CHAPTER XIII.

TESTIMONIAL FROM POLITICAL FRIENDS.—MARRIAGE.—DEATH OF MR. BROWN, SENIOR.

In 1858 a movement was commenced to present Mr. Brown with some kind of testimonial in token of the appreciation of the services rendered to the liberal party for many years. After the proposal had been partly acted upon in the city and in some parts of the country districts, a meeting of the promoters was held in the city of Toronto, when the following resolutions were passed:

1. That the fund collected, and the moneys which may be hereafter received for the proposed testimonial, shall be appropriated to the erection of a suitable building for a publishing office, to be presented to the Hon. George Brown as a mark of the high sense entertained by his political friends of the long, faithful, and important services which he has rendered to the people of Canada.

2. That Messrs. William McMaster, John McMurrich, W. P. Howland, John Macdonald, Samuel Spreull, and William Henderson form a committee to select a site for the erection of such building, to make purchase thereof or procure an advantageous lease for that purpose, and carry out all necessary arrangements for the completion of the testimonial; and the treasurer is herby empowered to pay over the moneys collected upon the order of the chairman and any two members of the committee.

In accordance with these resolutions, the subscriptions were devoted to the erection of the part of the *Globe* structure fronting on King Street, containing the counting rooms, offices and editorial rooms, and formally presented to Mr. Brown. This recognition of his disinterested zealous labours on behalf of popular rights was peculiarly pleasing to him, not because of the amount of money required or contributed—for he deprecated any laboured effort to bring the scheme extensively before the public—but because so many leading reformers in this way fully acknowledged their obligations as a party to his active labours, at a time when so many leading men had failed to recognize the duties and responsibility devolving upon them as public men, trusted by the people on account of their professions.

Early in July, 1862, Mr. Brown left Canada for a lengthened sojourn in Europe to recruit his strength and obtain some relaxation from the cares and anxieties of his arduous labours. While on his visit to Scotland, one of the great events of his life happened. On the 27th of November of that year he was joined in marriage to Miss Anne Nelson, daughter of the late well known publisher, Mr. Thomas Nelson, and sister of the present publishers, Thomas, William and James, and

of the late Rev. Dr. John Nelson, of Greenock. He shortly afterwards returned to Canada with greatly improved health, but rather averse to again entering parliament.

When the new parliament met in March, 1862, Mr. Brown was without a seat, having declined all the seats offered him. The Cartier-Macdonald government was tottering to its fall. Vigorous attacks were made by the opposition on several questions, and at last they fell on a vote respecting the militia. At the time of their defeat Mr. Foley was nominally leader of the Ontario opposition. Practically the leadership was in commission. The Governor-General did not send for Mr. Foley, but for Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, although that gentleman had adopted views hostile to the main plank of the reform platform, representation by population, substituting therefor his plan of government by having a majority in each half of the province. Mr. Brown strongly opposed the formation of any government that did not provide for a reform of the representation. The liberal members at their caucus declined to support the government on the double majority principle, but agreed on all things else to support it. This qualified support, Mr. Brown's opposition, and Mr. Dorion's early resignation, weakened it so much that it became necessary in 1863 to make some changes, which gradually brought it into greater harmony with the party generally. When reconstructed in 1863, Mr. Brown gave the government his active support. Early in May Dr. Connor, member for South Oxford, was appointed Judge, and Mr. Brown, at the urgent solicitation of his friends, consented to re-enter parliament as member for that county. The reconstruction of the ministry by the introduction of Messrs. Holton, Mowat, Dorion, Letellier and Thibaudeau was largely the work of Mr. Brown, and as the representation question was to be an open question with the government, the double majority scheme being tacitly abandoned, he gave his influence in parliament and in the *Globe* strongly in its favour. Merely making the representation question an open one was not considered a sufficient advance on Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's previous policy, but it was clear to Mr. Brown that nothing could then be obtained in advance of that at this time, though various indications might be seen that concessions on the representation question might be proposed by more than one party in the House at no distant day. The Lower Canada leaders could not go further, and the Premier was believed to be ready to make propositions to other quarters unless his proposals were accepted. The weakness, however, was incurable, and the elections of 1863 added no perceptible strength to the government. The fall session of 1863 was got through with some difficulty; but in 1864 it became clear that the government could not effectively conduct the legislation and business

of the country with only a majority of one or two, and rather than continue such a struggle, the ministry resigned on the 21st of March.

Mr. Brown, senior, died in 1863. He was a noble old man, and universally beloved wherever he was known. Dr. Burns, of Halifax, says of him: "He was a fine-looking old man as I remember "him, and wielded a trenchant, vigorous pen; his acquaintance with "ecclesiastical and general subjects was extensive and accurate." He always took a very active part in discussions on church matters, and occasionally took part in public meetings called to discuss the affairs of King's College or the clergy reserves, in which subjects he, as an anti-state churchman, took an active interest. He took a prominent part in inducing the elder Dr. Burns to settle in Toronto in 1845. The doctor and Mr. Brown were not, however, always able to agree on church questions, or, perhaps it might with more propriety be said, they were very seldom able to agree. Both had very decided views; neither were slow to give their views expression by voice or pen, and even on such questions the layman would not yield to the churchman. The result was that some amusing controversies took place between the two, in which the minister was not always the victor. On one occasion Mr. Brown presided over some social gathering connected with church affairs, after experiencing some trouble from his clerical friend, when he alluded to Dr. Burns' first visit to Canada as a Free Church deputy, and to a similar gathering in Dr. Burns' honour. On that occasion, said Mr. Brown, "we accompanied him to "the ship, sorrowing most of all that we should see his face no more:" adding in an undertone, "we did, however, see his face again." The doctor's quick ear heard these words, and he called out, "Ay, did "you, to your sorrow." When Mr. Brown was very ill a warm personal friend called to see him, and after a little conversation he asked the invalid if his mind was at peace with God, and what were the grounds of his hope. Mr. Brown shaded his face with his hand, and, after a short pause, repeated Cowper's beautiful lines:

"Since the dear hour which brought me to Thy foot,
And cut up all my follies by the root,
I never trusted in an arm but Thine,
Nor hoped but in Thy righteousness divine;
My prayers and alms, imperfect and defiled,
Were but the feeble efforts of a child;
Howe'er performed, it was their brightest part
That they proceeded from a grateful heart;
Cleansed in Thine own all purifying blood,
Forgive their evil and accept their good.
I cast them at Thy feet; my only plea
Is what it was—dependence upon Thee:
While struggling in the vale of tears below,
That never failed, nor shall it fail me now."

