ing lines, very similar in sentiment and phrasing to many McGee himself had written, show their kinship of inspiration:

O sing and rejoice,
Give to gladness a voice,
Shout a welcome to beautiful May.
Rejoice with the flowers
And the birds 'mong the bowers,
And away to the green woods, away!

. . . .

All Nature's in keeping,
The live streams are leaping
And laughing in gladness along;
The great hills are heaving,
The dark clouds are leaving,
The valleys have burst into song.

We'll range through the dells
Of the bonnie blue-bells,
And sing with the streams on their way;
We'll lie in the shades
Of the flower-covered glades
And hear what the primroses say.

And there were many other singers of whose experience, interests, and objects D'Arcy McGee could have ample understanding. Lieut.-Col. Strickland and his two sisters, Mrs. Traill and Mrs. Moodie, and Mrs. Moodie's husband, J.W.D. Moodie, who brought an old land training and viewpoint, with literary ambition and a love for natural beauty, to their new home, are well remembered examples of this rather large class. Two of his city neighbours were Mrs. Leprohon, a writer of Canadian stories for the Montreal press, and John Reade, the literary editor of *The Gazette*, a scholarly man who wrote many interesting and touching verses; Reade and McGee became sympathetic and congenial friends.

But to pass from these to other men of learning, less occupied with purely literary matters, the same likelihood of agreement is found. William Logan, the author of ***The Geology of Canada***, Henry Youle Hind and Daniel Wilson, foremost teachers of the time in Toronto, and William Daw-

son, the scientist who had become principal of McGill University only two years before McGee's arrival, are representatives of the outstanding men. William Dawson was an able geologist but an uncompromising opponent of the advanced school of scientific writers, such as Darwin and Huxley, who were at this time just beginning to come into the popular range of vision.

In yet another sphere of intellectual activity, and one more closely related with what was to become McGee's all-absorbing Canadian work, was Alpheus Todd. Todd was a well-read man with sound training in parliamentary procedure and other related constitutional questions. McGee's interest in constitutional workings and ways of government brought him very early into touch with him, and a happy friendship was the result. He came to know William Kirby, too, the editor of *The Niagara Mail* at that time, whose first historical work, *The U.E.L., A Tale of Upper Canada*, appeared in 1859. Naturally, it was a mutual pleasure in the popular and picturesque episodes of bygone days which brought together McGee and the future author of *The Golden Dog.*

As for two other men, generally connected with mid-century literary Canada, Goldwin Smith was not to arrive until four years after McGee made his home with us; and Thomas Chandler Haliburton had left for England, his Canadian career closed, the year before McGee came.

Thomas Davis once said, "The eagle will not plough though he is strong, nor the poet be sagacious in ledgers, nor the Irishman prosper after the manner of English and American prosperity." These words of the Young Ireland leader explain what happened to McGee in the United States, and why in Canada there appeared for him a future of work and intercourse which would spell prosperity.

Dewart's selection of poems is a great help in another way. Not only does it show us one side of the society which was attracting McGee, but it gives us a touchstone to compare his later drawing and treatment of the same world and his reaction to it with that of his literary Canadian contemporaries. The first thought on reading the book is the similarity between many of its pictures and those drawn by

Euphrasia McGee
(Mrs. M. E. Quin)

Agnes Clara McGee

DAUGHTERS OF THOMAS D'ARCY McGEE

p. 6

McGee of his ideal Western rural state. Pamelia Vining's *Canada* is startlingly like the dream community that McGee's "Army of the West" create when "they pluck the primal forests up and sow their sites with corn." Both reveal a pioneer settlement old enough to be able to enjoy the advantages of small towns, churches, and schools, and yet not too grown to breathe "a primal freshness" still.

In Dewart's selections it is forest and farm activities which provide throughout the setting and the theme. In those mid-century pages we follow "The Canadian Herd Boy" cheerily whistling along his track over "piny ridge and fallen tree;" or we join the little sunburned "Beechnut Gatherer," at "whose tiny pilfering fingers" "the jet-black squirrel" "winks his saucy, jealous eye." And again we snatch glimpses of "The Old Sugar Camp," where "children light-hearted and careless as birds on the wing, over fences and ditches exultingly spring." Or we enjoy the artistic picture which "The Fisherman's Light" on the front of his "swiftly gliding birch canoe" vividly outlines against the surrounding darkness:

With spear high poised and steady hand,
The centre of that fiery ray,
Behold the skilful fisher stand,
Prepared to strike the finny prey.

It is a simple, pioneer land, but one rich in promise, with a magnificent natural heritage of resources and splendours, and at this time standing at a most exceptionally quickening juncture of backwoods hardships in sharp contrast with the comforts and luxuries of modern invention:

The heavy waggon labour'd slowly on
Through dreary swamps by rudest causeways spanned,
With shaggy cedars dark on either hand
Where wolves oft howled in nightly chorus drear,
And boding owls mocked the lone traveller's fear
—Now o'er the stable rail, the Iron-horse
Sweeps proudly on, in his exultant course,
Bearing in his impetuous flight along
The freighted car with all its living throng,
At speed which rivals in its onward flight
The bird's free wing through azure fields of light.

The roar and clang from no city street breaks the quiet spell of those pages. The American lure of the town and of big manufacturing and constructing companies and great industrial plants entices none here. Even echoes of a metropolis and a world beyond are few and far between. Garibaldi and the battles of the Crimean War supply the only names able to penetrate the forest fastness. The city is mentioned but to be shunned or to point the moral of how happy is the countryman's life in comparison with his unlucky, pent-up town brother. One poet conjures up a pitifu train:

. . . . the city's weary mortals,
The pale-faced maid, the widow sad,
The sinking merchant, growing mad.

And again:

We shun the noise of the busy world,
For there's crime and misery there
And the happiest life
In this world of strife
Is that of the voyageur.

It is emphatically the land of the North and of forest and river. The poems are on "The Fine Old Trees" and "The Maple"; on "The Owl" and "The Whip-poor-will"; on "The Voyageur's Song" and "The Rapid," "The Chaudière" and "The Niagara"; or on "Sleigh-bells," "The Stars," "The Snow," and "The Night-Wind" "through the aisles of the forest swelling." One typical little poem depicts more sharply than dozens of pages could do the qualities of mind and character which might be developed in this Northern, pioneer country, and also the probabilities of loneliness and isolation and endurance the women particularly would have to face there in their daily life. *The Watcher*, by Helen M. Johnson, portrays the restless, nervous anxiety of a wife listening for her husband's sleigh-bells. It was a stormy night, she was alone on the clearing, the way was snowbound, and the darkness had settled in while the

watcher's eye followed, in imagination unceasing, her loved one, as he cheered

His weary horse that plunged and reared
And wallowed through the drifted snow
Till daylight faded.....
....Now almost blind,
He peered around, below, behind—
No road, no track, the very shore
All blotted out—one struggle more!
It is thy last, perchance, brave heart.

How vividly McGee saw these same features of Canadian life, his Canadian Ballads,[1] published December, 1858, bears witness. Although he calls this book a "modest little offering of first fruits," it is extremely interesting not alone in itself but as showing how Canada at the outset stirred and inspired McGee, and also what new elements he added to her thought and culture.

Like the other mature newcomers whom we have noticed in Dewart's selections, the land fascinated McGee by its natural majesty of forest and river. In his few verses on Thomas Moore at Ste. Anne's he wrote:

He came a stranger summer bird
And quickly pass'd; but as he flew,
Our river's glorious song he heard,
His tongue was loosed—he warbled too!

And mark the moral, ye who dream
To be the poets of the land:
He nowhere found a nobler theme
Than you, ye favour'd, have at hand.

The beautiful effects of the snow in all its whiteness and purity, and the scenes of the Northern winter landscape in this new world of great distances, and solitudes unsullied

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[1] *Canadian Ballads and Occasional Verses,* by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, M.P.P. The book was dedicated, "in memory of old times," to Gavan Duffy. It is interesting to remember that in December, 1858, McGee was a member of the Canadian Legislature, and Duffy was Minister of Public Works and Lands in Victoria, Australia.

by man, also thrilled McGee as they did all others who first beheld them. He enjoyed the pleasant, merry sleigh-bell side, and his imagination was intensely moved by the cold, stern, pitiless side the same elements could present. The most lasting impression of *Jacques Cartier*, *Our Ladye of the Snow*, and *The Death of Hudson* comes from the lines thus inspired:

> *Fast fell the snow, and soft as sleep,*
> *The hillocks looked like frozen sheep,*
> *Like giants gray the hills—*
> *The sailing pine seem'd canvas-spread,*
> *With its white burden overhead,*
> *And marble hard the rills.*
>
> *A thick dull light, where ray was none*
> *Of moon or star or cheerful sun,*
> *Obscurely show'd the way—*
> *While merrily upon the blast,*
> *The jingling horse-bells, pattering fast,*
> *Timed the glad roundelay.*
>
> *Swift we came on, and faster fell*
> *The winnow'd storm on ridge and dell*
> *Effacing shape and sign—*
> *Until the scene grew blank at last,*
> *As when some seaman from the mast*
> *Looks o'er the shoreless brine.*
>
> *Nor marvel aught to find ere long*
> *In such a scene the death of song*
> *Upon the bravest lips—*
> *The empty only could be loud*
> *When Nature fronts us in her shroud,*
> *Beneath the sky's eclipse.*

Compared with the poetry of McGee's contemporaries treating similar scenes, one feels here a fresher enthusiasm and a more sensitive imagination. His words and his figures of speech, while natural, yet lift the subject above the commonplace more successfully. The universal appeal of those snow scenes in early days, and the determination of the poets to distinguish Canada above all other lands as the one of the North, probably appeared right and proper to them. The

great stretches of uncleared forest where the snow remained unmelted long into the spring, and the primitive methods of heating houses, and the long, slow, laborious journeys which had to be undertaken with horses through the drifts, all combined to make the winter a very terrifying season of the year. In the December those poems appeared, the local mail carrier in Bruce County was frozen to death on his round.

> *Where the wind from Thulè freezes the word upon the lip,*
> *And the ice in spring comes sailing athwart the early ship;*
> *He told them of the frozen scene, until they thrilled with fear,*
> *And piled fresh fuel on the hearth to make him better cheer.*

But McGee had also lived through the charms of a Canadian spring:

> *But when he changed the strain—he told how soon is cast*
> *In early spring the fetters that hold the waters fast:*
> *How the winter causeway, broken, is drifted out to sea,*
> *And the rills and rivers sing with pride the anthem of the free;*
> *How the magic wand of summer clad the landscape to his eyes,*
> *Like the dry bones of the just, when they wake in Paradise.*

But it is not due so much to the quality of the *Canadian Ballads* as to the new topics they introduced, that they deserve a distinctive place in the evolution of our literature. McGee had been true to himself and his old ideals in his selection of studies for these poems. He went back to the days of the early explorers, and to the heroes of the French régime, to Cartier, Cabot, La Salle, and Hudson, and he brought back to the people a familiar knowledge of these past events which they were fast forgetting, and awakened in them a sense of the possibilities of intellectual and patriotic pleasure that they held. It was a rich vein of historic material which hitherto had been quite overlooked. Dewart bemoans "that we cannot point to a past rich with historic names." McGee proceeds to make "The True Wizard of the Wild" and "The Columbus of the Inland Seas" known to every Canadian schoolboy. It was the old *Nation* idea in Ireland bearing fruit in a younger land, but still a land

where "virtues had been exemplified and localities consecrated and preserved to the race of to-day" by the heroism of the men of yesterday. And the men of to-day would be immeasurably the poorer if such knowledge of past time sank into oblivion instead of becoming the proud heritage of all the people. The words of Thomas Davis in the Irish *Nation* express exactly McGee's point of view on this subject, and may be taken as an accurate indication of the aim and inspiration of this, his first literary work on Canadian soil:

> National poetry is the very flowering of the soul..... It is the playfellow of his childhood, ripens into the companion of his manhood, consoles his age. It presents the most dramatic events, the largest characters, the most impressive scenes and the deepest passions in the language most familiar to us. It shows us magnified, and ennobles our hearts, our intellects, our country and our countrymen—binds us to the land by its condensed and gemlike history, to the future by examples and by aspirations.

Besides *Canadian Ballads*, McGee wrote many other poems while with us. His two finest poems, in many ways, belong to this period—those he wrote in memory of O'Donovan and O'Curry, his two Irish friends, the Gaelic scholars and archaeologists. He threw off, too, innumerable poems of friendship. They may not add to his fame as a poet, but they certainly testify to his great and more human genius for making friends. *Lines to Grandma Alice*, *Wishes*, addressed to Mrs. Sadlier, warmhearted Irish greetings, a little extravagant if you will, but none the less ringing true, or *Verses* sent with the gift of a small Indian basket, are examples of a long list which one and all tell the same story of happy, buoyant friendships. Wherever he went in his new surroundings, McGee was popular and beloved. His Canadian contemporaries found him in family and social life most congenial, attractive, and companionable. Scores of them testified to the magical charm of his manner, to his kindness, to his thoughtfulness, and to his inexhaustible conversational powers, and at the same time to his unassuming modesty, which had no desire to monopolize either conversation or attention.

To another class, his religious poems, he also added many during these last years. In these he gave expression to his Catholicism in simple and tenderly devout words. He was a man moved by the art and beauties of his religion; the light streaming through the panes of coloured glass, or the atmosphere of holy calm within the cathedral, stirred his soul. These poems breathe his rapture of belief, or contrite desire for forgiveness of sins, or simple, humble reverence and devotion before his God.

But in his Canadian poems, as in all his other poems, McGee was most successful, most truly the poet, when he wrote in his natural, buoyant way, with life and point and imagination, of some ordinary, everyday event or emotion. His *Small Catechism*, "Why are children's eyes so bright?" "Why do children laugh so gay?" "Why do children speak so free?" is a well-known example of this.

But, in spite of the charm of McGee's Canadian verse and its success in capturing the spirit of the land and the pioneers and the heroic history of the past, it was not and is not the basis of his greatest repute. It was not because there was any falling off in the quality of his writing, as he himself so modestly indicates in his impromptu, so often taken as literally true:

A happy bird that hung on high
In the parlor of the hostelry,
Where daily resorted ladies fair
To breathe the garden-perfumed air,
And hear the sweet musician;
Removed to the public room at last,
His spirit seemed quite overcast,
He lost his powers of tune and time,
As I did mine of rhythm and rhyme,
When I turned politician.

And yet this last line does tell the secret. His poems were overshadowed by his activity and his success in the political labours of laying the foundation for the new Dominion.

However, before D'Arcy McGee became wholly engrossed in history making in the New World, he gave himself gladly to one last pious work of history writing for the old land of his birth. It was during his first uncrowded years in Canada,

McGee was able to carry out his long-cherished dream of writing a history of Ireland. It will be remembered how it had been an ambition in the days of the Irish *Nation*. Then it was again revived in his American exile. But it was left for the peace and satisfaction of the harmonious concord which he found between himself and his surroundings in Canada, to accomplish it. The greater part of the work was written in these early years, though it was not completed and published until 1863. When considering the scope and excellence of this Irish history, many thoughts will be suggested by remembering, at the same time, that it was written during the only armistice his mature life enjoyed.

To the *Nation* brotherhood of patriotic builders the lack of an adequate history of Ireland had been the most urgent and obvious gap in their national literature. Thomas Davis had considered relinquishing his work on the journal for twelve months to write such a book himself. Thomas MacNevin and their friend Maddyn had the same ambition. But in the political tumult their plans did not mature. However, the *Library of Ireland* publications were then written, and the majority of these small popular volumes dealt with the history of an era or the life of an historical hero. For a time these bridged the gulf.

D'Arcy McGee, as we have seen, had creditably taken his share in this undertaking. The work he did in breaking ground for *Art MacMurrogh* and *The Irish Writers of the Seventeenth Century* showed him what a rich mine there was to open up, what a wealth of work there was to do, and what precious ore there was to find. Now, since that time, much of this work had been accomplished and the results made ready to his hand. The Irish Archaeological Society, founded in 1840 by Dr. George Petrie, had given an impetus to historical investigation in all the fields of national culture. Besides, John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry had collected and edited countless manuscripts of ancient literature, much of which threw important light on the far gone past which had dropped into oblivion for centuries. Each of these activities McGee followed with understanding and delight. Every translation from the *Annals*

of the Four Masters, every excavation in the old round raths, dûns or cashels, every additional fact verified as to the round towers, placed the materials for a true and detailed history more fully before him.

D'Arcy McGee's *History of Ireland*[1] was published in 1863. It was by far his greatest, longest, most sustained and most ambitious literary work. It is a well constructed record, amassed from a great variety of old books and sources, many of which were as familiar to him as the days of the week. It must naturally be judged by its relative merit. The first history of Ireland was Geoffrey Keating's big volume, writen in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. The Young Ireland writers had little interest in this work, and less sympathy. For them it was not authentic. They agreed with Gavan Duffy's verdict that the book "was a congeries of dull fables relieved by only some glimmering of traditional truth." This is not the view of critics to-day, nor was it McGee's verdict. He pronounced Keating to be "a poet as well as an historian," and one "who gave prominence in the early chapters of his history to bardic tales which English critics have seized upon to damage his reputation for truthfulness and good sense." "But," McGee continued, "these tales he gave as tales —as curious and illustrative—rather than as credible and unquestionable.... and the interest of his narrative even in translation is undoubted."

In his sympathetic interest in the bardic and legendary part of Ireland's history, or rather literature, as he himself, with a nice discrimination, speaks of it, McGee shows his affinity with the Irishmen who were to come after him, rather than with the writers of his own day. It was not until fifteen years after McGee's history was published that Standish James O'Grady wrote his *History of Ireland: The Heroic Period*, which luxuriated in these very bardic remains and provided the nourishment from which sprang so many of the poems, dramas, plays, novels, short stories,

[1] *A Popular History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the Emancipation of the Catholics.* Two volumes: D J Sadlier & Co, New York, Boston, and Montreal: 1863.

literary criticisms, translations, and imitation translations with which we are familiar to-day as the work of the modern Irish school. There was no wide gulf between McGee's history, his interest in the old legends, his poems based on many of them, such as *An Address to Milesius, Amergin's Anthem on Discovering Innisfail, Bryan, the Tanist, Ireland of the Druids*, and *The Voyage of Eman Oge*, to mention only a few of the better known, and such works and poems as George Sigerson's *The Poets and Poetry of Munster, Bards of the Gael and Gall*, and Douglas Hyde's *Beside the Fire* and *Love Songs of Connacht*, and Katherine Tynan's *Waiting* or *The Fate of King Feargus*, to mention again but a few typical later works.

McGee's kinship with the more modern viewpoint really lay in the fact that he brought to bear on the history of the past not alone Irish learning and scholarship, but the mind of a poet able to interpret what he found there. Keating's legends, which to Gavan Duffy appeared merely as dull, superstitious falsehoods, appealed to McGee as the romance of history. He felt undoubtedly that if Keating had drawn up his history in 1860 rather than in 1630 he would not have had the unshaken faith he had in many of the events and stories he recorded. They would not have appeared the true history they did in the earlier age, when he compiled his book out of still older books and manuscripts. He did not himself invent the stories. Therefore McGee looked upon them with his poetic imagination and saw, just as the men of to-day interested in the same field see, that these stories at the beginning were for the men who invented them based on a substratum of truth. At the outset they had some appearance of reality. Hence for McGee they were significant and illustrative of the ages which invented them and the ages which believed them.

The relative merits of McGee's history may be seen from another point of view by comparing it with some other Irish histories to be had in his day. Dr. Leland's, Plowden's, MacGeoghegan's, and a *Memoir on Ireland* by Daniel O'Connell were the chief works in the same field. Compared with these, the broad-minded toleration and freedom

from prejudice of McGee's work will show that he truly set up a new standard for writing Irish history. Geoffrey Keating had written:

> From the coming over to us of Henry the Second and previous to that date, the English authors never ceased from writing lies and disgraceful calumnies about our country..... There is no historian who treats of Ireland that does not endeavour to vilify both the old English settlers and the native Irish..... This is what they do, they dwell upon the customs of the vulgar and the stories of old women, neglecting the illustrious actions of the nobility and everything relating to the old Irish who were the inhabitants of this island before the English invasion.

To counteract this sorely resented onesidedness there grew up in Ireland, on the other hand, a school of historians whose spirit is indicated in Moore's couplet:

> *On our side is virtue and Erin,*
> *On theirs is the Saxon and guilt.*

In a history painful and tragic such as Ireland's, it was not hard to write a book of facts in partisan support of either side. O'Connell's *Memoir* was such a volume from the Irish point of view; Dr. Leland's and Plowden's belonged to the English side, though of a more liberal type. However, they were prejudiced and of "stinted fairness." MacGeoghegan's had been originally written in French, and was but clumsily translated.

McGee set out determined to tell no half-truths. He was also determined not to act the judge. While he was a Catholic of heartfelt sincerity, and his history is frankly written from the point of view of an Irishman of the old stock, indeed partakes not a little of the ardent outpourings of the Four Masters, for whom all Irish historical characters had something of the mien of ancient heroes, yet it reflects great credit on his spirit of fairness, moderation, and truthfulness. The author is anxious to recount the events of a past age in the light and spirit of that age. Such a period as Oliver Cromwell's terrible nine months' campaign in Ireland from August, 1649, to May, 1650, affords an admirable example of the spirit of his work. What Irishman would not be forgiven

for calling down the curse of Cromwell upon the general of that campaign, with its merciless sieges and massacres? But McGee holds himself to telling the plain truth, and is particularly careful not to exceed the truth. Such and such a tradition of cruelty and slaughter seems to have sprung up some time after the event, therefore McGee dwells not on it. He gives all that is questionable the benefit of the doubt. He paints no man, not even Cromwell, blacker than his own undisputed acts of history, tried by the age in which they were committed, deserve that he should be painted:

> An actor was now to descend upon the scene, whose character has excited more controversy than that of any other personage of those times. Honoured as a saint, or reprobated as a hypocrite, worshiped for his extraordinary successes, or anathematized for the unworthy artifices by which he rose—who shall deal out with equal hand, praise and blame to Oliver Cromwell? Not for the popular writer of Irish history, is that difficult judicial task. Not for us to re-echo cries of hatred which convince not the indifferent, nor correct the errors of the educated or cultivated: the simple, and, as far as possible, the unimpassioned narrative of facts, will constitute the whole of our duty towards the Protector's campaign in Ireland.

Again, the book is noteworthy as the work of a student of Irish literature as well as of Irish political, social, and martial history. McGee adds to every period a brief but discriminating account of its scholars and writers. It thus becomes a synopsis in chronological order of Irish literature from the very earliest days, down through a more comprehensive treatment of seventeenth and eighteenth century writings. This is one of the most valuable parts of a very helpful work.

In spite of being so broad and inclusive, touching on every side of the nation's interests and activities, and not only on its kings and its wars, McGee's history is a well-proportioned work. In a country like Ireland, where so many decades and even centuries were passed in strife and conflict between clans and families, between the "High" King and the "provincial" kings, between Irish and Dane, between native Irish, naturalized Dane and Norman and Saxon, between Irish without the pale and Irish within the pale, and between Irishmen of all varieties of ancestors and

Englishmen, it is a particularly difficult task to keep a clear and definite view of the main stream of the nation's life. It is hard to hold the warring elements subsidiary and show how each was related to the main development and how it contributed towards or against its general advancement. It is a very much more complex problem to present a clear narrative of the history of a country like Ireland than of one where authority became centralized at a comparatively early date. D'Arcy McGee must be given credit for the balance and proportion he maintained when his work is examined from this point of view. A modern book attempting to overcome such a difficulty would be helped by a pseudo-scientific method of printing and arranging the chapters. The material would be broken up into short paragraphs with large headings, and each would deal in a brief and businesslike way with a single topic and assign to it a place in sub-section II, division A, for example. For students hurriedly seeking facts, bare and bald, a book of to-day so written would be more easily read and synopsized than McGee's. On the other hand, McGee, while keeping first things first and secondary things second, produced the more artistic work. His method of continuous narrative encouraged a polish and literary finish of style quite impossible to attain in short, chopped-up paragraphs. At the same time the whole sweep and cumulative effect produced by the history of any one era is greater and more impressive as treated by McGee.

From the simple, clear, leisurely narrative of his prose it is not easy to cull striking passages suitable for quotation. But one or two, taken at random and merely more suitable on account of their brevity, will suffice to show how deep and well-defined an impression a page of McGee's history will leave on the reader. In his fifth chapter, for example, he is describing the social condition of the Irish before the Norman invasion of 1169. After dealing with the divisions of the tribes, with the freemen and the slaves, with the administration of justice, with the commerce and the fairs, with the religion and the survival and intermingling of the superstitions of the pagan period; with the literature and

the legends and the explanation and interpretation of some of these which the "Christianized Irish imagination" wrought around a favourite saint or district, he comes to the social enjoyments of the people:

Two habitual sources of social enjoyment and occupation with the Irish of those days were music and chess. The harp was the favourite instrument, but the horn or trumpet, and the pibroch or bagpipe, were also in common use. Not only professional performers, but men and women of all ranks, from the humblest to the highest, prided themselves on some knowledge of instrumental music. It seems to have formed part of the education of every order, and to have been cherished alike in the palace, the shieling, and the cloister. "It is a poor church that has no music," is a Gaelic proverb, as old, perhaps, as the establishment of Christianity in the land; and no house was considered furnished without at least one harp. Students from other countries, as we learn from Giraldus, came to Ireland for their musical education in the twelfth century, just as our artists now visit Germany and Italy with the same object in view.

The frequent mention of the game of chess, in ages long before those at which we have arrived, shows how usual was that most intellectual amusement. The chess board was called in Irish *fith cheall*, and is described in the Glossary of Cormac, of Cashel, composed towards the close of the ninth century, as a quadrangular, having straight spots of black and white. Some of them were inlaid with gold and silver, and adorned with gems. Mention is made in a tale of the twelfth century of a "man-bag of woven brass wire." No entire set of ancient men is now known to exist, though frequent mention is made of "the brigade or family of chess-men" in many old manuscripts. Kings of bone, seated in sculptured chairs, about two inches in height, have been found, and specimens of them engraved in recent antiquarian publications.

Besides being an example of his style, these paragraphs of McGee show how he utilized the material of the scholars and antiquarians of his day to make a vivid picture of the bygone ages. The next quotation, of an entirely different order, shows what a sincere and hearty advocate the Irish patriot always had in McGee:

It is impossible to dismiss this celebrated group of men [the United Irishmen] whose principles and conduct so greatly influenced their country's destiny, without bearing explicit testimony to their heroic qualities as a class. If ever a body of public men deserved the character of a brotherhood of heroes, so far as disinterestedness, courage, self-denial, truthfulness and glowing love of country constitute heroism, these men deserve that character. The wisdom of their conduct and the intrinsic merit of

their plans are other questions. As between their political system and that of Burke, Grattan and O'Connell, there always will be, probably, among their countrymen, very decided difference of opinion. That is but natural: but as to the personal and political virtues of the United Irishmen there can be no difference; the world has never seen a more sincere or more self-sacrificing generation.

This last paragraph also calls to mind another aspect of McGee's history. It is the work of a man who was himself making history as well as writing it. During the time he was engrossed in this book McGee was a politician, a legislator, a Cabinet Minister, and an orator, for whom it was becoming more essential every day to answer the questions, what form the fundamental constitution of Canada should take and what should be her political destiny. And he had by this time, with his Irish experience and his American experience, worked out his philosophy of government very definitely. Both theoretically and practically he was absolutely convinced how much authority it was best for a state to leave in the hands of its rulers, of its legislators, and of its subjects. His history, therefore, when it dealt with modern systems of government and their allied questions, naturally reflected his great conclusions. He fully shared the feeling of Burke, Grattan, and O'Connell about the French Revolution. The policy of the United Irishmen became distinctly republican and they looked to an armed insurrection as a means of obtaining their end. To the legislator and nation-builder McGee this was a false foundation for a one-sided structure. Yet, McGee is careful in his historical writing to place before the reader the virtues of the supporters of the other side. It is merely in the emphasis of such paragraphs as the following that he could be said to be attempting to inculcate an historical lesson:

It was on this Reform Bill, and on the debate on the address, that Grattan took occasion to declare his settled and unalterable hostility to those "French principles" then so fashionable with all who called themselves friends of freedom, in the three kingdoms. In the great social schism which had taken place in Europe, in consequence of the French Revolution of 1789–91, those kingdoms, the favourite seat of free inquiry, and free discussion, could not hope to escape. The effects were visible in every circle, among every order of men; in all the churches, workshops, saloons,

professions, into which men were divided. Among publicists, most of all, the shock was most severely felt: in England it separated Burke and Windham from Fox, Erskine, Sheridan and Grey; in Ireland it separated Grattan and Curran from Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Addis Emmet, Wolfe Tone, and all those ardent, able, and honest men who hailed the French, as the forerunner of a complete series of European republics, in which Ireland should shine out, among the brightest and the best.

Grattan, who agreed with and revered Burke, looked upon the "anti-Jacobin war" as a just and necessary war. It was not in his nature to do anything by halves, and he therefore cordially supported the paragraph in the address pledging Ireland's support to that war. He was a constitutionalist of the British, not of the French type. In the subsequent Reform debate he declared that he would always and ever resist those who sought to remodel the Irish constitution on a French original. He asserted, moreover, that great mischief had been already done by the advocates of such a design. "It"—this design—"has thrown back for the present the chance of any rational improvement in the representation of the people," he cried, "and has betrayed a good reform *to the hopes of a shabby insurrection.*" Proceeding in his own condensed, crystalline antithesis, he thus enlarged on his own opinions: "There are two characters equally enemies to the reform of Parliament, and equally enemies to the Government—the leveller of the constitution and the friend of the abuses; they take different roads to arrive at the same end. The levellers propose to subvert the king and parliamentary constitution by a rank and unqualified democracy—the friends of its abuses propose to support the king and buy the Parliament, and in the end to overset both, by a rank and avowed corruption. They are both incendiaries; the one would destroy government to pay his court to liberty; the other would destroy liberty to pay his court to government; but the liberty of the one would be confusion, and the government of the other would be pollution."

We can well understand that this language pleased as little the United Irishmen as the Castle..... He stood in the midst of the ways, crying aloud, with the wisdom of his age and his genius, but there were few to heed his warnings.

And this paragraph on Burke also clearly shows McGee's own acceptance of their views;

In the same July, on the 7th of the month, on which the Irish elections were held, that celebrated Anglo-Irish statesman expired at Beaconsfield, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His last thoughts—his last wishes, like his first—were with his native land. His regards continued fixed on the state of Ireland, while vision and faculty remained. His last efforts in writing and conversation were to plead for toleration, concession, and conciliation towards Ireland.

As one reads those lines of his on Burke he cannot fail to be impressed with the similarity between them and the general verdict pronounced on McGee's own closing work and endeavours. It would have been a very proud satisfaction to him had he been able to foresee how closely he was writing his own epitaph in those words of his history; but he continued:

> The magisterial gravity of Burke was not calculated to permit him to be generally popular with an impulsive people, but as years roll on, and education extends its dominion, his reputation rises and brightens above every other reputation of his age, British or Irish. Of him no less truly than powerfully did Grattan say in the Imperial Parliament, in 1815: "He read everything, he saw everything, he foresaw everything. His knowledge of history amounted to a power of foretelling; and when he perceived the wild work that was doing in France, that great political physician, intelligent of symptoms, distinguished between the access of fever and the force of health; and what other men conceived to be the vigour of her constitution, he knew to be no more than the paroxysm of her madness; and then, prophet-like, he denounced the destinies of France, and in his prophetic fury, admonished nations.

Yes, McGee's *History of Ireland* was the product of a statesman as well as of a man of letters and of imagination. It is an interesting book to read. It is pleasant literature as well as popular history. It is compiled from an enormous storehouse of facts, and it is written with a breadth of view and toleration, with a judgment and balance, with vivid word pictures of unusual charm, with swift, discerning character-drawing and with a feeling, imagination, and poetic insight which recreate many a past event. Moreover, the whole is couched in a perfectly clear, sonorous, swift-moving narrative full of point and life. He could not have chosen or executed a more fitting crown for his literary work.

