becoming a source of less anxiety to the Government. Mr. Mackenzie, they plainly saw, was push-

ing the surveys of the road with vigour. Contracts were being let at different points for construction purposes. Rails were purchased in England to be in readiness when required ; and long before Mr. Mackenzie had retired from office all substantial cause of complaint had been removed. Thus does time, the healer of national and political sores, accomplish, without any display of his surgical skill, what Parliament and diplomats and colonial secretaries fail to accomplish, even by the most sweetened and temperate despatches.

Early in 1874, Mr. Mackenzie learned that the United States Government was disposed to consider favorably either the renewal of the old Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 or such modifications thereof as would remove some of the commercial barriers in the way of a larger trade between Canada and the United States. In order to ascertain the extent of this feeling, the Hon. Geo. Brown visited Washington at the request of the Government, and found the authorities in such a frame of mind as, in his opinion, would warrant action on the part of Canada and Great Britain. Mr. Mackenzie had previously declared, on many public occasions, that he had no confidence in British ambassadors when dealing with Canadian affairs. He was anxious, therefore, in opening negotiations for a new treaty with the United States, to secure the appointment of a Canadian representative whose ability and knowledge of public affairs would be equal to the great responsibilities of such an undertaking. After some correspondence with the Colonial Office, Mr. Brown and Sir Edward Thornton were, on the 17th of March, appointed joint plenipotentiaries for the purpose named.

So far as Canada was concerned, the appointment of Mr. Brown was eminently satisfactory. He had given the closest attention for many years to the development of Canadian

trade and commerce, and, as a publicist, had discussed every phase of the question.

Mr. Brown immediately proceeded to Washington and found Mr. Secretary Fish and President Grant alive to the importance of removing, as far as possible, every obstacle likely to impede the commerce of the two countries. The Washington Treaty of 1871 had settled some international difficulties, but had left the great question of Reciprocity as it was in 1866.

By article twenty-two of the Washington Treaty, provision was made, on the appointment of commissioners, to appraise the advantages derived by the people of the United States for the use of the in-shore fisheries of Canada. If some interchange in commercial products could be agreed upon, as an equivalent for the compensation to which Canada would be entitled for the use of her fisheries by the citizens of the United States, the appointment of commissioners would be unnecessary and a settlement of the fishery question, in this indirect way, might be obtained even more satisfactory to both parties than that proposed by the Washington Treaty. As Mr. Brown said in his speech in the Senate, in 1875, "To merge the matter in a general measure of mutual commercial concessions for the mutual advantage of both parties and with injury or injustice to neither, seemed the fitting conclusion to be arrived at by the Governments of two great nations." It was on this line that Mr. Brown proceeded with the authorities at Washington; and in order to crystalize the opinions of the representatives of Canada and Great Britain, the following propositions were submitted: 1. That the duration of the treaty should be twenty-one years. 2. That all the conditions of the old treaty of 1854 should be renewed. 3. That the following additional articles should be added to the free list of the old treaty: Agricultural implements, to be defined; bark,

extracts of, for tanning purposes; bath bricks; bricks for building purposes; earth ochres, ground or unground; hay; lime; malt; manufactures of iron and steel, to be defined; manufactures of iron or steel and wood, jointly, to be defined; manufactures of wood, to be defined; mineral and other oils; plaster, raw or calcined; salt; straw; stone, marble or granite, partly or wholly cut, or wrought. 4. That the fishery arbitration provision of the Washington Treaty should be abandoned. 5. That the entire coasting trade of the United States and Canada should be thrown open to the shipping of both countries. 6. That the Welland and St. Lawrence canals should be enlarged forthwith, so as to admit of the passage of vessels 260 feet long, 45 feet beam, and a depth equal to that of the lake harbors. 7. That the Canadian, New York and Michigan canals should be thrown open to the vessels of both countries on terms of complete equality, and with full power to tranship cargo at the entrance or outlet of any of the said canals. 8. That the free navigation of Lake Michigan should be conceded forever to Great Britain, as the free navigation of the St. Lawrence had been conceded to the United States by the High Joint Commission in 1871. 9. That vessels of all kinds built in the United States or Canada should be entitled to registry in either country with all the advantages pertaining to home-built vessels. 10. That a joint commission should be formed and continued, charged with the deepening and maintaining in efficient condition, the navigation of the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers and Lake St. Clair. 11. That a similar joint commission should be formed and maintained for securing the erection and proper regulation of lighthouses on the great lakes. 12. That a similar joint commission should be formed and maintained to promote the protection and propagation of fish in the inland waters common to both countries.

13. That the citizens of either country should be entitled to letters patent for new discoveries in the other country, and on the same terms as the citizens of that country enjoyed. 14. That joint action for the prevention of smuggling along the lines should be a subject of consideration and co-operation by the custom authorities of both countries.

In his memorandum to the Washington Government, Mr. Brown shewed that the trade between the United States and Canada in 1853—the year prior to the old Reciprocity Treaty—amounted to \$20,000,000 only ; whereas in 1866—the year the treaty came to an end—the trade amounted to no less than \$84,000,000. During the thirteen years of the treaty, the memorandum showed a gross trade between Canada and the United States of \$630,000,000, and that during the same period the British American Provinces purchased from the United States more goods than from China, Italy, Hayti, Russia, Austria, Denmark, Turkey, Portugal, South America, Central America and Japan all put together.

After negotiations extending beyond the middle of June, a draft treaty was agreed upon and was transmitted by Secretary Fish to the Senate of the United States. It is greatly to be regretted that negotiations which had proceeded so successfully were not terminated at an earlier date, as the Senate was within two days of adjournment before the treaty agreed upon came up for consideration. This furnished those opposed to the treaty the opportunity they wanted of recommending a postponement of the whole question for another year, with the result that during the recess the protectionists of the United States were able so to influence public opinion as to prevent the Senate from entertaining the treaty at a future session.

As these negotiations for a new treaty, apparently entered

upon in good faith by both parties failed, it became the duty of the Canadian Government to demand the arbitration agreed upon by the Washington Treaty. It was not, however, till 1877 that the Commission was organized. Canada was represented by Sir Alexander Galt, and the United States by the Hon. Judge Kellogg. Monsieur Maurice Delfosse, Belgian Minister at Washington, was appointed conjointly by the two Governments as umpire.

After many days' discussion and consideration of the issues involved, the arbitrators awarded that Canada should be paid \$5,500,000. The Americans were greatly disappointed with the result of the arbitration; but after a few months' delay the amount was duly paid as provided by the treaty for the right to our in-shore fisheries for twelve years.

Mr. Mackenzie's management of this case throughout was highly creditable. The appointment of Mr. Galt as Commissioner on behalf of Great Britain was a recognition of the right of Canadians to be consulted in matters affecting their own interests, and the award was a substantial proof that a Canadian Commissioner is quite able to protect Canadian interests against the over-reaching tendencies of American diplomacy.

Although Mr. Mackenzie continued throughout his life a staunch advocate of British connections, and gloried in having been born a Briton, he was first and always a Canadian. Imperial Confederation he regarded as a chimera, impossible of attainment and subversive of colonial independence. He had unbounded confidence in the capacity of Canadians for self-government, and was always inclined to resent the needless interference of Downing Street in colonial affairs. When Earl Carnarvon proffered his services to settle the difficulties between Canada and British Columbia, he declined his arbitra-

ment as a judge, while willing to accept his friendly interposition to allay irritation.

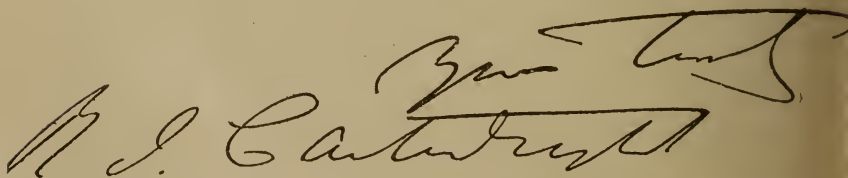
In the Fish-Brown Treaty of 1874, and in the Halifax award of 1877, he obtained the appointment of a Canadian Commissioner of equal status with his fellow commissioners.

When Sir John Macdonald, on one occasion, attempted to rally his followers by waving the old flag, Mr. Mackenzie retorted, "It is an easy matter to raise the flag, but let us raise the flag of common sense for a little while, and consider not those high-flown sentiments of extreme devotion and loyalty which the honorable gentleman dealt in so greatly to-night, but soberly and reasonably, what is best for Canada as Canada, and what is best for Canada as part of the British Empire. I have no doubt, whatever, our true policy is to obtain self-action in almost everything which relates to our own business. I, for one, give my cordial support to anything that will extend our liberty of action and make us entirely equal in all respects to other legislatures and the Ministers of the mother country itself."

Again, in 1882, when Mr. Blake made his motion to demand for Canada the right to deal with the United States or any other country in matters of commerce as an independent country he was vigorously seconded by Mr. Mackenzie. Mr. Mackenzie said, "that there was no man in Canada who would sooner than he reject party obligations rather than lift a hand or a finger, by motion or otherwise, to disturb the relations that exist between Britain and her colonies. But he had lived long enough in Canada to know that it has been the policy of the Tory party, almost from the beginning of our history, whenever a movement was made tending to expand the liberties of the people, to cry out there was danger of the connection with Great Britain, and that he was surprised and

pained to find leading statesmen still resorting to that paltry policy." Sir John Macdonald's speech, he said, had failed to convince him that there was "the slightest danger of what he pretended to fear. Everything that extends the liberties of Canadians, everything that accords to Canada and her statesmen greater breadth of view in the management of their own affairs, is more likely to conduce to the management of Imperial interests and greatness than any curbing policy that keeps us down to the grindstone. It has been the policy of English statesmen who have had the management of our affairs from the first to consider colonists as inferior to themselves. I can recall the words even of such men as Lord Grey, Lord Russell and Lord Metcalfe, every one of whom had placed on record their belief that full self-government was not well suited to colonists, and I have read the despatches of Lord Russell and Lord Glenelg to the Governor-General frequently, warning them not to extend the principle of responsible government to Canadians further than so far as might be consistent with the maintenance of the colonial relation. I believe we are really as capable of managing our own political affairs as the House of Commons in England."

In the session of 1874, Mr. Cartwright, Minister of Finance, delivered his first budget speech. He reviewed the financial

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'A. J. Cartwright'. The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with long, sweeping strokes.

obligations of the country, the falling off in the revenue and the necessity for additional taxation if the country was to meet the obligations imposed upon it by the previous administration. It was somewhat unfortunate that in the first year of

the Government's existence the necessity arose for this course. To convince the people that the increase of taxation was the natural consequence of the extravagance of their predecessors and not a covert attack upon the ratepayers in order to justify expenditures which they proposed to incur themselves, was one of the difficulties of the situation.

The general character of the increases proposed by Mr. Cartwright was most reasonable. No attempt was made to bolster up any industry at the expense of the consumer. As far as possible, the necessities of life were not burdened with any additional rate, the luxuries being made to supply, mainly, the necessary revenue.

Sir Charles Tupper, who acted as the Opposition critic of the budget speech, inveighed strongly against the increased taxation proposed by the Minister of Finance, and charged Mr. Mackenzie with infidelity to his free trade principles in the increase of the tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent. The obligations incurred by the previous Government, he claimed, could be discharged without any difficulty, as the increased revenue from an increased population and from the development of the Northwest Territories would more than meet the extra expenditure. The Maritime Provinces entered Confederation with a very low tariff. What would be their indignation, he asked, when they became aware of the policy of the Government.

Mr. Mackenzie, in reply to Mr. Tupper, claimed that the Government had no option; that the manly and the honest way was to state to Parliament and to the country their true financial condition, and to provide the only remedy within their power, namely, a reasonable increase of the tariff. Although a free trader in principle, as head of the Government he must find sufficient money with which to carry on the

business of the country ; and while it was impossible to apply the principles of free trade, he did the next best thing—he increased the tariff for revenue purposes only.

Owing to the failure of Sir John Macdonald's scheme for the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway, it was necessary, in order to keep faith with British Columbia, that some other means should be adopted for the construction of this road. Mr. Mackenzie lost no time in submitting to the House a bill embodying the policy of the Government. He proposed, first, to divide the road into four sections two east of Winnipeg, and two west, with branches from Winnipeg to Pembina, and from Lake Nipissing to Georgian Bay. A line of telegraph was to be constructed along the whole extent of the railway in advance of the construction of the road, and as soon as the route had been determined. Each section was to be worked by the contractors who constructed the section, on terms to be settled by the Governor in Council. The bill provided for the construction of the road by private enterprise or as a Government work. In this respect it was different from Sir John Macdonald's bill, which provided for the construction of the road by private enterprise only. Instead of giving a subsidy of money and lands *en bloc* to the company, Mr. Mackenzie proposed a subsidy of \$10,000 per mile and a land grant of 20,000 acres per mile, with a guarantee of four per cent. for a given number of years on a sum to be stated in the contract for each mile tendered for, all contracts for any portion of the main line to be submitted to Parliament for approval. The Government reserved to itself the right to assume possession of the whole or any section of the railway on payment of ten per cent. in addition to the original cost, less the value of the land and money subsidies received. No time was fixed by the bill absolutely, for the completion of the road. The branch

line at Fort Garry was to be pushed forward as fast as would be necessary to connect with the American system of railways.

Although this bill was not satisfactory to the British Columbians, particularly as it did not guarantee the completion of the road according to the exact terms of union with the Province, it was, nevertheless, an honest attempt to fulfil the obligations of the Government. Indeed, it contemplated more than Parliament had absolutely promised in the first instance, as the terms of union with British Columbia, so far as the Pacific Railway was concerned, required that the road should be constructed out of the revenues of the Dominion without increasing the rate of taxation.

To those who had committed themselves to the construction of a trans-continental railway immediately on Canadian territory, the bill was unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it designed to utilize the American system of railways for access to Manitoba by way of Pembina, leaving the eastern section along the north shore of Lake Superior to be constructed at a later period. But while the construction of the eastern section remained in abeyance, it was proposed to utilize the water stretches to the north of Lake Superior as far as possible, for the purpose of furnishing immediate access through Canadian territory to the North-West.

On this latter proposition much ridicule was cast by the Conservative party. No doubt there were disadvantages for commercial purposes in the conveyance of freight and passengers by a combination of rail and water, and were it not for the financial obligations it involved, it is quite certain Mr. Mackenzie himself would never have entertained such a project. The country was suffering from great commercial depression. The revenue of the Dominion was accordingly impaired. A considerable addition had been made to the

tariff, and Mr. Mackenzie felt that any reasonable means by which he could avoid adding to the burdens of the country demanded consideration. If he was obliged to adopt any measure of a temporary character in order to tide over present financial difficulties, it was not his fault, but the fault of his predecessors by whom the country was placed under such heavy obligations to British Columbia. Whatever objection may be taken to the measure proposed by Mr. Mackenzie, no exception can be taken to the sincerity of his efforts to carry out the intention of Parliament in agreeing to the construction of the railway.

Mr. Mackenzie's speech on the introduction of this bill was one of the most remarkable of the session, and in some respects one of the ablest speeches ever delivered in a Canadian Parliament. It occupied between three and four hours in delivery and shewed the most intimate knowledge of the surveys of the road and of the engineering difficulties to be overcome. When pointing out the different routes that had been considered and examined in the eastern section, one would have thought he had travelled every mile of the road and had examined, personally, every gulch and elevation which stood in the way of the contractor. When discussing the western section with its different gradients and alignments, one would have thought he was an engineer who had studied with a Brunel or a Stephenson. When he launched out into comparisons with other railways of a similar kind in the United States and South America, one would have thought he was the author of a compendium of the railway systems of the world. When he came to discuss the financial obligation which this gigantic scheme involved, the difficulty of obtaining the requisite amount of money and the burdens it would impose upon the taxpayer, one would have thought he was the Chancellor of the Exchequer

addressing the House in Committee of Ways and Means. The fact that in addition to his many other duties as Premier, and as Minister of Public Works, he was able to master the details of such a great enterprise, shews his wonderful industry and grasp of mind.

It is not generally known that Mr. Mackenzie took great interest in military matters, and had served his country as an officer in the volunteers, ranking as Major of the 27th Battalion of Lambton. During the Fenian invasion of 1866 he was for several months under canvas at the head of his company, and won the admiration of every man in the service by the faithful manner in which he discharged his duties.

He always took part in the discussions of the House on military matters, and frequently expressed doubts with regard to the results obtained from the methods usually adopted for the training of the volunteers. To have a standing army on paper, no matter how strong, would be, in his opinion, of little use unless such an army were well officered ; and the limited training provided under the Militia Act, valuable though it might be, was not sufficient, he feared, for active service in time of trouble.

To overcome the difficulties referred to, the Minister of Militia introduced a bill for the establishment of a Military College somewhat on the basis of West Point in the United States. The course of study would involve instruction in all matters relating to cavalry, infantry, artillery and engineering. The college was to be placed under well-trained military officers of experience, and cadets in training were to be subjected to examinations at the close of the college course.

By the establishment of this college, Mr. Mackenzie expected to supply officers thoroughly competent to train the volunteer forces of the country, as well as in the event of an emergency

to have in command men well versed in military tactics, who could render valuable aid to the officers in command.

As the result of this legislation, a military college was established at Kingston, and though it may not have met to the full the expectations of its founder, its record has been creditable to the staff, and the course of instruction equal to the best military schools of the continent.

For many years the Liberal party complained of the election law as being framed in the interest of the Government, and designed as if from malice of forethought to prevent a free expression of public opinion. As was seen in the elections of 1872, by issuing the writs in constituencies favorable to the Government undue advantage was taken of the Liberal party. For this state of affairs, Mr. Mackenzie in his address to the electors of Lambton had promised a remedy when he assumed office; and the Election Bill introduced by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Dorion, was the fulfilment of that promise; for by clause two, it was provided that at every general election, the Governor-General should fix one and the same day for the nominations of candidates in all the electoral districts of the Dominion, with the exception of a few cases which the writs might possibly not reach in the usual time, between the dissolution of the House and polling day, on account of the distance. The writs for an election were to be addressed to the sheriff or to the registrar of the electoral district, and in the event of there being no sheriff or registrar, to such person as the Government might appoint.

The basis of the franchise was to be that used in the Provincial elections. Candidates were to be nominated by a written nomination paper, signed by twenty-five electors, and a deposit of fifty dollars was to be made with the returning officer as a guarantee of the *bona fides* of the nomination.

The property qualification required of candidates was abolished and for the open system of voting was substituted the more modern system of vote by ballot. Very stringent provisions were adopted with respect to corrupt practices; and for the first time in the history of Canada, it may be said that an honest effort was made to obtain a pure election. Since Mr. Mackenzie retired from office, several attempts have been made to neutralize its beneficial tendencies; notably, by amending the clause which provided that the sheriff or the registrar should be *ex officio* returning officer. The appointment of a returning officer who is the creature of the administration of the day, and who considers that he can best discharge his duties by promoting the election of the Government candidate, or if the Government candidate fails in getting the majority of the votes, by making such a return to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery as will give him a right, for the time being, to a seat in Parliament, has of late years been a matter of frequent occurrence. No such abuse of party power was possible under Mr. Dorion's Election Bill, and that such an abuse has been tolerated by the majority in Parliament on several occasions, and encouraged, if not advised, by the leaders of the party, is very much to be deplored.

The application of the ballot to Dominion elections was strongly resisted by Sir John Macdonald, the leader of the Opposition, and by many of his followers as well. Sir John Macdonald wanted the country to adhere to the good old system of open voting, as being the manlier form of declaring one's political preference. The ballot was American, was un-British, would lead to fraud and deception, and should not be entertained. Following the same line, one of his supporters naively expressed his objection to the ballot in these terms: "Elections cannot be carried without money. Under an open

system of voting, you can readily ascertain whether the voter has deceived you. Under vote by ballot, an elector may take your money and vote as he likes, without detection."

The adoption of the franchise, established by the different Provinces for their respective Legislatures, was another feature of the liberal character of the Election Bill, and is also an evidence of Mr. Mackenzie's confidence in the federal principle. To say that the Local Legislatures cannot be trusted in preparing voters' lists which will fairly represent public opinion, is to reflect upon their loyalty to Confederation. To deny them this privilege, no doubt intended by the Union Act, is to disturb very materially the area of representation in the different Provinces. In addition to this there is the question of expense, the impartial character of the voters' lists, the simplicity of procedure, all of which are important in dealing with a question, somewhat complex, but of supreme importance to the country. To place the franchise of a constituency in the hands of a revising barrister, who is the nominee of the party in power, is like placing the deeds of your estate in the hands of a rival claimant. A Government which can thus tamper with the free expression of the people stands self-condemned. Either its course has been unworthy of confidence and, therefore, the jury must be packed, or the electors as a whole cannot be trusted, and as a consequence doubtful ones must be deprived of their power of expressing themselves. Such doctrines, either openly avowed or covertly carried out in the name of law, would destroy more governments in Britain than ever perished or are likely to perish by the Nemesis of Irish Home Rule.



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SESSION OF 1875.

Mr. Mackenzie's Plan for Preserving the Debates of the House—The Supreme Court Act—The Constitution of the Senate—Prohibition Discussed—The Canada Temperance Act—Mr. Mackenzie visits the Eastern Provinces—Mr. Brown declines the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ontario—The Office Accepted by Mr. D. A. Macdonald.

FOR the first time in the history of the Canadian Parliament, arrangements were made for officially reporting the debates of the House. The questions occupying the attention of the people's representatives were considered to be of such importance as to justify the preservation of the debates for future reference. An attempt had been made during the last three years of the previous Parliament to secure the same object by private enterprise, but the speeches were reported with such partiality, either for the speaker or the party to which he belonged, as to make the volume valueless for future reference. To refer to files of a newspaper for the discussion of any question to which the House had given its consideration was becoming more and more difficult. A concise report by well-trained stenographers was therefore almost a necessity, if the debates were to be available for public purposes. Parliament is evidently satisfied with the policy which Mr. Mackenzie introduced in 1875, and it is doubtful if any

deliberative body in the world is furnished with a more satisfactory report of its debates than is the Parliament of Canada.

For many years, Sir John Macdonald had been promising the country an act for the establishment of a general Court of Appeal for Canada, as provided by section 101 of the British North America Act. That such an act was necessary on account of the union of Provinces with different systems of legal procedure was self-evident. The Supreme Court of the United States was established in order to preserve, particularly in constitutional questions, harmony of action in the different States of the Union.

Mr. Mackenzie saw that confusion would soon arise in the interpretation of the laws of the different Provinces, unless the intentions of the Union Act were carried out. He therefore lost no time in bringing in a bill for the establishment of a court to which appeals could be made from the judgments of the highest court of final resort in any Province of Canada in all civil matters. In criminal matters, it was proposed to allow appeals within certain limitations in the case of any person convicted of treason, felony or misdemeanour, and also in cases of extradition. Authority was given the Governor in Council to refer to the Supreme Court, for hearing or consideration, any matter whatsoever he may think fit, and, under certain conditions, jurisdiction was given to the Supreme Court in the case: (1), Of controversies between the Dominion of Canada and any Province. (2), Of controversies between Provinces. (3), When the validity of an act of the Parliament of Canada was questioned in the proceedings. (4), When the validity of an act of one of the Provinces was questioned in the proceedings.

The court was to be composed of a chief justice and five puisne judges. The sittings of the court were to be held at

Ottawa, and the judges were empowered to make such rules and orders for regulating the procedure of the Supreme Court as they might deem expedient.

Many of the French members of the House were strongly opposed to the Supreme Court Bill, claiming that it interfered with the dignity of the Provincial courts, and would expose litigants from Quebec to the danger of being misunderstood in a court presided over by a majority of English-speaking judges.

There seemed to be considerable difference of opinion in the House with regard to the ultimate sovereignty of the Supreme Court. By some members it was held that its decisions should be final and conclusive, and without appeal to Her Majesty's Privy Council in any case. By others it was held that Parliament had no power to prohibit an appeal to Her Majesty's Privy Council, and even if there was the power, it should not be exercised. The views of the Government, and of a majority of the House, were, after a pretty vigorous debate, expressed in the following section which was inserted in the bill on its third reading: "The judgment of the Supreme Court shall in all cases be final and conclusive, and no error or appeal shall be brought from any judgment or order of the Supreme Court, to any Court of Appeal established by the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, to which appeals or petitions to Her Majesty in Council may be ordered to be heard, saving any right which Her Majesty may be graciously pleased to exercise as a royal prerogative."

Various amendments were made to the Act the following session, the most worthy of note, perhaps, being the abolition of a right of appeal to the Supreme Court in extradition cases. The amendments made to the Supreme Court Act in subsequent years do not come within the scope of our narrative.

Mr. Mackenzie's action in constituting a Court of Appeal for Canada, and his impartiality in establishing it in the first instance, are in striking contrast to the vacillating policy of his predecessors. The influence of a powerful court in steadying legislation and in protecting the Constitution against the inroads of partisan majorities can hardly be overestimated. The Supreme Court of the United States has more than once overthrown the plans of unscrupulous leaders in Congress by its reasonable and well-sustained judgments. To know that there is an appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, from the knave who would make merchandise of the public interests for his own selfish purposes, to the calm judgment of disinterested men, is a substantial check upon those who are indifferent to the constitutional rights of their opponents.

The cry raised by Sir John Macdonald that the restraint imposed by the Bill upon indiscriminate appeals to the Privy Council, on the ground that it would lead to the severance of Canada from the British Empire, was a sample of "jingoism" in a small way which has been the bane of Canadian politics, and which, happily for the country, had no influence with Parliament. To admit the doctrine that in the management of purely domestic affairs Canada is not free to exercise the powers of self-government conferred on her by the Imperial Parliament would be inimical to her independence and self-respect. Nothing is more subversive of either personal or national strength than the suppression of a spirit of self-reliance. To be in perpetual fear of treading on Imperial corns, or of being castigated by a Downing-street martinet, involves a degree of self-debasement incompatible with the most elementary principles of constitutional liberty.

It is easy, however, to recall periods in Canadian history

where the terrorism of the Colonial Office so overawed the people as to suppress the assertion of even the feeblest aspiration of a national spirit. When, forty years ago, it was proposed to establish municipal institutions under the old Parliament of Canada, the fetich of Imperialism was invoked, and the loyalty of all who advocated their establishment was impugned. "Place here and there (it was said) throughout the country, independent local boards for the construction of roads and bridges and the management of local affairs, and what are you doing? You are creating so many sucking republics to be a menace to Imperial connection." Indeed, so jealous was Parliament of its prerogative or so fearful that the power thus conferred would be abused, that the wardens of counties were originally appointed by the Crown, and all by-laws of local municipalities, with one or two trifling exceptions, were invalid until approved by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

And so the proposal made during the present generation to adopt a decimal currency, or the system of voting by ballot, or a union of the Provinces on the Federal principle, caused a paroxysm of affected loyalty which, if taken in all seriousness, would have checked irreparably the development of self-government. To accept, in the administration of Canadian affairs, any well-known principle or practice of the neighboring states, was to endanger Imperial connection; and to establish a Supreme Court in Canada, from which, under certain circumstances, there would be no appeal was, using the words of Sir John Macdonald, "to sever the last link that bound Canada to the British Empire." Vain fear! The ties which bind Canada to the Empire happily do not depend upon Courts of Appeal, or upon the courtesies of a Colonial Office, or the presence of a Governor-General, or the pomp of a vice-regal court. Canada finds in that connection the prestige of

a constitution that has "broadened down from precedent to precedent." She finds a history of heroic deeds, in which she has herself borne an humble part, and which it is her pride and glory, to some extent, to imitate. She finds in the literature of the Empire the best exposition of her aspirations, and she believes for the present, at least, that she can best work out her own destiny in alliance with an Empire whose honor and dignity her loyal subjects are prepared now, as in the brave days of yore, to defend by land and by sea.

The attention of the House was again called by Mr. Mills to the constitution of the Senate in the following resolution: "That the present mode of constituting the Senate is inconsistent with the Federal principle in our system of government, makes the Senate alike independent of the people and the Crown, and is in other material respects defective; and that our constitution ought to be so amended as to confer upon each Province the power of selecting its own Senators, and to define the mode of their selection."

Mr. Mills introduced a similar resolution in the previous session; but, owing to the pressure of business, he was unable to proceed with it beyond the first stage. In an able speech, he discussed the functions of a Senate in a Federal system, pointing out, first, that under our constitution its primary purpose was to protect the Provinces against the encroachment of the House of Commons. It would logically follow, then, that it should derive its existence from the Provinces and not from the Crown. This was the main purpose of the Senate of the United States, and although not constituted with any reference to the population of the different states, it has been regarded by the people, even of the larger states, as affording them ample protection; second, the centralisation of power in

the Crown is contrary to the modern trend of constitutional government growth.

Canada happily lives almost beyond the shadow of prerogative in matters of legislation, except in this particular instance. To invest a small body of men, appointed usually because of their political service to their party, with legislative power, is to give a partisan complexion to an estate of the realm called upon to exercise judicial functions mainly. Let a Government remain in office long enough, and in the natural order of events, the Senate, to which a minority may be called upon to appeal, may be, politically, more intensely partisan than the House of Commons from which the appeal has been taken. How then can it serve the purpose of protecting the weak against the strong, while it is itself the creature of the oppressor? The Senate has had many opportunities in recent years to discharge this duty, notably in connection with Redistribution Bills and Franchise Acts. But no voice came from its emblazoned halls against the political brigandage of the Government, whose fiat gave it existence. So strongly did Mr. Mackenzie feel the danger to which he was exposed from a partisan Senate, that in December, 1873, he advised that an application should be made to Her Majesty to add six members to the Senate, in the public interest, as he was authorised to do by the 26th section of the British North America Act. The Earl of Kimberley, Colonial Secretary, in a despatch dated February 18th, 1874, stated in reply that after a careful examination of the question, he was satisfied that it was intended that the power vested in Her Majesty, under section 26, should be exercised in order to provide a means of bringing the Senate into accord with the House of Commons, in the event of an actual collision of opinion between the two Houses; and that Her Majesty could not be advised to take the respon-

sibility of interfering with the constitution of the Senate, except upon an occasion where it had been made apparent that a difference had come between the two Houses of so serious and permanent a character that the Government could not be carried on without her intervention, and when it could be shown that the limited creation of Senators allowed by the Act would apply an adequate remedy. Third, Mr. Mills contended that the Government of Sir John Macdonald had broken faith with the Liberal party in the matter of Senatorial appointments. The Senate was at first constituted in the palmy days of the coalition of 1867, and represented pretty fairly both political parties. Since that time, appointments have, with very few exceptions, been made from the ranks of the Conservative party, and thus what might have been a deliberative body, representing the two great elements in Canadian politics, has been converted into a Conservative club, the members of which were duly balloted for at a meeting of the Privy Council, and afterwards introduced *pro forma* by some other member in good standing.

It is useless to urge, as Mr. Mills pointed out, that Senators forego their party politics on receiving their commission. To admit this would be a contradiction of the practice of the Conservative party for many years. If they are not politicians in any party sense, why is it that they have been selected, as a rule, from the dominant party? Is it possible that those members of the House of Commons who, up to the time of a general election, were most active in propagating the doctrine of their party, should, on entering the Senate, a few weeks afterwards, divest themselves of all party feeling? Such an assumption is absurd, and contrary to experience.

Fourth, Mr. Mills objected to the appointment of Senators for life. There could be no defence, he contended, for invest-

ing men with power to shape the legislation of the country who were practically irresponsible to any one for the conclusions they arrived at. If they were an echo of the House of Commons, they were of no constitutional value. If they were to be a check upon the House of Commons, or if by ripe experience, and by calmness of judgment, they were to aid the House of Commons in perfecting legislation, they could only do this by receiving instructions at intervals from the people of the country, either by direct election or nomination in some other way.

In the course of the debate, which was a very interesting one, it was clearly seen that the House was not in favor of the abolition of the Senate. Some such constitutional safeguard under our federal system was considered necessary. It was also clearly the opinion of the House that if the Senate was to serve the purpose for which, under our constitution, it was intended, a change in the mode of appointment was necessary; and although the House by its action did not commit itself to any particular scheme, the general expression of opinion was evidently in favor of investing in the Legislative Assemblies of the different Provinces the power to make appointments to the Senate. The reference of the whole question to a committee was adopted by a small majority, the vote standing 77 to 74.

The sessions of 1874 and 1875 were remarkable for the number of petitions presented in favor of prohibition. The temperance men of Canada had stirred up the public opinion of the country to a very unusual degree during these two years. As a result of that sentiment, they looked towards the House of Commons in the hope of obtaining stringent legislation for restraining the liquor traffic. The petitions were referred to a special committee for consideration, and in the report made

towards the close of the session, the opinion was expressed "that it would be expedient to take such steps as would put the House in possession of full information as to the operation and results of prohibitory liquor laws in those States of the American Union where they are or have been in force, with a view to show their probable working and effect if introduced into Canada."

In response to this expression of opinion by the committee, the Government appointed a commission consisting of E. J. Davis of the County of Lambton, a barrister in high standing, and the Rev. J. W. Manning of the county of Lanark, a gentleman who had given great attention to the Temperance question. The Commissioners reported early in 1875, after having visited several of the New England States where prohibitory legislation was in force, and from the evidence of state governors, senators, members of Congress, judges, police courts, jailers, etc., which they submitted, it was quite evident that prohibitory legislation tended to the reduction of intemperance. It was therefore proposed that the House should resolve itself into committee to consider a resolution declaring "that a prohibitory liquor law fully carried out is the only effectual remedy for the evils inflicted upon society by intemperance, and that Parliament is prepared, as soon as public opinion will efficiently sustain stringent measures, to promote such legislation as will prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors as far as the same is within the competency of this House."

The Temperance men of the House and of the country were of the opinion that a general resolution such as the above, approving the principle of prohibition, if carried by the House, would greatly aid the Temperance cause, and would assist in moulding public opinion for further action.

An attempt was made, however, to take political advantage of this resolution by an amendment declaring that it is the duty of the Government to submit a prohibitory liquor law for the approval of Parliament at the earliest possible moment. After considerable debate, at different periods during the session, the House rose without giving any definite expression of opinion.

In the session of 1876, further progress was made by the adoption of a resolution for bringing down the decisions of the courts of the different Provinces with regard to prohibition. The courts appeared to be undecided as to where jurisdiction lay with regard to prohibition. A learned judge in the east contended that the Dominion Parliament alone could prohibit the liquor traffic, and a learned judge in the west of equal standing advanced the view that the Local Legislature alone could prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors.

In 1877, on motion of Mr. Schultz, the Government was again called upon to pass a prohibitory liquor law at the earliest moment practicable. To this motion objection was taken that the question of jurisdiction had not been settled, that there was a case before the Supreme Court which would probably determine the relative jurisdiction of the Provincial and Dominion Legislatures, and, under the circumstances, while not receding from any declaration previously made, it was inexpedient to express any opinion regarding the action to be taken by the Government in dealing with this matter. The debate which grew out of this resolution was, in some respects, very unsatisfactory. To change the current of public opinion with regard to habits established during many generations, is not the work of a day. The Temperance men of Canada, for thirty or forty years, had done a great deal to create a Temperance sentiment, and were supported by a very

active public opinion entitled to the greatest respect. The practical question, however, before the House, was: Could such a law, if passed, be enforced? and many members who were supporters of the Temperance cause had grave doubts on this point. The Government felt, besides that they were unfairly treated by their opponents. What was in its inception and development a purely moral question, supported outside the House irrespective of party lines, was now turned into a political question, and if the motion made by Mr. Schultz prevailed, the Government would be obliged to take action, whether public opinion would warrant it or not.

Mr. Mackenzie defended the attitude of the Government with a great deal of spirit. "He always held, although an advocate of prohibition for nearly thirty years, that it was useless to give legislation on this or any other question until the public was ready for it. He quite admitted that public men of standing and ability might lead the public mind to a considerable extent. To legislate in advance of public opinion was merely to produce anarchy instead of maintaining law and order. He did not believe that public opinion was ripe for a prohibitory liquor law, even if the power was located. He believed a great advance had been made towards it. He quite admitted that ordinary political life, ordinary political affairs, and ordinary political questions were quite secondary to a condition of such vast importance as would be produced by a reform in the drinking habits of the country. But abundant evidence was furnished in the shape of the Inland Revenue returns, in the figures presented every year, that, while there had been more intelligent appreciation on the part of the public generally of the views of Temperance men, and a nearer approach to that state of public opinion which would justify a not very remote Legislature in enacting a somewhat

stringent measure in that direction, it was quite evident from these returns that the drinking habits of the people had not to any extent been affected as to the quantity used, by the agitation which had prevailed and had been useful in its way. There were more ardent spirits consumed this moment than ten years ago. It was quite true that there had been a diminution in the amount last year. Whether this resulted from an improved public opinion, from the greater advance of temperance views with the people generally, or produced to some or to the entire extent by the inability to purchase, as compared with former years, he would not venture to say. He was bound to take a fair and reasonable view of the difficulties in the way, and believed at this moment if the Legislature had the power, and in the exercise of that power should enact a Prohibitory Liquor Law, it would be impossible, with the support which was to be obtained at present from public opinion, to carry it practically into effect. He believed that they would run great danger of vastly increasing the opportunities for the illegal sale of intoxicating liquors, instead of having it controlled by some sort of license system, as at present. Any backward step in this movement would be a fatal calamity to the prosperity of the Temperance cause and of the country generally."

As a proof of Mr. Mackenzie's sincerity as a prohibitionist, in 1878 he gave to the country the Canada Temperance Act, which will be considered in connection with the legislation of that year.

Mr. Mackenzie for a long time cherished the desire to make a personal inspection of the Intercolonial Railway in order to get further knowledge of its physical features, its equipment and its management. He wished, also, to inspect other public works in the Eastern Provinces. He gave effect to this desire

in the latter part of 1875, and although it was a hurried business visit, he could not decline the hospitalities so generously proffered him by his many friends in the Maritime Provinces.

In the city of St. John, he was tendered a banquet to which the Hon. J. G. Blaine, then travelling in the Maritime Provinces, was invited to meet him. Besides leading citizens of the town, there was present also the United States Consul, who, in addressing the guests, spoke of himself as an American. Mr. Mackenzie, in reply to the toast of his health, referred in a very felicitous manner to the claim made by the Consul of the United States to the title American :

“The United States Consul—I call him the United States Consul because, claiming to be an American myself, I do not care to see one nation of this continent monopolise that name—spoke just now of the friendly feelings the people of Canada and the United States should entertain towards each other. I was an early friend to the union of the Provinces, because I regarded it as necessary to their proper growth and development ; and I believe that here we have the germ of a great and powerful nation, and that we can best serve the cause of liberty and of human progress by being faithful to our union, which I trust will last as long as freedom and progress live on earth. I am also and always have been a friend of the United States. During the war I entertained a strong and warm feeling for the Northern cause, because I knew that it meant the destruction of slavery and the removal of the fetters of the oppressed. I hope the day will never come when any other than friendly feelings will prevail between the people of Canada and the United States. I believe the people of Canada and the United States, though forming two distinct nations, will in the future be so thoroughly united in sentiment as to be able to carry the influence of the British

race and the principles of British liberty into all countries. The people of the United States have a great destiny before them, and although it is not, I believe, their manifest destiny to be any larger in territory than they are at present—I believe my friend, Mr. Blaine, beside me, will agree with me that it is quite large enough now—they and we have a common task, more than the mere support of a particular Government, or the securing of ‘a third term,’ or the realisation of any of those small political issues which enter more or less into the domestic politics of nations. We have, of course, to give some attention to these questions, and to the keeping of certain machinery in running order; but these are the secondary elements of statecraft, and are not comparable in point of importance to those higher principles which move nations, and on which Canada and the United States and Britain may occupy a common ground. The United States have pursued generally a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other nations, and Great Britain of late years seems to have largely adopted this principle. No doubt, non-intervention is the proper policy in most cases, and perhaps it is in every case the easiest policy to pursue; but it may sometimes be carried too far, and produce very disastrous results. I do not think that the doctrine of non-intervention should be pursued to such an extent as never to permit a nation to lift a hand on behalf of human liberty, or to grant aid and comfort to the struggling and oppressed. On some great occasions it may be necessary in the future for America and Britain to send more than a mere word to aid the efforts of the oppressed; and should such a necessity occur, it would surely be a glorious sight to see these English-speaking nations banded together to aid less fortunate people to obtain that measure of human liberty which we have had the happiness to enjoy for so long a period

ourselves. As a Canadian and a Briton, if I have had an ambition, it has been to have my country play a part in the liberation of nations from the fetters which ignorance and bad government have imposed upon them; and while desirous always to see peace on earth and good-will towards men prevail, I know that these blessings can sometimes only be maintained at the cannon's mouth. I hope that the people of the United States and of Great Britain will always remain true to those great principles on which their institutions are founded, and that their flags may wave together in beauty and harmony in many a distant land, the one bearing on it that emblem of the might of the Creator, the starry heavens, which express His infinite power, and the other emblazoned with the emblem of God's greatest work, the redemption of man."

He dwelt upon the influence of Canada as a maritime power "with its broad-armed ports, where, laughing at the storm, proud navies ride," and as a complement to these advantages, he referred to the agricultural resources of the North-West, "a land where boundless prairies stretch towards the setting sun, a land where millions of our race from beyond the sea can find for themselves a peaceful habitation, a land to which we can apply the words of Whittier:

'I hear the tread of pioneers
Of nations yet to be,
The first low wash of waves where soon
Shall roll a human sea.'"

There were also addresses at Carleton, Amherst, Halifax, Dorchester, Moncton and Rimouski. At the last named place Mr. Mackenzie took occasion to refer to the policy of his Administration in affording protection to men employed on public works, by so giving effect to contracts that those who

labored were not deprived of their hard-earned wages. The French Canadians were much pleased with other portions of his speech, and especially with those passages in which he referred to them as the first explorers of the country that had been given to all nationalities to inhabit in common. "I have myself travelled over the route traversed by Père Marquette and his noble companions. Many of the Jesuit Fathers sought out the shores of Lake Superior and discovered the sources of the Mississippi long before any English foot had traversed these wilds, and I cordially acknowledge that we owe much to the hardy and patriotic French adventurers of Canada's early days, from Jacques Cartier down to the latest descendant of that highly distinguished traveller and discoverer."

He made a felicitous allusion also to Rimouski as the county which had given Robert Baldwin, the great Liberal leader of Upper Canada, a seat when he was denied a constituency in his own Province, an enlightened and courteous privilege which was reciprocated by the election of the French Canadian Liberal leader, Mr. Lafontaine, Mr. Baldwin's colleague for the County of York. "And still more to the credit of Lower Canada be it said that before the union of the Provinces when there was no outside influence to produce such a result, the fine old French people, pervaded as they always have been by the feeling to do justly and liberally to all men, gave to the Jew those privileges in common with the rest of the community which he was unable till years afterwards of struggle and agitation to wring even from the English people themselves."

Governor Crawford's illness in the early summer of 1875, necessitated the appointment of an administrator. A commission was issued to Hon. David Christie, but he never exer-

cised the function, Mr. Crawford dying before he could enter upon his duties, and the British North America Act making provision merely for an administrator during the absence or illness of the Lieutenant-Governor. The duty was then forced upon the Government of making an immediate appointment, and Mr. Mackenzie offered it to Mr. Brown with the unanimous desire of the council that he should accept it: "I will forbear expressing my own opinion of your acceptance of it, not being willing to say a word calculated to interfere in the least degree with your own good judgment. I will only say that I shall be glad if your decision is in accordance with my views."

After giving Mr. Mackenzie's offer a night's very serious consideration, and looking at it from all points of view personal, domestic and political, he came to the conclusion that he could better serve the country and his party by pursuing the line he had already chalked out for himself, than by accepting the great honor which was so generously tendered him. The place was next offered to Mr. D. A. Macdonald,

Your truly
D. A. Macdonald
Done

Postmaster General. Mr. Macdonald accepted, and entered upon his duties at once. By this appointment, Mr. Mackenzie lost an able colleague and a good councillor, and the Province of Ontario obtained a Lieutenant-Governor who, during a full term, discharged the duties of his office with ability and impartiality.

On St. Andrew's day Mr. Mackenzie delivered a speech at the annual banquet of the Caledonian Society of Ottawa, which, as might have been expected, was worthy of the occasion. It was a noble appeal in favor of British connection and national union. "A few years ago," he said, "a very insignificant proportion of the people of Canada, and he hoped as insignificant a proportion of the people on the other side of the Atlantic, were looking to the severance of the Mother Country from the colonies as a matter of course and only as matter of time. But within the last year or two there had been a great change of opinion in England upon that subject. He could scarcely call the extinction in Canada of the theory a great change; there were so few who ever entertained it. They might now hope that no further doubt could exist as to the intimacy of the relationship to be maintained between the English-speaking people, now forming the British Empire, and the Crown and person of Her Majesty and Her successors to the end of time."

He declared his conviction that it was "the proudest position Great Britain could occupy that the overshadowing power and influence which she has so long possessed in giving shape to the destinies and relations of nations are always exercised with a view to the amelioration of the condition of mankind; that she has the will as well as the power to maintain, in a great measure, the peace of the rest of the world, and that prosperity, peace and contentment have followed her flag all over the earth, upon whatever soil it has ever been planted. May its march of triumph never be interrupted, until it shall become the one absorbing and powerful instrumentality in the hands of Providence for the prevention of war, the extension of commerce, and the promotion of the arts of peace. To the full extent of their power, Her Majesty's Government in Can-

ala, of which he was a member, would contribute to the development and maintenance of this sentiment. At the same time he wished his hearers always to remember that Canada is our home; that while we think with gratitude of the land of our birth, while our hearts are filled with the warmest patriotism when its history and its heroes are recalled to mind, we should not forget that we have great duties and responsibilities, not of a sectional, but of a national character to discharge, and that we ought to devote ourselves faithfully and honestly to the task of creating and upholding a Canadian spirit, Canadian sentiment and Canadian enthusiasm; in a word, a spirit of nationality always British, but still Canadian. The patriotism of the British people and Government will ever be with us, and we in turn hope always to reside under the shadow of the grand old flag of England, at once the symbol of power and of civilization. He knew these sentiments to be the expression of the aspirations which animate the great body; might he not say the whole of the Canadian people. He had had the pleasure of visiting his native country during the year and of conversing personally with Her Majesty the Queen. It was with a feeling of reverence he enjoyed that privilege, for of all the monarchs who have ever reigned over this or any other people, none had better deserved that loyalty and love so heartily manifested by all her subjects than our good Queen Victoria."

For this speech Mr. Mackenzie received, through His Excellency the Governor-General, a very kind congratulatory note from Her Majesty.



CHAPTER XXVII.

VISIT TO SCOTLAND IN 1875.

On a Holiday—A Guest at Windsor—Invitation to Perth—Impressions of England—"Hodge"—The British Commons—Spurgeon—Farrar—Freedom of Dundee—Address to the Workingmen—Freedom of Perth—Address at Dunkeld—The "Home-Coming" at Logierait—Freedom of Irvine—Address at Greenock—The Clyde—The Theology—Lord Dufferin's Tribute to his First Minister—George Brown's Letter on Taste.

THE summer of 1875 was more of a holiday for the Premier than he had enjoyed for years before; yet, perhaps at no period of his life did he do better service for his country than by his speeches in June and July of that year in Scotland, whither he was accompanied by Mrs. Mackenzie. The "nameless mason lad" of 1842, had now returned to his native land to receive the highest honors, municipally, which it was in the power of the people of that country to bestow, and to receive the higher distinction still of being the guest of Her Majesty the Queen, at Windsor. Freedoms of boroughs were showered upon him, banquets were given for his entertainment, meetings were held for the purpose of hearing addresses from him, and he was sought out and *fêted* everywhere. But who can doubt that the demonstration from which he derived the greatest pride and pleasure, next to his reception by his Sovereign, was that which awaited him in his native village of Logierait?

The forecast of the Scottish welcome is contained in the following letter from the Lord Provost of Perth :

“ CITY CHAMBERS,

“ PERTH, 30th June, 1875.

“ *To the Honorable Alexander Mackenzie, Prime Minister of Canada.*

“ SIR,—The Town Council of the Royal Burgh of Perth, having observed from the public prints that you are at present in this country, and will, in all probability, revisit your native county, are desirous of showing the utmost respect to one who, by his merits, has risen to such eminence as you have done, and I am to ask whether it will suit your pleasure to receive at the hands of the Council the freedom of the burgh.

“ I have the honor to be, etc.,

“ ARCH'D. McDONALD,

“ *Lord Provost.*”

Before, however, making what the *London Times* has fitly called this “involuntary triumphant progress through his early haunts in Scotland,” Mr. Mackenzie spent considerable time in England, chiefly in London, in the discharge there of public duties. While in Great Britain, he addressed many interesting letters to his Secretary. We print here a portion of the first, written from the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, June 22nd :

“ I meant to have written you by last mail, but I had so much other correspondence, and so much of my time was taken up seeing callers that I had none left.

“ It seems we were singularly fortunate in our voyage, as the steamers before, and behind, and beside us were in the ice and fog. Where the Vicksburg sunk on the 2nd we were in clear water and a clear atmosphere with gorgeous icebergs as a grand sight to admire. On the evening of the 1st I retired to bed half dressed, with everything in readiness for a quick start in case of a fog and a smash. I was in a ship once that struck, and understood the danger. I am informed here by ——— that the Sarmatian really did have a narrow escape. I told him their

danger and our safety were sufficiently accounted for by his presence and mine in the respective ships.

“Well, we have seen little bits of London and England. First, beautiful Wales; then the horrible black country during a rainy day. It was like the environs of the pit. Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and other towns there looked like dirty encampments, with red brick tents. No doubt they all have fine buildings, decent streets, and clean shirts somewhere—only we didn’t see them. After passing this quarter we went through a charming country *via* Banbury (buns), Oxford and Reading. The profusion of trees, hedges and flowers made the country most pleasing. The humblest cottages seemed to have an abundance of choice flowers. I stayed three days at ———, where I heard a good sermon from an 86-year-old vicar, and prayers read by a curate whom I judged by his conversation to have little knowledge of prayer in any other form. He told me frankly in the evening, when noticing my absence from the second service, that he would have been absent also if he were not compelled to go, as ‘no fellow should go more than once a day.’

“Rural England is pretty. ‘Hodge’ is degraded, however, and with 11 shillings to 13 shillings a week (where I was) how could he be otherwise?”

“Society here is ‘classified’. Ministers even, of plebeian origin, bow lowly enough to the Dukes in the Cabinet. The rule is for everybody to know his station and keep it. At a dinner given yesterday, by a state dignitary, to the Duke of Cambridge, none but the heads of noble families were asked, except his own son. For my own part, I called on no ministers who had not previously called on me. All the ministers have done that now, except the Duke of Richmond.

“I spent some of my evenings in the Commons, and rather liked the ways of the House—not materially different from ourselves in Canada, except in minor matters, chiefly divisions. Not only do they go into lobbies when sitting as a House, but all the divisions in committee are the same as when the Speaker is in the chair. One night—acted Tom Ferguson and——. He went to the utmost verge of endurance with coarse language. I heard no better speaking than in our own House. I was in the Lords one evening, but heard nothing of consequence.

“I was deeply interested in visiting historic spots. I was bloody-minded enough to go first where the king was executed, and I wished that all

the Stuarts had taken their proper and obvious lesson from the dreadful scene on that memorable day.

“We heard Spurgeon, and tried to hear Dean Stanley on Sunday, but another (Archdeacon Farrar) preached for the dean. Spurgeon’s congregation packed the edifice completely, and so did the dean’s. I liked both the preachers very much. Mr. Farrar’s sermon was fine in language and sentiment; Spurgeon’s also correct—nearly pure Saxon. Farrar’s excelled in literary finish; Spurgeon’s excelled as an appeal to the heart and as a sound statement of doctrine. Farrar’s description of Saul in his last extremity, when uniting with the woman to call up Samuel, and the prophet’s appearance, or supposed appearance, was remarkably fine. Spurgeon’s dissection of human nature was a complete specimen of moral anatomy. ‘The great cathedral vast and dim,’ with the fine organ and the surpliced choir, and the towering monuments of the mighty dead all round, seemed, while the beautiful English service was being read, not of this earth. The ‘tabernacle’ looked like business. There appeared to be nothing there but what was wanted, and not one idle or superfluous word was said.”

Next month the freedom of Dundee was conferred upon him by the Provost, in the midst of a great assemblage of ladies and gentlemen. In making the presentation, the Provost said the distinction was one which was conferred but rarely now, and was reserved for those who had rendered important political services, so that on the honorary burgess roll of Dundee were recorded the names of eminent statesmen, legislators and men of science. The casket containing the burgess ticket was of solid silver, with the arms of Dundee and Canada encircled in wreaths.

Mr. Mackenzie spoke ably and feelingly in acknowledgment, referring to the greatness of Canada, as the country occupying the third rank in the world, after Great Britain, her mother, in shipping and in commercial and mercantile enterprise, and possessing a revenue nearly twenty-five times the amount of the national revenue of Scotland immediately

before the union. He spoke of the vastness of her cultivable land; of the value of her other great natural resources; of the elasticity and freedom of her social life; of her educational advantages; of the instincts of her people for constitutional government, but showed a warm side for "Scotland still." "While," he said, "I shall continue to reside for the remaining days of my life in Canada, I cannot, if I would, and would not, if I could, throw off all allegiance to my own proud nationality of Scotland. And, sir, it is not necessary that any one should do so. The children of Israel, when they were taken captive by the great Eastern monarch, were asked by their Babylonian captors to sing them a song of Zion. They replied: 'How can we sing the songs of Zion in a strange land? May my right hand forget its cunning, if I forget thee, O, Jerusalem!' We can, as Scotchmen, sing our national songs—songs of freedom or affection, whether placed in Canada or Australia; whether in the Arctic or Antarctic zones, and feel our national anthem to be as dear to us in one place as in another; for the broad banner of British liberty floats alike over every country of the British Empire."