This was the only answer he made to the all-important question. What need for more? Few men were more missed by a large circle of devoted friends, personal and political. His health had been seriously impaired by the loss of a beloved daughter, Miss Catherine Brown, who was killed a few years before in a railway accident at Syracuse, when on a journey from New York with her father. This tragic event touched father and mother very deeply, and saddened their declining years. His habitual cheerfulness, nevertheless, brightened his face and warmed his manner to the last. Mr. George Brown's chivalric devotion to his father has been already referred to; his tenderness towards him might be daily witnessed. Father and son might be seen any day going to or returning from the office to the home on Church Street, the father leaning heavily on the son's arm; attention was often called to the care taken by the stalwart son of the aged father.

The elder Mr. Brown's general information, his genial humour, and his fund of anecdote, made his company of an evening very delightful, and of course caused him to be all the more missed in the office and the home.

CHAPTER XIV.

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.—CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES PROPOSED.

Towards the close of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's official life as Premier, the reciprocity treaty with the United States excited much attention, as notice had been given, or was about to be given, by the United States to terminate it as soon as its terms permitted. Mr. Macdonald asked Mr. Brown to visit Washington, and see the public men there respecting the continuance of the treaty. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald addressed the following letter to Mr. Brown:—

QUEBEC, January 7th, 1864.

MY DEAR BROWN,—The agitation in congress, as well as the action of some of the northern states, point unmistakably to the termination of the reciprocity treaty. You can well imagine this has not escaped the attention of the government. If we have abstained thus far from indicating by any public announcement the policy to be adopted, or from taking steps either by representing the anxiety we feel to the home government, or to the British minister at Washington, with a view to imperial action, it is because we were waiting the result of events which we could not control. The aspect in which the matter now presents itself admonishes us to prepare for the fight. We have considered that the first movement to be made is to select a competent individual who could be entrusted to deal with the subject at Washington, and who by his position could approach all parties at that capital. By the freedom of the intercourse thus afforded, it is conjectured that much of the existing prejudice against the treaty would be greatly modified.

I need scarcely tell you that one and all of my colleagues point to you as possessing all the qualifications required for that highly important mission. I am authorized to bespeak your co-operation in any way you may feel disposed to lend it towards maintaining the treaty as it is; or, if that should be impracticable, to promote the best terms that can be secured in any new arrangement that may be agreed upon as the basis of a fresh treaty. I may add that it will be a source of regret to me to learn that anything should stand in the way of your accepting this important mission, connected with which there would be an amount of responsibility which you are eminently fitted to assume, and for which the Canadian people would feel grateful in proportion to the magnitude of the task imposed on you. I shall be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Believe me, yours faithfully,

(Signed), J. S. MACDONALD.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Toronto.

P.S.—I may mention that during an interview I had with Mr. Seward in New York, he strongly recommended this course to be taken early—namely, having a *quasi* political agent to remain at Washington for some months, with whom he and Lord Lyons could confer informally from time to time on matters concerning Canada.

J. S. M

To this letter Mr. Brown sent the following reply:

TORONTO, January 25, 1864.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,—Your letter of the 7th on the subject of the American reciprocity treaty reached me on Saturday, and, late though it be, I am very glad to learn that you intend now to take action in regard to it. It appears to me that the importance to Canada of maintaining the treaty can hardly be overrated; and that to secure its renewal we should be prepared to discuss all reasonable suggestions for its modification. I think that the clamour against the treaty has been allowed to go too long unchecked, and that no further time should be lost in communicating the views of the Canadian government not only to the executive at Washington, but to the present members of the senate and house of representatives, in whose hands the fate of the treaty now apparently rests.

I think that the working of the treaty in all its relations should be clearly brought out, and placed under the attention of all the members of congress, and especially that the committees of both chambers charged with the subject should be frankly told that while the people of the United States have profited by the treaty quite as much as the people of Canada, we are desirous for its renewal, and are prepared to discuss any modifications they may propose.

It might not be without advantage, moreover, to have the Canadian view of the whole subject placed clearly before the Boards of Trade of New York, Boston, Chicago, and other places. But there is a difficulty in doing all this. The renewal or modification of the treaty is an imperial matter; the negotiations must be carried on through the imperial authorities, and no doubt Lord Lyons will desire to conduct them in his own way and according to his own ideas. Unless his views have recently undergone a change, I believe he thinks we should not move in the matter at all. I know that was his opinion very recently. But even if his views have undergone a change, and he is prepared to move in the matter, the negotiation must be in his hands. All that we can do here, I apprehend, is to place before Lord Lyons the wishes of the Canadian government, and co-operate with him in his efforts to give them effect.

It appears to me Mr. Holton is the man best fitted to do this. From his commercial training and his knowledge of the subject, and the men he would have to deal with, Mr. Holton would be of the greatest service in the negotiations, and his official position as Minister of Finance would give him a standing at Washington that no unofficial person could possibly have. He would be in a position to speak officially the views of the government, and to say at once what modifications could or could not be assented to.

The matter is of such vast importance to the province that I think no consideration should prevent Mr. Holton assuming this duty at once and carrying it through. As regards myself, I do not doubt that in some respects I could be of service in the negotiations. But, in the first place, Mr. Holton is the proper person to be sent to Washington; in the second place, I do not see how any unofficial person could be placed in a position at Washington that he could accept; and in the third place, it would be exceedingly inconvenient for me to be absent from home for any length of time at present. I purpose going to Europe early in the approaching summer, and it will require every spare hour before leaving to arrange my affairs for a lengthened absence. But while I cannot see my way to undertake the duty you proffered to me, I feel more deeply anxious on the subject of the reciprocity treaty, and if Mr. Holton goes to Washington, I will gladly lend him all the aid, personally and otherwise, that I possibly can.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. J. S. MACDONALD, Quebec.

The proposed negotiations at this time never assumed any shape. They were proceeded with eighteen months afterwards under other auspices, and proved abortive. In the eventful session of the Canadian parliament about to open, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's government received the full support of Mr. Brown. The conservative opposition showed their usual disregard of everything but what would most embarrass the government. The government again got tired of never-ending senseless discussion involving little but the ascendancy of the one side or the other, and though it might have survived the session, it is doubtful if any useful legislation could have been passed. Their resignation was not universally approved by the liberal party, and it may be doubted whether it was in a tactical sense a wise movement. It did, however, lead at once to the event which precipitated the constitutional changes which were so soon to be concreted in the British North America Act forming the present federal union of all the provinces. On the 30th of March a new conservative government was formed under Sir E. P. Taché. This administration had a very precarious existence; indeed, only succeeded in living a day by the purchase of two members of the liberal party by office. In the meantime Mr. Brown obtained a committee of the leading members of both sides of the House to "consider the best means of settling the "constitutional changes which might be recommended, to avoid "trouble." The committee consisted of Messrs. John A. Macdonald, Galt, Cartier, Chapais, Street, J. H. Cameron, Turcotte and McGee, from the conservative side; and Messrs. J. S. Macdonald, Mowat, Holton, McKellar, Scoble, McDougall and Brown, from the liberal side. The report was presented at the opening of the House on the 14th.