And it is pleasant to know it was fittingly recognized in Ireland. In a little poem of his early youth McGee had prayed for grace to do something worthy to keep his name green in Irish memory. His prayer had now been answered. In his native land, the *History* received universal praise. *The Nation* spoke of it as "absolutely the most meritorious work of the kind in existence," and again referred to it as

"the most graphic and most generally useful history of Ireland that we possess." It was the immediate reason for D'Arcy McGee being unanimously elected, on April 11th, 1864, to the Royal Irish Academy.[1]

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[1] The Academy, next to the Royal Society, was one of the oldest and most distinguished literary and scientific bodies in the United Kingdom. McGee's proposers were:

Lord Monck, the Governor-General of Canada.
The Very Reverend, the President of the Academy.
The poets Ferguson and MacCarthy.
The Reverend William Reeves, D. D., the hagiologist, and Messrs. Gilbert and Hardinge.

CHAPTER IX

CANADIAN POLITICS AND POLITICIANS IN THE MIDDLE FIFTIES

But it was not as a writer, not as a poet, and not as a historian, that D'Arcy McGee made his place in Canadian annals. These were merely auxiliary services undertaken as pastimes aside from his main task, or carried on during the initial stages of his sojourn, when he was becoming adjusted to the environment of his new home, and studying its problems, past and present, that he might the more effectively take his serious part when the appropriate time came. Neither was it in the realms of social and religious work such as he had volunteered for in the United States, that it was expected he could render the greatest Canadian service. As he and his friends looked at the life and problems of the nation, there was less need for a missionary in that field. It was to aid in the political and constitutional development of the country that they encouraged him to come, and it was in this field he himself looked forward to finding his long-sought adequate task. There lay the problems and the deficiencies, and time amply proved the ability he had to cope with them.[1]

To estimate justly, therefore, D'Arcy McGee's work and contribution to Canadian thought and development, it is necessary to break the narrative and consider the political life of the country and the men engaged in it when he took up his rôle upon their stage.

It will be recalled that in 1857, British North America was not one country, or one united land as Canada is to-day. All that vast region between the Great Lakes and the Rocky

[1] The circumstances surrounding McGee's election to Parliament in 1857 will be discussed in the next chapter.

Mountains was the game preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company, while British Columbia, that year, had just been made a distinct colony of the British Crown. Coming from the extreme west to the extreme east, there were five separate colonies to be found fully constituted, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada. Each of these was an absolutely independent entity as concerned relations with one another. Each had its separate government, its own banking regulations and money system, decimal or sterling, its own commercial highways and tariffs hostile to the others, and its own arrangements for justice and military defence. Canada, in 1857, comprised only Upper Canada and Lower Canada, Canada West and Canada East in the official language of the Act of Union, and Old Ontario and Old Quebec in geography to-day. They had now been joined for sixteen years in a legislative union. For the fifty years before that the two sections had existed independently as separate colonies. The Union Act of 1841 was a step towards greater things. It had made it possible to develop the resources, and to extend the canal and railway system, more effectively than if the two sections had remained separate. It was the intention of its framers also to provide an English-speaking majority in the legislature. They gave equal representation in the Assembly to both the old sections, and the ministry assumed something of a double organization. In this connection the Union failed to work harmoniously.

According to the Act of Union of 1841, Canada East and Canada West were each entitled to sixty-five members in the House of Assembly. This equality, outwardly so just, had never been so in reality. At the Union, Canada East had nearly double the population of the other, but by 1849, with the greater inflow of immigration into the Western section, they had come to be about even, and ever after that the increase had been growing constantly on the Canada West side. By 1857, Upper Canada had about 130,000 more inhabitants than Lower Canada; her people maintained that they had now stood the inequality as long

as Lower Canada had, and that therefore it was only just that there should be some way devised of righting this inequality of representation.

Again, the interests, race and religion of the two sections were not only different but in many matters diametrically opposed to each other. This intensified the difficulties involved in the question of just or unjust parliamentary representation, and gave rise to bitter factional discussions. Roughly speaking, Lower Canada was four-fifths Catholic and one-fifth Protestant, and Upper Canada was about the reverse. Unfortunately, the legislation of the day was much occupied with Separate School education for Upper Canada and with government grants to Catholic institutions in Lower Canada. On these and allied topics the majority of Catholics and Protestants held conflicting views.

Further, all questions of finance, the larger amount of taxes coming from the larger population, aroused jealousy, and made Upper Canada demand bitterly a more just representation in the Assembly which dealt with the money. She claimed that, as the Assembly was now composed, it voted more money to local purposes in Lower Canada than should fairly have gone to that section. Besides, she contended that, even in cases of apparent equality, Upper Canada suffered doubly from an expenditure on unwarrantable objects in the West which she did not ask for but was given to balance an expenditure on unwarrantable objects in the East which ministers from time to time were forced to concede to the clamour of Lower Canada jobbers. Again, much money was not only spent wastefully but granted for purposes foreign to the sentiment of the people of Upper Canada—foreign to the "principle of separation between spiritual and temporal affairs which had been solemnly registered in their Statute Book."

Never before 1857 had Upper Canada felt the injustice so acutely, and never before had party lines been divided so squarely upon the issue. All Reformers admitted that something had to be done or the Union would have to be dissolved, as not a few in Upper Canada now proposed. The Conservatives minimized the difficulty. In January,

1857, there had been a great gathering of Upper Canada Reformers in Toronto to organize a united Opposition, and the two questions of fighting Separate Schools and demanding Representation by Population had been made distinct planks in their platform. George Brown, their leader, introduced into the Assembly in April a motion to the effect that the representation in Parliament should be based on population without regard to the separating line between Upper and Lower Canada. He had been unable to carry this, but the debate showed what a strong hold the doctrine had in Upper Canada.

But this motion made by Brown also showed that the Opposition were not united on Representation by Population as the cure for their constitutional difficulties. Sandfield Macdonald, another leader of the Upper Canada Reformers, had a different solution, known as the Double Majority. By it no measure was considered passed on a mere majority vote of the House, unless that majority vote was made up of a majority from each section. This demand for a double majority was based on the idea that the Union was partly a federal and not merely a legislative one. The Ministry always took a double name, Lafontaine-Baldwin, Hincks-Morin, Macdonald-Cartier, etc. Each Government had an Attorney-General East and an Attorney-General West. The statutes of the two provinces were different and legislation sometimes applied to one province alone. Brown saw the weakness in this from the outset and would have nothing to do with it. He characterized it as "the principle which has caused the political ruin of every Western man who has taken office for the last eight years." As a matter of fact, it complicated party co-operation between the two sections, which was already complicated enough, so that whenever it would really have been a safeguard it had to be dropped.

Dorion, the leader of the Lower Canadian Reformers, could not support Brown's Representation by Population. He admitted the abstract justice of Brown's case, but maintained it was not in itself a solution which he could support, because there were reasons why Lower Canada could not grant it freely. He suggested, instead, a federa-

tion of the two Canadas, their joint problems to be dealt with in a joint parliament, and their local ones in two separate local assemblies.

The Macdonald-Cartier Ministry then in power, requiring to have regard to their Lower Canada supporters, could not assent to Brown's Representation by Population. At the election of 1857 they went boldly to the country on that stand, and as a result lost heavily in Upper Canada, but won greatly in Lower Canada. Their policy in the House was to belittle the differences between the two sections, and to maintain that no change was necessary when the machinery was working so well. Naturally, being in power, they wished to delay and postpone constitutional changes which might cause their defeat. They were able to carry on from day to day, from session to session, by different schemes, by winning over men from the Opposition, by adopting some Opposition platform plank whenever it seemed expedient, by skilfully avoiding some questions, by shelving others, by sending another, for example, the seat of government, which was proving particularly knotty, to the Queen, nominally at least, and by postponing another, like the one concerning the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, through appointing a commissioner to represent them in the negotiations with the Imperial authorities.

Such then, politically and constitutionally, was the Canada of 1857: a large section in Upper Canada insisting that unless they were given Representation by Population they would dissolve the Union; and an equally large section of Lower Canada insisting that Representation by Population could not be had without repeal of the Union, since if granted, the French-Canadians would be swamped and obliged to yield to the Upper Canada Protestant majority.

When D'Arcy McGee settled in Canada, this aspect of our national life immediately challenged him for solution. It was the fundamental subject discussed in his paper, *The New Era*, and this journal received its name from the trend of his solution and the possibilities for a vast and

glorious nation he thus saw opening up before him. During the summer of 1857, one of his earliest public lectures, delivered in Ottawa, was on *Canada and Her Destiny*. It followed the same lines as Dorion's solution of a Federal Union given in the recent parliamentary debate. But McGee's imagination carried him further. He portrayed the two Canadas, thus united, extending both east and west through future unions with other provinces. Then he followed up the speech by an article in *The New Era*, called *A New Nationality*, and it led on to the same prophetic close. It is very interesting to remember that this article, written in the summer of 1857, when McGee was but a few months in Canada, was disentombed eight years later, during the magnificent and now historic debate on Confederation in the Parliament of 1865. It was then used to prove that McGee was the father of the phrase, "a new nationality," which had recently become so popular. McGee, in answer, naturally owned to considerable pride:

> When I saw my bantling held up to the admiration of the House in the delicate and fostering hands of the honourable member for Hochelaga [A. A. Dorion], I was not ashamed of it: on the contrary, perhaps there was some tingling of parental pride when I saw what ten years [round numbers for eight] ago I pointed out as the true position for these colonies to take, about to be adopted by all the colonies under such favourable circumstances.

While it was easy, in the quiet of the study, to come to this conclusion as to the desirability of a Federal Union and to enunciate it as an attractive, interesting, academic question from lecture platforms and newspaper columns, it was a totally different problem to champion it in the Canadian Parliament, and win from the majority there a sympathetic hearing. The actual conditions D'Arcy McGee found in Canadian political life gave his idealization of politics there, as contrasted with the United States, a slight shock. To say the least, the temper of the Legislative Assembly in which he now found himself a member was not conducive to the growth of constructive and far-sighted solutions for its constitutional difficulties. Party warfare was too fierce for the harmonious working over and threshing

out of constitutional remedies. The parliamentary atmosphere of McGee's first session can be easily gauged by a few concrete examples of the extraordinarily bitter strife between the Government and the Opposition.

Among the exasperating incidents of the time were the numerous appeals of the Liberals against the decisions of the Speaker. One memorable evening there were three: and the following verdict of the Attorney-General West—John A. Macdonald—did not appear to calm the troubled waters of 1857 as it might have done in a parliament elected under equality of representation:

> He must protest against the style of language used by the honourable member for Montmorenci. Probably that gentleman was actuated by a sense of right, but though the Speaker's decision had been appealed from three times, that might only be held to prove the factiousness of the minority and the Speaker's accuracy. The only way that it could be tested was by taking the opinion of the House. It was open for persons who did not like those decisions to exclaim against them subject to the consequences. The majority might be wrong. The Speaker might be wrong, but it was the bounden duty of every member to submit. No government could exist unless that rule were carried out. If the majority were actuated by improper feelings and motives, it was for the country to judge them. They understood the responsibility under which they acted and were willing to accept the responsibility.

Herein was just the trouble. The Opposition maintained, and the Government denied, that the country had judged them. The Government had been badly defeated in Upper Canada and if Upper Canada had had her rightful share of representatives it would have meant a total majority against them.

Again, the atmosphere was bound to be charged with explosive elements when the first duty of the House was to deal with a legacy from the recent election in the form of thirty-two disputed election seats. The violence and corruption of the election of 1857 had been the most notorious since the time of Lord Sydenham. One or two of the more picturesque instances may be cited to show how barefaced the corruption had been and to indicate the temper of the House in dealing with it. In Quebec City, the Irish and French Catholics were so manipulated and pitted one against

the other that many entitled to vote could not do so because they were afraid of their lives. Yet there were 15,151 votes polled, whereas in the previous election there had been only one-third that number. A returning officer swore that one man had voted eighty times. One man clad in rags had cast his vote, calling himself John Bradshaw, banker. In some wards the names put down were real names, only too often repeated. In others, they were the names of dead men. In yet others, they were shams—as Victor Hugo, Lord Palmerston, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and others; Socialists, Republicans, and Royalists for once stood all on the same platform. Another election of outstanding corruption was that of Russell, where the poll books had been increased by copying names from old directories of towns in New York State, and the extra votes garnered in accordingly.

In addition, corruption of many other kinds was suspected. Echoes and rumors and gossip of bribery and of "jobs" perpetually sounded through the House and its corridors. The Norfolk shrievalty was a typical example. Over this office somehow or other twenty thousand dollars changed hands. It was the subject for prolonged and heated debate before the Reformers managed to have a committee of investigation appointed.[1] In this particular instance what especially fed the Reformers' fury was that the Provincial Secretary had contented himself with telling the inhabitants of Norfolk and Simcoe, when they sent in a memorial appealing against the decision, "that the appointment had not been made without due consideration, and His Excellency had every reason to believe the gentleman would prove himself well qualified to hold it." Maybe that

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[1] According to *The Globe*:

"Mr. Macdonald is determined to screen his friend....and he has an obedient majority at his back. Our French rulers are not over particular, we are sorry to say, and we are powerless. Upper Canada sentiment matters nothing even in purely Upper Canada matters. We are slaves. The French may sell offices, spend our money, do with us as they please. J. A. Macdonald may allow his friend to buy an office, he may even take a thousand pounds of the plunder, if he likes; so long as he pleases Lower Canada he may rule over us."

was quite true, but such supercilious ignoring of their charge did not satisfy the muck-rakers.

How surly could be the temper of the leaders even, in this supercharged air, the following little dialogue of McGee's first session, between Brown and Cartier, reveals. A speech of Brown's had been constantly interrupted by Cartier, who "persistently refused to give way" and drew from Brown the rebuke, "the honourable gentleman is as rude and loquacious as he always is. Instead of showing that courtesy which the House has a right to expect at the hands of a gentleman in his position, the Attorney-General East is screeching at the top of his voice and making himself as disagreeable as possible." Cartier naturally did not allow this to pass in silence. "No man who knew anything of the honourable gentleman, who in short had ever had any dealings with him, would ever think of going to the Hon. Member for Toronto to learn lessons of courtesy..... Although physically speaking he was a smaller man than the Hon. Member for Toronto, yet he would be ready to meet him either in this House or elsewhere. The Hon. Gentleman laboured under great moral and physical defects. He was unable to speak anything either correctly or truly."

Another and more serious example of how high the flames could leap was afforded by the assault made by the member for Carleton on George Brown. He charged Brown with having been a defaulter in Scotland and having had to flee the country. Brown answered him in such a manly speech and defended the character of his father—as the money troubles, on which the accusation was founded, had been of his father's making and not his own—so frankly and loyally that the leading Conservative paper published the following day this merited praise:

> The entire address forms the most refreshing episode which the records of the Canadian House of Commons possess. Every true-hearted man must feel proud of one who has thus chivalrously done battle for his grey-haired sire. We speak deliberately when asserting that George Brown's position in the country is at this moment immeasurably higher than it ever previously has been. And though our political creed be diametrically antipodal to his own, we shall ever hail him as a credit to the land we love so well.

This was refreshing justice, and a noteworthy rising above partisan animosity, but it was only on the rare mountain-tops that such liberality of view could be attained.

Again, it was not only that there was war to the knife between the Government and the Opposition, but the Opposition was on many important issues divided against itself. Frequently these differences of opinion caused its members to pull against one another, and so to waste much of the power which a united party might have wielded. *The Globe*, in the February before McGee came to Canada, outlined the situation plainly thus:

> The questions on which Mr. Brown and Mr. Dorion agree are the rule, those on which they differ the exception..... There is no desire to conceal, however, that there are questions on which different sections of the Opposition, while acting together against the common enemy, must pursue different courses. We cannot expect Lower Canada to take so deep an interest in favour of Representation by Population and against Lower Canada grants as we do. These will be pressed vigorously by the Upper Canada Opposition, whatever the result..... They [the Upper Canada Opposition] are able to stand alone, if necessary, and to exercise a controlling influence over the Government on almost all questions.

And yet even they (the Upper Canada Opposition) could not stand together. They were blessed with two leaders, John Sandfield Macdonald as well as George Brown. Each man had a scheme of his own for the solution of the chief constitutional difficulty. Brown's was Representation by Population, and Macdonald's was the Double Majority. As a testy, futile debate in the spring of '58 was to prove, both were equally insistent and each had his own following. Sandfield Macdonald and his cohorts felt strongly that it was a most opportune time to apply their doctrine. While it had not been the real reason for the government changes in the case of Robert Baldwin in 1851 or of Sir Allan MacNab in 1856, yet those changes had been made on the understanding that while the Double Majority was not absolutely essential, it was at least of primary importance. Now these Upper Canada Reformers, with their party's large preponderance at the polls, argued that John A. Macdonald held his present position through the adoption of the Double

Majority principle,[1] therefore with what consistency could he and his followers violate the principle now?

The discussion was vain, ineffectual. By skilful handling, the Ministry twisted it so that they themselves had no serious need for declaring or supporting principles. They merely nonchalantly allowed it to be understood that circumstances altered cases and they had no intention of handing over the reins of government, but they also manipulated the debate to make it most revealing of the personal jealousies in the Reformers' Upper Canada ranks. And the vote showed Brown, Christie, Hogan and Mowat on the Ministerial side.[2]

The men who so frequently stood in the fighting line of that Legislative Assembly were a company of very varied weight and importance. Many of the members were of decidedly provincial calibre, and interested only in "jobs" and the petty ward politics connected with their own particular section of the country. But there were out-

[1] On the question of making Quebec the permanent capital of Canada the Government, under the leadership of Sir Allan MacNab, had been sustained so recently as 1856 by a total majority but one derived from Lower Canada. When the vote had been analyzed, it was found they had been defeated by six votes in Upper Canada. Sir Allan's followers had made this their reason for resigning. True, they had done this not from principle, but as a manoeuvre to compel Sir Allan to resign and thus to leave themselves a free hand to reorganize him out of the leadership of the party and John A. Macdonald into his place.

[2] Although anticipating, it may be well to state here what was McGee's stand on this question. He was sufficiently aloof from the party mêlée not to be blinded by the tactics of the Ministry. He, in turn, deplored their lack of true interest in the matter. He interpreted their silence on the constitutional wrongs and their failure to bring forward a solution instead of the Double Majority, as showing their belief that the present union was not workable and that its dissolution was a mere matter of time. As for himself, he voted for Sandfield Macdonald's motion, but tried to get above both sides of the party position. He sought to relate the discussion to the broad, far-reaching aspects of the subject. He maintained the Double Majority "expedient" was "highly desirable," but that as a "rule" or "principle" it was not practical. He did not believe there was a short cut to great constitutional changes. "If the Act of Union were altered in one respect, it required to be altered in others."

standing men on both sides of the House who were entitled to the name of statesman. It was then that many of Canada's most doughty political knights won their spurs.

There sat Canada's foremost son, as Premier and Attorney-General West, John A. Macdonald. He was but forty-three, and according to McGee's first impression of him on the floor of the House, "a medium-sized, slight, sharp-featured man, with a head of thick, black, curling hair." "At a distance," McGee continued, "he reminds one something of Benjamin Disraeli, but when he speaks the resemblance vanishes." After this personal outline, the orator McGee took the pen, and has left us a not very flattering criticism of a fellow speechmaker: "He has acquired that awkward American gesture of using almost incessantly the left arm and hand as if he had no other. His voice is neither clear nor sonorous, and his delivery full of stoppages and impediments. His phraseology is passable, sometimes sinking into the commonplace. To compensate these defects, he has a great quickness of thought in grasping at a point, a ready popular humour and an unfailing memory." Evidently not a few of "John A's" most brilliant gifts and qualities, as a leader and parliamentarian, found such quiet and efficient expression that they had as yet escaped the new member for Montreal. In the larger field of after-Confederation politics, Macdonald never required more finesse in building up a party platform, in arranging workable compromises, and in holding and winning adherents, than he had manifested in bringing about the Liberal-Conservative alliance of 1854, and continued to exercise year by year in strengthening his forces by tactful selection and adoption of men from the Opposition. It was unquestionably to his skilful and diplomatic party management of men that his following thirteen years of almost unbroken power were due.

George Etienne Cartier's name was linked with Macdonald's in the Administration, as an outward indication of the separateness and equality of Canada East and Canada West in those Union days. He, also, was to perform his most forceful political work in the same era. The Macdonald-

Cartier Government rested on the French-Canadian majority which Cartier contributed. If he lost it, the Administration faced defeat, as Macdonald was in the minority in his own section. It was the Confederation issue that was to test most searchingly Cartier's influence over his compatriots and his power of thinking nationally. It was to be his task to bring his followers to see that their rights and privileges, when no longer assured by their greater number in the Legislature, would yet be protected and safe on account of checks and guarantees which would be an integral part of the constitution of the land. The accomplishment of such a task marked Cartier as a man of strength as well as of vision.

However, in 1858 it was by no means obvious that Cartier was the French-Canadian leader of the future. Joseph E. Cauchon, in very close touch with the Catholic Church and her authorities, appeared to many as more likely to win the lasting favour of his countrymen. To others, L. V. Sicotte, after Cartier's defeat in Montreal, seemed to be the coming man. McGee described him in *The New Era* as being at this time "forcible and firm in his maintenance of the equality of the Provinces, but conciliatory towards the Upper Canada majority." He held moderate Liberal-Conservative views very similar to Cartier's own, and during the next four years won sufficient support to place him in power for a season.

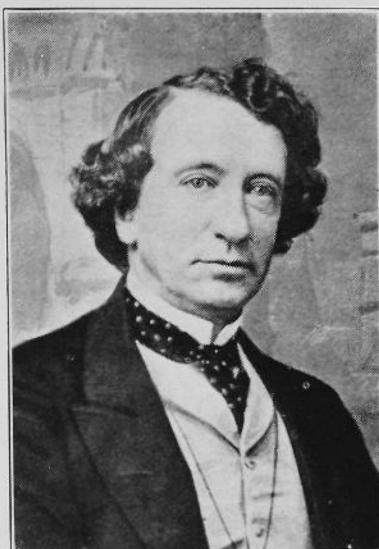
Another French-Canadian very prominent in the House was Cartier's regular party opponent, Antoine Aimé Dorion, the most honourable, able, and cultured of the French-Canadian Liberals, who had until lately been called Rouges. He was at this time greatly handicapped, however, in the eyes of his countrymen by the fact that there was no complement for his party in Canada West unless he joined forces with George Brown. Such an alliance was quite out of the question for many Catholic Frenchmen. Since 1850 George Brown had stood out before them as the most aggressive and bitter opponent of their religion and all its works, and, on account of their loyalty to it, of their race. Bracketed with Dorion in Montreal politics

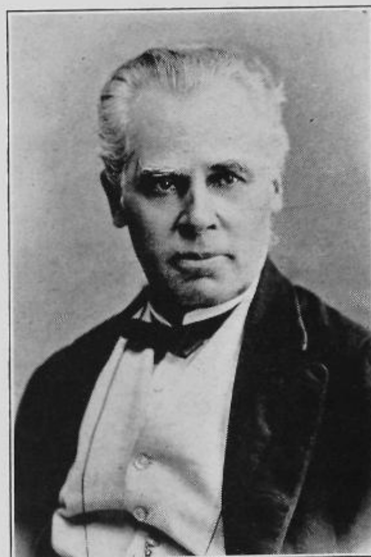
was Luther Holton, whom McGee characterized as having "firm tenacity of will and great deliberative power."

Another outstanding man of the Parliament of 1858, whose name holds rank high among the ablest of Canada's public men, was Alexander Galt. He was a financier of unusual ability, and it was during this year, as the newly appointed Inspector-General, afterwards to be called Finance Minister, that Galt enjoyed his first opportunity of controlling and organizing the finances of the country. In addition, he was a statesman with the imaginative insight and practical skill to formulate bold and far-seeing plans for the expansion and constitutional development of the nation. It was also during this session that he first unrolled before the House his scheme of a wide Confederation as the solution of their constitutional difficulties, and that he was later sent to England to try to interest the Imperial Government in the proposal.

Isaac Buchanan was another member of this Parliament with energy and public spirit above the ordinary. He will always be remembered in Canada as the Father of Protection. By unceasing writing and tireless organization of public meetings, he had made the people of the Province familiar with the glowing possibilities of a tariff for the protection of home industries. The first protectionist tariff, inaugurated under Inspector-General William Cayley, during this first session of McGee's parliamentary life, had been largely prepared and submitted by Buchanan. After the debate in May, 1858, on Sicotte's Fishery Bill, which was intended to foster the occupation of the Gulf fishermen by bounties, *The Globe* bracketed McGee and Buchanan as both "consistent protectionists."

A list of the chief men elected to the House for the first time with McGee will serve in giving bearings. John Rose, the new Solicitor-General East from Montreal, and Hector Langevin, destined to make himself conspicuous in this his first session by bringing in a want-of-confidence amendment to the motion ordering the writ for the election of the members of the Brown-Dorion cabinet; Christopher Dunkin, Wm. P. Howland, John Carling, and Oliver Mowat,





CANADIAN CHIEFTAINS

George Brown
Antoine Aime Dorion

John A. Macdonald
George Etienne Cartier

all then entered parliamentary life with McGee, and all are well remembered names to-day.

It is particularly noteworthy that the political careers of Mowat and of McGee began in the same year. In spite of great outward dissimilarity and changing political fortunes, they were destined to become very warm personal friends. There was no one in that House for whose judgment and ability McGee felt greater respect, and no one for whose qualities as a statesman he felt warmer admiration. McGee later ranked Mowat with Bishop Connolly of Halifax among the prime builders of Confederation.

And in this Parliament still sat William Lyon Mackenzie. But, strange to say, the rebel of '37 had none too great sympathy for or confidence in the rebel of '48. Another member of that Parliament and of staunch Liberal principles was William McDougall. At the same time he was one of the editorial writers for *The Globe*, since it had absorbed his own paper, *The North American*. In later parliamentary life he and McGee did not see eye to eye, especially as to how the Crown Lands Department should be administered. In a burst of criticism McGee spoke of him as "the showiest, hollowest, and most unsuccessful Commissioner who ever administered that Department."

John Sandfield Macdonald has already been mentioned. He was a Highland Scotch Catholic from Glengarry, and it might have been expected that McGee would have found more in common with his fellow Catholic, Macdonald, than with the anti-Catholic Brown. But not so. McGee and Sandfield Macdonald irritated each other from the outset. They were personally, rather than politically, antagonistic. McGee scarcely looked on Macdonald as a good Catholic.[1] He once said, he lived too near the border [the border of Upper and Lower Canada; Sandfield Macdonald came from Cornwall] to be orthodox. More fundamentally, McGee was inclined to broad, sweeping, general, expansive views and policies,

[1] And of D. A. Macdonald he said once: "He is so good a cosmopolitan that he has no partiality even for his own religion." Another time he said: "The Hon. gentleman from Cornwall is like the blank leaf between the Old and New Testaments, belonging neither to the one nor to the other."

while Macdonald clung to particulars and practical, thrifty, detailed considerations. Their attitudes towards the accommodation required for immigrants at the port of Quebec is a very good concrete example of their different temperaments. McGee would have built very lavish and comfortable quarters—sheds and waiting-rooms and offices—and would have had agents posted there to give the newcomers every kind of official attention and information about Canada. His heart went out to these poor immigrants, and he was anxious to do everything possible to make their entrance into the country smooth and safe. At the same time, he looked upon it as a good investment in patriotism. Sturdy immigrants and their families were the most valuable of assets to a new land, and if they were properly welcomed at Quebec not so many would be immediately railroaded away to the American West. Not so did John Sandfield Macdonald reason. Why, these hordes of incomers had only been "whitewashed" at Grosse Isle a few days ago! They were accustomed from babyhood to a rough life without care or shelter. To spend money on such accommodation would be throwing it away. Nine-tenths of them were billed through to the American West anyway, and their delay on landing in Canada was merely temporary.

The two men had little in common. When John Sandfield reconstructed his government before the elections of 1863 and left McGee out, their very thin link of nominal political union was utterly snapped. McGee then stigmatized Macdonald as a "poor-souled" politician.

With George Brown, on the other hand, McGee shared many interests and characteristics, in spite of the fact that they were diametrically opposed on religion and education. Both men had the same desperate daring in attacking what they believed to be wrong. No matter what personal or party prudence might dictate on any given question, if they had become convinced to the contrary, they would push it to the uttermost, come what come might. And each admired the other for this pluck. Besides, both men saw the inroads that corruption was making on account of the present governmental straits, and both were sincerely anxious to stem the tide. They agreed in their opposition

to American slavery, and agreed later in their support of the North during the Civil War, and this at a time when very few Canadians fully realized the significance of the war as a war against slavery, or had a true insight into Lincoln's policy. Further, their view on the relative merits of American and British ideals of democracy were very similar. Time and again Brown testified in McGee's favour, and yet so deeply ingrained was his prejudice against Catholics that one can feel that he was wondering at himself while he did it: "We must record the value of the services Mr. McGee has rendered in his endeavours to break down the wall of bigotry, and to bring about the desired union of the Reformers. In spite of sincere votes for his Church, the liberality of his general course has not been marred." "Reformers of Upper Canada appreciate the good taste, the earnestness and the effect of Mr. McGee's exertions."

This last sentence hints at another strong bond between Brown and McGee. Both men spoke and treated political subjects with deep and earnest convictions. Brown always resented in John A. Macdonald what he characterized as a flippant tone in answering his objections and criticisms. McGee, on the other hand, took not only his own views and duties very seriously, but took Brown very seriously: "I never knew a harder worker in the public service. I never knew a peculator or a speculator to whom his name was not a terror. By his stern guardianship of the public expenditure, if on no other grounds, he is entitled to the eternal gratitude of the whole people of Canada, out of whom the means to liquidate that expenditure must come by the process of taxation." Another time McGee pictured Brown in these admirable words: "Brown with his large, loose vigour and with a manliness which it is impossible not to respect, whatever one may think of his policy."

Such were D'Arcy McGee's outstanding colleagues. Fortunately a picture of himself may be added to the assembly. It is by the truthful, graphic pen of Charles Clarke,[1] the Clerk of the Legislature for many years:

[1] *Sixty Years in Upper Canada, with Autobiographical Recollections*, by Charles Clarke, late Clerk of the Legislature of Ontario; Toronto 1908; William Briggs.

D'Arcy McGee possessed ability and integrity which could not fail to make him prominent in any party to which he might become attached, or to render him an object of fear and solicitude to his opponents. He was a partisan, but not of unforgiving or relentless character. He was a combative politician, but his party instincts frequently gave place to a love of fair play. He fought to win, but not to annihilate. The father of a family, and of small means, his financial resources were necessarily limited and the worry of poverty interfered seriously with his literary and political labours, but no proof was ever presented which tended to question his character for incorruptibility. He may have been open to the charge of fickleness, but he never sacrificed a friend with intent to further his own interests. He fluctuated in his party allegiance, but never, as he undoubtedly believed, without reasonable cause. He was a sincere and firm adherent of the faith of his childhood, and yet was tolerant of the belief of differing friends and opponents alike. He had a frame strong in animal vigour, and a brain which compensated for rugged and unattractive features. His one facial beauty was a winning smile, and if he was not an Adonis, he was at least a Man.

CHAPTER X

THE PEACE-MAKER

The New Era was a very happy title for D'Arcy McGee to choose for his first Canadian venture, from a purely personal sense as well as from the Canadian political interpretation. His change in abode, from the outset, appeared to bring a very pleasant change in his fortunes. He and his family were royally welcomed by the Irish citizens of Montreal. And by 1857 the Irishmen of Montreal were in a position to make a warm welcome by them something to be valued and of more than ordinary importance. According to the assessment valuation they owned property to the value of over thiee and one half million, one million five hundred thousand belonging to Irish Protestants and one million nine hundred and ninety-three thousand to Irish Catholics.

Characteristically this Irish welcome was expressed in a substantial way. The last years of vicissitudes in the United States had absolutely shattered McGee's fortunes. This his friends set about remedying. In the month of September, a public announcement was made in the press that "as a testimonial of their confidence and regard," a few gentlemen had "contributed spontaneously" nine hundred and fifty dollars for McGee. Other contributions were added until October fifth, when a very well-lined purse was presented to him at a jovial banquet.

This banquet and presentation were the preliminary steps in bringing McGee forward as the Irish Catholic representative for the City of Montreal in the forthcoming elections. Many of his friends, as has been noted, had looked forward to his holding this honour and doing them this

service when he was first encouraged to take up residence among them.