The presentation was followed by a magnificent banquet, at which Mr. Mackenzie took occasion to advocate the free-trade principles of Richard Cobden, as the real principles of civilization the world over, and to rejoice—without a knowledge then of what should come after—that the days of class legislation and monopolies were no more.

Next evening, a large meeting was convened in Dundee, when an address was presented him by the working men. Passages from his speech in reply will ever live in the people's hearts.

"Sir," he said, "I was exceedingly pleased to hear the expressions of the two gentlemen who have spoken here to-night, and I have merely to

say with reference to that part of their speeches which alluded to the possibility, the practicability, the certainty of those who are diligent and energetic rising in the colonies to occupy political positions of distinction, that I think the workingmen in Britain, as well as in the colonies, do not do themselves justice when they believe that the highest political positions are shut out from them by reason of social distinctions. For my own part, I never allude to the fact that I have been a workingman as a reason why I should be rejected, or why I should be accepted. I base my entire claim to public confidence upon the expression of the opinions which I hold, and which I believe command public confidence, and upon the worth of those principles of which I have been an humble advocate for many years. I am quite sure when I address so enlightened a body of men as the workingmen of Dundee, who comprise the greater part of this meeting, I can do so believing that I shall find a full response in their hearts to the opinions I utter when I press upon them the necessity—the absolute necessity as a first measure, as the very foundation, in fact, of success in life—that they shall assume an erect position; that they shall respect their own manhood; knowing that if they possess self-respect, they will soon compel all other people to respect them. It is quite true that you have in this country a class who are elevated above the rest by reason of the favor of the Sovereign; but do not from that imagine for a moment that class distinctions are peculiar to this country. Go to the Republic of the United States of America, and you will find there, I venture to say, more class distinctions created by wealth than you will find in this country by titular distinctions founded on the landed property of the country. And it is a matter of moonshine to you and to me whether the influence which separates the great body of the people from the few is, as in the United States of America, the possession of enormous wealth and the erection of peculiar social barriers which shut out all but a favored few, or whether it is, as in most other countries, the barriers erected by a long process of law, and by the exercise of the Sovereign's favor. In your case, you have in this country, as we have in Canada, and as there is in all other British colonies and in the Republic of the United States, the most ample field for the operation of your intellects and powers; and it is the fault of the individual and not of the political system if he fails to attain to some reasonable success in life, and some comfort in social existence."

Again, in Perth, there was a distinguished company when he entered the city hall, on July 16th, and received there the freedom of that city, at the hands of the Lord Provost, for his services and in proof of Perthshire pride in him as a native of the county. The Lord Provost expressed the gratification he felt, and which the cheering showed was shared by all present, on receiving the first letter from Mr. Mackenzie, to find that he had not discarded the Gaelic, as it had on the top the motto, "*Cuidich au rìgh*," or "*The King's People*." Mr. Mackenzie's reply was very apposite and happy. The longing of many years was realised, of being again among his own people of Perthshire—of being able once more to place his foot upon her soil and to tread her heathery hills. His motto had been interpreted to be "*the King's People*," and his family, or race, or clan, had always endeavored to act up to it by helping the monarch in every time of need. The British Empire was worthy of every sacrifice, and in the United States, alienated politically from us as they were, there was a large and powerful section of the people who appreciated and admired the greatness, the power, and the generosity of the British nation. "*They boast, sir*," he said, "*that their flag, with its stars, contains an emblem of God's greatness, as representing the most wonderful works of creation, extending over what Chalmers calls 'the immensity of space'; we, on the other hand, can say that our flag is the token of a still greater work—the greatest indeed of God's works—the Cross, the emblem of the redemption of man.*"

As at Dundee, the interesting ceremony was followed by a banquet, and on the following evening an address was presented at Dunkeld at a public meeting of the inhabitants, Mr. Mackenzie replying thereto in an affecting speech, recalling the incidents of his early days in a place where he said

he almost remembered every turn of the road, every rock and every boulder.

When he reached Logierait, his native village, on the 20th, Mr. Mackenzie found the house which had been built by his father, and in which he was born, covered by the union jack, and a splendidly decorated marquee of large size pitched in a field for a banquet. This was presided over by Sir Alex. Muir Mackenzie, Bart., of Delvine, in place of the Duke of Athol, whose previous engagements prevented him from being present to receive the distinguished descendant of the lessee of his ancestor's mill at Kincraigie. Such a company had probably never before gathered within that grand amphitheatre of nature, lying between some of the most magnificent of Scotland's mountains, and they gave their honored son the warmest of "hame-comings."

To an address read by Rev. James Fraser, M.A., minister of Logierait, in which it was stated that the illustrious career of their distinguished son would be an incentive to their children to "trust in God and do the right," Mr. Mackenzie made a feeling reply. He said, that of all the pleasant gatherings he had had the pleasure of attending since his arrival in Scotland, this was in many respects the most touching. He was now standing where fifty years ago he had played as a child, within sight of the house where he first saw the light. Tender recollections of father, mother, brethren and friends welled up in his memory and almost deprived him of utterance. Within a few hundred yards was the burial place of his ancestors, which he had visited to-day, after a long, long absence. Could all the dear ones of his family who had departed, and whom he had known, have met him, the gathering would have been divested of a tinge of sadness which he could not prevent stealing over and oppressing his spirit. He recognised

few faces at the table, though their names were familiar, but among them he gladly saw some old friends of his father's, whose names and lineaments would never be forgotten. He recalled the lines of Sir Walter Scott in the "Lady of the Lake":

"These fertile plains, that softened dale,
Were once the birthright of the Gael;
The Saxon came with ruthless hand,
And from our fathers reft the land.
.

"Pent in this fortress of the North,
Think'st thou we will not sally forth
To spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robbers rend the prey?"

He was proud that one of his clansmen had succeeded in wresting so many of these fertile vales from those intruders, and bringing them back to his own people. He spoke proudly, too, of Canada, the country to which he owed so much, and especially of the service it had rendered to human liberty when it was the sole city of refuge in America for the poor, hunted negro. "Thank God," he said, "the era of human slavery in the United States has now passed away, but I cannot forget the beneficent part played by Canada in terminating the slave-masters' power. In Britain you cannot so well realise as we can how much there is in your own proud boast, that

'Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free;
They touch our country, and their shackles fall.'

For in Canada I have often at the frontier met the wretched slave escaping from his taskmaster, after a perilous journey of hundreds of miles, with nothing to guide him in his night wanderings but the north star; but once there, he was under

the protection of the red cross flag, the sight of which stopped the pursuit and proclaimed the negro fugitive a free man."

The third Scottish freedom presented to Mr. Mackenzie was that of the borough of Irvine, a town attached to him, as he said it was, by a native of that place who had stood in the nearest relationship to him. He regretted the signs he had witnessed of the depopulation of the rural districts, for "a brave peasantry" were peculiarly "the country's pride" in Scotland, and felt thankful that no such changes could take place in Canada, where almost everyone was a proprietor, or could become one. The magnificent and powerful British settlements, such as Canada, were growing in strength with unexampled rapidity in every quarter of the globe, so that the days of serious danger to the mother country were fast drawing to a close. The dependencies were gigantic limbs of the parent state through which pulsed the blood from the heart of the empire. Aiding the parent state, the enormous populations which these colonies were soon destined to possess, would be able in arms to set the world at defiance, and in peace exercise a moral influence of incalculable benefit to the well-being of humanity.

In the Council Hall at Greenock, Mr. Mackenzie was welcomed by an address from the Chamber of Commerce, and he availed himself of the opportunity, as he had done elsewhere, of dwelling upon the great physical features of his own country and the expenditures she had made in providing facilities for extending her own commerce and the commerce of the world. Within a period of thirty years, he reminded his hearers, Canada had spent the large sum of ten millions of pounds sterling in improving the navigable waters connecting the great lakes with each other and with the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the people of the Dominion believed that

the same spirit, the same enterprise and the same expenditure of money which had made the Clyde one of the greatest rivers of the world, would, within the time of the present generation, make the St. Lawrence the great highway to the interior of the continent of America—a highway which could not possibly have a rival. He referred also to the Canadian Pacific Railway, bringing Canada a thousand miles nearer Japan than San Francisco, the great seaport of the United States on the Pacific Coast.

Mr. Mackenzie spoke of the Clyde. About the same time he wrote as follows regarding it :

“Cobbett complained of the state of the Rhine after passing Cologne. He should come back and see the Clyde after passing Glasgow. It is of the consistency of stiff gruel, but the constituent parts are not so savoury. You can feel the smell on the bridges and the steamers so strong that it is most offensive. The air is filled with smoke and noxious gases, the water with sewage, the streets with tobacco smoke, and the people with whiskey, but—the theology is sound. I feel a burning desire to white-wash the whole valley, and get the gulf stream or some stream of the same size emptied in above the Bromielaw. If it should sweep away a good deal of the two-legged street refuse, no great harm would be done.”

Want of time prevented Mr. Mackenzie from accepting further courtesies, with their attendant public addresses, in Scotland and in England, and for this reason he particularly regretted being compelled to decline a luncheon from the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, and an invitation to meet the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester. The Scottish papers were full of his visit. On his return to Ottawa, a right royal reception awaited him, and a cordial “welcome home,” as the inscription on the arch at the railway station truthfully assured him, awaited him. People for once

[Notes like these, written on the back of a foolscap envelope, or on any other scrap of paper readily at hand, were all that Mr. Mackenzie usually prepared for his longest speeches.]

Legislation last Session
See Memorandum

Letellier case fully
See John's conduct

Statement "Both Parties alike
G. Brown & Goldwin Smith

Financial Prospects
Pacific Railway
Pillay Loan
Sherman's speech

George Brown

Local Elections
Ontario & Quebec
Lower Provinces

Prospects must cherish
Republicans must act on
principle better fall than
do wrong

[Notes like these, written on the back of a foolscap envelope, or on any other scrap of paper readily at hand, were all that Mr. Mackenzie usually prepared for his longest speeches.]

Opening
Working men Reformers
Remedial Legislation done
for working men by Reformers
No appeal to class feelings
Interests of working men in
Commercial legislation -
Production of wealth and its
Distribution
Has new Policy benefitted working
Classes? Quote England
Promises made by Tories
Result Commercially
Deeper depression
Bank Stock 20% lower
Three Banks failed
Price of real estate fallen
Shipping more depressed
Manufacturers not improved
Result in Political & administrative
Sense
Policy of dismunng opponents
from Public Service
Favouring Political friends
Murray & Co
Butcher & Co
(See Money items)
Contractors A & B Pacific
Ottawa
Railway Route changed
deciding Parliament

merged their politics, and all parties and classes united in expressions towards him of praise and good will.

During Mr. Mackenzie's tour in Scotland, the Governor-General was in England and Ireland. In a letter from His Excellency, July 26, 1875, inviting the Prime Minister to Clandeboye, the Earl of Dufferin paid a tribute to him for the admirable address he was then delivering. "You must have no misgivings about your speeches. They are really excellent—sober, spirited and practical, and full of earnestness and dignity. If you speak like that without preparation, it only shows how much you could do in that line if you could find time to do what I imagine all good speakers have found it necessary to do."

Mr. Brown was in Scotland when Mr. Mackenzie was there. Writing to Mr. Mackenzie from Edinburgh, Mr. Brown made complaint of one of the speeches by which Mr. Mackenzie had been greeted, wherein reference was made to Mr. Mackenzie's early position. Mr. Brown asked, what had Mr. Mackenzie's entertainer to do with that? "Suffice it," he went on to say, "that you are the first man in your own country, and ruler over half a continent. Fancy how insulting it would be were the foremost statesman of France, or Russia, or Germany to be met on a visit to England with such subjects of laudation, or what would be thought of you or me in Canada were we to welcome some great man from England, Scotland, or Ireland with patronising references? We would be condemned by the good taste and good feeling of nine-tenths of the people of Canada. True, neither you nor I have any other feeling in our composition but that of pride of our origin, our education and our whole career, but when we have, as Canadian statesmen, to meet English and foreign

statesmen who have feelings on these matters so different from ours, and when we come to England asking no favors or popular applause, it not only seems the height of rudeness to keep dragging up such matters, but, what is worse, it is directly calculated to affect our relations with the men whom we encounter in high political matters."





CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE NATIONAL POLICY FIRST DISCUSSED.

Questions of Trade Occupy the House—Industrial Depression—Committee Appointed for Investigation—Mr. Cartwright's Budget Speech—Dr. Tupper's Reply—The National Policy—The Steel Rail Transaction—Election in South Ontario.

WITH the session of 1876 opened the discussion on the subject of Protection, which has occupied so much of the attention of Parliament and the country from that day till now. In his speech on the opening of the House, His Excellency referred "to the great depression which prevailed throughout the neighboring countries for several years, and which has more recently been felt in the old world, causing a general stagnation of business. This depression had now extended to Canada, and seriously affected its trade."

There was great difference of opinion as to the cause of the depression. Even those engaged in industrial pursuits, who came frequently in contact with business men from other countries, were unsettled as to the real source of the commercial difficulties in which the whole country seemed to be involved.

As soon as the address was passed, Mr. Mills proposed that a committee should be appointed "to enquire into the causes of the present financial difficulties," with power to take evidence and conduct such an examination of the whole question

as would be useful to the House in determining what remedies to apply. This resolution gave rise to the first discussion which took place in the House of Commons involving an expression of opinion in favor of Protection or Free Trade

Following the wise example of the mother country, the fiscal policy of Canada, though not absolutely free trade, was regulated on free trade theories, and whether the tariff was increased or adjusted, it was always for the purpose of raising a revenue, the protection which it afforded being purely incidental.

The alleged prosperity in the United States under a high tariff, and the facilities which a low tariff in Canada afforded for the admission of American goods into the Canadian market, aroused the jealousy of the manufacturers of the Dominion, and this, coupled with financial stringency of an unusual character, led many to look for a remedy for present grievances in the theories of the Protectionist. The question was a new one to the House, it was a large question on which a great deal could be said, it was a practical question on which the opinions of experts would be invaluable, and Mr. Mills believed that as it was forcing itself on public attention, it could not be intelligently discussed without more information than was then available.

At the request of several members, the original scope of the committee was very much enlarged, the resolution finally adopted being as follows—Resolved: "That a select committee composed of Messrs. Baby, Burpee (Sunbury), Carmichael, McDougall (Renfrew), Charlton, Delorme, Dymond, Platt, Sinclair, Workman and Mills be appointed to enquire into the cause of the present depression of the manufacturing, mining, commercial, shipping, lumber and fishing interests, with power to send for persons, papers and records."

The investigation occupied the attention of the committee during the greater part of the session, and a great deal of valuable evidence was obtained with regard to all the industries of the country. As to the fact of a depression, there seemed to be no doubt. The causes, in the opinion of the committee, were beyond the legislative control of Parliament.

No sooner was Mr. Mills' committee granted by the House, than the special necessities of the mining interests of the country were brought up for discussion. The Maritime Provinces had their coal-fields, which had been a source of wealth to their owners and of employment to thousands of people for many years. The United States was their natural market. In that market they were confronted with a duty of seventy-five cents a ton, while American coal was admitted to the Canadian market free. The demand from Nova Scotia, that American coal should be excluded, in order that they might supply the Canadian market, at least as far west as Toronto, might cost the people of Ontario something, but then, they said, it would be encouraging inter-provincial trade, binding the different Provinces together, and giving employment to people who were dependent on this industry for a livelihood.

The budget speech by Mr. Cartwright was an able review of the financial situation, and for the first time the Minister of Finance entered very fully into a defence of the trade policy of the Government. He pointed out that the depression complained of was all but universal; that it prevailed in the United States, with a high protection tariff; in continental countries, irrespective of a tariff. Even England, with a commerce that extended over the whole world, felt the effects of this depression. The trouble, therefore, could not be in the tariff. He pointed out that Protection led to the formation of rings and combines, the creation of colossal fortunes

which could be used, and no doubt were used, to keep the means in operation by which they were acquired. He pointed out that the agricultural industry, on which so much depended, was one the tariff could not reach, and therefore, that at best, it would be but a means of extracting money from one class of the community in order to enrich the other.

The case for the Protectionists was put by Dr. Tupper in reply to the budget speech. He declined to admit that matters of trade and commerce are beyond the control of the Government. "That the country may prosper or sink into decay, and that the Government is helpless to promote the one or avert the other, is a principle to which I cannot give my concurrence." He blamed the Government for the depression which existed, and demanded that immediate action should be taken to avert impending financial ruin. "What Canada wants," he said, "is a National Policy—a policy that shall be in the interests of Canada, apart from the principles of Free Trade, apart from the principles of Protection." In the course of his speech, Dr. Tupper charged Mr. Mackenzie with inconsistency as a Free Trader, because he increased the tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent. He also charged him with being a Protectionist in one part of the country and a Free Trader in another, and quoted from Mr. Mackenzie's speeches to support this view. Mr. Mackenzie was not long, however, in exposing Dr. Tupper's unfairness, as the moment he sat down he gave the House the correct reading of what he had stated. He expressed himself emphatically a Free Trader still, so far as the circumstances of the country would allow. "I say, frankly, I would inaugurate at once a Free Trade policy if the circumstances of the country and the position of our manufacturers would admit of it, because I believe that a free interchange of thought and of commodities is the

true means of enriching a country or making a people great ; while the system of Protection, as it exists in the United States, is altogether evil. But as we have a boundary co-terminus with the United States for thousands of miles, it is utterly impossible to adopt a fiscal policy for this country without reference to what is passing in that country. As Canadian statesmen, we should endeavor to legislate in the interests of our own people, irrespective of any foreign views or influences."

The debate continued, with occasional interruptions for other business, from the 26th of February till the 16th of March, and called forth many able speeches on both sides of the House. Mr. Irving, of Hamilton, moved a resolution : "That a rate of not less than ten per cent. should be added to the existing importation tariff against such articles of foreign manufacture of which the same classes are manufactured in the Dominion." Mr. Workman, of Montreal, called for protection to all our manufacturing industries, in order to restore them to a condition of prosperity.

On the 16th of March, Sir John Macdonald gave notice of the resolution, which came to a vote on the 15th, and which was the first form in which was presented to the House the famous National Policy of the Conservative party. Resolved, "That this House regrets that His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the re-adjustment of the tariff which will not only tend to alleviate the stagnation of business deplored in the speech from the throne, but also afford encouragement and protection to the struggling manufacturers and industries, as well as to the agricultural productions of the country."

The division of parties in the House on Sir John Macdonald's motion was 70 to 116.

Another phase was given to the debate on a motion asking for a committee to enquire into the salt interests of the country, which was agreed to; and at another stage of the session, a select committee was appointed to consider the agricultural interests of the country. Mr. Orton, who had charge of the resolution, had moved in a similar way the previous session, but after discussion, the motion was withdrawn.

The Protectionists had laid out for themselves an ambitious campaign, and were working heroically to direct public opinion towards the adoption of what was to be hereafter known as the National Policy. They had a committee on the salt interest and on the agricultural interest, by which they expected to make considerable capital. They had appealed to the cupidity of the miners in the discussion we have already referred to. They were pushing their case vigorously before the committee on financial depression, of which Mr. Mills was chairman. The leader of the Opposition, Sir John Macdonald, had espoused their cause, and was calling loudly for the encouragement and protection of the struggling industries of the country. Appeals were made to the working-man that his wages would be increased; to the farmer, that his produce would command a better price, because of the home market to be provided. Whenever a manufacturer failed, or, laggard in the race for wealth, fell behind, he was asked to support the Conservative party, and all his troubles would be at an end.

Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues, confident in the soundness and honesty of their policy, looked upon the agitation in favor of Protection with apparent indifference. They could not believe that Canada, so thoroughly indoctrinated with Free Trade, would be beguiled into the adoption of a Protectionist policy, and when they met their opponents and answered, as they believed, their arguments, they concluded that

the virus of such a policy was effectually neutralised. Mr. Mackenzie's friends, particularly since his defeat, have made complaint against the course pursued in 1876 on two grounds. First, they complain that he under-estimated the strength of the movement in favor of Protection then inaugurated, and followed up during the next two years with so much energy. Such a complaint is, to say the least of it, exceedingly unreasonable. Mr. Mackenzie had no means at that time of ascertaining public opinion excepting through the members of Parliament and the public press. As to the former, who were his supporters, they were all but unanimous in believing that he was pursuing the right course in resisting Protection. Every time the question came up in the House the weight of argument appeared to be on the side of Free Trade, and the conviction that this view would be sustained by the country was strongly the conviction of every supporter of the Government, as it was of Mr. Mackenzie himself.

Second, it has been said that if he had agreed to an increase of the tariff from $17\frac{1}{2}$ to 20 per cent. the manufacturers would not have supported the agitation in favor of Protection, and that without their support Sir John Macdonald would not have carried the country. As to this complaint, several observations must be made.

When the Maritime Provinces entered Confederation, they found themselves subjected to a much higher rate of duty than they were previously accustomed to, and, although not demonstrative in their opposition to the increase made by Mr. Mackenzie, it was generally considered that an advance on that increase would be very unpopular and perhaps irritating. To create discontent because of high duties would have weakened the Government, and this was undesirable.

Again, it is to be remembered that what the manufacturers

demand was not a horizontal increase in the tariff, but a differential increase on the basis of the American tariff. Of course 20 per cent. from their standpoint would be better than $17\frac{1}{2}$, but 40 or 50 would be better still, and as the Conservative party had accepted the American theory of Protection, the manufacturers were confident that they would carry it into practice.

For Mr. Mackenzie to agree to an advance in the tariff for purposes of Protection would be to deny the professions of a life-time. So long as the revenue required a high rate of duty in order to balance the Dominion expenditure, there was no abnegation of principle, but the moment an advance was made beyond the necessities of the revenue, either for actual or incidental Protection, then the doctrine of Free Trade, of which he was such a sturdy champion, would have been cast to the winds, and he would stand condemned before the world for his recreancy of principle. That position he was not prepared to take on principle, and principle he was not prepared to sacrifice for party exigencies.

Speaking on this same topic in 1885, nine years later, he said: "I have been told repeatedly, sometimes by friends, or by people who were more or less friendly, that I committed a great mistake in 1878 in adhering too rigidly to my principles—that if I had adopted another course I could have kept the Reform party in power a few years longer. Such is not the feeling under which I conduct myself in public life. My notion of the duty of a public man is that he should maintain sound principles, advocate them honestly, and trust to such principles working out a right solution. The Conservatives have had a lease of power, but they have had it by means which no honest man can justify."

On the 31st of March, Mr. Bowell placed in the hands of the

Speaker, on going into Committee of Supply, the following motion :

Resolved, "That the purchase by the Government of 50,000 tons of steel rails, without the previous consent of Parliament, was an unconstitutional exercise of the executive power, and that such purchase was premature and unwise and has caused great pecuniary loss to the country."

The resolution was supported by a long speech from Mr. Bowell, in which he tried to fasten on the Government the charge of exceeding their power as an executive in expending nearly \$3,000,000 for the purchase of steel rails for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and also the charge that the rails were purchased in a falling market, and therefore at a loss to the country, and that Mr. Mackenzie's brother Charles was a partner in the firm to which the contract was finally awarded, and, as a consequence, Mr. Mackenzie had a personal motive in the transaction.

In his speech in reply, Mr. Mackenzie had no difficulty in shewing that the purchase of steel rails was a purely business transaction, advised in the first instance by the chief engineer, and carried out in perfect good faith. In a memorandum to the Government dated March 24th, 1876, the chief engineer, Mr. Sandford Fleming, said : "During the summer of 1874, advices from England shewed a great decline in the price of steel rails. It was generally considered that they had all but reached the lowest rate, and that an excellent opportunity presented itself of providing a quantity of rails at lower prices than that for which, in all probability, they could be obtained at any future period." Early in August, 1874, the chief engineer mentioned the matter to Mr. Mackenzie and advised that steps should be taken to secure such quantity as might be deemed necessary.

Notices calling for tenders were given in the usual way, and the lowest were accepted.

In building railways a degree of foresight is indispensable. This is especially the case in a railway situated like the Pacific line. If the purchase of the rails was put off until the road-bed was ready for them, a much larger price would almost certainly have to be paid, not only for the rails but also for the transportation.

There can be no doubt but that the mode and time of purchase of the rails was by all considered most judicious. In the public interest nothing could have been more carefully considered.

At the time Mr. Mackenzie contracted for the purchase in question he was being severely pressed by the British Columbians for the early completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The surveyors were at work locating the western section of the road, in the expectation that a certain portion of it could be placed under contract at once.

Mr. Mackenzie pointed out that the purchase of rails was necessary, that what would not be required in British Columbia would be required on the eastern section of the road, as the grading on part of it had already advanced so far as to be ready for the laying of the rails.

So satisfactory were his explanations that Sir Charles Tupper, whose observations were not usually too friendly, said: "Nor do I intend to detain the committee with any comments respecting the purchase of two and a half millions worth of rails. I think the committee will agree with me that this purchase was rather premature, that considering the enormous price which iron went up to not long ago, and considering also the fact that before these rails are required the price of iron may be reduced, the Government has not

made so good a bargain as they would lead us to suppose, although I shall be willing to allow them every latitude in a case of this kind. But that is an accomplished fact, and I shall say no more about it. I have no doubt but that the Government were acting with the utmost desire for the public good, and I am always ready to give them credit for good intentions when I can."

On the constitutional phase of the question there was no need for discussion. Contracts for railway supplies on the Intercolonial railway, and contracts for all other supplies required in the different departments of the public service, were made over and over again without reference to Parliament.

Mr. Mackenzie's answer to the charge that his brother was interested in the steel rail contract is fully contained in a speech delivered at Unionville on the 3rd of July, 1878:

"It was insinuated that I had let the contracts to favorites, that a brother of mine was interested in one of them. I might let such an insinuation go for what it is worth. I have lived thirty years in my own county, and, whatever may be said of my political opinions, there are not twelve men in that county who would suspect me of moral wrong. And I hope the people of Ontario, before whom I have stood for sixteen years in Parliament, will not readily believe that I could be guilty of political wrong intentionally. As I said, I might have passed that insinuation over, but I prefer to meet it directly, and state that no brother or other relative of mine received, directly or indirectly, nearly or remotely, in any kind of way, good, bad or indifferent, a single cent of profit in that or any other transaction. While I characterised this as a base falsehood, as I do now, I said that my brother or any relative of any member of the Government has a perfect right to be a contractor, provided there was nothing wrong in the issue

of the contract. But the entire story was made out of whole-cloth; there was not a particle of truth in it. A firm in Montreal, in which my brother was at one time a sleeping partner, were agents of one of the firms in England who were tendering; but my brother withdrew from the firm rather than have the slightest doubt cast upon my position in the matter. Supposing he had been a member of the firm who acted as agents for the English firm, it does not follow that there was any wrong-doing; but as it is, there never was a more shamelessly untrue accusation brought against a public man in this country.

“And why do they not proceed to the proof if there is any thing wrong? Why do they not take a committee and investigate the matter? I offered them a committee for two years in Parliament, so that they might call their witnesses and put them on oath, and so ascertain what foundation there was for the story. The reason they do not do so, is because that would spoil their little game and stamp them as a set of calumniators. So, instead of coming forward boldly and making a charge in proper form, they go through the country saying to the people: ‘Well things look bad; he may not be guilty, but well, the thing has a bad look about it.’”

The following letter was written by Mr. Mackenzie to a friend at the time the charge respecting steel rails was made:

“OTTAWA, OCT. 25th, 1875.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I suppose you have read all about the steel rail conspiracy. The scoundrels thought I was open to attack, and did not scruple to run the risk of making a charge, hoping it would accomplish the purpose before the lie could be stopped. I resolved on a prompt denial over my own signature, which you no doubt saw.

“The facts as they came out have been copied into most of the papers, and nearly all the papers have denounced the slander in proper terms. I

notice, however, that the ——— has chosen to keep a dead silence about the matter.

“As I never write to any newspaper, friendly or unfriendly, I have not written to this. I confess, however, I do think they might have said something in my defence, unless indeed, which is incredible, they think I am blamable.

“I have been very scrupulous about the use of public moneys in small as well as great affairs, and I think this journal might have supported me when so unjustly assailed.

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

The gentleman to whom this communication was addressed in forwarding it for publication, remarks: “You know how deeply Mr. Mackenzie felt this base aspersion. I met Mr. Fairman, of the firm of Cooper, Fairman & Co., at the Russell House, and I remember his complaint that Mr. Mackenzie—for what cause, he did not know—would not see him: absolutely declined.”

The reason why the Minister refused to see Mr. Fairman, we may say, was because it was his habit not to hold intercourse with contractors. His attitude was that of a judge who avoids personal contact with those upon whose cases he is required to decide.

In a letter dated the 20th of October, 1876, to Mr. Charles Mackenzie, he wrote:

“I have given up all hope of obtaining fair play from Opposition leaders and papers. I have often determined not to notice some coarse falsehood, but have shortly afterwards found it doing service in a remote region, and have found also friends surprised that it was not contradicted. The Tories were always addicted to this villainous policy of slandering their opponents, and, no doubt, will continue to do so.”

In a letter of a later date he says:

"I am waiting for a suitable chance to make a demand on Macdonald about his statements in his stump speeches. So far, they have all been [in Parliament] as silent as the grave on every one of the personal charges. I am having complete statements made up regarding contracts, in anticipation of a debate on this subject, which will show, I am sure, wonderfully well for me. * * * * John A. and his supporters are, however, bent on a policy of detraction and slander, and it is amazing with how many an evil impression will remain, if the lies are allowed to run to any length unchecked, and yet I loathe touching such a business. This, and my natural disinclination to deal in personal charges or insinuations, almost sicken me of public life."

Following up this policy of detraction, to which Mr. Mackenzie here refers, certain newspapers charged him with being interested in lands at Fort William, which place was chosen as the Lake Superior terminus of the railway, and also with giving information to his brother's firm in advance in regard to the increase of the tariff on iron tubing. An action for libel, which he brought against the propagators of this slander, resulted in the amplest apology and the complete withdrawal of the charges.

Those who were concerned in the elections of 1878 will remember that the steel rail transaction, as it was called, was used by the Conservative party most dishonorably for the purpose of discrediting Mr. Mackenzie and the Government. He was in duty bound as the head of his department to see that no delays occurred in the construction of the railway. Why should he not have on hand a quantity of rails in order that delay might be avoided? To purchase in a falling market when steel rails had dropped from \$80 to \$50 a ton, and while the best advices that could be obtained went to show that prices were more likely to advance than decline, was just what any business man would have done. Had it been his good fortune to find himself with 50,000 tons of rails

on hand, the market value of which had increased since the time of purchase, the transaction itself as to its motive would on that account have been no better and no more business like.

When Mr. Mackenzie, through failing health, was no longer in active politics, his accusers did him the justice of saying that he was an honest man. The words of George Gilfillan apply admirably to him, as well as to his detractors: "A good character aspersed soon rights itself; the dirt dries and disappears by a sure and swift process. A bad character, defended and deified, is often allowed to slip into the Pantheon. Men are more interested—and it says something for them—in defending the unjustly assailed, than in pulling down the graven images of the guilty."

Owing to the death of the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, a vacancy was created in the representation of the south riding of Ontario, and both parties threw themselves vigorously into the contest.

In the course of the election, the Conservatives called Dr. Tupper to the rescue of the party, and Mr. Mackenzie with his usual readiness responded to the earnest request of his friends to address the electors. The meeting between these two champions of their respective views, at the town of Whitby, is thus graphically described in a communication to a leading paper:

"There was a vast audience fairly divided in its political sympathies. Dr. Tupper was then but little known in Ontario. He had a great reputation as a stump speaker in Nova Scotia. He was in the prime of life and vigor. He had to meet the high expectations of a campaign meeting. He was inspired by the recollections of a partial triumph over Mr. Huntington at Oshawa on the previous night. Whatever opinions one may entertain as to the merits of the Conservative programme, there can

be no question but that Sir John Macdonald, Dr. Tupper and their associates did magnificent fighting against the Mackenzie Administration. On this occasion Mr. Mackenzie addressed a clear, powerful, argumentative speech to the great meeting. He roused his supporters to a high pitch of enthusiasm, silenced every symptom of hostile criticism among his opponents, and seemed to compel a unanimous verdict for his candidate and his Government. Dr. Tupper followed, and by his sounding volume of words, physical vigor and intrepid assaults on the Liberal Premier's positions, seemed not less completely to draw the meeting to his side, and to establish that dishonesty, unwisdom and reckless indifference to the public well-being marked and marred every act and motive of the Mackenzie Administration. He even charged, with grim humor, that the weevil and the potato bug had come in with the Liberals, and that the dry summer was due to Mr. Mackenzie's neglect. These were the days when the exaltation of the exodus and the cry of hard times were the highest efforts of patriotism. Hardly had Dr. Tupper spoken his last word when Mr. Mackenzie stepped before the chairman, and with stern eyes faced the exultant Conservatives and the downcast Liberals. He stood calm and unsmiling while a whirlwind of Tory cheering swept through the building. The Liberals answered feebly at first, then with growing strength and confidence, and, as the Liberal leader dropped his opening sentences, with a rising enthusiasm that soon grew into a volume of triumphant shouting. There was a swift, almost a fierce vigor in Mr. Mackenzie's words. There were teeth in every sentence. There was a blow in every utterance. He seemed to take Dr. Tupper's speech and rend it and throw the rags down to his triumphant followers. Hundreds of Liberals in the great audience leaped from their seats in positive delight; even many Conservatives, carried away by the thoroughness of the performance, chuckled in a quiet way over the terrible flogging administered to their representative, and a frenzy of cheering marked the close of Mr. Mackenzie's wonderful fifteen minutes' work."



CHAPTER XXIX.

AN IRKSOME SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

Changes in the Cabinet Since 1873—Their Effect Upon the Government—New Appointments Made—Mr. Brown on Laurier—Extradition—Mr. Blake's Bill—Opening of the House with Prayer—Budget Speech Again—Protection *versus* Free Trade—The Agricultural Interests of the Country—The Pacific Railway—Port Francis Locks—Mr. Mackenzie's Defence—Goderich Harbor—The Independence of Parliament and Mr. Anglin—Mr. Mills at Washington—Mr. Mackenzie's Sympathy—Two Interesting Letters.



BEFORE entering upon the consideration of the proceedings of 1877, it may be well to notice some of the changes made in the Administration since its formation in November, 1873.

In 1874, a vacancy having occurred in the Chief Justiceship of Quebec, it was necessary that an appointment should be made at once. The qualification for such an office required the selection of a man of the highest legal standing available, and in making the selection it was but natural that Mr. Mackenzie should first look among his friends for a person fitted to fill such an office.

The Hon. A. A. Dorion, then Minister of Justice, was leader of the bar of his own province, and was, beyond doubt, one of the ablest lawyers in the country. Mr. Mackenzie at once concluded to offer Mr. Dorion the position. "Concerning Mr. Dorion," he said, in writing to a friend, "I felt bound to make him the offer of the Chief Justiceship, when I found that the state of the courts required an immediate appointment. He

had not contemplated leaving the Government, and mentioned a name to me for the vacancy. I then told him that I had intended offering it to him, and that, sorry as I was to part with him, I thought the time had come when he should act in his own interest."

The removal of Mr. Dorion from the Government was a great loss to Mr. Mackenzie, and any leader less anxious to maintain the high standing of the court, before weakening his cabinet, as Mr. Mackenzie did in this case, would have found some other way of filling the vacancy. For twenty years, Mr. Dorion was regarded as the leader of the French Liberals. He had the fullest confidence of his own followers in Quebec, and was greatly admired and beloved as well, by the Liberals of Ontario. Mr. Brown chose him for a colleague when he organised his ill-fated Government in 1858, and from that day to his retirement from the Cabinet, Mr. Dorion never lost a friend or a follower.

We have already referred to the appointment of Mr. D. A. Macdonald, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, in 1875. In Eastern Ontario, Mr. Macdonald was a tower of strength to his party. Among Roman Catholics, he was regarded as a leader. Among Liberals, he was regarded as the most uncompromising opponent of Tory misrule. So resolute was he in defence of his principles, that he frequently opposed his brother, John Sandfield Macdonald, in his efforts to settle the political differences of the country by submitting to the dictation of the Conservative party.

The appointment of Mr. David Laird, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West in 1876, was a loss to Mr. Mackenzie in the Maritime Provinces. Mr. Laird was a man of wide experience in public life, an able journalist and a successful politician. As Premier of Prince Edward Island, he impress-

ed himself on that province, and as a platform speaker he was of great service to the party. In a letter addressed to Governor Laird at Battleford, four months after the defeat of his Government, Mr. Mackenzie gives the reason for making this appointment.

"I was very sorry to lose you when you went to the North-West, but it was so essential to the public welfare to have a fast friend and an upright man in a position of such vast importance, that I felt myself compelled to submit to the sacrifice."

Mr. Laird replied: "I appreciate your assurance that you were sorry to lose me as a colleague. Well, the truth is I did not want to leave the Government at that time. My friends, too, on the Island, were opposed to my accepting the new post, and I was loth to desert those with whom I had fought so many hard battles. But you urged me to accept, and, like a loyal supporter, I yielded, supposing that you, somehow, thought it would be in the interest of the country."

Another loss to his Government was the appointment of Mr. Letellier de St. Just, Lieut.-Governor of Quebec, in December, 1876. Mr. Letellier had been for many years the comrade-in-arms of Mr. Dorion. He was a Radical of the Radicals, courageous in the defence of his party, and, on account of his personal magnetism, well calculated to be a leader of men.

Mr. Fournier, who had served with ability as Minister of Justice and Postmaster-General, was appointed to the Supreme Court. His retirement from the Government was also a loss to the party.

So far as the Province of Ontario was concerned, fewer changes had taken place in the personnel of the Government. Although Mr. Blake was sworn in as a member of the Privy Council in 1873, he had not accepted a portfolio. But his

My dear Mr Kenyon

I have a
note from Mr
~~Edmund Kenyon~~ about
a copy. I have
written him to
say that my own
opinion were
that these marks
of Kershburn were
unrelated to our
social conditions
and that it was

Yours
Edmund Kenyon

(Fac-simile of Hon. Edward Blake's hand-writing.)

presence in the cabinet was regarded by his friends as a fitting tribute to his eminent abilities and his services to the party. His resignation in February, 1874, called forth expressions of regret from all parts of the Dominion. Had his health permitted him to accept office, and to discharge the full duties of a cabinet minister, there is no doubt he would have greatly lightened Mr. Mackenzie's cares in dealing with the many complicated questions that arose in the course of his Administration. Mr. Blake became Minister of Justice in 1875. His retirement in 1877 was greatly felt by Mr. Mackenzie. Speaking of this matter in the House, in reply to enquiries made by Sir John Macdonald with regard to ministerial changes, Mr. Mackenzie said:

"I cannot but express my extreme regret that I should be compelled to part with a colleague with whom I have acted all my political life, under whom I once served when he acted as Premier of Ontario, and who acted so cordially with the present Administration, since its advent to office. . . . There was no difference in any matter of policy between my honorable friend and his colleagues, and I am quite sure that the restoration of his wonted health will give pleasure to almost every one in Canada who takes an interest in the retention of men of great ability and high personal character in the councils of the country."

The appointment of Mr. Cauchon, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, was a change in the Government regretted by few. Mr. Cauchon was no doubt a man of great ability and perseverance. He was a journalist of some distinction, and as a pamphleteer had rendered valuable service to the country in promoting Confederation among his French compatriots in Quebec. But his connection with the Beauport asylum had greatly weakened his influence, and had given the opponents

of the Government an opportunity for indulging in sundry disagreeable taunts and jeers.

The changes in the Government, however, were, in many instances, compensated for by the accession to the Cabinet of men of marked ability and parliamentary experience.

Summarising these changes, it may be stated that the Department of Justice was, during the five years of Mr. Mackenzie's Administration, under four different Ministers, Messrs. Dorion, Fournier, Blake and Laflamme; the Department of Agriculture under two Ministers, Messrs. Letellier and Mr. Pelletier; the Department of the Interior under two Ministers, Messrs. Laird and Mills; the Department of Secretary of State under two Ministers, Messrs. Christie and Scott; the Department of Postmaster-General under three Ministers, Messrs. Macdonald, Fournier and Huntington; the Department of Inland Revenue under five Ministers, Messrs. Fournier, Geoffrion, Cauchon, Laflamme and Laurier; the Militia Department under three Ministers, Messrs. Ross, Vail and Jones. The Presidency of the Privy Council was changed three times. Of the fourteen Ministers who took office with Mr. Mackenzie on the 17th of November, 1873, only four continued with him to the close of his Administration, namely, Messrs. Cartwright, Smith, A. J., Coffin and Scott, and only three of these retained the same portfolio during the whole term.

The Department of Agriculture, vacated by the retirement of Mr. Letellier, was ably filled by Mr. Pelletier. Mr. Laflamme, as Minister of Justice, showed himself a worthy successor to previous occupants of that Department. In the Maritime Provinces, Mr. A. G. Jones was called to take charge of the Militia Department.

The Maritime Provinces have given to Canada many men

of great ability and worth, but few among them deserve a higher position for their integrity, their breadth of mind, and their sense of honor than the Hon. Alfred G. Jones.

The choice made of a successor to Mr. Cauchon was peculiarly happy. Mr. Wilfrid Laurier had for some time attract-

Yours truly,
Wilfrid Laurier

ed the favorable notice of the Liberals of Ontario, and was rapidly establishing himself in the esteem of his fellow-members in the House. Two years before Mr. Laurier was called to the Government, Mr. Brown, who had evidently been consulted with regard to the filling of some Cabinet vacancy, wrote to Mr. Mackenzie: "Should you be led to the conviction that ——— could not safely or wisely be ventured upon, then I have no doubt between the old, respectable gentleman in question and the young, vigorous, popular and eloquent man of the present moment—Laurier, I think, is his name. A new, fresh man, is more in harmony with the spirit of your Government than any other. His elevation would be hailed by all his young compatriots, and he has no antecedents to fetter his action. Of course, I speak entirely from what I have heard from you and others as to Laurier, for I have not the advantage of knowing him personally."

Mr. Laurier's record since that time fully justifies the estimate made of his talents and character by the great journalist of Canada.

The portfolio vacated by Mr. Laird was accepted by Mr. David Mills in October, 1876. He brought to his department a full knowledge of its duties, and a ripe judgment for the consideration of such matters as affected its administration. Mr. Mills was certainly a worthy ally of his great leader, and, by his diligence and energy, discharged very ably the obligations of a Cabinet Minister.

Changes so great and affecting so many departments, even were the new Ministers in every respect equal to the old or even superior, could not be otherwise than injurious to the Government. The routine of an office is not to be learned in a day, and the habit of looking at public questions with all the responsibility of a Minister, cannot be assumed by subscribing simply to the oaths of office.

That Mr. Mackenzie had chosen his Ministers wisely and well, is generally admitted, having regard to the fact that the claims of the different provinces had to be recognised. But, while no question is raised as to the selection under the circumstances, it was quite apparent to those who watched the proceedings of the House, that some of his Ministers were not as ready to repel the attacks of the Opposition as would be desired. A Cabinet of all the talents is not likely to be found in a new country. But a Cabinet, every member of which thoroughly understands the working of his own department, and who is able to defend it with vigor, greatly relieves a Prime Minister of care and responsibility.

Had Mr. Mackenzie thrown more of the responsibilities of administration upon his colleagues, it is probable that even those who appeared to lack in strength would have been more helpful than they were. He had felt it his duty, however, not only to know the details of his own department, but also the course of proceeding in some of the other departments; and

the explanations which devolved upon the Minister in charge were often undertaken by the Prime Minister. The effect of this upon the House and the country was unfavorable to his Cabinet as a whole, as it deprived his Government of that political confidence which the well-known individual ability of each Minister necessarily produces.

The B. N. A. Act of 1867 enacted that the Parliament and Government of Canada should have all power necessary or proper for performing the obligations of Canada, or any province thereof, as part of the British Empire, towards foreign countries under treaties between the Empire and such foreign countries. By this clause of the Confederation Act the Dominion Parliament was authorised to exercise the powers formerly exercised by the several provinces of Canada with regard to extradition, and although there was an Imperial statute on the subject, the adoption by Canada of any legislation with respect to extradition had the effect of suspending, for the time being, such Imperial statute. As respects foreign countries, other than the United States of America, any extradition treaty which applied to Canada came into operation under an Imperial Act. It was claimed by the Privy Council of Canada that this limitation of the Dominion Parliament was unreasonable, and that the provisions of all extradition treaties entered into by Great Britain with foreign powers should be carried into effect in Canada by means of Canadian legislation. In December, 1875, the Dominion Government deputed Mr. Blake, Minister of Justice, to confer with Her Majesty's Government on this point, and especially to consider the expediency of negotiating a more comprehensive extradition treaty. Owing to a misunderstanding between the British and United States Governments as to the interpretation of the Ashburton Treaty (the

only extradition treaty applicable to Canada), the treaty was suspended for one year. The matter in dispute having been settled, the treaty was revived. The point contended for by Great Britain in this dispute was that the treaty of 1842 contemplated that a person surrendered should not be tried for any crime or offence committed in the other country before the extradition, other than the crime for which the surrender had been granted. The Canadian Government was most anxious, in the matter of extradition with the United States, at least, that they should be allowed the full authority to legislate as they might deem expedient, or that the sanction of the Imperial Government should be given to such legislation as they might adopt. In 1877 a Bill was passed and afterwards approved by the Governor-General, making provision by our Canadian law for the execution, as respects Canada, of all arrangements made between Her Majesty and foreign states for the extradition of fugitive criminals. They also submitted a joint address of the Senate and the House of Commons, asking Her Majesty by Order-in-Council to suspend the operation of Imperial legislation on this subject, in order that the Canadian statute might take effect. The Imperial Government declined to entertain this request, and, as a consequence of this, the Canadian Act of 1877, to which the Minister of Justice, Mr. Blake, had given a great deal of attention, still remains in abeyance.

The attempt to settle this important question on lines more comprehensive and better adapted to the present relations of Canada with the United States than was the Ashburton Treaty of 1842, shews the great watchfulness which Mr. Mackenzie exercised over Canadian interests. It also shews his desire that the Parliament of Canada, in all purely Canadian matters, should be relieved entirely from the control of the

Colonial office. And although the dispute in which the Imperial Government became involved with the United States frustrated his attempts, he was able to place upon the statute book an extradition treaty, which, if allowed to go into operation, will be an effective restraint upon the migration of fugitives from justice between the two countries.

The scope of this Act is much wider than the Ashburton Treaty. It includes a number of offences for which extradition is at present not allowed, such as "larceny, embezzlement, fraud by a banker, agent, factor or trustee, or by a director or member or officer of any company, when such fraud is criminal by any Act for the time being in force," and many other offences of a similar character. It is to be hoped that a treaty allowing extradition for such offences as are herein mentioned will come into effect at an early day. Canada should not be made the camping ground of embezzlers and defaulting cashiers, or run-away treasurers of large corporations in the United States. The facility of transportation between the two countries is no doubt often counted upon by those who meditate the appropriation to their own use of moneys coming into their possession by virtue of their office. To allow such persons to escape the punishment they deserve by law, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, by the absence of law, is to place a premium upon dishonesty.

On motion by Mr. John Macdonald, of Toronto, the House was asked to consider the propriety of opening its proceedings by prayer, as was done in the Senate, and for that purpose either to appoint a chaplain or in the absence of the chaplain that prayers should be read by the Clerk of the House. Mr. Macdonald pointed out that a form of prayer agreed upon by the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec and the Protestant rector was used in the opening of the Council of that pro-

vince, from 1792 down to 1841, and that from 1841 till 1866, the form now used in the Senate prevailed. In Upper Canada the proceedings of the Legislative Council were opened by prayer, for many years, by a chaplain of the Church of England appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and subsequently by the ministers of the town of York. After some observations from both sides of the House, a committee was appointed and a report agreed upon to the effect, that prayers should be read by the Speaker of the House in the language most familiar to him, and that members should stand during such service. Out of deference to the French-speaking members of the House, the practice has been established of reading the prayers in French and in English on alternate days.

The budget speech, as in the session of 1876, was the signal for a long discussion of the financial condition of the country, and particularly of the remedy which, in the opinion of the Conservative party, should be applied to the financial stringency which for several years existed. To begin with, there was a deficit of \$1,980,000, with very large obligations in connection with the public works, requiring immediate attention. The revenue was not showing much evidence of buoyancy, notwithstanding the increase in the duties, and the Opposition made the most of these circumstances. Dr. Tupper, as in the previous session, played the part of financial critic, and in a speech nearly three hours in length dealt with the alleged extravagance of the Government and their inability to find a remedy for the commercial depression of the country.

Mr. Mackenzie replied to Dr. Tupper, defending the policy of the Government, and ridiculing the National Policy as a remedy for its financial troubles:

"The prosperity of the country depends on the industry of its people. It does not depend upon party claquers or upon

political nostrums, but it depends upon the industrial power of the people; and the day will never come when either the honorable gentleman or I will be missed when we take our departure from these legislative halls, because other men will rise in our places and the country will go on, never heeding the time when a Tupper pronounced as the sole remedy for the ills of Canada the imposition of a duty on sugar and coal. John Bright said in a very recent speech that he could not compare the absurdities of some people who waited on him desiring protection, to anything except a person who had got a box on the right ear, and turned round desiring a corresponding one on the other ear. And this is the sole remedy of these honorable gentlemen for the sorrows of the country, the sole remedy for a depressed people and for depressed industries. Their sole remedy is to tax the people more; make the people pay more, say these honorable gentlemen, and that will surely bring a general era of prosperity."

The debate on the budget speech followed very nearly the same lines as the debate of the previous session. The opponents of the Government were as loud in their praises of protection as they were fierce in their attacks upon the Government. Sir John Macdonald proposed his usual motion, slightly altered from the preceding year, as follows: "That this House regrets that the financial policy submitted by the Government increases our burden of taxation on the people without any compensating advantage to Canadian interests, and further, that this House is of the opinion that the deficiency in the revenue should be met by a diminution of expenditure, aided by such a readjustment of the tariff as will benefit and foster the agricultural, mining and manufacturing interests of the Dominion."

The division, in a House of 189 members, gave the Government 49 of a majority.

Dr. Orton, who had made himself the special champion of the agricultural interests of the country, also submitted a resolution in favor of protection to the farmers, "expressing regret that the Government had not seen fit, with a due regard to all other industries, so to arrange the customs tariff as to relieve the farmers of Canada from the unjust effects of the one-sided and unfair tariff relations which exist between Canada and the United States, in reference to the interchange of agricultural products, as well as animals and their products, and at the same time place this country in a better position to negotiate a fair and just reciprocity in the interchange of such products between Canada and the United States."

In a House of 187 members, Dr. Orton's motion was defeated by a majority of 39.

These two resolutions occupied the almost undivided attention of the House for over three weeks, during which time protection was discussed from almost every possible standpoint.

When Mr. Mackenzie announced in 1874 to the electors of Lambton the Government policy with regard to the Pacific Railway, he signified his intention to use the water stretches between Lake Superior and Winnipeg as a temporary substitute for a railway for a part of the distance between these two points. He showed that the obligation under which the country had been placed to British Columbia for the construction of a railway across the continent in ten years involved financial burdens vastly greater than the country could bear, and to reduce these burdens, or to distribute them over a greater period, was desirable. The scheme finally agreed upon would involve the construction of 65 miles of railway from

Lake Superior to Lac des Milles Lacs; thence there would be 276 miles of navigable water to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods. A railway 113 miles in length from the last-mentioned point would reach Red River. In the distance covered by these water stretches there would be in all six portages, the longest $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the shortest about an eighth of a mile. The portage at Fort Francis was the one that most seriously impeded navigation. If the waterways between Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods could be connected by a canal, the transportation of passengers and freight would be greatly facilitated, and with that object in view Mr. Mackenzie had taken a vote from Parliament of \$150,000, and subsequently an additional vote of \$500,000 for works of navigation in connection with the Pacific Railway. No formal contract was let for the construction of the work, as it was considered it could be better managed under the department of public works by time labor.

The Opposition took great pains to show that the construction of this lock was a waste of public money, that the desired navigation could not be obtained by the means proposed, and that the transfer of freight, rendered necessary by the numerous portages, would be very expensive. Moreover, they alleged that Mr. Mackenzie exceeded his authority, as Minister of Public Works, in proceeding by time labor and not by tender, and that the whole transaction was one for which the Government should be condemned.

Mr. Mackenzie's defence was simply a clear statement of the policy of the Government, as previously announced. If communication with the North-West were in the meantime obtained by the construction of a small lock at a trifling cost, the immediate necessities of the settlers would be met, and the construction of the continuous rail-route could be under-

taken as soon as the finances of the country would permit. It was no small matter, he urged, to proceed at once with the construction of 276 miles of railway—the distance proposed to be covered by water. Communication once opened in this way, operations in the West would be greatly aided, as supplies of all kinds for railway purposes could more readily be conveyed to the interior of the country. There was no constitutional objection to the construction of the lock by time-labor. The Dawson route, which cost nearly one million and a half, was built by the previous Government in the same way. If the country could afford an all-line of railway at once it would be preferable, but this was out of the question.