Mr. Brown—from the select committee appointed to inquire into the important subjects embraced in a dispatch to the colonial minister addressed to him on the 2nd day of February, 1859, by the Hon. G. E. Cartier, the Hon. A. T. Galt, and the Hon. John Ross, then members of the executive council of this province, while in London acting on behalf of the government of which they were members, in which they declared that "very grave difficulties now present themselves in conducting the government of Canada in such a manner as to show due regard to the wishes of its numerous population." That "differences exist to an extent which prevents any perfect and complete assimilation of the views of the two sections." That "the progress of population has been more rapid on the western section, and claims are now made on behalf of its inhabitants for giving them representation in the legislature in proportion to their numbers." That "the result is shown by an agitation fraught with great danger to the peaceful and harmonious working of our constitutional system, and consequently detrimental to the progress of the province;" and that "the necessity of providing a remedy for a state of things that is yearly becoming worse, and of allaying feelings that are daily being aggravated by the contentions of political parties," has impressed the advisers of Her Majesty's representative in Canada with the importance of seeking for such a mode of dealing with these difficulties as may forever remove them, and the best means of

remedying the evils therein set forth—presented to the House the report of the said committee, which was read as followeth :

That the committee have held eight sittings and have endeavoured to find some solution for existing difficulties likely to receive the assent of both sections of the province. A strong feeling was found to exist among the members of the committee in favour of changes in the direction of a federative system, applied either to Canada alone, or to the whole British North American provinces, and such progress has been made as to warrant the committee in recommending that the subject be again referred to a committee at the next session of parliament.

The whole respectfully submitted.

GEO. BROWN, *Chairman.*

The Hon. John A. Macdonald, John S. Macdonald and John Scoble, alone opposed the adoption of this report.

The day after the committee came to the decision to make this report, the government was defeated on a motion of want of confidence, moved by Mr. Dorion. Mr. John A. Macdonald had on the previous day recorded his vote against the conclusion reached by the committee in favour of a solution of the constitutional crisis as one which both sections might agree to. The want of confidence motion in the government, of which he was a prominent member, quickened his perceptions, and a few hours sufficed to induce him to acknowledge the existence of a serious crisis, and the wisdom of meeting it by the very plan suggested by the committee, but which was promulgated by the reform convention in 1859 as an alternative to representation by population with the existing union.

The first use made of the victory by Mr. Brown, as the western leader, was to consider how to turn the defeat to account in securing the constitutional changes required. He consulted some of his most intimate friends and supporters with a view of ascertaining whether they would be disposed to abate the ordinary party advantages now in their grasp in order to achieve a more signal triumph in securing such constitutional changes as would effectually do justice to Upper Canada. Finding a general disposition prevailing to adopt his view, he next addressed himself to some government supporters—notably Mr. Morris, member for Lanark—suggesting that they should press on their leaders the wisdom of trying to come to some agreement on constitutional changes which could be accepted by east and west. The Lower Canadian liberals declined to be parties to any arrangement with the conservative government, preferring to allow the ordinary course to be pursued which must follow the defeat of a government. During the negotiations which succeeded the conversations alluded to, Mr. Brown was pained to have to act without the countenance or aid of his trusty allies from Lower Canada—a band of noble men under the lead of Messrs. Dorion and Holton; but he made every effort to induce them to join in the scheme to obtain a final settlement of sec-

tional troubles, and when they failed to respond, he could only go on without them; indeed, he was bound to do so in the interests of his own province. Many of the Upper Canadian members agreed, with much reluctance, to the negotiations, partly because they feared treachery on the part of the conservatives, and partly because it seemed probable that a separation from their Lower Canadian allies would be the result.

CHAPTER XV.

A Coalition Proposed.—Mr. Brown Urged to Enter the Ministry.—A Federal Union Resolved on.

Mr. Morris having reported to the conservative leaders Mr. Brown's conversations, on the following day, June 16th, Mr. John A. Macdonald asked if Mr. Brown would meet Mr. Galt and himself to discuss the situation and the proposed remedy. This was at once assented to, and a preliminary meeting was held next morning, at which Messrs. Macdonald and Galt appeared as a delegation from the defeated administration, authorized to invite Mr. Brown to strengthen them, with a view to their carrying on the government for the purpose of settling the sectional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada. When this proposal was made Mr. Brown at once informed them that nothing but the extreme urgency of the present crisis, and the hope of settling the sectional troubles of the province for ever, could, in his opinion, justify their meeting together with a view to common political action. . . . Mr. Brown then stated, on grounds purely personal, that it was quite impossible that he could be a member of any administration at present, and that even had this been otherwise, he would have conceived it highly objectionable that parties who had been so long and so strongly opposed to each other, as he and some members of the administration had been, should enter the same cabinet. He thought the public mind would be shocked by such an arrangement, but he felt very strongly that the present crisis presented an opportunity of dealing with this question that might never occur again. Both political parties had tried in turn to govern the country, but without success; and repeated elections only arrayed sectional majorities against each other more strongly than before. Another general election at this moment presented little hope of a much altered result; and he believed that both parties were far better prepared than they had ever been before to look the true cause of all the difficulties firmly in the face, and endeavour to settle the representation question on an equitable and permanent basis. Mr. Brown added that if the administration were prepared to do this, and would pledge themselves clearly and publicly to bring in a measure next session that would be acceptable to Upper Canada, the basis to be now settled and announced to parliament, he would heartily co-operate with them, and try to induce his friends—in which he hoped to be

successful—to sustain them until they had an opportunity of presenting their measure next session.

Mr. Macdonald replied that he considered it would be essential that Mr. Brown himself should become a member of the cabinet, with a view to give guarantees to the opposition and to the country for the earnestness of the government.

Mr. Brown rejoined that other members of the opposition could, equally with himself, give that guarantee to their party and the country by entering the government in the event of a satisfactory basis being arrived at. He felt that his position had been such for many years as to place a greater bar in the way of his entering the government than in that of any other member of the opposition.