The way McGee was brought out and initiated into parliamentary life was somewhat out of the ordinary. He was chosen in the first place by St. Patrick's Society as an Irish Catholic, and not because he would support either the Conservative or the Reform party. The Society laid down two conditions, quite regardless of party stand on both questions. He was to support the demand for Separate Schools in Upper Canada, and he was to oppose Orangeism. The aspect of this latter subject then before the people was the granting of a charter to the Orange Society of Upper Canada. Naturally McGee could very heartily promise to be their representative in both these matters. The first would require him to support the Macdonald-Cartier Government rather than the George Brown Opposition, and on the latter he would be thrown wholly with his Lower Canada co-religionists. It did not split parties so much along Conservative and Reform lines as along the Upper and Lower Canada cleavage.

To what party was McGee himself personally inclined? To none preponderantly at this stage. His own leanings, like the demands of St. Patrick's Society, would require him to give either party but a mixed support. However, this would in no way make McGee unique or mar his usefulness in Parliament. Parties in Canada then were too constantly in flux and men were too frequently oscillating between them for a man conscientiously giving a mixed support to become the target of any appreciable criticism. There were several noteworthy examples of such at this very time. Malcolm Cameron, a radical in political theory and but lately a supporter of the Clear Grits in Upper Canada, found himself in sufficient agreement with the Government to give them a general support. Likewise L. V. Sicotte, a Liberal politician, was for the time being Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Macdonald-Cartier Government, although between five and six years later he was to become the Lower Canadian leader of a Liberal Government. A. T. Galt was another man who found it

hard at times to decide whether he agreed in more respects with the policy of the Government or of the Opposition. So he sat some time on the cross benches, free to support or oppose as he felt to be best. A small incident of the previous month indicates very clearly to what length this independence of thought and voting was of necessity tolerated even within a party cabinet. A. A. Dorion, the leader of the Lower Canada Opposition, had been invited by the Macdonald-Cartier Government to accept the Provincial Secretaryship. But he declined, and it was given to T. J. J. Loranger instead.

The first step toward making D'Arcy McGee the official candidate of the Irish Catholics of Montreal was the holding of a large meeting in Bonaventure Hall on November 29th, 1857. Dr. Howard, president of St. Patrick's Society, called the assembly together and announced their intention of selecting a fitting candidate. Since they represented one-third of the population of the city, it was only equity, he maintained, that they should elect one of the three members. After Dr. Howard's speech, Bernard Devlin put a motion to the effect that it was "the unanimous sense of this meeting that Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Esq., should be requested to allow himself to be put in nomination as our candidate for Montreal, in the approaching contest." A committee was then sent to inform McGee. Once he was assured that he was their unanimous choice, he joined them and gave a long address.

This first political speech of McGee's is most interesting. It shows the spirit and ideals with which he went into this new work. It also makes clear for a prophetic eye what leanings and tendencies would shape his subsequent Canadian political career. He thanked the members of St. Patrick's Society in simple, sincere words, without any hackneyed elaboration, for the honour and confidence they had shown him. He modestly assumed it was on account of his being an editor, and politics, so to speak, being a profession with him, that he had been nominated. This preliminary over, he at once struck the keynote of his whole future attitude towards parliamentary life:

> You have acted in no exclusive spirit, and in no exclusive spirit do I accept your nomination. If I am returned....I must consider myself bound to represent to the utmost of my ability, the whole city. The interests of Montreal, the interests of the Province, will become my daily care as they have long been my earnest study.

Then after specifying a few general subjects of quite non-party legislation, dealing with trade, industry, and immigration, McGee came back to his ideal theme:

> I cherish a high ideal of what the parliament of a young country like this ought to be and set the example of doing. This ideal I will resolutely endeavour to approach.

Trite words, some one might say. But not from McGee. He was giving his hearers a sincere maxim of his own inner life. He spoke with deep seriousness and intention when he made this promise.

Next he passed from general discussion to definite political party problems. He showed his supporters how his ideal principles would work out in real life. He let them understand that while he would be firm in support of their convictions and his own on Orangeism, it would be done with courtesy, moderation, and tolerance:

> I may be supposed by those who don't know me to be a very excitable individual, especially when I see a yellow colour displayed in the dog days. But I have seen too much of the world, if I were not naturally disposed otherwise, to sacrifice the charities of life or the dictates of public duty to any selfish or sectarian views.

After this meeting the plot thickened and events moved quickly. It must be remembered that politics in those days was more than a matter of party, or of sectional or racial interests. There was always besides a balancing and counterbalancing of personal groups. Personal sympathies and personal antipathies grouped men together as well as public principles. Now the Government candidates in Montreal were Cartier, Rose and Starnes, and they at once became fearful that this independent Irishman was going to cut very dangerously into their vote. At that time the city was not divided into electoral districts. All voted

together, and the three men who were given first, second, and third largest number of votes won the election. Starnes had wanted to come forward "on the Irish ticket." He said he was prepared to give the Irish leaders private pledges as to his attitude on education and Orangeism if they would not require him to give an open pledge at the hustings. He had been in the past a very intimate friend of Dr. Howard, the president of St. Patrick's Society, and he had promised, if elected, to support strongly a grant from the Government for the Irish Catholic orphanage being built by Father Dowd. He even suggested that it was possible the Government might look with favour on a grant to the Eye and Ear Infirmary, of which Dr. Howard was the head. The Irish leaders, therefore, on account of past friendship and future hopeful possibilities, felt very favourably inclined towards Starnes. They suggested that the Conservative ticket would be better Cartier, Starnes, and McGee. This necessitated the dropping of Rose. As John Rose had just been appointed to the Cabinet, the month before, as Solicitor-General for Lower Canada, and was looked upon by his colleagues as the best man to represent the commercial and financial interests of that province, there was great opposition from the higher powers in the Conservative party to this idea of dropping him. Particularly was this so of Alleyn of Quebec, who had entered the Cabinet with Rose as Commissioner of Public Works. It was next proposed through Mr. Workman, who was to nominate Rose, that if the Irish vote would go to Cartier, Rose and Starnes, and if McGee would continue his canvass up to the day of nomination and resign on the hustings in favour of the Ministry, the first country constituency which the Ministry could command would be made sure to McGee and he would be well taken care of.

Dr. Howard and the other Irish leaders would not listen to this proposal. Their man was sure to be elected in the city, so why give up a bird in the hand for one of the future in the country bush? If a Government alliance could be formed, if Rose could be dropped or if Starnes could be dropped, and if McGee, with the two main planks of their

platform and his, on Orangeism and education, could be accepted, they would be very happy to join the Government ranks. The following extract is from a letter of Dr. Howard to Starnes on the Sunday after the Bonaventure meeting and three days before McGee's address appeared in the press:

> I have worked hard for you and Cartier, but things are now coming to a hard push upon me. I am sorry you two would not stand with McGee and all would have been well. I have an unruly set of boys to deal with and they are pushing me to a close with Holton and Dorion..... I wish to God you would have let Rose drop.

But Rose was not dropped, and on the following Thursday' Dec. 8th, 1857, an alliance was concluded with Dorion and Holton. Dr. Howard wrote about this later, "From the hour it was formed I remained true to the ticket and alliance." And also from the hour it was formed the Government press of Montreal, particularly *La Minerve,* Cartier's organ, let pour the vials of their wrath and denunciation on McGee. They printed columns about his rebel activities in 1848, to prove that he was not a man who could be trusted in any British parliament. One Government organ even described him as a disgrace to the City of Montreal.

McGee had no special anxiety to defend himself in a party sense. He had made up his mind to be true to his own pledges, he had made a public avowal of his deepest principles and promised to live up to them to the best of his ability, so he was quite clear about his own course. But when he came to the hustings, he felt very strongly that he had "no alternative but a personal quarrel, disgraceful to himself and injurious to his cause" if he did not make an exposure before witnesses of what was really the Government party's estimate of himself, and how absolutely unfounded had been their late newspaper campaign against him. He approached the matter directly. He called on Rose and asked him to consult with Workman, his proposer, and "say here and now if I am at liberty to make known the propositions which were made to me from Ministerial quarters." This downright demand not being categorically refused, he proceeded to narrate the overtures

which had been made on condition that he would resign on the hustings in favour of the Ministry. Therefore, he proved that up to December 7th, he, "D'Arcy McGee, had been good enough to be a Ministerial candidate, but after that the Ministerial journals of the city had been employed in aspersing his character and in denying that of which the truth had now been elicited."

Two results very important in McGee's political life flowed from this election. The immediate one was of a general character. The violence and corruption with which the whole country-wide election was waged in both Upper and Lower Canada made McGee a more whole-hearted supporter of the Opposition, and during his first months in Parliament provided him with the strongest, if not the only, bond of union with the Upper Canada section of that party. After the evidence McGee had been able to gather during this election he became one of the most effective and entertaining critics of the Government on this score of corruption.

The distinctly personal outcome of the election belonged more to the future. It was unfortunately of a kind to drive McGee in the opposite direction. In one case he saw the need for social and class forbearance, in the other he experienced the undying intensity of individual spite and animosity. The Montreal election turned out to be a glorious triumph for the Irish Catholics. Their much abused man, "the disgraceful adventurer," went in at the head of the poll. Dorion and Rose were the others elected, so Cartier was defeated. Nay more, Cartier stood at the foot of the poll, and had to seek re-election in the County of Verchères, where he barely saved himself by a majority of thirty votes.

Cartier never forgave McGee for this downfall. Also he never tried to conceal his animosity towards him and the Irish electors of Montreal. "They could be bought for a barrel of flour apiece and some salt fish thrown in for the leaders," he once declared. During the first session of Parliament, when Cartier showed his displeasure towards McGee, the latter, with the jocular satisfaction of a schoolboy, would turn it off by some witty remark about "the

member from some country constituency." This was but adding insult to injury, and mortified Cartier's vanity still more. As session after session passed, there was no ameliorating of Cartier's feelings. He always treated McGee with pronounced contempt, and would never accord him the slightest attention when he spoke. Instead, he kept up some noisy, hilarious conversation of his own, and interjected here and there some slighting epithet aimed at McGee, such as "baboon." On several occasions he assured the House that "the Irish of Montreal voted against him because he would not accept McGee, but that he preferred to lose the election rather than win it in company with McGee."

McGee in his turn was hurt and anxious to balance this account. By 1861 he was provoked to the point of making a reply which proved he had not listened to the sneers and contumely of the Attorney-General East, without making some mental notes for future reference:

> I must be permitted to remark on the characteristic exhibition of the Hon. Attorney-General East. The honourable gentleman has been in rather an amiable mood during four or five days, and some of us began to have hopes of his having abandoned the personalities of previous sessions. .... But to-night he returns to his old confirmed habit of abuse and recrimination. He made what I may call an extra-human exhibition of merely animal spleen and venom in his attack upon myself, and I can never look at him, Mr. Speaker, in one of these paroxysms, without having my doubts excited as to what Mr. Hugh Fraser Murray states in his history of this country. The very singular statement he makes is that monkeys are not indigenous to British North America.

But for the time being, in 1857-58, McGee was very little concerned over Cartier's defeat. He had won the election and saw a very wide field of usefulness opening before him. Before he left Montreal for Toronto, where Parliament sat that year, he made his first definite and characteristic move towards inculcating conciliation and toleration. On Feb. 12th, 1858, he gave a lecture in Griffintown, a predominantly Irish section of Montreal, the proceeds of which were to go to the organ of St. Anne's Church. He chose his subject for this evening with exceeding care

and tact, and presented it in the same way. He spoke on "The Historical and Political Connection of Scotland, Ireland, and France." This was naturally apropos in a community like Montreal, where representatives of each nationality resided, but where such ill-feeling had been wrought up between them that at the recent elections "axe-handles were as frequent as votes at the polls." McGee dwelt on their common Celtic ancestry and the various historic alliances of the Scotch with the French and the Irish with the French. The lesson was obvious:

> They must train their temper to look outwardly with a just and patient eye on each other in the New World.... and on the part of the population which here represented French civilization. There was neither historical hatred nor political necessity to make them other than friends and allies..... The standard of the conduct of these representatives of the Celtic element should be that God had made of one blood all the nations of the earth.

In this bald synopsis of an old newspaper synopsis, it is not easy to imagine the address as brilliant and moving. Yet, from the effect it was credited with producing at the time on "the several thousand assembled," whose "loud plaudits interrupted the speaker at several points," it is evident that McGee carried out his aim in a way to work good and promote kindlier feelings among his fellow-citizens.

Just before McGee left Montreal to take his seat in Toronto, *The True Witness*[1] felt it incumbent on it to issue "a word" to D'Arcy McGee. A perusal of this "word," keeping in mind at the same time the political situation in Upper Canada and the interests McGee was to try to serve, will convince any one that his future lay along a thorny path:

> And now one word..... We have trusted you and in proof of our confidence have elevated you to your present enviable position. Our main object in selecting you....is that you exert yourself strenuously and unceasingly to procure justice for our brethren in Upper Canada; that from your seat in Parliament you insist in season and out of season, no

[1] The chief organ of English-speaking Catholics in Canada East.

> matter what the consequences to any ministry or to any party, that the same measure of justice which in this section of the Province has been cheerfully and ungrudgingly dealt out to the Protestant minority, be in like manner accorded to the Catholic minority of Upper Canada. Do this —and heart and soul we will support you. Fail in this, falter for one moment in your allegiance to the great and holy cause which we have chosen you to advocate, and you will find us as prompt to pull you down as we have been to raise you up. Your every action, your every vote upon matters connected with the school question and the general interests of the Church will be closely watched, keenly scrutinized, and impartially weighed. As we have been ready to place a generous reliance in your promises, so will we be rigid and inexorable in exacting their fulfilment, even to the uttermost farthing. No excuses will be accepted, and no pardon or indulgence extended for the slightest deviation from the paths of rectitude. It depends entirely upon your conduct in Parliament whether we shall be your warmest friends or your bitterest and irreconcilable foes.

A very short time sufficed to show how completely the editor of *The True Witness* kept his promise.

With this admonition from home, so to speak, still ringing in his ears, D'Arcy McGee made his way from Lower Canada to Upper Canada, or from Canada East to Canada West, in the stricter but less used terms of Union days. If his position and election in Lower Canada had been somewhat out of the ordinary course of Canadian politics, his place in Upper Canada was to prove yet more unique. He found himself an Irish Catholic elected to represent a city in Lower Canada in a Parliament sitting in Upper Canada, where roughly four-fifths of the population were Protestants and only one-fifth Catholics. Again, that one-fifth was represented by only three Catholics out of sixty-five members—by Sandfield and D. A. Macdonald of Glengarry and Richard W. Scott of Ottawa. The Macdonalds were Highland Scotch Catholics representing constituencies about half Scotch Catholic and half Scotch Presbyterian; on this account they supported the Upper Canada point of view on many questions; even on the school question in its early stages they voted with Upper Canada. They "felt it would be wicked," in the words of D. A. Macdonald, "to introduce into their peaceful Scottish settlement, where there were no religious disputes, anything which might divide or cause ill-feeling amongst the people."

While, then, D'Arcy McGee was elected by Lower Canadians, he was looked upon by a large section of Upper Canadians as their representative when any question involving the religious interests or religious sensibilities of the Catholic minority in Upper Canada was concerned. Nor was this all. The four-fifths Protestant majority in Upper Canada had been led to look upon his election in the same way and with consequent great resentment. They expected that the first thing McGee would do when he entered the House would be to engage in polemics upon religious and semi-religious grounds. To them he was not only another Catholic from Lower Canada, but a worse Catholic than the French variety, because he could claim kindred with many hitherto passive Catholics at their own doors and rouse them to action. However, this squall against McGee as an aggressive Irish Catholic blew up to its very wildest at once, and passed over safely, leaving only occasional low mutterings behind to show how tremendous the havoc it might have wrought had not McGee been such a skilful pilot of the fortunes of his co-religionists.

D'Arcy McGee, an Irish Catholic proud of his race and proud of his creed, with books many and speeches more eloquent in their praises of both, was no welcome newcomer to Orange Toronto in the mid-fifties. McGee, in his Canadian inexperience, felt he had been handling very delicate racial and sectarian questions in Montreal when trying to reconcile the French and the Irish Catholics. And so he had. But he now discovered they were mere family bickerings compared with the interprovincial animosities of creed and race which he encountered in his new abode. While the first manifestations of hostility towards him sprang from the old Irish root of Green versus Orange, there was back of them the particular Upper Canada grievance. This added to the Irish quarrel a comprehensiveness and a volume of bitterness it never would have excited by itself.

Parliament had met on Feb. 25th, 1858, so the 17th of March was not far enough away for his new associates to learn in the meantime the manner of man McGee was. But this was the day that Orange Toronto, the capital of

Protestant Upper Canada, decided to show him just how it felt towards him and his co-religionists. On returning from the House to his hotel McGee's carriage was besieged and stones and brickbats filled the air. His driver was knocked from the seat, but held to his way. On finally reaching the hotel they found a large mob making very offensive demonstrations and the lower storey of the house sacked and gutted. That morning, as St. Patrick's procession was moving along the street, one of the participants, Matthew Sheady, had been stabbed and mortally wounded by a two-pronged pitchfork. Another man "got hold of a neck-yoke," according to the newspaper account, and was looked upon as quite a hero, since he had been able to knock down three or four other "papists" with it. All these acts were committed in the open and before many witnesses, yet in such sympathy with the evildoers were the city police force generally that no arrests were made and justice could be had neither for the murder of Matthew Sheady nor for the sack of the National Hotel. At the same time the Catholic press maintained that the police force of Toronto was "one vast Orange lodge, that the chief was an Orange official and the recorder a past Grand Master and the gaoler a present Grand Master of that secret order."

In the face of this bigoted mob hostility, it is very interesting to see in what a quiet, praiseworthy spirit McGee set to work. There was nothing of the partisan firebrand or religious agitator about him. He dealt with his own side first. He sought to make it beyond reproach, trusting that enlightened public opinion in turn would curb the other side. He urged upon his fellow Irish Catholics that it would be in the interests of peace if they passed a self-denying ordinance and decided for the future not to celebrate the 17th of March by a street parade:

> I always advised and always will advise the cessation of vainglorious and disedifying street parades on the 17th of March in the midst of our mixed, preoccupied and perhaps prejudiced population. Moreover, there are here in Upper Canada special reasons for that course..... I do not forget that there is another anniversary celebrated here with great pomp and excitement, the significance of which is also borrowed from Ireland And although in argument we ought never to permit the anniversary of

a country's conversion to Christianity to be confounded with the anniversary of a battle fought during a civil war, yet we must deal with public opinion like practical men.....

Persevere in this line of conduct, and although not immediately adopted by the celebrants of the 12th of July, they must come to it in the end or they must wilt away under the pressure of public opinion to a mere remnant, a fag-end of their former strength..... Let any voluntary order of men, however intensely organized, try to co-exist in spite of public opinion, and we may safely back public opinion three to one against that order. Persevere in the line of conduct you have adopted, give your mornings to religion and your evenings to innocent intercourse, and you will disarm annually ten thousand prejudices.[1]

It was not once McGee spoke in this vein, but scores of times. Another instance may be noted in which, halt in jest but wholly in earnest, he appealed to the younger men who were reluctant to forego the glories of the parade:

I know how great a deprivation the loss of your annual walk is to many. I know the young men especially, who like to show off their new spring clothes, feel it much, but I will leave it to the reflection of the youngest man hereafter if there is not usually mud in March, and if March mud is not equinoctial, and if those who trounce through equinoctial mud must not expect to get draggled.[2]

It is a very strong testimony to D'Arcy McGee's influence and powers of persuasion that for three years after the events of March, 1858, he was able, as he once said, "by following at a distance your spiritual guides," to prevail on his fellow Irish Catholics to celebrate their day without a procession. But when Parliament moved again from Toronto to Quebec, he had not had time to establish the custom fully. His converts to this self-denying policy had not yet developed the strength to stand alone, and fell back to their old custom on March 17th, 1862. But in the meantime they had enjoyed three cooling, calming years, which had borne fruit in many departments of the city's life.

[1] Quoted from speech at McGee banquet, in Toronto, September, 1859.

[2] Eight years later, when *The Irish Canadian* was trying by every means to prejudice McGee's countrymen against him, this speech was unearthed time and again, as "his draggle-tail procession" speech.

This speech was made at St. Patrick's celebration in St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto, March 17th, 1859

How very justly McGee must have borne himself during those early years in Toronto is also shown in quite a convincing, if negative, way by what the Orangemen could not say about him in their harangues on the 12th of July. Each year they referred to him in a spirit determined to uncover the worst, and yet this mild roaring was the worst they could make it in 1860:

> They [the Orangemen] had fought bravely the battles of the British Crown. They might, however, sometimes be led astray by the plausible letters and speeches of those who were not the men to face the music themselves....who contented themselves with waging a paper warfare..... Perhaps it was well it was so....for after all, Mr. McGee's speeches amounted to nothing..... Orangemen could afford to allow such as Mr. McGee to fight their battles on platforms and in newspapers whilst they [the Orangemen] continued in the enjoyment of the great privileges which they possessed.

In 1858, Sheady's murder had followed very quickly on what the Irish Catholics considered a miscarriage of justice in the case of an Orangeman named Millar, who had killed a Catholic named Farrell in an election row in the County of Wellington. They claimed that it was because the majority of the grand jury were Orangemen that the verdict had been reached that there were not grounds sufficient to put Millar on trial. These two cases caused a great commotion, and a largely signed petition was presented by Upper Canada Irish Catholics to Parliament on April 23rd. This document, after giving the details of both these "deplorable failures of justice which have occurred even under the ægis of your honourable House," petitioned the Government to enact "that no man sworn into the secret Orange Society shall be competent to hold the Commission of the Peace, or sit as Grand Juror or as a Petty Juror upon any trial in which both the parties concerned shall not be sworn members of the Orange Confederation." This request was followed by a threat: "Otherwise your petitioners do solemnly declare that they shall be obliged to arm in defence of their lives and properties, judging the system of trial by jury with members of secret lodges upon the panel to be nothing but a delusion, a mockery and a snare."

D'Arcy McGee was wholly taken by surprise by this petition. He knew nothing about it "until it was in the hands of the honourable member who presented it;" but he at once declared his entire want of sympathy with it. He "could not approve," and "had no hesitation in condemning, any hints or inkling or insinuation of any persons, however much they might find themselves aggrieved, toward forming themselves into counter-organizations to take the law into their own hands or even arm for the defence of their own rights." Further, he believed the law "sufficient to protect every subject of the Crown, or, if it were not, that the House was ready to reform it so as to make it available for the protection of all."

Another field in which McGee was given the full credit by both clergy and laity for most successful work in the cause of peace and good fellowship was in connection with the Upper Canada press. As he came to know the situation he felt very keenly that Irishmen were poorly and prejudicially represented in their newspapers. When *The Mirror*, one of their Upper Canada papers, bombastically prided itself, in these words, on the fighting propensities of its countrymen in Quebec: "the Irish of Quebec do more fighting at one single election than the ultra-radicals of Upper Canada would have the pluck to do in seven years," *The New Era* was immediately on the trail. This was brewing trouble for the future. This was not the attitude for a newspaper to take to improve the conduct of the next Quebec election and incidentally the opinion of the decent, law-abiding part of the community as to the Irish who took part in it.

Again, the whole tone of *The Catholic Citizen*, their chief paper in Upper Canada, distressed McGee. He considered it was creating a great prejudice both in his people and against his people. His aim was to teach them, while upholding their own peculiar rights and doctrines, to live in peace and charity with all men. He thus described *The Citizen*:

It was written with ability but was not remarkable for good temper or good sense or a steady hand at the helm.... It had fallen into the habit

of abusing in the mass, a very numerous, a very energetic, and educational prejudices apart, a most fair and liberal set of men, what I suppose we might call the Scottish Canadians.

As a sample of its "habit of abusing" which McGee here so carefully characterizes, the following paragraph of Feb. 20th, 1856, makes illuminating reading:

> The coarseness of their [the Scottish Canadians and their paper *The Globe's*] language, their low and vulgar tone, even in touching upon most sacred things, their stupid effrontery in attempting to meddle with what does not concern them, would render them unfit to be admitted into the society of the savages of Africa......Men whose god is their belly, whose standard of morality is their pocket, whose daily avocation consists principally in giving in their ignoble sheets the current prices of beef, mutton, pork, turkeys, hay and straw.... such men could never understand or improve by a lecture on the most common principles of morality and the rules of good manners.

However, McGee was a very little while in Toronto when these aggressive sheets were retired and their place taken by "a temperate, scholarly and judicious" paper called *The Canadian Freeman.*

How very successful McGee was in moulding public opinion in these quiet, unspectacular ways will be attested by the fact that inside two years *The Freeman* could jubilantly proclaim that their co-religionists had been given their fair share of representation in the corporation and on the police force. Further, the Orange Society Incorporation Bill was defeated in 1858 and allowed to drop in 1859 after all preliminaries had been arranged. Nay more, McGee's teachings on secret societies had appeared so reasonable and just to thinking men that a comparatively harmless one, The Good Templars, when seeking incorporation secured only nineteen votes that same year.

He had another broader and more popular way of inculcating good feeling between the different races and different creeds. He looked upon the various societies of the day, the charitable organizations, the benefit societies, the literary and historical clubs, and the St. George's, St. Andrew's, and St. Patrick's Societies, as very fertile fields for sowing seed

of brotherly kindness and toleration. He welcomed every opportunity which came to him of addressing their meetings. These words, used in speaking to the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Quebec, reveal his attitude:

I look upon them all, whether under the auspices of St. Patrick or any other patron saint, as being themselves but members of one vast society —the society of Canada. It is very true, Mr. President, that you and I will not be found to-morrow worshipping under the same roof, but is that any reason why we should not be united here to-night in a common work of charity? With me it is no reason; such differences exist in the first elements of our population: and it is the duty of every man, especially of every man undergoing the education of a statesman, to endeavour to mitigate, instead of inflaming, religious animosities. No prejudices lie nearer the surface than those which plead the sanction of religion—any idiot may arouse them, to the wise man's consternation, and the peaceful man's deep regret..... Let us all agree to brand the propagandist of bigotry as the most dangerous of our enemies, because his work is to divide us among ourselves....If we would make Canada safe and secure, rich and renowned, we must all liberalize—locally, sectionally, religiously, nationally. There is room enough in this country for one great, free people, but there is not room enough, under the same flag, and the same laws, for two or three angry, suspicious, obstructive "nationalities."

His speeches outside of Parliament, and very often in Parliament too, were full of passages asserting in the strongest and most varied words this need for tolerance:

All we need, mixed up and divided as we naturally are, is, in my humble opinion, the cultivation of a tolerant spirit on all the delicate controversies of race and religion—the maintenance of an upright public opinion in our politics and commerce—the cordial encouragement of every talent and every charity which reveals itself among us—the expansion of those narrow views and small ambitions which are apt to attend upon provincialism.[1]

The result of my observations.....is, that there is nothing to be more dreaded in this country than feuds arising from exaggerated feelings on religion and nationality. On the other hand, the one thing needed for making Canada the happiest of homes, is to rub down all sharp angles, and to remove those asperities which divide our people on questions of origin and religious profession. The man who says this cannot be done consistently with any set of principles founded on the charity of the Gospel or on the right use of human reason, is a blockhead, as every bigot

[1] Quoted from a speech, *The Land We Live In*, delivered in Montreal, December, 1860.

s—while under the influence of his bigotry he sees no further than his nose. . . . In Canada, with men of all origins and all kinds of culture, if we do not bear and forbear, if we do not get rid of old quarrels, but on the contrary make fresh ones—whereas we ought to have lost sight of the old one when we lost sight of the capes and headlands of the Old Country—if we will carefully convey across the Atlantic half-extinguished embers of strife in order that we may by them light up the flames in our inflammable forests—if each neighbour will try not only to nurse up old animosities, but to invent new grounds of hostility to his neighbour—then, gentlemen, we shall return to what Hobbes considered the state of nature—I mean a state of war. In society we must sacrifice something, as we do when we go through a crowd and not only must we yield to old age. . . . but we must sometimes make way for men like ourselves, though we could prove by the most faultless syllogism our right to push them from the path.[1]

We Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic, born and bred in a land of religious controversy, should never forget that we now live and act in a land of the fullest religious and civil freedom. All we have to do, is each for himself to keep down dissensions which can only weaken, impoverish and keep back the country; each for himself do all he can to increase its wealth, its strength, and its reputation; each for himself, you and you, gentlemen, and all of us—to welcome every talent, to hail every invention, to cherish every gem of art, to foster every gleam of authorship, to honour every acquirement and every natural gift, to lift ourselves to the level of our destinies, to rise above all low limitations and narrow circumscriptions, to cultivate that true catholicity of spirit which embraces all creeds, all classes, and all races, in order to make our boundless Province, so rich in known and unknown resources, a great new Northern nation.[2]

In spite of much initial prejudice against him in Upper Canada, McGee made wonderful progress in his self-imposed task. The charm of his eloquence and the tact displayed in choice of subject and manner of handling were such that many an audience which came to scoff was converted into friendly sympathy. He toured Canada West from corner to corner. He strung together Burns and Moore, Scott and Carleton, and a whole host of other literary and historical common heritages in such glowing, spirited and elevated lectures that time and again Catholic priests and Presbyterian ministers sat on the one bench to drink in his words.

[1] Quoted from a speech, *The Policy of Conciliation*, delivered in Montreal, March, 1861.

[2] Quoted from speech to Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Quebec, in May, 1862.

McGee himself made warm friends everywhere among both Protestants and Catholics. It was his nature first and his policy only second to meet all sorts and conditions of men as brothers and friends. When he first became a member of the House of Assembly in Toronto, it was composed of one hundred and thirty members, of whom about fifty-five were Catholics and seventy-five Protestants; of these latter, sixty-two came from Upper Canada, as there were only three Catholic representatives from that part. In the hotel where he lodged, he had as companions between twenty and thirty members of various Protestant denominations. And these men of divers creeds gave their verdict at the end of the session, as is indicated in many passing remarks and paragraphs in the newspapers and summed up fairly by *The Freeman*, thus:

> That there was no one single man parted from with more general regret, and that there had not been such a conquest of prejudice effected in this or any other country of late days as by D'Arcy McGee in Toronto, and in the Provincial Parliament during the late session.

This friendly appreciation of the moment solidified, as years passed by, into the settled conviction of the grand majority of the nation quite regardless of creed and of race. Looking back upon ten years of this untiring effort, *The Montreal Gazette* said editorially in the spring of 1867:

> Time was when a dangerous antagonism existed between the Roman Catholic and Protestant electors of this city; when almost universal distrust of each other prevailed between these two classes and when it was scarcely safe for a member of these two sections to appear at the polls..... Remember when axe handles were as numerous as votes and used as freely. Who.....has been foremost to allay this irritability, to create confidence between Catholic and Protestant, and to raise this sectional community to an elevation where classes are not known, where man meets man as brother and friend without reference to creed? Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

On his return from Europe in May, 1867, he was greeted by a warm deputation of the citizens of Montreal, and their spokesman used these words in his welcome:

> At one time it was impossible to conduct an election in this city, either of a municipal or parliamentary character, without a disturbance.

....Through the exertions of Mr. McGee it is now impossible, even with the best wishes for it, to get up a row at an election.....

And D'Arcy McGee's own characteristic answer to this greeting makes the most fitting close for this chapter of his life-work:

But I will say, and many of the young men here to-day will live to see the proofs of my words that all other politics that have been preached in British America will grow old and lose their lustre, but the conciliation of class and class to which you refer, the policy of linking together all our people in one solid mass, and making up for the comparative paucity of our members (being as we are a small people in this respect) by the repeating and detonating moral influence of our unity, the policy of linking order to order, of smoothing down the sharp and wounding edges of hostile prejudices; the policy of making all feel an interest in the country, and each man in the character of each section of the community and in each other, each for all and all for each—this policy will never grow old—never will lose its lustre. The day will never come when the excellency of its beauty will depart so long as there is such a geographical denomination as Canada.

CHAPTER XI

THE LIBERAL MEMBER

"I have seen too much of the world, if I were not naturally disposed otherwise, to sacrifice the charities of life or the dictates of public duty to selfish or sectarian views"—these words were the keynote of D'Arcy McGee's first Canadian political speech. And again: "You have chosen me in no exclusive spirit and in no exclusive spirit do I accept. If I am returned....I must consider myself as bound to represent to the utmost of my ability, the whole city....The interests of the whole Province will become my daily care."