Another attack was made upon the Department of Public Works in what was called the "Goderich Harbor Job." The gravamen of this attack was that Mr. Mackenzie in letting a contract for the improvement of the Goderich harbor had passed over the lowest tenderer (a Mr. Tolton) for insufficient reasons, and awarded the contract to Moore & Co., whose tender was about \$30,000 higher, mainly because he was a friend of the Government and a supporter of Mr. Blake in South Bruce.

In his reply to this attack, Mr. Mackenzie showed that the policy of the Public Works Department was invariably to accept the lowest tender unless it was shewn that the person tendering had failed to carry out some previous contract with the Government, or was likely to fail from want of experience or financial ability. He proved from the records of the department that his Government had awarded a much larger number of contracts to the lowest tenderers than the previous Government. The reason why Mr. Tolton was passed over was that he was not known to the Public Works Department as a man of experience in the kind of work for which

he had tendered; that his tender was an exceedingly low one, and that there was great danger that the Government might be put to a loss if obliged to take the work off his hands before completed. The security he offered was not satisfactory, which was a most important consideration, and under the circumstances the Government had no choice but to proceed on the advice of the chief engineer, Mr Page, a man of the highest integrity, and who would not be biassed by any political or personal reason. As in all similar cases, Mr. Blake's letter introducing Mr. Moore to him, as Minister of Public Works, was such a letter as any member of Parliament might give one of his constituents, and as was said by Sir John Macdonald afterwards, in speaking of it: "Mr. Moore had a right to receive such a letter from the Minister of Justice (Mr. Blake). Mr. Moore had a right to ask such a letter from the Minister of Justice (Mr. Blake), and to give such a letter was highly creditable to Mr. Blake."

We have placed side by side these two attacks upon the Public Works Department to show the flimsy nature of the charges brought by the Opposition against Mr. Mackenzie as the head of that department, and also to shew the material out of which later on, they intended to make an election cry. In neither of these charges was there the slightest malversation proven. The alleged favoritism, with respect to the Goderich Harbor contract, was founded in a letter of introduction, given by Mr. Blake to one of his constituents, in these words:

"MY DEAR MACKENZIE,

"David Moore, of Walkerton, asks me to inform you that he is about to tender for the Goderich works, and I do so accordingly. I told my friend Moore that an introduction was unnecessary, as you would let the works fairly, without respect to persons.

"Yours, etc., EDWARD BLAKE."

Had it been shewn that this was the only instance in which the lowest tender was passed over, or had it been shewn even that there was no good and sufficient reason for passing over the lowest tender in this case, the charge of political favoritism would have some foundation. On neither of these points was the evidence worthy of a moment's consideration.

No wonder that Mr. Mackenzie resented these attacks on his department with the greatest vigor, and no wonder that he cited by the score instances in which his predecessors, for public reasons, as the House at least was led to believe, had acted in a similar way.

About the close of the session objection was taken to the right of Mr. Anglin, Speaker of the House of Commons, to hold a seat in Parliament, on the ground that he had violated the Independence of Parliament Act by taking a contract from the Government. It appears that under the previous administration the printing required for the Post Office Department, so far as the Maritime Provinces were concerned, was placed in the hands of local newspapers in Halifax and St. John. On the change of administration, the Postmaster General instructed the officers of the department to transfer such work to the newspapers supporting the Liberal party. The work was to be done according to schedule rates agreed upon by the department, and the accounts were sent in for payment in the usual way. Mr. Anglin was at that time editor and proprietor of the *St. John Freeman*, a journal favorable to the Government. Printing to the extent of about \$10,000 was done at his office, for which he had received the prices fixed by the Post Office Department.

The Committee on Privileges and Elections, to which the matter was referred, held two or three meetings, but as they were appointed late in the session, they simply examined Mr.

Anglin as to the nature of the contract, and at the close of the session reported that they were unable to proceed any farther with the inquiries submitted to their consideration.

The violation of the Independence of Parliament Act, with which Mr. Anglin was charged, was of a very venial character. He had not solicited any contract from the Government, nor had he even arranged with the Post Office Department as to the prices to be paid, and although the cheques for the work done were issued in his favor, a large part of it was done at other offices. Even his opponents did not charge him with any corrupt motives in obtaining the work. It was also shown before the Committee that so soon as the Government, as a whole, became aware of the relations which he occupied to the department, the work was stopped; so that for nearly a year before the matter came up in the House he had ceased to be, in any sense of the term, a Government contractor.

Although Mr. Anglin had violated the Act only in the letter, he was prepared to take the consequences, and so immediately after prorogation he resigned his seat. His constituents, feeling that he had committed no mistake, returned him again to Parliament.

Mr. Vail, Minister of Militia, because a stockholder in a firm having a contract with the Government, also resigned during the recess. He, however, was less fortunate than Mr. Anglin, as he failed to secure re-election.

While Lord Dufferin was in the North-West, Mr. Mackenzie made the grave diplomatic departure of sending Minister Mills to Washington, without the intervention of the circumlocation office, to endeavor to arrange with the authorities there for the return of Sitting Bull, who, in equal disregard of proper usage had crossed with his braves into Canadian territory so as to escape the United States troops. One does not know which

movement was the greater menace to the peace of nations. But, as the Indian warrior had taken the shortest cut out of his difficulty, the Canadian Minister took the shortest way to escape the dilemma he was placed in by Sitting Bull's action. Notwithstanding the lack of form, against which there was a mild protest at the White House, and one much stronger from Downing-street, Mr. Mills found the President and his Ministers very willing to adopt the suggestion he was charged informally to make. This was that a Commission should be sent by the Government of the United States to Sitting Bull's camp and arrange for his peaceful return to his own country. This Commission was intended to be backed up by a little pressure on the Canadian side, Col. McLeod, commander of the mounted police in the North-West, hinting to the dusky visitor and his followers that non-compliance would be likely to result in permission being given the American troops to cross the line and take them prisoners. General Sherman, the officer in charge in the West, pointed out the urgency of prompt action on our part, so as to prevent Canadian soil being made a base of operations by hostile Indians which he regarded as inevitable if the Sioux were to be allowed to remain with their horses and arms. It was a pressing emergency, and it was felt that if the representation made to Washington had to pass through the Colonial office, winter might come and serious complications result. The strangers would, while here, have to be kept in order—a most difficult matter, or be delivered over to the United States authorities—a more difficult matter still; and international law would make Canada liable for any raiding into the adjacent territory of which they might be guilty. It was, in fact, one of those cases in which Mr. Mackenzie had to act promptly, and in

spite of the wrench, constitutionally, the difficulty was satisfactorily overcome.

To those who knew little of Mr. Mackenzie's disposition, except from observing him in the House as leader of the Government, it would never occur that the man who repelled the attacks of his opponents with so much vigor, who returned blow for blow with fire-flashing eye, who even hesitated not when the occasion warranted, to uncover the past and expose inconsistencies that most men had forgotten, was a man of the deepest sensibility and kindness of heart.

Neither the engrossing cares of his office, nor the bitterness of an unreasoning press could suppress that still small voice of sympathy with his fellow men, which to those who knew him best was so substantial an element of his character.

We have before us two letters—the first to a faithful servant of the State, an engineer engaged on the Pacific Railway exploration, the second to a widow of a clergyman who had died on the field of duty, which are among the tenderest and most touching, as in their tone they are the most elevating, communications that the head of a political department ever penned. He “allures to brighter worlds and points the way.” The first from the Public Works Department, under date Dec. 10th, 1877, is as follows:

“It is a matter of great sorrow to all the departmental officers with whom you came in contact to hear of your serious illness. To myself it is peculiarly distressing, as I had formed a very high opinion of your professional ability and your personal integrity while acting for the Government in a very difficult and responsible position. I regret much being unable to spare the time necessary to go to say good-bye to you in person, and therefore do so by letter.

“I earnestly trust that if your earthly days are nearly numbered you may enjoy the hope of a blessed immortality through the merits of our

Saviour. This, after all, is more than earthly honor, or long life, as our utmost length of days is too brief to be noticed in the light of eternity.

“Yours very faithfully, A. MACKENZIE.”

The second letter, written a few weeks afterwards, is to the widow of the Rev. Geo. M. McDougall, the devoted Methodist missionary in the North-West. Mr. McDougall was a man of great force of character, whose whole life was heroically consecrated to missionary work among the Indians, who greatly loved and trusted him. He rendered valuable services to the Indian Treaty Commissioners in their dealing with the Indians in the North-West Territories in 1874. The manner of his death was peculiarly sad and affecting. He became separated from his company, and missed his way on the prairie in a blinding snow storm. Subsequently he was found calmly sleeping the sleep of death in the drifting snow. Mr. Mackenzie caused a gratuity of \$500 to be paid to his widow. The expressions of her acknowledgments drew from the Premier this beautiful reply :

“OTTAWA, Feb. 26th, 1878.

“DEAR MADAM,—Mr. Macdonald [the ex-Senator of Toronto] has informed me of your letter to him of the 22nd inst., in which you convey to the Government your acknowledgments for the payment of \$500 on account of your late husband’s services. I will communicate to my colleagues your message.

“I assure you that nothing could be more grateful to my own feelings than to have it in my power to do something for the family of one who was so devoted to God and his country as your late lamented husband. The tragic story of Mr. McDougall’s death, on his chosen field of labor, where he had done so much to elevate the character of the uncivilized natives, is one of the saddest incidents connected with the history of our western possessions. It drew forth the sympathies of all true men to yourself under your deep affliction. It is but little that outsiders can do under such circumstances, as the stricken heart prefers its own loneliness to the intrusive sympathy of strangers. You have, however, the conso-

lation of knowing that your late husband died nobly at his post after a laborious and self-denying life. I little thought when I had my last long interview with him concerning our far-off land, that in so short a time he would pass from that land to a still further off inheritance, where he would see the King in His beauty, whom in common with his earthly sovereign he had served so faithfully here. Permit me to add that I shall always take an interest in your welfare, though I have not the honor of your personal acquaintance. I am, dear madam,

“Yours faithfully, A. MACKENZIE.

“Mrs. McDougall, Thornbury, Ont.”

Kindnesses like these were continual with Mr. Mackenzie, and they were like the gentle rain from heaven “which blesseth him that gives, and him that takes.” Writing to his daughter when he was in the North-West Territories in August of 1884, Mr. Mackenzie says: “I met a priest here to whom I once rendered some service, who was very grateful and very kind. A message was also sent me by the widow of the Rev. George McDougall, a devoted Methodist Missionary, whom I had employed on Indian work, who was lost in a storm. I called to see the old lady. It seems that I had written her after an event of so much sadness, especially to her, though I had forgotten it. She had the letter with her, and wept freely when she saw me. I was much touched by her unaffected and feeling words and manner in referring to the great sorrow of her life, and was glad to think that any poor words of mine might have alleviated her distress.”

Mr. Mackenzie had friends in pastors of all the churches. One of the good deeds brought to light for the first time when he died had reference to a minister of the Presbyterian Church, whose name has been given us, and who evidently himself prints the statement. The minister, now a learned doctor, was driving to the station at Sarnia, when his horse ran away, and he was badly hurt. He was brought back to

24 Apr 77

My dear Sir

I find that I cannot
support the Indemnity
Bill. My friends on
this side of the House
will decide on the
Bill when introduced
Yours truly
J Macdonald

Sir Alcock

(Fac-simile of Sir John A. Macdonald's hand-writing.)

Mr. Mackenzie's house, where he lay for some weeks, nursed with the tenderest care. During that time Mr. Mackenzie was appointed a minister in the Cabinet of Ontario. "One day," continues the narrator, "Mrs. Mackenzie was sitting by the sick bed, when a letter was handed to her. She read it in silence, while a quiet tear stole down her cheek. The patient asked if there was any bad news. Without a word she handed him the letter. It was from her husband, telling her of his appointment, recalling all the ways by which they had been led through life, and asking her to pray for him now, that he might be kept right amid the temptations and difficulties of his responsible position."

This letter with many others, which Mrs. Mackenzie highly valued, it may be here mentioned, was destroyed by a fire in Ottawa during Mr. Mackenzie's administration.





CHAPTER XXX.

LAST SESSION IN POWER.

Bitterness of Parties—Sir John's Attack on Mr. Anglin—The Premier's Defence—Long and Acrimonious Debate on the Address—The Turning Point of Depression Reached—Mr. Mowat offered a seat in the Government—The Fighting Ground for the Elections Laid Out—The Protective Policy—The Auditor-General—Temperance Legislation—Another Stride Towards Self-Government.

THE fifth session of Parliament, the last with Mr. Mackenzie as Premier, commenced, continued, and ended amidst feelings of bitterness. Few parliamentary records are more painful than the last six pages of Hansard for the year 1878, when, even while Black Rod was knocking at the door to summon the members of the House of Commons to meet His Excellency in the Senate, a scene was being enacted such as those who witnessed it will never forget. Bad as it appears on the face of the official debates, it was far worse than the picture presented there.

Owing to the resignation of Mr. Anglin, as member for Gloucester, the Speakership which he held was vacated also, and it became the first duty of the House on the re-assembling of Parliament, on the 7th of February, to elect a Speaker.

Mr. Anglin, for the previous four years, had presided with marked ability and impartiality. By his long experience in Parliament he had become familiar with the routine of the House, and by his study of parliamentary procedure he was

able, as a rule, to give decisions on points of order with great promptness. By placing him in the chair in the first instance, Mr. Mackenzie lost an able ally on the floor of the House. But as Mr. Anglin had sustained so well the dignity of his position, and as his constituents had shown by their returning him to Parliament that, notwithstanding the attacks of his opponents, they still maintained their confidence in him, it was due both to his record as a member of the House and as Speaker, that he should be continued during the full Parliamentary term.

Sir John A. Macdonald objected to Mr. Anglin's re-nomination, chiefly on technical grounds. He said that the member for Gloucester was a new member, and, according to the practice of the English House of Commons, he could not be known to the House until introduced by two members, and not being introduced, he was not eligible as Speaker.

Mr. Mackenzie quietly replied by asking the House to note that Sir John Macdonald himself had never been introduced. They had therefore been listening to a speech of nearly an hour from a person who, according to his own showing, had no business there and was not a member. The same honorable gentleman rose in his place last session to excuse an honorable member who entered the House not only without being introduced, but without taking the oaths. Sir John A. Macdonald had appealed to the English practice, but the rule in Great Britain required a member to be sworn before the Speaker, necessitating the appointment of a Speaker before he could be sworn, while here he was sworn, as Mr. Anglin had been sworn, before the clerk, upon producing his certificate of election. In the British House of Commons the Speaker is elected by the members before any of them takes the oath. Then the Speaker alone, "standing on the upper step of the chair, takes

the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and takes and subscribes the oath of abjuration, and also delivers to the clerk of the House a statement of his qualification, and makes and subscribes a declaration that he is duly qualified, in which ceremony he is followed by the other members who are present." Here the practice was wholly different, and the rule of the Imperial House of Commons could not be made by any possibility to apply. There was no power to exclude a duly-elected member from this House, whatever might be the manner of his entrance into it.

Sir John, however, pressed his objection, and unsuccessfully divided the House.

The speech from the Throne was an excellent summary of the work of the past year, and contained an outline of sufficient legislation for a session of ordinary length. His Excellency referred to the settlement of the fishery claims under the Washington Treaty, and the award of five and a half million dollars in favor of Canada and Newfoundland for the use of their fisheries during the treaty; to the exhibition of Canadian manufactures in New South Wales, as likely to open a wider market for the products of the country; to treaties made with the Indians, by which the whole of the territory from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains had been acquired by peaceful negotiations from the native tribes; to the retirement of Sitting Bull from British territory, thus relieving Canada of a cause of uneasiness, and possibly of a heavy expenditure; to the practical completion of the survey of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to the increase in the revenues of the country from a partial revival of trade. Legislation was promised with regard to the independence of Parliament, the office of Auditor-General, and the regulation of the traffic in spirituous liquors.

The address was discussed with great vigor during five consecutive days, in which the Ministers were attacked by different members of the Opposition, on almost every detail of their administration of public affairs since they assumed office. The air of the Commons Chamber was redolent of censure. Mr. Mackenzie had purchased constituencies by money extracted from contractors. He had violated the Independence of Parliament Act in the person of many of his supporters. He had recommended an amnesty for Riel and Lepine, but not for O'Donoghue, thus discriminating against the Irish race. He had not secured the repeal of the New Brunswick School Bill, and in this way had done an injustice to the Catholics. He had not completed the surveys of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as he should have done, so that injury was inflicted upon the British Columbians. The tariff had not been advanced, and the struggling industries of the country were still languishing. Such was the indictment of the Government, and speeches to sustain it were for five days poured into the ears of the official reporters with great fluency and due emphasis.

Several encounters of a personal character took place between members on opposite sides of the House, one of the most interesting of which was the duel between Hon. Dr. Tupper and the Hon. A. G. Jones, who was then Minister of Militia. They were old antagonists. They had met on many a platform in their own province, but this was the first time when they practically stepped out into the political ring at Ottawa in mortal combat. Dr. Tupper had just been indulging in effusive self-congratulations on the success of the elections that had taken place during the recess, and particularly over the defeat of Hon. W. B. Vail, formerly Minister of Militia. The fate which overtook Mr. Vail, was just the fate, he said, which Mr. Jones deserved, for he was not loyal to the Empire.

Mr. Jones replied with marked effect. The parliamentary style of his speech, its dignity and force, won for him the admiration of both sides of the House, and the applause with which his remarks were received must have convinced Dr. Tupper that to attack Mr. Jones was not the best way to improve his position in the House.

It may not be generally known that when Mr. Blake sent in his resignation as Minister of Justice, Mr. Mackenzie was anxious that the portfolio should go to some representative of the Province of Ontario.

The legislation with which the House of Commons has to deal follows, in the main, English precedent, and a lawyer trained in a province where English law is followed is, other things being equal, better qualified to discharge the duties of the department of justice than lawyers accustomed simply to the French code which prevails in Quebec. Mr. Mackenzie was, however, very fortunate in obtaining the services of such distinguished men as Messrs. Dorion and Fournier, as their general knowledge of law beyond the range of the courts in which they usually practised, enabled them to deal successfully with all matters pertaining to the administration of justice. If, in the Province of Ontario, a man of political experience could be found whose legal training would command the confidence of the country, Mr. Mackenzie felt that it would strengthen his Cabinet not only for purposes of legislation, but also for the general election which was to follow prorogation. With this object in view, he offered the portfolio rendered vacant by the retirement of Mr. Blake, to the Hon. Oliver Mowat, now Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario. The offer was, no doubt, a tempting one. By a man less impressed with the great issues, constitutional and otherwise, for which he was responsible as Premier of the greatest Province of the

Dominion, such a proposal would have been immediately accepted. Mr. Mowat's refusal adds another to the many obligations under which he has placed his native province.

“TORONTO, Jan. 15th, 1877.

“MY DEAR MACKENZIE,—I continue to think that I should not consider the question of leaving the local House, until after our general election. Should you then propose it to me, it would be my duty to weigh well the considerations, political and personal, which might then bear on such a change, and either for it or against it. If a decision before our local elections should be necessary, my present impression is that I ought to remain where I am, in order to perform my part in securing for the province a good Reform majority for another term ; and I have not considered the matter further.

“Yours ever, O. MOWAT.”

In his budget speech, the Minister of Finance pointed to a considerable reduction in the expenditures per capita, as contrasted with the period before the Government took office, and to the probability that the dangers which at that time beset the country would soon be removed. Under these circumstances he said :

“It appears to me to be our wisest policy, to adhere strictly to a revenue tariff, and to advance steadily but continuously with those important public works which cannot be delayed without grave public injury ; also to fulfil, as far as we can, all the engagements we have entered into, with this proviso, however, that those engagements must not be allowed to imperil our general position, or to endanger the future of the whole population of this country. I do not pretend to say that all risks are past, but I think I am justified in asserting that the risks, at any rate, have been considerably lessened. I do not look for any sudden expansion. I can hardly say that I desire any very sudden expansion ; but I do believe that we may fairly count on a steady and gradual progress, such as we know by past experience has rarely failed to exist in Canada, even under circumstances quite as disadvantageous as those with which we are now confronted.”

As leader of the Opposition, Sir John A. Macdonald presented his annual resolution upon the policy of his party on the trade question. These resolutions have already been noticed in their proper place. The resolution of 1878 was, no doubt, expanded for election purposes, as in its enlarged form it covers several points not embraced in the previous resolutions. It was as follows: "This House is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a national policy, which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home; will restore prosperity to the struggling industries, now so sadly depressed; will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market; will encourage and develop an active interprovincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbors, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country, eventually, a reciprocity of trade."

It will be observed that in this resolution it is stated for the first time that a protective tariff would prevent Canadians from expatriating themselves in search of employment denied them at home, and that in addition to preventing Canada from being made a sacrifice market, a protective tariff would ultimately lead to reciprocity with the United States.

The virtues of protection were evidently growing upon the imagination of the Conservatives the longer the question was discussed. A system that in 1876 was calculated to foster the "struggling manufactures and industries, as well as the agricultural products of the country," in 1877 would also benefit

the mining interests of the Dominion, and, in 1878, would, in addition to all this, keep Canadians at home, furnish them with abundant employment, increase inter-provincial trade, and eventually secure reciprocity with the United States. How much of what was then expected has been realised need not be here discussed. The last decennial census and the McKinley Bill may be consulted by those interested in further investigations.

The debate, which commenced on the 22nd of February and lasted until the 12th of March, was, of course, the chief feature of the session, laying out, as it did, the fighting ground for the forthcoming elections. Sir John A. Macdonald's amendment was lost by a majority of 114 to 77. At other periods of the session, the agricultural interests and the coal interests of the country were discussed in specific resolutions, asking for the interference of the Government in their behalf, the vote in each case being much smaller than the vote on the general policy of protection.

During this session, the House was so much occupied with the discussion of the trade question as to be unable to give but little attention to legislation. Two or three of the most important measures may, however, be mentioned.

In order to secure a more careful audit of the public accounts, and to provide for the expenditure of public moneys in strict compliance with the Supply Bill, it was thought necessary, following the practice of England, to provide for the appointment of an Auditor-General, who should hold office during good behavior, but removable by the Governor-General on an address by the Senate and the House of Commons. The Auditor-General is vested with a good deal of power in the examination of accounts, and the office is found to be an important public safeguard.

The Temperance Act of 1878 is another of the measures of the session worthy of notice. Reference has been made to the numerous petitions presented in 1874-5 in favor of prohibition, and to the appointment of a special commission to enquire into the results of legislation for the prohibition of the liquor traffic in the United States. Mr. Mackenzie had declared himself in favor of absolute prohibition whenever he believed public opinion was sufficiently well educated to make such legislation effective. As we had not reached that condition yet, and as it was desirable that every possible restraint should be placed upon the liquor traffic, his colleague, Mr. Scott, introduced into the Senate a bill, since known as the Scott Act, for applying the principle of local option to the regulation of the liquor traffic. The provisions of the bill are very simple.

On the petition of one-fourth of the electors qualified to vote for a member of the House of Commons in any county or city, submitted to the Governor-General, and publicly announced in the official *Gazette* of the province in which such county or city is situated, a vote by ballot is to be taken as to whether on the day on which the Act takes effect, any person shall be allowed to sell intoxicating liquors as a beverage, so long as the Act continues in force.

When the bill was before the House of Commons, Mr. Mackenzie, who had it in charge, went very fully into a discussion of what he expected it would accomplish, and of the machinery which it provided for restraining the liquor traffic.

“He had always felt that while the people had an absolute right to such legislation as would practically prohibit the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors, yet it was one of those moral questions which must ultimately be determined by the general voice of the people, by the general sympathies of the population, and that however righteous such an Act

might be, however beneficial in the general results to the nation, yet it was one that interfered in a certain manner—in the opinion of some to a great extent—with the liberties of the people in reference to the trade in, and use of, intoxicating liquors of all kinds. But a very large proportion of the people of this country—a large majority of them, indeed—believed that the limitation of this traffic was almost essentially necessary for the prosperity of the country. This bill had been proposed with a view of having an effective permissive measure placed in the hands of the people of all the provinces, with its machinery adapted to a quick and prompt response to public opinion, when it should declare itself by a majority in favor of this measure. It was a matter of serious import to this country, it was one of the greatest possible importance in its social and political aspects, and there could be no doubt whatever, apart from questions of taxation and other questions which arose, that it was one of the greatest possible importance to this country that we should be able in some way or other to check the torrents of intoxication, which for many years had been increasing and pouring in, in an unlimited stream over the land. No one, he thought, could doubt that, and any one who had observed the course of proceedings at great public gatherings must have been satisfied that the temperance agitation had already resulted, even without the enactment of any law, in materially producing the desire to abstain from the excessive use of stimulants in the shape of spirits. It was the duty of every one who loved his country, and who wished well to our institutions and to our churches, to endeavor to aid those who had been devoting their voluntary efforts to the accomplishment of this end, and he was sure this House, in common with the other branch of the Legislature, would cordially respond to the invitation given by the introduction of this Bill, in aiding to the extent of their power in repressing a traffic which had produced so much disaster of every kind, and which threatened, if left uncontrolled, to exercise a still more disastrous and permanent evil influence on the destinies of this country."

But very little objection was taken to the bill in its passage through the House of Commons. The Speaker, who, while the House is in Committee of the Whole, has the same privileges as any other member, objected to the measure as tyrannical. A prohibitory law in the Province of New Brunswick

from which he came was repealed as being inoperative, and the Government which introduced the measure and carried it through the Legislative Assembly of that province was defeated at the polls by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Mackenzie's courage in supporting prohibitory legislation is worthy of the highest praise, and should have brought to him more political support than it did. He had a right to expect, if he looked at the matter from purely selfish considerations, that where about a half a million of people of both sides of politics petitioned Parliament for certain legislation, a reasonable number of these would follow up their request by their political support, particularly when their request was granted. A temperance man who would demand legislation such as the Scott Act provided, and who would strike down at the polls the man who granted his request, was in his opinion an inconceivable specimen of duplicity. He was not, however, bidding for political support; he was legislating as he said himself for the suppression of crime and for the protection of the public morals, and if by so doing he suffered politically, he felt the cause was worthy of some sacrifice.

The opponents of the Government allowed the bill to pass with very little discussion. The liquor interests of the country, as a rule, supported them in the past, and as the responsibility of all legislation rested upon the Government, they felt they had a party excuse for not opposing what it was quite evident they could not prevent.

Very important modifications were, on the suggestion of Mr. Blake, made in the commission issued by the Imperial Government to the Governor-General of Canada, by which the Governor-General is obliged to take the advice of his Ministers now, where he formerly was empowered to act on his own responsibility. It was held by Mr. Blake and his

colleagues that Canada could not be said to possess in its fullness responsible government, so long as the Governor-General could act in matters affecting Canadian interests independently of his Cabinet. By the British North America Act, Canada is invested with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United States. She is, therefore, undoubtedly entitled to the fullest freedom of self-government, and her rights in this respect should be recognised and embodied in the commission and instructions from the Crown to the Governor-General. Mr. Blake contended that, "as a rule, the Governor does and must act through the agency and on the advice of Ministers, and Ministers must be responsible for such action, save only in the rare instance in which, owing to the existence of substantial Imperial as distinguished from Canadian interests, it is considered that full freedom of action is not vested in the Canadian people."

After some correspondence with the Earl of Carnarvon, Mr. Blake, at the request of the Colonial Office, was deputed to visit England for the purpose of submitting in person the views of the Canadian Government. The result of his interview is thus described by Mr. Todd in his "Parliamentary Government of the Colonies":

"Certain portions of the Governor's commission and instructions, heretofore inserted in documents of this description, were omitted from the revised draft agreed upon for use in Canada, on the ground that they were obsolete, or superfluous and unnecessary. Of this character we may refer to the directions concerning the meetings of the Executive or Privy Council, and the transaction of business by that body; the clause which authorised the Governor, in certain contingencies, to act in opposition to the advice of his Ministers; the clause which prescribes the classes of bills to be reserved by the Governor-General for Imperial consideration, and certain clauses dealing with matters which now come within the province of the Provincial Governments and are dealt with by

local legislation, over which the Governor-General and his advisers practically exercise no control.

“All such questions, it was wisely contended by Mr. Blake, should be left to be determined by the application to them, as they might arise, of the constitutional principles involved in the establishment in Canada of parliamentary government. The authority of the Crown in every colony is suitably and undeniably vested in the Governor. He possesses the full constitutional powers which Her Majesty, if she were ruling personally instead of through his agency, could exercise. The Governor-General has an undoubted right to refuse compliance with the advice of his Ministers, whereupon the latter must either adopt and become responsible for his views, or leave their places to be filled by others prepared to take that course.

“Even in respect to questions which may involve Imperial as distinct from Canadian interests, it appeared to Mr. Blake inadvisable, if not impossible, to formulate any rule of limitation for the conduct of the Governor-General. ‘The truth is,’ he observes, ‘that Imperial interests are, under our present system of government, to be secured in matters of Canadian executive policy, not by any such clause in a Governor’s instructions (which would be practically inoperative, and if it can be supposed to be operative would be mischievous), but by mutual good feeling and by proper consideration on the part of Her Majesty’s Canadian advisers, the Crown necessarily retaining all its constitutional rights and powers which would be exercisable in any emergency in which the indicated securities might be found to fail.’ He therefore suggested the omission of all clauses in the Royal instructions to Governors of Canada which were of this nature. The sections of the British North America Act defining and regulating the exercise of the powers which appertain to the office of Governor-General in a system of government expressly declared by that statute to be ‘similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom,’ were, in Mr. Blake’s judgment, amply sufficient to determine the constitutional status and authority of that officer, subject, of course, ‘to any further instructions, special or general, which the Crown may carefully give, should circumstance render that course desirable.’”

The effect of these changes is to relieve Canada from the interference of the Colonial Office on all matters not purely

Imperial in their character. As was said by the Earl of Carnarvon: "When interests outside the Dominion are directly affected there is no authority except the Imperial authority which is in a position to decide, and those are the only matters now remaining for the Colonial Office to direct."

It is the habit of some who know little of Mr. Mackenzie's zeal for his country to depreciate his services during the five years of his Administration. Any person, however, who studies with a candid mind his Administration from his acceptance of office in 1873 until his retirement in 1878, will find that he was not only an executive officer of great ability and force, but that he was a man of broader statesmanship than is usually recognised even by many of his friends. What Sir Oliver Mowat has done for Ontario in maintaining her constitution and her provincial rights, Mr. Mackenzie has done for the Dominion of Canada in her relations with the Colonial Office.

In the troubles with British Columbia; in the commission to negotiate a treaty at Washington in 1874; in the appointment of a commissioner to determine the amount to be paid under the Washington Treaty in 1877; and in the relief from the interference of the Colonial Office, secured in the amended instructions to the Governor-General of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie proved himself a persistent and successful advocate of colonial rights. Had he given more of his time to the redistribution of constituencies, or to the preparation of Franchise Acts, by which things would be made comfortable for his friends; or had he studied how to distribute custom houses, post offices, light houses and piers, so as to influence elections, or had he accepted contributions from contractors or rings of protected manufacturers in order to aid struggling candidates; or had he set aside a secret service fund on which he could

draw on his own warrant, he might have been a greater statesman, as statesmanship is by some regarded, but he would not have been so true a Canadian nor so worthy of that high place among the noblest of her sons which he now occupies. To have given her a larger measure of freedom in the management of her own affairs, to have forced upon the Colonial Office the recognition of her absolute independence, except when Imperial interests were concerned, are acts of statesmanship to which every student of history will refer with pleasure.





CHAPTER XXXI.

GOVERNOR LETELLIER'S COUP D'ETAT.

The Case Before Parliament—Motion to Declare His Action “Unwise”—How the Premier Met it—The Dominion Government not Privy to the Proceeding—Lord Lorne Assailed—Gov. Letellier Dismissed—Address to Lord Dufferin—His Excellency’s Sense of the Premier’s Kindness—Bids Parliament Farewell—Government Policy on the Railway—Legislation Withdrawn—Release from a Turbulent Session.

AT the beginning of March, 1878, Canada was startled by an extraordinary act on the part of one of its mimic kings. On the 1st of that month, Mr. Letellier, the Liberal Lieutenant-Governor, performed the *coup d'etat* of dismissing his constitutional advisers, the Conservative De Boucherville Government, giving chiefly as his reason for so doing that his prerogatives had been slighted by the submission of measures to the Legislature without prior consultation with and sanction by him as the executive head. Other grounds of complaint were that the Attorney-General, through misrepresentation, had placed him in an equivocal position by causing him to make the appointment of a municipal councillor in Montmagny, under the pretext that there had been no election, when an election had actually been held and a candidate returned, so that the question to be decided was one for the courts; that his name had been appended to proclamations and other instruments of which he had received no previous knowledge; and that the treatment of him generally by his Ministers had been of a

most unceremonious, not to say contumelious character. For all these reasons the Lieutenant-Governor expressed to the Premier the regret he felt in being no longer able to retain him and his colleagues in their positions, "contrary to the rights and prerogatives of the Crown."

The Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just was the descendant of a good French family. He was proud and high-spirited, but courteous in manner and stately of appearance and bearing. "Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel," he was neither a meddlesome man nor a man to be meddled with. In

Monsieur
White has of senior
Letellier

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Administration, as well as in Mr. Mackenzie's Government, he held the portfolio of Minister of Agriculture. Towards the close of the year 1876, he was sent down to Spencer Wood to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Caron, as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. Shortly afterwards Mr. Mackenzie described him, in writing to a friend, as "always a moderate man in the expression of very decided views, and not personally objectionable to any one." He was glad, he said, to find that the appointment had given very general satisfaction.

The contracted, prejudiced, parochial character of the Quebec Government was manifested in a manner that a village politician would be ashamed of. One would search for a long time without finding a narrower spirit of intolerance than is

depicted in the following passage in a letter from Mr. Mackenzie to Mrs. Mackenzie, from Quebec, in the latter part of June, 1876 :

“The public dinner to the Governor-General was a grand affair ; on the whole, the best I have seen in Canada. The Local Government, on the morning of the day, withdrew their acceptances, because the Federal Government were to be represented there and toasted. I at once went to the Mayor, and offered to remain away, but he refused his assent, and insisted that I should go and speak. He was backed up by the unanimous voice of the committee, Tory and Liberal. I then informed Lord Dufferin of what had happened. He also insisted so strongly on my going that I relinquished my intention of staying away. The littleness and bad taste of the Quebec Government in showing ill feeling to me had the effect of making my reception by the audience most enthusiastic. Prominent Conservatives were very much ashamed of their leaders, and hastened to assure me they had no sympathy with them. The Mayor behaved very handsomely, as indeed did every one else.”

When the Confederation Act conferred upon the Central Government the power of appointing Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces, many were apprehensive of just such collisions between them and their advisers as we have since witnessed in the neighboring province. A governorship is too great a prize to be given by a Dominion Premier to men, however distinguished, who have no political claims. Retired judges and persons of position and attainments in the purely intellectual sphere, who, because they have no politics, are naturally the most fitted for holding evenly the balance of power between contending parties, are therefore passed over for others of prominence who are pronounced in their party views and strong in their party allegiance. Diverse elements are often thus brought into conflict, and if self-restraint is wanting on the part of either the Lieutenant-Governor or the Ministry, there is at all times a lurking danger lest serious differences should

arise between them. In the case under consideration, ancient political feuds were fanned and kept alive, and the Quebec Government, by their insulting and contemptuous treatment of their old adversary made the position of the too sensitive Lieutenant-Governor intolerable. Had his Ministry treated him with common courtesy, he might have been content to follow the example of Lord Dufferin, who said that the ordinary duties of a Governor were merely to drop a little oil here and there, so as to relieve the friction of the governmental machinery. But he did not understand the modern theory of the function of a constitutional Governor to go quite so far as to require him to deaden his nature to every feeling of resentment of personal wrong, or to have no care for the dignity of his office. He had the high authority and calm judgment of Todd for the assurance that he was in a "most real sense" the representative of the Sovereign, and consequently "no mere automaton or ornamental appendage to the body politic, but a person whose consent is necessary to every act of state, and who possesses full discretionary powers to deliberate and determine upon every recommendation which is tendered for the Royal sanction by the Ministers of the Crown." So that when the Government tried to make a nullity of him and to bring upon him derision, he asserted his undoubted right of dismissal. Responsibility for the exercise of the prerogative was at once assumed by a new set of Ministers. There was thus an adherence to the strict letter of the Constitution and a full compliance with constitutional usage, even though the spirit of the unwritten law, as interpreted by some advocates of the sovereignty of parliament, would seem to require the retirement of an insulted Governor, instead of the dismissal of the men at whose hands the insult is received. If this doctrine be accepted, it follows that a Governor with a hostile

Ministry must hold his office on a precarious tenure. His Ministers have but to provoke him to the point of retaliation, and at once "his usefulness is gone."

This dictum, at any rate, was made to do service in the case of Mr. Letellier. Sir John A. Macdonald brought the matter up in the House of Commons on Thursday, the 11th of April, 1878, by moving as an amendment to the motion for going into committee of supply: "That the recent dismissal by the Lieut.-Governor of Quebec of his Ministers was, under the circumstances, unwise and subversive of the position accorded to the advisers of the Crown since the concession of the principle of responsible government to the British North American colonies."

Mr. Mackenzie retorted that the mover was not the man to lecture the Liberals on this question, the Liberal party having had a long struggle with him and his friends in their fight for the establishment in Canada of the principle of responsible government. He maintained that the Provincial Governments occupied the same position towards the Crown as colonies having Lieut.-Governors appointed immediately by the Crown occupied in relation to the Imperial authorities. The resolution, he said, was very mild. It characterised the action of the Lieut.-Governor simply as unwise. The question of its wisdom was not one for this House to decide, but the Province of Quebec, and the Ministry of Mr. Joly had assumed the full responsibility of His Honor's action. It would be an unwarranted use of the powers of this House to pass a vote of censure or approval of either party in Quebec. The matter was left with the responsible administration and the Province, and nothing could be more fatal to the Provincial autonomy existing under the Act of Confederation than this proposed interference. He read, in support of his contention,

Sir John A. Macdonald's own argument in the case of the Orange Incorporation Bills, which were reserved by the Lieut.-Governor of Ontario five years before. It was not for this House to say whether Mr. Letellier was right or wrong, for if the people of Quebec sustained the Administration who had made themselves accountable for his proceeding, the constitutional requirement was met. Of the action of the Lieut.-Governor personally he knew nothing. The ground he took was this: "That I propose not to interfere; that I have not interfered; that nothing shall be done by the Government of the Dominion which would in any way place us in the position of having taken part in a political controversy which affects the Province, and the Province alone."

In a communication on this subject about the same time, Mr. Mackenzie said that the Dominion Government had no business to interfere, and that to meddle in the affairs of a Province would be to do it a constitutional wrong. He argued that if they undertook to supervise the action of Governor Letellier they might finally be called upon to interfere in the action of any one of the Provinces when a Ministerial crisis arose. Such a course would be fatal to responsible government, and would reduce the Provinces to the status of irresponsible municipal corporations. He therefore felt it his duty to prevent such serious interference with the working of the federal system. He neither attacked nor defended the action of the Lieut.-Governor, though he did express his opinion, *en passant*, that the attempt to interpose the legislative authority between the aggrieved municipality and the judicial courts was such an exercise of Ministerial power as would justify the adoption of the strongest measures, if constitutional in their character. Sir John A. Macdonald's motion, he held, went either too far or not far enough. If there

was any right of interference, the motion should have condemned Mr. Letellier's course, and demanded his recall; it should have declared his action unconstitutional. Instead, it merely said it was unwise. What right had the Dominion Parliament to pass judgment upon the course taken by a Provincial Legislature, its administration, and its chief executive officer? If they declared Governor Letellier's action unwise, might they not also declare unwise the action of Mr. De Boucherville, or the action of the Quebec Legislature? In this way a blow might be struck at all local authority.

The Ministerial speeches were short, as the ground assumed by the Government rendered elaborate argument unnecessary. The Liberals regarded the motion as one calculated to produce mischief by making a most dangerous precedent, and they wished to throttle it at its birth. The speeches on the other side were long, labored and irrelevant. The debate at a late hour was adjourned until the following day, when there was a disgraceful scene at an all-night session, the House meeting at three o'clock on Friday afternoon, and sitting continuously from that hour until five minutes past six on Saturday evening. On the Monday ensuing the question was voted on, the division standing 112 to 70.

The statement was recklessly made that the Dominion Government were privy to the "conspiracy," and that Mr. Mackenzie aided, counselled and abetted the Lieutenant-Governor in his high-handed proceedings. Collins, in his "Life of Sir John A. Macdonald," says: "It is useless to deny that M. Letellier came to the administration [*i. e.*, Governorship of Quebec], with an exaggerated sense of his functions and powers; but, what was worse still, he believed that he had, and he really did have, the countenance of the Mackenzie Ministry in his feeling and attitude towards his Cabinet."

Let us see how this compares with the lecture which Mr. Mackenzie took occasion to read his appointee sometime afterwards: "It would be idle to deny that the dismissal of a Ministry supported by such a vote in the Legislature was looked upon by many of your friends as a very grave step, which, even though it were constitutional in itself, no party advantage would justify, and which indeed could not be justified on any ground unless it were capable of being supported by the strongest reasons. Liberals are always properly jealous of the arbitrary exercise of power. What a friendly Governor does to-day may be done by an unfriendly Governor to-morrow. Besides, all gubernatorial actions must be assumed to grow out of a sense of duty and to be done in the public interest," leaving clearly the inference that justification is not readily to be found in a resort to extreme measures for the personal wrongs suffered by a Governor, however galling these may be.

His opinion of the danger to the constitution of Governor Letellier's *coup* was not changed by the fact that the new adviser, Mr. Joly, had with his well-known chivalry assumed the responsibility, and on an appeal had been sustained by the electorate of the Province, though by the narrow majority of one. After the successful elections in Quebec under Liberal auspices, Mr. Mackenzie wrote thus to an influential political friend in another Province:

"Mr. Letellier's action was no doubt within the scope of his powers, but it was a most dangerous step. I was sorry he did not assign better reasons for it. The action of the electors saves him from popular condemnation, and having acted strictly within the scope of his powers, we could not recall him. I took the line in the House that we had no right to interfere with a Governor in the exercise of his constitutional functions by declaring his action to be either wise or unwise."

(Fac-simile.)

Confidential. ' Lesclap, 15 April 78.

My dear Mr Mackenzie.

I thank God not
to have at any time asked your
advice on the dismissal of Mr.
DeBoucherville and to have acted
in the same way with your colleagues.

I knew that acting contrary
to this was wrong and preferred
having the responsibility to rest on my
shoulders ready to submit myself
to its consequences.

If my remaining into of-
fice is injurious in any way to
your Government or to the Reform
party I place my self at your dis-

pass and am ready to retire if
you think it better for the interest
of the Country and of this Province.

I might have committed the
same errors with which I clothed
Mr DeBensherville; so that you
are at liberty to tell me "I don't"
impute your intentions but a "
grand esprit de faute".

I pity you on account of
the fatigue which is imposed upon
your health, and you will have
a reason to be pained for more
if you can read this to long epistle

With my best regards,

Yours truly

Wm A Mackenzie Letellier.
Previns
Ottawa.

Mr. Mackenzie's warning to Mr. Letellier of the consequence of the establishment of a dangerous precedent was prophetic. A similar scene has recently been produced on the same boards and by many of the same actors.

Mr. Joly's Government was returned by so slender a majority that they were unable for any long period to maintain themselves in power. On the ground of the weakness of Governor Letellier's new advisers, as tested in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Mackenzie was asked by a gentleman in Quebec to demand Mr. Letellier's resignation. Mr. Mackenzie gave the same answer that he had given throughout, that the Ottawa authorities had no right to interfere. As to the attitude of the Quebec House, he said :

“On the merits of the exact question you raise, I do not think that the vote of the Assembly was conclusive in the condemnation of the Governor's action. There were 32 to 32, Mr. Price not voting. He cannot be counted on either side, but it is known he is a supporter of Mr. Joly. If he were not a supporter, he had only to vote on that occasion against him, and a resignation would have followed at once. Mr. Joly has moreover succeeded in getting his supplies voted so far very well, and there can be no surer test of the power of a Minister than this.”

On the defeat of his Administration, Mr. Mackenzie had prevision of what was likely to be the Tory course of action. In a letter before us of the 31st of January, 1879, he said he thought that Sir John A. Macdonald, when Parliament met, would put some one up to move a resolution so as to foment an agitation with the design of driving Mr. Letellier into resignation. He did not believe, however, that the Conservatives would proceed to the extremity of dismissal. True, the new House was very hostile to the Liberals, and the dominant party were flushed with their victory; but the question had already been voted upon, and Sir John's motion had been re-

jected. Moreover, the resolution did not deny that however high-handed, in Sir John's opinion, the proceeding of the Lieutenant-Governor might have been, Mr. Letellier was strictly within his rights; nor did Sir John ever assert the contrary. It was likely enough that the Tories might not desire to have Mr. Letellier in office, thinking that they could better trust one of their own party. But their case in this respect was exactly similar to that of Mr. Mackenzie, who, when he took office, found Conservatives Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces. The case of Mr. Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, a functionary with whom at that time it was essential in the public interest the central authorities should have frequent and intimate intercourse, was a very striking one. What did Mr. Mackenzie do in regard to him? He tells us in these words: "No sooner did we take office, than I wrote to Mr. Morris telling him that I intended trusting him implicitly in the grave matters connected with that country, and that in my opinion the most cordial confidence was necessary while he and I held our respective positions. He at once responded in the same spirit. On one occasion I defended him from aspersions in the House, and certain of his political friends assumed that there was some reason for my so doing, and even acted in this spirit. I dare say this gentleman is now satisfied that Mr. Morris has abundantly vindicated his party proclivities since he left the gubernatorial chair."

Mr. Mackenzie had not long to wait for the fulfilment of his prediction in regard to the Tory policy of agitation on the Letellier question; though it was made the pretext for action which he and other eminent constitutionalists never dreamt of. Certainly the Governor-General and the Colonial Secretary, who are far removed from the sphere of party passion, did not, nor a mind so unprejudiced and acute as that of Sir

Francis Hincks, Sir John's old political colleague, as we shall presently see.

As anticipated by Mr. Mackenzie, early in the session of 1879, Sir John A. Macdonald's motion of the year before, in precisely the same language, came up again, but this time in the hands of Mr. Mousseau, and, in order to preclude amendment, Mr. Ouimet moved the previous question. Mr. Mackenzie severely criticised the Government for shirking their duty by putting up members from the back benches to do the work for them, and to do it in so cowardly a fashion. At the close of his speech he said: "I feel quite certain that every member of this House, when he considers the position of the Provinces relatively to each other and to the Dominion, must come to the conclusion that our federal system is a fraud, if this Parliament is to constantly exercise surveillance over the actions of the local Legislatures and local Governors, which are subject to the usual approval or disapproval of the people of such Province. We may as well at once revert to our former system of government, however inconvenient it may be. A legislative union with all its evils, in a country diversified as ours is, would be infinitely preferable to a federal system which vests all the power in the federal authorities, where the federal authorities are disposed to use that power tyrannically towards the Provinces." After debate, the motion was carried by 136 votes to 51.

Shortly afterwards Sir John A. Macdonald stated to the House that he had advised His Excellency that, in the opinion of the Government, Mr. Letellier's usefulness was gone, and that he should be removed from office. He went on to say: "His Excellency was thereupon pleased to state that, as the federal system introduced by the Constitutional Act of 1867 was, until then, unknown in Great Britain or her colonies,

there were no precedents to guide him to a decision in the present case, and as the decision in this case would settle for the future the relations between the Dominion and the Provincial Governments, so far as the office of the Lieutenant-Governor was concerned, he therefore deemed it expedient to submit the advice offered him, and the whole case, and the attendant circumstances, to Her Majesty's Government for their consideration and instructions."

On this "startling statement," as it was called a few hours afterwards, Mr. Ouimet exonerated the Government from blame, but furiously assailed the Governor-General for having thus trampled on the constitutional rights of the people. Sir John blandly replied that with his honorable friend he could not agree. There was nothing unconstitutional in the Governor-General's course. "He, the representative of the Sovereign, says that he will ask for specific instructions from his and our Sovereign." Nevertheless, Mr. Cockburn, of West Northumberland, "felt humiliated by the course" taken by the Governor-General in making this reference to England. Mr. Vallée said that His Excellency's course was unconstitutional and without precedent, and that he had heard of the refusal of the Governor-General to follow the advice of his Ministers "with sorrow and surprise." In regard to such conduct, Mr. Desjardins "felt the bitterest grief," and were such conduct repeated there would be no other alternative than to "provide for the appointment of a regency"—in fact to compel Lord Lorne to abdicate. Mr. Mousseau "entirely repudiated" the doctrine that a Governor-General could disregard the advice of his responsible Ministers in Canada and seek the advice of the colonial office instead, and compared Lord Lorne to Lord Metcalfe. In this painful position the Government left the Governor-General to bear the attacks of

their Tory supporters without a word of explanation or defence.

The tergiversation of Sir John on this question, Mr. Mackenzie exposed in an able speech, on the 27th of April, 1880. He recited the proceedings taken in the session of 1878, to censure Mr. Letellier for his action in dismissing his Ministers. The motion then made was negatived by the House of Commons, but a resolution somewhat similar in terms was adopted by the Senate. His (Mr. Mackenzie's) Government declined to take action, for the reason that they held the matter to be one not coming within their purview. He was glad to know that such also was the opinion of the Governor-General and the Colonial Secretary. For, subsequently to the change of Government, on the passing of a resolution in the House for Mr. Letellier's dismissal, Lord Lorne told Sir John A. Macdonald that he could not agree with him in his policy, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach, in a despatch from London, asserted the constitutional right of Mr. Letellier to dismiss his Ministers, and pointed out that it was the spirit and intention of the British North America Act that the high office of the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province should, as a rule, endure for the term of years specifically mentioned, and that the power of removal should never be exercised except for grave cause.

Sir John A. Macdonald had been requested by Lord Lorne to put his reasons in writing, the Governor-General undertaking to reply to them in the same way. Whether Sir John did so or not, there was nothing to show. But a message was subsequently brought down to the House which was of a very serious character, for it led members on both sides to come to the conclusion that His Excellency had not only refused the advice of his Ministers, but contrary to their advice had determined to remit the matter to England, causing Mr. Ouimet,

Mr. Mousseau and other prominent Government supporters, to denounce His Excellency in strong terms as violating the liberties of the people, as trampling upon responsible government, and as setting at defiance the principles under which we are governed. All this denunciation of His Excellency by Government supporters was listened to by Sir John A. Macdonald and his colleagues, without a word to shew that the reference to England was not, as in truth it was not, made at His Excellency's suggestion, but upon the suggestion of the Government themselves. Even four days afterwards, when it was pointed out by Sir John that the fact of the Government continuing to retain their offices, shewed that they held themselves responsible for the Governor-General's action, the impression was suffered still to remain that this was a generous act on their part in order to shield His Excellency from blame. The whole thing was an entire deception. The Government had advised the reference, and had left His Excellency to bear the odium.

Mr. Mackenzie's motion to place the responsibility upon the proper shoulders by recording the true facts upon the journals of the House, and by asserting it as the opinion of the House that the submission for review to England of advice given by the Privy Council here in a matter which was purely of an administrative character, was subversive of the principles of responsible government, was rejected on a division by a vote of 119 to 49.

The views held by Sir Francis Hincks on the constitutional aspect of the question we find set forth by him in a letter to Mr. Mackenzie of the 24th of July, 1879:

"I have had reason to think for some days that the decapitation of Mr. Letellier was agreed to, but there has been a fight as to the successor—Robitaille has triumphed. I imagine that he had Sir John's pro-

mise at the time of the formation of the Government, and I am inclined to think that the last visit of his to Ottawa was to endeavor to get him to give way, and that he refused. It may be that ———— was the rival candidate. It was certainly some one of British origin. I had hoped that Lord Lorne would have insisted on carrying out the spirit of the understanding arrived at and communicated to Parliament, which was that the Government had admitted that the question was a new one, and that there being no precedent, it was expedient to ask advice. This would have justified His Excellency in claiming that both parties should seek the advice of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which might have been obtained on the case, as presented by the complaint of the ex-Ministers, for having been dismissed, the reply, rejoinder, and surrejoinder: Was there a cause made out for dismissal within the meaning of the British North America Act? I do not see how this could have been refused, especially as the Governor-General was master of the position after the elections. I had a postal card from Mr. Gladstone to the following effect: 'I agree with you in your main proposition, and think it plainly desirable that the controversy should be disposed of not as a political, but as a judicial issue.'"

A disposition having been at last made of poor Mr. Letellier, who did not long survive the malignity of his pursuers, we turn for a brief moment to a more pleasant incident—about the only one that occurred in the turbulent session of 1878. In the midst of the jarring, warring elements in the House, there was a truce. It was called on the 11th of April, on the occasion of a motion by the First Minister for an address to His Excellency the Governor-General, expressing the deep feeling of regret of the people of Canada at his approaching departure from the country, and assuring him of the high appreciation entertained of the service done to the Dominion by his visits to each of the Provinces and the Territories, as well as by his able and eloquent speeches, and of the marked degree in which literature and art and the industrial pursuits had received encouragement from his efforts and lib-

erality; and further, "assuring His Excellency and his distinguished consort that they would bear with them on leaving us our warmest wishes for their future welfare and happiness; that we rejoice in the conviction that, though Canada may no longer possess the advantage of His Excellency's experience and knowledge of public affairs in so exclusive a degree as she has enjoyed them in the past, she will continue to have in His Excellency a friend and advocate; and that it is our heartfelt wish that, for many years, the Empire at large may have the benefit of His Excellency's ripe wisdom, experience, and eminent abilities."