Mr. Macdonald then said he thought it would be necessary that Mr. Brown himself should, in any case, be identified with the negotiations that would necessarily have to take place, and that if he did not himself enter the cabinet he might undertake a mission to the Lower Provinces, or to England, or both, in order to identify himself with the action of the Canadian government in carrying out the measure agreed upon.

It was then suggested by Mr. Brown, and agreed to, that all questions of a personal character, and the necessary guarantees, should be waived for the present, and the discussion conducted with a view of ascertaining if a satisfactory solution of the sectional difficulty could be agreed upon.

Mr. Brown asked what the government proposed as a remedy for the injustice complained of by Upper Canada, and as a settlement of the sectional troubles. Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Galt replied that their remedy was a federal union of all the British North American provinces; local matters being committed to local bodies, and matters common to all to a general legislature, constituted on the well understood principles of federal government.

Mr. Brown objected that this was uncertain and remote, as there were so many bodies to be consulted, and stated that the measure acceptable to Upper Canada would be parliamentary reform based on population, without regard to a separating line between Upper and Lower Canada.

Messrs. Macdonald and Galt said it would be impossible for them to accede to or for any government to carry such a measure, and that unless a basis could be framed on the federative principle suggested by the report of Mr. Brown's committee, it did not appear to them that anything could be settled.

Ultimately it was found that a compromise might probably be had in the adoption of the federal principle for all the provinces as the

larger question, or for Canada alone, with provision for the admission of the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory.

Mr. Brown contended that the Canadian confederation should be constituted first, in order that such securities might be taken in regard to the position of Upper Canada as would satisfy that section of the country, and that in the negotiations with the Lower Provinces, the interests of Upper Canada would in no case be overlooked.

It was then agreed to communicate to parliament that day, June 17th, a statement that the state of the negotiations warranted a hope of an ultimate understanding.

On the 19th, a general accord was reached, "that . . . as the "views of Upper Canada could not be met under our present system, "the remedy must be sought in the adoption of the federal principle."

At this stage of the negotiations Mr. Brown requested to have the views of the government in writing. This was done that same afternoon, Mr. Brown in the meantime seeing the Governor-General. The following memorandum, approved by the government and the Governor-General, was then given to him:

MEMORANDUM.—CONFIDENTIAL.

The government are prepared to state that immediately after the prorogation they will address themselves in the most earnest manner to the negotiations for a confederation of all the British North American provinces.

That, failing a successful issue to such negotiations, they are prepared to pledge themselves to legislation during next session of parliament for the purpose of remedying existing difficulties, by introducing the federal principle for Canada alone, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be hereafter incorporated into the Canadian system.

That, for the purpose of carrying on the negotiations, and settling the details of the proposed legislation, a royal commission shall be issued, composed of three members of the government and three members of the opposition, of whom Mr. Brown shall be one, and the government pledge themselves to give all the influence of the administration to secure to the said commission the means of advancing the great object in view.

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

Shortly after six the parties met at the same place, when Mr. Brown stated that . . . he had seen a sufficient number of his friends to warrant him in expressing the belief that the bulk of them would accept a measure for the federative union of the Canadas, with provision for admitting the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory. The proposal was then formally agreed to in the following terms, subject to the approval of His Excellency:

The government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session, 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 the government will seek, by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces and England, to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation, to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general legislature based upon the federal principle.

Mr. Brown then stated that, having arrived at a basis which he believed would be generally acceptable to the great mass of his political friends, he had to add, that as the proposition was so general in its terms, and the advantages of the measure depended on the details that might finally be adopted, it was the very general feeling of his friends that security must be given for the fairness of those details, and the good faith with which the whole movement would be prosecuted, by the introduction into the cabinet of a fair representation of his political friends.

Mr. Brown stated that he had not put this question directly to his friends, but that he perceived very clearly that this was the strong opinion of a large majority of them, and that his own personal opinion on this (to which he still adhered) was participated in by only a small number. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier and Galt, replied that they had of course understood, in proposing that Mr. Brown should enter the government, that he would not come alone, but that the number of seats at his disposal had not been considered by their colleagues. Mr. Brown was requested to state his views on this point, and he replied that the opposition were half of the House, and ought to have an equal influence in the government.

On Monday, June 21st, at 10.30 a.m., Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier and Galt, called on Mr. Brown, and they went together to the secretary's office; when Mr. Brown, having been asked how he proposed to arrange equal representation in the cabinet, replied that he desired to be understood as meaning four members for Upper Canada and two for Lower Canada, to be chosen by the opposition.

In reply, Messrs. Cartier and Galt stated that, so far as related to the constitution of the cabinet for Lower Canada, they believed it already afforded ample guarantees for their sincerity, and that a change in its *personnel* would be more likely to produce embarrassment than assistance, as the majority of the people of Lower Canada, both French Canadians and English, had implicit confidence in their leaders, which it would not be desirable to shake in any way. That in approaching the important question of settling the sectional difficulties, it appeared to them essential that the party led by Sir E. P. Taché should have ample assurance that their interests would be protected, which, it was feared, would not be strengthened by the introduction into the cabinet of the Lower Canada opposition.

Mr. Macdonald stated that, as regards Upper Canada, in his opinion

the reduction to two of the number of the gentlemen in the cabinet who now represent Upper Canada would involve the withdrawal of the confidence of those who now support them in the House of Assembly, but that he would be prepared for the admission into the cabinet of three gentlemen of the opposition, on its being ascertained that they would bring with them a support equal to that now enjoyed by the government from Upper Canada.

Mr. Brown asked in what manner it was proposed the six Upper Canada ministers should be selected. Was each party to have *carte blanche* in suggesting to the head of the government the names to be chosen? To which Mr. Macdonald replied, that as a matter of course he would expect Mr. Brown himself to be a member of the administration, as affording the best if not the only guarantee for the adhesion of his friends. That Mr. Macdonald, on Mr. Brown giving his assent, would confer with him as to the selection of the Upper Canada colleagues from both sides, who would be the most acceptable to their respective friends, and most likely to work harmoniously for the great object which alone could justify the arrangement proposed.

Mr. Brown then inquired what Mr. Macdonald proposed in regard to the Upper Canada leadership. Mr. Macdonald said that, as far as he was concerned, he could not with propriety, or without diminishing his usefulness, alter his position, but that he was, as he had been for some time, anxious to retire from the government, and would be quite ready to facilitate arrangements for doing so. Of course, he could not retire from the government without Sir E. P. Taché's consent.