These were difficult ideals for a member in McGee's position to put into practice during the parliamentary session of 1858. The Assembly itself was in a most adverse spirit, and McGee was limited so by inherent circumstances that he was powerless to originate measures, and had but little weight in supporting or opposing those of others. Politically he was an Independent; he was a Catholic, he came from Lower Canada, and he had given pledges to his own electors that he would uphold steadfastly the Irish Catholic view on Orangeism and Separate Schools for Upper Canada. And at heart, he was determined, on entering Parliament, to oppose the Ministerial shillyshallying on the constitutional difficulties and the many forms of parliamentary corruption which grew out of their policy of trying to carry on without adjusting the fundamental constitutional defects.

This double programme necessitated McGee working in all ways with Dorion and in many ways with George Brown. But at the outset George Brown had no welcome for McGee. During the Montreal election, *The Globe* had refrained from

comment. About the last reference to McGee to be found in its columns before he entered Parliament was more than a year previous, when he was characterized thus: "D'Arcy McGee is a very doubtful personage, but he can nevertheless tell the truth sometimes." Furthermore, his political allies in Montreal were greatly prejudiced against George Brown and *The Globe*. *The True Witness* was most indignant over a Toronto criticism which called attention to the fact that while the Irish Catholics of had Toronto voted for the Macdonald-Cartier Government, the Irish Catholics of Montreal had voted for George Brown:

> Politically speaking, Mr. McGee is no friend or supporter, but an opponent of Mr. George Brown. Mr. Dorion is not a friend or supporter of Mr. George Brown or the Clear Grits, although no doubt both are on many points opposed to the policy of the present Ministry. It is an odious imputation that the Irish Catholics voted for the friends of Mr. George Brown. Last time the school question was before the House, we find Messrs. Cartier, Alleyn and the Ministerialists generally voted with Mr. George Brown, and must therefore be included amongst the latter's friends and supporters, whilst Mr. Dorion voted against Mr. Cartier, and therefore, upon politico-religious questions he is amongst the opponents of Mr. George Brown.

On neither side, therefore, was there a personal sympathy or an appreciation of the other's character upon which to build up a spirit of moderation and conciliation. McGee himself, however, has told us, in a later résumé of his part before his electors of Montreal, how he tried to set about the work:

> ....I felt someone must condone the past and I determined, so far as I could be supposed to represent your principles, to lead the way...... I had been struck by the singularly difficult elements of which our politics are composed—the varied and opposing balancing of interests..... Look at the constituent proportions of our population both in Upper and Lower Canada and then at the proportion of our representatives..... The religious question is another difficulty in our government..... If I had been weak and wicked enough to go into the House with a desire to rake up old sores.....if I had gone to old files of newspapers..... how many of those who blamed you originally for having chosen me on such short acquaintance would have said, "Look at your man now, to what does he devote himself? Does he give his mind to what will promote the general good of the country....? No, he has shown himself a fire-

brand.....a mere disturber and agitator." But I did not think that taking that course was the way to represent you. Seeing that questions of religious bitterness and prejudice had so largely entered into our politics, I made up my mind that I would never introduce a question of that kind into that House, but that if any one else, whether on one side of the House or the other,....said anything or did or proposed any act which appeared to me to infringe to the smallest degree upon those principles which we hold sacred, that then and at that moment, I would rise and make such resistance as I could....The great inspiring principle of national life, as well as of the Christian creed, is charity and forbearance with one another, and it is in that spirit I will seek to play out my political career on this soil, be it long or short.

So much for McGee's theory; an admirable example of his practice was his maiden speech. It was a genial, popular, attractive discourse. It was well calculated to hold the attention of the House, to ease the tension arising out of habitual bitter strife, and to disarm many prejudices. Before its close it rose, smoothly and naturally, to an exalted plane in exact accord with the speaker's innermost ideals. It was all so admirable in tone and selection of subject-matter that both parties united—the only instance of such agreement during the whole of that session—in its praise. John A. Macdonald crossed the House as the speaker finished to shake hands with him and to congratulate him warmly on his success; and *The Globe* the following day published this eulogy:

Mr. McGee did his work judiciously, for he avoided too much ornament, and restrained the play of his wit within due bounds. As to the matter, he made some excellent points against the Government, which told upon the House......His speech was a very decided success. It is seldom that a popular orator makes so splendid a hit in first appearing before a Legislative Chamber. It was proof of his rare tact as well as talent.

McGee opened his speech by criticism of the Government for lack of freshness in their public programme. They had merely adopted as Ministerial measures one or two popular measures which had been well discussed out of doors. Such matters as the abolition of imprisonment for debt, the abolition of usury laws, the enacting of a Bankruptcy Law, etc., were supposed to be remedies for the prevailing com-

mercial distress and financial embarrassment.[1] To McGee the course taken by the Ministry in preparing this part of the address was like going to a man whose system was deranged and talking to him of his grave-clothes and coffin. The statement of distress was clearly enough given but the remedy was deficient.

However, McGee made allowances. The Government had an excuse for their deficiencies. They were to be attributed to the great demands at the present time upon the Honourable Inspector-General, who was not in the House.[2] McGee then entered upon a diverting and characteristic aside, and as it is a very good example of his parliamentary banter, the contemporary report is given in full:

> He perceived by the reputed organs of the Government that the hon. gentleman had had a very laborious session of it. He had been travelling about in various directions, no doubt accumulating a mass of industrial details which would be highly valuable in the future discussions on the

[1] The autumn of 1857 ushered in the most disastrous commercial crisis through which Canada had ever been compelled to pass. The reasons assigned were a bad harvest, echoes of similar conditions of stagnant trade in the New York markets, and the particular Provincial reason that the whole country had been spending extravagantly on public works, railways and municipal development and had now to sober up and pay its bills.

As a definite example of how serious this mercantile disaster was during this first year of McGee's Canadian experience the following paragraph from *The Globe*, Jan. 11, 1858, is quoted: "The Toronto Winter Assizes too abundantly confirm the evidences of the distress just now among the commercial men of Upper Canada. The Assizes opened at noon on Thursday and up to the same hour Saturday as many as two hundred undefended actions brought upon promissory notes and bills of exchange had been disposed of. Mr. Justice Burns, before whom these issues had been tried, announced on Saturday that the total amount of the claims represented the startling sum of £50,000, but where the money was to come from his Lordship confessed that he was quite at a loss to conceive.... The Sheriff said he would be very sorry to give ten shillings in the £ for all the debts recovered." Cf. John Charles Dent, *The Last Forty Years*, page 355.

[2] William Cayley, the Inspector-General, had been defeated by John Holmes in the recent elections in Huron and Bruce, and was now about to run in Renfrew, where he was returned. Naturally he was not in the House when Parliament opened.

industry of the Province, for a more industrious labourer, he was sure, could not be found in the Province. (Hear, hear and laughter.)

He also perceived in the same accounts, with that degree of gratification which a mere worldling like himself might be expected to feel upon such a subject, that the Hon. Inspector-General had presented to several associations in the Counties of Huron and Bruce several copies of the Sacred Scriptures. (Laughter.) It was a spectacle rare and refreshing to see the Inspector-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Finance Minister of the Province, voluntarily turn missionary and act the part of a colporteur in the neighbourhood of Lake Huron. (Loud laughter.) He must further remark that the good people of these counties seem to have studied the sacred volume presented to them from so high a source to good effect. They appeared to have learned the lesson of retributive justice, for although they accepted the Gospel, they rejected the missionary. (Roars of laughter from all sides of the House. The Speaker commanded the Sergeant-at-Arms to preserve order in the gallery.)

After order was restored and McGee could feel his Liberal friends were in a very good temper towards him, he passed on to the tariff changes contemplated by the Address. This session was the first time in Canadian provincial history that the question of "Protection to Home Industries" had come before Parliament. Brown and his followers were opposed. They were strongly in favour of free trade. McGee, however, was in full sympathy with the Government. While not going into the question in detail, he showed where he stood, and also how largely it was for him a question of trying to provide artificial employment to sustain and increase population.

He then very neatly counterbalanced this sympathy with the Government by a criticism of what he summed up as the omissions of the Address. There was no mention of the militia, and no definite policy about the Hudson's Bay Company and its territory. "The allusion to the Hudson's Bay Company might in his humble opinion have been much more explicit, as the whole negotiation so far as he was acquainted with it might have been much more Canadian and much more worthy of what called itself a Responsible Government." These are memorable words. They show that McGee's Canada First spirit (to use a modern phrase) dated from his earliest utterance in the Legislature. He had learned that attitude from no man. It arose from his own

firmly reasoned conviction of the necessary importance and independence of the country and its government. At the same time, as far as this particular question was concerned, he was hugely pleasing *The Globe's* editorial staff. William McDougall, one time editor of *The North American*, and now with Brown on *The Globe*, had been most urgent that the Hudson's Bay monopoly should cease and the Western country be placed under the rule and protection of Canada. But this movement was meeting with considerable opposition, and the Government, in spite of having sent Chief Justice Draper post haste to England in 1857, that he might represent the province in any negotiations there, felt they were now compelled to press forward very slowly.

The seat of government question McGee looked upon in the same spirit as the Hudson Bay Territory. And it too the Address slurred over, because it was feared the Queen's selection of Ottawa would not be popular in the principal cities of either Canada West or Canada East. McGee would have delegated neither the subject of the Hudson Bay Territory nor of the seat of government to the Imperial authorities. However, with a slight pun—"The future Capital of British North America was not favoured (in the Address) with a single capital letter"—he passed on to another subject.

He announced that he now came to matters somewhat peculiar to himself. These were Separate Schools and Orangeism. He did not dwell on either very long, but allowed it to be understood exactly where his convictions on them lay, and this was of course in quite the opposite direction from where George Brown's would be found. *The Globe* next day, however, reviewed his stand on both these subjects very gently indeed for *The Globe* of 1858. Its words are an amazing tribute to the effect of McGee's speech. His genial tact had already rubbed away and smoothed down some sharp angles of personal views and prejudices:

> The latter part of his address met with little sympathy from the greater part of his audience. He spoke from the most extreme point of his party view in relation to the school question and also against Orangeism. In

regard to the latter point he paid a great deal of attention to Mr. John A. Macdonald. Attention that was thrown away, since the premier's Orangeism is of the most perfunctory kind. We liked his pluck, however in standing up for his conscientious convictions.

But in spite of this divided support, and balancing of many points in an independent way, McGee himself had no doubts, and he left his hearers with no doubts, that on the fundamental question of the day he was with the Opposition. He had high if somewhat abstract ideas about a legislator's duties. His mind also was made up on the necessity of Federation, and his imaginative vision was already straining to glimpse greater developments of that fertile scheme. On this matter, then, "the timid, makeshift" policy of the Government, he declared, "appealed to neither the heart nor the hope of the country." He put his criticism of the Government thus:

It was evident that a new era had been reached in Canadian progress. Railways and other improvements had by the inevitable law of progress brought the country to a critical period, and the policy of the Government must be much more emphatic, hearty and manly than anything intimated in the speech. It had only gone over Robin Hood's barn without ever entering the circle of sound political propositions. States had been made great by great souls. Politics were not the tricks of a trade, but the great science of affairs, the science of peace and war; the science which made small countries great and small cities outgrow their walls and extend into the fields and pastures where cattle had once grazed. It was a great spirit which made a great fortune in politics as in other departments.

Finally, McGee closed his speech by putting the question to the members of the House, "especially to the new members," in evidently the same way as he had faced it and answered it for himself. He asked them definitely—making this the deciding factor in choice of party—could they give their votes to a Government which upon the fundamental problem of the time gave an answer which was "the mere idle echo of an uncertain sound?"

A perusal of McGee's speeches and votes throughout this first session shows how carefully he maintained his election pledges both to his electors and to the Dorion-Holton alliance, and at the same time how conscientious he was over his own innermost convictions. On Separate Schools and

Orangeism and several bills dealing with Lower Canada religious institutions, such as one permitting Sisters of Charity certain rights of property, another on death-bed bequests to religious houses, and another involving especially Lower Canada sentiment on divorce, McGee voted in harmony with the views of his Church and the wishes of his electors.

Probably his most carefully worked over speech of the session was that of June 25th, on Separate Schools. It grew as a matter of course out of his wide reading and writing on the education of his fellow-countrymen and co-religionists in the United States. It was the natural continuation and development of his attitude and experience there. It was built up with all his characteristic wealth of historic data from the time of the Council of Trent down to the present generation of Bostonians. It was expressed with all the beauty of diction and felicity of illustration for which McGee was distinguished; and it was pervaded by such a tactful spirit that it would serve as an admirable model for every public man when treating vexed religious issues, particularly this very school issue, in Canadian politics. But from the point of view of the other side it erred in fact and logic. The Opposition claimed McGee's position if carried out logically would mean a return to a voluntary school system, and in a sparsely settled country such as Canada was then, that would mean poverty-circumscribed schools instead of comparatively well equipped ones. Besides, the common school system of Upper Canada, they claimed, was not a Protestant denominational system, and therefore the particular religious tenets of the Catholics could not be injured by their being educated with their fellow-countrymen side by side in their public schools.

But McGee's presentation, true to his own convictions and his election pledges, was a very able defence of the sectarian system. As all his future utterances on this topic—and there were many of them—deviate but slightly in emphasis and never in principle from this point, a brief outline of his stand on the subject will be given to make it for the future quite definite and clear.

He began this speech by assuming that the end of education was to fit the child for after-life. Secondly, that the object pursued by a state in training children would be determined by the kind of state it was. A monarchy, for example, would teach its children to respect and preserve the monarchy. Then, to prove how ill adapted the common school system of Upper Canada was likely to be to that land and its ideals, he traced it from its place of origin. It came from Prussia through France and Boston. It was a project of Frederick the Great which had been adopted by the French Legislature during the period when "they struck out the Creator from the centre of his own universe and afterwards graciously decreed that there should be a Supreme Being." Thus the system came to Boston. There it could be judged by its works. He was "ready to put it to any intelligent American, whether in morality and high character—he did not say in acuteness and arithmetic—this generation was at all to be compared with the last." The main object of the school system of the United States was the amalgamation of the constantly arriving foreign population with the native-born. McGee expressed here some sympathy with this, although usually he referred to it as "a crushing-mill to manufacture natives out of Germans and Hibernians."

Then, he turned back to the teaching of the Council of Trent on the first object of matrimony, and from that to the mysterious relation of parent and child. In after speeches he tended to amplify this side of his argument to greater lengths than he did in this first draft. It provided a mixture of theology and family affection and of historic and literary associations versus present-day materialism which McGee found very congenial:

> The mysterious relation of parent and child inspires the hearts of all but the very stolid, or the very depraved, with a double anxiety concerning that hereafter, into which we must all enter, whether we sing with the Psalmist the canticle of the resurrection or ask with the sceptic, "Can lives finite one way be infinite another?" There must be in every father's heart a latent or active sense of responsibility for the spirit and the genius of his child as well for its flesh and blood. The parent is not alone the parent of the body, but of the mind; the mother is not alone the nurse of the person, but the governess of the soul . . . . . All that goes to

make up character, conduct, morality, are charged upon the parental office just as much as all that goes to make up shelter, or cookery or clothing.....

I am not at all afraid for my part that in this country the ecclesiastical order will become disproportionately powerful. The tendency of all the modern forces is to *laicize* Christian society—if I may coin a word. It has been so ever since the learned professions of law and medicine were shut against clerks-in-orders; ever since commerce and banking became a recognized profession of peace; ever since printing made knowledge common....The centre of intelligence is now among the laity rather than the clergy, there is no danger that a priestly caste can ever arise in our times, out of our society, but there may be danger and I think there is danger that in these new realms, so bare of all traditions—so far apart from our old inheritance—that gross materialism may spread into excessive dimensions—that the sceptre of the fireside may be broken and the moral magistracy of the parent be overthrown....

If the Catholic minority of Upper Canada, holding still as it were in solution a greater body of Christian tradition than other classes of the population....if they should be able to show to Canadians and the Continent how it is possible practically to unite the three great social forces—the parent, the pastor and the State—in the great work of the formation of youth....they will have effected one of the noblest and most durable reforms within the compass of human achievement. For my part, I feel so strongly that they are right....that if on the one hand it was in my power to give to my own children all the secular knowledge that Alexander von Humboldt carried to the grave—and he mastered perhaps as much as one man ever did—or to give them on the other hand the Christian Catechism and some of those old songs of our ancestors that infuse heroism and fortitude and affection into the heart—if I had to choose between them, I would not hesitate a moment to choose the old songs and the little sixpenny catechism.

As for the Orange Incorporation Bill, the other subject of his definite pledge, the way was made smooth before him. His brickbat reception in Toronto and the answering defiance from his Montreal constituents on his next return to that city, in the form of a public procession to meet him, with bands and sky-rockets in his honour, showed the thinking public men of both sections that it was about time to call a halt. These two excited demonstrations brought home, in a spectacular way, exactly what McGee was trying to teach from his lecture platforms, that a very different feeling existed in the two sections of the province, and instead of fomenting it, men's words and conduct should have in view the disarming of it.

Besides, the Orangemen in their anxiety about their measure overdid their part. They escorted a couple of sympathetic new members not alone to the House but to the floor of the House with King William banners flying and bands playing "The Protestant Boys." The result was the Bill passed only its first reading in 1858, and that merely by the casting vote of the Speaker. But in 1859, so largely had public opinion been influenced by McGee's campaign, and brought to look with disfavour on all that was inclined to provoke animosity between the different peoples, that although all preliminary formalities had been attended to, its promoters did not venture again to bring it forward.

It was in no exclusive spirit, D'Arcy McGee assured his fellow-countrymen in his first political speech, that he would represent them in Parliament. From the outset he kept his word. Even in his first experimental days, when feeling his way through the strange labyrinths of parliamentary parties and personal cliques, he was more than the mere Irish member for Montreal and more than the independent political thinker who had some pet theories on tariff and protection which required him to support Government measures in these fields. First and foremost he showed himself a statesman with the highest of ideals about the necessity for a great and united people and about the duties and responsibilities of legislators to work for the furtherance of the welfare of their country, and in every department of its business to practise strictest integrity and justice.

So far, on these fundamental questions, he had felt more in common with the Opposition than with the Government. Certainly the Reformers had no warmer supporter than D'Arcy McGee in dealing with all the various cases of corruption which had come up. Time and again *The Globe* outdid itself in adjectives praising the manner and spirit with which he "laid the lash on," or "administered a castigation to" such and such a delinquent. And yet, it was not until the events of the end of July and the beginning of August, 1858, that it could be said, either that McGee entered into more than an independent and loose alliance with

the Reformers, or, on the other hand, that he was received by them into their innermost councils. But after those memorable midsummer days a mighty drawing together was felt on both sides.

The political history of this time is so familiar it needs to be recalled only in outline to understand how it could have such a deep effect on McGee and in turn make him so much more trusted and highly prized in the Reform ranks. The Liberals had been returned in the majority for Upper Canada by the recent elections, and so were extremely active and extremely resentful against (what they considered) the haughty indifference of the Government, strong and independent in its majority derived from Lower Canada, towards their criticisms and attacks. First there had been endless debates over charges of bare-faced corruption during the elections of individual members. The recent elections had left a heritage to the House of thirty-two disputed seats, including the notorious one of Quebec, where McGee said the sitting member had "the apocryphal and inconceivable majority of 1506," and that of Russell, where with equally disconcerting honesty he was able to jeer about the representative being the "member for Rome, Albany and Troy." There had been other heated debates and exposures of personal corruption and jobbery. George Brown had even, as has been observed, been attacked personally as a defaulter who fled Scotland to escape jail.

Now in this super-heated air, between those dagger-drawn parties, a curious situation arose. The Government were defeated by a carefully worded motion expressing dissatisfaction over Ottawa being chosen as the capital. Immediately after they were sustained on a motion to adjourn, which was implicitly understood on both sides to be a want of confidence motion. However, they decided that it would be good tactics to resign: "It behooved them as the Queen's servants to resent the slight which had been offered to Her Majesty by the action of the Assembly in calling in question Her Majesty's choice of the Capital." The Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, at once accepted this resignation, and called on George Brown, as leader of

the Opposition, to form a new Government. But he gave no guarantee that he would allow Parliament to be dissolved and a fresh appeal made to the country. In the face of the last vote it was evident that the Liberals could not carry on the government with the present House. Nevertheless, within three days George Brown and Antoine Aimé Dorion, his Lower Canada colleague, were able to have their Cabinet sworn in. One important result of this was that they had to vacate their seats in the House in order to seek re-election in their constituencies, as was constitutionally required after acceptance of office under the Crown. The Brown-Dorion Government had also been able in this brief space to agree upon and announce a general outline of their policy.

The Brown-Dorion combination had snatched a success most astonishing to the Conservatives, who had been convinced the ultra-Protestant George Brown could never form a Cabinet with Lower Canadian representatives in it. But the Conservatives rallied; there was still time to regain their position. No sooner did the Liberals move the issue of the first writ of the elections, than Hector Langevin and John Beverley Robinson moved an amendment:

> That this House, while ordering the said writ, must at the same time state that the Administration, the formation of which has created this vacancy, does not possess the confidence of this House and of the Country.

This motion was carried, as was a similar one in the Upper House. Naturally the Brown-Dorion Government had to obtain an immediate dissolution or resign at once. As the Governor-General's constitutional advisers they requested dissolution. But his Excellency's reply was a long, elaborate document which discussed with skill and scarcely repressed sarcasm each point of their memorandum and ended with refusal.

George Brown and his colleagues had now no choice but immediate resignation. Forty-eight hours after they were sworn into office their resignation was announced in the Assembly, and the correspondence between Brown and Sir Edmund Head laid before the House. It was during the hot and angry debate which followed that it became

evident how wholly and warmly into sympathy with the Brown-Dorion Ministry the recent events had thrown McGee. He defended the absent Liberal chiefs in one of the best fighting political speeches in Canadian parliamentary annals[1].

In the thoroughly rough handling which the Brown-Dorion Cabinet received in the Assembly itself, McGee saw political antagonism among Canadian public men growing to an unutterable extent. So blinded were they by it that even ordinary courtesy could no longer exist among them. Furthermore, in his eyes, the Governor-General's conduct, in first accepting the resignation of the Macdonald-Cartier Ministry, then calling on Brown to form his Government, next having these men sworn in before him as his lawful advisers, and finally when the need arose disowning their advice, appeared as a proof of personal and unjust partiality towards one political party to the ruin of the other, if not actual conspiracy with the favoured party. In a yet larger sense, he viewed it as a menace to Canada's constitutional liberties.

Over and above these rankling feelings of anger against the Governor-General and the Macdonald-Cartier supporters, McGee was drawn more closely to the Brown-Dorion ranks by his admiration for their speedy coming together, their success in forming an honourable union on a definite if not yet quite detailed platform. He hailed with delight their constitutional determination to make the federal union of the two Canadas, with the question of Representation by Population and safeguards for Lower Canada, a definite Cabinet matter. This was a token for McGee that these men were going about the fundamental problems seriously, and the very fact that they had been able to gather around them so quickly a Cabinet of representative men from both sections augured favourably for their success. Hence his utter disappointment when their opportunity was snatched away.

But the end was not yet. In spite of the Liberal feeling to the contrary, the Governor-General was not constitution-

[1] This speech is treated fully in the chapter on McGee as an orator.

ally compelled to take the advice of a Ministry if he could find a new leader and a new Cabinet which could command the support of the House. Especially was this true when the election had been so recent. So, on Brown's resignation, Sir Edmund Head turned to Alexander Galt. Galt felt unable to undertake the task of forming a Ministry, but recommended Cartier, who readily accepted and formed his Government almost entirely out of the Macdonald-Cartier Cabinet which resigned the week before. It was now the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry instead of the Macdonald-Cartier.

Naturally, it was expected that the members of this new Cabinet would seek re-election by their constituents, just as the members of the Brown-Dorion two-day Ministry who were absent from the House were now doing. Not so. The brains directing the new Cabinet thought of a clever expedient to avoid such an awkward election. It was practically certain since the forced resignation of the Brown-Dorion Ministry and the consequent blazing of party fires at such white heat in Upper Canada that no Cartier-Macdonald or Macdonald-Cartier candidate could be returned from that section.

In this dilemma the Cartier-Macdonald Government had the inspiration to make use of a law passed the year before. Its intention was to avoid unnecessary elections by providing that a Cabinet Minister who resigned his post but inside of a month was appointed to another did not require to seek re-election. In compliance with the letter of this law the Cartier-Macdonald Ministers were now sworn into different offices from those they previously held. For example, Cartier was sworn in as Inspector-General and Macdonald as Postmaster-General on August 6th. But readjustments could not conveniently stop there, so next day Cartier and Macdonald, with whatever other Cabinet Ministers it was desirable to return to their former portfolios, took another set of oaths and resumed their old positions as Attorney-Generals East and West, etc. This Double Shuffle, as it was called, being permitted and manoeuvred with a shamelessness and a contumeliousness rarely approached, made thousands

of others as well as D'Arcy McGee feel that, as represented in this Ministry, Canadian political life had dropped to its lowest level. It was imperative for all good men and true to sink minor differences and work shoulder to shoulder and heart with heart against such conditions. The events of this hectic week precipitated McGee without any terms or articles of agreement, unconditionally, into the Reform ranks.

The immediate result of his having become one with them and having championed their cause with such courage and candid, outspoken eloquence was to raise McGee to a great political elevation. For the time he was the best abused and best hated man in the Conservative press. Yet the whole country was proud of him and wanted to hear him. His vigorous, impassioned, stimulating addresses handled recent events exactly the way the Canadian voter liked. No one could excel him in painting the tale or in drawing the moral. Whether the political meeting was in the interests of one of the unseated Cabinet candidates, or merely one of the endless gatherings held in their sympathy everywhere throughout the excited and overwrought land, McGee was the big gun the crowds came to hear.

And McGee himself enjoyed it thoroughly. Besides doing work right after his own heart he was having a rare good time. Flags, bands, suppers, processions trooped along in high festive spirit, and carried McGee back to the old, boyish exuberance of Repeal days in Watertown, Massachusetts. It never palled. Five o'clock was the hour set for beginning those good old dinners, and they were still going merrily between three and four next morning. It is interesting to note that of only one is it mentioned particularly that "the dinner was served on the temperance plan."

Taken as a whole, McGee's speeches—at London, at Brighton, at Kingston and many intervening points before his crowning achievement, on November 4th, at the Brown-Dorion banquet in Montreal—while they displayed great vehemence, had little bitterness in them. There was spice, of course, and hard hitting:

> Well, the old set went back. It reminded him of nothing so much as the instructions to his pupils of a dancing master in a country town: "Grand right and left, turn corners and back to places!" They soon found their way through the last figure—back to places. It was impossible to describe the number of corners they turned.....

In sentences of immense driving power he would lash the Cartier-Macdonald Government. This is the unforgettable reiteration he used once:

> The present Government is a government of corruption. Their faith is in corruption. Their hope is in corruption. Their creed is corruption They endeavour to corrupt every class in the country—every power in the country, the executive, the judicial and the popular power. And they draw into partnership a corrupt Governor-General.

In reading such slashing assaults as this, allowance must be made for the tension of the times. However, they were not many. He used them as shrill calls here and there to bring his audience to proper attention.

He compounded the serious part of these speeches from political ideas and moral truths, and from appeals to history, constitutional law and the lives of great statesmen. He did this so effectively that he aroused into fresh life the feeling of civic duty in the men before him. His aim was to build up a public spirit, to arouse the people to the immensity of their inheritance and their safekeeping of it, so that such a proceeding as the Double Shuffle could never disgrace public records again. He dwelt on the half continent committed to their guardianship, the new world to be peopled by their care, the institutions without number required to develop the teeming resources of such a land and to mould the character of its assembling peoples. Then, from these broad horizons and extensive problems, he would turn and ask them sharply, were they content to fritter away their energies in petty squabbles and sectional advantages?

He startled one audience into life with the remark, "We have no wall between Upper and Lower Canada. We desire no wall." He then continued with the story of Emporia in Spain, which had a wall between the Greeks and

the natives. It had but a single gate, and sentinels speaking different languages kept watch over the gate:

> We want no Emporia in this country. We want no sentinel—no wicket of double-dealing, stealthy intrigue between the two races. We want to throw down that wall. There is no such wall in Canada. The destiny of these Provinces is defined by its water frontier, which pronounces as it flows murmuring along, the same clear, distinct, articulate warning, that we must all stand or fall, flourish or wither together as one people—for as one people are our destinies knit. The union was first formed to draw the two Provinces more closely together. But corruption has nearly severed it. We must have faith in our mutual opinion, and toleration in our mutual intercourse, if we would have it stronger than before. Our interests are identical, if we agree with each other we may become as great as that gigantic power whose eagle spreads its broad pinions to the South.

But although McGee's lines seemed to be cast in pleasant and prominent places in the Liberal fold, his course by no means ran along as smoothly as might appear. It required all his resources of both head and heart, and all his tact of both nature and art, to work steadfastly towards the high goal of constitutional reorganization and interprovincial harmony he had set himself. In spite of the pleasant fraternizing above the board, the Brown-Dorion banquet had been spread in the crater of a far from extinct volcano. To bring George Brown into Montreal, into the midst of the institutions and the people he had been antagonizing for years, was a courageous stroke. McGee's introduction under the circumstances is a masterpiece of tactful and frank selection of pertinent facts:

> And now, gentlemen, a few words in reference to the Upper Canada premier, Mr. George Brown. He has been held up as a bugbear to us, as I was, to some small extent, held up as a bugbear to the Protestant population of Canada West. Gentlemen, some of you have seen Mr. Brown here in former times, and all of you have heard of him for years past as the most active politician of the Upper Province. He is by nation a Scotchman and by religion a Presbyterian. He has long been settled in Canada and was a zealous Reformer of the Baldwin and Hincks school, before corruption with railroad speed and railroad force overspread the Province with the railroads. He is a man, I should suppose, who, when struck, is likely to strike back—who if hard names are called returns them in kind—which is no doubt an error in a statesman. He has been long connected with the press, and was bitterly and violently and not always honestly attacked by papers which represented or misrepresented us at Toronto.

He allowed himself to be sometimes led into sectarian episodes, which is to be regretted, for his great energy and vast information make him one of the most formidable public men in the Province.

Gentlemen, I observed him closely throughout the long session of 1858, and I say here, that if there had been no old controversies—if there had been none of those printed records of bitterness and strife in existence—there could be no second opinion from the session of 1858 that Mr. Brown was the man best suited in all that House to be entrusted with the formation of a new Government.....When Mr. Brown was called in, whom did he first send for? Mr. Dorion and Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, two men of the religion it was said he was impatient to oppress and proscribe. Was that the act of a bigot? Was that the conduct of a proscriptionist? His associates were the ablest men in the Province, old Reformers like Foley and Morris, and John Sandfield Macdonald and Holton—men who had views and characters of their own to maintain. Was that the course of a bigot, a proscriber of others? His Lower Canada colleagues were some of the ablest men in the Province—my honourable friends Mr. Dorion, Mr. Holton, Mr. Drummond. Mr. Lemieux, Mr. Thibaudeau and Mr. Laberge. Were these, then, the colleagues a bigot or a proscriber would have chosen? No, gentlemen, assuredly if Mr. Brown's design were to rule either of these Provinces against the voice of its public opinion—if his view of duty were to carry out his own personal objects—he never would have surrounded himself with such colleagues as these—all of them able—many of them with reputations equal to his own; or having done so, could he, if he would, have oppressed any part of this Province? No! each of these eleven colleagues was a guarantee—they were eleven reasons for believing that he would have given us a government just, fair and liberal as could be desired.

Whatever the faults of Mr. Brown in Opposition—whatever his assaults upon us in past controversies—I do say that I believe when he was called to govern this country—when the post of honour was offered him—he felt that a high place demanded a high disregard of old feuds and old feelings, whether of persons or of class—that he rose like a statesman to the level of the occasion—and I do honestly believe, not merely on his account but on that of his colleagues, that it is a national misfortune that the Brown-Dorion Administration did not get a fair trial.

But moderately and carefully worded as this logical tribute was, it did not disarm Brown's enemies or McGee's. The reaction of *The True Witness,* for example, was exactly according to promise:

We notice "cheers" were given for Mr. McGee and Mr. George Brown. Strange collocation of names this! Marvelous the change that must have occurred in the political atmosphere of Montreal since the last election. ....Almost would it seem as if we had fallen upon the halcyon days

spoken of by Isaiah the prophet—"when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb and the lion shall eat straw like an ox;" or rather is it not with us as of old with the son of Sephor—and with our representative as with Balaam the son of Beor? We sent him, Mr. McGee, not Balaam, to Parliament that we might be avenged of our adversary; and lo! on the contrary, "he has blessed him these three times".....