Mr. Mackenzie moved the resolution in graceful language, and it was seconded in a fitting speech by Sir John A. Macdonald, and supported by Mr. Laurier and Mr. Langevin. An address founded on the resolution was cordially adopted, the country parting with sincere regret with the ablest and most generous and hospitable of Viceroy, and his highly accomplished and popular consort. Lord and Lady Dufferin will always be regarded by people of all ranks in Canada with a feeling of affection.

On the day following the passing of the address, His Excellency thus wrote his First Minister to thank him for his speech:

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"OTTAWA, April 12, 1878.

"MY DEAR MACKENZIE, —I cannot help writing you a line to express my very great sense of your kindness and courtesy in proposing the address to me in the House of Commons yesterday, in such handsome terms. It is indeed gratifying to my feelings to leave Canada under such agreeable auspices, and the address will be a source of pride, not only to myself, but to my descendants.

"I was particularly touched at the pleasant way in which you alluded to our personal relations. For my own part, I can say that I have derived nothing but unalloyed pleasure from them. The better I have

become acquainted with you, the more I have learned to respect and honor the straightforward integrity of your character, and the unmistakable desire to do your duty faithfully by the Queen, the Empire and the Dominion.

“Yours faithfully,

“DUFFERIN.”

The Governor-General took leave of the two Houses in his speech proroguing Parliament, in the following words :

“Nothing could have given me more gratification than the joint address with which you have honored me on the eve of my departure.

“My interest in Canada shall not cease when my mission as Her Majesty’s Viceroy shall have terminated, and I am glad to know that you have taken so favorable a view of my efforts to fittingly represent our most gracious Queen in this the most important of Her Majesty’s colonial possessions.

“I now bid you farewell, and earnestly trust that you may find in the future the manifold blessings which I shall ever pray may continue to be showered upon you.”

Towards the close of the session, on the question for going into Committee of Supply, the Premier took occasion, for the information of the House, to give a very interesting *resumé* of the policy and action of the Government in respect of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The onerous obligation to construct the road was incurred in 1871; the work to be completed in 1881. But, at the time his own Government took power, two years and a half had elapsed without a mile of the line being located. The plan of his Government was to complete the surveys as rapidly as possible and construct initial portions of the railway so as to gain access to the prairie region. He gave an idea of the magnitude of the work of surveying, when he said that already the various parties sent out for that purpose had traversed 47,000 miles of route, under circumstances of the greatest difficulty and danger, involving the loss of about forty

men. Some were surrounded by forest fires and burnt to death, others lost their lives in endeavoring to cross dangerous rivers and in descending the tumultuous rapids to the Fraser and other rivers but little known. In addition to the actual travelling of forty-seven thousand miles of routes in search of the best way whereon to build the railway, there were actual instrumental surveys, laboriously measured, yard by yard, of not less than twelve thousand miles, or very nearly five times the length of the road when completed, from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean. In these surveys, to June 1st, 1877, the large sum of \$3,411,895 was expended, or at the rate of \$1,300 per mile of road from Lake Nipissing to the seaboard.

In the year 1877, there was a great deal of lawlessness in the city of Montreal, resulting mainly from sectarian feelings, and on the 12th of July, blood was shed. Mr. Blake, with a view to checking such crimes of violence, introduced a bill (May 1st, 1878), which was to be operative for a year, and which the Government adopted, at his request, as a measure of their own, rendering it unlawful, on proclamation applicable to any particular district, for any person, not being an officer of the peace, or a soldier or a sailor in Her Majesty's service, to have therein, elsewhere than in his own dwelling-house, dangerous and deadly weapons, particularly the smaller descriptions of fire-arms. The wisdom of the measure was concurred in by the entire House, and the leading members on both sides, deploring the necessity which had called it forth, united in their efforts to render it as perfect as possible.

Writing to his brother Charles, on the 12th of May, 1878, Mr. Mackenzie says ;

"I got my release on Friday from the worst session I was ever in, either as private or officer. From first to last it was a policy of deliberate obstruction in both Houses. The Senate was simply a Tory committee.

"We were compelled to abandon half our legislation at last, and what we did get through was ruined in the Senate. I was, at the end, for the first time, completely used up, but I took care to let no one know it. I do not think I could have sat another week.

"Well, it is all over. Five years of the Premiership have been successfully accomplished under great disadvantages. For many reasons I would be glad to stop there; but I must try again, as there is now no escape, though I know the election will be keenly contested."

Among the bills that the Government was compelled to abandon was one of importance designed to facilitate the colonization of the Dominion lands in the North-West. It was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Mills. Any number of persons might form themselves into an association for the purpose of constructing railways between designated points, under agreements, and, subject to the approval of Parliament, receive public lands, or aid from the proceeds of the sale of lands lying alongside the line of railway, not exceeding in amount the sum of \$10,000. There were many clauses for the protection of the public interest. The bill was read the second time on the 28th of March, but was withdrawn during the closing days of the session.

Parliament was prorogued on the 10th of May. Next day, Mr. Mackenzie wrote about "the frightful scene," to which we have already made reference, that marked the close of the session. Having gone to the Senate to receive the Governor-General, he did not witness it, but the leaders of the Opposition had been represented to him as "pictures of demoniac humanity."

It was in this spirit of party hostility that members left Ottawa to enter upon the elections.



CHAPTER XXXII.

DEFEAT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Royalty in Canada—Apprehensions Unfounded—Preparations for the Contest—Mistake in the Time Selected—Should have been June—The Physical Strain—What the Government had to Fight Against—A Carnival of Fraud and Misrepresentation—Defeat of the Government—The Protection Humbug Illustrated.

MR. MACKENZIE was advised by a cable from England as early as July, 1878, of the nomination of the Marquis of Lorne as Lord Dufferin's successor. He confessed himself as being surprised. He knew such a thing had been mooted, but never looked upon the appointment as possible. He feared very much about the effect. So far as the intentions of the Queen and the Imperial Government were concerned, he was on behalf of Canada very grateful; still more grateful to Her Royal Highness for consenting to come here. He was, however, very doubtful about the wisdom of the step taken. He had no apprehension about getting along very well with Lord Lorne, who understood the constitutional relations he would bear to his Ministers well enough. But what would be Her Royal Highness' relations towards the Canadian public? Any attempt to keep up a Royal Court in Canada would be absurd. Any attempt of the Governor-General's Royal Consort to form a limited exclusive circle, mostly composed of English *attachés*, would be unpopular. On the other

hand, no doubt Her Majesty would expect to see maintained by her daughter a kind of Court in Canada, which, as a Canadian, he knew would be impossible.

The reading of Theodore Martin's *Life (the Queen's Life) of the Prince Consort*, had given Mr. Mackenzie an uneasy impression concerning the tendency of the Royal family to manage their own and State affairs, instead of leaving this to Ministers. Any attempt of that kind in Canada would be, in his opinion, unfortunate. It would speedily undo all that he, with many others of all shades of political opinion, had been doing for years to rivet and secure our position as a portion of the Empire. He would never, on any consideration, have permitted the surveillance of a Baron Stockmar. Nothing was more astonishing in recent history than the fact that proud, independent English Ministers submitted so long or at all, to the intolerable supervision of great State affairs by this pretentious, stuffy German doctor, except the fact that it did not occasion more indignation in England when it became known. Lord and Lady Dufferin managed to maintain the dignity of their position, and at the same time were the most accessible of all rulers. Her Royal Highness, he feared, would find it extremely difficult to do this. Of course, every reasonable person would understand that it was by no means an easy task for her to to be a Royal Princess, after the manner of England, while acting the part of the consort of the Governor-General of Canada, and would be ready to make every allowance for her position. At the same time, he feared that the great personages concerned had not fully considered the difficulties of the situation. The die was, however, cast, and we had to make the best of it. He would himself use every possible effort to make it a success, with the sincere hope that it might be found to be so. If Lord Lorne and the Princess understood

the difficulties, they would be the more easily surmounted. The political possibilities would have to be dealt with as they arose. The House of Argyle was well trained in constitutional usage, and he had great faith in Lord Lorne's undoubted good sense. Everybody in Canada received the appointment as a marked compliment to the Dominion, and as specially indicating the great personal interest taken by Her Majesty in this country.

In October of 1878, Mr. Mackenzie wrote to a friend in Scotland:

"There is a fear in Canada that there may be an attempt at playing Court here when the Princess arrives. I think, however, the Queen's daughter has more good sense than to do this. We have no landed aristocracy in Canada, and never will have. Titles do not suit our people. I made recommendations for only two knighthoods while I was in office—to Sir A. A. Dorion and to Sir William B. Richards, and they are both distinguished judges of the Superior Courts. I refused a title in my own case, and this made it easier for me to decline overtures in the case of other people. Canada will receive the Princess well, without doubt, but any attempt to put on the ceremonial of State usual to Royalty in Britain would be a failure here."

Mr. Mackenzie's apprehensions were happily groundless. The good sense he had attributed to Lord Lorne was justly merited, and was shared in by the Princess Louise. The Governor-General and his Royal Consort understood the Canadian situation. There was less of ceremonial and State display during their *regime* than under that of Lord and Lady Dufferin. It is singular that while Mr. Mackenzie, who held these views, was at the head of the Administration, there was a much greater degree of social brilliancy in Ottawa than ever dazzled the eyes and depleted the pockets of Canadians either before or since that period.

The summer of 1878 was not only metaphorically but literally a season of heat and dust. Mr. Mackenzie's own desire

for the elections in June was not carried into effect. It had been decided that they should be postponed until after harvest, and there were many months of hard work to be faced. The statements made after the defeat that the Premier had not informed himself of the vigilance of the enemy are not borne out by facts. His correspondence for over a year prior to the event is indicative of a perfect knowledge on his part that he had to face an active opposition, and he made preparations accordingly. There is, however, no sign anywhere that he apprehended defeat, and no signals of alarm appear to have been either given or received. It is quite true that he had not anticipated the result, but the defeat was caused by the unexpected and unlooked-for conversion of the country to protection.

So early as October of 1877, he wrote many letters to various friends, urging the forwarding of arrangements and preparations for the fight. On the 2nd of February, 1878, he wrote the Reform Association in Toronto to say that he could not attend their annual meeting on the 5th of that month, as Parliament was summoned to meet on the 7th, but he was impressed with the conviction that active measures should be at once taken to effectually organise the respective constituencies. He went on to say:

“We must not forget that we have unscrupulous foes in the Opposition leaders and in the Opposition press. It seems almost impossible to stem the current of falsehood and misrepresentation with which the country is flooded, and the object of which is but too apparent. It is to endeavor by any and every means to poison the minds of the people—with the knowledge that the whole of them cannot be reached with the ample refutations that we have at hand. As Liberals we cannot resort to such dishonorable tactics, but we can adopt effective measures, if our friends are active enough, to counteract, by published statements of the facts and figures, the misrepresentation of our opponents in this regard. The late election at Ha'ifax furnished an illustration of the system. It would be difficult to name a more upright, high-minded

man than Mr. Jones, the new Minister of Militia. It would be equally difficult to suppose anything more gross than the accusations that were brought against him to do duty at that election.

“The large majority obtained by the Liberals in 1874 represented not merely the Liberal party proper, but many discontented Conservatives as well, who felt that their party chiefs had disgraced themselves and the country, and who in consequence withdrew from them their allegiance. It was not therefore surprising, when the Tories concluded to re-elect the hero of the Pacific Scandal as their leader, and resolved to forget the past, that Liberals should lose some constituencies. At the same time, the great majority possessed by the Government in the House of Commons gave a sense of strength and security to the party generally, which caused it to relax the efforts which might otherwise have been put forth at some of the special elections.

“Many of the difficulties which the Reform Administration have encountered since their advent to power have been in consequence of the acts of the late Government in imposing weighty obligations upon the Dominion. The expenditure upon great works has been objected to by our opponents; but the present Government have not initiated a single public work involving heavy capital charges, while they have greatly limited some of the schemes of the late Administration.

“The expenditure on the Pacific Railway has of course been caused wholly by the obligations entered into by the late Administration, and considerable as these expenditures have been, the Government have failed to satisfy the people of British Columbia. The early construction of the works on that part of the Pacific Railway lying between Lake Superior and the prairie region was undertaken with a view to open up the vast fertile belt for immediate settlement, and thus to extend the trade of the Dominion and so facilitate the construction of the western portion of the line.

“Although the population has largely increased within the last four years, the expenditure has been materially reduced when the sums required for payment of interest, the extinguishment of the Indian titles, and the outlay of the Government in the North-West and Prince Edward Island are deducted. But details on this point are furnished so copiously by the Finance Minister in his speeches, that it is needless to do more than to thus briefly refer to the fact.

“I have further to urge upon the members of the Association the necessity of looking closely after the voters' lists of this year, in order to prevent frauds in the introduction of names which have no right to be recorded, and the omission of names which by right should be on those lists. This is really one of the principal points of the battle to be closely attended to.

"The wicked attempts which have been made in various quarters to start religious strife and disunion, particularly in the Province of Quebec, have, I am glad to say, entirely failed. It is the duty of Reformers, while giving fair play to all, to frown down attempts to introduce religious strife in political contests. It has always been our policy to secure entire equality to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and if they now enjoy the rights which are inherently theirs, it is because of the zealous efforts of the Liberal party in their behalf."

A serious mistake was made regarding the time for holding the elections. The Liberals generally throughout the Dominion, with the exception of some in the Province of Quebec, were in favor of bringing on the contest in the early summer, and Mr. Mackenzie himself shared that view. But in response to pleadings from Quebec supporters, it was postponed until the 17th of September. The day after Parliament rose, early in May, Mr. Mackenzie wrote to a friend that several telegrams had already come in from members since they had reached home, urging an immediate election; that his own opinion was in the same direction, and that the Government were having the printing done, so as to be ready. On the 17th of May he wrote his brother Charles: "Opinions are most conflicting about the time for holding the elections. I am very anxious for June, but I find several counties (10) in Quebec cannot be ready, and many are in a bad position in Ontario. I am wholly in favor of immediate action, but we cannot afford to risk so much, and therefore I fear we must make up our minds to a three months' campaign of speaking. But for the cowardice implied, I declare I would sooner forego the position than undertake this task."

Mr. Mackenzie's own opinion, favorable to an early election, was shared in by men of sound judgment. Mr. Holton wrote him on 3rd of June, after the decision for September had been reached: "I have no desire to re-open or re-argue the closed question between an early and a late election. I am willing to

hope, though I cannot believe, that the decision arrived at is the soundest in the interest of the party. But in vindication of my own opinion, and for your information, I may state that our friends whom I saw recently at Kingston and Belleville, and at the latter place I met a great many, were, without a solitary exception, in favor of an early election."

This, also on the same subject, is from Mr. Mackenzie's pen : "Not only is Holton urgent for an early election, but Cartwright, Smith, Burpee, Mills, Jones, Scott, Laurier and Huntington are very strong in the same direction. So also are McGregor, W. Ross, G. W. Ross, Wood, Biggar, Galbraith, Archibald, Casey, Walker, Scatcherd, Trow, Metcalfe, Bertram, Irving, Landerkin, Colin Macdougall, Brouse, Paterson, Fleming, Bowman, Brown, of Hastings, John Macdonald, and many more. It is urged that delay will give the Tories another start in lie-making."

In deference, as already stated, to the unreadiness of friends in Quebec, the elections were postponed. But almost the last words the writers of this biography heard from Mr. Mackenzie's lips, when they were with him on his seventieth birthday, a few weeks before he died, were these : "I made a mistake, I should have dissolved in June."

Mr. Mackenzie was physically unable to bear the strain of the contest. He had just passed through a severe session, and he felt the effects in bodily weakness and loss of sleep. Lust of power was occasionally attributed to him. But proofs multiply to the contrary. This is from a letter to Mrs. Mackenzie :

"Do not believe the Tory papers when they describe me as eaten up with ambition. I think I know myself, and I can honestly say that my only ambition is to succeed in governing the country well and without reproach. Beyond that, my desires are of a very humble kind. But I think I have ambition enough to be aroused to fight in, I hope, a manly way, the base scribes who would for political gain write away a man's good name and character.

“Regarding the slanders by which I am assailed, I may say I met a minister on the steamer the other day. We had some conversation, and as he was leaving he said to me: ‘I trust, Mr. Mackenzie, you will not allow yourself to falter in your work through detraction. You do not know, as I do, how many of God’s children pray for you and sympathise with you. You have the great heart of the country with you. Only be strong in the Lord.’ He continued: ‘I am not using my own words, but those I have often heard from others, and I only repeat them now because I have the same feelings, but did not write to you, as it might seem presumptuous in me, who am so much younger, to do so.’ I was greatly touched with the remarks, as I might sometimes have referred a little slightly to the speaker. How often we do an injustice unwittingly to some one, and how rare a thing is pure minded charity in estimating each others’ excellences or defects.”

This is from another letter of a different date: “From the first I was more willing to serve than to reign, and would even now be gladly relieved from a position the toils of which no man can appreciate who has not had the experience. I pressed Mr. Blake in November, 1874, to take the lead, and last winter I again urged him to do so, and this summer I offered to go out altogether, or serve under him, as he might deem best in the general interest. I mention this to illustrate and substantiate what I now say.”

Another term at this time was believed to be certain, but Mr. Mackenzie thought it dear at the cost of a campaign. The fear of the charge of cowardice alone kept him to the task.

The Premier was unable to take the field in person until some time after the House had risen. He ought to have had immediate rest from the labors of the session, to recuperate his energies. Instead, there was a period of severe departmental work before him. The other Ministers were attending to their constituencies, and the duties of administration pressed upon the First Minister to a very trying degree. “I must have a little rest or break down,” he wrote in June. “I must go to some place at the seaside where I cannot

be found out. I shall leave this evening for Rimouski, and shall cross over to Mr. Gilmour's summer residence for a week. There I will have neither mails nor telegrams."

He came back much the better for his holiday, the contrast in the temperature down the Gulf of St. Lawrence and in Ottawa being marked. On the 2nd of July he tells what the temperature was in Ottawa. "We are having a regular heated term. Glass over 90 now for five days. When I was at Gilmour's river the temperature was 53 ashore and 40 in the sea." The heat continued. Seven days later he says: "The weather is still very hot here. I have cast off all dignity, and work all day long in my shirt sleeves. But I hope the Tory papers won't hear of conduct in every way so shocking." One can further judge of his environments by the following, written about the same time: "There is great room for the exercise of charity and meekness in this department at present. The stock on hand is not large, but I hope it will hold out until about the 15th of September proximo"—the date of polling not having at that period been definitely fixed.

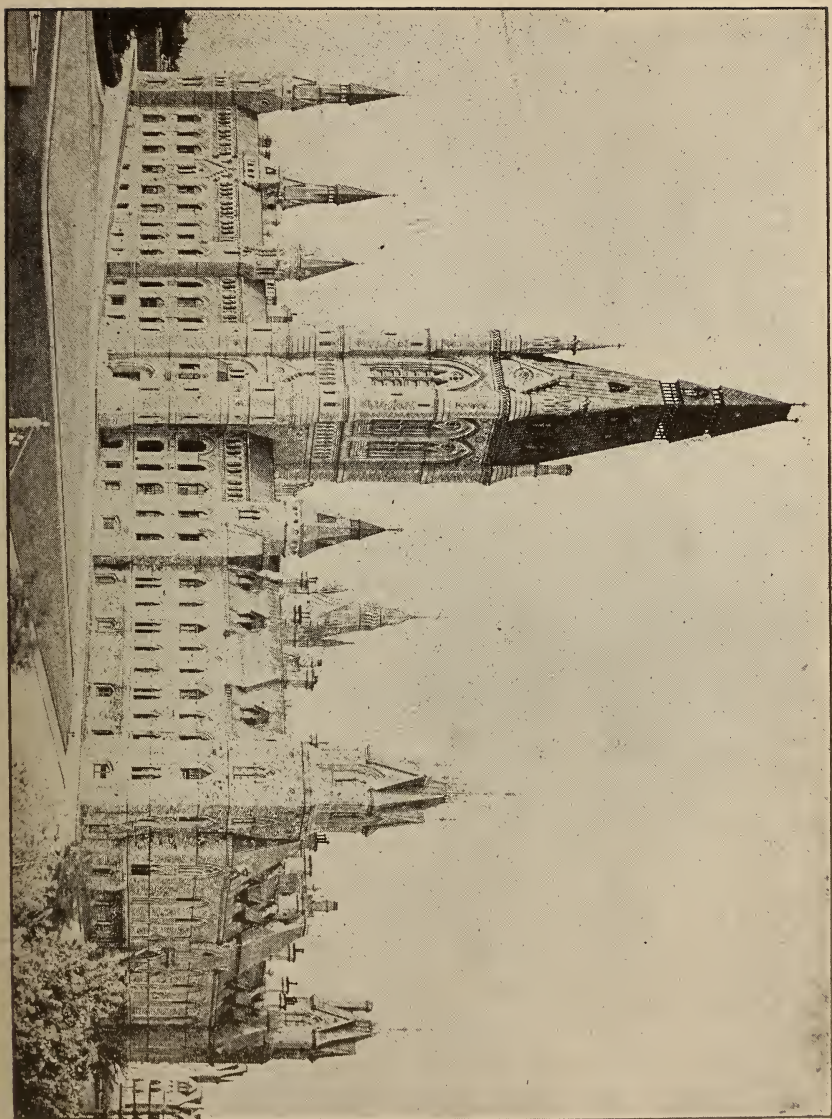
During the election Mr. Mackenzie's own department was made the subject of constant attack, and his friends knew that no one could defend it like himself. The Conservative leaders were holding meetings in almost every county, and timid Liberals became alarmed at the probable effects. As a consequence, great drafts were made upon Mr. Mackenzie's time and energies. Speeches were requested at large meetings, in the open air, drill sheds and skating rinks. The strain upon nerve and muscle was tremendous, and the wonder is, not that he broke down ultimately, but that he did not break down many years earlier.

To the Liberal candidates and the party, the summer campaign was very depressing. Business was dull; prices were

low ; the harvest was poor, and the financial outlook, generally, was discouraging. "The whole head was sick, and the whole heart was faint," and the electors were prepared for any change that promised them relief from their present embarrassments. If promises were of value, they must have been reassured, for everything from tall chimneys to a reciprocity treaty with the United States was said to be within their reach if they would but defeat Mr. Mackenzie's Government.

Then, it is to be feared, the Liberal candidates trusted more to their platform speeches than to a personal canvass of the electors. The sophistry that fails in a public debate is often successful with the farmer at his own fireside. The assurance of an advance in the price of barley or in the products of the dairy or the poultry yard may be believed when fortified by statements unchallenged by the other side, and no doubt many victories are won by individual appeals made in this way. Captain Bobadil was always willing to undertake the defeat of the greatest army, if he were required to fight only one man at a time.

Notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances, his delicate health, the vastness of the field and the intense bitterness of the contest, Mr. Mackenzie entered upon the campaign with spirit. No amount of labor daunted him. If two meetings a day were, in the opinion of his friends, necessary, he held two meetings. If, to keep an appointment, he had to travel all night, he did so, and with his usual clearness of statement and force of speech satisfied his friends as to the wisdom of his Administration. But what did argument avail in the face of avarice and prospective combines and monopolies? The pettiest manufacturer in the land was vain enough to believe that if he only had the home market for the sale of his goods, his future welfare was assured. Why should he trouble him-



The Mackenzie Tower—Western Block, Ottawa.

self about responsible government and the independence of Parliament and purity of elections, if there was money to be made by voting the other way?

The larger manufacturer saw in a high tariff the opportunity for a combine which would shut off the little trader aforementioned, whose vote he was obtaining under false pretences, and which would enable him to rank with the proprietors of iron works, sugar refineries, and cotton factories in the United States. That there were millions in it, provided he was on the ground floor, there was no doubt. He was therefore anxious to know what to do to help on the good cause, and so he went about preaching: "Let there be no slaughter market in this country for American goods. Canada for the Canadians."

The agriculturist was also unsettled in his mind. He had voted on the old homestead on which his father and grandfather for fifty years had voted as Liberals. He believed the Liberal party was honest and worthy of confidence; still there was something, he thought, in this new doctrine. Americans taxed the produce of his farm if exported to their markets. There was no tax on the products of the American farm while crossing the border to the Canadian markets. Was this fair? he asked. If they tax us, should we not tax them? If they keep us out of their markets, should we not keep them out of ours? The Tory candidates said: "Certainly; keep them out by all means. If you only had your own markets, prices would be better, and a few cents a bushel for your grain, or a few dollars per head for your cattle would not come amiss at any time, particularly in such depressing times as the present." And so, forgetting that he was selling his birth-right for a mess of pottage, which he never got, he too voted for protection.

The election of 1878 was a carnival of fraud and misrepresentation. Every industry in the country was to be benefited by a protection which could only be substantial by reducing the profits of some other industry ; yet thousands of electors went to the polls believing that the votes they were about to give were as good as a handsome dividend, payable so soon as the Conservative party came into power.

Speaking broadly, as we have said, there was a contrast in the manner in which the two parties carried on the campaign. The Liberals trusted too much to the educative influences of public speaking, while the Conservatives were quietly and persuasively working upon the cupidity of the various interests.

A reference to a speech delivered by Mr. Mackenzie at a meeting in Glengarry, in the latter part of August, enables one to see the general line of the Liberal argument. He describes the promulgation of protectionist principles by the Tory party in Canada, as a return to barbarism. What that policy really meant he illustrates by a citation from Sir John A. Macdonald at Hamilton, where he was bidding for the vote of the manufacturers. When asked by a manufacturer what protection he was prepared to give, he said: "I cannot tell what protection you require, but let each manufacturer tell us what he wants, and we will try to give him what he needs." Mr. Mackenzie pointed out that while Sir John was making these shameless bids by an avowal of ultra-protectionism in the west, he was deceiving the people in the Maritime Provinces, to whom even a mild form of protection was repugnant, by declaring that what was contemplated was not an increase but merely a readjustment of the tariff. "Now," said the Premier to the Glengarry men, "Protection must make you pay more for the goods you use than you pay

now, or else it is no protection. Protection to manufacturers—protection to the ‘struggling industries’—is protection against the laboring man and the farmer, the great producing men of the country.” He went on to say that he did not mean to make war on the manufacturing classes. The tariff was for the purpose of raising a revenue. Manufacturers got some benefit incidentally from that, with which they ought to be satisfied; if they were not, and insisted on protection for protection sake, they would get large dividends first, and ruin afterwards.

The nominations took place on Tuesday, the 10th of September, in all the Provinces, with the exception of Manitoba and a few outlying constituencies elsewhere. Six candidates were elected by acclamation, four of whom were supporters of the Government, and two in Opposition, so that there was still no forewarning to the Liberals of the disastrous defeat of the week following.

Writing, however, to his secretary two or three days before the election, Mr. Mackenzie mentioned, as a somewhat ominous sign, the fact that a Tory official of some little prominence had been heard to speak in abusive language of the Government, from which Mr. Mackenzie drew this inference: “It is clear he thinks we will be beaten.” He adds: “I find the Tories everywhere confident. Why, I cannot understand; my meetings are everywhere successful—could hardly be more so.”

As there is a natural curiosity in the case of great battles to know something of the surroundings of the generals, we may say further on this head that Mr. Mackenzie addressed a public meeting on the 16th of September in the West, and on the day of the polling, the work having now been done, he travelled by train from Toronto to Ottawa, reaching his home in the evening. The first return was of good omen to the Liberals, for it brought

the news of Sir John A. Macdonald's defeat in Kingston at the hands of Mr. Gunn. Presently, however, a change came over the spirit of the dream, telegrams coming in from all the other cities declaring the election of Tory candidates. Protection, it was seen, had too surely done its work in the manufacturing centres, but there was hope yet for the counties. The people in the urban constituencies had been fooled; the farmers, never! A few hours sufficed to remove this further delusion. The spread of the contagion had been general, and there was disaster all along the lines. To adequately depict the scene, it is necessary again to quote the well-known words of Lord Beaconsfield in a speech which described an equally sudden and unexpected breakdown of the Liberal party in England; only a single word being changed: "It was like a convulsion of nature rather than any ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Calabria or Peru. There was a rumbling murmur, a gróan, a shriek, a sound of distant thunder. There was a rent, a fissure in the ground, and then a village disappeared; then a tall tower toppled down; and the whole of the Ministerial benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy."

The "old flag" waved triumphantly at the head of the columns of the Conservative journals of the 18th of September, though there was a subdued tone in their references to the defeat of the Conservative chieftain and his lieutenants, Messrs. Langevin, T. N. Gibbs, Mitchell and Plumb. But against these the Tories could point to the downfall of three Ministers—Mr. Cartwright, in Lennox, Mr. Jones, in Halifax, and Mr. Coffin, in Shelburne, while Mr. Blake had lost his seat in South Bruce, and Mr. Mackenzie had come back from Lamb-

ton by the reduced majority of 146. The list of the fallen was paraded thus :

BLAKE,	BLAIN,	YOUNG,	BARTHE,
CARTWRIGHT,	DEVLIN,	DYMOND,	APPLEBY,
JONES,	COFFIN,	GOUDGE,	FORBES,
WOOD,	CHURCH,	IRVING,	COOK.
BERTRAM,	MACDONALD, JNO.		

In Hamilton, which was called "the cradle of the national policy," a Reform majority of over four hundred was converted into a Conservative majority at this election of 246 ; while East Toronto was carried by the Conservatives by 700 ; Centre Toronto, by 490 ; and West Toronto, by 639 ; or an aggregate majority of nearly 2,600. Montreal excelled it by an aggregate vote of over 3,000. Of the other cities, the Conservatives carried both seats in Halifax, both seats in Ottawa, and London and St. John. The Liberals came back from the election of 1874 with a majority of about two to one ; the Conservatives at this election did somewhat better even than that.

The chief Conservative organ bore testimony to the admirable spirit in which the Liberals received the verdict. In its issue of the 19th of September, it said : "The Ministerialists, as they may still in courtesy be termed, have, on the whole, received an unexpected and overwhelming defeat with calmness and philosophical resignation." It went on to remark : "The national policy, as we have often said, was long since adopted as the economical creed of the people. Whether 'a handful of manufacturers' ought or ought not to grow wealthy under it, was a matter of infinitesimal concern to them ; all the people demanded was fair and equal play with their neighbors in the struggle for existence."

It had previously to the elections declared it to be "a policy

which would infuse vigor and robust health into this young nationality." "Friends of the National Policy"! it exclaimed in Napoleonic fashion, "to you we appeal to stamp out the starvationists, and bring back a rich prosperity to Toronto and the Dominion at large." Read in the cold, clear, relentless light of history, how flat, stale, and unprofitable words like these appear.

The *Globe* rejoiced in the fact that "poetic justice" had been done by the defeat of Dr. Orton, the inventor of the most gigantic of all humbugs, which he designated by the name of agricultural protection. "The causes," it said, "that contributed to the startling change of public sentiment are not difficult to discover. The commercial depression still existing on the North American continent, and the restless desire for some undefined change that would bring about better times, had no doubt very much to do with it. The seductive delusion held out to the weaker sort, of acquiring wealth quickly by shutting out foreign commodities and increasing largely the consumption and price of home manufactures, drew many victims after it. And the thorough party organization of the Tory party for propagating their sentiments and bringing out their men, did the rest."

The elections over, the forthcoming Ministers set themselves to the unlooked-for task which now lay before them of preparation for the N.P. We find from the pen of Mr. Brown, under date of the 1st of October, 1878, a little picture of an interesting street scene, which was witnessed about that time in Toronto. Mr. Brown says that a well-known Conservative, on friendly terms with him, one who was entirely informed of what was going on within the charmed circle, though not a prominent Parliamentarian, came up to him with the evident design of pumping him in regard to the time Mr. Mackenzie

was likely to let the new men into power. Mr. Brown answered, "he presumed, almost immediately, in order that the new Ministers might be sworn in, so as at once to prepare their measure." "Prepare their measure!" exclaimed the other, "why, it will take months and months—aye, a year and more to do it. Every interest in the country will have to be specially consulted, and the result of the whole must be judiciously worked up before it is submitted." "For the good of the country?" suggested Mr. Brown. "Certainly," replied the other. They looked at each other, laughed pleasantly, and went on their several ways. They understood each other perfectly. Great, indeed had been the effect upon the people of the power of humbug.






CHAPTER XXXIII.

HOW HE BORE DEFEAT.

Letter to Lord Dufferin—The Governor-General's Reply—His Excellency's Noble Letter to Mrs. Mackenzie—Letter from the late Chief Justice Richards—Mr. Mackenzie Addresses Mr. Holton—Hatred of Intrigue and Crookedness—Would Rather go Down than Yield Principle—A Clean Record—The Loss of Good and True Men—The Public Interest First and Always—"Living in Another Man's House"—Nothing Left save Honor—Self-Sacrifice—Its Reward—Disciples of Cobden do not Temporise—Answers to Letters of Reproach—Letter of Resignation and Defence of His Policy—How He felt the Dismissal of His Former Secretary—Fun Ahead with the Besom and the Stane.

 HERE is no better test of a man's character than the manner in which he bears defeat," wrote one who knew him well, shortly after Mr. Mackenzie's death. "Judged by that test, the Honorable Alexander Mackenzie stands on the top rung of the ladder. When his history is written, its best chapter will begin immediately after the 17th of September, 1878." The best chapter it really is. And fortunately for his biographers, he wrote (unconsciously, of course, for this purpose), the chapter himself, as if in anticipation and fulfilment of the prediction. After he had recovered from the shock of the defeat, and his grief for the loss of so many faithful friends was somewhat assuaged, he penned his first letter. In honor and duty, it was to His Excellency the Governor-General:

"*Private.*

"OTTAWA, SEPT. 19, 1878.

"DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,—The elections are mostly over, and sufficiently so to be conclusive as to the defeat of the Government. The protec-

tion fallacy has taken deeper root than we had thought, especially with the farming community. I have nothing to regret in looking back at my course. Even had I known of the tendency of the public mind I would not for the sake of office yield up my convictions on that or any other subject. I tried to keep Canada in line with England and in harmony with enlightened modern thought on commercial subjects, and I have failed, as better men have failed before me. I will not advert to the extraordinary and dishonest system of electioneering resorted to, nor to the impossibility of carrying into effect the promised protection, for the electors have accepted the one and believed in the other, and so far as I am concerned that ends the matter.

“I shall endeavor to get my colleagues here as soon as possible to finish up what business we have in hand, after which I propose to wait upon Your Excellency at Quebec to tender you my resignation. I shall not initiate any new business here, but I propose filling a few vacancies which occurred within the last few weeks. I propose, also, dealing with several English despatches, which have been unattended to during the heat of the election contest, and were under discussion before.

* * * * *

“I have marked this letter private, though I have referred to some public matters, because I have given my views frankly, as I usually do, but I will, of course, address a formal letter to Your Excellency when I have a final interview, in which I will probably refer more fully to the condition of affairs.

“In the meantime I have to express my deep gratitude to you for your unvarying kindness to me, and the constant anxiety you have shown to aid me in every way in carrying on the Government. This I shall never forget. I will only say for myself that I have endeavored to do what was right in the interests of the Crown and the people, and I can now look back with the pleasure which a clear conscience, political and personal, necessarily gives. I am, dear Lord Dufferin,

“Yours very faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.

“His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, Gov.-Gen.”

He was gratified by the receipt of the following reply :

"Private.

“QUEBEC, Sept. 20th, 1878.

“MY DEAR MACKENZIE,—I have received your letter of Sept. 19th, and have only time to acknowledge it, and to thank you for it. It is like yourself, and written entirely in the spirit in which I expected.

“Whatever my personal convictions may be upon the general policy of your Government, it would not, I suppose, be proper that I should express them, even in a private letter, but no consideration need preclude me from assuring you, that in my opinion, neither in England nor in Canada has any public servant of the Crown administered the affairs of the nation with a stricter integrity, with a purer patriotism, with a more indefatigable industry, or nobler aspirations than yourself, and though the chances of war have gone against you at the polls, you have the satisfaction of knowing that your single-minded simplicity of purpose, firmness, and upright conduct have won for you alike the respect and goodwill of friends and foes.

“As for myself, I can only say that I shall ever retain a feeling of warm friendship for you. From first to last you have treated me not only with great kindness and consideration, but with a frankness, truthfulness, and openness of dealing for which I am grateful. You have still before you a long, useful, and honorable career, and I should not be surprised to hear that in some ways you were disposed to welcome the impending change.

“Believe me, my dear Mackenzie.

“Yours sincerely,

“DUFFERIN.”

This more than kind letter was written at the same time by His Excellency to Mrs. Mackenzie:

“QUEBEC, Sept. 20th, 1878.

“DEAR MRS. MACKENZIE,—I have written to your husband, but I cannot help wishing to let you have a little line as well.

“Of course you must have been disappointed at the result of the elections, but no feeling of mortification need mingle with the surprise the result has occasioned, for there has been nothing in your husband's conduct or character that has contributed to the defeat of his party. It has simply been the consequence of the chances of war, and I am sure you

will meet the change with the same equability of temper that characterised your accession to power.

"Though I lose Mr. Mackenzie as a Minister, I shall still have the happiness of keeping him as a valued and honored friend, and his career as leader of the Opposition will, I have no doubt, prove as useful, and infinitely more agreeable, and less injurious to his health, than his life as a Minister.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"DUFFERIN."

Mr. Mackenzie's next letter was to his friend, Mr. Holton. From this some extracts are taken :

"OTTAWA, Sept. 21st, 1878.

"MY DEAR HOLTON, —I scarcely know how or what to write to you. The disaster in Ontario was by me totally unexpected. Up to the day of polling I was quite satisfied we would hold our own. I wish now to get your view about the future. I propose so soon as our friends can be got together to resign my leadership and give them an opportunity of selecting one who may be more successful.

* * * * *

"Our disaster was evidently the result of some deceit, under cover of the ballot, by prominent previous friends, but principally it was caused by the working classes going against us. With them there is often a desire for change, and it was dinned into their ears at this time that a change would bring good times. I was not able to discern signs of any serious defections while on my tour, and on Tuesday morning was as confident of success as ever I was.

"I am glad to see your people were not very seriously influenced by your opponents' appeal to class feelings.

"I am, my dear Holton,

"Yours very faithfully,

"A. MACKENZIE."

Before rising from his desk he wrote as follows to the friend who, after he died, on the evidence of this letter and the knowledge he otherwise possessed of Mr. Mackenzie's

character during a period of from thirty to forty years, penned the prediction which heads this chapter :

‘ OTTAWA, Sept. 21st, 1878.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I am exceedingly grateful for your kind letter. I have many such letters from all quarters. While I do not pretend to be insensible to the disaster which has overtaken the party and myself, I am delighted to know that I have the sympathy and support of so many good men. I also feel some pride in being able to say that I know of no kind of transaction by my Government that is indefensible. I may have made some mistakes of a minor kind, but I did devote myself to the administration of public affairs with a desire and determination to do right. I can therefore look with complacency on the adverse popular verdict with a firm conviction that I have not deserved it. Some people have a theory that a successful politician must necessarily depend on intrigue and doing crooked things to countermine the enemy. My mind has revolted at such proposals. I determined to rule in broad daylight or not at all, but I am aware that there are some people in our ranks who think I might have ‘schemed’ more, and who now urge me to do things while power remains, which I do not consider right. Although I do not think this class is numerous, I have resolved, when the members meet, to tender my resignation of the leadership of the Liberals, to enable them to select one who may be more fortunate or successful. In the meantime, pray accept my thanks for your kind words. Such letters as are piled upon my table to-day far more than compensate me for the misfortune to myself personally. I am, my dear sir,

“ Yours faithfully,

“ A. MACKENZIE.”

In due course the following very appreciative letter reached him from his warm personal friend, the late highly-honored Chief Justice, Sir William Buell Richards :

“ Hotel Campbell, 61, Avenue de Friedland,

“ PARIS, 20th Sep., 1878.

“ MY DEAR PREMIER,—I see by the *London Times* of yesterday that the elections in Canada have been unfavorable to your Government, and

that it is probable that the majority against you will be about 70. I doubt if the majority will be so great, but if that number indicates the true result, no one will be more astonished at it than Sir John himself.

“The fact that the policy of your Government has not been sustained by the people of the country will be a great disappointment to you, but I think that you are sufficiently philosophical to bear this defeat with becoming equanimity. To a man of your ardent temperament, it will be disheartening ; but the past history of Canada shows too clearly the want of steadiness on the part of the people in the support of their public men, and whenever the latter are disappointed as to the political results they must fall back on their own convictions that they have honestly endeavored to serve their country, and that they have done something to aid its onward progress.

“I think you have this consolation, and though you may for a time occupy a less prominent position than that which you have filled for the last five years, you are not so old but the future may be looked to as placing you again in a position where your talents and political experience may aid in shaping the destinies of Canada.

“I have, I think, said to you more than once that Canada requires the services of men of ability and experience in greater numbers than she has as yet been able to produce them, and that our public men possessing these qualities, no matter to what political party they may be attached, need not despair that the time and the occasion will arise when their knowledge and ability to serve the State will command positions of prominence and power.

“If I may be said to have any political opinions, I think you were right as to protection, which is said to be the question on which the election turned, but I sympathise with you and several of your colleagues more on personal than on political grounds, as men toward whom a more intimate acquaintance has engendered feelings of respect and regard.

“It really must be a great boon to you personally to be relieved from the tremendous pressure under which you have labored for the past five years, and your health will undoubtedly be benefited by your retirement from office.

“Often what seems to us at the time to be a great misfortune turns out to be a great benefit, and this may be the case in reference to your position.

"With kind regards to Mrs. Mackenzie, and, whether you are Premier or not, believe me,

"Yours sincerely,

"WM. B. RICHARDS."

This letter is from Mr. Mackenzie to the late Senator Hope:

"OTTAWA, Sept. 23rd, 1878.

"MY DEAR MR. HOPE,—I am exceedingly gratified by your kind letter to Mrs. Mackenzie and myself. The disaster to the party was wholly unexpected by me. I do not know, however, that I could have adopted any other course were the battle to be fought over again. I would rather a thousand times go down with my principles than swim by yielding any. In ordinary party movements I have no objection to sharp tactics, but in what is the life-blood of a public man and a great political party, I would rather die politically and literally than yield our opinions were I assured of success.

"It may be, however, that some friends may take another view, and although I could not change my own, I will feel bound to respect that of others. I propose therefore as soon as the members of both Houses can be got together to resign my position as leader, and leave them free to select another who may be more successful. I need hardly say that I will follow with as much zeal and devotion as I led myself, as far as it is possible for me to do so without a violation of principle.

"I have had a noble band sustaining me in the last Parliament, very few of whom, especially in Ontario, ever pressed me in a wrong direction, and to them all I give my warmest thanks. I have, however, been sometimes pressed to consider personal interests in advance of the public interests. I lost several friends because I refused. At this moment I am able to look back with much satisfaction upon all such refusals as having been right in themselves, and right to the party also, if party government is to be maintained in its purity in Canada.

"The recent verdict has shaken my confidence in the general soundness of public opinion, and has given cause to fear that an upright administration of public affairs will not be appreciated by the mass of the people. If political criminals and political chicanery are to be preferred to such a course as we pursued, the outlook is an alarming one. I can hardly believe that this is the deliberate opinion of the people, and there-

fore incline to the conclusion that the leader must be in their opinion in fault.

“With kind regards, yours sincerely,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

To the late Mayor Waller, of Ottawa :

“OTTAWA, Sept. 23rd, 1878.

“MY DEAR MR. WALLER,—I am exceedingly pleased at the receipt of your very kind letter, and beg to thank you very warmly for your good wishes and kind words. I regret our defeat very much on many grounds, but looking back I cannot see that I would have taken any other course were it to be done over again. I would rather be defeated than retain office by accepting or defending views which I believed adverse to the public interests. I was convinced that I was defending the cause of the mass of the people, but it seems they think their interests lay in believing their hereditary enemies, and I bow to their decision.

“We will go out feeling that our record is a clean one, and that none of my friends will blame me for my action to make them ashamed as a party or as individuals.

“I am also glad to find that there is in the letters to me a general concurrence of opinion in the wisdom of the course pursued during the canvass. There might, of course, be an honest difference of opinion on that score, but so far, I have seen none.

“I am not at all disposed to lay down my arms and ‘study war no more.’ I will as soon as possible get our men into line again, and see what our best tactics can effect.

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

To Mr. J. D. Edgar, Toronto :

“OTTAWA, Sept. 24th, 1878.

“MY DEAR EDGAR,—It would do you little good to condole with you, and I am sure that you and Mrs. Edgar will accept the situation philosophically as usual. Nothing has happened in my time so astonishing. It is impossible to understand how so wide a defection existed among our own friends, without our knowing it. You advise that we should make no appointments. This I think we can hardly accept as sound advice. Ordinary vacancies should be filled up. Of these there are a number, some of them existing for weeks. I do think that we ought not

to make any new appointments, or create vacancies by any process, in order to get our friends offices. It is quite constitutional for us to do even that, but the ground I took in 1873-4, was that I did not object, even after the motion of no confidence was moved, to the Ministry filling vacancies required in the public interest.

“The Opposition promised everything during the canvass. They will have a fine time fulfilling the promises then made. We have already men and women coming to the departments wanting work, who say they were told there would be plenty of work if the Government were beaten.

“Is it not a woful commentary on the intelligence of the people to have to state that the Government was defeated because it refused to levy more taxes, and make commodities dearer? The Tories said, and the people believed, that it was possible to make all classes rich by passing an Act of Parliament. This is not much in advance of the superstitions of Central Africa, yet Canadians are supposed to be a fairly educated people. They will accept next De Quincey’s essay ‘On murder as a fine art,’ as written in earnest and good faith.

“Well, we will, as one paper says, contemplate with interest the spectacle of a nation lifting itself by the boot straps out of the mud, and increasing its wealth by changing its money from one pocket to the other. We will decide in a few days what course we will take as to time of resigning.

“Believe me, yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

To Hon. James Young, Galt:

“OTTAWA, Sept. 26th, 1878.

“MY DEAR YOUNG,—I suppose you have hardly got over your shock of disappointment at your local, as well as the general, result of the fight. For my own part, I never was so much astonished at the revolution. It is evident that the feeling for protection got a stronger hold than we supposed on people’s minds. My own county was no exception. I should have had 600 on a straight party vote, and only got 146. Every Province except one went in the same way. I was not able in my long tour to detect any signs of defection anywhere, or any lack of enthusiasm, and I returned here on the day of polling satisfied that our Ontario majority would be as large as before. I quite counted on the loss of a few coun-

ties, but considered I would gain others. We did gain four out of eleven I counted on winning.

"All my schemes for the future are cut short. Ministerial and other arrangements, to be gone into after elections, are all nipped. The result is not very encouraging to Liberal leaders. We resisted a policy which would be deeply injurious to the masses, and the masses have turned upon us and rent us. I suppose the German element was a principal element with you, judging from the majorities, but the trouble elsewhere was really the fact that a large proportion of the people had become desirous of a change, believing that a change would bring prosperous times, plenty of work, and money. New Brunswick alone amid the faithless stood faithful. 'Among the faithless, faithful only it.'

"I feel it is a tremendous task to begin again the work of reorganisation, and quite shrink from it. Perhaps the party will find some one more likely to command success.

"It is intensely discouraging to lose so many true men. McGregor, J. L. McDougall, Blake, Snider, Landerkin, Cartwright, Norris, Wood, Irving, McCraney, Dymond, Smith, Metcalfe, Blain, John Macdonald, Cook, Kerr, Biggar, Archibald, Buell, McNab, A. F. McDonald, Blackburn, L. Ross—all gone. What a splendid lot of men, in addition to those from Waterloo. There are hardly enough left to form a skeleton battalion.

"I am at present considering whether to move this fall or not back to Sarnia. It is expensive to keep my house here, and yet the time is awkward for moving.

"Yours very sincerely,

"A. MACKENZIE."

Sir Richard Cartwright, who was defeated in Lennox, it may here be mentioned, was elected for Centre Huron, Mr. Horace Horton generously vacating the seat for him, and Mr. Blake, who was defeated in South Bruce during his absence in Europe at the time of the elections, was elected for West Durham on the 17th of November, 1879, on the resignation of Mr. Burk.

To a Cornwall friend Mr. Mackenzie wrote: "I have been beaten, but let us retire in good order, and able to defy our opponents to point to a single wrong action."

To another friend, who urged him to meet Parliament, he gave as a weighty reason why he should not act upon this advice, that not only did he consider himself bound in honor to follow the English precedents (which, however, Lord Salisbury lately disregarded), but that it was his duty as a faithful public servant to act in the true interest of the country :

“ You will remember that both of the great political parties in England, in the crises of 1867 and 1874, set an example which I think I am bound to follow. Though the recommendation you make is perfectly constitutional, yet on other grounds I think it is not tenable. I have also to remember that very serious financial complications would result in that case. We have no less than twelve millions of dollars of obligations falling due on the 1st January, and as we could not possibly provide for these in any way but in negotiating a new loan, it is essential that this should be in the hands of the incoming Ministers. My object in the first place is to do what is dignified and right, and in the second place to take no course which will throw blame on the Liberal party, which I am bound to maintain in a proper attitude, at all hazards.”

To a distinguished Judge, since deceased, he wrote :

“ The result of the elections I do not, at all on personal grounds, regret, however I may feel regarding it on political grounds, as the strain of the work for the last five years was something more than I could very long continue, and I look forward in a short time to obtaining a good rest. The experience of the campaign assured me that I had trifled with my physical strength quite too long, and I got over my labor in connection with the elections with the very greatest difficulty. Now that it is over, I am glad I am able to go out on terms of continuous personal friendship, if not of political sympathy, with many gentlemen who, like yourself, have not in recent years taken a part in public affairs ”

To another correspondent he wrote that were the Government to meet in November it would lead to great public inconvenience in another important respect. There would, of course, be at once a resignation. A new Ministry would be

formed. Ministers would require to go to their constituents. Parliament would not again be summoned until after the new year, and the interests of the Dominion, which must be considered before any individual interest, would suffer. He added: "I want as soon as I am out to get rest for a time. The campaign affected me physically more than I expected; I am as thin as a slate." Another sentence might be pondered over with possible advantage by a so-called representative in the Commons for a constituency which he knows to be not his own: "I have, too, the uncomfortable feeling that I am living in another man's house."

This is to a Judge who has since retired :

"In a few days I shall be again a private citizen, but though I will not continue to have the direction of public affairs, so long as I live it will be a pleasure to know that I have had and will retain the good will and moral support of such men as yourself and the Chief Justice."

Extracts follow from other letters :

"I am still writing at my old desk, but expect daily, I should say hourly, to hear the footsteps of the new tenants of these buildings."

"We must not be downhearted. I will be blamed in some quarters. You and the committee will also be blamed. Never mind that. We have the interests of the Liberals in our hands, and must attend to them. Pray lose no time in getting the committee together. I will be up shortly."

"I assure you I shall never forget your devotion to our party interests, nor your confidence in myself as its leader during the past five years. I was not anxious to undertake the leadership, and only consented after Mr. Dorion, Mr. Blake and Mr. Holton declined. I am now and always have been more willing to follow than to lead."

Resolved to "go out clean:"

"We have not superannuated one man," he wrote to a member he at one time contemplated inviting to join his Ministry, "except where it

was urgently sought, and ample reasons were given—and these cases were three in all, I think.

“As the election went against us, I could not do in the matter you mention as I intended. It would be creating a new office, and this would be contrary to our own avowal of principle and our convictions. My doctrine was that I was bound as the trustee and guardian of the Liberal party to do nothing that could be held up as a reproach against us; in short, to go out clean. It was not only right in itself, but it leaves the Liberals right, and their interests must take precedence of favor to individuals.

“I am now awaiting the arrival of the future occupants. I feel, of course, greatly disappointed. We had got the worst over, and could look forward with hope; but I will have what I longed for, but saw no prospect of obtaining in office, some rest.

“I am deeply indebted to you for your constant and zealous efforts to help me, and I regret much that I have no means of manifesting my feelings save by empty thanks.”

To a gentleman who, in Micawber fashion, had been waiting for something to turn up, in answer to another reminder at this time, Mr. Mackenzie said he was sorry he could do nothing for him. He added: “I can quite understand you have considered me omnipotent in such matters. There could not be a greater mistake. It is all over now. I have no more power to make appointments.” Like Wolsey, he might say:

“My integrity to heaven is all
I dare now call mine own.”

The twenty-two days which elapsed between the great overthrow and the resignation of the Ministry was a period to try the hearts and characters of men. The Reform party stood the ordeal of defeat nobly, and firmly upheld their chief in his determination to do no act which should sully the record. Regarding the reproach of one that he had not been sufficiently self-sacrificing, he says: “I need not tell you that

I literally worked day and night, and so far from being able to save any money while I was at the head of the Government, I find I have spent about \$2,600 per annum more than my entire official income. Yet these parties speak so. I am delighted, however, to be able to add that nothing could be more gratifying than the letters I have received from the great bulk of our friends from all quarters."

This is the Premier's letter of resignation of himself and his colleagues, with the causes he gives for the defeat of his Government :

"OTTAWA, Oct. 9th, 1878.

"DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,—The elections for the House of Commons are not yet all concluded ; nor is it at all certain what may be the final determination of many disputed returns, but enough is known to induce me to take decided action with reference to the general result. In my proposed course my colleagues all concur.

"It is unnecessary to discuss the various minor and unimportant matters presented at the electoral contest against the Administration, as they had no appreciable effect in reaching the final result. The one broad issue between the ministerial and opposition parties was the question of a protectionist system as against a moderate revenue tariff, as maintained by the Government.

"The Government felt that this was a question of such vast importance, that nothing, not even the existence of a ministry, would justify a temporising policy regarding it. It seemed incredible that it could be necessary in Canada to fight the battle over again in favor of sound commercial legislation which had been fought in the motherland more than thirty years ago, and in which protectionist views had been annihilated.

"The commercial depression which had been felt for the last four years, though much less severely felt here than in the United States, which is under a protection system, had predisposed many minds to look to some change as a possible relief. This, added to the selfish efforts of class interests, which had been aroused by the prospect of gain at the expense of others, led to the conclusion that was reached.

"I believed that if, unfortunately, protectionist views should prevail, grave political dangers would arise, which might seriously affect the ex-

isting relations of Canada to the British Empire. It seemed inevitable that a serious departure from the accepted policy of the Empire, and the acceptance of the policy of the powerful and jealous Republic on our southern border, would seriously disturb relations which otherwise would continue indefinitely. 'How shall two walk together unless they are agreed?'

"Hitherto Victoria alone, of all the British colonies, had deliberately adopted a protection system, and thereby marred the general harmony. The geographical position of Victoria, surrounded as she is by more enlightened colonial states, renders the jar created by her action comparatively harmless. Canada, on the contrary, is face to face on this continent with an English colony politically severed from Great Britain, having a population ten times as numerous as her own, with a general political policy largely founded on the hostile feelings and prejudices engendered during the struggle for independence and the subsequent war; while their commercial policy is of a narrow and restricted character, appealing to and upheld by the most odious class interests. Attempts, more or less direct, have been frequently made in the United States to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of Canada in a policy which would soon extinguish British influence on this continent. Any action which will to any extent assimilate the commercial system of Canada to that of the United States, will, to that extent, weaken the ties which bind her to the Empire, and which it was the aim of my Administration to strengthen and perpetuate. We already find that the advocates of a customs union or zollverein in the United States (which system really means a political alliance with that country) are greatly encouraged by the result of the elections.

"These views we endeavored to impress on the public mind during the electoral contest as earnestly as we did the serious injury to our general prosperity, which we believe to be the inevitable result of the adoption of the principle of protection. Two years of continuous agitation of the question had, it seems, produced in the public mind an impression that it was possible to enrich all classes by protection without impoverishing any. In other words, a certain number of the people believed in the possibility of making everybody rich, of increasing values by Act of Parliament. I do not, of course, propose here to discuss the principles involved, but merely to deal with results.

"The protectionist principle undoubtedly obtained a victory at the polls. The knowledge of the wonderful success of Great Britain in developing her trade and commerce under the opposite system, and the sad results of the attempt by the United States to carry out a protectionist policy, as exhibited in the ruinous state of their shipping and manufactures, and the growth of a communistic feeling, were alike disregarded.

"Under these circumstances the proper course would probably be for the Government to meet Parliament at the earliest possible moment, in order that no time should be lost in giving effect to a policy the country had approved of. We felt, however, that it would be unpleasant to remain in office after asserting that there was no probability of the policy of the Government being sustained by the new House. The other course would doubtless be the one in accordance with English practice, but there are two precedents of a recent date in favor of a resignation before the meeting of Parliament, these precedents being made by the leaders of both political parties in England. Feeling that we are justified in pursuing that course, I have resolved, with the concurrence of my colleagues, to close up all the business in the departments at the earliest possible moment, with the view of enabling our successors to meet Parliament at an early day, with measures for carrying into effect the policy to which they committed themselves at the election.

"I have now, therefore, the honor of placing in your Excellency's hands my own resignation, and that of my colleagues of our ministerial offices. I have the honor to be,

"Your obedient servant,

"A. MACKENZIE.

"His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, Gov.-Gen."

After Mr. Mackenzie had bidden Lord Dufferin good-bye, His Excellency sent him the following kind note:

"MONTREAL, OCT. 9th, 1878.

"MY DEAR MACKENZIE,—I assure you I felt a very bitter pang in shaking you by the hand yesterday.

"We have been associated for so many years together in promoting the interests of the Dominion, and I have such a sincere personal esteem for you, that it felt like parting with one of my oldest friends.

I have now, therefore, the honour of
placing in Your Excellency's hands my
own resignation and that of my colleagues
of our Ministerial offices.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient servant,

A Mackenzie

(Fac-simile of Hon. A.^d Mackenzie's hand-writing, slightly reduced.)

Wishing you
and Mrs Macken-
zie many happy
returns of the
season

Yours faithfully
Charles Tupper
Hon. A. Mackenzie
M. O.

(Fac-simile of Dr. Tupper's hand-writing.)

"I have told them to send you a portrait of Lady Dufferin and one of myself, which I hope you will allow a place upon your walls. Believe me, my dear Mackenzie,

"Yours sincerely,

"DUFFERIN."

In answer to an ungenerous letter written from a distant Province by the recipient of a full share of what was honestly his in former days, Mr. Mackenzie writes :

"I duly received your letter giving me your opinion of myself, my political views, and my leadership of the Liberal party, and informing me also that I was never able to look beyond Ontario. I am a sufficient judge of human nature to know that I might expect, in an hour of disaster, to receive unjust criticism from some people, but I must say I did not expect to find you among that class. Well, we learn as we grow in years. I do not pretend that your letter has not pained me, but a consciousness that your charges are not true, amply sustains me under your attack. No section of Canada had a greater influence in moulding the policy of the Government than yours. All the Liberal members came to tell me that if the Government yielded to the demand for higher duties, they could not support us. The Province also had more than its full share of Government patronage and Government works. I am not conscious, therefore, of any neglect whatever of its interests, and certain I am that Ontario did not receive the attention which was paid to it.

"You complain of not being consulted, and declare that it was my business to go to you and all others. Well, perhaps so ; I think not. I gave my whole time and my whole fortune to the position, and I saw everyone that came, including yourself. I do not believe any public man in Canada ever worked harder than I did, and were I writing to what I once supposed you to be, a friendly person, I would have added, more unselfishly. I have nothing to regret, and I retire with a consciousness of having honestly and laboriously done my duty. You say you could make a post office plan for ten dollars better than the one we sent. Well, that simply shows what a clever man you are, compared with smaller architects, such as we have to put up with in the Dominion service. I spent many years of my life in the endeavor to acquire some of the theoretical and practical knowledge of the science, but I have to confess my entire in-

ability to accomplish what to you is so easy ; or, indeed, to discuss the matter with one so much superior to ordinary men. I have little to say to your reference to my course in opposition. But whether in opposition or in power, my principles are always the same. It does not matter to me whether I am one of a party of sixty or of a hundred and forty. I am always willing to work for my party and with my party, without looking to any sectional or personal interest, and when I find myself placed in circumstances which make that course impossible, or even difficult, you may be consoled by the assurance that I will retire from public life."

This is to a friend in Scotland :

" OTTAWA, October 14th, 1878.

"MY DEAR ———, I am to-day winding up my business as the late Premier of Canada. My resignation has been in His Excellency's hands for some days. The result of the elections was so decidedly against me that I resolved not to await the meeting of Parliament, as I might have done, but to resign immediately. Our election turned on the question of protection. I might have temporised with it, and retained power without difficulty, but I determined to fight it as an unmixed political evil, even if I should be beaten.

"The commercial depression which affected Canada in common with other countries for some years, predisposed the people to look for any change as a relief. I could not conscientiously go back on my English Liberalism. As a disciple of Cobden, I attached much importance, in a higher sense than mere office-holding, to the trade question. I therefore risked office on the contest, and, like many better men, was beaten. Personally, I am not sorry, as I was much in need of a good rest. In a party sense, of course, I regret the defeat. In a few more years it will all come right. I have endeavored to sow good seed which will bear fruit in good time. The enemy has sown the wind, and will reap the whirlwind.

" Yours faithfully,

" A. MACKENZIE."

Principle before party:

" OTTAWA, Oct. 31, 1878.

"MY DEAR SIR,—On my return to town last night, I received your letter of the 18th inst. I need hardly say how much I am obliged for your kind and encouraging remarks.

"I know very well that certain Reformers, well-meaning people, too, think I might have so managed as to retain power. These people think a ministry ought not to maintain itself so much to give effect to principles as to administer affairs for the benefit of the party. Neither my colleagues nor myself could accept such a view. Of course, we were bound to look to the interest of the Liberal party; but we considered that we were best doing this by giving effect to their principles. I could not dream of pretending to adopt a policy, to any extent whatever, which I believed to be clearly wrong. We had all the pressure of what are called 'hard times' to combat. This gave an impulse to protectionist principles, surprising enough in an enlightened country. The protection theory is easily stated; with uninformed or prejudiced people it takes at once. Revenge on the Yankees, seems also to be the idea uppermost in many minds. The proposition: 'They put 20% on our wheat, why don't we put the same on theirs?' looks so plausible that some people do not stop to reason. Demagogues made many believe that if we put 20 cents on foreign wheat, the price of our own would be enhanced by that amount. It is true that it was almost entirely among the more ignorant that such nonsense prevailed. I found very few indeed of the leading men indoctrinated with such absurdities; but one vote is as good as another. To manufacturers we could give further protection for a time, but not without doing a wrong to other classes, and destroying our revenue."

An opinion frankly given, and as frankly combated:

"OTTAWA, Nov. 9th, 1878.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your letter a few days ago. I am obliged to you for giving me your opinion concerning the cause of the election going adversely to the late Government. You say I should have yielded to the views of the people, when we would by so doing retain power. In the first place, I did not know the views of the people were in favor of protection until the election proved it; and in the second place, I certainly would not yield, even to a majority of the people, principles which I believed to be right.

"I fear you take a very low estimate of public morality in suggesting that a Minister might or should adopt any principles which would keep him in power. Such a doctrine as that would be subversive of all upright

government and personal honesty. Every Government must have certain ideas of public policy which will govern their action, or they are unprincipled in the largest sense of that word. My Government believed that the doctrine of protection was wrong—was calculated to bring disaster to the country, and we acted on that belief. The country decided that we were in a minority in that belief, and we at once resigned, in order to give those who entertain or profess to entertain a contrary view a chance of carrying out their professions. Your idea is that we should, for the sake of power, adopt a policy we considered ruinous to the country. I trust nothing will ever induce me to act the hypocrite in public, any more than in private affairs. If I take a place in a Government, it will only be to give effect to my own views of public policy. Better far be in opposition conscientiously, and advocating our own principles, than be in power without a belief in the principles we are carrying out.

“You are good enough to inform me that I did much harm in small things—in passing over my own friends; in appointments, I suppose you mean. I am not aware of any reason for making that charge. I always gave our friends the preference. It is possible that some members of Parliament supporting the Government did sometimes recommend political opponents without our knowledge. That will happen to any Government. It will also happen that friends of the Government will ask very improper things; but no upright Government will yield to such demands.”

He then goes on to combat specific cases of grievances, one of which was that a Minister had resisted payment of a dishonest account. He concludes:

“It is always an unpleasant duty to oppose payment of accounts, but upright Ministers must sometimes do it. I often did it, and I hope I did it impartially to friend and foe alike when they were wrong. Now I dare say all the cases you could cite would vanish on examination, as these do. I am very sorry you take the adverse view you do of our course; but your opinion does not in the least affect mine. I took my stand on principle. I fell in its defence. I am satisfied I was right, and that time will show this. I would rather my present feeling, out of

power, than be in power with a consciousness of trying to do what I could not approve of. With good wishes to all,

“I am, yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

In a letter to Mr. Huntington he says :

“I am glad now that we made no exceptional appointments before leaving office. Had we done so, all would have been dismissed and more or less odium would have attached to us. As it stands, the scandalous dismissal of Mr. Buckingham and some others of our friends throws the blame on our opponents.”

There are many letters showing that he felt keenly the action of the new Ministers in this respect.

To a friend in Nova Scotia, Mr. Mackenzie wrote :

“You ask what were the causes of the political reverse. The main cause was no doubt the general depression which prevailed, and the belief instilled into the minds of the poorer classes that the Government were more or less concerned in the existence of so serious a state of affairs. Again, many of the manufacturers, for purely selfish reasons, fought hard, believing they would be enriched by the imposition of higher duties. The protection theory had taken a deeper hold of the popular mind than we had supposed. It is also certain that the temperance legislation of the Government injured us in Ontario, as it arrayed the whole liquor interest against us, and that interest is a very powerful one. However, we have nothing to regret. We fought our battle on principle. We did what was right, and it is better to be right and defeated, than be wrong and successful.”

To a former colleague :

“In view even of all this, I am unable to see what other course I could have pursued, were it all to be done over again. I always had a horror of the policy of carrying on a Government by compromises of views on great questions. I could understand the expediency of accepting a part of some reform we were struggling for, if the whole could not readily be obtained, and could submit to it, but in this case we were struggling for a principle established already, and could not abandon it, even if it saved

the Government to do so. In the session of 1877, the caucus meetings were very strong against any increase in the tariff. The Islanders and New Brunswickers, and also the Nova Scotians, were most determined of all. They waited upon me to warn me that an increase would be fatal to them, and, indeed, said that they would not promise to support the Government if such an increase should be proposed. In the face of such views, the Island and Nova Scotia elected members to support an ultra protectionist party. Ontario deceived me quite as much. I knew that in the cities we should have a hard struggle, but I never dreamed that the farmers could have imbibed the protectionist humbug, as they foolishly did.

"It is now tolerably clear that Sir John did not expect to get a majority at the elections. He only hoped they would be very close, so as to enable him to win by some movement or chance at the second session. He and his friends were, therefore, very reckless in promising every class all they wanted. These promises are now waiting at every Cabinet Minister's door at Ottawa, and will not be put off.

"The desperate attempt to behead Letellier has apparently failed. I suspect Sir John has arranged with some one to bring a motion before Parliament condemning him, and asking for his removal. I do not, however, believe Lord Lorne will agree to dismiss a Governor who acted within his authority."

Writing from Toronto, November 11th, 1878, to an intimate friend residing at Ottawa, the emancipated Minister rejoices in his freedom, and the fun ahead of him on the ice: "I shall have more time this coming session to devote to curling with you than I was able to get for the past five years."

At the age of nearly fifty-seven, and after all the wear and tear of such a life as has been traced in these pages, there was a good deal of the schoolboy spirit left in him still.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

AGAIN IN OPPOSITION.

Resides in Toronto—Welcomes the Change—"Bracing" Him Up—Sympathetic Letter—Parliament Meets—The N. P. "Elephant"—Everybody Protected—A Tariff of "Corners"—Canada in Cast-off Clothing—The Consequences of the Policy—Mr. Blake on its Tendency—Sir Oliver Mowat on Patriotism—Still a Rainbow of Hope—Mr. Mackenzie Resigns the Leadership—Comments Thereupon.

AFTER resigning office in October, 1878, Mr. Mackenzie left Ottawa to take up his permanent residence in Toronto, where leading incorporated companies availed themselves of his knowledge and experience on their directorates. In January, 1881, the North American Life Assurance Company started on its career, with Mr. Mackenzie as president.

His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin was correct in his supposition that in many respects Mr. Mackenzie welcomed the change. No man had less ambition than he to shine in a courtly sphere, or to be prominent in the councils of the nation, and he gives repeated evidences that leadership had been undertaken by him as a matter of duty rather than of choice. He had no feeling of elation in office; in opposition he was not cast down. Throughout his life he had the courage and serenity which enabled him to rise superior to surrounding worldly circumstances.

The following bright letter, which he wrote before the assembling of Parliament, was in acknowledgment of an equally

acceptable note from an estimable young lady, now Mrs. George R. Pattullo, with the present of a pair of suspenders (he calls them "braces") on his fifty-seventh birthday :

" OTTAWA, Jan. 28th, 1879.

" MY DEAR MISS BIGGAR,—The postman has just left your package, enclosing your kind note and your contribution towards 'bracing' me up for coming duties.

"My wife looked anxiously over my shoulder at the mysterious package as I opened it, observing, no doubt, the lady's handwriting, and fearing probably that it was a love-philter which might chain me to the fair correspondent, as was often done some centuries ago, according to the old ballads.

"At the first glance, she said 'garters!' what can it mean? I replied in the words of the motto of the Order of the Garter, as well as of the Sovereigns of England: 'Evil be to him that evil thinks'—'Honi soit qui mal y pense.' But when the whole was unfolded, and your note dropped out, I think all her fears vanished, and I was graciously permitted to acknowledge the present myself.

"It was very kind of you to remember a day in my history which I had myself forgotten until I read your note, and I return you my warmest thanks. Rideau Hall sends me an invitation, with the words 'full dress.' I shall grace my Windsor uniform with the new braces, when I can say that the unseen is perhaps better than the seen portion of the Court garb.

"I shall feel very dejected this winter at Ottawa, not so much at being on the Opposition benches, as at the loss of so many of my old Ontario friends. I will especially miss your father, who was not merely a political friend but a personal friend of the stamp I take to most. I hope we shall soon hear of an improvement in his health. Mrs. Mackenzie and I join in sending you all good wishes for him and yourself.

"I am, dear Miss Biggar,

"Yours very sincerely,

"A. MACKENZIE.

"Miss Biggar, Murray P. O."

This, written a few months afterwards, to the same corres-



Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's Residence, Toronto.

pendent, on the death of her father, illustrates the other phase of his character, of which his pen gives us so many beautiful examples :

“TORONTO, June 20th, 1879.

“MY DEAR MISS BIGGAR,—The very greatness of your domestic calamity prevented us hitherto intruding upon you, even with our sympathy. There are events with which a stranger should not intermeddle ; one of these is the death of a very near relative. I have myself felt on such occasions that I wanted to be let alone for a time. I am sure, however, that you will allow us to express our deep sympathy with you in so unexpected a calamity. At the time of your father's death we were hoping to see him, on his way home in restored health. We little dreamed when we saw him last we were never to meet him again in this life. He and I entered Parliament together eighteen years ago, and during all these years we were fast friends. Indeed no one could help being friends with James Biggar, unless he were a worthless man, for he was a model of personal kindness and courtesy, as he was also a pattern of the Christian gentleman. He was one of the few with whom I could always hold unrestrained converse in a social and religious sense. There are few left behind to whom I can speak as I could speak to him, and after middle life one does not make many new friends. Altogether I feel the blank his departure has caused very much, though there was no tie of kindred by blood between us. I can easily imagine how much you must, of all the family, feel the loss of your honored father.

“Although no amount of sympathy can make up in any perceptible degree for the great blank in your family circle, still it may and should be gratifying to know how universal was the respect felt for him, and how general is the feeling of sympathy with you. The greatest consolation of all is, however, that he has entered into the ‘rest which remaineth for the people of God.’ While we mourn his departure, he has ‘seen the King in His beauty, and the land that is far off.’ We mourn, but he rejoices. I sometimes think, when such as he departs, that their lot is much better than that of those who remain here to battle with the selfishness, coldness and injustice of the world. We do not know what is escaped by an early departure. Besides, we always know that all things are ordered well, and for the best, by our Heavenly Father, who cannot commit any mistake. We may not be able to see that there is a provi-

dence in such visitations, but we will understand all when we follow those who have gone before. We both send our kindest regards.

“I am, my dear Miss Biggar,

“Yours very sincerely,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

Parliament met on 13th of February, 1879, and Mr. Mackenzie made a pleasant speech on the election of Mr. Blanchet as Speaker. He playfully twitted the leader of the Government on having departed from his own precedent in 1873, when he proposed the continuance, as the custom has been for fifty years in England, of the Speaker of the previous Parliament. But as Sir John had taken a different course, Mr. Mackenzie said it would be difficult for any honorable gentleman to be named on the Ministerial side who would give greater satisfaction to the Opposition than Mr. Blanchet. He had no doubt Mr. Blanchet would discharge the high and onerous duties devolving upon him with faithfulness and conscientiousness, and he might rely upon the Opposition giving him every support consistent with due regard for Parliamentary privileges.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Tilley unfolded his budget, and with it came the great Canadian cure-all, so widely advertised under the name of “N. P.” Mr. Mackenzie described it as “the elephant.” Writing the day after it appeared, to his former secretary, he says:

“So the Elephant has come laden with ‘rings,’ and covered with the most dazzling of trappings, for which the poor Canadian people will have sweetly to pay. Tilley has surrendered himself to every class of manufacturers, and has given each class all they supposed they wanted, but we find already that some of them feel their toes trod upon by the indulgence he has bestowed on others. Let me illustrate. A firm in Hamilton build bridges; they had before $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and they paid 5 per cent. on iron bars. Now they get 20 per cent., but they have to pay $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on

iron bars. In other words, they previously had $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in their favor, now they have $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Another case is this : An electro-plate company in Toronto asked for protection, and they got 30 per cent. ; but the German silver, of which three pounds are required for one pound of the finished product, is put at 10 per cent. They write me that this kind of protection they really cannot understand. There is much excitement, and not a little fun, to-day over it all."

The design was to give every manufacturer all he wanted of this panacea, but the chief difficulty was in carrying the design into effect. The Finance Minister's dilemma was well illustrated by Mr. Mackenzie in the foregoing letter, and was amplified by him a hundred times afterwards. It lay in the solution of the problem of giving protection to one man's finished product without doing injustice to the raw material of his neighbor. Agreement there might be in the resolution to spoil the enemy. The quarrel arose as to the mode in which the spoils should be divided.

The tariff provided a tax on things innumerable, and filled thirteen pages of Hansard. Mr. Tilley professed his desire to be as much as possible to substitute the specific for the ad valorem system of duties, and to make those duties so high as to give encouragement to Canadian manufacturers, while preventing the country from being made a "slaughter market" for United States products. Two millions additional revenue were required from customs, and he asserted that the duties were to be so imposed as to draw the chief part of that money from the imports of foreign countries, and not from those of England. He also stated that countervailing duties would be imposed on foreign sugar, in order to protect our own refineries from the bounty systems of other countries.

Sir Richard Cartwright likened the tariff to the tariff introduced into the United States in the early part of the century,

and which was largely instrumental in causing the civil war. That tariff was familiar to the students of American history as "the tariff of abominations." "I do not know," he said, "that this rises to the dignity of the American tariff I have named, but the Canadian student may, perhaps, fairly describe it as a tariff of corners. There is scarcely one single proposal in which men accustomed to deal with such questions will fail to see concessions to some particular clique, to some particular interest, to some prominent political partisan, or to some particular class whom it is desirable, for political reasons, to conciliate." There were privileges here, concessions there, and injustice everywhere. There was an attempt at what Carlyle declared to be the impossible problem, namely, out of the united action of a community of dishonest men to evolve an honest policy. The predominating principle had been: Get political influence—revenue, if you can, but political influence any how. It was another illustration of the Scripture doctrine: "To him that hath, shall be given, and from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath." It was unjustly discriminative, taxing the articles consumed by the poor at a higher rate than those consumed by the rich—the proportion being on some goods as 30 per cent. is to 6. Regarding the sugar duties, the people would be taxed one million of dollars per annum for the benefit of half a dozen persons engaged in refining.

Dr. Tupper defended the protective policy, and maintained it was through protection that Great Britain had reached the position of prominence and distinction she occupies as a manufacturing country.

Mr. Mackenzie said: "It is to me a most humiliating spectacle to find a large majority of the representatives of the people rejoicing at the prospect of an immediate and large

increase in the taxation of the country. It is a humiliating spectacle to find so large a body of intelligent gentlemen as are now assembled, representing Canada, taking up the cast-off clothing of older nations and wearing it, in adopting a policy that has ruined other nations, and rejecting a policy that has made the Mother Country great and prosperous beyond all precedent. And, sir, it is amazing that such an exhibition could have been presented in an intelligent country in a position of observing, as we are in a position of observing, the results of protection in the neighboring country." Protection was no cure for trade depression. Trade had often been stagnant. Witness the years from 1856 to 1859. What was the policy then of the Liberal party? No one could point to a single speech of himself or any other Liberal member in that much severer crisis, charging the responsibility upon the Government. He said the tariff was unjust in its operation, being a tariff favorable to the higher classes as against the interests of the people. On the 17th of April he moved an amendment in that sense, and declaratory also of the tendency of the tariff to render "futile the costly and persistent efforts of this country to secure a share of the immense and growing carrying trade of this continent, and tending to create an antagonism between the commercial policy of the Empire and that of Canada that might lead to consequences deeply to be deplored." The amendment was negatived by a vote of 53 to 136, and after a long debate the tariff went into effect with but very little change.

In his well-known letter, at the general election of 1891, when he took leave of his West Durham constituents, Mr. Blake drew this alarming but too truthful picture of the effects produced upon the Dominion by the Conservative policy :

“ The Canadian Conservative policy has failed to accomplish the predictions of its promoters.

“ Its real tendency has been, as foretold twelve years ago, towards disintegration and annexation, instead of consolidation and the maintenance of that British connection of which they claim to be the special guardians.

“ It has left us with a small population, a scanty immigration, and a North-West empty still ; with enormous additions to our public debt and yearly charges, an extravagant system of expenditure, and an unjust and oppressive tariff, with restricted markets for our needs, whether to buy or to sell, and all the host of evils (greatly intensified by our special conditions) thence arising ; with trade diverted from its natural into forced and therefore less profitable channels, and with unfriendly relations and frowning tariff walls, ever more and more estranging us from the mighty English-speaking nation to the south, our neighbors and relations, with whom we ought to be, as it was promised we should be, living in generous amity and liberal intercourse.

“ Worse, far worse ! It has left us with lowered standards of public virtue and a deathlike apathy in public opinion ; with racial, religious and provincial animosities rather inflamed than soothed ; with a subservient Parliament, an autocratic Executive, debauched constituencies, and corrupted and corrupting classes ; with lessened self-reliance and increased dependence on the public chest and on legislative aids, and possessed withal by a boastful jingo spirit far enough removed from true manliness, loudly proclaiming unreal conditions and exaggerated sentiments, while actual facts and genuine opinions are suppressed.

“ It has left us with our hands tied, our future compromised, and in such a plight that, whether we stand or move, we must run some risks which we might have either declined or encountered with greater promise of success.”

But amid the gloom there remains a ray of light :

“ Yet let us never despair of our country. It is a goodly land, endowed with great recuperative powers and vast resources as yet undeveloped ; inhabited by populations moral and religious, sober and industrious, virtuous and thrifty, capable and instructed—the descendants of a choice immigration, of men of mark and courage, energy and enterprise, in the breasts of whose children still glow the sparks of those ancestral fires.

“Under such conditions all is not lost. ‘Though much be taken, much abides.’ And if we do but awake from our delusive dreams, face the sharp facts in time, repair our errors and amend our ways, there may still remain for us, despite the irrevocable past, a future, if not so clear and bright as we might once have hoped, yet fair and honorable, dignified and secure.”

Sir Oliver Mowat also pointed, not long since, to the rainbow of hope still to be seen in Canadian skies. He was present at the celebration, at Niagara-on-the-Lake, on the 16th of July, 1892, of the one-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of representative government in the Province of Upper Canada, when he made a patriotic appeal to the people to oppose annexation and cultivate a Canadian spirit. With a firm, though light and graceful touch, the Ontario Premier gave the true reason why we have fallen back in the race with the United States during the past ten years. We quote the paragraph, and follow Sir Oliver Mowat's example, by leaving it as it stands:

“It is pleasant to know that until the last ten years of its history Canada advanced faster in proportion than the States of the American Union as a whole, or than most of the individual States did. As to the causes of there not having been like progress during the last decade, we Reformers ascribe the falling off to the N. P., or so-called National Policy, and the high taxation. Conservatives argue for other causes; but this is not an occasion for discussing the question between us.”

Of the British connection of which Mr. Blake and Sir Oliver Mowat spoke, there was no more faithful guardian throughout his life than Mr. Mackenzie. There are examples in all history of the fall of nations through the oppression of the people by party for party purposes, for if, as a great writer says, “Liberty and equality of civil rights are brave, spirit-stirring things,” so the denial of those rights inevitably produces divisions, dissatisfaction, destruction.

When Parliament met on the 13th of February, 1880, Mr. Mackenzie took occasion to speak of what the tariff had already done. He said he believed that but for the bountiful harvest in Canada last summer, and the serious deficiency in Great Britain and Ireland, the state of the Dominion this winter would have been the most deplorable ever known. The speech from the Throne asserted that the effect of the tariff of last session in the development of the varied industries of the country had, on the whole, been very satisfactory. But so far from this being the case, Mr. Mackenzie was able to show that, notwithstanding the good harvest here and the bad harvest in Great Britain, the failures in Canada, representing manufacturers as well as traders, showed liabilities during the year past of \$29,347,000, as against \$23,908,000 in 1878. The Finance Minister had not created wealth by protection, but he had redistributed it by placing it in the hands of a few monopolists who had been built up by his policy; the sugar monopolists alone having had a million of dollars given them at the expense of the whole country, while another effect of the same policy had been to palm off inferior articles at enhanced prices upon the consuming population.

The House had continued to sit into the early hours of Wednesday, the 28th of April, 1880. We take the following from the "Debates" of an important occurrence immediately before the adjournment at two a.m.:

" THE OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP.

"MR. MACKENZIE: I desire to say a word or two with regard to my personal relations to the House. I, yesterday, determined to withdraw from the position as leader of the Opposition, and from this time forth I will speak and act for no person but myself.

"SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: Of course we, on this side of the House, have nothing to say to such a decision. But all I can say is that I hope

the hon. gentleman who takes the place of the hon. member for Lambton, and his party, will display the same ability, earnestness and zeal for what he thinks and believes to be for the good of the country as have been displayed by my hon. friend who has just taken his seat."

The inner life of Mr. Mackenzie, as revealed in these pages, proves that public care sat by no means as lightly upon him at any time in his career as his outward demeanor would seem to imply. The leading positions he was placed in came to him unsought, and not in response to a desire on his own part, however slight, to obtain them; much less to a craving for personal distinction, or for the satisfaction of personal ambition. From these weaknesses of human nature he was freer than most other men. When, however, responsibility presented itself in the shape of duty, he did not shrink from its obligations, and he strenuously strove to show himself equal to them. Whatever the strain, there was no sign to the world of a sinking beneath its pressure. As he said in the letter we have quoted from, to his brother, at the close of the harassing session of 1878, he "took care to let no one know of it." A way was now open to him to retire, and, he was "glad to stop."

An influential journal voiced the public sentiment with admirable perspicacity and knowledge when it said that Mr. Mackenzie served his party with zeal, fidelity, and courage, and led it with a clear head and ripe judgment. He did not enter its high places when all was pleasant with it, and retreat when it looked gloomy. From the time when he became leader in 1867, to the day of his retirement, he held the helm with unwavering constancy, and the Liberal party and the country were deeply his debtors.

We condense from another of the many appreciative articles on Mr. Mackenzie, published at that time, the following:

“Mr. Mackenzie stands out among the men of his time a representative of a class of statesmen who are the glory of constitutional government, and who give character to the best thought of their times. Under his leadership the Liberal party rose from almost utter extinction at the time of Confederation to the highest power and greatness. Mr. Mackenzie has given proofs of wisdom and patriotism that will add lustre to the history of our time. Throughout a career remarkable for steadiness of purpose, he has never consulted the promptings of expediency in order to avoid a disagreeable duty. To this fact, perhaps, he owes the loss of some measure of personal popularity, while he has gained in those elements of character which strengthen a statesman for the highest if not the ultimate purposes of life. The Liberal party may now be said to be passing through a period of tribulation almost unexampled. The lamented death of Mr. Holton, the prostration of Mr. Brown, and the resignation of Mr. Mackenzie, are events that must deeply affect the position of parties and the men who compose them.”

On his retirement from the leadership a resolution was unanimously adopted by the Liberal party, assuring him of their respect, confidence and affection, and these feelings were as cordially shared outside the walls of Parliament as by the members of the two Houses who met to give them formal expression. Mr. Blake was elected Mr. Mackenzie's successor as leader of the Liberal party.





CHAPTER XXXV.

THE OFFERS OF A TITLE.

Death of Mr. Holton and Mr. Brown—Mr. Brown's Biography—The Session of 1880-1—A Spice of Humor—The Canadian Exodus—More About Protection—Mr. Mackenzie on Canadian Honors—Bestowal of Titles on Chief Justices Richards and Dorion—Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake Decline—Mr. Brown's Declinature in 1874—What Mr. Holton Thought—Mr. Mackenzie Declines a Second and Third Time—Letter from Lord Lorne Offering a Title—Lord Dufferin on Canadian Distinctions.

TWO great griefs came upon Mr. Mackenzie, close upon each other, in the death of Mr. Holton and Mr. Brown. Mr. Holton died suddenly at Ottawa, about the middle of March, 1880. Mr. Mackenzie had scarcely begun to recover from this calamity when there was added to it the shock, a few days afterwards, of a still greater sorrow at the murder in Toronto of Mr. Brown.

Writing to Mrs. Mackenzie on the 15th of March, he spoke of Mr. Holton's death as a terrible blow to himself. "Poor fellow," he says, "he was so solicitous about my own health, knowing it is by no means good, and was always trying to arrange some little plan to relieve me of some work. He was as cheery as ever on Saturday, when last seen by Pelletier, a little before midnight. Every morning came his inquiry: 'How are you to-day, Mackenzie?' We had a sad midnight procession to the station."

Sir John A. Macdonald, on the day on which this letter was

written, moved the adjournment of the House as a mark of respect to the deceased member. Mr. Mackenzie, perhaps for the only time in his life, in attempting to second the resolution, utterly broke down. He had addressed two sentences to his fellow-members, and was commencing a third, when he was overcome by an emotion which was more eloquent than words, and resumed his seat.

Mr. Brown lingered for many weeks, and died in May. Later, Mr. Mackenzie, then himself in failing health, became his biographer, and made the work a loving and faithful tribute to the memory of his friend; though to our mind, agreeing, as we do with Thackeray in "Henry Esmond," that "history should be familiar, rather than heroic," it is a little too unbending.

The Petrolia Reform Association, on the occasion of its first meeting after the change of the Liberal leadership, adopted an address, approving of Mr. Mackenzie's course while at the head of the Liberal party.

In his reply on the 14th of July, 1880, Mr. Mackenzie referred to the calumnies by which he had been persistently assailed, and declared that he had, to the best of his judgment, done what was just and right. On the trade question, he wrote as follows:

"After the election was lost in 1878, some Liberals were found to express a regret that my Administration did not countenance the protective movement to such an extent as would, in their opinion, have secured us from defeat. Protection, as a political principle, is either right or wrong. If wrong, it should be resisted. We believed that it was wrong, and therefore could not accept it, even if we had known that resistance would cost us the loss of office. The success of that principle means the promotion of the interests of a small class at the expense of the whole community. A majority of our people evidently thought otherwise in September, 1878, as they returned a majority of protectionist candidates.

Two years' experience has satisfied the country of the truth of the aphorism.

"The farmers, who constitute a large majority of our people, now know, what they then refused to believe, that protection means an increase in price in all that they buy, and no increase in price for what they have to sell. The mechanic and laborer, by painful experience, now know that the cost of living is much higher than during previous years, and there has been no increase of wages. They earn no more money than before, and the money buys less of the goods necessary to life.

"Some political writers affect to see some difference between the application of the laws of commerce in Canada and England, in order, apparently, to cover their own inconsistency. There may be local inequalities in both countries, but moral principles are not affected by a higher or lower latitude, and they have the same weight with all just men, whether they live east or west of Greenwich.

"Conservative leaders and candidates promised an immediate return of prosperity, as the sure result of a defeat of the Liberal Government; abundance of work and high wages were promised to the laborer and artisan; the farmer was to receive higher prices for all the products of the farm; an immediate rise in bank and other stocks was to take place as the first sign of the coming commercial millenium, and it was to be a sure indication of the confidence of the monied world in the new doctrines. What was the actual result? An unprecedented fall in all securities greeted the advent of Tory reactionaries. Such a scarcity of work prevailed that a most alarming exodus of our people to the United States seemed to be the only relief, and this exodus continues until this hour. A deeper gloom settled down on the commercial classes, illustrated by the extraordinary rush to the Insolvent Courts. The price of farm produce went down lower than before, a temporary improvement being only reached because of our good harvest and the deplorable failure of the harvest in the motherland. An enormous increase in taxation has taken place, but heavy deficits in the revenue still continue, showing that the additional taxes are for the benefit of individuals, not for the deliverance of the State."

There was a spice of humor in Mr. Mackenzie's remarks on the address on the 10th of December, 1880: "The Hon.

First Minister complains that a Ministerial paper printed some garbled extracts from the speech of the honorable member for Durham (Mr. Blake), and placed a portrait of the honorable member at the head of the speech to prevent emigrants from coming into the country. The First Minister should get out a counter fly-sheet, and put his portrait at the head of it, so as to attract emigrants into the country. That would be a just method of retaliation, and no one who might see the portraits side by side could hesitate for a moment."

In the course of the same debate, Mr. Blake was able to point to some of the fruits of the Government policy. In the five lean years, as they were called, of Mr. Mackenzie's Administration, the exodus to the United States numbered 120,000 persons; but in only fifteen months since then, the exodus amounted to 137,000. There was a total emigration into the United States in the year 1879 of 450,000 people, and of that total, Canada contributed five-ninths. The quality of the emigration from Canada was described by the First Minister (Sir John Macdonald) when, addressing a meeting of Manchester merchants, he said: "The men who thus leave our country are of the brightest, wisest, ablest, most ingenious."

This session, there was, of course, a further tinkering with the tariff. It was operated on a few weeks later, when Mr. Mackenzie again criticised the Government policy. In the course of his speech he said:

"I believe no country having commercial relations with the world can avoid having a foreign trade, because the moment a country ceases to have a foreign trade, it sinks in the scale of nations, goes behind the age, and has no means in common with the rest of the world to exchange commodities. The idea of the honorable gentlemen opposite seems to be based upon the opinion that every one who buys from them can be made to pay their own price, while they are able to sell at their own prices also.

I believe, and all commercial authorities believe, that the true method of conducting trade is for every people to sell what they produce most easily to those who possess some other commodity which such people require, but cannot easily produce. One of the most disastrous results of a protective policy is that it destroys the freedom of exchange, and tends to build up monopolies at the expense of the people. To be sure, the remedy will come. The honorable gentlemen opposite seem to think that there can be no change of government in this country until every one in it becomes a protectionist. I believe their policy has already proved a disastrous failure. The melancholy statement that the Minister of Finance made to-night was one that any Government might be ashamed of, especially they who proclaimed so loudly that the moment a change of Government took place, returning prosperity would appear; that everyone would be employed, that bank stocks would rise in value, and that everything would show increased prosperity. From that day to the present, increased depression has taken place. Stocks fell, failures increased, and there was very soon the deepest distress that could possibly be imagined, and the honorable gentlemen opposite were only saved, for the moment, by the good crop of last year. Even that good crop would not have done much, but for the fact that there was a sad failure of crops in Europe, which necessitated the purchase of very large amounts of produce at high rates on this side of the Atlantic. And yet the honorable gentlemen opposite speak as if they produced the high price of wheat. They produced the high price in manufactured articles, and everything they touched, with the rod of the tax-gatherer. They taxed the coal and flour and food of the poor—everything they could lay their hands on consumed by the poor—and thereby increased the cost of living; but, although they put a tax on wheat, that had no influence on the price of wheat in this country, though it injured trade in that article. Every person knows it could not have had any influence on prices, because the ultimate market was England, and we were only carriers of wheat from one end of the country to the other. The result of the policy of the honorable gentlemen opposite has been disastrous, even to the revenue, which has shown great deficiency."

Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Blake, Mr. Brown and Mr. Holton were all averse to transplanting to the democratic soil of this coun-

try those aristocratic distinctions which are so highly prized in England. It would surprise very many if they knew how much of Mr. Mackenzie's time and energy were spent in resisting those who, without conspicuous merit, clamoured for such distinctions, and also in resisting those in England who were only too anxious to bestow them.

He insisted that the Canadian Prime Minister was a better judge of what was suitable for Canadians in matters of title, as well as matters of trade, than the Colonial Minister in London. He had usually good reasons for whatever position he took, and his general argument on this head may be thus stated.

He admitted it to have been a long-standing custom for the Imperial Government of its own mere motion to select such persons in the various colonies as appeared to it most suitable to be the recipients of honors, without any reference to the Colonial Administration, and that it might seem natural for the home authorities to follow that practice in Canada at the present time. He had, however, a strong conviction that a custom which possibly seemed to be convenient in small colonies, was wholly unsuitable in Canada. Her Majesty's Canadian Government had functions to perform which no other Colonial Government was called upon to discharge.

Our population had now reached over four millions—more than that of Scotland, and almost as large as the population of Ireland. We appointed the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces, and supervised the legislation of the Provincial Legislatures. The Canadian Government alone could be cognisant of the merits or demerits of the several classes of state officials connected with the Provincial Governments, such as Lieutenant-Governors and local Ministers, as well as of judges in the Provincial Courts.

Regarded politically, Canada was a difficult country to govern. While there were here no social class interests to consult, there were more complex interests always cropping up in the forms of race and creed. It was difficult to do anything for an English-speaking Canadian without giving a corresponding benefit to a French Canadian. A preponderance of Catholic or Protestant appointees to honors was instantly detected. Sectional interests were also very strong, and must be considered by the Government, no matter how desirable it might be as a matter of principle to avoid so doing. He yielded to no one in his anxiety to perpetuate the powers and prestige of Britain on this continent, but was satisfied these could best be maintained—he might say could *only* be maintained—by Canadians.

It was quite impossible for an English Minister to understand Canadian affairs so well as to be able safely to undertake without Canadian advice to act in the bestowal of honors. The conclusion was that it was essential to the free and unfettered working of our governmental system that the Canadian Minister should be asked to advise before the Imperial Government recommended titles for the Canadian people, and especially for Canadian officials.

He was sure that no one more than the Colonial Secretary desired to aid the Canadian Government in executing a very delicate and onerous task, and that it had never occurred to him that any possible harm could result to the administration of affairs here from adherence to an old-time practice which changed circumstances had, in his opinion, rendered it no longer advisable to continue. He felt it his duty to urge that its continuance would weaken the hands of Canadian Ministers in conducting the affairs of the country, and also that it was out of harmony with our constitutional system.

In pursuance of these views, he had been so exceedingly sparing in his recommendations for a title as to limit them to two persons, and these occupying life-long positions of dignity as judges of the Superior Courts. In making these recommendations the principle he had laid down came into play at once as respects the selection, one being of the English-speaking race, Chief Justice Richards; the other French-Canadian, in the person of Chief Justice Dorion. He pressed acceptance upon the latter in the following communication:

“ OTTAWA, Sept. 12, 1877.

“ MY DEAR SIR ANTOINE,—I write a note, not so much to congratulate you as to ask you not on any account to decline the title. Lord Carnarvon promised me to name you some months ago. I told him that though I declined the honor myself, I considered it eminently suitable to gentlemen who, having once filled high State offices, now occupied the chief positions on the Bench. I also told him that even if disposed to accept the title, I could not do so unless a similar honor were extended to one of the French-Canadian gentlemen who were now, or had been, my colleagues, and that I could do no other than name you as the most prominent of them all. He then very kindly telegraphed that he would submit your name later in the year. He has done so sooner than I expected. I always meant to write you before it came. I know your nomination will give unbounded pleasure even to those who do not attach much importance to the title in Canada, because all have felt that justice has not been done in this respect to the Liberals in Quebec. Many of our French supporters also rejoice, not merely on account of their personal regard, but because they desired that one of their own undoubted friends should be the possessor of rank. It is useless to deny that a certain influence attaches to it, and our people felt that this was hitherto wanting.

“ Allow me in closing to offer my hearty congratulations and my earnest wish that you may live long to enjoy so well earned a distinction.

“ I am, my dear Sir Antoine,

“ Yours faithfully,

“ A. MACKENZIE.

“ The Hon. Sir A. A. Dorion.”

Mr. Mackenzie's reference to the offer to himself takes us back to a period a few months earlier in the same year, when Lord Carnarvon sent over a cable message intimating a desire to submit Mr. Mackenzie's and Mr. Blake's names for the honor of Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George. Mr. Mackenzie, in reply, said he thought Imperial titles could only be worn with dignity by such persons as the principal judges of our higher courts, whose official position was such as to remove them from many of the social obligations of society, or by those persons who had not only a distinguished position in a public sense, but whose private fortune would justify them in assuming a higher social status than what generally prevails in Canada. As he did not belong to the former class, and his private fortune was not, in his estimation, sufficient to maintain the dignity of a title and sustain obligations which its assumption would necessarily involve, he felt that he could not avoid the apparently ungracious duty of respectfully declining Lord Carnarvon's very flattering offer.

Mr. Blake wrote on another occasion as follows :

"MY DEAR MACKENZIE,—I have a note from Mr.—, about a C. M. G. I have written him to say that my own opinions were that these marks of distinction were unsuited to our social condition, and that it was a mistake to introduce them here ; that you were aware of these opinions, and that consistently with them I could not advise you to recommend anybody for such honors ; but that I would say to you that if you do recommend anyone, I know no one better entitled to a C. M. G. than —, or whom I should like better to see have the honor, if he cared for it.

"Yours truly,

"EDWARD BLAKE.

"Hon. Alex. Mackenzie."

Writing Mr. Blake in May, 1877, Mr. Mackenzie said : "I suppose Col. Littleton conveyed to you the offer of Lord Carnarvon ? It is important as showing their good will in England." Mr. Blake replied : "I got Col. Littleton's note

about the K.C.M.G. Lord Carnarvon is very kind, but I am, as you may conceive, less disposed towards these trappings than ever."

Already in 1874, as Mr. Mackenzie has publicly stated, Mr. Brown might have been knighted had he given his consent. He was actually gazetted as a knight commander in 1879, and an arrangement was made for the formal investiture in Montreal. Mr. Mackenzie says Mr. Brown went to that city to meet His Excellency, but only to thank him in person and to give a formal declination in writing. Mr. Mackenzie dryly remarks that all the influences brought to bear upon Mr. Brown failed to convince him that the circumstances would justify him in accepting the title "which some men are so anxious to obtain and honor so little." What Mr. Holton thought about "the knighthood business" may be seen in the following extract from a letter written by him to Mr. Mackenzie in 1879:

"John A. has jockeyed us as usual in the knighthood business. I am delighted that Brown refused peremptorily. It was little short of an affront to make him the offer under the circumstances. He is undoubtedly the foremost figure in public life in this country, and if he were to be offered any mark of distinction, it should not have been second to any other conferred on a Canadian. But a petty knighthood with a crowd of nobodies, or worse, at this time of day, would have been anything but a compliment. Besides, it would have been difficult to show that he had not accepted it from John A."

Mr. Mackenzie was anxious not to be misunderstood either in declining on his own behalf, or in resisting backstairs influence used by and on behalf of others—mostly, as may well be supposed in such a matter as this, of those of the opposite political faith. Thus he writes: "I should not like it to be thought that I am narrow or small in the consideration of such things. My repeated recommendations of political

opponents for Imperial missions, such as Col. Gzowski for British Columbia, Mr. Howland for the Bay Verte Commission, Sir Alexander Galt for the Fisheries Commission, and latterly Sir Francis Hincks for the Boundary Commission, will, I have no doubt, relieve me from such a reproach."

To complete this part of the narrative, the following letter from His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne, is given by permission. It shows that the honor of a title was pressed upon Mr. Mackenzie a second and a third time :

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA, April 26, 1881.

"MY DEAR MR. MACKENZIE,—On a former occasion I expressed the hope that you would allow me to ask Her Majesty to confer a mark of honor upon you, and you told me that there were circumstances of a private nature which induced you to decline my proposal at that time. You will, I know, not take it ill that I wish to repeat my request, and to mention the reasons why it is that I trust you will now consent.

"A large private fortune is, in this country, possessed by, I may say, no public man, and any Title cannot in any sense be said to be 'supported' (as the phrase runs in England) by any qualification other than the part which has been borne in public life by the bearer. The dignity here, being personal, and not hereditary, can only be the recognition by the Sovereign of the position occupied by a man amongst his fellow countrymen, and is thus only a recognition by the First and abiding Representative of the people, of that people's election.

"I need not say, what all feel, that a proper regulation of honors is better than the wholesale appropriation of them so conspicuously seen in the United States, the assumption of distinguishing titles there being the result of the impossibility of a Party-Head, such as a President, becoming the impartial channel for the rendering on the part of the nation of honors where they are due to leaders of both political camps.

"Our people have never broken with the custom that men should be so honored, and I think you will agree that it is not to one political party alone that such appointments should be made. I am desirous to have very few men designated for titles in Canada, but that these should be indubitably men who have been raised by their party to foremost places.

“Although you may be disposed to take some exception to my pleading for this custom of our people, I am perfectly certain that you alone of all men in Canada, no matter to what party they belong, will disagree with me if you would remove yourself from the number of those whom they would wish to see distinguished by the Sovereign. It is because I know it would be universally approved that I ask you to let me forward my request to Her Majesty that you become my brother in knighthood.

“Besides the satisfaction your acquiescence would give to young members of the Order, I should like to remind you how gladly Lord Dufferin and older friends of yours in Scotland would hear that you had accepted an Honor from the Queen.

“Believe me, yours sincerely,

“LORNE.

“The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, M.P.”

Mr. Mackenzie replied on the 30th that he felt deeply gratified for His Excellency's very kind expression regarding his position in Canada, and also for affording him another opportunity of having his name submitted to Her Majesty for some mark of the Royal favor. Although when the letter reached him he had not changed his mind on the subject, he felt it due to His Excellency that he should again fully and carefully consider the proposition before replying, and for this reason he had delayed writing for a few days. After giving the subject the fullest thought, he still remained convinced that he should not accept the distinction offered, flattering though he felt it to be.

In a letter of the 4th of August, 1875, to Mr. Mackenzie, in Scotland, inviting him to Clandeboye, Lord Dufferin, referring to candidates for honors, said: “I think if you could arrange for a few scientific and professional men, unconnected with politics, to receive these distinctions, it would be good policy. What we have to fight against in a new country like Canada is to prevent mere wealth being the sole title to social consideration, and this is best done by rewarding intellectual merit.”



CHAPTER XXXVI.

FROM OCEAN TO OCEAN.

The Winter of 1880-1—Beginning of His Illness—His Appearance in His Prime—What He Says About Himself—The Canadian Pacific Railway—The Government Policy—Policy of the Mackenzie Government—Offers of the Two Companies—Mr. Mackenzie's Fight Against Monopoly—The Contract Carried—How the Company Have Fulfilled their Obligations.

THE mysterious illness which had been insidiously for many months undermining Mr. Mackenzie's constitution, produced serious weakening effects in the winter of 1880-1. He continued, however, until the very last session preceding his death, to attend to his Parliamentary duties, invariably feeling better in health in Ottawa than anywhere else, except, perhaps, on his Perthshire hills. As he stood before us in his prime, we saw a figure of medium height, well-proportioned, yet tending towards slenderness of build, but wiry and tough of fibre and alert and lithe in movement, with a fine head well poised, a noble forehead, fair hair, large blue eyes that have a facility for reading character, but that, beaming with kindness, honest men can trust; a nose, the feature which in almost every face is the evidence of power, or the lack of it, long and aquiline; a firm but mobile mouth, around whose lines a little sternness is ever struggling with a larger fund of mirth—a strong, vigorous, well-trained and well-disciplined man, who will undertake whatever work, of whatever kind, his hand may find to do, and will do it with his might. "He possesses,

with many gifts, the often rarer gift of the power to use them."

But now, at the age of nearly 59, a constitutional flaw—a strain of weakness—has manifested itself in this well-constructed and seemingly absolutely perfect framework. Mr. Mackenzie thus speaks of it in a letter to his former secretary, written from Ottawa, on January 26th, 1881 :

"I kept on my feet as long as I could stand. For months I felt something continuously wrong, and when I came here two doctors examined me thoroughly. A specialist in Montreal afterwards did the same. Each agreed that all the vital organs were sound, but said that I had for years over-exerted a not overstrong frame, indisposing it to resist attacks."

And then, after describing the *malaise* from fever which came upon him during the previous summer, he says :

"I have sufficiently recovered to be able to rise from bed, and am now writing my first letter. It takes quite an effort to walk through the house, but I have a feeling of hopefulness that I have got down to hard pan where a sound foundation can be laid ; that is, as sound as can be hoped for at the age of 58 years."

The following is an extract from a letter to Hon. James Young, Galt, at whose house he was often a visitor, written about the same time :

"I was very unwilling to own myself beat, but at last had to do so and abstain from work. I have not felt right for over a year, never sleeping well, never hungry, and often sick, but during all December I got so much worse that I had to obtain the best medical assistance. Three weeks of active treatment has resulted in some improvement. The immediate cause of the illness seems to have been malarial poison in the system, but there was a lack of strength to resist the attack, which I had felt gradually stealing over me since 1878. I lost in that time 22 lbs. in weight, and had hard work sometimes in keeping even the spirit up to the mark. There is no organic disease of any sort, but I am like the ox

in the story of that animal of which poor D'Arcy McGee used to tell, 'a kind o' gi'en out.' The doctors say I must go away as soon as possible for two months. If I feel well enough I will be off after the session on a visit to Sitting Bull, the Mormons, Turks, or that minor African king, who is now making so much bother, with the unpronounceable name, and try to restore my fighting weight and keep intact my moral constitution."