Mr. Brown then stated that, without discussing the propriety or reasonableness of the proposition, he would consult his friends and give an early reply.

Immediately after this meeting Mr. Brown summoned a meeting of the Upper Canada opposition members, to whom he fully detailed all that had taken place between himself and the members of the government, and then invited them to consider what course the party would pursue. The following minutes give the proceedings, though not the discussion at length :

QUEBEC, June 21st, 1864.

A meeting of the Upper Canada opposition was held this day in the Kent House. Robert Bell, Esq., M.P.P., of Lanark, was called to occupy the chair.

Mr. Brown then gave a statement of the negotiation he had for some days carried on with the government respecting the reconstruction of the government, with a view to accomplish a settlement of the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada.

It was moved by Mr. Hope F. Mackenzie, seconded by Mr. McGivern, "That we approve of the course which has been pursued by Mr. Brown in the negotiations with the government, and that we approve of the project of a federal union of the Canadas, with provision for its extension to

the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory, as one basis on which the constitutional difficulties now existing could be settled."—Carried. Thirty-four voted for the motion, namely: Messrs. Ault, Bell (Lanark), Bowman, Brown, Burwell, Cowan, Dickson, Dunsford, Howland, McFarlane, McIntyre, Mackenzie (Lambton), Mackenzie (Oxford), McConkey, McDougall, McGivern, McKellar, Mowat, Munro, Notman, Parker, Ross (Prince Edward), Rankin, Rymal, Scoble, Smith (Durham), Smith (Toronto), Stirton, Thompson, Wallbridge (Speaker), Wallbridge (N. Hastings), Wells, White and Wright. The following members declined to vote either yea or nay, namely: Messrs. Biggar, MacDonald (Glengarry), MacDonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Toronto), and Scatcherd.

It was moved by the Hon. J. S. Macdonald, "That the proposition for at least three members of the opposition entering the government be accepted."

Mr. Mackenzie (of Lambton) moved in amendment, "That the proposition for three members entering the cabinet be rejected, and that the proposition for the settlement of sectional difficulties receive an outside support."

Mr. Mowat suggested that a division be taken on the understanding that those voting "yea" were in favour of the first proposition, and those voting "nay" were in favour of the second proposition.—Agreed to.

The yeas and nays were then taken as follows: Yeas—Messrs. Ault, Bell, Dunsford, Howland, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacDonald (Cornwall), McFarlane, McConkey, McDougall, McGivern, McIntyre, Munro, Notman, Parker, Rankin, Ross (Prince Edward), Rymal, Smith (Toronto), Smith (Durham), Stirton, Thompson, Wallbridge (Speaker), Wallbridge (N. Hastings), Wells, White and Wright—26. Nays—Messrs. Bowman, Brown, Burwell, Cowan, Dickson, Mackenzie (Lambton), Mackenzie (Oxford), McKellar, Mowat, Scatcherd and Scoble—11. Mr. Macdonald (Toronto) declined to vote.

Moved by Hon. Mr. MacDonald, of Cornwall, "That it is all important that Mr. Brown should be one of the 'party' to enter the cabinet."—Carried unanimously, with the exception of Mr. Scatcherd, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Burwell.

Moved by Mr. White, and carried unanimously, "That Mr. Brown be requested to continue the negotiations with the government."

R. BELL, *Chairman.*

Another meeting was held on Tuesday, 22nd, by Mr. Brown and the Messrs: Taché, Macdonald, Cartier, and Galt, when Mr. Brown informed these gentlemen that his friends had authorized him to continue the negotiations.

A further meeting was held at 8.30 p.m., at which the details of the arrangements, in case Mr. Brown and his friends accepted office, were discussed at great length.

Mr. Brown contended strongly that the reformers should have a larger representation in the cabinet than three members. To which it was replied that the administration believed it was quite impossible to satisfy their own friends with a different arrangement.

Mr. Brown then asked if he could be sworn in as an executive councillor, without department or salary, in addition to the three departmental offices to be filled by his friends. Mr. Macdonald replied that the principle of equality would in this case be destroyed, and he was satisfied that it could not be done.

Mr. Brown asked if it was a *sine qua non* that he himself should enter the cabinet? To which it was replied, that to secure a successful issue to the attempt to settle the sectional difficulties, it was considered that Mr. Brown's acceptance of office was indispensable.

Mr. Brown then stated that it was now for him to consider what course he should pursue, entertaining as he still did the strongest repugnance to accepting office.

On Wednesday Mr. Brown met the same ministers, and informed them of his final decision, that he would consent to the reconstruction of the cabinet as proposed; but inasmuch as he did not wish to assume the responsibility of the government business before the House, he preferred leaving till after the prorogation the consideration of the acceptance of office by himself and the two gentlemen who might be ultimately selected to enter the administration with him.

Sir E. P. Taché and Mr. Macdonald thereon stated that after the prorogation they would be prepared to place three seats in the cabinet at the disposal of Mr. Brown.

The preceding narrative of the negotiations of Mr. Brown with the conservative leaders is nearly *verbatim* from the memoranda published at the time.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATION SCHEME.—DEATH OF SIR E. P. TACHE.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CABINET.

In the wisdom of Mr. Brown entering the coalition government the writer never concurred, but he yielded his opinion to the great majority who held otherwise. Mr. Brown himself also had misgivings of coming trouble, which were realized within eighteen months of the consummation of the coalition. In the meantime Mr. Brown was, on June 30th, sworn in as President of the Council, with Messrs. Mowat and McDougall as his colleagues (the latter being a selection very few desired), and devoted himself with great zeal to the promotion of the great scheme of political reform, or revolution, to which he and his friends committed themselves.

With other members of the government he visited the Lower Provinces during the summer, where he addressed meetings at Charlottetown, Halifax, and St. John. He returned in time to take part in the convention of the provincial delegates that assembled in Quebec on the 10th of October, where he took an active part in preparing the resolutions which formed the basis of the Confederation Act. Parliament met early in 1865, and as soon as the usual formalities could be disposed of, the scheme for reconstructing the government of the North American Provinces was brought up for discussion. The debate was a memorable one, for the ability which characterized it as much as for the importance of the questions which it decided. Mr. Brown's speech was a most able and exhaustive one. To him, as leader of the liberals, the position was a painful one. He was opposed by a large portion of his own friends from Lower Canada. Among all the sacrifices he made on public grounds, none were so great as the necessity laid upon him to be compelled to stand upon the opposite side to his old colleagues Messrs. Dorion, Holton, and their friends. The result of the debate was that the federal resolutions were carried by a vote of 91 to 33. Of the minority only eight were from Upper Canada, and of these eight, it will be observed that the names of several members are recorded who voted at the caucus of 1864 for Mr. Brown's scheme, and who asked him to enter the coalition cabinet.