Again, *The True Witness* gives its opinion thus:

He [McGee] defended George Brown! a fellow who wants only the courage, the ability and the opportunity to be the Titus Oates of Canada. He—George Brown—has all the impudence of Titus Oates. Fortunately for us in Canada he lacks the inventive genius and the bulldog pluck of Titus Oates, so also has he hitherto escaped the cropt ears and lacerated back of that illustrious martyr and confessor of the Holy Protestant Faith—of whom, could his genealogy be traced, we think it would be found that Mr. George Brown was a lineal descendant.

George Brown's chief sins, reviewed by *The True Witness* at this particular crisis, were that "he would impose the odious yoke of state schoolism upon Upper Canada" and that "he would subject the people of Lower Canada to Protestant and Anglo-Saxon ascendancy." This last phrase was their interpretation of the Reform announcement that "the constitutional question should be taken up and settled, either by a Confederation of the two provinces or by Representation according to Population, with such checks and guarantees as would secure the religious faith, the laws, the language, and the peculiar institutions of each section of the country from encroachments on the part of the other." The very thing that rejoiced McGee inflamed *The True Witness.* McGee had said, "Such a state (the present equal representation) cannot be defended in these days in any constitutional country." *The True Witness* replied:

And we say—that as Catholics we can, and that as Catholics we will—so help us God—"defend this state of things" with our last breath.... that we look upon any man as the enemy of Catholic Lower Canada and therefore as our political enemy, who gives, in appearance even, the slightest encouragement to the agitation of "Representation by Population," or who does not condemn that measure as "unjust in principle."....

To us of Lower Canada the question is one of life or death, to agitate it even is an act of hostility against us. to advocate it in any form or under

any conceivable circumstances, so long as the legislative union lasts, is on the part of a Lower Canadian or a Catholic member, an act of vilest treason against the nationality and the religion of Lower Canada.... In fine, the question of Representation by Population is one that we will not allow to be discussed even by those who pretend to be our friends, except with a view of opposing it. It should be left amongst the arcana of sacred, hidden things of the constitutional temple. Never should it be brought forth into the garish light of day or exposed to profane gaze, and therefore we look upon every man who gives any sanction even to the agitation of the question or who in any manner connects himself with those who agitate it, as our political enemy....This, in the interests of our religion, as well as of Canadian nationality, is the vital question—*Equality of Representation or Repeal of the Union*, these are our last words.

And *The True Witness* was not the only quarter disturbed by McGee's pronounced accession to the Reformers' ranks. The excitement and activity rose to fever pitch in the Ministerial press of Upper Canada also. In going through their old files one feels their campaign was founded solely on the supposition that lying and invective if steadfast would produce the same effect as truth. The idea behind it all was of course to discredit the George Brown party as having taken up for their chief ally an Irish Catholic. To vilify the party and to blacken the man, no absurdity was too monstrous to set afloat. *The Colonist* and *The Atlas*, the Government organs in Toronto, asserted that Mr. McGee had been deeply engaged in secret correspondence with bad men like himself, in every city, town and township in Upper Canada; that he had set afoot, under the names of Franchise Clubs, St. Patrick's Societies, and Gun Clubs, a series of Ribbon Lodges, with a view of gaining control of the Roman Catholic vote for political purposes; that for the object of winning over the Hierarchy, he had made his first overt attempt in behalf of Separate Schools; and as the best means of working upon the passions of the masses his next move would be to attack the social, civil and political rights of Orangemen.

And *The Leader*, also of Toronto, with the sole aim of branding McGee, ran from two to four editorials weekly for at least three months in the autumn of 1858. The following gives an idea of their characteristic method. First a

long and learned disquisition on the difference between Roman Catholics and Papists. In condensed form, it ended somewhat thus: "The Papist is a man who can have no real patriotism and no feeling of civil liberty. He is first and above all things the subject of the Pope....But the Roman Catholic is a man who holds a common faith with the men to whom we owe all the foundations of our liberties. The former is noisy and aggressive, the latter is silent and a lover of peace," etc. The next step was a simple one: to take some of McGee's Catholic pamphlets of '52, '53 and '54, such as the one on *The Jesuits,* or on *The Political Causes and Consequences of the Protestant Reformation* and to prove by quoting paragraphs many from them "that George Brown's new political ally, the architect of the Brown-Dorion system of public instruction of Upper Canada, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Esq., M. P. P., was an avowed Papist."

This idea that McGee was to be the supervisor of education—to supplant Dr. Ryerson—had the Brown-Dorion Ministry, or rather "The McGee Cabinet" as *The Leader* called it, continued, was one full of possibilities for exploitation in the Ministerial press. McGee denied emphatically in the press and on the hustings their statement, "nevertheless they went on month after month repeating the lie I had so emphatically pointed out, but....by which they hoped that they might evade the keen edge of public opinion which they felt in such painful proximity to themselves."

This last sentence was a very just appraisal of the motive behind the attacks upon him. *The Globe,* in an editorial called "The Game," put it thus:

> When a ruling party adopts as a settled policy the impudent iteration of stories intended to affect the personal position of individual Oppositionists, the community knows full well that that party is at its wits' end for an apology and that the whole thing is a mere device to avoid questions it cannot meet and to escape responsibilities it cannot bear.

In short, this whole dreary episode of persistent misrepresentation was a manifestation of the petty politics too often practised in the ante-Confederation days of sectional strife.

This slanderous campaign, intended to impassion the two extremes of opinion, the ultra-Catholic in Canada East and the ultra-Protestant in Canada West, reached a climax in the summer of 1859. *The Canadian Freeman*, the Catholic paper recently established in Toronto, had defended McGee throughout, and thus there had sprung up what the Church authorities in Quebec considered to be a most unedifying controversy. The Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of Quebec, being in sympathy with *The True Witness*, decided it would be in the interests of the Church to suppress McGee and cause him to retire from public life. They issued a manifesto which was read in the churches, and while naming no one in particular it was made quite clear McGee was the one against whom it was directed. It was to the effect that those who avowed themselves in favour of Representation by Population would incur the displeasure of the Church.

But this intended death blow proved a lifegiver to McGee. Immediately the whole press of Upper Canada, even the papers like *The Colonist*, *The Leader* and *The Spectator*, which had hoped to turn matters into a party advantage against McGee, now joined with *The Globe* and the others in protests against clerical interference with politics. Then *The Freeman*, with over three hundred of McGee's sympathizers, tendered him a banquet[1] on September 30th, 1859, in St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto. All sorts of letters and communications, poetry and resolutions poured in from his co-religionists throughout the Province.[2] But Bishop De Charbonnel's letter of thanks for his invitation sums up concisely the spirit of all:

Dear Sir:

I beg to thank the Committee for the kind invitation to the banquet in honour of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Esq., M. P. P., and to be excused for not attending it. Were my presence necessary to protest against certain

[1] *The Montreal Commercial Advertiser*, Cartier's organ, called this banquet, "Padre Bruyère's ragged regiment."

[2] McGee's answer to one manifesto from the Catholics of Prescott is very revealing of his defiant, albeit respectful, attitude at this crisis in his affairs:

misrepresentations about Mr. McGee, I would not hesitate to make an exception to my habit of not visiting a meeting of this kind. But his views, speeches and votes on education, voluntaryism, and even Representation by Population are so well known to us, that the Rev. clergymen of Toronto will have the pleasure to state at the banquet, that all acknowledge in Mr. McGee, a true, practical friend of the principles and institutions of the Church.

I remain, Mr. Chairman,
Your humble obd't servant,
†Armandus F. M. De Charbonnel.

St. Michael's.

McGee's speech at this banquet was a forcible and admirable exposition of the fundamental bond of union between himself and the Reformers of Upper Canada under the leadership of George Brown. He began with apt words of

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Montreal, Sept. 8, 1859.

To Mr. James McDonnell,
Prescott, C. W.

Dear Sir;—

.... I esteem this expression of confidence the more because coming from what may be called Central Canada, in which my course on the question of the Permanent Seat of Government has been adroitly made use of to excite local feeling and to prevent many good and honourable men from judging dispassionately my whole public conduct.... Your eloquent resolutions will strengthen me to perseverance in that line of liberal and progressive politics—never losing sight of the highest dictates of conscience—which I do most sincerely believe to be not only the best for the class and creed to which I have the honour to belong, but the best for all Canada, east, west, and centre. I have endeavoured to form my opinions by observation, reflection and such lights as are afforded by the history of States and Societies similar to our own: if I had to abandon them or to abandon public life altogether, I would not hesitate one second which part to take. But my friends at a distance must not fear that any such alternative can be forced upon us here. The public opinion of Montreal is much more strongly with the policy of the parliamentary Opposition at this moment than it was in 1857, when, untried and a comparative stranger, I had the honour to leave Mr. Attorney-General Cartier about five hundred votes in the rear.

With my best thanks to the gentlemen taking part in your meeting,

I subscribe myself,
Yours very truly,
Thomas D'Arcy McGee

greeting to his friends present, particularly to the clergy who had come "to show that attacks which had been made in the name of religion ought also to have been made in the spirit of truth and the spirit of charity." But he gave no rehash of the controversy. He proceeded at once in a businesslike way to prove the soundness of the principles on which he based his fundamental agreement with the Brown-Dorion proposed solution of Canada's constitutional difficulties. He now stood to his guns with wonderful directness, precision and courage, considering all that had gone before. The voters of Lower Canada and *The True Witness* could have no more uncertainty as to his politics after this speech.

McGee began this exposition of his political creed by referring to his closing speech in the House. In that speech, he had commented strongly on the estranged and angry temper in which the representatives of Upper and Lower Canada were about to end the last session in the capital of Upper Canada.[1] He had warned "our miserable, makeshift Ministry" that they were giving the Union of 1841 "the last unkindly, dislocating jolt" by refusing the constitutional remedies demanded by the Western section. He had then reviewed possible remedies, and his selection bore out clearly his affiliation with the Brown-Dorion ranks. John Sandfield Macdonald's remedy, the Double Majority, McGee passed by as having been "abandoned by almost all its advocates." Representation by Population, pure and simple, he did not consider, as it had now been merged by its promoters into the broader scheme of Federation. The alternative to this was dissolution. McGee here reminded the men before him that the two-thirds proviso, without which representation could not be altered under the Act of Union as first passed, had been abolished ten years before by an Imperial statute. So the possibility of dissolution of the Union now hung at the mercy of a simple majority of one.

[1] Parliament was about to shift to Quebec in accordance with the perambulating compromise which had been in force since the burning of the Parliament Building in Montreal in 1849, and which was soon to end with the choice of Ottawa as the permanent capital.

Thus, finally, he reached the goal. Federation, and Federation alone, was the remedy. This verdict established, McGee proceeded to reason very fully with the Lower Canada fears and *The True Witness* contention against it. He showed them how their liberties and institutions would be safeguarded by checks and guarantees:

What system can be found without checks but a despotism? Fundamental laws, charters, concordats, codes, what are they but checks and guarantees? To assume that such a system, that such a settled legal order of things cannot be established in Canada, is to pronounce our political problems difficult beyond any the human race has ever encountered, or to rate our statesmen as incapable beyond any the human race has produced. For if our statesmen are of ordinary ability, and if our difficulties are not beyond parallel, why should we not succeed in doing what our next neighbours, our remote ancestors, and every other civilized and tolerably free people have done for themselves more or less completely, since the world first began to post its entries?

This is not the time or occasion for details.... but may I refer to one groundless apprehension—the common allegation that the religious institutions of Lower Canada would be at the mercy of an unchecked Protestant majority....I answer that every constitutional instrument solemnly adopted by a free people must of necessity be irrepealable except by revolutions against which if unjust there is no safeguard except numbers, courage, and the freemen's right—the use of arms.... The experience of other countries has been that the Constitution once ascertained in one instrument or in several, once settled by usage or scripture or both, that every conservative instinct, all the best portions of the community settle upon it and cling to it....I have no fear of opening up all the constitutional questions of the day. I have not the least fear that the good sense of the great majority of the people of this province will fail to frame a constitution as superior to Lord Sydenham's as that was to the special Council and the Family Compact which preceded it.

Gentlemen, that this has to be done is certain, and it will be done better sooner than later. If I were an enemy of the French-Canadians.... I should say go on as you are doing, heap up wrath against the day of wrath, create a precedent for injustice, and in the short and angry day of the ultimate controversy, when numbers alone will triumph, then you will find if you had been wise in time you would have met your brethren of Upper Canada half way.

But as McGee said, such a banquet was neither the place nor the time for going into these details fully. However, on the floor of the House, on April 17th, 1861, it was the proper place, and the very vigorous denunciation of "Rep. by Pop." which had just been made by the three Lower

Canadian Cabinet Ministers with seats in the Assembly, Cartier, Cauchon and Alleyn, made it emphatically the time to attempt reasoning with their point of view. The Ministers had based their arguments on the example of Great Britain, of whose constitution Canada's was "a transcript;" on the sad experience of the United States, and lastly on the determination of the French-Canadians "never to entertain at any future time, near or distant, the question of readjusting the popular represetnation in this House." McGee in a long speech first examined the American and British precedents, and showed the fallacy in that line of argument. Then he discussed the consequences of "the utterly impracticable policy foreshadowed in the ultimatum of things as they are for another ten years:"

....If the population of Upper Canada should be shown by the census to be 250,000 more than that of Lower Canada, and notwithstanding all the arrangements....these quarter of a million people out of two millions and a half, one-tenth of our total numbers, demand an increased representation on this floor, in my humble opinion, the way to meet such a demand is not by a flat denial, but by an alternative proposition, to which both sections may in the end be reconciled. Can any such proposition be made by Lower Canada?.... The Premier says "No," and menaces us with a war of race. The hon. member for Montmorenci refuses even to debate it—moves "the six months' hoist."

I will put a supposititious case to those hon. gentlemen who deny the possibility of establishing any efficient checks against oppression in our circumstances. It is this:—Suppose you had guarantees for the fullest religious and civil freedom in your fundamental law, framed by yourselves, and ratified by Her Majesty for herself and her successors! Suppose you had a guarantee in the composition of the Upper House; suppose you had a power of final interpretation in cases of doubt arising under the Constitution, composed of an equal number of the judges of Upper and Lower Canada, would all these guarantees, involving the good faith of the Sovereign and of her representative, the good faith of the Upper House and the High Judiciary—would all these content you?

Hon. Mr. Cauchon—No!

Mr. McGee—I believe there is but one voice in this House says,"No".... The interests of the Empire, the interests of the public creditor, the interests of Upper Canada herself, would all be favourable to such a settlement and if Lower Canada is wise in season, she will neither despise such terms nor insult those who respectfully submit them for her consideration. To those who threaten a war of race, I say solemnly—Beware!....Far better and worthier of the hon. gentleman's position would it be to

avail himself of his majority to propose an alternative to the people of Upper Canada than to force them into one united phalanx, as his devoted follower for the last seven years, the member for Durham, told him the other night he would do. "A time of peace is the time for reforms," says a great political authority, and it will be far easier to adjust our mutual difficulties now, than to let the old constitution run on into downright political bankruptcy. Does the hon. gentleman suppose that by postponing the day of reckoning, he can diminish the demands on either side, or lessen the pangs of concession on either?....

Another word only I will add—to every man who values our provincial union, peace and prosperity—that is, that there is no time like the present in which to enter on the great, good work of constitutional amendment. To those who would attract new strength from abroad; to those who would contrast our stability with America's agitation; to those who desire the principles of constitutional monarchy to have a fair trial in this new field; to those cooler spirits who look beyond the hour, and know a duty in the distance as well as when they can touch it with their right hands—to all and every one of these classes, I say, use your time, and correct by the high light of experience the errors and aberrations of your constitution. Let such as have faith in the war of creeds, let such as have faith in the war of races, take their stand—the sooner the better; but let all just men who have seen and felt the derangement of our whole existing system, who have thought and compared thoughts as to the remedies to be applied, let them be but true to themselves and their convictions, and I am persuaded a solution will yet be found satisfactory to all reasonable men in Upper and Lower Canada.

McGee had triumphed. The efforts to encompass his downfall had merely provided a lofty rostrum for him to enunciate more fully his "iniquitous doctrine," and to initiate under propitious auspices a further campaign for constitutional change along the lines of federation. True, it seemed no longer a definite party issue. A. T. Galt had joined the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry after the Double Shuffle on condition that his Federation policy should be adopted by the Government. But his mission to England, to try to arrange for the preliminaries which would be necessary to bring it about, had come to naught. In any case, except for this far-seeing statesman, the Ministry regarded the idea of Federation as a wholly superfluous bit of political baggage. It might have served a use for them if it had postponed the settlement of the knotty question of the location of the seat of government. However, that rock was passed for the meantime, so the Cartier-Macdonald ship

could sail serenely on, with an occasional readjustment of men rather than of constitutions.

For the Reformers, on the other hand, the necessity of constitutional change was paramount. But the one thing they had to do was to unite, and announce their definite platform on the matter. McGee had felt this as early as September, 1858, when he told the banquet guests of London:

> It is of first necessity for the Reform party to have their minds made up and their energies at work on the principle of representation in Parliament by numbers. We should take our own ground early and be prepared to keep it. When Mr. Galt joined the Administration he stole and carried with him this portion of the furniture of his former associates as a peace offering to the men he had deserted. But it will not avail the party of expediency, the party of corruption, to affect regard for one of the principles of the statesmen who preferred to remain....in opposition.

A year later the majority of the leaders of the Reform party had come to realize the soundness of this advice. In October, 1859, the Lower Canadian members of the Opposition met in Montreal and drew up a set of resolutions at a platform for the Liberal party, which was signed by A. A. Dorion, Lewis T. Drummond, L. A. Dessaulles and Thomas D'Arcy McGee. This document was written by McGee, and it declared strongly for a Federal Union of the Canadas. The tenth clause read as follows:

> Your Committee are impressed with the conviction that whether we consider the present needs or the probable future condition of the country, the true, the statesmanlike solution is to be sought in the substitution of a purely Federative for the present so-called Legislative Union; the former, it is believed, would enable us to escape all the evils and so retain all the advantages appertaining to the existing union, while by restricting the functions of the Federal Government to the few easily defined subjects of common or national concern, and leaving supreme jurisdiction in all other matters to the several provinces, the people of each subdivision would possess every guarantee for the integrity of their respective institutions which an absolute dissolution of the union could confer.

As here set forth, the hand was the hand of D'Arcy McGee, but the plan was the plan of A. A. Dorion of 1856. Dorion

always maintained, until Confederation was an established fact, that the largest powers should be given to the local governments, and merely a delegated authority to the general government. This was the direct opposite of the final decision which McGee came to support so strongly. In later days he argued that the strong central authority gave our constitution the strength which the Civil War showed to be lacking in that of the United States, which was based on the other principle. It is particularly interesting, then, to note how far McGee's ideas had developed by the autumn of 1859.

The Upper Canada Reformers, under the leadership of George Brown, also held a Convention in this year. It was a much larger and more enthusiastic gathering than the one in Montreal the month before. Five hundred and seventy members attended. Constitutional reform was a decidedly more popular and living issue in Upper Canada politics than in Lower. Their circular calling the convention had declared, not that "a grave constitutional crisis has arisen which calls for a modification of the relation between Upper and Lower Canada," as the careful and diplomatically worded Lower Canadian document put it, but that "the financial and political evils of the province have reached such a point" that they "demanded" changes to remedy "the great abuses" which had arisen. At first, this convention was divided between dissolution and Federal Union. But Federal Union won. There was a grand future beyond that solution, whereas the other opened to none. One of the arguments which carried most weight with the assembly was that Federation provided for the future government of the North-West Territory and could thus be seen to be a step towards nationality. For colonial purposes an extra, central government would be but a needless incumbrance, but for a country which was to organize new territory, build roads and administer justice in the far West it was imperative. One of the most memorable passages of George Brown's address dealt with this large issue:

I do place the question on grounds of nationality. I do hope there is not one Canadian in this assembly who does not look forward with high

hope to the day when these Northern countries shall stand out among the nations of the world as one great confederation. What true Canadian can witness the tide of emigration now commencing to flow into the vast territories of the North-West without longing to have a share in the first settlement of that great fertile country? Who does not feel that to us rightfully belong the right and duty of carrying the blessings of civilization throughout these boundless regions and making our own country the highway of traffic to the Pacific? But is it necessary that all this should be accomplished at once? Is it not true wisdom to commence federation with our own country, and leave it open to extension hereafter if time and experience shall prove it desirable?.... How can there be the slightest question with one who longs for such a nationality between dissolution and the scheme of the day?

D'Arcy McGee, in the April previous, when speaking to a "Double Majority" motion of John Sandfield Macdonald, had voiced this same hope:

He was one who desired that if the present system were displaced it should only be to make way for more complete and perfect union. As one who looked forward to the speedy growth of this great province into an incipient nationality, which in the fullness of time, and with the consent of the parent state, was to take its place among the nations of the New World....

But on May 2nd, 1860, when D'Arcy McGee spoke in the Assembly in support of George Brown's resolutions, based on the conclusions of the convention of the November before, he expatiated in much more eloquent words on the same theme:

I conclude, Sir, as I began, by entreating the House to believe that I have spoken without respect of persons, and with a sole, single desire for the increase, prosperity, freedom and honour of this incipient Northern nation. I call it a Northern nation—for such it must become if all of us do but do our duty to the last....I look to the future of my adopted country with hope, though not without anxiety; I see in the not remote distance, one great nationality bound like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean—I see it quartered into many communities—each disposing of its internal affairs but all bound together by free institutions, free intercourse, and free commerce; I see within the round of that shield, the peaks of the Western mountains, and the crests of the Eastern waves—the winding Assiniboine, the five-fold lakes, the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Saguenay, the St. John, and the Basin of Minas—by all these flowing waters, in all the valleys they fertilize, in all the cities they visit in their

courses, I see a generation of industrious, contented, moral men, free in name and in fact—men capable of maintaining, in peace and in war, a constitution worthy of such a country. (The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud and general applause).

An important point which D'Arcy McGee always emphasized when speaking on this question of the Union of the Canadas was that his peculiar temperament, connection and experience taught him to sympathize justly with both parts. Speaking on the Upper Canada demand for Representation by Population in May, 1859, he said:

I understand feelingly the cry of Upper Canada. The great grievance of Ireland urged by O'Connell when I was a boy listening to and reading his speeches was....that the County of Cork, for example, with three quarter million of a population, had but four representatives, while Chester and even smaller counties in England had an equal number.

McGee felt strongly that he had a mission as a bond of union between the warring provinces. He could explain impartially to each the other's point of view. In the Assembly, on April 28th, 1859, he said:

He had as deeply at heart, he had as great a reverence for the religious institutions of Lower Canada as any Lower Canadian could have. And he had never sat by and heard them attacked without putting forward his decided protest against such utterances. In that respect he was certain he felt as strongly as any one could do for the preservation of the social and religious institutions of Lower Canada, and if they were attacked—and might that day be far distant—his duty would be to unite himself heartily with those who defended their hearths and their altars. On the other hand, he had a very deep, strong and sincere feeling of interest in the people of Upper Canada. He belonged to them by birth; he had a great deal in common with them; one-third of them were emigrants like himself.

Again, at Quebec, on March 28th, 1861, when a particularly hot debate had been carried on over Representation by Population, McGee attempted to assuage the angry passions thus:

This, Mr. Speaker, is not a subject for heat—not a subject on which it is seemly to talk of bloodshed, on one side or the other. The hon. member for Portneuf, and the hon. member for Laprairie, are ready to shed their

blood in resisting Representation by Population; while the hon. member for Peel is prepared to shed his blood to obtain it. I ought to congratulate the House on this increase of the martial spirit, but I prefer to look at the question from a general point of view, as one might look from the summit of the "Two Mountains" upon the Ottawa River, from which you can see both Upper and Lower Canada at once.

After reading so many of McGee's characteristic paragraphs it is easy to understand the basis of his co-operation with the Reformers. Although he might differ with George Brown on Separate Schools, and on many other politico-religious questions, and might hold very different views on tariffs and on national expenditure for railways and public works, yet when it came to the fundamental question of the need for change in Canada's constitution they were one. It is significant to note how strongly the Reform party verdict now ran in his favour. William McDougall said of him at a Reform Banquet in London in September, 1858:

....No man in Parliament has laid higher claims to the respect and confidence of the people of this section of the Province than Thomas D'Arcy McGee, for no man has brought to the discussions of the great questions before the country a higher eloquence, a wiser judgment or a more statesmanlike ability. A representative of Lower Canada, he has dealt with the exciting issues between the Provinces as if he were the representative of both, and perhaps more than any other man, has prepared the way for an amicable adjustment of our difficulties.

And Luther H. Holton's pronouncement at a supper for McGee in March, 1861, was:

When Mr. McGee was recently exposed to more than the amount of vituperation and abuse which usually falls to the lot of public men in this country....I failed to discover that any of his opponents even attempted to fasten upon him any departure from those avowals of principle which he made before us three years ago. This I take to be the criterion by which a public man should be judged. If faithful to his pledges, if faithful to his avowals of principle, I am at a loss to imagine on what grounds his friends can find fault with his conduct.

And at the same supper A. A. Dorion thus endorsed him:

I am glad to see that those who have been opposed to him in politics admit that a more important accession could not have been made than

in the person of Mr. McGee. Circumstances, no doubt.....aided Mr. McGee, but no one could have sustained his position unless by talents of a superior order, judgment and other qualities which have endeared him to all that have known him....He has advocated the just rights of the people but has never factiously crossed the views of others. He has advocated what he thought just without attacking others unnecessarily, and by his honourable conduct he has won respect.... not only from his political friends, but from those who were most bitterly opposed to him when he came to this country.

CHAPTER XII

THE CABINET MINISTER

From a parliamentary point of view, no part of D'Arcy McGee's career gave him more pleasure and popularity than his first years as an ordinary member in Opposition, from 1858 to 1862. He was the kind of man who worked more happily out of harness. Being a Cabinet Minister meant diplomatic reticence, compromises with colleagues, and looking to the immediate political feasibility of every question. This was irksome to his impulsive, outspoken nature, and hampered the expression of the expansive views for the future which his imagination perpetually beheld. As a private member, and particularly when in unrecking opposition, he had more freedom to go his own way and to develop for the edification of the House his large ideas on such subjects as railway building, encouraging of immigration and increasing of population, erecting public works to give employment to men and to add usefulness and beauty to the country, the need and importance of acquiring and developing the Hudson's Bay Company lands and the North-West prairies, and lastly the splendid project of Confederation and the future of the vast Dominion bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean and stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Moreover, the times were not propitious for a Cabinet Minister of restless, impulsive, and reforming instincts, On account of the political deadlock of parties in the early sixties, and afterwards from the postponement of many matters until Confederation should be accomplished, and the hinging of many other acts and reforms on that great event, it was impossible to carry out many progressive

enactments during the next five years. To be in office, and yet often compelled to mark time, was a state of things very hard for McGee to bear.

There was, of course, another side. McGee had his full share of personal pride and political ambition. He was perfectly frank about desiring office. It was the natural sphere for a public man to be of use to the state. It gave him greater scope and also powerful machinery at his hand to serve his country. He delighted in constructive achievement and took his duties very seriously. It was well that this was so, for nearly half his parliamentary life was spent in office.

During the first period of McGee's career in the Canadian Parliament, the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry maintained a good majority. Yet, session by session, the war which George Brown and *The Globe* waged unceasingly on the wrongs and injustice inflicted on Upper Canada by the existing system of equal representation became more telling and effective; John A. Macdonald found it increasingly difficult to manage his parliamentary machine diplomatically by readjusting men rather than by seeking to remedy the fundamental defects of the constitution. Then came the hard fact, established conclusively by the census returns of 1861, that Upper Canada had three hundred thousand more people than Lower Canada. After this, the majority and prestige of a Ministry which declared it "would never consent to sacrifice Lower Canada's claims by so much as a hair's breadth" were bound, in Upper Canada, to dwindle very steadily.

After the general election of 1861, John A. Macdonald felt the crisis he saw approaching could still be tided over by inviting to join his Cabinet three Upper Canada Conservatives who were in favour of Representation by Population. Thus John Beverley Robinson, John Carling, and James Patton were appointed. Much to the Western country's chagrin, instead of leavening the whole Cabinet with their sound principles, they themselves took on considerable colour from their new surroundings. The only change in policy was that Rep. by Pop. became an

open instead of a closed question for the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry. McGee pointed out very clearly how lending themselves to these personal rearrangements damaged the Upper Canada case. He was given an opportune opening on April 15th, 1862, by the member for West Brant saying he would support the present Government until Providence sent a better. McGee in answer reminded him of the French proverb, "Help yourselves and God will help you:"

With the aid of Providence and a little honest voting the honourable member for West Brant might no doubt hope to see his wishes accomplished. But.....he could tell the Western members who were shilly-shallying with the constitutional questions, that if no man, however liberal, however bold, was found in Lower Canada to stake his political existence on the early settlement of the representation question, it was just because the members most interested the members pledged to effect that settlement set them such an example of unsteadiness and inconstancy. If the western members stood firm, they could effect a settlement,a national equitable settlement, of the representation question in a single session. But when they were not true to themselves or their electors, how could they expect Lower Canada Liberal members to risk anything for such an unstable connection?

The Globe next day dotted the i's and crossed the t's of McGee's remarks:

Mr. D'Arcy McGee placed most admirably before the House the true difficulty in the way of Representation by Population.....Here, from the lips of a Lower Canadian member, is the whole gist of the controversy.....So long as Pattons and Robinsons are found among the representatives of Upper Canada, ready to accept office at the hands of Mr. Cartier as the price of their treachery on this great question, so long will Representation by Population be denied us.

But the resources which the Government could gain in this way were fast coming to an end. Further, the Ministry were discredited by revelations of extravagance and carelessness in the building of the new Houses of Parliament at Ottawa. Then, finally, they introduced a Militia Bill which entailed a large money outlay, and this proved their Waterloo. The Bill was defeated on the second reading by seven votes (61 to 54). Upper Canada gave a majority

of seven in its favour; the defeat was mainly due to Lower Canada's alarm.

D'Arcy McGee's vote against this Militia Bill was, he afterwards declared, the hardest of his life to cast. It requires a brief outline of what the bill involved and of McGee's feeling on the subject to understand why he found it so difficult to reconcile his conscience to bringing his party into power on that issue.

The Militia Bill of 1862 was a serious effort on the part of the Government to solve the defence problem of the province. Events of the autumn previous had awakened Canadians to a realization that something drastic must be done in that direction. During the forty years following the War of 1812 Canada's military system had been allowed to fall more or less into decay. In 1853 the whole appropriation of the provincial legislature for military purposes was only two thousand pounds currency. From the Conquest England had borne the responsibility for the main defence of the colony. It was the price a nation expected to pay for a colonial empire. But about 1848 a changed way of looking at the relations between Motherland and colony began. The colonies were rapidly growing into communities of great and varied resources. Changes in trade relations followed, which in a few years came to mean, as far as Canada was concerned, not only that Britain had no longer the monopoly of colonial trade, but that British goods were actually taxed in the Canadian market. It was partly due to loss of trade monopoly and partly from a similar trend in political relations that the Motherland decided about the middle fifties that British regular troops stationed in Canada would be gradually withdrawn, and Canada allowed to provide her own defence.

When by 1854 the MacNab-Morin Government realized that fully one-third of the British regulars had departed, they passed a Militia Bill which involved an expenditure of about $200,000 a year. There matters halted until the climax of the *Trent* affair, in November, 1861, drove

Canadians to take stock seriously of just how meagre were their military resources when brought to the test of war.

The details of the *Trent* imbroglio are easily recalled. In November, 1861, two diplomatic envoys from the Confederate States for Europe had been taken from the British mail steamer *Trent* on the high seas by the captain of a sloop of war belonging to the North. They were then held for some time as prisoners of war. Instantly popular feeling on both sides of the Atlantic became much excited. In the Northern States there was material for jubilation and congratulation of Commodore Wilkes. In England there was indignation at the insult to their flag. Palmerston's words on entering the Cabinet council, "I don't know whether you will stand it, but I'll be damned if I do," expressed exactly the people's attitude. They despatched at once eight thousand men to British North America. In Canada, too, there was excitement, but of a decidedly more sober variety than either the English or the American ebullitions. Canadians felt that if there was to be war between England and the United States it behooved Canada to put her military resources and men into fighting shape. To this end, at once, every Canadian, unquestioningly and unflinchingly, turned his best endeavours. Canadians felt, if war were ahead, their country would be the battleground, and they would defend it to the death.