In another note to his secretary, of March 5th, 1881, he still speaks despondingly of the *vis inertiae*. "I am afraid that my usefulness is gone for this session. I will, however, stay until the middle of the month, in the hope that I may be of some service yet with the estimates. I cannot tell you how galling it is to me, accustomed as I have always been to a stirring life, to be forced by sheer weakness to abstain from active effort."

To Mr. James Young, also, he wrote expressing regret that he was not "in good fighting condition," if only for the sake of being able to take his part in the debate on "the Pacific Railway iniquity," on which, he said, "every Tory is ready to damn himself, in order to uphold Sir John. Not ten men," he added, "outside of the Ministry approved of the bill, but they all swallowed it with a wry face."

The letter, from which we have quoted, to Mr. Young was written at the close of the prolonged Parliamentary struggle in the mid-winter of 1880-1 against the proposals of the new Government for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But to understand the ministerial policy from its inception, we must go back to the session of 1879, when Sir Charles Tupper, as Minister of Public Works, brought in a series of resolutions embodying their views on this question.

These resolutions declared the selection of the Burrard Inlet route premature, although it was the route adopted in the end, and asserted that, before beginning the work in

British Columbia, further explorations were necessary. For the construction of the road, an appropriation was made of one hundred millions of acres of land.

There were subsequently grave departures from the course of the previous Government, such as the change of the Lake Superior terminus from the mouth of the Kaministiquia river; the deflection of the line from the narrows of Lake Manitoba to the south of that lake; and the adoption of a route nearer the 49th parallel of latitude. These changes cannot be called improvements; time is surely vindicating the wisdom of Mr. Mackenzie's policy.

On concurrence in the resolutions, Mr. Mackenzie moved an amendment reciting the agreements made at various times to commence construction within two years from the date of the union with British Columbia, and to complete the road within ten years of the date of such union, but stating that there was to be no increase for that purpose in the rates of taxation that existed in 1876. The amendment was negatived, as was also an amendment declaratory of the advantages of the Thompson and Lower Fraser routes over the Bute Inlet route.

On the question of a ratification of a contract, in 1880, for the construction of 100 miles of the road, commencing near the western boundary of Manitoba, Mr. Blake moved that the public interests required that the work in British Columbia should be postponed. This, on the 20th of April, was negatived by 49 to 131.

A resolution was also lost, declaring that the one hundred million acres of land for the construction of the road should be selected and reserved by order-in-council and sold.

On the 21st of October, 1880, the Government entered into a contract with Sir George Stephen and his associates for building the road, and Parliament was summoned on the 9th

of December of that year, two months in advance of the usual time, for the purpose of its ratification. Next day, Sir John A. Macdonald laid the contract on the table of the House.

Mr. Mackenzie moved on the 13th of December for a return of other offers made for the work, which Sir John refusing, Mr. Mackenzie divided the House on the question, characterising the attempt as one to forestall public opinion and prevent its expression. The vote was 112 to 52.

The contract provided for the completion of the undertaking on or before the 1st of May, 1891. The consideration to be given embraced 25,000,000 acres of land, a subsidy in money of \$25,000,000 to the Lake Superior section, those portions of the British Columbia section between Kamloops and Port Moody, and the sixty-five miles of road from Winnipeg southward to the boundary of the United States, known as the Winnipeg branch, the lands required for the roadbed, stations, station grounds, workshops and other purposes of the main lines and the branch lines, the admission free of duty of all material needed for the road and telegraph lines, the right to locate the line where the company saw fit, preserving certain terminal points, the right to lay out and maintain branch roads, the exemption for ever from municipal, provincial and dominion taxation of the company's lands and all other property, and for twenty years no line of railway was "to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from any given point, at or near the Canadian Pacific Railway, except such line as shall run south-west, or to the westward of south-west; nor to within fifteen miles of latitude 49."

The debate on the resolutions and on the bill founded thereupon commenced on the 14th of December, 1880, and continued every day during the sittings of Parliament for a period of

six weeks. Illness prevented Mr. Mackenzie from taking part in the debate until the 12th of January, 1881. He then addressed the House at some length.

“It has been to me, sir,” he commenced, by saying, “a matter of deep regret that, from indisposition, I have not been able up to this time to take a part in one of the most important discussions, if not the most important of all the discussions, which has taken place in Parliament since I have had the honor of a seat here. I have observed, sir, that during my enforced silence some of my opponents, in the press and at public meetings, have ventured the expression of an opinion that I was afraid to meet the redoubtable warriors on the other side of the House. I think that after twenty sessions of Parliament, in which I never failed to have the courage of my convictions, or to take my full share in public life, it might have been taken for granted that, whatever happened, I should at least not be afraid to meet my opponents in debate. There is one thing, sir, I admit I am afraid of; I am always afraid—I have never had the courage—to misrepresent the opinions of my opponents, or misquote their speeches.”

He particularly complained of the unfairness of Sir Charles Tupper, being reminded by him of what was said of an English statesman :

“Nature designed him in her rage
To be the Grafton of his age ;
But after using all the sin,
Forgot to put the virtues in.”

Mr. Mackenzie referred to the very active interest he had taken in support of the Liberal party before he entered political life, in rescuing the North-West from the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company at a time when it was the policy of several gentlemen, “as it was that of the leader of the Tory party in Canada, Sir Edmund Head,” to make the country appear worthless, and to oppose all efforts to obtain a righteous settlement. The obligations regarding the railway

imposed upon him as a Minister and as a member of Parliament, he had faithfully observed so far as he was able, with the means the nation placed at his command, to carry these obligations practically into effect by legislation. In pursuance of that policy he was almost unanimously opposed in the House by the Conservative members. This contract was said to be not in the nature of a monopoly, notwithstanding that the Act provided a special reserve of fifteen miles along the entire boundary of the Dominion, where no hostile company could place a rail. The Minister of Railways said there was a way to evade the monopolists; it was to carry the wheat of the country down by the route of the Nelson river and ship it through the Hudson's Bay to England. The honorable gentleman was far too modest. He should have remembered that there was another way of escape—by the Mackenzie river, and it was said that the Arctic ocean round Behring's straits was open for as long as three weeks in the year. Comparing the present land grant with that proposed by his own Act of 1874, he pointed out, as he had done on the resolutions of 1879, that only one-third of 20,000 acres of land per mile was to pass into the hands of the contractors absolutely; the other two-thirds of the land being retained to be dealt with by the Government of the day, and the proceeds of the sales paid over to the company, and instead of a cash subsidy of \$25,000,000, there was to be a grant of \$10,000 per mile. The cost of the works already constructed and in process of construction by the Government—in pursuance of their policy for the early settlement of the country—between Lake Superior and the Red River and Pembina and Selkirk was to be deducted from the amount of the mileage grant. Here, on the contrary, was a bargain, which, by their own showing, involved an expenditure of \$53,000,000. Then, the 25,000,000

acres of lands were selected lands, and those the honorable gentleman himself placed in 1875 at \$5 per acre. Another feature which struck him with astonishment was the secrecy observed. Was the thing so good that they were afraid of a multitude of offers if they published the terms? Why afraid of Parliament? Why afraid of the people?

Mr. Mackenzie was very severe on the fifteen mile reserve on either side of the road. "The syndicate," he said, "are able to make connection with United States roads wherever they please. There is no hindrance to them. I am prepared to discuss the principle, that no Canadian road should have any connection with any road in the United States. I am prepared to discuss this phase of know-nothingism, this phase of protectionism, this phase of international stupidity, if it is brought before us in a proper shape. But I am not prepared, because I cannot conceive why it is so, to discuss the question why a certain body of men should be privileged to make the connection, and all others refused. Why is this? There must be a reason. What is the reason? Why has Parliament not been favored with the reason? Are hon. gentlemen afraid to take Parliament into their confidence, or do they believe that in this Parliament they are able to carry any measure they like, no matter how repugnant it may be to common sense and morality?"

While the debate was proceeding, a new offer was made on the 14th of January, for the construction and operation of the work by a strong syndicate, with Sir W. P. Howland at its head, and three days afterwards Sir Charles Tupper brought the proposal down to the House. The conditions were much more favorable than those embodied in the contract. Twenty-two millions of dollars, and twenty-two millions of acres were substituted for the twenty-five millions of dollars

and the twenty-five millions of acres, and large reductions were made in the tender in respect of the railway works then in progress, with a practical abandonment of all the monopoly features, and no claim for remission of duties. The sum of \$1,400,000, was deposited with the banks, as earnest for the one million of deposit, by way of security for the due fulfilment of the contract.

On the 18th of January, Mr. Blake moved a very elaborate amendment to Sir Charles Tupper's resolutions, reciting the changes of policy on the part of the Government on this question, the grave departures of the terms of the contract from the Canadian Pacific Railway Act, and the far more favorable conditions of the Howland Company; concluding with the assertion: "that it is not in the public interest that the contract, according to the terms of which the \$25,000,000, and 25,000,000, acres are purposed to be granted, should be legalised." In accordance with the resolution of Sir John A. Macdonald, on 7th January, the debate proceeded thereafter, *de die in diem*, and on a vote being taken upon Mr. Blake's amendment, on the morning of the 26th of January, it was negatived by 140 to 54.

Dozens of pages of the journals were filled with divisions on every kind of amendment, and a whole volume of Hansard was occupied with the speeches, before the fight ended on 1st of February, when the measure of the Government was passed by a vote of 128 to 49.

Whatever may be said of the extraordinary nature of the privileges conferred upon the company, we must admire the wonderful energy they brought to bear in the prosecution of their vast undertaking, which they completed so early as the autumn of 1885. Mr. Mackenzie had feared that the road might be degraded into an inferior line—an apprehension

which happily was not realised, the railway, both in point of stability of construction and excellence of management, being among the best, as it is one of the greatest in the world. The company have established lines and connections throughout the older portions of Canada and in the United States, and have magnificent steamboats of their own on the upper lakes and between the western terminus of the road and the orient, and they have in contemplation a line to span the Atlantic as well. After a few years, there was a relaxation of the fifteen-mile limitation. Further, it must in justice be said, that the railway service in the North-West is marked by great efficiency.

It is pleasant to know that, in the discharge of duty, the severe criticism by Mr. Mackenzie of the concessions of the Government weakened in no manner whatever the feelings of personal friendship and esteem which had long been maintained between him and the leading members of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and which continued until Mr. Mackenzie's death.





CHAPTER XXXVII.

GOES TO EUROPE.

His Opinion of Thomas Carlyle—Starched Faces—Husband and Wife—Carlyle's Philosophy : What Is It?—Goes to Europe—Paris—How to Make Oneself Understood—In Switzerland—Mountain Scenery—Return to England—The House of Commons—John Bright—In Scotland—The Freedom of Inverness—The Familiar Scenes—Describes Edinburgh—Climbing Mountains—Schichallion “By Telescope”—Glasgow—Glencoe—John O'Groat's—Culloden—Professor Blackie—Back in Canada—The Tories Again in Luck—Offer of Trusteeship Declined—The *Reductio ad Absurdum* of Independence.

WHEN Mr. Mackenzie returned to Toronto at the close of the session of 1881 his correspondent thought he would try him with a bit of Carlyle, so he sent him a copy of the life by Froude, then recently published. He was curious to learn what one Scotchman who had risen from lowliness to eminence thought of a contemporaneous countryman, very similar in his life's circumstances, and with many of the same mental characteristics. The ever-growing school of Carlyle's disciples may be interested, as the writer was, in reading Mr. Mackenzie's estimate of their philosopher in domesticity, as portrayed by Carlyle himself in the pages of his quite too candid friend and biographer. This is his reply :

“TORONTO, April 4, 1881.

“MY DEAR BUCKINGHAM,—I received your letter, and also ‘Carlyle.’ I read him, but I cannot say with great admiration. He and his father were too much inclined to worship themselves individually, and each

other. I don't like men who keep their faces stiffly starched in their own families, and assume a sternness that is not human. Carlyle is very censorious as respects every one but his own relatives. There never was such a woman before or since as 'his Goodie,' his 'Jane,' his 'Jeannie mine.' I suspected when reading what he here says about her, that he showed a good deal of his grimness to her while she lived with him, and that now since he had lost her he was striving to make amends by playing the part of weeping philosopher behind her monument. And to-day I see Mrs. Oliphant states that this really is the case. But I always liked the terseness of Carlyle's style and the directness and force of his reasoning. His manners, of course, were not always of the best, as witness his rudeness to a visitor to his own house whose views he did not like: 'Man, you're a puir creetur; a meeserable puir creetur.'

"James Carlyle and his son Thomas were types of the stern—always stern—covenanters, who believed it a mortal sin to kiss one's sweetheart, or even one's wedded wife, on Sunday; who only saw the Judgment Seat, never the Redeemer; who looked to Mount Sinai, not to the Mount of Olives. Noble men in their way, but who could be improved upon very much. And then Carlyle's philosophy—what of it?—what was it?

"I enjoyed very much his sketch of the great critic, Jeffrey.

"I am ever, yours faithfully,

"A. MACKENZIE."

Mr. Mackenzie's criticism is now generally acknowledged to be truthful of Carlyle in what may be called one of his forbidding aspects, but there is certainly another side to a picture whose exquisitely firm and beautiful touches are to be admired in all Carlyle's works, and especially so in his French Revolution. Trevelyan regretted that even Macaulay should never have cared for Carlyle—should never have tasted of the pleasures growing out of the description he gives of Coleridge's talk, in the "Life of John Sterling;" a regret we fear we must feel for a man much less widely read, of course, than Lord Macaulay, but still a man so very widely read as Alexander Mackenzie.

About the same time Mr. Mackenzie wrote: "I have felt better this last week, but still symptoms remain which I do not like. In consequence I have concluded to take a run to Europe, where there will be a complete change of air, and climate to suit by moving south or north. Mrs. Mackenzie goes with me. Won't you go too? Our kind regards to you and all your family, and in case I do not see you again before we leave, I will also say good-bye."

Accordingly, the next letter is from Paris, and bears the date of May 31, 1881:

"MY DEAR BUCKINGHAM,—I know it will interest you to hear from us while we are in Europe, and I shall have much pleasure in writing to you from time to time. We had an exceptionally good voyage, and of course we reached London to find rain. Consequently we came to Paris to enjoy the sunny climate. We arrived here on the 20th, and leave tomorrow or the day after for Geneva. We will spend three days in Switzerland and two in Brussels, reaching London about 10th June, and Edinburgh about 18th—and then for the heather for six good weeks! . . .

"France seems prosperous. The Republic, like the Empire, 'is peace,' but Gambetta is as much dictator as was Napoleon. The city and weather are alike delightful. I walk all I can, then ride—mostly on the top of the omnibuses, the best way to see the city. I vary my pleasures now and then by a row with a cabman. My French vocabulary is neither large nor select, but what I have I freely use. I know some powerful adjectives and nouns, but being in the minority, and therefore weak, I cannot always relieve my mind. When utterly perplexed, I sometimes try the Gaelic, especially as I can express myself in the original with greater force and freedom, and without offence.

"The language of signs is very useful to those who can talk, as well as to those who are dumb. Yesterday I had an intelligent cabby for two or three hours. He had not one word of English, but we kept up a most interesting conversation, nevertheless. He showed me all the objects of interest, and made me understand what they were. But we both stuck at the mint, until, at last, he took out of his pocket a coin, pointed to it, and then to the building. In turn, I went through the pantomime

of stamping money, and showed him my stock of gold, silver and copper. He shouted, 'oui, oui,' delighted to know that he had succeeded in imparting useful information.

"Mrs. Mackenzie joins me in sending you both all good wishes, and trusting you are well, I am,

"Ever faithfully yours,

"A. MACKENZIE."

This is part of a letter from Mr. Mackenzie to his brother Robert, dated :

"INTERLAKEN, June 3rd, 1881.

"We are here in the very centre of the Switzerland and the Bernese Alps, a position of inconceivable grandeur. Interlaken is a little like Dunkeld. If the latter had a hill at Murthly, and it, as well as Birnam, Craig-Vinean, and Craigie-y-Barns, were five times their present height, with the Tay as a lake twelve miles by three wide, it would resemble Interlaken. We drove out to-day to Grindelwald, fifteen miles. The drive was exhilarating for its grandeur. The lower hills were clad with wood, spruce mainly, but the tops were bare of woods of all kinds, with more or less snow. Now and then we got glimpses of the Jungfrau, Wetterhorn, Straushorn, Matterhorn, and other mountains, all clad with deep snow, glistening in the bright sunshine. The whole way out was seemingly by a grand pass made for a road. You can imagine Killiecrankie multiplied fifty times, and you would not exaggerate the proportions. One of the Free Church ministers we met at Paris said he was six days at Geneva and Chamouny waiting to get a look at Mount Blanc, and never got it; the surly beggar, he said, kept on his night-cap and great coat the whole time. We were more fortunate. We saw this monarch of mountains all the time we were in Geneva, and on our way to Lausanne, as well as his associates in that Alpine range."

Here is a portion of another letter to Mr. Buckingham from London, June 14th, 1881 :

"We have now got back to London after a tour of Switzerland, Prussia, Baden and Belgium. I am certainly in a general sense better. True, my strength has not returned, as I had hoped, but I am, I dare say, a little impatient. (I wish some one would confound this pen). We had ten days

in Paris (this a better pen), two days in Geneva, the cradle of Calvinism, some hours in Berne, two days in Interlaken, viewing the mountains and glaciers, and one day, between the towns of Lucerne and Interlaken, crossing what is called the Brünig Pass.

"We had a grand sight of many prominent points, ascending the mountain face, zig-zag ways, and looking into the valley below. Our five-horse team went up slowly and well, but the rascal who was driving dashed down an awfully unprotected road as if Satan were after him, as he probably was. I admit I was myself a little nervous at times, looking from my top seat down a perpendicular rock or bank for many hundreds of feet. We went from Lucerne to see the sun rise on the mountain tops of the Rigi. A railway ascends the hill, rising 1000 feet to the mile. I wanted, as time was short and the evening wet, to pass this, but Mrs. Mackenzie seemed strangely determined to go up—and up we went. Of course, we soon had a great view beneath our feet, and we passed along some really frightful places where a very little movement would have sent us head foremost into valleys and gorges seemingly without a bottom. Mrs. Mackenzie slept none that night, as she had to traverse the same road in the morning, and she informed me she was more than satisfied! Discomfort added to our apprehensions, the fine Summit Hotel being extremely cold, as seven inches of snow had fallen during this June night, and the morning on the mountains looked as if the sun would rise no more.

"From there we went to Zurich, thence to Schaffhausen, Basle, Heidelberg, Mayence, Cologne, and Brussels, and from there to Ostend and Dover, where we spent Sunday, and heard an English preacher speak of 'the sparrows that skim through our hair!' I will tell you more of our tourist experience and reflections some night when you come to Toronto. We leave for Scotland on Friday.

"I was in the House of Commons last night, and witnessed some hours wasted in verbal criticism on the land bill—criticism so small that I wondered at Mr. Gladstone's patience. The conduct of the obstructionists was scandalous in the extreme. We would never stand it at all in Ottawa. I talked with John Bright, whom I found not so enthusiastic as he used to be about the cause of Ireland.

"Yours faithfully,

"A. MACKENZIE."

He was among the old haunts later in the month, climbing the hills, but still physically weak. He writes from Dunkeld on the 26th June :

“ I got to this old Roman Catholic Cathedral town on Friday. Already I have climbed some of the beautiful hills, and visited all the familiar scenes of my boyhood days. So far I have met but one of my former schoolfellows. Nearly every one of my near relatives is gone ; so that, while enjoying the scenery, it is associated with a feeling of sadness which I cannot shake off. I cannot say my strength is much greater than when I left home.”

Towards the close of July they went north to Wick and to Inverness, where the freedom of the Royal Burgh, the capital of the Highlands, was conferred upon Mr. Mackenzie, and at the same time a handsomely-bound book of beautifully photographed Scottish scenery, embellished with the borough arms, was presented to Mrs. Mackenzie, accompanied by the following pleasant little note :

“ From the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Inverness to Mrs. Alexander Mackenzie, on the occasion of the presentation of the freedom of the Royal Burgh of Inverness to her husband, the Honorable Alexander Mackenzie, ex-Premier of Canada, as a small memento of their visit to the capital of the Highlands.

“ ALEX. FRASER, *Provost*.

“ Town Hall, Inverness, 29th July, 1881.”

There are several interesting gossipy letters from Mr. Mackenzie to his brothers, written while he was in Scotland, mainly descriptive of the old familiar places and persons. He was very indignant at the tyranny which was still exercised by the landed interest against the tenants, on political grounds, and gave instances of it where refusals had been made to re-lease to good Liberal holders ; compliant Tory voters having been preferred, even at a loss in rents, in one case of as

much as £40 per annum. The correspondence in the newspapers, he said, gave evidence of a not-distant struggle for a Scottish land bill. He observed, too, in some religious circles, much continued bitterness towards the Free Church.

In a letter to his brother Charles there is one of the many pleasant glimpses which his correspondence gives of Edinburgh:

"We are lodged in the splendid house of our kind host and hostess on the margin of Arthur's Seat. Though we see only the hill, on looking out at the window, yet we are close to the populous city. No place we have seen will for a moment compare with Edinburgh for natural beauty, chaste architecture, wide streets, or places of resort for the people. Paris has its grand park, the Bois de Boulogne, but it is miles away from the city population. It has also its Tuileries, and Elysée Gardens and Luxembourg, but Arthur's Seat has more natural beauty than all combined. And besides being close at hand, you can get good walks either high or low. The view from every point is marvellous in its picturesqueness. Mr. — and I went out after dinner last night, and walked on the hill nearly two hours. It was swarming with human beings, but room remained for thousands more. The sweet Scottish dialect was heard on every side. We passed the well Scott immortalised in his 'Heart of Mid Lothian' as the trysting place. Mr. — told me that he took Henry Ward Beecher to the top, having exacted a promise that he would not look up until told to do so. When they got to the right place, the sun burst out from the clouds and lighted up the whole city. Beecher was in raptures. He raised both hands, exclaiming: 'Magnificent queen of cities!' He also took him to Knox's house. When about to write his name in the visitors' book, no chair was to be found, and as the table was low, he knelt down to it. He rose, and while brushing off the dust, he said: 'Well, Knox is the only man I would go on my knees to.' While many of the great English cities are chiefly hives of human beings, quartered in rows of poor brick houses, seemingly built by the mile for temporary occupancy, Edinburgh is built of stone—nearly all cut stone—and looks as if designed to last for ever. Except Princes-street, Edinburgh, there are finer streets than any here in Brussels and Paris; but these cities are disfigured by many very nar-

row thoroughfares, while in this city the streets are nearly all wide and handsome. London, Brussels and Paris have no sea view ; last night I saw here the whole Forth well up to Stirling on one side to the Bass Rock, and Berwick on the other, forming a magnificent frame work for the grand old city, while the view landward for some miles is the perfection of landscape. The Palais of Justice at Brussels is finer than anything here. Paris has two buildings, the beautiful Madeleine Church and the Opera House, which this city cannot match. London has the Parliament buildings and many others equal to anything in Edinburgh, but not any better. Paris and Brussels are not smoky, like London and Edinburgh. London, in this respect is, of course, the worst. The new English Cathedral here is a grand building."

From Pitlochry he wrote to Charles :

"It seems Ann Scrimgeour was 80 when she died, or as Sandy (her son) put it, '*only* 80.'

"We climbed Schichallion, but, like Mark Twain, 'by telescope.' It rains every day as regularly as possible, but in detached showers. Sometimes it comes from Strathtay, sometimes from Blair, and sometimes from the South. From Ben-Vrackie's summit we could see four distinct showers going on at once—one from the sides of Ben-y-Gloe, down Strathardle ; one in Glengarry ; one in Strath Tummel, and one in Strathtay. We were all the time dry and in sunshine. The people here (Pitlochry) sympathised with us on account of the rain, not knowing that we were above the clouds looking down upon the drenched districts."

To the same, from Glasgow, Aug. 7th :

"We arrived in this begrimed city on Tuesday evening. On that morning we left Ballachulish and drove through Glencoe. Glencoe is a gloomy, narrow glen. We had a bright, sunny day, but even with that, the desolate look of the valley was all but depressing. The mountains are grand, almost awful. We passed the ruins of the Macdonald's houses, which were thrown down after the massacre of Glencoe. The driver pointed out the house, or rather the ruins, of the brave and chivalrous chief, McIan. (The Englishman on the coach made a syllable of the I, and laid the emphasis on it, sounding it Mac I an). I recalled all the incidents of that shocking crime, and many of the succeeding evictions during the next cen-

tury, and wondered at the patience of the suffering people. The treatment was worse than anything that happened in Ireland. We had already seen Fingal's Cave, in Staffa. We now found in this valley Ossian's Cave and his shower bath. The latter is a pretty waterfall, some thousand feet up the hillside ; the cave is at least two thousand feet up, with a large open door, probably thirty feet high. Three of the mountains stand here together, each with a tremendous, frowning, precipitous rocky face. They are called 'The Sisters.' It needed no effort of the imagination to picture in them the three witches in the weird scene of Macbeth, and the valley itself as the cauldron in which they stirred their hell broth. The road constantly ascended, but sometimes so quickly that the passengers had to walk, so as to relieve our four good horses, until we reached an altitude of one thousand six hundred feet, at about thirty miles from Ballochulish. In these thirty miles we saw—two houses !—one of them an inn, where horses were kept to change teams. The hills of Glenorchy and Glenlyon, so far as we could see them, are the most shapely we have met with ; green to the top, and very steep, but no precipices. About ten miles from Tyndrum we came upon a few buildings. One of them was a Free Church edifice, about eighteen by thirty at the outside, built of corrugated iron. Another was the Established Church, a stone structure, with one window in the walls and two sky-lights on the side next to us. The Tyndrum innkeeper told us we were the first party that got the ride this season without rain.

"Glasgow is the most dirty city with soot to be found on the face of the earth. The atmosphere is laden with it, dry or wet. One sees nothing but oceans of smoke. There are many fine buildings here, but the finest architectural work in the city is ruined in appearance by the sooty incrustations, which hide alike mouldings and foliage. One cannot breathe in the streets without coating stomach and lungs with soot. Mr. ——— declares that even at his place, if he expectorates, it seems as if he had drunk ink.

"If one, to get rid of the atmosphere, looks at the water, the improvement is not apparent. The Clyde is most offensive. When I worked here, 42 years ago, the Kelvin was a pretty little river ; now it is as bad as the Clyde. Then it was a charming rural district ; now the city extends a mile beyond it down the river.

"Now, let me say with Paul : 'See how large a letter I have written with my own hand,' and conclude."

The visit to Scotland was beneficial towards the last, and was attended with temporary relief. Writing to his former secretary on Sept. 7th, after his return to Toronto, he says: "Thanks for your 'welcome home.' I gained nearly 20 lbs. before I left Scotland, and I never lose anything in weight at sea. I feel as lively and as free from complaint as I ever did in my life. In Scotland, I kept as quiet as possible, only appearing in public at Inverness, at an hour's notice, and very unwillingly, but I could not avoid it with proper courtesy to a kind people. I was obliged also, for the same reason, to go to a few formal dinners at Glasgow and Greenock, but, though they were semi-public, there were no reporters."

There is a breezy, buoyant, heathery tone in a letter to Mr. James Young, written at about the same time. He was 33 lbs. below his normal weight when he left home, but only 15 lbs. below it when he returned. "We had two full months among the heather. There is no place in summer days like the Scottish hills. We went to John O'Groat's house, the northern jumping-off place, saw the fishing fleet at Wick, and visited the battle field at Culloden. I am no Jacobite, but that field, thickly peopled by the graves of the clans, and the recollections of Cumberland's barbarities to the poor but loyal Highlanders, roused in my mind a feeling of deep indignation towards that brutal man, and of deep sympathy for the devoted but mistaken Celts. The bed the prince lay on the night before in Culloden House is still there, exactly as it was on that day. We visited Staffa and Iona, passing through the land of Morven, on our way. I believe in Ossian all the more, after seeing that country. Professor Blackie was with us one of the days. The magnificent grey-haired old man said to me: 'Look at these glorious hills! How could anyone live here, and not be a poet?' In passing through the

Cameron country, where the prince raised his standard, I saw one well-peopled churchyard containing none but Camerons. I don't know where they buried the Christians! Altogether, we had a very pleasant time, and a complete rest."

He was never "down on his luck," as the phrase goes, but he might be pardoned if he were a trifle envious of the luck of his rivals. Do or do not two little paragraphs from a letter of the 23rd of September betray this feeling? "Between good harvests here in Canada for three years, and very bad ones in England, these rascals have the devil's own luck. You never designate that personage, do you, with the dignity of a capital D?"

Said Mr. Goldwin Smith at that time in the *Bystander*:

"The causes of commercial improvement and of the present rise, not to say inflation, of all stocks and securities, are two good harvests and the revival of the lumber trade, in connection with the general termination of the crisis in the United States and over the world at large. The cause is not increased taxation, however skilfully the new taxes may have been adjusted."

At this same period—several years, of course, after he had retired from office, and at a time when money which he could honestly earn was very welcome—Sir George Stephen, without consulting him, named him as one of the trustees for the holders of the land grant bonds of the Canadian Pacific Railway, with a fair amount of emolument attached. The motives of President Stephen and his associates were most delicate and honorable, and the acceptance of the position involved no surrender of principle. Mr. Mackenzie, feared, however, that his future action might be fettered; that he might be misunderstood by the country; that the Liberal party might suffer; and he therefore declined.

There is no question that on every moral ground Mr. Mac-

kenzie would have been fully justified in accepting this trusteeship. It was an outside, independent transaction, and the trust was created for the security of the bondholders rather than for the benefit of the members of the syndicate. As to the way the Liberal party might be affected, had not Mr. Mackenzie sacrificed enough for it already? Moreover, the quarrel of the Liberals was with the Government, on their railway policy, not with the company themselves, and the company had no control over the trustees, once their appointment was made. It was an irrevocable appointment for life, or during the currency of the bonds. The sole object of the syndicate was to secure the services of men in whom the bondholders would have confidence. They were disappointed at Mr. Mackenzie's refusal, and said it seemed as though in their national undertaking they were doomed to be alienated from every prominent Liberal with whom they had political or personal friendships. The matter of the propriety of the thing was not regarded by some other people in the same light as it appeared to Mr. Mackenzie, for a Minister of the Crown had already signified his acceptance as co-trustee.

His reasons for declining may be learned from the following extract from a letter: "You will have observed that the syndicate nominated me as a trustee a few days ago. I do not think I can accept. I will be much obliged if you will tell me what you think. Morally and legally I have a perfect right to do so. But is it expedient? Will it not be suspected that it may affect me, perhaps imperceptibly, in my judgment? May it not injure my influence, and, through me, our friends? Tell me what you think. The honorarium, I believe, is \$2,000 per annum. If I could earn that with perfect propriety, I would not object to such an increase to my income, but I need hardly say to you I would not for all the thousands that could

be offered place myself in an equivocal position, in which it would be possible to impugn my integrity, or through which the standing of the Liberal party could be weakened."

He was tried, too, by the offer of dignified and lucrative employment elsewhere than in the Dominion, but it was no temptation to him; he had given his life and his fortunes to Canada.

In pursuance of his cherished independence of spirit, Mr. Mackenzie was punctilious to an absurd degree. It was the happiness of himself and Mrs. Mackenzie during his term of office to celebrate their silver wedding. The 17th of June, 1878, was the anniversary. Nothing was said about it until the day of days came round, when they gave a small party to the Ministers, who happened to be then in town, and to a very few of their other more intimate friends. Two or three of the invited sent during the day little appropriate presents with their congratulations. Ridiculous as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that the gifts gave Mr. Mackenzie real misery for a time. He thought that in some way they compromised him; that he could not afterwards be as free as he was before with the givers. Perhaps he thought it an attack upon his independence. He besought one of the number to get the rest to take the presents away, and he treated the matter so seriously and sorrowfully and severely that nobody had the heart or the courage to laugh his scruples out of countenance.

"My evening's enjoyment with a few friends," he wrote, "is utterly destroyed by the sending of presents. I must beg of you to take your own back, and ask (naming the delinquents), to do the same. This is the greatest favor you can do me. I never felt so mortified in my life. It looks as if we had got the little evening party up on purpose. Pray let nothing deter you from yielding to my wishes."

Of course, the individual to whom this imploring request

was made did nothing of the kind. A little banter was tried instead, but it was found not to work. The evening passed off as well as could be expected under such circumstances, with the contraband goods on the premises, but stowed carefully out of sight. It was thought that the nightmare had passed away; but it evidently continued to trouble the good man, for next morning the wretched individual already referred to had at last his dormant conscience pricked by receiving from a departmental messenger an envelope covering the following:

“MEMORANDUM.

“I understand the ‘donors’ last night were (naming the delinquents again). I told Mrs. Mackenzie to have all the articles wrapped up and returned, taking it for granted, that as requested, you spoke to them all. If you missed any, I wish you would write each one a note to say that while we felt exceedingly obliged for their mindfulness, we, at the same time, have personal objections to the practice, which compels us to decline an adherence to it in our own case.

“A. M.”

All this may seem to the reader to be the excess of scrupulousness, but it was not in the least degree affected; it was very honest and very sincere.





CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GREAT GERRYMANDER.

Parliament Dissolved—Mr. Mackenzie Retires from Lambton to Accept East York—The Canvass—During it He is Stricken Down—Redeems the Riding—Another Tariff Change—The Great Gerrymander—How the Measure was Designated in Parliament—Hiving of the Grits—The Process of Manufacture of Tory Constituencies—Officials Superseded as Returning Officers—Sir John A. Macdonald's Own Arguments Against the Measure—Is the Principle of Gerrymander Constitutional?—Power to Canada to Negotiate Her Own Treaties—"A British Subject I was Born," etc.—Ringling Speech from Mr. Mackenzie in Reply—The Flourish of the Flag, and "The Flag of Common Sense"—"Wasted Opportunities."

THE life of the first Parliament of Sir John A. Macdonald, after his return to power, was shortened by a year for the ostensible purpose of reaffirming the principle of protection. The speech proroguing Parliament on the 17th of May, 1882, was a profession of congratulation on the alleged success of the N. P. during the previous four years, accompanied by the expression of a belief that it would be yet more marked could assurance be given that the trade and fiscal policy was to remain unchanged. In order to a confirmation of that policy, and to bring into operation the Representation Bill, which had been recently passed, prorogation was but the precursor of an early dissolution. The polling took place on the 20th of June, 1882.

The resolution to dissolve did not take the country by surprise. It had been very generally reported for a considerable

time previously that such was Sir John A. Macdonald's intention. The political forces had therefore buckled on their armour, and were prepared to take the field.

Before Parliament assembled in 1882, an invitation had been given to Mr. Mackenzie to contest East York. A Reform convention was held at Unionville, on 1st December, 1881, and was the largest known in the riding. Mr. Mackenzie was the unanimous choice. He had not then been consulted. His permanent residence was in Toronto, and he naturally preferred, as his health was shattered, to sit for a constituency of which the city he lived in formed a part, to the distant county of Lambton, warmly as he was attached to it for its earlier home and for its unwavering and generous fidelity. He therefore decided to accept the invitation from the friends in East York, who stood by him to the last with a loyalty which has never been surpassed in political warfare.

On January 30th, the President of the East York Association received Mr. Mackenzie's acceptance, and though the riding was among the constituencies that were shamefully "gerrymandered" by the Dominion Act, passed in the session of that year, so as to secure Mr. Mackenzie's defeat, he won the seat. On the 19th of May he made his first appearance as a candidate in the riding. He was met at Woburn by the officers of the association and a great array of his admirers, who formed a procession and, headed by two bands, marched to Malvern, where an overflow public meeting was held, the chair being taken by the late Mr. J. P. Wheler. In reply to an address of welcome, Mr. Mackenzie delivered a spirited speech, almost his last, as a few days afterwards he was stricken down at Gormley's Corners, while canvassing the riding, and never afterwards fully recovered the use of his voice. He closed his Malvern speech by saying that this was the tenth campaign

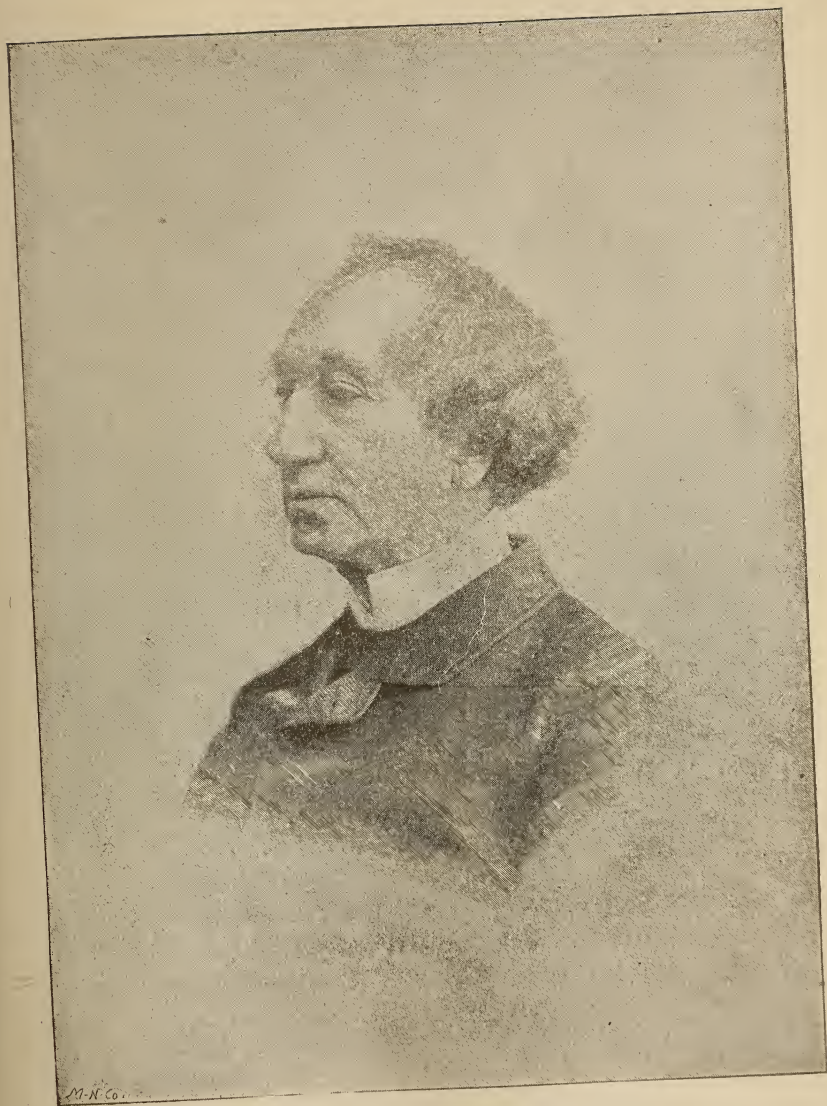
in which he had been engaged. He had never lost an election, and he did not mean to lose this. And he did not. He defeated his opponent, Mr. Alfred Boulton, by a majority of 108 votes. He retained the seat to the day of his death. Among his supporters were many of the better class of Conservatives, who admired him for his honesty and ability, and who rallied to his standard throughout. He highly appreciated these tokens of esteem and confidence, which he had won by his upright conduct.

In the session of 1882 there was a still further change in the tariff, which gave occasion for a review once more of the protection policy of the Government. We refer to the matter simply in order to make a quotation from the speech of Sir Richard Cartwright, illustrative of the position to which the country had already been brought. Speaking of the Government, he said: "They are, from day to day, interfering with every liberty which we yet continue to possess. They talk of Canada still being a free country! Why, sir, I tell them to-day that Canada is a country in which no man is free to buy or to sell, to eat or to drink, to travel or to stand still, without paying to some extortioner a toll."

When the gerrymander bill was being debated in April, 1882, Mr. Mackenzie scathingly criticised the conduct of Sir John A. Macdonald, for introducing "so villainous a measure," declaring that it ought to bring to his cheeks the blush of shame. He spoke also of the sinister influences at work to so manipulate the electoral districts as to turn them into Tory preserves, and to rob the people of their liberties. In his own case, he heard the Tory candidate for the riding say that the municipalities of the county had been so arranged at Ottawa that neither Mackenzie nor Widdifield would have the slightest chance of success, and the arrangements described

were precisely those which were embodied in the bill then before the House. And it was by such infamous schemes that the Premier proposed to destroy a large political party in his own Province—he who as head of the Government was supposed to administer the affairs of the country with some regard to fair play, and to respect the interests of the whole Dominion more than the interests of a portion of it. It was the duty of Ministers, with their large majority, to pay some respect to the principles of justice and equality to all classes, but instead of this they were the authors of a measure which could be characterised in no milder language than that it was a masterpiece of political trickery.

Never did measure more richly deserve the designation. Mr. Blake called it a cowardly measure—Sir Richard Cartwright, a dishonest and treacherous measure—Mr. Mills, the measure of an irresponsible Mexican chief or a lawmaker of Peru. It was a measure which laid the axe to every principle lying at the base of the constitution. The Government had borrowed the idea, with the name by which the operation was designated, from the United States, but had made it more odious than any gerrymander ever attempted in that country. In a great number of the constituencies, as they at that time existed, the votes of the two parties were evenly balanced, only a few being required to turn the scale to the one side or the other, so that both parties had what is called a fighting chance. The bill was framed so as in all possible cases not only to turn the scale of doubtful ridings to the Tory side, but to make hitherto reasonably safe Reform constituencies secure for Tory candidates. This was accomplished by what was known as “hiving the Grits”—throwing into counties which had already majorities of several hundreds of Reformers, many hundreds of Reform votes in addition, so as to leave the



Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B.

field clear in the adjoining counties for Tory nominees. To effect this, among the other purposes of the scheme, county, riding, township, town and village boundaries were ruthlessly invaded, municipal lines were broken down in every direction, communities municipally united were politically torn asunder, voters who, since they had first received the suffrage were accustomed to poll with their friends and associates in business or in the election of councillors or in school matters, were now sent across the borders to mingle with those who had hitherto been strangers to them, and, except at election times, were to remain so still. The only causes that could be assigned for these violent and far-extending changes were the necessity to secure seats for four new members, which the census gave to Ontario, and to arrange for two readjustments of seats, respectively in Lincoln and Stormont, making available two members more, by eliminating the town of Niagara as a separate constituency, and adding it to Lincoln, and wiping out the town of Cornwall, in the same manner, and incorporating it with Stormont. Each one of the six members thus to be provided for was capable of being seated by the minimum of disturbance. But instead of adopting a simple and just method, a measure was forced upon the country which Mr. Blake rightly designated as revolutionary, seeing that it reconstructed the entire political map of the Province.

To add to the iniquity of the bill, it also took out of the hands of officials of character and standing their functions as returning officers, so as to enable the Government to place these important judicial and administrative duties in the hands of irresponsible partisans of their own choosing, thus reversing the legislation which was successful after a long and severe struggle of the Mackenzie Government in 1874.

In the various divisions on the measure, the Government

had their normal vote of over two to one. The Opposition, through the influences already set in operation against them, were unable to muster more than a little over 50 votes, and it was the design of this cowardly legislation, at the hands of a brute majority, to further reduce that vote to the number of the hived constituencies.

Perhaps the strongest arguments against the principle of the bill were furnished by Sir John A. Macdonald himself, when he brought in his measure for readjustment in 1872. "The desire of the Government," he then said, "has been to preserve the representations for counties and sub-divisions of counties as much as possible. It is considered objectionable to make representation a mere geographical term. It is desired as much as possible to keep the representation within the county, so that each county that is a municipality of Ontario shall be represented, and if it becomes large enough, divide it into ridings. That principle is carried out in the suggestions I am about to make. That rule was broken in 1867, in three constituencies, viz., Bothwell, Cardwell, Monck; and I do not think on the whole that the experiment has proved a successful one." He then proceeded to show how it was unsuccessful. A young man of administrative capacity commenced by being elected by his neighbors to the township council; then, as reeve or deputy reeve, he became a member of the county council; in due course, if of approved ability, the representative of that constituency in Parliament. "It is, I think, a grand system that the people of Canada should have the opportunity of choosing for political promotion the men in whom they have the most confidence, and of whose abilities they are fully assured. All that great advantage is lost by cutting off a portion of two separate counties and adding them together for electoral purposes only. Those portions so cut off have no common interest; they do

not meet together, and they have no common feeling except that once in five years they go to the polls in their own township to vote for a man who may be known in one section and not in the other. This tends towards the introduction and development of the American system of caucuses, by which wire-pullers take adventurers for their political ability only, and not for any personal respect for them. So that, as much as possible, from any point of view, it is advisable that counties should refuse men whom they do not know, and when the representation is increased, it should be by sub-dividing the counties into ridings."

The constitutionality of the manipulation of the constituencies by the process of gerrymander has recently been tested in some of the states of the neighboring union, where the practice had its origin, and the courts have decided against it. In the Supreme Court of Michigan the judges concurred in declaring that it was never contemplated to give an elector two or three times more influence in one district than an elector in another district, equality in such matters lying at the base of the free governmental system. The case was admirably put by Justice McGrath, when he said: "The purpose of the constitutional enactment is to secure as nearly as possible equality of representation. Any apportionment which defeats that purpose is vicious, contrary not only to the letter, but to the spirit of our institutions, and subversive of popular government. Power secured or perpetuated by unconstitutional methods is power usurped, and usurpation of power is a menace to free institutions."

By giving effect to the demand for the transference in Canada of the trial of election petitions from the committees of Parliament to the courts, we have already had acknowledgment of the fact that partisan majorities cannot be trusted to

do justice to minorities, and there is still greater cause for the removal from the party arena of the decennial readjustments of the electoral districts.

On April 21st, 1882, on a resolution for going into committee of supply, Mr. Blake, in pursuance of a principle which had long been contended for by the Liberal party, and supported by some Conservatives, moved that it is expedient to obtain the necessary powers for Canada to make direct her commercial arrangements with any British possessions or foreign state. He supported the contention in a splendid argument, illustrating the continued growth and development of the constitution in the direction of the popular principle of government, both as respects Great Britain herself and her colonies. Sir John A. Macdonald met the proposition by the ancient cry of danger to the constitution, and the repetition of his familiar formula: "A British subject I was born, and a British subject I will die." The super-loyalty gush was too much for Mr. Mackenzie. He was speedily on his feet with a ringing speech.

"There is no man in Canada, Sir," said he, "who holds party obligations stronger than I do, and no man in Canada who would sooner reject party obligations than lift a hand or a finger, by motion or otherwise, to disturb the relations that exist between Britain and her colonies; and although something very like threats may be used, occasionally in order to compel an argument that is otherwise devoid of force to be presented to some persons' minds in a forcible way, we must look at the facts in the case, and consider for ourselves whether the policy propounded by my honorable friend from Durham (Mr. Blake) is one that would have a tendency in the direction I have indicated. I have lived long enough, Sir, in Canada, to know that it has been the policy of the Tory party, almost from the beginning of our history, whenever a movement was made tending to expand the liberties of the people, to cry out that there was danger of the connection with Great Britain. I have found from the earliest

period of our parliamentary history that this has been the case ; and I am surprised and pained to find that, at this advanced period of our history, leading statesmen in the country can still resort to that paltry policy. I listened, Sir, to-day, with the greatest possible care, to every word that fell from the honorable leader of the Government in his somewhat impetuous declamatory reply to the member for Durham. I can only say he failed entirely to convince me that there was the slightest danger of what he pretended to fear. The honorable gentleman usually makes a much better appearance in argument than he did to-day. What position are we in ? The Minister of Public Works (Sir Hector Langevin) spoke with great contempt of the number of our population, our paltry four or five millions, and asked, were they to be compared with the interests of the Empire ? I believe, on the other hand, that everything that extends the liberties of Canadians, everything that accords to Canada and her statesmen greater breadth of view in the management of their own affairs, is more likely to conduce to the advancement of Imperial interests and greatness than any curbing policy that keeps us down to the grindstone. It has been the policy of English statesmen, who have the management of our affairs, from the first, to consider colonists inferior to themselves. I can recall the words even of such men as Lord Grey, of Lord Russell, and of Lord Metcalfe, each one of whom has placed on record his belief that full responsible government is not well suited to colonists, and I have read the despatches of Lord Russell and Lord Glenelg to the Governor-General, frequently warning him not to extend the principle of responsible government to Canadians further than so far as might be consistent with the maintenance of the colonial relation. I believe we are really as capable of managing our own political affairs as the House of Commons in England."

So late, said Mr. Mackenzie, as 1854 or 1855, Lord Derby had expressed a fear that if a measure of domestic concern to the Dominion—he believed it was a change in the constitution of the Upper Chamber—became law, we might say farewell to British connection with Canada, and only six or seven years ago Lord Kimberley had sent the Earl of Dufferin a despatch instructing him that it was not necessary to consult his minis-

ters except when it suited his purpose to do so. A specimen this of the modern Whig statesman. But Sir John A. Macdonald himself had made some progress on the road to direct intercourse by the appointment of Sir Alexander Galt as a quasi-ambassador to Europe. Sir Alexander Galt was an advocate of the principle to the full extent, and not being content to sit in an outer room until his opinion might be required, or to go in at the back door while the other ambassador went in by the front, he was indisposed to submit longer to the humiliation. Mr. Mackenzie went on to show how insincere was the pretence that the course proposed would weaken the connection, coming as it did from those who had struck a mortal blow at Great Britain by their policy of protection. He repudiated the doctrine enunciated by Sir John of reciprocal legislation in the interchange of products, as lacking in the essential element of permanence of purpose, and, reverting again to the main issue, said he could not recall a single treaty with the United States, managed by British statesmen, in which Canada and British America were not worsted, and the only time when the Dominion got fair play was in the fishery arbitration at Halifax, which was managed by his own Government. Regarding the flourish of the flag, he said:

“I have sat, I think, two sessions opposite the right honorable gentleman, and I am sure that during that time I have often heard the same threat, and many a time I have seen gentlemen like the Honorable Minister of Public Works (Sir Hector Langevin) raising the British flag with the greatest enthusiasm, in order to rally his dispirited followers. It is an easy matter, Sir, to raise the flag; but let us raise the flag of common sense for a little while, and consider, not those high-flown sentiments of extreme devotion and loyalty which the honorable gentleman dealt in so greatly to-night, but let us consider soberly and reasonably what is best for Canada as Canada, and what is best for Canada as part of the

British Empire. I have no doubt whatever our true policy is to obtain self-action in almost everything which relates to our own business."

He laughed at the idea of a training school being necessary for Canadian diplomats, rightly contending that every requirement was met in the persons of statesmen with a knowledge of commercial and business affairs. "I, for one," he said, in conclusion, "will give my cordial support to anything that will extend our liberty of action, and make us entirely equal in all respects to other Legislatures, and the Ministers of the mother country itself."

On the division, Mr. Blake's proposition was negatived by 58 votes to 101, the usual Opposition vote being increased by an adherence of some of the Government supporters to the principle of allowing Canada to make her own commercial treaties.

During the summer of this year Mr. Mackenzie went to Portland for the benefit of his health. Writing from Cushing's Island, he says :

"I walked this forenoon to the end of the island, and sat for an hour on the top of the cliff enjoying the delicious breeze and the expanse of ocean covered with a fleet of fishing schooners. Byron's beautiful lines rose involuntarily to my lips as I gazed upon the waste of waters :

'Time, writes no wrinkle on thine azure brow ;
Such as creation's dawn beheld, thou rollest now.'

"And again :

'By the deep sea, and music in its roar ;
I love not Man the less, but Nature more.'

"I wished I could, as of yore, climb about the cliffs and get on rough places, but instead, I had to walk slowly and carefully with the steps of a decrepit old man, though in spirit I feel young yet. I am hardly a moment free from pain, but if it is very depressing, it is not intolerable, and I am thankful it is no worse.

“ I have been recalling the events of the last fifty years, and have come to the conclusion that I might have done more work and better work than I have actually accomplished. I see wasted opportunities which cannot be recalled, and disregard of personal welfare which now bears fruit in an enfeebled physical system. But how precious is the knowledge of a sure and certain resurrection of the glorified body, free from all vestige of decay and disease through the redemption wrought in and by our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. And, after all, what matters a few more years here, when such a sure and happy prospect is in store ? ”






CHAPTER XXXIX.

TO EUROPE AGAIN.

A Proposed Shelf in the Senate—Testimonial from the Lambton Friends—Their Address—Mr. Mackenzie's Reply—Crosses the Atlantic Once More in Search of Health—Fine Letter from Edinburgh—Graphic Historical Incidents—Knox and Calvin—Poor Queen Mary—Glimpses of Venice and Milan—Speech at the Empire Club in London—Lord Dufferin's Estimate of it—Lord Lorne—Lord Lansdowne—Lord Stanley.

ONSERVATIVES felt that in Mr. Mackenzie's case, at least, the action of their chief in endeavoring to gerrymander Mr. Mackenzie out of a seat required apology. They found it in the suggestion that if Sir John's gerrymander had accomplished its purpose in killing Mr. Mackenzie for a seat in the Commons, Sir John might be graciously moved to supply him with a shelf in the Senate. It was on this occasion that Mr. Mackenzie asked the question: Had they not too many invalids in the Senate already? Sir John A. Macdonald's benevolent purpose might have been the gift of a place in this stately receptacle for the dead—although he never showed signs in this or in any other instance of generosity towards a political foe—but be that as it may, he did his best, both by the gerrymander and the political warfare that followed, and by taking the field against Mr. Mackenzie in person, to provide for the mausoleum the suitable subject to be a sharer of its solitude.