It was no secret that His Excellency, Lord Monck, took a very lively interest in the proposed constitutional changes, and did all he

properly could do to secure the proposed unification of the British provinces under a federal system. During the interregnum—for it could hardly be said that there was a government in existence after the hostile vote—Lord Monck had several interviews with Mr. Brown with a view to induce him to set aside his scruples and act as a minister in securing the acceptance of the new system. Lord Monck was a thoroughly honest man, an upright Governor-General, and an enthusiastic lover of Canada. He was also, in British politics a well-known liberal. The opinions of such a man very naturally had much weight with public men generally. It may be too soon to discuss the full share he had in bringing influence to bear on the governments of some of the provinces, and possibly on individuals, but it may be accepted as incontrovertible that the means used and the influence exerted were such only as he was justified in using in a great crisis.

The following letter was written by His Excellency to Mr. Brown on the same day on which the liberal caucus was held, and materially influenced him in assuming the responsibilty which the liberal party from Ontario wished him to take on his shoulders.

QUEBEC, June 21, 1864.

MY DEAR MR. BROWN,—I think the success or failure of the negotiations which have been going on for some days, with a view to the formation of a strong government on a broad basis, depends very much on your consenting to come into the cabinet.

Under these circumstances, I must again take the liberty of pressing upon you by this note, as I have already often done verbally, my opinion of the grave responsibility which you will take upon yourself if you should refuse to do so.

Those who have hitherto opposed your views have consented to join with you in good faith for the purpose of extricating the province from what appears to me a very dangerous position.

They have frankly offered to take up and endeavour to settle, on principles satisfactory to all, the great constitutional question which you, by your energy and ability, have made your own.

The details of that settlement must necessarily be the subject of grave debate in the cabinet, and I confess I cannot see how you are to take part in that discussion, or how your opinions can be brought to bear on the arrangement of the question, unless you occupy a place at the council table.

I hope I may, without impropriety, ask you to take these opinions into consideration before you arrive at a final decision as to your own course.

Believe me to be, yours very truly,

(Signed,) MONCK.

HON. GEORGE BROWN.

At the close of the first session of 1865 Mr. Brown, with Mr. John A. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier and Mr. Galt, visited England to confer with the Imperial government on the proposed constitutional changes, commercial treaties and legislation, the consideration of the defences of Canada, arrangements for settlement of North-West Territory and Hudson Bay Company claims, and generally upon the critical state of

affairs by which Canada was at that time most seriously affected. The Canadian ministers were received with great cordiality in Britain, and especially by the Queen and royal family. The project of a federal union of the colonies was highly approved of by the Imperial authorities, "as (to use Mr. Cardwell's words) an object much to be "desired, that all the British North American colonies should agree "to unite in one government." The Lower Provinces had manifested strong objections to the union, though the Nova Scotia legislature had formally approved of it; and the British government undertook to press the wisdom of the measure upon them. However desirable it might be to embrace all the provinces, it was not right to apply any pressure. This was undoubtedly done by Mr. Cardwell, and doubtless at his instance Mr. Arthur Gordon, governor of New Brunswick, applied all the pressure in his power, and not very fairly. He succeeded, but at the expense of some keen feeling, in the expression of which by some Mr. Brown was unjustly blamed.

On the 30th day of July Mr. Taché, the Premier of the coalition government, died, and negotiations for the continuance or reconstruction of the government were commenced with Mr. Brown by Mr. Macdonald, who was the senior member. He desired to be Premier himself, but failing that, he was willing Mr. Cartier should be placed in that position. Mr. Brown, as leader of the liberal section, was bound to see that neither the reform party nor the policy agreed on were jeopardized by the new arrangements to be made. The following correspondence will best show the ground he took, supported by his two colleagues:

MINISTERIAL NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT CONSEQUENT ON THE DEATH OF SIR E. P. TACHÉ.

No. 1.—*Memorandum made 4th August, 1865, of Conversation held on the preceding day between Messrs. Macdonald and Brown.*

Mr. Macdonald, yesterday, sought an interview with Mr. Brown and informed him that His Excellency the Governor-General had sent for him that morning, and had stated his desire that the administration, as it was formed in 1864, should continue in office, with as few changes as possible, in order to carry out the policy announced by the government on its formation; that, with that view, His Excellency had expressed the opinion that the most obvious mode of supplying the place, vacated by the death of Sir Etienne Taché, would be for Mr. Macdonald to assume the position of First Minister, as being the senior member of the ministry; and that Mr. Cartier would, on the same principle, become the leader of the Lower Canadian section of the government; and that, for the purpose of carrying those views into effect, he had commissioned Mr. Macdonald to take the post of First Minister, at the same time requesting all the other ministers to retain their offices. Mr. Macdonald further informed Mr. Brown that he had assented to this proposition of His Excellency, and had seen Mr.

Cartier, who at once agreed to it. He then invited Mr. Brown to accede to the proposal of His Excellency.

Mr. Brown replied that he was quite prepared to enter into arrangements for the continuance of the government in the same position it occupied previous to the death of Sir Etienne Taché; but that the proposal now made involved a grave departure from that position. The government, heretofore, had been a coalition of three political parties, each represented by an active party leader, but all acting under one chief, who had ceased to be actuated by strong party feelings or personal ambitions, and who was well fitted to give confidence to all the three sections of the coalition that the conditions which united them would be carried out in good faith to the very letter. Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier, and himself (Mr. Brown) were, on the contrary, regarded as party leaders, with party feelings and aspirations; and to place any one of them in an attitude of superiority over the others, with the vast advantage of the premiership, would, in the public mind, lessen the security of good faith, and seriously endanger the existence of the coalition. It would be an entire change of the situation. Whichever of the three was so preferred, the act would amount to an abandonment of the coalition basis and a reconstruction of the government on ordinary party principles, under a party leader unacceptable to a large portion of those on whose support the existence of the ministry depended. Mr. Brown reminded Mr. Macdonald that when the coalition was formed, the liberal party in opposition constituted a majority of the House of Assembly; that, solely for the accomplishment of a great measure of reform essential to the peace and progress of the country, they had laid aside, for the time, party considerations, and consented to form a coalition with their opponents, on conditions which nothing but the strongest sense of public duty could have induced them to accept. He reminded Mr. Macdonald of the disadvantageous and embarrassing position he (Mr. Brown) and his colleagues, Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland, had occupied during the past year, united as they were with nine political opponents who held all the important departments of state; and he asked him to reflect in what light the liberal party must regard this new proposition to abandon their distinctive position, and place one of their chief opponents in the premiership, though his conservative supporters in parliament were much inferior, numerically, to the reform supporters of the coalition. Mr. Brown stated his conviction that the right mode of settling the question would be to invite some gentleman, of good position in the legislative council, under whom all the three great parties to the coalition could act with confidence, to become the successor of Colonel Taché. In no other way, he thought, could the position heretofore existing be continued. Mr. Brown concluded by saying that the proposal of Mr. Macdonald was palpably one for the construction of a new government, and that if the aid of the reform party of Upper Canada in the assembly were desired in its formation, a distinct statement of the policy of the new government must be made, and a definite proposition submitted. Speaking, however, for himself alone, he (Mr. Brown) occupied now precisely the ground that he had held in the negotiations of 1864; he stood prepared to give an outside but frank and earnest support to any administration that might be formed, pledged, like the coalition government, to carry through parliament, in the spring session of next year, either a measure for the final completion of the confederation scheme of the Quebec conference, or one for removing existing difficulties in Canada, by the introduction of the federal principle into the system of government, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the system.