D'Arcy McGee was one of the most active and effective workers in these hurried preparations. With his friends J. E. Daly, Matthew Ryan, Dr. Hingston, James Donnelly, and many other prominent Irishmen of Montreal, he called a meeting of their countrymen to take the necessary steps to form an Irish regiment. It was a serious and determined assembly of men. Their chief resolution, while bearing many marks of D'Arcy McGee's forming hand, was typical of scores passed that month by similar Canadian gatherings throughout the whole province:

That while our desires are most sincerely directed to the preservation of peace.... we are determined to a man to march shoulder to shoulder with all officers of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects in defence of the Constitution under which we live, in defence of our homes and prop-

erty, the fruits of our industry in this land, in defence of our altars whose freedom is guaranteed by our existing Government, and in defence of that equality before the laws and liberty of conscience with which we are pre-eminently blessed in this our adopted country.

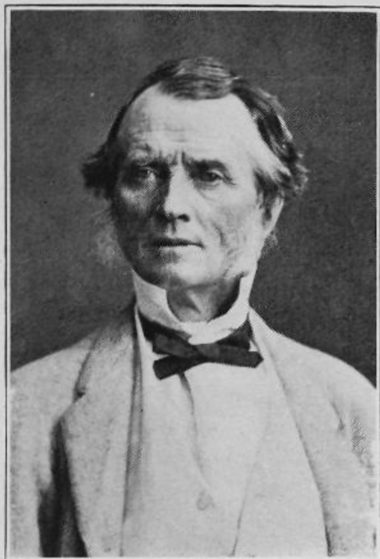
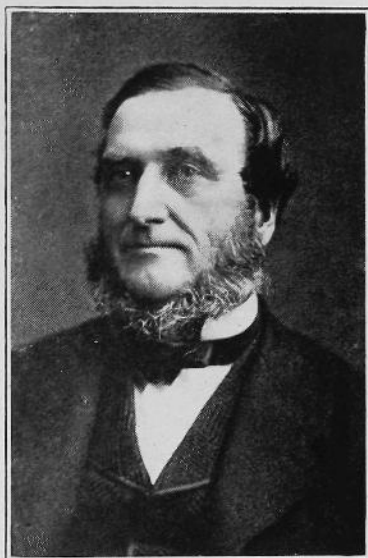
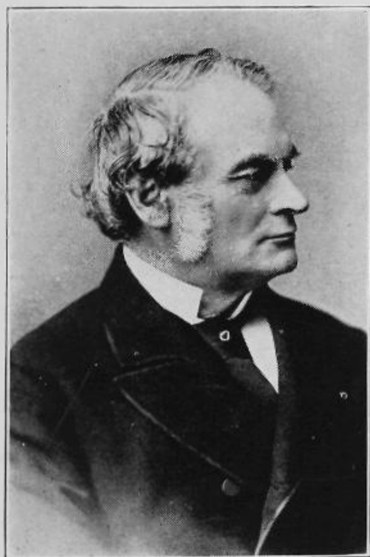
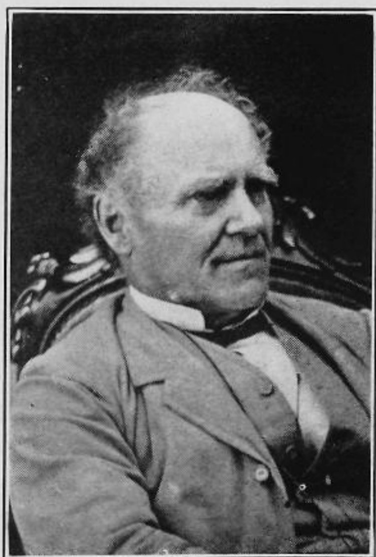
The result of the meeting was that Montreal Irishmen offered to His Excellency the Governor-General "the services of an Irish Battalion or if need be of an Irish Regiment for the defence of Montreal and the country."

It happened, moreover, that during this year McGee held the office of President of the Loyal Irish Society of Canada. This was an Upper Canada organization of Irish Catholics with Reform sympathies politically, but united chiefly by social bonds. In the letter their president sent them of encouragement for the compelling work of the moment—the recruiting of their countrymen—another markedly McGee line of argument is found: let his countrymen prove to England and the world their appreciation of justice and freedom. He wrote them on December 23rd, 1861:

I have sincere satisfaction in the patriotic feeling of our countrymen n Canada..... I wholly mistake the martial ardour of our race if they do not before the twelfth day present as powerful a front to the would-be invaders as any other class of the community of equal numerical strength..... There can be no doubt that the Irish throughout Canada will now have a glorious opportunity to show the world that they understand what genuine freedom is and know how to defend it.

However, very fortunately for all concerned, official opinion in both the United States and England realized the importance of maintaining peace, and the two envoys were allowed to continue on their futile travels.[1] While danger was thus averted, the crisis had thoroughly aroused Canadians to the necessity of strengthening their military resources. During the preparations for war in December, every one came to realize the serious need of more stores and equipment as well as of trained men. D'Arcy McGee,

[1] It was part of the irony of international controversy that one of the main causes of the War of 1812 was that the United States had resisted England's claim to the right to search neutral vessels on the high seas. Had there been war in 1861, the tables would have been exactly turned.

LEADERS OF THE SIXTIES

p. 11

JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD
SAMUEL TILLEY

LUTHER HOLTON
JOSEPH HOWE

having been one of the foremost in preparing for war, became one of the most thoroughly convinced of Canada's need for strengthening her legislation and resources in this department.

Moreover, McGee was prone to take a very serious view of the possibility of aggression from the United States. It was not that he feared war coming from a settled policy of the President and the Government. He considered there was no doubt that those in authority there were desirous of avoiding war with England and fully realized the direful consequences such a contest would involve. But his residence in the Republic during the successive waves of feeling which swept the people along in the early fifties, and reached their climax in the Know-Nothing fury, had made him keenly apprehensive of the evil a demagogic leader could do at a time of political excitement. On March 27th, 1862, he expressed these views very fully in Parliament:

> Mr. Speaker, a former residence of some years in the United States has given me, I presume to say, some insight into the American character, and consulting that knowledge, I do not hesitate to declare that in my opinion we are not yet finally done with the American difficulty. Formerly you had to do with the example and opinions of their democracy, but let Canadians never forget for one hour, that they have now to do with democracy, armed and insolent—with democracy in square and column, with a sword by its side and a bitter humiliation in its heart. (Hear, hear.) It is possible, I wish I could say it is probable, that the evil may cure itself through internal purgation; but Canadian vigilance must sleep no more except upon its arms. We have burst into a new era—the halcyon has fled to other climes and latitudes—the storm and peril are daily visible in our horizon.

Again, the following year, speaking on the necessity of strong military preparations, McGee enlarged on how popular, in presidential election years for example, would be any movement in the Northern States which would unite their various elements. He argued that hostile action against Canada would be the most spectacular way of doing this. First, in the New England States a crusade could be preached in the meeting-houses that would organ-

ize a powerful force to sweep Pope and Popery out of the valley of the St. Lawrence. Then, the Irish population of the Northern States, who imagined there was a state church, a landed aristocracy, and other evils incident to the state of Ireland under British rule, could be stirred to an aggressive attack. And lastly, the capitalists and the interests which made money in war would desire nothing better than another war. So it was, D'Arcy McGee reasoned rightly or wrongly, that Canada had to be strong for battle or face the inevitable danger of being swallowed up by the United States.

Only with the general aspect of this argument of McGee's did Canadians as a whole agree. On August 20th, 1863, during a debate on Canadian defences, J. A. Macdonald said, "that he believed that Mr. McGee was as sincere as any in his anxiety that defensive measures should be taken to protect the country. That if he made slighting remarks about his statements it was merely because he himself did not think it expedient to display anything like fear." George Brown spoke after Macdonald. He said, "that on the general question he endorsed a great deal of what Mr. McGee had said, though some of his remarks were overdone. He did not think anything like the danger supposed by Mr. McGee and Mr. Macdonald was to be apprehended. But he agreed when the slightest degree of danger was apprehended the country ought to be prepared."

These particular verdicts of the leaders of the two parties were given in the summer of 1863, when the Militia Bill was under revision for the last time before Confederation. They illustrate quite truly the general unanimity on the question throughout the whole period of discussion—at the beginning as well as at the close. The rank and file of Canadians, once the scare of the *Trent* affair wore off, wanted better military preparation, but they very shrewdly questioned the chances of war. They reasoned that there was little danger of the North undertaking schemes of territorial aggrandizement; that it was weaker and less ready for offence than any time during the last fifty years;

that it would much prefer to an enemy neighbour a peaceful one busy growing grain and horses and men for its supplies; and again, that the party in power at Washington had never been the one to talk of chastising Great Britain and of seizing Canada.

Such were McGee's feelings, and in contrast with them the feelings of the country generally, about the need for a new military enactment and the extent of the danger with which it was to cope. The Cartier-Macdonald Government gave their well-considered interpretation in the Militia Bill of April, 1862. But their measure demanded a tremendous increase of outlay. From an expenditure of not quite $200,000 per year, their Finance Minister, A. T. Galt, estimated the proposed legislation would require an increase to one million one hundred thousand. This was a staggering sum. It provided D'Arcy McGee with his only, but yet sufficient, excuse to vote against it. As he frankly told the Reform Demonstration in Welland the following September, he was in favour of arms and ammunition in the hands of the people for the protection of their frontier, but at the same time not to an extent "to beggar and bankrupt the people of Canada."

The smallness of the majority by which the Militia Bill was defeated and the general feeling that a new law was needed indicate clearly that had the Government been strong in popular support their bill would have undoubtedly gone through. But their late history had been one of steady dwindling, and, as D'Arcy McGee put it, they were defeated *on* the Militia Bill but not *by* the Militia Bill.

Thus it happened that on the 20th of May, 1862, the Cartier-Macdonald Conservative Government passed off the stage, and on the 24th the John Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte Reform Ministry took their place.[1] In the new Cabinet Thomas D'Arcy McGee became President of the Council.

The first task of the new Ministry was a Militia Bill. They solved the problem by a measure somewhat similar

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[1] The Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry was composed of the following members:

to its fatal predecessor, but upon a more modest scale. Their policy, which adopted the volunteer system as the mainstay of defence, found universal support. It evidently met what the Canadian electorate considered their needs. It passed smoothly, and the next year, somewhat enlarged and more detailed, was made a permanent enactment. Further, the following year, when the Taché-Macdonald Government assumed control on March 30th, 1864, it was left untouched.

The one thing made perfectly clear by this subsequent uneventful parliamentary fate of the Militia Bills was that Canada was well content with her change of Government as far as change in Militia policy was concerned. But immediately the Cartier-Macdonald Bill was defeated another thing became equally evident. England was not well content. When the news reached the Motherland, instantly the welkin rang with the bitterest denunciations. Canadians were "ungrateful," "degenerate," and "ignorant." "It would be a happy day for England when such colony deadweights were dropped." "Separation was not only inevitable but most desirable." Such were not the remarks of irresponsible nobodies and obscure weekly newspapers. They were the pronouncements of leading statesmen and of The Times. The Secretary of State for War declared during the course of debate in the House of Commons that he would see Canada independent without regret, and Lord Palmerston was still more toplofty:" I am glad this

From Upper Canada:
J. S. Macdonald, Premier and Attorney-General West
M. H. Foley, Postmaster-General
W. P. Howland, Minister of Finance
W. McDougall, Commissioner of Crown Lands
James Morris, Receiver-General
Adam Wilson, Solicitor-General West

From Lower Canada:
L. V. Sicotte, Attorney-General East
A. A. Dorion, Provincial Secretary
D'Arcy McGee, President of the Council
U. J. Tessier, Commissioner of Public Works
F. Evanturel, Minister of Agriculture
J. J. C. Abbott, Solicitor-General East

discussion has taken place, as it has enabled the Secretary for War to make a statement which must satisfy Canadians that unless they choose to make exertions which are becoming in them to make for their own defence, which it is their duty to make, and which any people worthy of the name of men would make, unless they mean to fall into a state of apathy and betray a want of spirit which would be disgraceful to the race to which they belong, that we have done as much for them as we intend to do and it rests with them to do the remainder." Quite unwittingly, the Ministry had raised for the first time in clear-cut fashion, the issue of imperial defence.

Men of all shades of politics in Canada resented these accusations. They came like a bolt from the blue, because only in the previous December Canadians had been lauded in the Imperial Parliament for "the spirit and unanimity" with which they had come forward "to maintain their allegiance and to support the honour and dignity of the British Crown." When, in this connection, the exact wording of the resolutions of the Montreal Irishmen, for example, is recalled, it will be felt that in December just as in June, the Englishmen were reading into the Canadian situation and Canadian action much about themselves that the facts did not warrant. Canadians deserved the December praise as little as the June censure. Both times they were providing the defence they thought was required by their own country. The English connection side of the question had not bulked large in Canada until English criticism called attention to it. Then the balance became quite restored.

Among Canadian observations on the situation, none, in point, in precision and in success in stating the Canadian case to the satisfaction of the Canadian people, surpassed those of the President of the Council in the new Cabinet. At the Welland Reform Demonstration, previously mentioned, D'Arcy McGee delighted his audience with a lightly turned indictment of the criticism from overseas. He had been speaking on the possibility and desirability of the union of all the colonies in British North America, and thus continued:

If we were to be an independent people, which, however, he did not at all apprehend to be probable as an immediate contingency, let us be an independent people with a seaboard as well as an inland country. If we were to be an Imperial people, which he thought was at present our position, let us continue an Imperial people, but not an Imperial puppet, to be petted at one moment and whipped and stigmatized before the world at another. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Let us not be kept for the convenience of Imperial senators, as Scott tells us that Mungo Malagrowther was kept in the court of James the Sixth, to be whipped in the place of the young prince to shew what he ought to have got when he was naughty, because it would have been unconstitutional to have touched any portion of His Royal Highness with a rod. (Laughter.) It would appear that when it devolved upon the Empire to subdue the spirit of party at home the object was sometimes aimed at by administering a whipping to some of its colonial possessions, and that the same thing was resorted to when it was sought to make an impression for some purpose on the Government of the Northern States at Washington. These colonies ought not to submit to such treatment. Let them say to the people of the Mother Country—we are willing to bear our share with you and all portions of Her Majesty's subjects, in the anxieties and perils and dangers of the Empire, but insult and opprobrium we will not take from your hands.

Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia was also a speaker at this Welland meeting. It is particularly interesting to contrast his more slashing, stump-speech treatment of the matter with McGee's words. They were, no doubt, the two foremost orators of the day in British North America. Whenever and wherever they appeared on the same platform, the newspapers for many days after debated as to which one of them had excelled. At this particular gathering Howe spoke in the following vein of denunciation:

He had had a high opinion of Canada and of the men of Canada, but certain parties in the Old Country had recently presented them in a new light....had set themselves to propagate this idea, that the women of Canada were not worth defending and that the men of Canada were cravens and cowards. All the world was asked to believe that. Did he believe it? Seeing what he saw, knowing what he knew, having read and studied the history of Canada and knowing that history well, did he believe it? No! (Cheers.) And he would tell them that Nova Scotia did not believe it, nor New Brunswick, nor Prince Edward Island, nor Newfoundland, and Canada did not believe it herself. (Cheers.)..... Surely these noble lords and erudite commoners in England ought to have read the history of Canada better, and the reflections of her battlefields

and of her conflicts and of the men who fought in them ought to have restrained them from sending abroad the slander and falsehood which they were attempting to make the world believe.

On March 27th, 1862, D'Arcy McGee discussed the English attitude in the Canadian Parliament. He treated it much more seriously than he had at the popular picnic. He explained how much of the confusion arose from substituting "England," or "the Mother Country" for the whole Empire in some parts of the arguments of the British statesmen and of *The Times*, and then dropping the substitution at other stages. People spoke of the Empire and the Colonies, "as if the Colonies were something apart, exclusive, external to Empire." This was a fallacy. "Her Majesty's subject in Windsor, Canada West, stood as near to Her Majesty politically as Her Majesty's subject in Windsor, County of Berkshire." Again, it was said to be unreasonable to expect the Empire to defend Canada. "Did they forget that Canada *was* the Empire in North America?" Further, McGee questioned, "Why are Her Majesty's representatives on the Potomac *facile princeps* of all the diplomatic body? Why is the British Minister next to the President, the second power at Washington?" "Not alone," he answered, "because of England's greatness proper to herself, but because he alone represents a North American power..... If Lord Lyons could receive Mr. Seward, with his hand resting on the breach of the Armstrong gun that thrills this whole region from the Citadel, he could not more visibly and personally have Canada and Quebec at his back than he has already in the mind's eye of the statesmen of the Federal Union."

Again, as to the proportion of military defence Canada should assume, McGee was equally plain-spoken and emphatic. Canada was no Cape Colony with merely semi-savages for neighbours. She had to protect her frontier, "the frontier of the Empire," against a people as well armed, as enterprising, and ten times as numerous as her own. Certainly she had to do her share, but McGee insisted "our share must be proportionate to that of the Empire." This part of his speech he rounded off by a comparison between

Great Britain and Canada as symbolized in their respective emblems, the Lion and the Beaver. The conclusion was, "The lion must bear the lion's share." "If he would continue lord of the forest he must be sometimes felt—at least his formidable points must be visible to the eye of every American emissary."

On October 28th, 1862, the Macdonald-Sicotte Cabinet prepared a very comprehensive memorandum on the subject of defence in reply to the representations of the British Government. It was a particularly able and strongly worded state paper, and to D'Arcy McGee belonged the honour of having composed it. The Canadian press as a whole spoke of it proudly. Editorials on it were headed, "A Well-Written Despatch for the Duke of Newcastle." It answered English criticism by explaining why Canada could not be expected to provide entirely for her own defence in quarrels not her own. It was a gigantic task beyond the resources of a young people:

> Situated on the border of a vast and powerful Republic, with a frontier extending upwards of a thousand miles, with no deep back country to sustain it, and accessible in case of war at numerous points.....Your Excellency's advisers would not be faithful to their own convictions or to the trust reposed in them if they withheld an expression of their belief that without very large assistance any efforts or sacrifices of which the people of the Province are capable would not enable them successfully and for any lengthened period to repel invasion from the neighbouring Republic.

Moreover, Canada had no voice in forming the policy which made the wars. She should not, therefore, be required to face them unaided. Her aim and her interest were to maintain peace:

> They have relied for protection in some degree upon the fact that under no conceivable circumstances will they provoke war with the United States, and if therefore Canada should become the theatre of war resulting from Imperial policy, while it would cheerfully put forth its strength in the defence of its soil, it would nevertheless be obliged to rely for its protection mainly upon Imperial resources.

In still another passage the same idea was emphatically reiterated:

The people of Canada....feel that should war come, it will be produced by no act of theirs, and they have no inclination to do anything which would be disastrous to every interest of the province.

And finally, this frank and independent despatch closed with these words:

Your Excellency's advisers advert to these contingencies, not to justify inaction, but to show the unfairness of demands predicated upon alleged selfishness and sloth on the part of Canada. They simply point to consequences which it is criminal to conceal and to dangers which it is folly to deny.....They will be happy to learn that their efforts receive the approval of Her Majesty's Government. Whether this hope be realized or not, they are satisfied that they are acting in conformity with the wishes and interests of the people, whose confidence elevated them to their present responsible position, and whose will they are bound in all cases to respect.

On the Militia Bill the Macdonald-Sicotte Government were united and had the country behind them, but unfortunately there was little of their platform that commanded the same unanimity in Cabinet and electorate. Apart from this moderate Militia Bill, their most characteristic and historically important planks were Sandfield Macdonald's principle of the Double Majority and the emphasizing of the necessity for retrenchment and careful supervision of finances. The first was an embarrassing doctrine, more prone to cause separation than to bring about union, while the latter made a better cry for an Opposition than for a Government. In addition the new Cabinet had to form a policy on certain negotiations which they inherited from their predecessors, and which involved interests without the Province. These presented difficulties. They had to try to please the various critics of the old Administration, and yet maintain sufficient continuity of policy to protect the country's reputation and advancement.

From the outset, the Double Majority was a deadweight. In the end, we shall see, it had to be cast overboard. As the Administration's programme was first announced it appeared to be their intention to adjust more equitably the representation in each province. The discussion following, however, revealed that they proposed only a rearrange-

ment of constituencies without interfering with the equal numbers assigned to Upper and to Lower Canada. This was an awkward step, for many of the Ministers. McDougall, Wilson, Foley, and Howland, not to mention McGee, had so frequently placed on record a vote of censure on the Cartier-Macdonald Government because they did not make Rep. by Pop. a Cabinet question, that it was difficult for them to support warmly and enthusiastically their Premier's hobby. As *The Globe* wrote,[1] "not in anger but in deep grief," their desertion of the Rep. by Pop. principle chilled their supporters of Upper Canada:

> To the gentlemen comprising the new Government no personal objection can be offered. Mr. Macdonald, the Premier, is a very crotchety individual, for whose eccentricities considerable allowance has often to be made....We well know all the party advantages to be gained by the accession of our friends to office. But we know too that the upright course is the right course always.....They have deserted their own principles and have committed the very trangression they denounced in their opponents.[2]

D'Arcy McGee had always been sceptical of the efficacy of the Double Majority. His recommendation of it on the hustings was very lukewarm. Time would tell whether this experiment of the Double Majority would be sufficient to remove the incongruities existing under the Union Act. The experiment should be given a fair trial. It would, at any rate, relieve Upper Canadians from the abuse to which they had long been subjected. Besides, it gave an immediate opportunity to prove whether they were in earnest or not in carrying out administrative and economic reforms.

On the need for *retrenchment* all reformers agreed; the difficulty arose in determining what was justifiable retrenchment. It was a watchword every man defined according to his own nature, and the members in the Macdonald-Sicotte Government soon found themselves in varying degrees of antagonism on account of the very different con-

[1] *The Globe*, May 23rd, 1862.

[2] Oliver Mowat stood out. He declared he would vote for Representation by Population in whatever shape it came up. David Christie, Malcolm Cameron, and Dr. Brown absented themselves.

tent one and another gave to it. The two opposite schools of interpretation had each prominent representatives among them. The one looked to the immediate book-keeping of that current year, the other swept up the future increase and expansion of the country into its reckoning and demanded the larger expenditure justifiable only in its outlook.

Unfortunately Canada's recent railway building experience had provided the first school with a logical basis of argument, if not with the plea of actual necessity, for their stand. During the decade just closed, from 1852 to 1862, Canada had passed through an extraordinarily active period of railway building. Her nearly nineteen hundred miles of road were built almost wholly during that time. They were begun with high enthusiasm and streams of money flowing freely from municipal as well as provincial coffers. It was universally assumed the roads would pay and enhance the value of land and prosperity of commerce, if only they were carried through on an extensive enough scale. It was a hectic time. Reckless railway promotion, the jobbery and corruption of railway politics, high financing with lavish issue of shares and debentures and guarantees of all descriptions, the rush of construction, the free expenditure of money, the deceptive mushroom prosperity so bred, all these were familiar manifestations.

Suddenly then, before men knew exactly how or why, another phase of the business developed—depressed business conditions, falling stock, expensive repairs to road and equipment, litigation which sometimes led to seizure, large deficits, defaults in payment of municipal and provincial interest, and ever-increasing demands for government aid. The reasons for this sudden halt were many and involved. A few of the more easily recognized were such as the competition of the waterways, especially for the Grand Trunk on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence; meagre traffic, both passenger and freight; vast distances to cover, through much of which a road of necessity had to run in unremunerative sections; the falling off of immigration;

the bad harvest and trade paralysis in 1857; and the unexpectedly high operating expenses.

A communication from the Grand Trunk to the Canadian Government in March, 1862—that was just on the eve of the Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry assuming control of affairs—gives a concrete illustration of the difficulties of Canadian railroads at the time. The October previous, Grand Trunk officials had warned the Government, partly to bring pressure on them to adjust the postal contract to the satisfaction of the railway, but largely on account of their relations with their creditors, that the stoppage of the road during the fall and winter appeared to them inevitable. Just then, the *Trent* sailed into the horizon and the Company held the road open "on account of the grave military considerations, if the great highroad of the province were closed." With this accumulated virtue to their credit they made a most desperate appeal to the Government in April, "for a just measure of relief and such legislation as would enable the Company to re-establish its credit." The memorandum continued:

> To the Company, delay will bring increased embarrassments, loss of credit, and litigation, which almost at any moment may lead to a seizure and the stoppage of the line. The industry of the country will suffer by the uncertainty of the Company's future operations.

Such were the straitened circumstances of Canadian railways on the accession of the Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry. The resulting depressed and pessimistic attitude of the Canadian taxpayers may be readily imagined. Therein lay the weightiest reason for the Government's popular and narrowly interpreted policy of retrenchment. But therein also lay Canada's gravest need for a statesman with a positive programme for the future as well as a corrective one for the past. If a narrow economy alone directed Government action Canada would sink into a veritable Slough of Despond which would swamp for decades all national feeling and enterprise. D'Arcy McGee saw this danger, but he also saw the way of escape. The cure for their railway troubles was more railways. The province had

strained its resources in developing rail and water communication in the St. Lawrence valley; it could find salvation by rising from a provincial to a national view, and carrying its uncompleted provincial roads eventually to both the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans—giving its Grand Trunk the limbs it needed for full activity.

Nature had dowered D'Arcy McGee with both the temperament and the gifts to lead his countrymen at a disheartening crisis; and the fates now kindly provided an opportunity exactly adapted to his powers. It sprang out of the legacies dealing with external negotiations which had been left the present Administration by the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry. The chief of these concerned, on the western frontier, the prospect of Canada's advance into the North-West, taking over the government of the Hudson's Bay Company's lands, and dealing with a petition from the Red River settlement for a waggon road and telegraph lines which in turn would develop into a railway; and on the eastern side there were interrupted negotiations with the Maritime Provinces over building an Intercolonial Railway.

To D'Arcy McGee's towering imagination these external questions opened up for Canada vast possibilities of development, life-saving for herself and nation-building in their magnitude. They provided the way by which the grand union of the British North American colonies could be devised. This had been the ideal future he had held before the people since his first coming among them, but never before had a Canada with a frontier extending along the Atlantic and the Pacific been so clearly foreshadowed.

D'Arcy McGee reasoned, like many other thinking men of the day, that intimate political relations would be established by facilitating intimate trade relations. The building of connecting railroads, the taking down of hostile tariffs, would advance direct intercourse, from which would spring understanding of each other and sympathy and union. The greatest obstacle to intercolonial union was intercolonial ignorance, and that could best be combated by intercolonial

intercourse. Therefore intercolonial railways would bring intercolonial union.

All Canadians now know that history proved it otherwise. Intercolonial union brought the intercolonial railways. Yet there is no doubt that the work done from this early angle deserves much credit for preparing and making smooth the path for the final accomplishment of both. D'Arcy McGee, in those gloomy days, with his own eye of courage and faith constantly set on the utmost bourne of national hope, was able to give his countrymen a more noble and just perspective in which to see themselves, their railroads, and their patriotic duty. They came to realize and be prepared to support a policy which soared away above the existing facts into a realm where the financial troubles of the Grand Trunk had but insignificant weight when set in the balance against the development of a nation.

But the prospects which thrilled McGee brought only uncertain and divided counsels to the Macdonald-Sicotte Cabinet. A. A. Dorion was particularly opposed to the Government entering into any further railway liabilities such as were latent on both the east and the west frontier. It would be contrary to the pledges of retrenchment given to their constituents. Moreover, towards the Intercolonial scheme he felt especially antagonistic because he believed it to be, at that time, wholly revived and instigated by the Grand Trunk officials with the object of making "another haul at the public purse."

However, matters had reached a stage when some action over the Intercolonial negotiations was imperative. A short review of their history will make this clear. It will also indicate the unlikelihood of their appealing to the general Canadian point of view, and their part in the larger plans of development.

All the preceding attempts to build a railway between Halifax and Quebec would make a long story. They mostly originated in the Maritime Provinces and were inspired by political and patriotic rather than by commercial considerations. Its warmest advocates had never pictured the Intercolonial Railway as of direct commercial advantage

to Canada. But many men looking upon the progress of the united land to the south of them believed there could never be that development in the British provinces while each little colony lay in isolation. The great obstacle to their growth and progress appeared to spring from the fact that each province was a little self-contained community with its own government, its own tariff, and its own all-surrounding frontier and restricted trade.

But to bridge the separating wilderness between the thickly settled part of Canada and of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was a gigantic task considering the limited resources and meagre traffic possibilities of the colonies concerned. It was a task which Hincks and Howe had essayed at the beginning of the railway-building era, a dozen years before, but it had proved too great for them to complete. Canada possessed a Grand Trunk line running from Sarnia on Lake St. Clair to Rivière du Loup, one hundred and twenty miles east of Quebec on the St. Lawrence. New Brunswick had a short line from St. John to the eastern coast and another ambitious spur running Canadaward from St. Andrews. The Ashburton Treaty had prevented this venture reaching Quebec by the shortest way on British American soil. In Nova Scotia, Halifax, Windsor, and Truro were joined by one road.

Each province looked upon its existing roads as sections in a future through railway. But in the meantime there was the unbridged chasm of at least four hundred miles, according to the most optimistic estimate, between Truro and Rivière du Loup. On account of its magnitude, the completion of this link would have to be a joint undertaking. Further, on account of its political and military value it was felt it ought to be supported by the Motherland as well, as it would add directly to the value of her assets in North America.

Among the recent attempts to bring about this threefold co-operation of Canada, the Maritime Provinces, and the Motherland, that made in the autumn of 1858, during Galt's historic attempt to interest the Imperial authorities in Confederation, makes a very good starting-point to un-

derstand how the question stood when the Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry took it over. Galt, in presenting the case, laid the greatest stress on the fact that Canada—and through Canada the British Empire—was at the mercy of a foreign power for the carrying of her trade from December to June. Once the St. Lawrence ports were closed by ice, Canada's only through rail connection with the seaboard was by means of American lines.

This application for Imperial aid met no success. But the matter was again taken up in 1861 by Philip Vankoughnet from Canada, S. L. Tilley from New Brunswick, and Joseph Howe from Nova Scotia. Although it was not a new argument, the Civil War in the United States caused them to emphasize the military advantages of the road. They told the Imperial Government that "the subject must be looked upon and dealt with mainly with regard to the consideration of permanent connection between Great Britain and the Provinces, and the relative positions of England and the United States in the event of hostilities between them." And they proceeded to press for help by rather prolix and over-reaching statements of the need for it.[1] Just as they were about to reach the Imperial ear the *Trent* excitement blew over, and their plea was quickly relegated to the background. Yet, they or the *Trent* must have made an impression, for on April 12th, 1862, the Duke of Newcastle, the Colonial Secretary, sent a despatch to each of the Provincial Governments in which he offered "an Imperial guarantee of interest towards enabling them to raise by public loan, if they should desire it, at a moderate rate, the requisite funds for constructing the railway."[2]

This was the despatch on which the Government had to act one way or another without further delay. McGee became most hopeful and persistent in his campaign. The day to promote greater things would not be lost if he could

[1] The proposal in 1861 was that the Imperial Government should join the three provinces in a guarantee of 4% upon three million pounds. If the sum of three million were insufficient there was no definite provision as to how the road was to be completed.

[2] Despatch of the Duke of Newcastle to Governor Viscount Monck, April 12th, 1862. Sessional Papers, 1862, No. 14.

help it. The Intercolonial would be a long step towards political and national union. Further, the urgency for communication with the Red River would bring the next move, which would be more or less contingent on the first. His brain was never more fertile in forceful and convincing arguments. They were equally adapted to inspire timid and hesitating Canadians or to arouse the distant interest of aloof Imperial authorities as to the soundness and necessity of this great national undertaking. Galt's patriotic and political reasoning and Vankoughnet's military arguments reappeared in McGee's eloquent appeals "like the dry bones of the just, when they wake in Paradise." The following was his popular and vivid way of stating that without the Intercolonial Canada was dependent on the United States for her access to the sea during the winter months:

As to the general political reasons for the railroad, I think they will be found to be, on further observation, gentlemen, of the utmost weight, deserving the most careful consideration from the people of Canada. We are, for fully five months in the year, as much "an inland kingdom" as that Bohemia whose castles, even Corporal Trim was forced to admit, "could not stand by the sea unless God willed it." We now get to and from the Atlantic, five months in every year, by the grace and favour of the State of Maine; but unless Maine were at some future day to join us politically, that relation between us cannot be counted on, from year to year.