The people of Lambton were more appreciative of public

and private worth. They did not part with their representative without a signal token of their esteem and friendship, the like of which, as was at the time remarked, had rarely been bestowed on any Canadian statesman, however eminent his rank or distinguished his career. Mr. Mackenzie was waited upon in Toronto by a deputation from his old constituency, consisting of Mr. Fairbank, M.P. for East Lambton; Mr. Leys, Sarnia; Mr. Hugh Mackenzie, Warwick; and Mr. A. Rawlings, Forest; and, with the Hon. Oliver Mowat in the chair, in the presence of a large assemblage of ladies and gentlemen, among whom was the brother of the ex-Premier, Mr. Charles Mackenzie, the presentation was made: It consisted of an address and a cheque for \$5,500.

Four years before this a wealthy and very intimate friend pressed upon him the acceptance of a testimonial. He replied that he had given a good deal of thought to the proposal since the matter was submitted to him, and though he saw no objection on principle to what was done in the case of Richard Cobden, he felt a difficulty and delicacy in his own case, which he believed could not be overcome. He was free to confess to large expenditures of money and time involved in leadership in Opposition as well as in Government, such as many very good friends did not comprehend, and also that while he was at the head of the Government, all his official income and more had been swallowed up by the exigencies of the position; still he had an extreme dislike to what was here proposed, and he was unable to encourage the movement.

In the summer of 1882, before the Lambton people made their presentation, a gift was in a manner forced upon him. It was at the general election of that year, when he was taken suddenly ill while pursuing his canvass in Markham, of which previous mention has been made. The sickness was serious,

and convalescence was slow. Friends in Montreal, who were warmly attached, wrote to urge him to take another voyage with Mrs. Mackenzie across the Atlantic; and that he might not decline for want of means, they generously but quietly resolved to provide them. The matter was known to but a few persons, representing whom Mr. Hugh Mackay and Mr. Thibaudeau were delegated from Montreal to Toronto to personally insist upon the trip being taken, and to press upon Mr. Mackenzie for this purpose a purse of about \$4,000. It was so much a surprise that Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie were away on a short visit to Hamilton, and the servants did not know where they had gone. The disappointed delegation had consequently to content themselves with leaving a letter and a cheque.

The speech on the Gerrymander Bill of 1882 was Mr. Mackenzie's last sustained effort in Parliament, on account of his failing voice, though the pages of Hansard show that he continued to vigilantly watch the legislation; for the old spirit and insight remained to the end.

In 1883 Mr. Mackenzie applied the gift of his Montreal friends to the gracious purpose for which it was intended. Accompanied by Mrs. Mackenzie and his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, he again went to Scotland in search of health, his last flight across the Atlantic in the vain attempt to escape the pursuing angel, death. Though marred by increasing bodily feebleness, it was, on the whole, a delightful visit. There are many memorials of it; we are permitted to publish the following letter to Miss Carmichael, New Glasgow, N.S., as one of the most striking. It is an interesting sketch of what, in historical lore, is the richest and the loveliest of all Scottish cities:

“EDINBURGH, July 17, 1883.

“MY DEAR MISS CARMICHAEL,—Mrs. Mackenzie received your welcome letter on Saturday last, before we left London. We reached this wonderful old city in time to see it the same evening.

“We have seen Paris, Turin, Genoa, Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, and Brussels. Each of these cities has peculiar attractions, but to my mind ‘Fair Edina,’ for natural beauty and for artistic excellence, bears the palm. Calton Hill, Arthur’s Seat, the Castle, Princes-street and its Gardens, the Meadows Park, the suburban villas, the views—all are splendid; while the stirring reminiscences which crowd upon one’s attention give a zest to every visit he makes to historic spots.

“Who, when visiting Greyfriars’ churchyard, the prison of the Covenanters, can resist a flood of indignation at the prelatie despots who misgoverned Scotland? Who can grudge the fullest measure of praise to the noble men to whom the world owes so much, when visiting the Grass-market, where so many were executed because of their adherence to God’s worship? We tried to sit where Jenny Geddes sat when she hurled her stool at the bigoted churchman—the stool which we saw in the museum. In walking in the now fine Princes-street Gardens, once deep bog and lake, one remembered the auld wife, who, late one night, in crossing the treacherous ground, found David Hume firmly bogged, and sternly refused her help to the cultured infidel until he had repeated the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer. We examined the Castle Rock where Maitland and his troops scaled the apparently impregnable fortress in the night time. We looked out of the window of the room where James the Sixth was born, and recalled the fact that the young king was let down by a rope to the ground, two hundred feet below. I could not repress a pious wish that that rope had broken, so as to have saved the nation the long years of misery it had to suffer at the hands of one fool and two rascals, each called a British Sovereign. We marched down and up the Canongate, and through the High street and Lawnmarket, and recalled the gorgeous State processions which for a thousand years had periodically traversed the back-bone of that old city. We looked at the town banner which was carried in front of the Scottish army at the battle of Flodden Field, won as it was by Scottish men, as is now known, but at the cost of king and nobles, and many thousands of Scotland’s greatest heroes, though of less renown; and

we recalled Scott's description of the battle, and the account which Professor Aytoun gives of the dismay of Edinburgh when the tidings reached the city.

"The battlements and walls of the city are now all gone. There alone remains the grim Castle. Some parts of it are 800 years old ; but the memories associated with the glories of ten centuries of time will never pass away. Scotland's sons have much to be proud of in their struggles for independence and popular rights, and in recalling them to mind we will refrain from mention of some of the other things of which we may rather be ashamed.

"A word about one man, and for the time being I am done with this subject. I visited no place with more reverence than John Knox's house and his grave. Scotland, aye, the world, owes more to John Knox than to any other man. He educated Scotland for the home of freemen. He established her school system three hundred years before England had any national system whatever. He had all the power of a despot, but he never persecuted. He was a statesman of the broadest type, and as such excelled even more than as a preacher of Gospel truths. But for Knox there would have been no Cromwell, and Britain would have been a hundred years behind, or more. In such ways does one man sometimes influence the destinies of nations. Luther was a great man--so was Calvin ; but neither had the liberality of thought nor the practical ability of John Knox. In Geneva I sat in Calvin's chair, and worshipped in his church. What a pity he did not save Servetus ! Still, he was a noble man and a good man ; but in toleration he was behind Knox. He was one of the grandest of good men for a' that.

"Poor Queen Mary—we cross her steps everywhere in Edinburgh. Was she a bad woman ? is the question that comes up for answer when looking on her frank, full eyes and lovely face. I fear she was not pure either as a sovereign or as a woman, but she was in a wretched school, with very inferior councillors, and was shockingly ill used. Naturally, she was amiable and kind, and up to that time she had all the bravery of her race. I confess to a lingering feeling of sympathy which makes me blame others more than her.

"But I am afraid I have wearied you with my cogitations of Scottish history, and therefore quit.

"We send our kindest regards to your father, and particularly to yourself, and I remain,

"My dear Miss Carmichael, yours sincerely,

"A. MACKENZIE.

"Carrie Carmichael, New Glasgow, N.S."

Here, in a letter to his brother Charles, are bits of views of Venice and Milan :

"The public buildings in Florence, Venice, and Milan, are wonderful in their extent, construction, and richness of decoration. It was an odd experience at Venice to go to the hotel by the canal in a gondola, and step from the boat on to the hotel door-step. The main avenues of the city are all canal ; the minor ones are dry, but there are no vehicles of any sort. Some of the streets of this class are about six feet wide ; none over eighteen feet ; yet they had good shops. The great square is probably about 900 feet by 400 feet, with the thirteen-hundred-year-old cathedral filling one end, and the palace one side. Of course, we saw the Doge's palace also—and the prison ; standing where Childe Harold stood, on the Bridge of Sighs, which connects the two. Let me quote from Byron—it is a little hackneyed, but, as a greater bard than Byron says, 't will pass :

'I stood in Venice, on the Bridge of Sighs ;

A palace and a prison on each hand ;

I saw from out the wave her structure rise

As from a stroke of the enchanter's wand :

A thousand years their cloudy wings expand

Around me, and a dying Glory smiles

O'er the far times when many a subject land

Looked at the wingèd Lion's marble piles,

Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles !'

"Milan is a splendid city, with many wide, handsome streets and a grand arcade, the finest in Europe. The great square is at one side of the arcade. The glorious cathedral stands on this square. It is next to St. Paul's in size in Europe, and therefore, of course, third in size to St. Peter's. It is built wholly of white marble, and is a marvel of carving and moulding in stone. There must be hundreds of human figures

carved into the building. It is, in fact, poetry in stone. The floor, like the floor of the cathedral at Venice, is also very fine—much finer as to workmanship even than St. Peter's at Rome."

When in London, Mr. Mackenzie was a guest at a banquet given by the Empire Club. The Earl of Dufferin, in a note to Mrs. Mackenzie, declared his to be the best speech delivered on that occasion:

"28 CHAPEL ST., PARK ST., LONDON, July 19th, 1883.

"MY DEAR MRS. MACKENZIE,—As I am sure your husband won't tell you, I think it is right to let you know that he made by far the best speech of any at the Empire Club—full of weight, good sense, force and effect. I was sitting next to a very able man, Lord Thurlow, who is a judge of such matters, and he was very much struck by the power it displayed.

"Yours ever,

"DUFFERIN."

In this same year the Marquis of Lorne and Princess Louise left Canada, after an administration which will ever be associated in the minds of the people of this country with pleasant recollections. The appointment fell upon Lord Lansdowne, and on his retirement, to follow the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, as Viceroy of India, he was succeeded by the present Governor-General, Lord Stanley of Preston.





CHAPTER XL.

HE DEPICTS HIMSELF.

Goes to the North West—Again in Search of Health—Splendid Descriptive Letter to his Daughter—The Rockies—Mount Stephen—Wheat Fields of over One Thousand Acres—The Fight with his Disease—A Last Visit to Scotland—Interesting Series of Letters—The Man Revealed—His Pen Pictures of Himself.

IN the summer of 1884, Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie, in response to a pressing invitation from Sir George Stephen (now Lord Mountstephen), Sir D. A. Smith, and Mr. Van Horne, went to the Rocky Mountains. "It is of the utmost consequence," wrote Sir George, "that the people of Canada should have a better knowledge of the value of their new heritage, and I know of no one whose opinion would have the weight of yours." Like the Scottish trips, the visit was attended with temporary benefit, but it was saddened to Mrs. Mackenzie, notwithstanding these appearances of improvement, by the intimation given her at Qu'Appelle by Dr. Edwards, who was practising at Indian Head, that her husband's malady was a nervous trouble for which there was no cure. On returning to Silver Heights, near Winnipeg, the splendid Manitoba residence of Sir Donald A. Smith, which he had placed at their disposal, with his customary princely generosity, Mr. Mackenzie wrote thus, *inter alia*, to Mrs. Thompson:

"SILVER HEIGHTS HOUSE, Winnipeg, Aug. 31, 1884.

"MY DEAR MARY,—We are here on our return journey from the mountains, and as I am too tired to-day to go into town, I thought I would write you a short letter. We sighted the mountains first about 130 miles from the entrance to the pass, and at dusk reached the magnificent portal. We saw the beautiful Bow river and its splendid scenery for over 100 miles. Nothing could be finer than its perfectly-planned terraces and carefully-formed escarpments, finished as by a gigantic gardener, covered with rich grass and flowers, and dotted with clumps of trees. From this point, the Kicking Horse River is most turbulent. The road winds and twists, striving to avoid the river; in vain—for it must be spanned in two places by bridges, one at an elevation of 100 feet. In five miles the river falls about 1,200 feet, the railway having nearly the same fall. About a mile below the high bridge a river joins the Kicking Horse from the north. The eye embraces both valleys. The growth of spruce and tamarind is so dense below that both rivers are hidden almost completely, and but one or two glimpses of the white, maddened streams are to be had.

"The picture here, looking north, east, and south is most beautiful and sublime. Mount Stephen, 11,000 feet high, was at our back, and this glorious mountain valley in our front and right.

"The water was clear as crystal, and exactly of the color of the Rhone, as we saw it in Switzerland, with a continuous current of, say, ten miles an hour, and broken by one fall.

"From the place called the entrance to the pass, to the water shed, is about sixty miles. The Bow river, or one of its tributaries, flows nearly all this distance, while the immense ranges of hills stand like a prodigious army, presenting arms and welcoming the visitor into the sublime vestibule. The pass is 5,297 feet above the sea, and a number of the mountains rise a little more than 5,000 above rail level. Everlasting snow covers them all, and from various points immense glaciers raise their glistening peaks. There are no finely-shaped cones, as shown by Mount Blanc, Mount Rosa, or the Jungfrau, but there is otherwise more rugged beauty and picturesqueness than in the Alps.

"The rocks are generally of the primitive classes; therefore there is no regular stratification; but some of the mountains seem to have been built by tremendous agencies, and show a castellated appearance very like a monster ruin.

“ We are informed that snow avalanches often descend with tremendous weight and power, sweeping the hill face clear of timber and loose rocks, and smashing everything into a vast mixture of snow, wood and stone at the foot. We saw a large number of such places. They resembled exactly a large mow taken down with a scythe in the fields. If one of these avalanches should descend on the road, no protection man could find would prevent a complete wreck of road, bridge, or train. Only a few places are, however, so exposed.

“ When we reached the Bell farm, we saw two fields of wheat, one of 1,280 acres, and one of 1,000 acres, and a flax field of 500 acres. They have 25 reapers, 170 horses and other farm ‘rolling stock’ in proportion. Late in the evening we got to our car again, after a very pleasant ten days’ ride, part of which the heat spoiled, and part was rendered almost intolerable by a cloud of winged ants, which enveloped us and found a lodging in our clothes and down our necks. They sting exactly like a newly-kindled match applied to the skin.

“ I have insensibly fallen into a narrative style, while I meant only to give a general view of our journey. To-day ‘I add no more.’

“ There is little or no difference in my voice ; though yesterday I spoke better than I have done yet. I dread a meeting in Winnipeg on Tuesday, but the people insisted on it, and I will do my best.

“ I am, dear Mary,

“ Your affectionate father,

“ A. MACKENZIE.”

From this time onward, there are few incidents in the life of Alexander Mackenzie to record. His henceforth was a constant battle with the disease that had taken too deep hold upon him to be shaken off. In 1886 he found alleviation, merely, in a visit he paid with Mrs. Mackenzie once more, and for the last time, to Scotland.

How he felt at about this period, we find described by himself in a letter now before us, of June, 1885. It is one only of an interesting series of letters to an intimate friend, running from 1869 to 1888. We have preferred to give the series unbroken, with some abridgment, and have kept it for insertion here.

With this friend, whose acquaintance was formed in the early days, the correspondence was frequent and without reserve. However reticent Mr. Mackenzie might appear to be to strangers, here was one congenial soul, at any rate, who received the outpourings of a full heart. In sunshine and shadow he found relief in telling how, at the moment, he was pleased or how perplexed and cast down :

“SARNIA, Feb. 15th, 1869.

“DEAR CHARLES,—I owe you a letter, and should have paid you long ago ; but now for it. What are you doing ? And how many are there now to ask for ? My memory fails me in the count of some of our own Mackenzie families here, and how can I be expected to remember much of others ?

“I am beginning to be in terror of the coming session's work. How useless it all is ! I feel like one walking the weary circle of a horse-power machine, no end visible, and begin to wish I were well out of it for good. Nothing but an extreme dislike to do a cowardly thing prevents me resigning now. I recollect when first elected that I felt quite elated, and somewhat proud, I suppose. That feeling is all gone now, as clean gone as the starch is from a muslin dress on a wet day.

“We had grand rejoicings over Parker's victory in the old valley. Harry ran out when I opened the paper with the news, and told everybody on the streets, just as if they were all from Perthshire ! We threw up our hats in the shop and found full vent for our joyful feelings.

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

The realisation of the session's work was no better than the anticipation :

“OTTAWA, May 10, 1869.

“DEAR CHARLES,—I purposed writing you soon after my arrival here, but was unable to give it effect. I cannot command my own time, and consequently personal friends are only attended to by fits and starts, as I happen to be able to snatch the opportunity. People write me from all quarters, giving or asking for information or advice, and each one thinks there should be no delay in regard to him, not knowing that there are

a dozen such daily, besides no end of persons seeking some benefit, or urging some crotchet. It is true that I have not during this session laboured as hard as I have in some others, in what I may call mere House work, but nevertheless my time is occupied early and late.

"I was sorry to hear of your serious financial loss. It is certainly very hard to have one's means snatched away in that manner, but you must not be discouraged. Pluck and perseverance are the characteristics of true Scotchmen, and I have no doubt you will show yourself a good specimen in the time of trial. We need that quality very much in this region, for the general disposition to go with the powers that be in all evil was never so strong as at present. It is very disheartening. I feel literally ill, and wish with all my heart I was clear of an intolerable life. My present intention is not to come back again.

"The newspapers call me the leader of the Opposition. I am nothing of the kind. I would not allow the party to pass a vote naming me such when they proposed to do it last session. But at the same time, I am doing the work which devolves on the leader, until some one fit to be a political prophet shall arise to be a judge over them. Still, I feel a kind of obligation not to leave, without it is so agreed. The — newspaper seems willing enough to do me and the Western Reformers an injury whenever it can. It gave rise to a senseless, malicious rumor some time ago, that I was to join John A.'s Government! Nothing could be more opportune for the Tory papers, so they all copied it. 'Of course there must be some ground for it when the —, a Grit organ, gave out the rumor.' Such was the general remark among the Tory press, and latterly letters began to arrive informing me of people's views regarding the proposed step. How funny, to be sure! I might long ago have done that—might do it at any time—but having from the start resolved to keep my hands clean, it is mortifying to find even one friend willing to believe that I could do the like.

"I am, dear Charles, yours faithfully,

"A. MACKENZIE."

The Insolvency Act had been tried and found wanting. It offered too great facilities for whitewashing. The concluding clause of the following letter gives expression to Mr. Mackenzie's conviction regarding it:

“OTTAWA, May 25th, 1872.

“DEAR CHARLES,—I duly received your two letters, and would have written you before now, but my time will not permit me to give that attention I would like to my friends. I feel the toil of eternal letter-writing as much as I used to feel the task of trying to learn the ‘Effectual Calling’ and all the rest of the school study of Divinity.

“You will see that the Senate killed Colby’s Bill, so that the Insolvent Law remains in force in spite of the Commons. I was opposed to its continuance as a portion of our commercial system. A few years of this kind of legislation now and then might do good by meeting special cases deserving of relief, but the continued operation of the Act has been very evil in its consequences. As it is, the statute has now but one year to run, and then it cannot be reenacted.

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

This letter was written after Mr. Mackenzie had been called to office:

“OTTAWA, Nov. 10, 1873.

“DEAR CHARLES,—I duly received your congratulatory letter. I am much obliged for your kind expressions and good wishes. I have as yet no secretary to help me, and as letters come in bushels, I have to answer them as fast as I can drive the pen. You will therefore excuse brevity.

“But besides writing letters, I have a great deal of work on hand, as there are vast arrears, little or nothing having been done by the outgoing Ministers for the last three weeks, except creating and giving offices, and there are so few in the service that we can trust.

“Difficulties crowd around on every hand, and brain and temper will be alike tried. However, I will put a stout heart to *a stae brae*.

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

Here is an invitation to Ottawa in the summer time, and the inducements the Prime Minister was able to offer to his friend to visit him. In explanation of the last paragraph of the letter, it may be stated that at that time Mr. Mackenzie lived on a somewhat public street, and attached to the second story of the house there was a large verandah:

“OTTAWA, May 27, 1876.

“DEAR CHARLES,—I have not heard from you for a long time, and having a few minutes without anything on my hands, I concluded to spend them with you. Do not think from this that I am disposed to give you only the scraps and shreds of my time. I have made it an invariable rule to put off no public matter, to write even to my wife. I find that when the public are served, very little time is left for private distribution. I determined not to do any work I could avoid after going home at six o'clock, but I make up for that by generally writing family letters on Sabbath afternoon. My sight has failed so greatly that writing much by gas light injures my eyes seriously, and it is practically impossible.

“We got through the session very well. All the bogus charges amounted to very little when discussed by the light of Parliamentary responsibility. I knew that this would be the case, because, so far as I am capable of doing so, I have taken good care that it shall be past the power of even malicious enemies to accuse me of any moral wrong. Political wisdom may be found wanting, but not moral rectitude.

“I mount guard here for the summer, and mean to get a ‘dust sieve’ for my head, and a musquito*net and a cooler for the whole corpus, and so fight heat, dust, and pests. Can’t you run up for a few days? I can turn you into the yard to smoke, as it is just cleaned. You can use the tank as a cuspidor, as we have no further use for it now; and you can sit in the upper verandah and see the circus pass.

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

Pious frauds, and Quaker guns :

“OTTAWA, May 22, 1878.

“MY DEAR CHARLES,—Many thanks for your kind letter. I have managed by fraudulent means to keep up appearances of bodily and mental vigor all through the session, and thus deceived the enemy, much as Bruce deceived the English at Bannockburn, by the flanking division, composed of women and camp sutlers, but, between ourselves, the session nearly killed me.”

He then recounts the proceedings of the session, and describes the Senate as “simply a Tory Committee.”

"I am now fast recruiting my strength. I believe I have the country at my back. But even if I should fail to carry the country with me, I know, first, that I have no reproach on my conscience as to public affairs, and, second, that we have established a mode of conducting the business of the country that no coming Government, however bad, can wholly destroy. I would gladly be relieved, for all that, if this were possible, but I cannot honorably step out at present ; so I must grind on as best I can.

"Many of our friends are ill pleased that I refused Imperial honors, as they thought a party headed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.M.G., if you please, would be much stronger than one led by plain me. I do not so think ; but even if I thought otherwise, I could not yield that much to party exigencies.

"I shall leave the Government when my time comes, and public life when my time comes, with the same clear conscience that I brought in, but poorer in pocket than when I commenced. I shall at any rate retire with the knowledge that no improper act can be laid to my charge.

"Yours faithfully,

"A. MACKENZIE."

This letter was written a short time after the defeat :

"OTTAWA, Oct. 15, 1878.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,—I duly received your long and kind letter. The result of the election was undoubtedly a surprise, as I had no reason to expect such a change.

"I can only say that I am not conscious of having done anything but what I should have done. In other words, if I had to go over the ground again I would adopt the same course. There might have been minor changes in certain things, but nothing to materially affect the general course of the Government. We formed a policy which I firmly believed would have led to national prosperity, and I could not retain office and have to carry into practice an opposite line of action.

"Our opponents have an immense advantage under such circumstances as have existed lately. They can promise anything. The genuine Tories will support their leaders under any conditions, and a few Reformers are ever ready to be led away by a false cry. This was the case this time. Still, I thought we had broken the back of the cry by our speeches ; it seemed so at the meetings.

"I never worked so hard before in my life. Well, it is all over, and we have now to moralise on the result. Canada does not care for a rigid adherence to principle in the Government. I administered her affairs even with a more scrupulous regard to economy and justice than my own, but one who shamefully and shamelessly abused the trust has been preferred before me. It is an instance of the fickleness of opinion and the ingratitude of the public.

"I am going to Toronto to-morrow to see what arrangements I can make regarding my own affairs. I do not wish to live here, even until Parliament meets.

"Believe me, yours sincerely,

"A. MACKENZIE."

This is how he mourns the death of his best political and very warm personal friend, George Brown. It has already been seen that Alexander Mackenzie and George Brown were as Saul and Jonathan :

"TORONTO, May 20, 1880.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Many thanks for your two letters. I should have replied to the first long ago.

"Mr. Brown's death is indeed to me a great personal and political loss. An intimacy of 30 years made me love him as a brother. Holton was a true, good man and friend ; Brown was more than that to me. I never was under any obligation to him of any sort. Our friendship was an unselfish one. He was a man of true greatness of soul ; impulsive, almost rash, now and then ; but his impulses were dictated by great intelligence, honest purpose, and a noble generosity. We did not always agree, but we never quarrelled. He was said by some to control my Government, but so scrupulous was he about not trying to influence me, that he never wrote me on public affairs unless I addressed him on some special case, such as the Washington Treaty, which I sent him to endeavor to get agreed to. His death is a sad loss to the country. His place will not be filled in this generation.

"Yours faithfully,

"A. MACKENZIE."

The beginning of his long illness, which after eleven weary years ended his life, is traceable in this letter :

“OTTAWA, Dec. 20, 1880.

“MY DEAR CHARLES,—I am glad you made a move for a meeting in Montreal. I think Mr. Blake will go down to it if asked. For myself I am not able to go to any meeting. I am quite unable to take any part in the discussions so far. I was not in good health all last summer, and I got worse towards the fall. After being here some days, I called in medical help, and since Tuesday last I have been taking more medicine than food. The doctor says I am suffering from malarial poisoning of long standing, but that I am otherwise healthy. Whatever it is, I am miserable enough, and useless enough.

“With kind regards, I am, yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

This is his description of his fatal malady:

“OTTAWA, June 18, 1885.

“MY DEAR CHARLES,—I thank you for your letter. I have often thought of writing you, but one of my physical failings is manifested in incapacity to write, with my old power of getting over the ground. I have, of course, much correspondence and business writing to do that must be done, and that I keep up as usual, but private letters, even to friends like yourself, have to wait.

“My complaint, stripped of all technical disguises, is partial paralysis of the left arm, throat, and some little in the leg and thigh. I have no pain—only a feeling of tiredness and want of power. I do everything usually done with my left arm, but it is slow work, as the muscles do not obey without much coaxing. The New York physician said it was all caused by an enlargement of one of the blood vessels on the brain, and by pressure on some nerve. It has existed now for three years, and is not much worse than it was a year ago. The doctors have done all they could for effecting a cure, but without success. I am able to eat and sleep well, though I am not as able to stand fatigue as I should be, and my walking is affected by the trouble in the head. For some years I drew on my reserve strength until it was used up, and now the treasure is gone. So much about myself. I don't often say so much about so insignificant a subject.

“It is quite uncertain when we will get away from Ottawa. I am

really quite sick of it. The incapacity of the Government is most extraordinary. They are totally unable to grapple with the business, and not one-third of it is now done.

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

If Mr. Mackenzie had not himself told the sad story of his failing health, it was only too clearly visible in the change in his style of writing. The firm, straight, clean-cut characters, plain and neat as print, grow feeble in the letter of 1885, and become feebler still in that which follows, written eleven months later :

“OTTAWA, May 18th, 1886.

“MY DEAR CHARLES,—I duly received your letter some weeks ago. I would have answered you sooner but for the difficulty I have in writing.

“I note what you say about our political life. It has got very low, and ‘like priests, like people.’ The Government have run a long career of corruption. Unhappily the country has got used to it, and the people have become careless. As Jeremiah exclaimed under a similar state of circumstances, ‘The people will have it so.’ Unfortunately I am totally unable to speak, or I would try and contrast our way and theirs. I am continuing to hold my seat (only able to vote), in the hope that I may recover. Of that, however, there is little chance, I fear, at my age.

“I need hardly say I am much obliged for your good opinion. I derive much satisfaction from knowing that many of the best of our people approve of my course.

“Yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

The last letter penned by himself to this friend is on a half sheet of small note, and is in a very cramped and thin but perfectly distinct and easily-read hand, almost microscopic though it is in its reduced size :

“OTTAWA, March 17th, 1888.

“MY DEAR CHARLES,—I must first explain that I have almost lost the power of writing, so that you will not conclude I am on the spree.

“I got your letter about Willie, and a few days afterwards I saw our

friend and spoke to him on the subject. There is no engagement available as yet. It is probable that I will see our friend again on his return. However, I have said all I could, and I gave him the address.

“My wife is in good health, and I am ‘as well as could be expected.’ I have to lean on her now; however, it might be worse; so I am thankful.

“Remember us both to your wife, and accept for yourself our kindest wishes.

“I am, yours faithfully,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

Before this date was reached the once potent voice, the vehicle of words freighted with great thoughts—great thoughts which never left him—which was accustomed “the applause of listening senates to command,”—had sunk into a whisper. In the later days, to the extent of its more limited capacity, the pen had been used as the only means which remained to enable him to supply, as best it could, this, his greatest of all losses. Influence over the pen now, too, had gone. From this time forth the intellect was imprisoned, without power of deliverance, in the dome of thought, where it had its seat and still shone in undimmed lustre—where it still had full dominion. The impulses of one of the truest and gentlest hearts that ever breathed were now incapable of manifestation to any of his friends, except the lessening circle who came within the sphere of his personal influence, and to them rather by looks and signs than by words. What sadder thing than for the keen intellect, the sound judgment, the strong memory, to remain, when the power of expression had gone. In the pathetic words of Thackeray: “What preacher need moralise on this story; what words save the simplest are requisite to tell it? It is too terrible for tears. The thought of such a calamity smites me down in submission before the Ruler of kings and men, the Monarch Supreme over empires and republics, the inscrutable Dispenser of life, death, happiness,

victory." The words Macaulay quoted of Hallam under similar circumstances, when he was unable to walk and unable to write, but with the old intellect undimmed, Mr. Mackenzie must often have applied to himself :

"Let me not live
After my flame lacks oil, to be the scoff
Of meaner spirits."

We are sure he was never a scoff to the meanest spirit, but a grand example to all mankind in his patience and fortitude under the saddest of human infirmities. He was a brave man still, whose work in this world's sphere was nearly done, for the time was approaching when he should be honorably released from his labors. It had not quite come yet. For some four years more it was his lot, with increasing feebleness, to continue to drag his pained steps over the burning marle. And then at length—rest.





CHAPTER XLI.

RIVETING THE FETTERS.

The Second Rising in the North-West—Ill-Treatment Causes Rebellion—
“Old To-Morrow”—Sacrifice of Life and Treasure—The Franchise Iniquity
—The Revising Barrister—The Country Delivered into His Hands—Mr.
Mackenzie on the Outrage—The Indian Vote—The Tory Cries from 1867
to 1891.

WHILE, in 1885, Mr. Mackenzie was in a state of physical weakness, which prevented him from taking part in debate, a double struggle was going on at points so widely apart as the banks of the Saskatchewan and the city of Ottawa. In the North-West, Riel, Dumont, and their sympathisers were in revolt against the Government for a redress of grievances; at Ottawa, the Liberal party were strenuous in resistance to the Franchise Act.

Friendly journals were unable to justify the treatment of the Government towards the half-breed settlers in the North-West. The *Mail*, a Government paper at that time, complained that “scaly ward politicians from Eastern Canada,” who were an offence to the Métis, had been appointed to positions of trust in that country, and that the Lieut.-Governor had “become interested in town sites and bonanza farms.” It further said: “The *vis inertie* of the department was immovable. Had they had votes, like white men, or if, like the Indians, they had been numerous enough to command respect and overcome the red tape, without doubt the wheels

of office would have revolved for them; but being only half-breeds, they were put off with eternal promises, until patience ceased to be a virtue." Another, then Ministerial, paper, the *Montreal Herald*, said: "It is now as clear as daylight that this rising in the North-West, which has cost so much in blood and money, was no sudden freak, and was not without warning. On the contrary, it was the climax of a gradually growing discontent. Every step was brought before the Government, reported upon by their officers, and told them, with damnable iteration, by bishops, priests, lieutenant-governors, surveyors, and apparently everyone who had a right to hold communication with them. Still, Mr. Blake has shown that the only thing done by the Government to prevent the outbreak was to bribe the rebel leaders, Dumont, Schmidt, Dumas, Isbister, and others, with Government offices." It is proper to add that the *Mail* laid the blame at the doors of both parties; but what the Liberal party, who went out in 1878, had to do with the rising of 1885, it is not easy to see.

Petition after petition went to Ottawa, but they evoked no response. Deputations, the resolutions of public meetings, all were disregarded. Documents received at Ottawa, in 1879, were never noticed until the unhappy natives had risen in arms, in March, 1885. It was the habit of putting things off which won for Sir John A. Macdonald his well-known Indian designation of "Old To-morrow."

But there was a tremendous awakening when the news came of the slaughter at Duck Lake. This was followed by the calling out of the volunteers (who were hastily despatched to the scene of conflict), the Frog Lake massacre, the affair at Cut Knife Hill, the engagement at Fish Creek, and the fight at Batoche. While we must condemn the conduct of Riel and his associates in again rising in rebellion, the Government can-

not be allowed to escape the severest censure for the loss of scores of precious lives, and the expenditure of many millions of treasure in suppressing an outbreak which was so largely caused by their supercilious treatment of the half-breed and Indian claims.

Towards the close of the session of 1885, Sir John A. Macdonald completed the political servitude of the people, who were already in bondage under the Gerrymander Act of 1882. What was then done was, at an estimated cost of half a million a year, to create some hundreds of new government officials, called revising barristers, who were charged with the function of preparing the lists of voters for the House of Commons. The municipal officers throughout the country had hitherto discharged this important duty fairly, and with but few complaints from any source. The Government now placed it in the hands of their own partisans. The revising officers were not only to revise the lists; they were also to make them. Upon every voter in the land was thereby thrown the burden of watching these privileged political foes, and of protecting his rights against their assaults. Again, under the previous system, not only was the making of the lists fair; it was automatic. Names of those who had ceased to have a right to the franchise were dropped as a matter of course. Under the new plan, where the revising barristers were not strict in the performance of duty, such names were continually carried on, and kept on, unless moved against by private persons, not specially charged with such duties, at enormous trouble and expense. Every movement in the direction of a list, if it was to be reasonably fair to Liberal candidates, was made costly and difficult to them. The Government candidates, on the other hand, had the great advantage, without labour or charge on their part, of

lists made to their order, at the expense of the country, the setting and keeping right of which involved a perpetual battle to their opponents. Sir John A. Macdonald would not even consent to the request of the Opposition, that the revising officers should be his own appointed judges, who have a status and a character to maintain, who hold their offices for life, and who are removed from the political arena. He insisted on the power to choose as his men those who, after making the lists, usually take their full part in the election fights under them. By this act, the election of the representatives was removed from the hands of the people, and placed in the hands of Tory lawyers.

Writing on the 1st June, 1885, to Hon. James Young, Galt, Mr. Mackenzie said :

“The Opposition members undertook a heavy job when they resolved to prevent the Franchise Bill going through, and they have shown much ability and pluck in carrying on the fight.

“Nothing but a grave issue would justify the course it has been found necessary to take. The measure is, however, of such a nature as to warrant the exhaustion of every constitutional means to secure its defeat. Only imagine a dominant party coolly legislating to secure themselves in power ! Not content with the advantages over their opponents that they already possess, they deliberately resolve to take the making of the electoral lists into their own hands, and they name their own officials with the most complete power and authority to cook them ! Nothing like it has ever been tried in any constitutionally-governed country in the world ; even the Stuarts and the Napoleons left the voting free.

“And to make doubly sure of success, they are going to give the poor ignorant savages votes. The Indians will, of course, vote as directed by the Government agents.

“These scandalous provisions will enable the Government to carry some twenty more of the counties which have been wrested from them in spite of the Gerrymander Act of three years ago.

“The published debates give an inadequate account of the excellence

of the speaking. The Opposition debating has been very able, and has been engaged in by men who usually do not take part in the discussions. Blake, Charlton, Cartwright, Paterson, M. C. Cameron, Mills, Davis, Weldon and Laurier are always to be counted upon, but this time Cameron (Middlesex), Vail, Fisher, Armstrong, Gilmour, Dr. Wilson, Trow, Bain, Fleming, Kirk, Platt, Burpee, Cook, Jackson, Mulock, Lister, Cockburn and others have borne a full share of a very difficult task, and nearly all the speeches dealt with the bill on its merits, or, more properly speaking, demerits. I was unable myself to take part in the fight, as my voice and nervous disability still stand as an insuperable obstacle in my way."

When the measure was under discussion, a memorable conversation took place across the House relative to the admission to the franchise of Indians who had been caught red-handed in the murders in the North-West Territories:

"MR. MILLS—What we are anxious to know is whether the hon. gentleman proposes to give other than enfranchised Indians votes.

"SIR JOHN MACDONALD—Yes.

"MR. MILLS—Indians residing on a reservation?

"SIR JOHN MACDONALD—Yes, if they have the necessary property qualification.

"MR. MILLS—An Indian who cannot make a contract for himself, who can neither buy nor sell, without the consent of the Superintendent-General, an Indian who is not enfranchised?

"SIR JOHN MACDONALD—Whether he is enfranchised or not.

"MR. MILLS—This will include Indians in Manitoba and British Columbia?

"SIR JOHN MACDONALD—Yes.

"MR. MILLS—Poundmaker and Big Bear?

"SIR JOHN MACDONALD—Yes.

"MR. MILLS—So that they can go from a scalping party to the polls."

Through the efforts of the Opposition, some objectionable features of the bill were mitigated.

Indians in British Columbia, Manitoba and the Territories,

including Poundmaker, Big Bear and Piapot, were at last excluded; those in the other provinces, however, being allowed to remain. The income franchise and the property qualification were reduced. Wage earners were given the franchise. The right of appeal was allowed from revising barristers to the judges of the courts. The bill, as it originally stood, gave the revising officer absolute and final power to place names on and to strike names off the lists at will, and parties aggrieved were left without redress. The Government also gave way in respect to such decisions of the revising officer as were appealed against, but not decided upon, pending an election. According to their original plan, a list stuffed by the revising barrister was a valid list; but by the change voters who appeal can vote, without, however, their ballots being counted until their right to the franchise is established by the tribunal appealed to by them. The enormous cost to candidates of the proceedings under the act as it stands would have been vastly greater under the bill as it was introduced, but for the strenuous fight of the Opposition. One of the most outrageous provisions of all in the bill, as drafted, was to enable the revising barrister to make the lists to suit himself, without appeal, and then to get himself elected to Parliament under them. This was changed, but the right to the franchise of the white free-man who pays his taxes, equally with the tribal Indian who lives on government reserves, who pays no taxes, who has no civil rights or duties, remains. Shorn of many of its evil features, it is still a very baneful measure, and in spite of the vast expenditures in money and labor it has occasioned the friends of the Liberal cause, it is still the means of inflicting upon them great political injustice. The gerrymander act and the franchise act combined may be said to constitute politically "the sum of all the villainies."

The manner in which the gerrymander and the franchise acts and the Indian vote operated, was illustrated by Sir Richard Cartwright in 1889. In Ontario twelve of the manipulated seats returned a collective Tory majority of 383 votes, against a collective Liberal majority of ten times the number, existing in the three hived constituencies of Brant and North and South Oxford. Reverse these 383 votes, by putting back the municipalities which gave them, to where they belonged, and the Government would be in the hands of the Liberals.

How the Tories have won their elections since Confederation may be told in a few sentences: In 1867, by the cry of "union and progress," the luring of susceptible Reformers into the belief that political issues were dead, and afterwards unceremoniously setting them aside. In 1872, by Sir Hugh Allan's money. In 1878, by the N. P. fraud. In 1882, by the gerrymander of the constituencies. In 1885, by the cooking of the voters' lists through the franchise act. In 1891, by the combinations of monopolists, and the money contributed by them and contractors to the funds of the red parlor.





CHAPTER XLII.

HIS LAST DAYS.

Again Returned for East York—Charles Mackenzie in the Legislature—Death of Sir John A. Macdonald—Mr. Blake's Retirement—Member for South Longford, Ireland—Mr. Mackenzie's Last Manifesto—"I Repent It"—Vote on the Jesuit Bill—His Seventieth Birthday—A Fatal Fall—His Illness—His Death on Easter Day—The Nation's Sorrow—Touching Tributes—The Funeral Pageants in Toronto and Sarnia—The Orations.



ALTHOUGH Mr. Mackenzie was not able to take much part in the election of 1887, he was, by reason of his high character, and the exertions of his attached supporters, Liberal and Conservative, again returned for East York against Mr. Boulton, by a majority of 160 votes; and in 1891, he was successful once more, but by a reduced majority, being too ill to appear in the constituency.

In 1887 Mr. Blake resigned the position of leader of the Opposition and was succeeded by the present leader, Mr. Laurier.

Mr. Mackenzie was gratified by the entrance of his youngest brother Charles upon a promising political career at the by-election for the Ontario Legislature in West Lambton, in the autumn of 1889, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Hon. T. B. Pardee. On the meeting of the Legislature, a few months thereafter, Mr. Charles Mackenzie moved the Address in an able maiden speech, and it was felt that he was well fitted to maintain the

family record. He was re-elected at the general election in the summer of 1890.

Sir John A. Macdonald died the 6th of June, 1891, at the age of seventy-six. On his death, the position of First Minister was taken, and is still retained, by Senator Abbott, with Sir John Thompson as leader in the House of Commons.

On the 5th of March, 1891, Mr. Blake, in a celebrated manifesto, from which we have already quoted, to the members of the West Durham Reform Convention, bade farewell to his constituents, and retired from Parliament. At the general election in Great Britain, in the summer of the present year (1892), Mr. Blake responded to a call from over the sea, and gave fresh impetus and a new inspiration to the cause of Home Rule in Ireland by enrolling himself as one of its champions—as he had already shown himself to be in Canada—under the banner of its great advocate, Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Blake was elected for South Longford by almost an unanimous vote, with Mr. Justin McCarthy, the great historian and parliamentarian, and the able leader of the Nationalist party, as his colleague in North Longford. The position filled by Mr. Blake as a distinguished colonist of Irish extraction, advocating in the British House of Commons those principles of government for the land of his ancestors which prevail in the land of his birth, is unique, and forms the opening of a career in Imperial politics which will be followed by observing men everywhere with the deepest interest, and especially by Canadians, apart from their party proclivities.

It has been remarked that the name of the Liberal ex-Premier does not appear in the Parliamentary debates of 1890 or 1891, but this arose from his inability to make himself heard in that chamber. He spoke at considerable length to a deputation of the leading Reformers of his riding who waited

upon him in Toronto early in January, 1891, with a resolution of sympathy and confidence. This may be said to be his dying manifesto to his countrymen, and it would be well for them were they to take his earnest words of warning and wisdom to heart. He said :

“There never was a time when judicious speech and action were so much in demand. The country is passing through a crisis brought about by an injudicious and unwise commercial policy. In 1878, I took some pains to show that no Government or Parliament can create wealth, but they may redistribute either wisely or unwisely. Promises of coming wealth on a change of policy were lavished freely, in order to defeat my Administration. These promises, we all knew, could not be fulfilled, and now we are reaping the fruits of an unwise policy. Our wealth is all to be taken from the soil, the woods, and the mines. The farmers are a great wealth-producing class, and any fiscal policy which presses hard upon them ensures a commercial crisis sooner or later. Every effort should be made by us to avert such a crisis. The natural course to pursue would be to return to the policy of 1878, and in doing so the Liberals and Conservatives ought to accept any scheme which does not perpetrate further injustice.

“It has been said by some of the Ministerial papers that Great Britain would not consent to any extension of a free trade policy. I can only say that in the negotiations of 1874 at Washington, conducted by Mr. George Brown, the Government were in active communication with the Colonial Office, and a list of the articles proposed to be embodied in the new treaty was transmitted for consideration to Downing-street. The general spirit which pervaded these communications was simply that Canada and Canadians knew best what suited themselves. No doubt they were also aware of the fact that anything which benefited Canadian trade would be grateful to the statesmen of the Mother Country. I could never consent to the Zollverein policy, for obvious reasons, but I cannot conceive why anyone should object to reciprocal free trade secured by treaty, and not inimical to the interests of Great Britain as the heart of the Empire.

“The utter failure of the National Policy and the enormous increase

in the national debt are reasons why the present Administration should not be supported any longer. Thousands of Reform votes were lost in the general election in 1878 because they thought I was wrong in my free trade policy. No doubt, they acted conscientiously. Surely it is not asking too much that these should fall into line again, and carry with them a large number of hitherto Conservative votes."

Mr. Mackenzie further remarked that he would like to discuss the whole subject at greater length, if he felt equal to it, but he must content himself, unless there was an improvement in his health, with voting in his place in Parliament. He added, with a touch of pride at his continued fidelity to duty, that during the last two years he was absent only three days from his seat in the House.

He continued to attend with his customary regularity during the session of 1891. He was never able again, however, to join in debate, but with stilly silence, and with a patience almost superhuman, says a correspondent, he sat through the tedious, weary hours. On one occasion only did he speak. His voice was heard as an echo of the past. He spoke only three words, but they came with startling effect, and will not soon be forgotten by those who were present. The cost of the maintenance of the Canadian agency at Paris was under discussion. The Agent-General had been generally credited with having sent out one Parisian milliner as the result of many years' expenditure. The representative of the Dominion at the French capital was at one time on the Liberal side of politics, and as a French-Canadian *littérateur* was raised by Mr. Mackenzie, in February of 1875, to the Senate; from there he was some years subsequently transferred by the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald to Paris. The Liberals warmly attacked the vote for the continuance of the agency, and the Conservatives, closely pressed, retorted that the agent was

one of Mr. Mackenzie's own appointees to the Senate. All eyes were at once turned towards the seat where the ex-Premier sat rigid and immovable, and as the unexpected words, "I repent it," came forth quickly and distinctly from his lips, to fall on the ears of the now hushed assembly, an impression was produced, which, for the moment, was electrical. He had not spoken before that session, or the whole of the previous session, and these were the last words he was to utter in this scene of his many conflicts, his discomfitures, and his triumphs.

The doctor had forbidden Mr. Mackenzie's attendance in Parliament at the night sittings, and for the divisions that took place after six o'clock he was careful to see that a pair was provided for him. There was one notable exception, when he was most anxious to appear in person in his place and vote. This was in March of 1889, when the much-cherished right of the Provinces to control their own affairs without interference from the central authority was again in question. A motion had been made, in amendment to the resolution for going into committee of supply, to call upon the Government to advise the disallowance of the Act of the Quebec Legislature for the settlement of the Jesuit estates. The passing of this statute by the sister Province had stirred up a hurricane of passion, particularly in Ontario, as much by reason of its phraseology as of its purpose in the application of public moneys. Mr. Mackenzie held firmly to the old doctrine, in the Letellier and other cases, that the matter was one wholly within the purview of the Province, and that federal intervention would be destructive of Provincial autonomy. As the agitation had for the time being made the question a somewhat ticklish one, the whips on both sides were anxious to see the members stand shoulder to shoulder, and a strong vote as the outcome. The division took place about two in

the morning of the 29th of March. During the preceding evening, Mr. Trow, the chief Opposition whip, went to Mr. Mackenzie to ask him to go to the House and state in a few words how he would vote were the division to take place at a seasonable hour. Mr. Mackenzie said, "No; that would look like acting," at which he was not good. But he was so strong in his desire to share the responsibility with his fellow members, that he did not wish to be paired, and he said that if the vote came on before midnight, he would try to keep up and go down. Two hours after midnight, when the division bells rang, Mr. Trow found him still ready, and he accompanied the whip to the House and voted with the majority.

Mr. Mackenzie was during the session of 1891, on the whole, better than he had been for a long time previously, very much enjoying the summer drives in the neighborhood of the city, which he said to Mrs. Mackenzie, his invariable companion, he had never known so much about until then, the earlier years of his life in Ottawa having been too closely occupied in the serious affairs of his position. He looked remarkably well on his return to Toronto in September, and continued so until the middle of the winter. The 28th of January, 1892, was his seventieth birthday, and they, to whom the now almost completed duty has fallen of writing this biography, were together with him in his house, one as a visitor, the other as his guest, and were surprised at his lively conversational powers, his old flashes of intellect and humor, his faculty for recalling bygone events, with the never-failing exactitude of name, and place, and date. It was the last time they were to hold converse with him.

Five days afterwards he fell in walking from his house to the coupé, which had come as usual to take him to the duties he continued to discharge in the city. He was carried into the

house, and remained from that hour in a helpless state, until Sunday, the 17th of April, when he died. Never was more conspicuously seen than then the deep hold he had taken on the affections of the entire people. Most men when no longer able (to use the phrase of Disraeli) to "bustle about," are forgotten. But it was not so with him. Throughout his many years of constantly growing paralysis of limbs and speech, the popular interest in him had continued with but little abatement, and when the people learnt of his accident, their enquiries were constant about his varying condition, and they were not satisfied with the meagre accounts which the reticent family permitted to go forth with the stamp of authority.

During all this time Mr. Mackenzie was attended by his devoted wife and daughter, and his brother Charles, who scarcely ever left him, and was constantly visited by his friend and physician, Dr. Thorburn.

At first he was restless, frequently changing from his sleeping room to the library, and never continuing for more than a little while in one place, or in one position—the restlessness and weariness which presaged the end. The last three weeks were more painful yet to the anxious watchers, for then he lay still and motionless, beyond the reach of aid. For many days before the close, he took nothing; his lips were moistened, but no nourishment whatever passed them. He was a week in the throes of death, whose hand was stayed only by the wonderful inherent strength of an iron constitution.

His last words of assurance, before he sunk into final insensibility, were very beautiful: "Oh, take me home." On the calm and lovely Easter morning following, the wish was realised; for, as the glad sunshine was about to visit the earth again on that delightful Sabbath day, he "fell on sleep." It was literally so. The mysterious change which was observed

to come over him, and which was felt to be death, scarcely disturbed a feature of the face. The long slumber that could know no wakening was as the unconscious and tranquil sleep of a little child. Truly may be applied to that hallowed scene the tender words of Hood, which Mr. Mackenzie himself made the setting of the picture of the death-chamber of his friend, George Brown :

“ Our very hopes belied our fears,
Our fears, our hopes belied ;
We thought him dying when he slept,
And sleeping when he died.”

He died at ten minutes to one, and in a few hours the sun shone through an unclouded sky to kiss the buds and blossoms that were beginning to open out to catch his glory, and to inspire the robins, whose songs the lost one had loved so well, as they chanted their morning litany from the branches of the trees that surround the house. As was said by the two sisters who came over at the bidding of the good mother of St. Joseph's convent, across the way, to express sympathy and condolence, “ it was a beautiful morning to die on.” The bedside watchers had wished—it may be a mere sentiment, but they had wished—all through the Saturday evening that he might live till the Easter Sabbath morn, and till then his departure was delayed ; so that while all Christendom was celebrating the resurrection of the Saviour as the first fruits of them that sleep, he was received into the inner temple of Christ's glory, to see the King in His beauty, and to join in that gladsome Easter anthem that fills the universe of God with the melody of the redeemed.

The wires soon flashed the intelligence to near and distant places, and in churches of all denominations throughout the land it was told that the spirit of Alexander Mackenzie, the

tried and faithful servant of his country, was no longer of this earth, for, like his Master, he had risen. From Halifax to Victoria, in the temples dedicated to God's worship, beautiful tributes were paid to his memory, and the lessons of his life were preached as an incentive to other men to follow in his footsteps and learn of him.

In many cities and towns, in the early days of the week, memorial meetings were held, and people of all creeds and classes, and especially those of the sister nationality in the Province of Quebec, united in expressions of sorrow at the loss which had fallen upon the country. Resolutions of sadness poured in from municipal councils, and other organisations and societies, mingled with words of condolence from private persons and high dignitaries of state in this and distant lands. Flags flew at half-mast throughout the Dominion, bells were tolled, the columns of the newspapers were draped in mourning, and there was, for once, harmony in their utterances, for they were the manifestations, which none could doubt were heartfelt and genuine, of a common grief. The British, Australian and United States journals joined in the lamentations, bemoaning the loss of one so truly great and good, and each of the English-speaking nations of the world did reverence to the "grand old man" who was now, alas! no more.

The Governor-General of the Dominion; the Secretary of State for the Colonies; the British Ambassador, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, from Paris, for himself and the Marchioness; the Marquis of Lorne, on his own behalf and on behalf of His Royal Consort, the Queen's daughter; the great leaders of political parties in the Dominion Parliament; the Lieut.-Governors and Ministers of Provinces; the Judges of the Canadian courts; friends and admirers across the sea; Municipal

Councils, and other public bodies, social and political, at home, communicated to Mrs. Mackenzie the tokens of their own and the all-pervading grief. The House of Commons, which was sitting at the time, ceased its business until after the funeral, and the Conservative as well as the Liberal members of that body met in their respective quarters and marked the occasion by fitting resolutions.

Sir John Thompson, the leader of the Government in the Commons, in moving the adjournment of the House, paid a fine tribute to Mr. Mackenzie's worth and to the value of his public services. Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, seconded the resolution, and said that the qualities united in Mr. Mackenzie—qualities seldom combined—made him one of the truest and strongest characters to be met with in Canadian history. He was endowed with a warm heart and a copious and rich fancy, though veiled by a somewhat reticent exterior, and he was of friends the most tender and true. Above all, living in an age which was not particularly distinguished for adherence to principle, he never wavered from what he thought to be right, as God gave him the faculty to see the right. And at a time when success was held to be a primary condition, success with him was not even a first or secondary consideration. He might when in office have conciliated public opinion, and perhaps continued to enjoy power by consenting to deviate ever so little from those principles of political economy, which principles alone he held to be true; but his stern and upright character asserted itself, as it always did; he risked everything, he lost all, and he bore the loss cheerfully, for conscience sake. Such examples were rarely seen in our day, and to find their parallel it would be necessary to go back to the days of Puritan England, when men fought and bled for their convictions of duty—qualities

which distinguished above all others Mr. Mackenzie's career. Hon. David Mills supplemented the remarks of the Parliamentary leaders with some fitting observations, in which he bore testimony to the extraordinary merits of his deceased friend and former governmental chief.