Mr. Macdonald stated in answer that at the time the coalition was effected in 1864, Sir Etienne Taché held the position of Premier, with him (Mr. Macdonald) as leader of the Lower House, and of the Upper Canadian section of the government. That on reference to the memorandum con-

taining the basis of coalition, it will be seen that Mr. Brown at first preferred to support the government in its policy as then settled without entering the government, but that it was afterwards agreed, in deference to the wishes of his supporters and at the pressing instance of Mr. Macdonald, that he and two of his political friends should enter the government. These terms were acceded to, the offices that happened to be then vacant placed at Mr. Brown's disposal, and the coalition was completed. Mr. Macdonald further stated that Sir Etienne Taché was not selected at the time of the coalition, or as a part of the agreement for the coalition, as First Minister, but he had been previously and was then the head of the conservative government, and was accepted with all his Lower Canadian colleagues without change. That on the lamented decease of Sir Etienne, His Excellency had, without any previous communication of his opinion to him or (as he understood) to any one else, come to the conclusion that the best mode of carrying on the government was (as already stated) for Mr. Macdonald to take one step upward; that Mr. Cartier, as next in seniority, should do so also, and that the other arrangements should remain as before. That he (Mr. Macdonald) thought with His Excellency that this was the best solution of the matter, and could not but accede to it; that, however, he had no personal feeling in the matter, and that if he had, he thought it his duty to set aside such feeling for the sake of carrying out the great scheme, so happily commenced, to a successful issue. He therefore would readily stand aside and waive his pretensions, so that some other party than himself might be appointed to the premiership; that he thought Mr. Cartier should be that party; that after the death of Colonel Taché, Mr. Cartier, beyond a doubt, was the most influential man in his section of the country, and would be selected by the Lower Canadian supporters of the government as their leader; that neither Mr. Brown nor Mr. Macdonald could dictate to Lower Canada as to their selection of leader; that the Premier must be, according to usage, the leader or senior member either from Upper or Lower Canada; and that as he (Mr. Macdonald) had, in consequence of the position taken by Mr. Brown, waived his own pretensions, it followed that Mr. Cartier should be appointed as Prime Minister. Mr. Macdonald stated in conclusion that although he had no reason to suppose that His Excellency would object to the selection of Mr. Cartier, yet he must of course submit the proposition to him, and obtain His Excellency's assent to it.

Mr. Brown replied that in some of the views suggested by Mr. Macdonald, there was a difference between this proposition and the original one; but still that this, like the other, would be a proposal for the construction of a new government, in a manner seriously affecting the security held by the liberal party. Before saying anything upon such a proposition, however, were it formally made, he would desire to consult his friends, Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland.

The interview then terminated, and the following correspondence took place:

No. 2.—*Hon. John A. Macdonald to Hon. George Brown.*

QUEBEC, August 4, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,—Immediately after our conversation, the heads of which we have reduced to writing, I obtained His Excellency's permission to propose to you that Mr. Cartier, as being the leader of the ministerial majority of Lower Canada in parliament, should assume the position of Prime Minister, vacated by the death of Sir Etienne Taché, the other members of the administration continuing to hold their position and offices as before. All the Lower Canadian members of the council assent to this proposition, so do Mr. Campbell and myself; and I am sure I can also speak for Mr. Solicitor-General Cockburn, who is now absent.

May I request the favour of an early reply.

Believe me, my Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

HON. GEO. BROWN.

No. 3.—*Hon. George Brown to Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

QUEBEC, August 4, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of this afternoon, inviting me to retain my present position in a government to be formed under the premiership of Mr. Cartier. In reply I have now to state, after consultation with Messrs. Howland and McDougall, that we can only regard this proposition as one for the construction of a new government, in a manner seriously affecting the security heretofore held by the liberal party. Anxiously desirous as we are, however, that nothing should occur at this moment to jeopardize the plans of the coalition government on the constitutional question, we cannot assume the responsibility of either accepting or rejecting it without consultation with our political friends. This I am prepared to do without any delay, and to that end it will be necessary that I have clearly stated in writing the basis on which Mr. Cartier proposes to construct the new government.

I am, my Dear Sir, yours truly,

GEO. BROWN.

HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD.

No. 4.—*Hon. John A. Macdonald to Hon. George Brown.*

QUEBEC, Saturday, 5th August, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret to learn from your note of yesterday that you cannot assume the responsibility, without first consulting your political friends, of either accepting or rejecting the proposition that Mr. Cartier should be placed at the head of the government in the stead of the late Sir Etienne Taché, with the understanding that the rest of the council should retain their present offices and positions under him. I have conferred with Mr. Cartier on the subject, and we agree that, at this late hour, it would be highly inexpedient to wait for the result of this consultation.

Parliament is to assemble on Tuesday next, and in our opinion it would greatly prejudice the position of the government as well as the future prospects of the great scheme in which we are all engaged, if we met parliament with the administration in an incomplete state, and therefore with no fixed policy.

I have His Excellency's permission to state his concurrence in this view, and his opinion that the public interests require the immediate reconstruction of the ministry.