Let us reason by experience, and see what has been the condition of other inland states of which we know something, on the continent of Europe. Take the two most conspicuous examples, the two great German powers, Austria and Prussia.

Why does Austria hold on so tenaciously to her Italian provinces? Because it is only through them she touches the sea. It is only through Venice, Trieste, and Fiume, that Austria exists as a maritime or commercial power; and though I do not know what it cost to construct the railway from Vienna to Trieste, I know well what lesson that road ought to teach us. It teaches the lesson of empire, in which Austrian statesmen have not seldom been the teachers of older states than ours.

Look again at Prussia in the Baltic. What has been her expenditure between Berlin and Dantzic? Why does she at this moment vote 12,000,000 francs for Jahl, and 25,000,000 francs for Jashmund, in the Isle of Rugen? To have outlets to the sea, through her own territory, to secure safe ports, to have her own avenues into the common exchange of all nations—the open ocean.

Now, whether the British connection is to outlast this century or the next, I cannot as a Canadian representative observant of the signs of the times, and our present peculiar circumstances, be any party to refusing for this country a seacoast and outports—if they do not cost too much—which any civilized inland power in the world would give the lives of armies and millions of treasure to secure. I would stand rebuked and dumb in the presence of the Austrian and the Prussian if I were capable of such folly; it would be a stolid policy, more worthy of the dark interior of Africa than of this region of acute and ready mental resources.

The military defence argument of 1861, as revived by McGee, became more effective. It quietly assumed much that the former version had stressed, and depended largely only on some concrete illustration for its force. At St. John, in August, 1863, he used the landing of the British guards during the *Trent* scare of 1861:

You all remember when, at the time of the *Trent* affair, the *Persia* and other transports were dispatched with troops for Canada in the month of December. They were to get a certain sum if they landed them here or at Halifax, and nearly double the sum if they landed them in the St. Lawrence. Well, the *Persia* made her way up to Rivière du Loup, but she was obliged to run from that port, leaving some of her boats and men behind her, before half the soldiers were landed; the remainder I believe she brought round here. This occurrence, which happened early in the winter, indicated precisely the military position of Canada for four or five months in the year.

It is amazing to see how double-edged this evidence was found. The other side established their case by it also:

The road, say its few defenders, is a military necessity, and it will please England.... The easy manner in which the Guards and others were conveyed to Canada in the midst of last winter shows that Jack Frost and plenty of snow makes the best road we can have to Halifax.[1]

However, McGee was quite sound in his reading of Canadian human nature as well as of the Intercolonial position. The people had been educated by the events of the previous winter and the criticisms of the summer to realize that they were required to provide large sums for military defence. If, therefore, building this road would be looked upon as helping to meet that obligation, so far, well.

[1] *The Globe*, October 9th, 1862.

And McGee was also sound in his other chief line of argument. He persisted in linking up closely the Intercolonial with the development of roads and communication lines to the west. Of course in his own larger vision of the future nation for which they were laying the foundation, he saw it clearly that way. At the same time he made it attractive for his Canadian hearers by utilizing to the full their strong conviction that a new dawn of prosperity would break for their railroads could they only attract to them the trade of the vast West. It was from that region their harvest was to come.

But what could Canada do towards providing road connections to the West? Here again, on account of the magnitude of the task and also because it demanded a development beyond her own frontiers, it was an Imperial matter. But McGee reasoned, if Canadians showed themselves to be prepared to build closer eastern connections with the Motherland, was it not likely that the Motherland in return would have a greater interest in promoting those farther west? He continued:

> And this eastern enterprise may be fairly looked upon as an additional motive and guarantee for western extension to the Pacific. Before I had a seat in Parliament, in this very city, several years ago, in speaking of the "Future of Canada," I expressed the same views I do now, when I say that the route by Lake Huron and Lake Superior to British Central America—to the prairie country too long monopolized by the 268 stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company—to that country rich in hides, in furs, in tallow, in salt, in mineral wealth—and rich too in agricultural capabilities—ought to be opened up and must lead westward through the Ottawa valley. But we can hardly have the aid of a British Ministry or of British capital for western extension, if we underprice the connection, or refuse to begin at that end of it which lies next to England, and is more immediately required to maintain the connection.

McGee's reasoning won the day. The Government decided to invite delegates from the sister provinces to consider the despatch with them. They also determined to go into the kindred question of intercolonial reciprocity.

In September, 1862, the resulting Intercolonial Conference met at Quebec. It was composed of fourteen members, eight from Canada and three each from New Brunswick

and Nova Scotia. S. L. Tilley was the leader for New Brunswick and Joseph Howe for Nova Scotia, while Canada had there both Sandfield Macdonald and L. V. Sicotte, as well as T. D. McGee, who was made the chairman.[1]

The Conference throughout was a compromise between the optimistic and high-spirited plans of its chairman and the temper of Canada, which was so antagonistic to further railroad liabilities. As far as the other provinces were concerned, they were eager for the road and prepared to assume their share of the liability for it, no matter what form the Imperial guarantee should take. The Canadian delegates, on the other hand, understood that the whole possibility of their assuming such a liability depended upon the bargain they might make with the Imperial authorities. If these latter would agree that any payment for the Intercolonial Railway which Canada should make would be considered in subsequent negotiations as a contribution for defence, and also if they would enter into arrangements with Canada for opening up communications into the North-West, then Canadian taxpayers could probably be persuaded to look less adversely upon the Intercolonial. Short of these concessions, their delegates understood thoroughly Canadians could not be induced to take any share in it. At the same time the national glamour and spirit of patriotism which pervaded the chairman's exposition, and the carefully worded clauses of the memorandum which his skilful pen drew up, convinced the Canadian members that they had a strong case for British ears. There could surely arise no obstacle in that quarter if courageously and diplomatically they went ahead.

These grave difficulties being thus confidently thrust into the background, the Conference proceeded to draw up its recommendations. They too bore in a most curious way the impress of the various conflicting Canadian factors. In the first place, they required to be most general, merely

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[1] The other Canadian representatives were: J. Morris, Wm. McDougall, Wm. P. Howland, U. J. Tessier, and F. Evanturel. From Nova Scotia came also Wm. Annand and Joseph McCully, and from New Brunswick, P. Mitchell and W. H. Steeves.

promising Canada's co-operation with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Too much could not be stated definitely before the British reconciling agreement had been made to neutralize the prejudice of the Canadian electorate. The men anxious to put the negotiations on a promising basis felt in the meantime co-operation was everything essential. As far as the Imperial offer was concerned a most successful balance was maintained. The memorandum signed by all the delegates on September 12th, 1862, was expressed in terms as general as those used by the Duke of Newcastle's despatch: "The undersigned are prepared to assume under the Imperial guarantee the liability for the expenditure necessary to construct this great work." However, this core of the matter was hedged before and after by significant sentences which at first sight might not reveal their close relation to it. At the outset the Imperial authorities were told that it was "an anxious desire to bind the Provinces more closely together, to strengthen their connection with the Mother Country, to promote their common commercial interests, and to provide facilities essential to the public defences of these Provinces as integral parts of the Empire," which had led to the undertaking of the railway. And at the close, the fifth subsection contained the other rider so essential for the Canadian taxpayers' approval:

> V. That in arriving at this conclusion, the undersigned have been greatly influenced by the conviction that the construction of the Road between Halifax and Quebec must supply an essential link in the chain of an unbroken highway extending through British territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the completion of which every Imperial interest in North America is most deeply involved; and the undersigned are agreed that to present properly this part of the subject to the Imperial authorities, the three Provinces will unite at an early day in a joint representation on the immense political and commercial importance of the western extension of the projected work.

The concrete part of this memorandum was the agreement that the proportions of liability for the expenditure should be five-twelfths for Canada and seven-twelfths to be equally divided between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Further, the delegates drew up among themselves a subsidiary instrument. This provided for the construction and management of the road by a joint commission, and for the surveys which would determine the line but which were not to be "authorized until the laws contemplated shall have been passed and the joint Commissioners appointed." It was also determined by this document that a joint delegation should proceed to England to arrange the terms of the loans and all allied questions. This secondary memorandum was not signed by all the delegates as the other had been, but only by McGee, Howe, and Tilley.

On the question of intercolonial reciprocity, which the Conference also discussed, the Canadians had proposed "the reciprocal free admission of all articles the growth, produce, and manufacture" of any province becoming a party to the agreement. No discussion among the delegates revealed so clearly how difficult it was to establish more intimate relations between these different dependencies of the British Crown, by means of increased trade facilities. If a complete Customs Union could have been formed their goods might have been interchanged without restriction. But that appeared to be impracticable. To secure a uniform tariff would have required the revision of so much legislation in so many different parliaments, and no noteworthy advance in reciprocity could be made without it. Moreover, the Maritime Provinces were afraid the loss of their tariff charges on Canadian trade would bring about a sacrifice of revenue they could not afford. Finally they agreed that while "the free interchange of goods, the growth, produce, and manufacture of the provinces, and a uniform tariff would be indispensable consequences of the construction of the Intercolonial Railway," yet for the present New Brunswick and Nova Scotia regretted that "they were not in a position to adopt measures of reciprocity."

The postponement of this free trade between the colonies was a disappointment to McGee. But he went ahead persistently preaching it. On July 21st, 1863, he put it to the people of Nova Scotia from a Halifax platform in these words:

Why should we, colonies of the same stock, provinces of the same empire, dominions under the same flag, be cutting each other's throats with razors called tariffs? Here, for example, is my overcoat of Canada tweed, which, imported into New Brunswick, is charged 15 per cent., and in Nova Scotia 10 per cent.—New Brunswick being 5 per cent. worse than you are. Now, the British Islands and all united states and kingdoms have long found it absolutely necessary to have within themselves the freest possible exchange of commodities. Why should not we here? Why should we not have untaxed admission to your 800,000 market, and you to our three million market? I confess I can see no good reason to the contrary. At the Quebec Conference, we decided that intercolonial free trade should follow at once on the making of the railway, and I look back with satisfaction to having drafted that compact.

Even so, the Conference had gone further than public opinion in Canada warranted. When its various agreements were communicated to the full Canadian Cabinet, A. A. Dorion at once resigned. This resignation, together with what the press surmised, gave material for a most vigorous and hostile newpaper discussion of the projected railway. One section explained Dorion's resignation by the strained and unfriendly reasoning that it was due to his desire to please the French-Canadians and his fear of strengthening British influence by means of the Intercolonial. But the other, led by *The Globe*, gave a truer explanation of the convictions behind his actions:

Dorion, with all other faithful anti-corruptionists, seeks to sever the link between the Government and the Grand Trunk.....Those in power condemned the late Ministry for their railway policy and are now madly rushing into a similar if not worse career.....With fair professions of retrenchment and economy on their lips Ministers took office, and but three short months afterwards we find them launching a new railroad scheme admittedly more onerous at the moment of initiation than was the Grand Trunk at the same stage.....Mr. Dorion felt that the adoption of this scheme by the Government was not in accordance with the pledges of retrenchment of expenditure given by him to his constituents.[1]

D'Arcy McGee gave his answer to these objections in a speech at Ottawa on October 14th, 1862. "I know it is said, the motto of our Government is, and ought to be, the one word, 'Retrenchment!' Gentlemen, that is an

[1] *The Globe*, October 9th—25th, 1862.

excellent word—*Retrenchment*—but I will follow it with another, not hostile, not inconsistent with it, the word *Development*." He then proceeded to show the people clearly his statesmanlike conception of a government's sphere. Retrenchment was no doubt the immediate duty, the duty of the day and the hour, but a government had to lead as well as save, it had to march as well as fortify, it had to originate plans for the future as well as correct the errors of the past. He followed this with a few memorable phrases which vividly summarized how the situation inspired him. "The eventful opportunity for British America is now." "The tide in our affairs is at the flood." "We must act as well as examine, advance as well as retrench." "It is for us to appropriate the olive branch of peaceful progress, which the Great Republic has relinquished for the blood-stained laurel; it is for us to unite the Atlantic and the Pacific, and to lay broad and deep in this soil the foundations of a thoroughly constitutional government." And finally, as he so often did, he turned to the young men in his audience and addressed them especially:

> I see here many of the young men of the city and neighbourhood, and to the young men of British North America I look with every hope that they will sustain and maintain the programme of national development in connection with Great Britain, which it is the aim of my colleagues to inaugurate. The future belongs to them, and they belong to their successors; if a generous, far-sighted British American policy is to triumph in Canada and the sister Provinces, the young men must be up and doing; if they will follow, I venture to promise they shall have a lead—a lead which will make Canada a great country, and Ottawa the capital of a united British America.

But the "generous, far-sighted British American policy" depended upon Imperial co-operation, and that could not be obtained. When the Canadian delegates, L. V. Sicotte and W. P. Howland, in compliance with the Intercolonial Conference agreement, went to London, they did not find the British Government prepared to accept their conditions. They did find, it is true, that a contract could be made with some Englishmen "of standing and wealth,"[1]

[1] Messrs. Glyn, Benson, Newman, Chapman, and Watkin. Some of these men were English directors of the Grand Trunk and the others were closely identified with them.

who would advance five hundred thousand pounds for the construction of a telegraph line and a waggon road for carrying mails and traffic from Canada to the Pacific. They guaranteed one-third of the interest at 4 per cent., provided the Imperial Government for itself and British Columbia would guarantee the other two-thirds. When they broached this matter to the Imperial authorities the latter refused flatly to co-operate in such a Western road. They also refused to consider Canada's contribution to the Intercolonial Railway as one for defence purposes.[1] Thus broke down both the peculiarly Canadian negotiations, on which hinged her share in the joint Intercolonial dealings. And even in these her delegates met a difficulty. The Imperial authorities demanded that the payment of the liability for which they were to guarantee the interest should be made through a sinking fund. Now Canada's experience was strongly adverse to a sinking fund, so this was the last straw to break all Intercolonial hopes in Canada.

Sicotte and Howland returned home and reported their failure. But McGee and his supporters in the Cabinet were strong enough to hold to their original aim even when, as was evident now, they would have to seek it by some more roundabout way. For the present they managed to keep the door open for continued negotiations with both the Motherland and the sister colonies. The memorandum which was approved by the Cabinet on February 25th, 1863, resulting from the delegates' report, and intended to be the Government's answer to the Colonial Secretary, indicated a postponement of action on Canada's part, while trying to arrange details and terms to satisfy the Imperial authorities. It did not drop the project of building the road. It merely shifted the Government's base of negotiating with the sister colonies.

The Ministry were able to continue to hold the Intercolonial among their practical schemes and ambitions by discovering that nothing vital could be done without a sur-

[1] Despatch from the Colonial Secretary to Viscount Monck November 29th, 1862. Sessional Papers, 1863, No. 14.

vey. This, it will be remembered, was contrary to the agreement signed at the Intercolonial Conference. The question of the route always created internal friction between western and southern New Brunswick against the north and far eastern Quebec. The Conference had agreed, therefore, that the survey and exact route should be left undetermined "until the laws contemplated should have been passed and the joint Commissioners appointed." However, in their last proposal the Imperial Government restricted their guarantee of interest to a capital of three million sterling, and even this was not to be asked "until the route and surveys had been submitted to and approved by the Imperial Government and until it could be shown to the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government that the whole work could be done without application for any Imperial guarantee over and above that to be given for the three million sterling." Naturally these conditions could not be complied with unless a more exact survey were made to establish the route and proximate cost of the road. Canada had therefore a plausible reason for the change of ground in negotiations with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and she proceeded to prove her serious intention by stating further in the same memorandum, "An appropriation shall be asked from the Legislature of Canada, in the present session, for the purpose of making such a survey," and further that she had "acquainted the other Provinces of her intention in this respect in a Conference had with the Honourable Mr. Tilley last month, at Quebec."

The closing paragraph of this report gave a clear indication also that the Macdonald-Sicotte Government considered they were only delaying the Intercolonial while making a better bargain with Britain:

> Your Excellency's advisers have full confidence that the Government of Great Britain will grant the proposed guarantee of interest on the most liberal terms, in consideration of the importance of this great work, as a measure of defence, and a means of extending and securing the political and commercial influence of England over an immense territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

But the Macdonald-Sicotte Government was fast becoming too weak and too divided to carry on any legislation aggressively or successfully. Parliament had met on February 12th, 1863, and the discussions and division lists soon made obvious their very narrow majority. Furthermore, the Cabinet were in continual conflict among themselves. The differences as to the Intercolonial caused by no means the only squall to ruffle Ministerial waters. Their immigration policy was another issue which had aroused much criticism and disappointment both within the Ministry and among the electors of the Upper Province.

When the Macdonald-Sicotte Government was first formed it appeared to be their intention to have an active Immigration Department. The first draft of the Ministry made D'Arcy McGee Minister of Agriculture, Statistics, and Immigration, and James Morris the President of the Council. The Upper Province press spoke enthusiastically of McGee's appointment and had high hopes of what he would accomplish. There was no portfolio his interests, talents, and practical knowledge equipped McGee so well to fill. Since 1860 he had been the chairman of a special standing committee of the House which looked into all matters pertaining to immigrants, and had brought forward a great many suggestions for non-party legislation for the protection, comfort, and settlement of the newcomers. A convenient landing-place with suitable sheds and wash-houses had been built at Quebec. The immigration offices had been moved close to the sheds and the landing-place, and all this territory protected, as far as possible, from the ordinary commercial landing-places which were all thronged with runners and transport agents. His committee had also been instrumental in establishing Canadian agents in Europe and thus promoting a much more vigorous campaign of advertising the attractions of Canada on both the Continent and the British Isles. While the numbers of yearly immigrants for the decade from 1852 to 1862 were fluctuating quantities, yet McGee could point with pride to the steadily mounting figures during the régime of his

committee.[1] Ever since McGee had gone into the value of immigration to the United States, so fully and with such varied detail, when compiling his literature to combat the Nativist and Know-Nothing fury, he had had strong and firmly rooted convictions on what the policy of a new country should be in this field. He considered 20,000 men and their families could be easily absorbed by the Canadian population every year, and all his efforts and speeches had been directed towards that end.

But provincial politics and sectional friction complicated many matters relating to immigration, and now they blocked McGee's appointment to that department. The root of these difficulties lay in the same ground which produced the agitation of Rep. by Pop. One of the methods by which Lower Canada hoped to counteract the rapid increasing of Upper Canada population was by promoting what she called "homogeneous colonization." The exposition of this given by *The Globe* was, "Every member representing a French-Canadian constituency is pledged to draw to the shores of the St. Lawrence a sufficient number of Belgian, French, and Swiss Catholics to take their place in the political sphere of the codfish of Gaspé Basin, and thus balance the increase of the 'pharisaical brawlers' of Upper Canada."[2] Evidently this was not an immigration easy to bring, as the same authority assures us that "the late Ministry spent a large sum of money in sending agents to France and the net result was an addition to the French population of Lower Canada of three barbers."

Behind *The Globe's* exaggeration lay the real difficulty. Lower Canada was not in sympathy with an energetic

[1] The total immigration for those years was as follows:

1859.......8,778
1860......10,150
1861......19,923
1862......22,176
1863......19,419
(Sessional Papers for 1864, No. 32.)

[2] Refers to a speech of Cartier's against Rep. by Pop., in which he argued that the wealth of the section required representation as well as the population, and instanced Lower Canada's cod-fishing.

policy of immigration when the vast majority of the newcomers were prone to pass by her shores and settle in Upper Canada, to the further increase of that section. When the Macdonald-Sicotte Cabinet was finally adjusted, it was found that the Immigration Department had finally been assigned to less aggressive hands. D'Arcy McGee had been shifted from the portfolio of Agriculture and Immigration and been made President of the Council, while François Evanturel took his place.

This change in personnel resulted in a change in policy, as the year's history of the Department plainly showed. There was as little activity as possible, and all of a negative character. On the plea of economy no grant was made for colonization roads. This was one of the avenues, it was stated, through which the old Government had exercised irrational patronage. Therefore, instead of administering the money without favouritism and injustice, but with the aim of developing the country, the Ministry simply cancelled the grant. In like manner the Canadian agents of immigration in Europe were recalled. In his speech in the House on April 25th, 1862, very shortly before the change of government, McGee had expressed his gratification over their appointment, and his "exultation at the favourable prospects which are before this great project," "since the gentlemen opposite who have the power have also the will to establish the new system." These "favourable prospects" had now been blighted by his own party and his own Cabinet. The total immigration for the year showed a decrease of 2,755 below that of the previous twelve months.

The Macdonald-Sicotte Government had yet another contentious question to deal with. It was their announced policy to amend the Separate School Act of Upper Canada. They undertook this early in the spring of 1863, with R. W. Scott of Ottawa in charge. At once the Government's critics became most active and made their position more precarious. They carried their bill, but only by means of the Lower Canada vote; a large majority from the province

affected by it voted against the measure.[1] Under these circumstances, a Ministry which was founded on the Double Majority principle should have resigned. But instead they swallowed their principles. This shook men's confidence in them to such an extent that J. A. Macdonald was able to carry a direct want of confidence vote, by a majority of four in May, 1863.

Sandfield Macdonald saw clearly there was no alternative to an election, and for that to be successful he would require to strengthen his position in Lower Canada. For this end an alliance with Dorion, and the radical or Rouge wing of Lower Canada Liberals, was essential. Macdonald therefore made drastic changes in the personnel of his Cabinet, and some minor ones in his platform, to meet the approval of the newcomers. Thus was formed the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Ministry[2] to succeed the Macdonald-Sicotte. As far as the Lower Canada section was concerned, the return of Dorion gave to the second Sandfield Macdonald Cabinet its only member of the first. A vigorous campaign was waged against the Ministry by the ejected members on this ground. It was one body of men against whom the vote of want of confidence was carried and who got the dissolution to go to the country, while it was an entirely different set who took advantage of it and went to the country to vindicate their right to hold office.

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[1] D'Arcy McGee's stand on Separate Schools will be found fully discussed in Chapter XI,

[2] Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Ministry.

Upper Canada:
- J. S. Macdonald, Premier and Attorney-General West
- W. McDougall, Commissioner of Crown Lands
- W. P. Howland, Receiver-General
- A. J. Fergusson-Blair, Provincial Secretary
- Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General

Lower Canada:
- A. A. Dorion, Attorney-General East
- I. Thibaudeau, President of the Council
- L. H. Holton, Minister of Finance
- L. Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture
- L. Laframboise, Commissioner of Public Works

It would serve no helpful end to go into the intriguing and caballing, the explanations and re-explanations which marked this curious crisis in Sandfield Macdonald's premiership. It was party convenience, not any national policy, which dictated the change. As far as McGee and Dorion were concerned, Dorion would not accept office unless the Intercolonial scheme were absolutely abandoned, and McGee would not be a party to that. To his electors of Montreal West McGee said:

> I consider that all of us who were parties to the programme of May 1862, and who continued to act under it to the last day of the last Parliament, are bound to sustain the project of an Intercolonial road—unless it should be proved *by actual survey* to be an undertaking beyond our strength—and bound to a feasible project of western expansion. . . . Our faith is plighted not only to each other and to our own public, but to the sister provinces and the Imperial authorities. For one I do not feel that western extension and the Intercolonial road ought to be abandoned.

However, Sandfield Macdonald had determined to drop McGee before he formed his alliance with Dorion. He was angry with McGee for a personal reason. When J. A. Macdonald moved his vote of want of confidence, McGee had been asked by the Premier to reply, and had failed to do so because of too convivial a dinner beforehand. Since it is necessary to allude to this incident, and also because there is handed down to this generation a tradition of McGee's heavy drinking, it seems proper here to pause long enough in the narrative to give it the notice due. There were three brief periods when D'Arcy McGee's too great drinking wrought havoc with his life and work. One was during the early days of his second exile in the United States, when all things seemed to conspire together for the ruin of him and his newspaper. Another was during this year of 1863, both before and after the reorganization of Sandfield Macdonald's Cabinet, and the last was the summer of 1867, during his terrible election campaign for the first Dominion Parliament. But once this fact is so plainly stated it must be largely modified by the other equally plain fact that in these good old days whiskey flowed freely, and the whole community was much more bibacious in its

habits. The great majority of members of parliament, Ministers and Prime Ministers notably among them, were fond of their glass. Many of them agreed with the old squaw who once remarked to John A. Macdonald that "too much was just enough." D'Arcy McGee was by no means singular except in so far as his sensitive, and highly excitable brain was of itself strongly stimulated and so intemperance for him was more disastrous. No one knew it and deplored it more than he did, and during the last October of his life he became a teetotaler. Henceforth, to use his own words, he "floated along very nicely on cold water." To see this phase of his life in its proper proportions, it is only necessary to consider the volume of work he did in his brief life, the obstacles he surmounted, the friends he made, and the reputation he left behind him with the highest and worthiest of the land.

When D'Arcy McGee found himself thrust out of the Cabinet he decided to become an Independent in Canadian politics. He was not going "to hoist Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's and Mr. Dorion's colours and drag the flag of his own honour in the dust." Nevertheless he still held out to the Reformers his support at crucial moments. In his nomination speech of June 2nd he said: "We are told there are but two parties, the old Coalition which we ousted in May, '62, and the present Administration. Well, frankly, as an Independent member, if this turns out to be the case, and if any vote of mine should be instrumental in bringing back the old Coalition—they of course cannot have it. I will say now that rather than suffer the restoration of the greater evil I would vote confidence in the present Administration, though believing it to be formed in an irregular, inconsiderate, and very unconstitutional manner." However, McGee had hopes of a third party springing up after the election. It was to include a large percentage of the Lower Canada members of the Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry and many new Conservatives from Upper Canada, "who would not willingly shoulder the sins of the old Coalition." It was among this group he expected to find his friends. On nomination day he continued to lay

down, "come what may," what his own platform would be. As it was his political creed throughout, whether he belonged to Reform, Independent, or Conservative ranks, it may be very largely quoted:

> I intend to adhere to the national policy I have always advocated and acted upon.....the policy which embraces British connection—the assertion of the monarchical as against the democratic principle—the policy of conciliation between our different creeds and classes—the policy of internal reform and *pari passu* with that reform a great series of internal improvements stretching from the frontier of New Brunswick to British Columbia. This policy is the only true basis of Colonial defence, for it is a policy of new settlements, of increased population, of diverse employments, of a new northern nationality subordinate to, helpful to, and helped by the Empire to which we belong....
>
> It may be thought visionary and unreal, but when were enterprise, increase, extension, and development unreal or visionary to our race on the American continent? We are of the race that forced the icy barrier of the North-West Passage after two centuries of desperate adventure. We are of the race that blasted a channel for their ships with English gunpowder through Arctic ice. Shall we not establish the North-West Passage where Nature laid it, through the Vermilion Pass, down the valley of the Fraser to the Pacific? That way lies Japan, China, India, Australia, the countries whose trade has always enriched whatever power knew how to grasp and handle it. That way lies the future fortunes of all eastern British provinces, including Canada's chief city, Montreal.

The most of the remainder of his nomination speech was devoted to the Intercolonial and Western expansion. It had been announced that the newly organized Government was to abandon them. "I confess I should be sorry for my country—I should be ashamed of my order, if the people and Parliament of Canada permit the pooh! pooh! policy to become their policy of national development.....Admitting that we have the initiation of this great future now in our keeping, how are we to make use of it for ourselves and for our children? I answer, by establishing principles.... by understanding, mastering, and putting boldly forth a national and an Imperial policy as applied to the whole congeries of the British American provinces."

This, then, was D'Arcy McGee's first intention: to become a member of an Independent party and work vigorously to make his idea of a new northern nationality

known to the people. But Sandfield Macdonald wanted no half critical support from McGee. On May 23rd, while McGee was still a member of his party, the Premier spoke in Quebec on behalf of Thibaudeau, whom he had made President of the Council instead of McGee. According to widely circulated reports in the Opposition press, he there took great credit to himself for the improvement of the personnel of the new Cabinet. He told his French-Canadian audience that Mr. Thibaudeau was "no mere adventurer," he was "un enfant du sol,"—"a man of wealth and influence they had known all their lives." Finally, at the last moment, his Government determined to run John Young against McGee in Montreal West. This was the last straw. McGee ceased to be an Independent, and now closed, in the teeth of the election, with the very opportune overtures made him by J. A. Macdonald and John Rose. They promised to aid him in his election if he would use his influence to secure the Irish vote for Cartier and Rose. The new combination proved highly successful. The three Ministerial candidates, Dorion, Holton, and Young, were defeated in Montreal, and Cartier, Rose, and McGee elected in their stead.

The great dislodgment of D'Arcy McGee's career had occurred long before this. Compared with that supreme matter of conscience, this change of party was a trifling thing. It demanded and marked no change of principle. As a proof of this it is only necessary to compare the Macdonald-Sicotte policy announced in May, 1862, that is, the policy of the Reform Administration in which McGee was Cabinet Minister, with the Taché-Macdonald policy announced in March, 1864, that is, the policy of the Conservative Administration in which McGee next became Cabinet Minister. True, there is nothing in the Taché-Macdonald pronouncement about the Double Majority, but there are the same strong assurances as to militia policy, departmental and financial reform, and prompt removal to Ottawa, and yet more strongly expressed intentions about connection with the Maritime Provinces and the desirability of an active policy of settlement of Canadian lands.

Yet McGee's severance of political ties was a wrench which had enormous significance in his life. His old friendly footing with Dorion and Holton never returned, while between him and George Brown relations gradually became more and more strained as McGee was drawn into closer counsel with J. A. Macdonald. Between Macdonald and McGee there had always been a bond of good-fellowship. Now they highly enjoyed many things, such as electioneering tours, together. During November and December, 1863, J. A. Macdonald and D'Arcy McGee made a memorable circuit of political harangues in eastern Upper Canada. These turned out to be very effective. The popular, social, story-telling, hand-shaking part was equally well and heartily done by both. But becoming one in politics with Cartier was quite another experience. It was evidently pleasanter for McGee to swallow that dose with as little public observation as possible. And on the few occasions when they did appear together their speeches signally failed to dovetail smoothly.

There is no doubt that when McGee made his sudden wheel into the Conservative ranks he was able to persuade himself fully that there was as good a chance of great work with the Conservatives as with the Reformers. His experience as Cabinet Minister had shown him many discrepancies between his views and his colleagues' when it came to be a matter of actual legislation. As far as he could judge from his recent experience, the destinies of the Reform party were guided by the haphazard of personal ambition rather than by a ruling principle of national welfare quite as definitely as were those of the old Coalition. And as far as the practical legislation which McGee was pushing at the time was concerned, the Conservatives were not so actively opposed to the Intercolonial as the Dorion wing of the Reformers, and they had shown themselves more sympathetic and liberal of purse towards McGee's schemes for immigration and land settlement than the Sandfield Macdonald Ministry had done.

As soon as the Canadian elections were over, D'Arcy McGee made a promised visit to the Maritime Provinces.

This had grown out of the expressed desire of several associations there to hear from a Canadian representative what was generally thought in his Province of the Intercolonial Railway. McGee's presentation of the theme, he warned them, was largely based on views "personal to myself." However, he made particularly noteworthy and enthusiastic appeals to the people in both Halifax and St. John to obliterate all sectional lines, to overcome party feeling and local prejudice and to work for Colonial Union. Following this, he spread out a wonderful panorama of the magnificent country of which they would become a part. He surveyed in one great eloquent sweep the physical geography of the whole of British North America. Then came the climax: "Now, what needs it, this country, with a lake and river and seaward system sufficient to accommodate all its own and all its neighbours' commerce? What needs such a country for its future?" And the answer he had equally ready and convincing. "It needs a population sufficient in numbers, in spirit, and in capacity, to become its masters; and this population needs, as all civilized men need, religious and civil liberty, unity, authority, free intercourse, commerce, security, and law." And McGee was also equally convinced in 1863 that this Union could not be had without intercourse. "I am well aware that we cannot have Union," he told the Volunteer Company at St. John, "that we cannot even have a commercial league, without other means of intercourse than we now possess." And to the question what was the greatest obstacle to such direct intercourse he answered, "Ignorance of each other's true resources and condition. It is not the distance; it is not the cost; it is not the disputes about routes or modes of construction; it is intercolonial ignorance which primarily stands in the way of the Intercolonial Railway."

McGee returned home early in August, well pleased with his audiences and his speeches. The expression of public opinion by the first men and the first journals of the provinces which had been called forth in response to his words had given "the good cause of Colonial Union a powerful impetus."