The Senate had previously taken a long recess. On resuming on 27th April, Senator Scott, the Secretary of State in Mr. Mackenzie's Government, directed attention to his loss. He dwelt particularly on Mr. Mackenzie's sympathetic feeling for the toiling masses, and his familiarity with the work of all the departments of the Government. The Premier, Senator Abbott, who had sat with Mr. Mackenzie for a number of years in the House of Commons, although opposed in politics, said he always commanded his respect and the respect of every one else. He also bore testimony to the great esteem entertained for Mrs. Mackenzie, as the lady highest in social position in the Dominion while her husband was Premier, and said he was sure he expressed the sentiments of every one in the House when he said they felt an intense and earnest sympathy for her. Senator Allan, who, since Mr. Mackenzie's residence in Toronto, had been associated with him in other duties, said that those who knew and appreciated him in former days, when in health and in office, would have their respect even more increased if they knew as well as he knew how bravely he had borne up during the many subsequent years of physical suffering, and how assiduously, honestly and earnestly, in spite of all drawbacks, he had continued to fight the battle of his life to the end. He likewise paid a tribute to Mrs. Mackenzie for the admirable manner in which she had filled her position of dignity, as well as for her fortitude and cheerfulness in assisting and sustaining her husband in his many years of sickness.

The arrangements for the funeral were placed in the hands of Mr. Robert Jaffray and Mr. T. C. Irving, warm friends and trusted advisers of the deceased statesman, and they were most admirably carried out. Services were arranged for each of two days—Wednesday, in Toronto, his later home, and Thursday, in his former home, in Sarnia.

It is said that a suggestion for a state funeral had been made by a leading man, who admired him for his virtues and shared in his greatness. But it was not so ordered. And, perhaps, on the whole, it was better that it was not to be, as more befitting the simplicity of the character of the deceased, and giving larger scope for the spontaneous outburst of the nation's sorrow.

"There are," said the Chancellor of the English Exchequer, on one occasion, "rare instances when the sympathy of a nation approaches those tenderer feelings which are generally supposed to be peculiar to the individual, and to be the happy privilege of private life; and this is one." The words of the wise statesman point their own moral. There may be little of the pomp of history investing these recent occurrences. They may not touch the heart of nations, but the faithful and afflicted servant of the state never appeals in vain for sympathy to the domestic sentiment of mankind.

The wasted form, but with the light on the countenance "that never was on sea or land," that was more than happiness—blessedness; the blessedness of the home he had longed for and had now entered, rested in the drawing-room. To him who had battled so long and courageously most appropriately might be applied the words of Charles Kingsley: "His face bore a sweetness which had been ripened by storm as well as by sunshine: which this world had not given and could not take away." The room was heaped with lovely

floral tributes in exquisite designs, and bearing touching mottoes, the gifts of friends in Canada and in other lands; among them being a wreath of calla lilies and roses from the Governor-General and Lady Stanley of Preston. The beautiful casket bore the simple inscription :

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE,

DIED

17TH APRIL, 1892,

AGED 70 YEARS.

The weather on the day of the funeral was as delightful as on the day he died. "Bright sunshine, the healthful breath of spring, the singing of birds and the return of verdure led the onlooker almost imperceptibly to look upon the better side, and to remember that he in whose honor thousands were assembled had done a brave and noble life-work, rather than to grieve that at length he had passed down into the silence of death. And in all the services and exercises of the day there was almost as much a note of triumph over the noble career of the departed statesman as of sorrow over his death."

On Wednesday, delegations from all parts of the country and other personal friends and admirers, clad in deep mourning, and with the political line obliterated, poured into Toronto and filled the city. There were strong bodies alike from the Conservative and Liberal members of the House of Commons. The Dominion Cabinet was represented by Sir John Thompson, leader of the Government in the House of Commons; Hon. J. C. Patterson, Secretary of State; Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Militia, and Hon. Frank Smith, Acting Minister of Public Works. Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, and Hon. David Mills, had been formally chosen to represent the Liberal party in Parliament.

With the exception of Hon. C. F. Fraser, who was in the Southern States for his health, all the members of the Ontario Cabinet attended; and there were few absentees from the entire body of the Legislature.

There was a short service at the house, conducted by Rev. Dr. Thomas and Rev. James Grant. The funeral cortege was then formed for the services in the Jarvis-street Baptist Church, the route, which was crowded with sorrowing people, being by St. Albans and Wellesley-streets.

After a posse of mounted police, came the first carriage, occupied by Rev. Dr. Thomas, Rev. Professor McLaren, Rev. G. M. Milligan, and Rev. James Grant, officiating clergymen. Then followed a carriage containing Rev. Father Walsh, representing the Archbishop of Toronto. And next three carriages with the pall-bearers, all close personal friends of Mr. Mackenzie, in the following order:

Hon. Edward Blake, Hon. Oliver Mowat, Hon. G. W. Allan,
Mr. Justice Burton,

Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright, Hon. T. W. Anglin,
Mr. Justice McLennan, Hon. G. W. Ross,

Robert Jaffray, T. C. Irving, Major Greig, J. L. Blaikie.

Behind the pall-bearers' carriages was the funeral car drawn by four black horses, and accompanied by a carriage containing the floral offerings. The chief mourners followed.

In the first carriage were Mr. Charles Mackenzie, M.P.P., brother; Rev. Dr. Thompson, son-in-law, and Mr. W. Mackenzie, nephew of the deceased.

In the second were Mr. W. Buckingham, late Private Secretary; Mr. Henry Beatty, Toronto; Mr. Thomas Hodgins, Q.C., Master-in-Ordinary; and Hon. A. McKellar, Sheriff of Wentworth.

The carriages of Colonel Dawson, A.D.C., representing the Governor-General, and of Captain Greville Harston, A.D.C., representing the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, came next.

Then followed carriages bearing Sir John Thompson, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Hon. J. C. Patterson, Hon. Frank Smith, Hon. L. H. Davies, Hon. David Mills, Hon. Speaker Ballantyne, Hon. A. S. Hardy, Hon. J. M. Gibson, Hon. R. Harcourt, and many other Liberal and Conservative leaders.

The Parliamentary delegation proper formed the next section of the funeral cortege, some in carriages, including Hon. R. W. Scott and Sir Donald A. Smith; the rest, forming a large contingent of the House of Commons, on foot, headed by Mr. D'Alton McCarthy. Other carriages contained :

The Board of the North American Life, of which deceased was President.

The Mayor and City Council.

East York Liberal Association.

East York Conservative Association.

The Toronto Reform Association.

The Young Men's Liberal Club.

The York County Council.

The Public Library Board.

The St. Andrew's Society.

The Caledonian Society.

Citizens of Toronto and friends from a distance.

The procession was large and imposing, and as it slowly passed along the streets, the people who filled them to the roadway stood with uncovered heads.

The mounted police guarded the entrance to the church, which, except the seats reserved, was already crowded with citizens. Presently, Parliament may be said to have assembled within that fane, under whose roof never before were

gathered together so many distinguished men. The Dead March in Saul was played by Mr. Vogt, the organist, as the pall-bearers entered the church, and placed their precious burden, surrounded by flowers, in front of the choir rails. The pall-bearers filed off to the left, the central front seats were taken up by the chief mourners, the Parliamentary delegation occupying those immediately behind, the leaders of the Government and of the Opposition in the House of Commons still sitting side by side.

Rev. G. M. Milligan offered the opening prayer ; the hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden," was sung to the swelling organ notes ; Rev. Dr. Johnston read selected passages of scripture ; Rev. Joshua Denovan engaged in prayer ; and after another hymn, "Asleep in Jesus," Rev. Dr. Thomas delivered a magnificent eulogy on the career and splendid services of the statesman they had come to mourn. He compared him to the Roman soldier sentinel who was forgotten, and was buried under the lava of Vesuvius rather than desert his post, and to Wellington, standing like a tower of strength, "four square, to all the winds that blow." Alexander Mackenzie's was the highest type of statesmanship, which was not so common, even here, but that it stirred the nation's veneration and enthusiasm when a life like his was brought under review. He recited the leading incidents in that life, and, after telling of the greatness he had achieved, said the best feature in his character was that he was a sincere Christian. He thus concluded the panegyric :

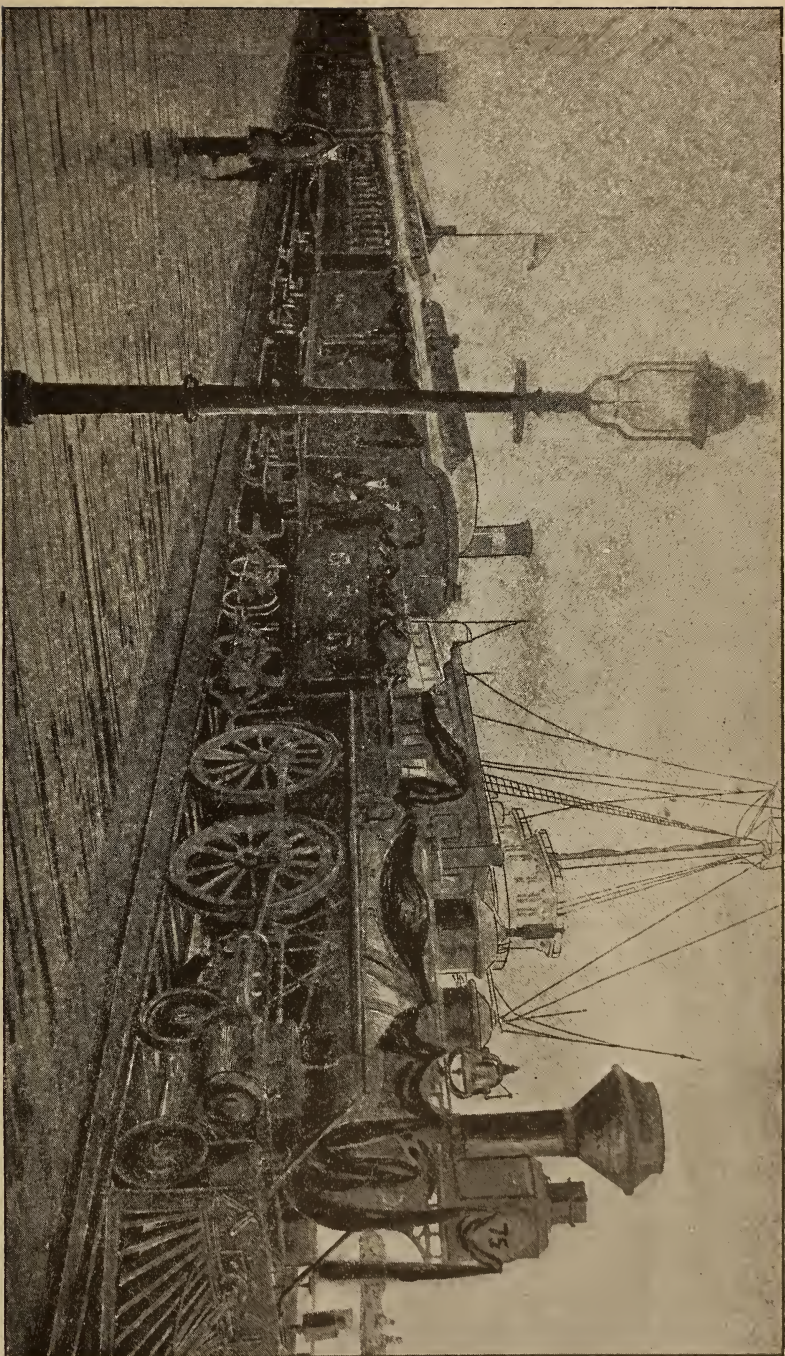
"How inestimable is an honest man ! His price is above rubies. He is the keystone in the mighty superstructure of society. He is the strength of every great financial institution. Society is a heap of sand, and government a gilded swindle without honest men. Oh, how Alexander Mackenzie loved Canada ! And if he could speak to us to-day

with lips unsealed, it would be to urge us to fidelity in all that would tend to develop her resources and enhance her glory. Methinks I hear the grand old patriot sending back a shout from the everlasting hills bearing the message 'Defend Canada from her enemies ; be true to her interests ; lay yourselves upon the altar of her service ; preserve the fair heritage which God has given you ; rest not until her brow is wreathed with purity, her loins girded with righteousness, her feet unshackled, holding in her right hand the volume of eternal truth, and its laws written on her heart.' Thou grand old veteran of thy country's liberties, farewell."

Professor McLaren, of Knox College, followed with an eloquent and touching tribute, dwelling upon the loss the country had sustained in the removal of one of its most trusted statesmen, who occupied a conspicuous place in our history, and who, living the life of an honest man, an honest politician, true to his convictions, more anxious to maintain right than power and position, had left a mark upon the country, and a mark for the country's good. His history, his memory, was a heritage for the people, many of whom, he trusted, would rise up and devote themselves with similar integrity and self-sacrifice to promote the nation's welfare. To him we might address the words spoken of a great statesman in by-gone ages, one who, in equally trying circumstances, kept his name unsullied to the end: "Go thou thy way until the end be, for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

Another hymn was sung—"Nothing in My Hand I Bring"—and Rev. Dr. Potts closed the solemn services with prayer.

From the church the remains were borne to the railway station by Wilton-avenue, through Yonge-street, in which, by request of the Mayor, business was suspended while the funeral passed, and many of the leading stores were draped in mourning. The respect paid to the cortege was most marked. It needed little effort on the part of the mounted police to



The Funeral Train, G. T. R. Station, Sarnia.

PHOTO BY G. R. LANGFELD.

clear the way, and obtain a suspension of traffic. The Union Station was reached shortly after 3 o'clock, and here the arrangements were most complete. Mr. C. W. Taylor brought down Mrs. Mackenzie and Mrs. Thompson, both ladies bearing up well under their heavy affliction. When the cortege arrived at the station, the ladies had retired to their private car, which, with the Balmoral sleeper for guests, was attached to the special train. The pall-bearers formed a double line on the platform, and the casket was carried through their ranks, and deposited in the car next the engine. In a few minutes all was ready. Mr. Taylor gave the signal, and the train of several cars, laden with friends, pulled out of the *depôt* at 3.32 on the melancholy journey across the Province, in every corner of which the departed statesman was so well loved. The train was draped in black, and was scheduled to run forty-five miles an hour. At some of the stations, especially at London, a brief halt was made, and the people crowded round, many joining in the onward journey.

Sarnia, the destination, was reached at 9.10, and a dense, surging mass was in waiting at the *depôt*, but the most complete order and respectful silence were maintained as the train drew up. Six nephews of the late Mr. Mackenzie were in waiting to officiate as pall-bearers, two sons of each of his three brothers, John, James, and Charles. These young men slowly bore the body of their uncle out into the inky darkness to the hearse. Mr. Robert Mackenzie, whose age prevented him from going to Toronto, and other relatives, were also present, and accompanied the casket. With only a few moments necessary delay, and without the slightest ostentation or display, the cortege moved up Front-street to Mr. Charles Mackenzie's residence on Christina-street, where the remains were to rest until the morning. Many hundreds followed the procession through

the quiet streets, their saddened and subdued voices testifying most unmistakably to the real sense of loss which each and all so keenly felt.

Thursday broke dull and sombre in Sarnia, and the rain fell steadily. The houses were draped in black. Every train that came in was filled with mourners. Rev. Dr. McLaren conducted a private service, commencing at 10:30, at Mr. Charles Mackenzie's residence, the members of the family and one or two others present being Mrs. A. Mackenzie, the widow, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Mackenzie, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. John Mackenzie, Mrs. James Mackenzie, Mrs. Wm. Roy (Detroit), Mrs. John Wallis (Brantford), Mr. Robt. Mackenzie, Misses Maggie Mackenzie, Nellie Mackenzie, Susie Mackenzie, Grace Mackenzie, Helen Thompson, Ella Mackenzie, Marion Mackenzie, Messrs. Robert Mackenzie, jun., David Mackenzie, John Mackenzie, Charles Mackenzie, jun., Wm. Mackenzie, Malcolm Mackenzie, Gordon Mackenzie, and Masters Stewart Mackenzie, Kenneth Mackenzie, Alex. Mackenzie, Alex. Thompson and Robert Thompson; Mrs. A. Young (Toronto), Miss Steed, Dr. Thorburn (Toronto), and Mr. D. S. McBean (Chicago.) At the conclusion of the service an interval of half an hour elapsed, during which a few intimate friends called, after which the hearse was drawn up to the door and the casket deposited therein and conveyed in the quietest possible manner to St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, accompanied by only the male relatives. The pall-bearers were again the six nephews of the deceased: Robert and David, sons of the late James Mackenzie; John and Gordon, sons of the late John Mackenzie; Charles and Malcolm, sons of Charles Mackenzie.

The body lay in state at the church—the bier with freshest garlands newly strewn, the gifts of loving Lambton hands—



The Casket in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Sarnia.



St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Sarnia. PHOTO BY G. R. LANCEFIELD.

until two o'clock, when the casket was closed and the services commenced. In the interval, people poured steadily past to take a last look at the familiar features, so placid and pleasing in their expression. The galleries, with the pulpit, from which the son-in-law of the deceased Premier has ministered these twenty-six years, were heavily draped. The organist, Mr. W. Philp, played the Dead March; the hymn, "Rock of Ages," was sung; Rev. Professor McLaren read a passage from Revelations; Rev. Professor Gregg offered prayer; another hymn was sung, "Nearer My God to Thee;" and Rev. Professor Gregg delivered the oration. He began with an appropriate allusion to the likeness between the life-long friends, Alexander MacKenzie and George Brown, Lambton's earlier representative. He traced the march of events in which they both took leading parts. He pointed to the dauntless spirit, the upright conduct, the loyalty to principle of their deceased friend, comparing him to Edmund Burke, to Samuel, the last but the best judge of Israel. He said he bore to the grave a stainless name, and his whole life, especially to the young, was a noble inspiration.

The services closed with the hymn, "The Sands of Time are Sinking;" prayer, by Rev. Professor McLaren; the anthem, "Come unto Me all ye that Labor;" and an organ dirge; the remains meanwhile being borne from the church.

As the worshippers emerged from the edifice, the rain-clouds dispersed, and the bright sunshine fell again upon the scene. The streets were lined by thousands, with bowed heads and sorrowful faces. Many of those who were present at the obsequies in Toronto were in the procession, joined by multitudes who gathered from the western district. Lakeview cemetery, the place of interment, is two miles distant, and all the vehicles that could be obtained were wholly inadequate to

the purposes of the occasion, but those who could not ride, including many women and children, walked the entire way, in order to see all that was mortal of Alexander Mackenzie, the beloved, consigned to the tomb.

The grave had been beautifully draped in white, and the pure folds of the hanging cloth were caught up at intervals with clusters of white lilies, smilax and roses, the edge of the grave being bordered with green laurel leaves and cocoa matting laid on either side. The coffin having been lowered, the many lovely floral offerings were grouped around on the matting, and the bystanders looked upon that peaceful resting-place, bathed in a rich flood of generous sunlight, and embedded in snow-white flowers, the perfume from which hung heavily on the air. Then the Rev. Dr. Gregg engaged in earnest prayer, the benediction was pronounced, and the veteran statesman, after the many vicissitudes of his early days, the struggles and triumphs of his mature age, the ever-increasing physical weakness of his declining years—"life's fitful fever" over—was left to his repose.





Family Burial Plot in Lakeview Cemetery, Sarnia.

PHOTO BY G. R. LANCEFIELD,



CHAPTER XLIII.

TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY.

Mrs. Mackenzie's Help to Him in His Public Career—His Recognition of It—Her Devotion in His Long Illness—Personal and Public Tributes—Letter from Hon. A. G. Jones—Hon. S. H. Blake's Oration—The Pulpit and the Press—All Unite to do Him Honor.

THE wealth of affection and devotion bestowed by the wife upon the stricken husband for the ten years before his death has rarely been surpassed. She was his devoted companion everywhere. She had already in the sunshine of the world won golden opinions from all sorts of persons, and these were invested with increased lustre by what was observed of her yet higher womanly qualities when the shadows fell and deepened. We but repeat the estimate universally formed of Mrs. Mackenzie, when we say that she was a tower of strength to her husband throughout his official life, adding to his prestige and his influence. As was remarked of her, while Mr. Mackenzie was Premier, she won all hearts by her frankness, her geniality, her kindly spirit, and unassuming manners. She moved with all the grace of one born in the circle of polished life. She met with ease and dignity personages the most distinguished, and received on the same footing and without an air of condescension, the lowliest in the land. She was as much above worldly pride as her distinguished husband. She had the same unaffected goodness of heart and the same herit-

age of good, sound sense. A charming hostess, in those days of magnificent hospitality, alike at Government House and the residence of the Prime Minister, she was of all the favorite.

We are sorely tempted here to violate the proprieties, if indeed it be a transgression, by quoting from the correspondence so unreservedly placed in our hands, a passage from a letter addressed by her husband to Mrs. Mackenzie, from Ottawa, on the 2nd of March, 1880 :

“It is a pleasure to me to be able to count the days, now happily few in number, until I shall see you again. I am just as keen and enthusiastic as I was twenty-seven years ago to be with you. Then I liked you for what I believed you to be—now I love you for what I know you are. Then I had no doubt you would make my life happy—now, I can say you have more than realised all my hopes and expectations ; so that we can look back upon more than a quarter of a century of the happiest of married existence, and can look forward with cheerfulness and hopefulness to what may remain to us of life on earth. In trying circumstances, you nobly did your share in maintaining my position and your own. My warmest love you had before, but this commanded my greatest admiration. I continue daily to receive the strongest evidence that no one ever had a closer hold on all hearts than you commanded here. I am not good, as you know, in the use of language of a demonstrative kind, and will only say further, what I always feel, that I have the best of wives—God bless her.”

The intimacy of Mr. Mackenzie with his colleagues was a very trustful and cordial intimacy. He had in an especial measure a warm attachment for the leading members of his Cabinet down by the sea. The reader has already been able to judge of the tender nature of the friendship which existed between Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Laird, of Prince Edward Island, from the evidence they have themselves furnished of it in these pages. His reliance upon the sound judgment and leal-heartedness of Mr. Jones, of Nova Scotia, and Sir Albert



Mrs. Mackenzie.

Smith and Mr. Burpee, of New Brunswick, was equally great. He has carefully preserved the many valued letters he received from each of them. Sir Albert Smith and Mr. Burpee are no more; but Mr. Jones remains of his Maritime Ministers to hold him in affectionate remembrance. Of the numerous kind letters received by Mrs. Mackenzie since her husband's death, none has given her greater solace in her sorrow than a touching letter from Mr. Jones. We can, however, find space but for the one paragraph, which gives expression to his grateful acknowledgment of Mr. Mackenzie's ever-helpful assistance: "Perhaps no one had more cause to speak well of him than I had. From the day I entered Parliament, in 1867, to the time we resigned, in 1878, he was always my warmest friend and counsellor, and I cannot hope to make anyone adequately understand how much I owed to him for any measure of success I may have had in public life." And this, too, which is but confirmatory of the universal testimony to his unwavering loyalty: "He was a man, of whom it may truly be said, that when you had won his confidence, there were no more doubts to be cleared away." These sentiments find an echo in the hearts of all those who knew him best.

At a meeting in East York, shortly after the funeral, Hon. S. H. Blake delivered an oration, which he commenced by a touching allusion to the death of Mr. Mackenzie, a man who, he said, stood out as a stalwart among men throughout the world, a man who struck for the right regardless of consequences: "Consequences had to go to pieces before Alexander Mackenzie. God give us more such as he was, honest and true." He liked to think that he could follow him yet; that the influence of Alexander Mackenzie still lived. "Men may say what shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue; but I," said Mr. Blake, impressively, "like to say what a grand reality he was, and what a noble man we may pursue."

The tributes paid to the revered statesman, both by pulpit and press, were generous and unstinted. They were not labored eulogies, but heartfelt and spontaneous, for, as has been well said by the *Sarnia Observer*, neither orators nor writers had to pick their way among the pages of his life-work to separate the good he did from that which should be covered by the mantle of silence. He proved incorruptible when tried in the fire of temptation that surrounds a public man with vast patronage at his disposal, and no blemish mars the record he hands down to posterity.

"Like Cæsar," said the *Philadelphia Record*, "who twice refused a kingly crown, Hon. Alexander Mackenzie refused the honor of knighthood three times; but, unlike Cæsar, he owed his political overthrow to his incorruptible honesty and unswerving integrity."

Remarked the *Christian Guardian*, he was a diligent public servant, faithful to the trust reposed in him, of inexorable adherence to convictions of duty. Though great in point of intellectual endowment, he was greater still in his recognition of the moral and religious principles which concern true statesmanship, and towards which its best endeavors aspire and tend. His name and fame will have a sure and honorable place in the history of his country.

The *New York Herald* dwelt upon his great force of character, and pointed to his spotless reputation. It said that his was probably the only instance in the history of England or her colonies where a workingman had risen to the high office of its First Minister.

Said the *Presbyterian Review*, the rise of Mr. Mackenzie from the humble position of a handicraftsman to be the Premier of Canada, is a magnificent object lesson to the young men of this country. In his death we have lost a most faithful and upright public servant.

The *St. John Telegraph* said he was loved by the people, and his political opponents were compelled to respect him even above their own chosen leader. The verdict of history will be that as a statesman he has had few equals in Canada. He has enriched Canadian annals, and set a shining example for years to come. His death is a national loss, which can only be retrieved by applying in national affairs the lessons taught by his life.

The *Toronto Mail* observed that he was in his ideas a direct antithesis of Sir John Macdonald. He declined the ribbon he might have worn, but as plain Alexander Mackenzie he was none the less respected, and the country will long honor his memory as that of a man who ruled it conscientiously and gave it of his best.

The *Canadian Presbyterian* said that few leaders of men were freer from demagogic arts than he. His death is sincerely mourned by the Canadian people, and all who knew him will sympathise deeply with those near and dear to him who are left behind—those who saw in its completeness that beautiful, unselfish life which he lived for seventy years. His will be an honored place in the history of the Dominion of Canada, and his example will be an incentive to the younger generation to pursue generous, unselfish aims.

It is one of the very foremost architects of the Canadian nationality, said the *Montreal Star*, that we mourn. Few men will stand out so prominently as an example to the Canadian youth of probity, honesty, integrity and high honor. He began life as an artisan, with no advantages of birth or wealth behind him, and with his own toughened right hand won his way to the highest office in the Dominion. In the dark days of '73, Canadians were in a state of panic, distrusting the stability of their newly-built Dominion; and no one can tell what would have happened had not the stalwart form of Alexander Mackenzie lifted itself above the screaming, vociferating and denying mass of politicians, and all Canada felt at once that there was a man who could be trusted.

Said the *Toronto Globe*, he was a man who loved the people, and who, as long as health and strength were vouchsafed to him, fought for their rights against privilege and monopoly in every form. As remarked by Rev. Dr. Thomas, he was loyal to the Queen and to the institutions of the country, but, above all, loyal to the manhood for which governments and institutions of whatever sort are made. Canadians of all shades of political belief have long since come to the conclusion that for five years Canada was ruled by an honest man; honest not only in his lofty scorn of making profit out of his high place, or allowing others to profit at the expense of the people, but in the faithfulness with which he devoted all his energy and talent to the service of the country.

Said the *Toronto Empire*, during the recent years of his silent political service and the weeks of his fatal illness, the minds of men have turned

sympathetically to the career and character of the old statesman, and the verdict has been almost unanimous that in Alexander Mackenzie the qualities of steadfast devotion to principle, of shrewd judgment and practical sense, of vigorous mental power, of sturdy national pride, were strongly and happily united. On one or two of the really great issues which have arisen since his retirement he took a silent though, naturally, a significant stand, which heightened the respect of a majority of his countrymen for his judgment and his patriotism, and thus it comes about that to-day not a jarring note will be heard in the chorus of kindly tributes to his name and fame that will arise all over Canada. We prefer to remember Mr. Mackenzie in these later years when he loyally stood by his party, even at inconvenience to himself, and showed that he could as faithfully and unselfishly serve them in defeat as he could lead them in the days of victory. We prefer to remember that, when unhappy rebellion broke out in the land, Mr. Mackenzie stood firm, as became a man of worth and loyalty, for the cause of law and order, and how, even in the most recent discussions, when physically far from well, his strong and active mind grasped the hardest political problems, and took a sounder, shrewder view of Canadian interests than many younger, bolder, but less sagacious, men.

Said the Markham *Economist*, he watched and carefully studied the policies of enlightened nations in Europe and America. He loved his adopted country, and gave it his life. He saw that its farming and lumbering interests were what sustained it, and that on their success depended the success of its merchants and manufacturers. His policy was to give them the markets of the world to buy and sell in, with the least possible restrictions to their efforts.

Said the Charlottetown (P.E.I.), *Patriot*, (Hon. D. Laird, editor), in all that constitutes the real man, the honest statesman, the true patriot, the warm friend, and the sincere Christian, he had few equals. Possessed of a clear intellect, a retentive memory, and a ready command of appropriate words, he was one of the most logical and powerful speakers we have ever heard. But high as were his mental endowments, he was equally noted for his robustness of character. He frowned from his presence the individual who would dare make dishonorable proposals to him, and no little of the opposition from old supporters which he encountered in the electoral campaign of 1878, arose from the sternness with which he

had refused to use public funds for the private or party advantage of men who claimed to be friends of his Government.

Said Paul de Cazes in the *Paris Monde*, when describing him many years ago : "Dry, nervous, of a stature very little over the average, modest in his manners and simple in his attire, without carelessness, the Prime Minister has nothing about him that smacks of the *parvenu*. Notwithstanding his deep blue eye, his well-developed brow, and energetic mouth, the *ensemble* of his physiognomy lacks, perhaps, somewhat of that undefinable air of distinction commonly attributed to high birth ; but, on the other hand, it bears the more to be appreciated stamp which talent and intelligent and sustained labor occasionally place upon the countenances of men of the most lowly origin. Cool, methodical, correct, the speeches of the leader of the Canadian Cabinet, free from all attempt at literary effect, nevertheless habitually impress the hearers by the power of their reasoning. It is not to the Hon. Prime Minister of Canada that we desire to pay homage, but to Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the stonemason of twenty years ago, who, by perseverance and hard study, has raised himself to the highest round of the social ladder of his adopted country."

Said the *London Times* : "Modest by disposition, he, nevertheless, enjoyed controversy, and was quite at home in the heat of debate either in the House or on the hustings. Better still—the untiring energy, the business-like accuracy, the keen perception and reliable judgment, and above all the inflexible integrity which marked his private life, he carried without abatement of one jot into his public career. His name has been regarded as a symbol of honesty among friends and foes alike."

We must conclude these tributes, which might be indefinitely extended, by the few following lines at the close of a monograph in *Grip* :

"He was a Christian of that old-time sort—
Unfashionable now and growing rare—
Who knew no sacred barr'd from secular,
But worshipped God by doing honest work."

Nobody now pretends to say that in Mr. Mackenzie's time there was no virtue in Dominion politics. It is certain that in

him, as Prime Minister, there was a high sense of personal honor which was very effectual in accomplishing what he promised in the way of raising the standard of public morality. Since then, unfortunately, the standard has again been lowered; there has been distinct debasement. And we see no reason to hope for substantial improvement—for a purification of the political atmosphere—so long as the hypocritical pretence exists, that, *ex necessitate*, as the convenient phrase goes, by way of attempted excuse for the toleration of evil of whatever kind, whenever it is brought to light, “one party is as bad as the other.” So long as proven dishonesty on the part of one man, or one set of men, is palliated and suffered to go unpunished, on the easy assumption that his or their opponents are “just like them;” so long as men of high character and truthfulness are measured by the same standard as those who are debased and are unfaithful to their trust; so long, we say, as these views prevail, rectitude of life and action, on the part of Canadian statesman, will not be potential as an agency in improving the *morale*. The country will be kept down to the level of the conduct and behavior of the degenerate, instead of being raised to the higher altitude of those who are still capable, we are thankful to be able to believe, of carrying the exemplary principles of private life into the discharge of public duty. It will be a bad day for Canada when her sons, in order to save themselves from contamination, will have to abandon politics as an unclean and unholy thing. There is too much reason to fear that to this condition we have been drifting for many years past, and that many professional teachers of morality, blinded by the exigencies of the party fray, have helped to sow the seeds of the nation’s degradation.

It happened to the writer of this notice, (says the *Toronto Monetary Times*), to be made aware, about 1885, of an incident which shows the

high view Mr. Mackenzie entertained of his functions as a Minister of the Crown, as well as the contempt in which he held the claims of mere self-seeking politicians when they might seem to interfere with a public trust. A manufacturer whose works were situated near the Intercolonial Railway, who was a supporter of Mr. Mackenzie's Government, and who had a very complacent notion of his own influence and importance, made a pilgrimage to Ottawa. His object was to get a spur of the railway built to his factory, and he obtained an interview with the Premier. He made a proposition which seemed quite legitimate as a business venture, but he proceeded to spoil his case by descanting upon the services he had rendered the party, and he closed with something very like a demand upon the Government that his desire should be complied with as a reward of party fealty. He got an answer without delay. To use his own words: "The Premier of Canada stood up, and placing his hands behind his back, said, 'Sir, the Government declines to entertain your proposition,' and without another word turned his back upon me and left the room."

During Mr. Mackenzie's Premiership an incident occurred which illustrates in a strikingly pleasant way the stern honesty of the man and his kindness of heart:

"A minister, a warm, personal and political friend of his, broke down in health, and wished to go to the seaside. Funds were scarce, and, under the impression that ministers had special rates over the Intercolonial he wrote to the department asking for information. Mr. Mackenzie replied through a friend in substance as follows: 'Tell Mr. ——— that special rates cannot be made, but I shall gladly pay his fare out of my own pocket.'"

A characteristic experience of Mr. Mackenzie's sterling determination to avoid even the appearance of evil, though it might profit him, was related by Rev. Dr. Clark, in Zion tabernacle, Hamilton, at the time Mr. Mackenzie died:

"From 1865 to 1868, while stationed at Sarnia, I had the privilege of being intimately acquainted with the late ex-Premier. I remember on one occasion having charge of a missionary enterprise, and applying to Mr. Mackenzie for a donation. It happened to be just prior to the disso-

lution of Parliament, and Mr. Mackenzie's reply to my request was : ' We are expecting an election before long, and it is a rule with me never to give, or promise to give, for charitable or other purposes when we are near an election.' After the election was over we were surprised to receive from Mr. Mackenzie a substantial cheque for our missionary scheme. He was a man of broad sympathies. He was not connected with our denomination. In fact, no one branch of the Church of Jesus Christ has a right to claim the entire of such a man."

As official agent of the Liberal party in 1877-8, Mr. G. R. Pattullo suggested to the Premier that he might strengthen the hands of the Liberal candidates in the Niagara peninsula in the 1878 contest by taking the opportunity of visiting them, and at the same time making a personal inspection of the large works then in progress on the Welland canal. But he did not act upon the advice. He thought it wrong to put in an appearance upon public works at such a time, and he would trust, he said, to the people to do him justice on his policy. There were four seats in the district, and three of them went against him—a righteous policy to guide them, and the considerable benefits derivable from the prosecution of the public works, notwithstanding. Cynics of to-day may say that this was bad politics on the part of the Premier. Perhaps it was; but beyond bad politics, he trusted, if too often in vain, to the influence of good principles.

A letter written by Mr. Mackenzie to a gentleman in one of the Lower Provinces, a few months before his Government went out of office, truthfully indicates the position, pecuniarily and politically, of his Ministers towards public contractors, and is prophetic of the glaring corruptions which have been attendant upon the return of the old set to power:

"For two years past the whole energies of the Opposition press and the leaders have been devoted to a system of misrepresentation and cal-

umny never before resorted to. Under these circumstances it is of great consequence that our leading newspapers should take a firm stand, not on my behalf, for no man is so important that his individual interests should be considered, but on behalf of good government. Personally, I am not desirous to continue in office, but I am extremely anxious to prevent such men as we have had from again having the control of the affairs of the country, for they have on their side the great army of speculative contractors who undoubtedly have furnished them with money for election purposes, and will do so again. The Pacific Railway offers large prospective advantages to lure this class into making immense efforts to get back again to the old kind of work.

“For ourselves, I am glad to be able with a clear conscience to say that not one contractor has ever been asked to pay a cent for political purposes for any member of this Government; and that no contractor has in the remotest way had a favor. The men who can now openly defend the Pacific Railway scandal, and say, ‘it was, perhaps, a mistake, but it was not a crime,’ are quite capable of repeating the offence, if an opportunity is allowed them of so doing.”

The remark that Mr. Mackenzie neither gave favors to contractors nor received favors from them, is so literally correct that we have before us copy of a letter written at the same period by Mr. Mackenzie’s secretary, in the Minister’s absence, to a person of influence, who desired to see a great public work pushed more rapidly forward, and temporary structures erected to facilitate the operations; reminding him that to interfere with a contractor in this way was to give him a claim for extras, and “against extras to contractors Mr. Mackenzie has ever set his face as it were a flint.” The spoils system was not in vogue in those days, and no one got rich out of the pickings and stealings.

Among the tributes paid to Mr. Mackenzie is that of a clergyman in New Brunswick who had heard him say on a platform in St. John: “I do not want any one to be in doubt as to the policy of my Government, and our reasons for it. If

you can support us in that policy, I will be glad, but if you pronounce against it, then I am prepared to leave. But we will stand by our principles, come what may." The clergyman was opposed to the Government policy; "but," he said, "I could not as a Canadian help feeling proud of a countryman who put principle before his very official existence, and whom the love, inherent in most men, of power and position, could not swerve the breadth of a single hair."

Mr. Mackenzie had a genuine relish for good literature. He liked history, and kept himself *au courant* with the leading events in other countries than his own. He was no mean scientist, and had a close acquaintance with Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall and Spencer. Hugh Miller's books he carried in his brain. Ruskin, De Quincey and Carlyle he read with an understanding mind. Thackeray he did not seem to care much for. His greatest delight was in Scott, Dickens, George Eliot, and George Macdonald—and first and foremost, Scott. In his declining years, when he could no longer hold a book in his hand, he would sit for hours, and late into the evening, listening with intense relish to the recital of the quaint remarks of Davie Deans, the oddities of Saddletree and Cuddie Headrigg, or the pedantries of the Antiquary, whose conceits and whimsicalities would cause him to shake with uncontrollable merriment. During the past Christmas holidays, when visiting his son-in-law in Sarnia, he had read to him again Darwin's "Journal of a Voyage round the World," with which he was always much delighted. The last book which was read to him before he died was "Stalker's Life of Christ," by his granddaughter, in Toronto. Several pages before its close, one night, his hour for retiring had arrived, but he could not withdraw till the book was finished, when he expressed himself

highly gratified with its plan, its racy and beautiful English, and its clear presentation of facts.

He thought deeply on religious subjects, and was a theologian qualified to discuss with specialists many of the more knotty points of doctrine, whose foundations he had discovered not only in Butler, Paley, Blunt and Chalmers, but in Calvin, Cunningham, Flint, and the massive work of Hodge. Many a young minister he has recommended to read such works as "Thomson's Land and the Book," "Porter's Giant Cities," "Fairbairn's Revelation of Law in Scripture," and the "Bampton Lectures." He was much gratified with "Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World," which he purchased in Glasgow directly it was issued from the press, and read in crossing the ocean, before the work had got into the hands of the booksellers on this side the Atlantic.

Rev. Professor George Paxton Young used to tell that he found him versed in metaphysics and philosophy, with an acquaintance with Hume, McIntosh, Reid, Stewart and Locke, and a memory to retain their principles which surprised him.

Letters he wrote with his own hand, and dictated, by the hundred, and on all kinds of subjects, and with the greatest ease and rapidity. The country is full of them. We have before us so many of force and beauty, from his correspondents everywhere, that it has been a difficult matter to make selections. They are models of pure, idiomatic English, with a high degree of literary grace, and are marked also by his well-known directness, condensation, and correctness of expression.

These qualities so much characterised his speaking that every sentence, every word, came freighted with its exact meaning. The reporters were united in the opinion that he was one of the few men in parliament who could be "taken

down" and "written out" fully and literally. A few years ago, "Knoxonian," who knew him well, and had observed him closely, wrote thus of him in his admirable gallery of "Prominent Canadians:"

"He builds a speech just as he used to build a stone wall—clear, clean-cut, concise; sentences are laid one upon another in an orderly and compact manner, and when the speech is finished you can no more knock a word or sentence out of it than you can knock stones out of a well-built wall. His accurate knowledge, never-failing memory, and quick perceptive powers make him specially formidable in reply. Running through many of his speeches, especially those delivered in hot debates, there is a mingled vein of mild sarcasm and dry, pawky, Scotch humor that is very effective. The effect is greatly increased by the manner in which the work is done. You see the bolt cross the House, and you see quite easily that it has struck. You look to the spot from which it was thrown, and you see a serious, almost solemn-looking, man, going on with his work as if nothing had occurred. The plainness and apparent simplicity of the speaker give the humor and sarcasm a great effect."

When he was at the zenith of his power he needed no one to apologise for him because of lack of early training, much as he himself felt it in every stage of his career. As a man of mental power, of grasp of his subject in all its details, of capacity to marshal facts and make every word tell, of wide and accurate knowledge, of trained and cultured mind—self-cultured and trained though it was—Mr. Mackenzie held no second place to any representative who ever stood on the floor of Parliament. And well might he, in the words of another, have asked his small critics who sought either to apologise for or to detract from him: "Is it fair for you to call me uneducated or illiterate in prose so much worse than my own?" To the opinion of these small critics and their like, Mr Mackenzie was scornfully indifferent, leaving his mental endow-

ments, as he left his moral nature and his birth and lineage, to speak for themselves.

He was seldom or never worsted in debate, or found in error on matters of fact—for when once the facts got within his grasp they were held with the power of planet over planet—or found wrong in his quotation or application of precedents, or mistaken in his judgment of the character and aptitudes of men.

It has been already stated that in a certain sense Mr. Mackenzie was not fluent. That is, in the sense of not being wordy, merely, but he never hesitated for the most fitting expressions in which to clothe his thoughts, and his language was exact. Men will differ, too, in regard to what constitutes oratory and literary finish, and some may say that Mr. Mackenzie's style was not that of an orator or artist. In these respects his speeches and letters may be left to the judgment of the reader. Style in writing or speaking has been defined to be "proper words in their proper places." We will search elsewhere in vain for better examples of this style than we find in Mr. Mackenzie. For effective work, through the use of language which leaves no one in doubt of his meaning, few excelled him. Every word came from him full freighted on its proper mission, firm, compact, and forceful. He seldom constructed sentences for their beauty, though some passages in his speeches are truly eloquent, and the practical work he had always in hand may have helped to make his language less rhetorical; yet, if the grand function of the orator is to cause the truth and the mind to impinge on each other, without caring so much for the medium, his oratory was of the best. But, whatever difference there may be on these matters, all are united in bearing testimony to his power as a great leader in the House—to his wonderful knowledge of Parlia-

mentary practice and precedent, and to his readiness at once, and at all times, in bringing it to bear.

There was visible throughout Mr. Mackenzie's public career a silver thread of right and honest action. We see it at the beginning of his official life, we see it in its progress, we see it at the end. We have before us a letter written by him when he was treasurer of Ontario, in 1872, in answer to the reproach that a preference had been shown to a rival city, in which he says :

“ I am quite willing to go out of office to-morrow, or out of public life, for that matter, but I am not willing while here to form a judgment on questions coming to me on any but public grounds, and no abuse, promises, or threats of any kind will have a feather's weight to shake my determination. If the Government were capable of yielding to influence from any particular place, members would not be fit for official life. I need not say that the reproaches of your people who have written me have wounded me deeply. The imputation of evil motives is new to me, coming from such a quarter, but while feeling keenly the attempt to impeach our honor, the consciousness of having acted with the single desire to do right enables me to bear it with equanimity. I wish to say further that while I feel it a high privilege to represent the people in the Government, it is no favor. I accepted the position with reluctance, and will resign it at the first opportunity. If, as one person complaining says, he sacrificed much for the party, I can fairly say, in the language of Paul, ‘ I more ’ Business, health, and domestic comfort have suffered irreparable injury. Let me add that if you consider our alleged error of judgment a sufficient excuse for turning Tory, I wash my hands of the blame, and shall stand prepared to defend myself wherever assailed.”

After he had become Minister of Public Works for the Dominion, in answer to the complaint of some Quebec Liberal members that they did not get the full patronage in railway matters in their counties, he said :

“ You must recollect that I have started a reformation of the railway system in the Lower Provinces, by absolutely refusing patronage to mem-

bers through whose counties the railway runs. I am bound at all hazards to exclude political considerations from railway management, except they are quite consistent with efficiency. I shall always be ready to receive and consider any recommendations our friends may make, though I cannot hold myself bound to carry them into effect, unless in accordance with the satisfactory working of the system."

This letter to Mrs. Mackenzie was written while the Premier was the guest of Lord Dufferin in Quebec:

" CITADEL, QUEBEC, June 17th, 1876.

"I am fairly ensconced in this old British stronghold of North America. I looked down this morning from the battlements on the wharf, where I landed more than thirty-four years ago with some sixteen shillings in my pocket. I had no dream then that I would one day tread the ramparts I gazed upon at that time with so much awe, as the virtual head of the country. This thirty years' struggle has as much interest to me as the thirty years' war was to the potentates of Europe, and on recalling some of the incidents I wonder at the outcome. When I think of other events, and I remember friends who have fallen by the way, particularly poor Hope, I am very sad. I cannot help feeling that my age and the kind of labor I have to endure entitle me to be the next to go. God only knows how soon. Well, I trust I shall not fear when the time comes; and I dare say, if it is permitted to those who leave this life to know what transpires here after they are gone, I shall care as little for post-mortem eulogies as I care for the ante-mortem censures of malevolent men."

A lady on terms of closest intimacy with the family, and who had often been their guest, called to see him not long before he died. He was taking some tea, so she sought to excuse herself for the momentary intrusion, and was about to leave. "Nay, don't go," he said, with a twinkle of the eye, "I would rather have you than the tea." It was, as in this case, the quiet happy faculty he had of setting everybody at their ease in the domestic circle, of giving them an unaffected welcome to the generous hospitality of the household; better still, of

entertaining them with the inexhaustible resources of his mind and heart; that made him to his intimates so great a social favorite. But he hated false show and sham, and no one took a greater delight than he in putting his foot through the lath and plaster of mere pretence.

We have said that "Knoxonian" knew him well—how well, let this most charming domestic scene from his pen truly tell:

"About twenty-five years ago it was our good fortune to spend a few days in Sarnia under the hospitable roof of Alexander Mackenzie. We saw the manly, upright statesman in his own house, the right place to see and measure anybody. The impressions then made have not been dimmed by a quarter of a century. We left that home feeling that Alex. Mackenzie was a noble man, and now as the grave closes over all that is mortal of our old friend, the impression becomes stronger and more vivid than ever.

"At the time we had the honor and privilege of being Alex. Mackenzie's guest, we had never been brought into contact with many Canadian public men. Nearly all we knew, or thought we knew, about Canadian politicians had been learned from party newspapers. We were as much surprised to find that Alex. Mackenzie had family worship regularly in his home as we had been during college days to see George Brown in Cooke's Church twice every Sabbath, listening devoutly to Mr. Gregg's admirable sermons. A youth who forms his estimate of the public men of this country by what he reads in the party newspapers is not likely to conclude that many of them worship either in public or private. Judge then of our surprise when we saw the future Premier take the family Bible and conduct worship in a manner that might put many a minister of the Gospel to shame.

"Dr. Willis used to say that too many ministers read the twelfth chapter of Isaiah at family worship. Mr. Mackenzie always read a fairly long and a rich suitable passage, manifestly not taken at random. His reading was as good as a commentary—much better than some commentaries we know. His prayers were direct, comprehensive, and child-like in their trust. There was not one worn-out platitude in them from beginning to

end. In worship, as in everything else, Alex. Mackenzie was honest, sincere and earnest."

The statesman who could make impressions like these upon the youth of our land is as highly to be valued for his moral influence upon the world as his political.

He impresses men of mature mind in the same manner. This is from the pen of Rev. Dr. Dewart, the scholarly editor of the *Christian Guardian*:

"Having known Mr. Mackenzie more intimately than any of our other public men, we may say, altogether apart from his political views, he impressed us as a true man and a sincere Christian patriot. At one time, while he was Premier, in company with the late Dr. Ryerson, the writer spent several days at his house. In the close intercourse of that visit we were impressed with his genial humor, the broad range of his reading in literature and history, the unpretending simplicity of character which he preserved in the high office which he filled, the intensity of his purpose to do what was right, and the truly Christian spirit in which he regarded the work of life. The cares of State did not prevent him faithfully observing family worship, he himself in turn devoutly leading our devotions. The judgments he expressed of men from whom he differed widely were always tempered with charity. He was no time-serving politician. When he was convinced that a course was right, he never sacrificed his convictions to current expediency."

We will not multiply quotations, but only refer further on this head to the remark which has often been made, that prayer and politics do not often go together, by saying that when on one occasion, at the request of a minister present, Mr. Mackenzie opened a public meeting in Brucefield with prayer, we are sure he did not look upon it at all as so remarkable an occurrence as it appeared to those who afterwards made it the subject of comment.

It had been reported to Mr. Mackenzie that a prominent Government official had so far forgotten what was due to his

position as to join in the demonstrations at the defeat of the Liberal Administration, and the return to power of Sir John A. Macdonald. This was happily incorrect. When the complaint reached him, Mr. Mackenzie wrote the gentleman complained of, asking if what was charged was true. In reply to his letter of denial, Mr. Mackenzie responded in a communication which correctly states the principles that guided him in his relations to the civil service throughout, and the kind of reward he too often got in return :

“OTTAWA, Oct. 31st, 1878.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged by your letter on the subject of the party illuminations after the recent election. I was very much pleased indeed, to find that the statement concerning you was incorrect. Of course, every person must have his own opinion on political men, parties, and principles, and I would be sorry to try to coerce anyone, but I do not think that civil servants should be demonstrative against the Ministry of the day. On the other hand, I think the Ministry should not coerce the civil servants. In the five years I spent in the Public Works Department, I never opened my mouth to one of my subordinates on politics, or asked one to vote.

“I am sorry to say that some of them rewarded me very ill for this reticence. I knew that some of them were in constant communication with my opponents and the press, misrepresenting everything out of which political capital could be made.

“It gives me pleasure to say that I never had the slightest cause of complaint against you.

“I am, my dear sir,

“Yours very sincerely,

“A. MACKENZIE.”

His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, in one of his communications, thus wrote to Mr. Mackenzie on the delicate and difficult matter of the relation of civil servants to political parties: “Our endeavor should be to stretch political freedom to the utmost, to restrain it with regret, and then only at

the bidding of an absolute necessity ; and to raise the tone of the Canadian civil service, not by assuming that strong political convictions in favor of this or that party are incompatible with a loyal devotion to their official chiefs for the time being, but by taking for granted that a sense of honor would prevent their theoretical opinions from influencing or interfering with their zeal and fidelity to their professional superiors."

Proposals were informally made by the Government of a public pension to Mrs. Mackenzie, for which there are precedents, one being the pension granted to Lady Cartier after the death of her husband, Sir George E. Cartier. The offer, however, was not favorably received. A State pension was not in accordance with Mrs. Mackenzie's own views, the sentiments of the family, or of the Liberal party, and it was quite opposed to Mr. Mackenzie's own spirit of cherished independence. When this was declined, leading Liberals of Toronto, acting upon a suggestion which had been made by Mr. A. T. Wood, of Hamilton, quietly met on the invitation of Mr. Robert Jaffray, and established the nucleus of a memorial fund, the interest of which should be paid to the widow of the deceased statesman during her lifetime, and be devoted after her death to the establishment of fellowships and scholarships in the science of political economy in the University of Toronto. Mr. Jaffray was appointed chairman, Hon. S. H. Blake treasurer, and Hon. J. M. Gibson secretary of a committee to receive subscriptions for this purpose, and by a few of Mr. Mackenzie's admirers and friends in Toronto over \$10,000 was at once subscribed. The matter was taken up warmly by Sir D. A. Smith, Mr. Duncan McIntyre and others in Montreal, the interest of the fund to be devoted in the same way, after Mrs. Mackenzie's death, for the benefit of McGill University in that city.

The distinguished son of Scotland was not forgotten in his native land. On the 12th of May last a public meeting was held in Logierait Inn, near Ballingluig, to consider of a memorial to his memory. The chairman was the same that presided at the demonstration at Logierait when Mr. Mackenzie visited it in 1885—Sir Alexander Muir Mackenzie, Bart., of Delvine. There was again an influential gathering. The chairman showed an intimate knowledge of the life-work of Logierait's noblest son, and an appreciative letter was read from Lord Mountstephen, of Canada, who took his title from the eminence in the Rocky Mountains described by Mr. Mackenzie in his letter of 1884. A committee was formed to decide upon a suitable memorial to perpetuate Mr. Mackenzie's name in the Athol district, where he was regarded with pride, and the feeling inclined towards the erection of a handsome bridge across the Tay, near the place of his birth.

It remains for the people he served so well to erect a national monument to Mr. Mackenzie's memory. Such a tribute has already been paid to Sir George E. Cartier; a vote of Parliament has been taken for a similar memorial to Sir John A. Macdonald; and no less an honor is due from the Dominion to its first Liberal Premier, whose noble character has been imperfectly sketched in the foregoing pages.