McGee's elation was soon turned to disappointment over the part the Canadian Government were playing in the Intercolonial negotiations. Dorion had entered the Government on the distinct understanding that the Convention of 1862 was ended. J. S. Macdonald explained that their "Intercolonial policy should begin *de novo*. The subject should not be taken up again until a survey was made."

In lengthy and at times discourteous despatches to with the Maritime authorities the Macdonald-Dorion Ministry took the stand that since the proposed Imperial guarantee, which was the essential basis of the 1862 agreement, was not forthcoming, the agreement fell to the ground. They would not pledge themselves anew to building the road until a survey had shown its feasibility and its cost. New Brunswick replied that the Imperial Government had not rejected a guarantee but merely the conditions which the Canadian Government had sought to attach to the guarantee; they, in their turn, would not share in the survey except on the understanding that the agreement of 1862 still held good. Finally, early in 1864, the Canadian Government announced its intention to go ahead with the survey at its own expense, leaving it to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to pay their share later if they so desired.

When, in October, 1863, the correspondence to date was placed before the Canadian Assembly, McGee criticized the Government in most scathing terms for failing to keep faith with the sister provinces. The memorandum of the Quebec Conference, which the Macdonald-Dorion Ministry declared to be "merely preliminary arrangements which had fallen to the ground" as a result of the conditions insisted upon by the Imperial Government, McGee looked upon in the light of a treaty. It was a solemn engagement deliberately made with two other provinces, and had been confirmed by the Governor-General's approval and signature as well as by the provincial representatives. If that was a thing of no weight, what provincial obligation could be looked upon as secure? He was quite sure the people of Canada, even those who disapproved of the engagement of 1862, were not willing to see grave interests

of a permanent character, and great questions of intercolonial policy, dealt with, taken up and trifled with, and then abandoned to suit the political exigencies of the passing hour. It mattered not on how small a scale the character of our country had been compromised, it was every public man's duty to endeavour to redeem it in the face of the world.

By March 10th, 1864, when the Ministry determined to make a survey at their own expense, McGee saw matters straightening out more hopefully, although still afraid "our Government has inflicted a blow on the vitals of this project which even Mr. Fleming and his theodolite cannot cure." He then continued, much elated over news he had just received the day before from a Halifax letter:

I have spoken of a brood of projects which have sprung up in the Lower Provinces on the fall of the Intercolonial.....but I must except one project which reflects the greatest credit on all the parties—to which we, in Canada, cannot be indifferent. Laying aside all partisan and personal considerations, the leading spirits of the Lower Provinces, not fearing to venture into broader channels than their own internal politics afford—have simultaneously proposed to reunite Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Island of Prince Edward—into one great maritime community—with one tariff, one treasury, and one legislature. It is impossible not to admire the superiority to mere sectionalism exhibited in this proposal, and I, for one, humbly and sincerely pray to God, that for their own sakes and for our sake, they may succeed, and the sooner the better. I could have wished, as I have always advocated, that steps might, ere this, have been taken for the initiation of the larger union of all the Provinces; but if we are just now barren of the wise and generous spirit of compromise that seeks to restore the ancient Acadia to its old integrity, we can have at least the modest merit of admiring in others what we may not possess within ourselves.

This will be a union—unlike our existing union—brought about by the internal action of the sections themselves, with the sanction of the Crown; it will be a union unheralded by any great civil commotion—and one which, it is not presumptuous to foretell, will consecrate the memory of its authors to lasting remembrance.

It was difficult, however, for the Macdonald-Dorion Government to carry through any policy. The members of the former Ministry who had been dropped found occasion on every question to convert the discussion into petulant

and intemperate personal wrangles. On all matters of importance the Government was too weak to command a working majority. After eight months of fruitless endeavour, the Premier voluntarily resigned, on 21st March, 1864. On this occasion Sandfield Macdonald reviewed his course, his obstacles, and his legislation, in a clear, practical manner, and at the same time with a breadth of vision and a freedom from personal quarrelling which raised him greatly in the eyes of the people. Nothing in his premiership became him like the leaving it.

The situation was critical. Parties were divided by majorities so narrow that no Government could be strong. The crisis which Galt and McGee had tried to warn their country away from times without number was now upon them. Their old constitution had broken down and they had nothing to take its place.

The Governor-General sent for various men to form a Government. All imaginable combinations of men and parties were suggested and refused, or failed. Finally on March 30th Sir E. P. Taché and J. A. Macdonald managed to patch together a Ministry.[1] In this Government D'Arcy McGee secured the desire of his heart and became Minister of Agriculture, Immigration, and Statistics.

However, when the new session opened after the ministerial re-elections, on May 3rd, it was quickly found the Taché-Macdonald Government had no better outlook or

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[1] The Taché-Macdonald Ministry.

Lower Canada:

Sir E. P. Taché, Premier and Receiver-General
G. E. Cartier, Attorney-General East
A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance
J. C. Chapais, Commissioner of Public Works
T. D. McGee, Minister of Agriculture
H. L. Langevin, Solicitor-General East

Upper Canada:

J. A. Macdonald, Attorney-General West
Alexander Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands
M. H. Foley, Postmaster-General
Isaac Buchanan, President of the Council
John Simpson, Provincial Secretary
James Cockburn, Solicitor-General West

larger majority than had the Macdonald-Dorion before it. Its end came in less than six weeks. But with it came a marvellous juxtaposition of feasible suggestions and men disciplined at last to see the better and the patriotic part and to work together for its accomplishment. In March, and again in May, George Brown had brought forward a motion for a committee on constitutional reform, nominating a committee of twenty members, of whom the majority were known to be in favour of federation. The motion very cleverly took as its basis the Galt memorial of 1858, signed by Cartier, Galt, and Ross, and so called upon the Ministers of 1863 to live up to their words of 1858. They did not respond. Cartier was confident time would bring healing. Macdonald, after twitting Brown with his apparent abandonment of Rep. by Pop., expressed his opposition to Federation: if union came, it should be a stronger and more unified form. Galt was still a convinced advocate of Federation, but regarded Brown's motion as a question of tactics. Yet, although John A. Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, Sandfield Macdonald, Holton, and Dorion all voted against the motion, it carried, to their surprise, by 59 to 48, McGee and a number of Eastern Townships men voting with a majority of the western members.

The Committee consisted of Cartier, Cameron, Chapais, Cauchon, Dickson, Dorion, Dunkin, Galt, Holton, Jolly, J. A. Macdonald, J. S. Macdonald, McDougall, McGee, McKellar, Mowat, Scoble, Street, and Turcotte, with George Brown as Chairman. They held eight meetings, discussing the question freely and fully. On the very day the Taché-Macdonald Ministry met its defeat, June 14th, 1864, Brown presented to the House their report, declaring that a strong feeling in favour of a federal system either for Canada alone or for all the British North American colonies was found to exist, and recommending that the question be referred to a committee again the succeeding session. Only the two Macdonalds and Scoble had voted against this report.

Placing the two events of this day side by side, George Brown was able to bring forward a fruitful suggestion.

Parties were now at deadlock. Another election in their present united and yet sectionally divided land would yield no help. Brown proposed that this crisis be utilized to settle forever their root constitutional difficulties along the lines of the report of his committee.

It is unnecessary to go into the following negotiations step by step. By the end of a week, after repeated conferences, the goal was achieved, and the most momentous Coalition of Canadian history was announced in Parliament.[1] This Coalition Ministry pledged themselves:

> To bring in a measure for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provision as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the same system of government.....and to seek by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces and to England to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislature to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a General Legislature based upon the federal principle.

In the new Coalition D'Arcy McGee continued to hold his portfolio. But, facing as the country was then this great and imminent change of government, it was not a time for a departmental programme of development and expansion such as McGee wanted to initiate. No permanent administrative improvement could go into operation before the new power might be in charge and require something on an altogether larger scale.

It was a time for setting the Department in order and preparing for greater things. The transfer from Quebec to Ottawa had to be made that autumn, and gave a good opportunity for housecleaning, of which McGee availed himself to the full. The great scope there was for better internal organization may be discovered from the reports of McGee's immediate predecessors. Evanturel began his for 1862 by stating that the Department of Agriculture, Statistics, and Finance "had unfortunately been more than

[1] In this Coalition Ministry, George Brown became President of the Council instead of Isaac Buchanan, Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General instead of M. H. Foley, and William McDougall, Provincial Secretary instead of John Simpson.

any other subjected to neglect. Its organization and internal discipline have been left in a condition so little efficient that the public have begun to doubt the necessity for the Department.....To crown all, the death of the Secretary, Mr. Hutton, has contributed to reduce the Department to a state of disorganization which is much to be regretted." As far as the Statistics branch of his office was concerned, Evanturel reported. "Those duties have been completely lost sight of or laid aside. There is no executive machinery in the Department for the collection of statistical information."

Letellier, the next Minister, tells us that when he assumed charge, "The state of the Department was not satisfactory, although my predecessor had effected changes in its organization to its decided improvement." On the statistics he gives no report whatever, so evidently the machinery was still lacking. But he does lay the foundation for improvement by recommending the appointment of a permanent deputy head:

> I am convinced that the faulty organization which has been so prejudicial to the efficiency of the service is to be mainly attributed to the absence of a functionary of this kind, and the adoption of my suggestion would be a certain and permanent remedy for the evil.

D'Arcy McGee became Minister on March 30th, 1864; on August 11th, 1864, Dr. J. C. Taché was appointed Deputy. This meant immediate improvement in the internal administration of the Department. Dr. Taché was a man with a great deal of executive experience[1] and a passion for statistics. One of the paragraphs in his first report to the Minister, that of January 17th, 1865, shows at once how congenial would be the views of Minister and Deputy:

[1] Dr. Taché had been Chairman of the Board of Inspectors of Asylums for several years before he was transferred to the Department of Agriculture. He had also succeeded Mr. Hutton in 1861 as Secretary to the Board of Registration and Statistics. But, as he tells us in his Report of 1865 that during its seventeen years' existence this Board had met but a few times, and that there were no regular minutes of even these meetings, the latter, up to this, had not been an onerous position.

> The idea of *creating the statistics* of a country cannot be logically conceived without the desire of going back to the remotest period of its history; for the statistical science is above all a science of comparison and proportion, and the longer the time and the larger the figures the more accurate the inferences.
>
> My project then would be to gather carefully all such information as is found in old and recent censuses, in the printed and manuscript documents of all sorts collected in our libraries, in our religious, judicial, and administrative archives, to complete them at the light of statistical intrinsic and extrinsic criticism, and to arrange them in the shape of abstracts with indexes, notes, and indication of their sources.

This was a scholarly view of work after McGee's own heart. He and Taché laboured together most harmoniously. Time and again McGee breaks into grateful acknowledgment of his "obligation to the improved methods adopted by Dr. J. C. Taché."

As a historical student and as a politician in a country where Rep. by Pop. was the persistent battle-cry, McGee had an unusually lively and sympathetic interest in statistics and the taking of the census. In Canada, these matters had been since 1847 entrusted to the Board of Registration and Statistics, of which in 1857 the Minister of Agriculture became the chairman. But up to 1865 the purposes of the Board had been entirely frustrated, and nothing worthy of mention had been done. Dr. Taché now, at the request of McGee, prepared a memorandum of the Board's task, its present condition, the methods for improvement, and the aims for which it should work. One or two quotations from this report will suffice to show on what an urgent duty they were engaged:

> There have been no statistics worthy of the name ever collected and none at all published, except such as are contained in the two censuses of 1851 and 1860.....but these are fallacious statements and not to be relied upon in any essential point.....they are nearly worthless, for they give as facts figures which express absolute impossibilities.

From the vital statistics as well as from the agricultural and industrial Dr. Taché gave many illustrations to prove his statements. For example, his researches among the figures given under the former head had yielded this remarkable result:

The number of living children under one year of age, in the census of 1851, is stated to be by many thousand greater than the total number of births of the then last twelve months.

Again, take this illustration from another field:

Twelve mills in the County of Norfolk are said to manufacture only 5,100 bbls. of flour out of 139,000 bushels of grain, but on the other side 15 mills in the County of Middlesex manufacture 23,775 bbls. out of only 35,000 bushels of grain.

And finally, this comprehensive one:

The additions of the columns do not always agree—but sometimes they do agree in totals while they disagree in the details. I have learned, by consulting the traditions of the office, that such a wonderful result was obtained by a high handling of figures, called at the time—*to make them correspond.*

It is unnecessary to recite further from the report. The recommendations it made for the organization and staffing of the Department, as well as the instructions to be followed in taking a census, made up the chart by which the statistical policy of the new Dominion was directed and the first census taken in 1871.

Other matters of a kindred nature were put straight or undertaken for the first time. A Blue Book was published which gave a complete statement of the offices, names of incumbents, salaries, and other information concerning the Public Service of Canada. This was the carrying out of a proposal McGee had made in Parliament two years previously, when a committee had been appointed to investigate why the Civil Service Bill of 1857 was inoperative. It was stated at that time, "after Mr. McGee's speech no one rose to reply, and he was allowed his committee without the slightest opposition. His exposure of the failure of the Bill in its most important feature was allowed to go by default." McGee seems to have been a solitary pioneer in the field of Civil Service organization.

Another improvement in the internal management which was installed on the move to Ottawa was the establishment of a new set of books and a new system of indexes. Commenting on this in his report, McGee said, "the Department

would now compare not unfavourably with the oldest and best ordered public offices. The records of the Department since its formation in 1852 have all been placed in an orderly state."

Another characteristic place on which McGee left his mark was the Department library. He was very much distressed over its defective state. However, he procured a grant to buy "standard works in relation to Agriculture and Statistics of other countries," and he initiated an active exchange bureau through which he obtained valuable monthly reports on agriculture and immigration from the Department at Washington. He also began in 1865 the publication of *The Canadian Emigration Gazette*, which advertised Canada very successfully in the British Isles.

As far as the branch of the Department which gave it its chief name, Agriculture, was concerned, its business seemed to revolve mostly around matters of colonization, and these belonged to the Commissioner of Public Works. McGee did receive reports from Agricultural Societies in various parts of the country. He tried to utilize these rural organizations as agencies to place newly arrived farm labourers, servants, and mechanics. But he did not meet with success. The country districts were afraid of being flooded with a pauper immigration. The one item of agricultural legislation he gave the greatest attention to working out completely and urged most strongly upon Parliament was a new Homestead Law. He modelled his proposed enactment on the American one in operation since January 1st, 1863. As he put it, "he was influenced by the conviction that the settlement and cultivation of the public lands were greater objects to the nation than the increased revenue that might be derived from their sale." McGee argued that Canada had to offer immigrants "the moral attractions in our institutions which guaranteed complete civil and religious liberty, and the material attraction of our cheap or free land." However, his Homestead Law had to be postponed until after Confederation.

It was in this field of attracting and taking care of immigrants that McGee made his chief endeavours. He looked

upon the United States as the most progressive model Canada could take. "In working up the raw material of a new country into populous and prosperous communities, it would be well for us to imitate their sagacity and their system." With this end in view he sent Thomas D. Shipman to Castle Garden, the point at which immigrants disembarked for New York. Shipman was to study there in minutest detail all the regulations and provisions of the Government for the newcomers. He also visited the Government Departments of Immigration at Washington and New York, and amassed a great deal of concrete information. This is given fully in McGee's ministerial report, and further, his own subsequent speeches bear ample testimony of how fully he had mastered the details of this report and was prepared with his legislation based on it. He was anxious to adopt the good features on a scale suitable to Canada's needs and to reject the defects and abuses. But in this, as in his Homestead Law, Parliament would give him only scant attention, and all legislation was postponed until the new power would be in charge.

It was a hard fate for McGee thus to be compelled to mark time. And now, knowing how the future disappointed his plans, and that he was not allowed to go on and have a share in fulfilling them after Confederation, it seems doubly cruel. Speaking once of the exultation he felt in being able to exercise some public care over the newcomers, he put in the following characteristic words how supreme was his interest in this work:

> The subject should enlist all our sympathies, for in one sense, and that no secondary one, all men have been emigrants or sons of emigrants since the first sad pair departed out of Eden....In the eyes of the frivolous and the vain, such wanderers may be adventurers,[1] and the term adventurer may be made to mean anything that is base and disreputable. But all the civilization of the world has been the handiwork of just such adventurers. Heroic adventurers gave Greece her civilization; sainted adventurers gave Rome her Christianity; the glorified adventurers celebrated in history established in Western Europe those laws and

[1] That he was an *adventurer* was frequently flung at McGee by the more narrow-minded among his Canadian opponents.

liberties which we are all endeavouring to perpetuate in America. Let us rather, then, as adventurer has lost its true meaning, let us rather look upon the emigrant, wherever born and bred, as a founder, as a greater than kings and nobles because he is destined to conquer for himself, and not by the hired hands of other men, his sovereign dominion over some share of the earth's surface. He is the truest founder who plants his genealogical tree deep in the soil of the earth, whose escutcheon bears what Cowley so happily called the best shield of nations—"a plough proper in a field arable."....

I can say for myself most truly, though not at all insensible either to the favour of my constituents or my colleagues in this House, that if I were quitting public life or personal life to-morrow, I would feel a far higher satisfaction in remembering that some honest man's sheltering roof-tree had been raised by my advocacy, than if I had been Premier or Governor of the Province.

CHAPTER XIII

THE IRISH-CANADIAN

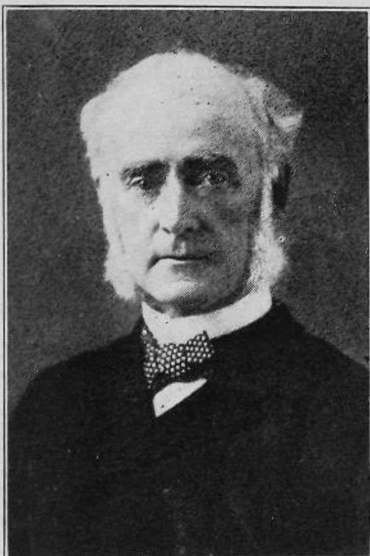
The welcome extended by Montreal to Thomas D'Arcy McGee on his arrival in Canada was a royal one. Irishmen threw politics to the wind to do him honour. They had felt of late that their voice and their will had too little weight in the nation. When their petition to grant an amnesty to Smith O'Brien was sent around, L. T. Drummond, then the Attorney-General East, and a Catholic native of Londonderry whom they looked upon as their champion, would not support it. This was a sore disappointment. Many of the Irish in Montreal had been active in their sympathy with the Irish League and the Young Ireland movement. In D'Arcy McGee they saw a leader who would be one with them.

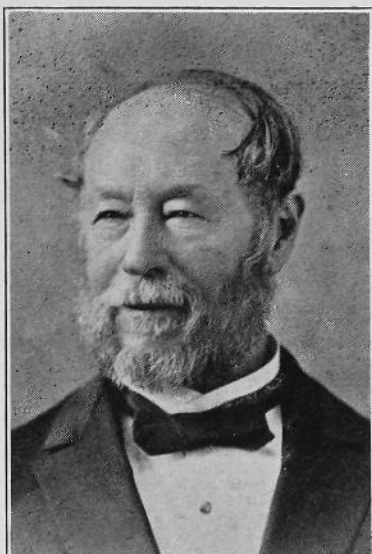
And worthily did McGee return their favour and confidence. He won credit for his countrymen by his ability, and his tactful spirit of conciliation. A Young Ireland poem he frequently quoted gives a happy rendering of his aim:

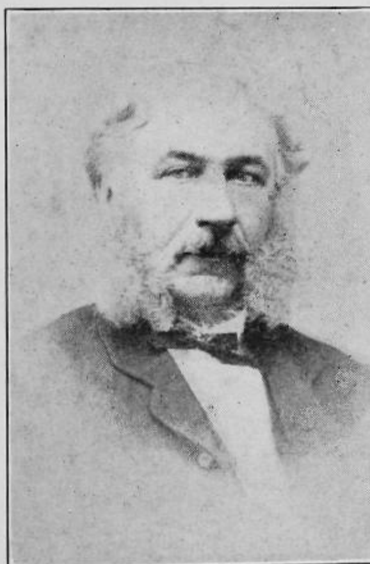
For oh! it were a glorious deed
To show before mankind,
How every class and every creed
Could be by love combined—
Could be combined, nor yet forget
The fountains whence they rose,
As filled with many a rivulet
The stately Shannon flows.

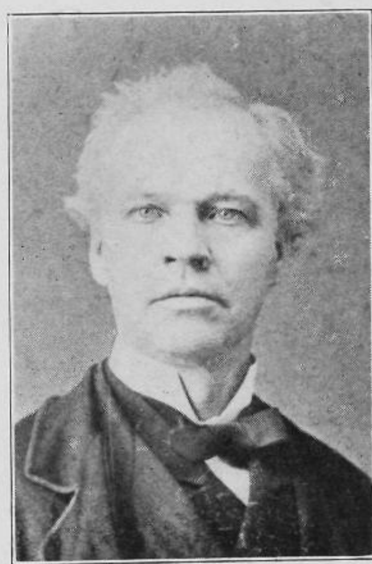
That it might be Canadian wholly in application, he made the last line:

The proud St. Lawrence flows.









FOUR MONTREAL FRIENDS OF McGEE

p. 12

Sir William Hingston
Thomas Workman
James Donnelly
Matthew P. Ryan

Another evidence of his interpretation of the spirit of moderation as the greatest gift which could be given his Irish brethren, Catholic and Protestant, was the inclusion of his apostrophe to the River Boyne in his *Canadian Ballads.* It had been written in 1851 for Tenant League days, but was equally applicable to Canada in 1858:

Bride of Lough Ramor, gently seaward stealing,
In thy placid depths hast thou no feeling
Of the stormy gusts of other days?

. . . .

Well if the peace thy bosom did recover
Had breathed its benediction broadly over
Our race, and rites, and laws.[1]

McGee's earliest endeavours to help his countrymen were directed against the excesses of Orangeism. In the fifties, if there was to be peace between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in Upper Canada, the belligerent element in that society had to be restrained. *The Freeman* reported that in 1857 the Orangemen burned a Catholic church at Normanby in Grey County, and another at Mount Forest, and literally perforated the one at Arthur with bullets. The occurrences in Toronto on St. Patrick's Day, 1858, have been told, as well as why the Catholics felt justice had miscarried in that trial and in other similar cases. And the proofs of McGee's undoubted success in smothering down this hostility have also been given.

However, McGee in Parliament could accomplish nothing without the help of politicians and parties. Of necessity, hehad to unite with definite parties to attain definite ends.

[1] It is difficult to refrain from including the following stanza. It is such a charming example of McGee's commemoration of Irish place-names:

The thrush and linnet fled beyond the mountains,
The fish in Inver Colpa sought their fountains,
The unchased deer ran through Tredagh's gates
St. Mary's bells in their high places trembled
And made a mournful music, which resembled
A hopeless prayer to the unpitying fates.

As men and questions in Parliament were then divided, this work for Irish Catholics was largely done in conjunction with Reformers. This was particularly true of Toronto. After the "thrusting out" of the Brown-Dorion Government, George Brown ran against John Hillyard Cameron in Toronto and defeated him through the help of McGee's reasoning with the Irish Catholics. Cameron was at the time one of the highest officers in the Orange order. McGee put his case thus:

I do not speak about what either of them has been or has done or has said in the past. Mr. Brown has his strong Protestant prejudices; but he has uttered his opinions and prejudices like a man, at all times fearlessly, fiercely and without compromise....he has been born and bred in hostility to Popery and is satisfied to die in that faith.....But his religious antipathy lies in the interior of the man, it stands in no need of daily exercise to keep it alive, rarely except by aggression is it aroused, and while it slumbers, the native sense of justice burns strong and bright above its vaulted chambers.....You have long cherished sentiments the opposite of friendly to Mr. Brown, but you see in him at this moment the victim of executive injustice. You see the fearless detector of the financial crimes and blunders of the Ministry. You see in him the mark for every petty official's malignant falsehood. You will make a conquest of yourselves and do justice to the man who is contending for the rights of the people of Canada. You will help to send him back to his seat in Parliament, where he will meet his antagonists face to face. Gentlemen, you will do what is always timely, always wise, always well to do, you will do justice. And you will have your reward. Mr. Brown has never hoisted on this soil those Irish party colours which ought to have withered where first they grew. But Mr. Cameron, the Right Worshipful, robed and coronetted Grand Master!—

As has been seen, D'Arcy McGee's championing of Brown appeared a crime in the eyes of *The True Witness*. Moreover, it was an obnoxious dose for hitherto Conservative Irish supporters like Bernard Devlin and Dr. Howard. They had stood by McGee in the making of the alliance with Dorion and Holton, but yet their old leanings were towards Cartier, and, above all, hostile to Brown. They liked to believe that their member, McGee, was largely Independent, and no doubt had a hope that some new party grouping in the near future would bring him into the Conservative fold. Therefore there was dissembled sympathy in some quarters

with *The True Witness* attack, and a very hostile politico-religious crusade was initiated.

The Freeman of Toronto supported McGee. It set about at once making it quite clear what was his position and who were his enemies. The result of its detective work was thus made public:

> We succeeded in dragging from ambush the master spirit of discord; the anonymous writer who assailed Mr. McGee turned out to be Mr. Devlin..... There is an old Irish saying, if you place one Irishman on a spit you can always get another to turn him. If Mr. McGee escapes the spit, he need not thank some Irishmen in Montreal.....Because Mr. McGee opposes the Cartier Ministry, votes sometimes with George Brown and admits the principle of Representation by Population, he must be driven out of Montreal and beat a retreat to some Upper Canada constituency. His place is to be taken by a Montreal lawyer or doctor.

Le Courrier de St. Hyacinthe also gave the same interpretation of events.

Thus it was that almost at the outset of his Canadian political career McGee found a faction arising against him in Montreal, with Bernard Devlin looked upon as its leader. Before McGee's arrival Devlin had in many ways held the leading place among his countrymen. Particularly was he popular among the rank and file of his own faith. He had a fluent, if flamboyant, style of oratory which made him an effective speaker with crowds, and particularly so if they sympathized with a sectional view of affairs. He gave a great deal of time and attention to Irish Catholic organizations, whether for charity or for social or religious or political ends. He was a prominent member and frequently an office-holder of St. Patrick's Society, St. Patrick's Benevolent Society, St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Society, the Catholic Young Men's Society, and St. Anne's Catholic Young Men's Society. He had been the representative from St. Anne's Parish, Griffintown, to the Buffalo Convention and also one of the Vice-Presidents of the Irish League in Montreal in 1848. In August of that year, he was the delegate to New York to raise funds for the aid of the insurrection in Ireland. He always maintained that his opinion on the politics of that day had not changed. This was another

bond of union between him and many Irishmen of Montreal. Moreover, Devlin as a criminal lawyer was making steady progress. By 1864 he had attained such a reputation that he was chosen as the chief defender of the Southerners implicated in the St. Alban's Raid. He conducted their case so cleverly that the action was discharged in Montreal and all the prisoners but one discharged again in Toronto. Naturally D'Arcy McGee's arrival and pronounced success blocked several avenues wherein Devlin might frankly have looked forward to gathering fresh laurels. McGee even invaded his profession, and, had he continued to devote himself to it, his beginning augured great distinction. A letter from the Montreal correspondent of *The Globe* on April 7th, 1862, speaks of him thus:

> Mr. McGee has made his first appearance as a counsel in the Court of Queen's Bench. The case was one of murder, and the prisoner was acquitted of the charge on the ground that he had committed the act (the killing of his wife) when labouring under temporary insanity brought on by smallpox. The judge complimented Mr. McGee on the able and brilliant manner in which he had conducted the defence. I may state, that Mr. McGee was never so popular as he is here at present....A countryman of Mr. McGee's who hopelessly aims at being the leader of the Irish bar, feels exceedingly jealous of him, but his influence is nowhere.

It is not necessary to pursue this growing jealousy and hostility through its various stages. It is enough to say that as the years passed, it ceased to be merely a personal affair and became the basis of a political party which organized an aggressive press support. It will be sufficient illustration of the divergence of the two camps by 1866 to compare the published accounts of St. Patrick's Day celebration that year. The city press of Montreal agreed in picturing a most successful demonstration, graced by the Governor-General and many of the Cabinet Ministers and the presidents of other national societies, as well as by the mayor and other prominent citizens. It would be inferred that there had not been the slightest jarring note to mar the day from its outset, when the Reverend Father O'Farrell preached his morning sermon to the celebrants on Christian charity, brotherly love, and the duties of faithful, loyal sub-

jects. All the city press likewise emphasized what a wonderfully fine address McGee gave. He spoke in one of his happiest veins; his treatment was deft and occasionally humorous, but his subject matter, the growth and prosperity of the Irish in Montreal, was sound and authoritative, and based on careful research. He was greeted by prolonged cheers both before and after. Again, at the close he was included in the three cheers given "for old Ireland, the Governor-General, Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Hon. Mr. McGee, and the respected President of the Society, B. Devlin, Esq." Such was the unquestionably fair and generally accepted account of McGee's part in the day. However, there was another. It was totally different in its emphasis. It was, in *The Irish Canadian* version, in part, as follows:

> Our President, B. Devlin, Esq., addressed the assembled thousands. His remarks were, as usual, Irish, Catholic, and manly, for he is one of those who, while knowing his duty to his adopted country, forgets not the love and affection, as an Irishman, he owes to the country of his birth. He is one of those who is not confined to lip-loyalty or place-loyalty, but whose acts are a pure vindication of his character both as an Irishman and a Canadian.....The city papers say, "Mr. McGee, who was loudly called for, came forward." Now Mr. McGee was called for only by two or three flunkeys who everybody in the place could see, as they opened their mouths in the deathlike agony calling McGee, who at their request, and while the President had actually risen from the chair to close the proceedings, intruded himself, notwithstanding that the President had distinctly stated *no other person but himself* would be allowed to speak that evening. But he merely usurped the right of the President, who told him so in a look that he will not forget.....His address was all that might be required, and delivered by any one but McGee would have been vociferously cheered. But there he stood addressing an audience that only showed their contempt for him by mocking him—repeating the words he had spoken.

In *The Irish Canadian's* account of the St. Patrick's procession in the same year, it also endeavoured to throw a slur upon McGee. When trying to quell the strife between Orangemen and Catholics in Toronto in 1858, McGee had counselled the Catholics to forego their procession, and in that way public opinion would come to frown down upon Orangemen if they continued their antagonistic demonstration. *The Irish Canadian* now harked back to this advice:

A grand procession, a grand concert, and more imposing than ever, was the answer when cowardly anti-national and weak and corrupt minds.. ..did all they could....to turn us away from home and fatherland, and to smother up the many noble aspirations and holy longings that impress the soul of the Irishman on that day.....No avail.....Ah, McGee, where was your influence then? Although a good number of tavern-keepers worked hard in your cause and their own too, you were—defeated! Alas! "this draggletail procession" will be persisted in....

As is no doubt suggested in these paragraphs from *The Irish Canadian,* the hostility to McGee was largely based on his constantly emphasizing "loyalty" among the Irish. It was a word, when used by a fellow-Irishman, which awoke detested associations with Old Land politics, and it could always be twisted to yield a great deal of political capital. And from the outset of his Canadian work *loyal* and *loyalty* were repeatedly recurring in McGee's Irish vocabulary. There were three important roots which nourished this idea for him. In the first place, there was his old Irish contention, which he had tried to make attractive for other Young Irelanders, that the allegiance of England and of Ireland to a common sovereign was rooted deep in history, going back to 1541. As he expressed this, "the golden link of the Crown was a most useful bond."[1] The second reason for his stressing loyalty, as he used the term, was his belief that in the present as in the past, monarchy had its part to play, and that not least for Irishmen constitutional monarchy was preferable to republicanism. In writing to accept the Presidency of the Loyal Irish Society of Canada West, in October, 1861, he gave clear expression to this idea:

I can see no objection to the addition of the word *Loyal* to the title. In Canada, at present, the Crown is neither a hard taskmaster nor an invidious patron of one set of its people to the prejudice of another. Whoever, therefore, is not loyal amongst us must possess a mind predisposed to turbulence.....This is no new-born feeling on my part. Long before the present storm burst over our republican neighbours.....I avowed my anxiety to see the monarchical principle, modified by liberal representative institutions, get a fair trial north of Niagara....I desire to see the Constitutional Monarchy and the Federative Republic working amicably side by side as the two freest forms of government mankind has yet endeavoured to establish.

[1] See Chapter IV for letter to Smith O'Brien on this subject.