Under these circumstances, and to prevent the possibility of the scheme for the confederation of British North America receiving any injury from the appearance of disunion among those who coalesced for the purpose of carrying it into effect, Mr. Cartier and I, without admitting that there are any sufficient grounds for setting either of us aside, have agreed to propose that Sir Narcisse Belleau shall assume the position of First Minister and Receiver-General, *vice* Sir Etienne Taché; that the position and offices of the other members of the executive council shall remain as before; and that the policy of the government shall be the same as was laid before parliament in July, 1864, as the basis of the coalition which was then formed. His Excellency authorizes me to make this proposition, and expresses his desire for an early answer.

Believe me, my Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

HON. GEORGE BROWN.

No. 5.—*Hon. George Brown to Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

QUEBEC, 5th August, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your note of this afternoon was handed to me by Col. Bernard, and having communicated its contents to my colleagues, I now beg to state the conclusions at which we have arrived.

Without intending the slightest discourtesy to Sir Narcisse Belleau, we deem it right to remind you that we would not have selected that gentleman as successor to Sir Etienne Taché; but as he is the selection of Mr. Cartier and yourself, and as we are, equally with you, desirous of preventing the scheme for the confederation of British America receiving injury from the appearance of disunion among us, we shall offer no objection to his appointment.

I think, however, it will be necessary that Sir Narcisse Belleau shall have stated to him, and shall accept, in more distinct terms than you have indicated, the policy on which our coalition now rests. It is quite right that the basis of June, 1864, should be stated as the basis still, but he should also clearly understand the modification of that agreement, rendered necessary by succeeding events, and which was ratified by Sir Etienne Taché in March, 1865. The agreement of June, 1864, was as follows: "The government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the same system of government. And the government will 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 legislation, to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general legislature based upon the federal principle."

Sir Narcisse Belleau should understand that occurrences in the Maritime Provinces unfortunately prevented this agreement from being carried out, so far as regards time; that it became necessary to consider what course ought to be pursued in consequence of these occurrences; and that we came to an agreement that we should earnestly strive for the adoption of the scheme of the Quebec conference, but should we be unable to remove the objections of the Maritime Provinces in time to present a measure at the opening of the session of 1866 for the completion of the confederation scheme, we would then present to parliament, and press with all the influence of government, a measure for the reform of the constitutional system of Canada, as set forth in the above agreement of June, 1864.

I remain, my Dear Sir, yours truly,

HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD. GEO. BROWN.

No. 6.—*Hon. John A. Macdonald to Hon. George Brown.*

QUEBEC, August 7, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,—Sir Narcisse Belleau returned from the country yesterday, and I am happy to inform you that he has, though with great reluctance, acceded to the request of Mr. Cartier and myself, and accepted the position of First Minister, with the office of Receiver-General.

He accepts the policy of the late government, as stated in your note of Saturday to me, and adopts it as that which will govern his administration.

This policy will of course be announced in both Houses of parliament as soon as possible.

Believe me, faithfully yours,

HON. GEO. BROWN. JOHN A. MACDONALD.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Brown Advocates the Acquisition of the North-West Territory.—Withdrawal from the Government.—Confederation Accomplished.

Parliament met the day after the ministerial negotiations were completed for a brief session, or half session, of forty-one days. At the beginning of the session the report of the deputation of ministers to England, already alluded to, was submitted, with accompanying dispatches from Mr. Cardwell. Next to the all-absorbing question of confederation, Mr. Brown placed the annexation of the North-West Territory to Canada. An arrangement was finally made to accomplish this purpose, which was afterwards carried out. For twenty years he had steadily urged the vast importance to Canada of the acquisition of the northern and western territories, so long held in the hands of a grasping monopoly. For many years a portion of the Canadian press made light of the representations of Mr. Brown and the *Globe*. The company industriously circulated the impression that these territories were valuable chiefly as a hunting ground, and comparatively few people had any knowledge of the country. Fewer still had any faith in it as a valuable one, for actual and close settlement, beyond the banks of the Red River. For many years the late Sir George Cartier and his friends resolutely opposed all attempts to open up these regions for settlement, on the pitiful plea that its development would add to the political power of Ontario. The adoption of the federal system at once removed all petty objections to the immediate acquirement of these western lands, which are yet to add so much to the wealth of Canada. Mr. Brown, all through his agitation for the opening up of the North-West, derived much assistance from Mr. Isbester, of London, formerly of the North-West, to whom Canada is largely indebted for assistance in this matter. On the day parliament was prorogued Mr. Brown met with the other members of what was called the "confederate council," formed at the instance of the Imperial government, of delegates from all the provinces, for the consideration of commercial treaties. At this meeting certain resolutions were passed relating to trade with the West Indies and South America, the appointment of a commission to these countries, and another to Washington, all abortive in the end.

From the period when the discussions in this council terminated, there is no doubt that Mr. Brown felt his position irksome. The dispute regarding Sir E. P. Taché's successor had not improved the feeling of latent hostility towards Mr. Brown, which existed with Mr. Macdonald and some other members of the cabinet. The new Premier was a weak and vain man, totally unfit to hold the balance between men much his superior in mental power and political experience. Sir N. Belleau was, in fact, quite ignored by Mr. Macdonald. When Mr. Brown resigned it was Mr. Macdonald, not the Premier, who invited Mr. Howland to take Mr. Brown's place, so the nominally Tory leader nominated the new reform leader, as he after nominated Sir Francis Hincks to succeed Mr. Howland. Mr. Macdonald was not an ardent advocate for the constitutional changes soon to be inaugurated, and he adopted the new policy, not because he loved it, but because it afforded the most convenient, if not the only, method of retaining office, and the most likely to break the power of the liberal party by the gradual absorption of its members who might, for strictly coalition purposes, enter the spider's "parlour." There was no hope of influencing Mr. Brown, but something might be hoped from the other members, and, as a matter of fact, the other members were swallowed up and remained in the Tory family. The constant effort to obtain party advantages on the one side had to be borne by the other and weaker side, necessarily with impatience. "As streams "their channels deeper wear" so, in this instance, did the steady political attrition daily render his position more unpleasant. It was therefore with a sense of relief that he felt bound, a few weeks after the confederate council adjourned, to adopt such decided views on the question of reciprocity with the United States, against the views of his colleagues, as to render his resignation necessary. This was the immediate cause of his resignation. During Mr. Brown's absence from Ottawa on public business, Messrs. Galt and Howland were sent to Washington, and were negotiating there with the committee of ways and means. The ministers subsequently agreed to accept a scheme of concurrent legislation for the interchange of commodities instead of a treaty. Commercial intercourse by reciprocal legislation would inevitably derange our trade relations with the United States. Stability is an element that cannot be dispensed with in commerce, and so Mr. Brown considered. There can be no doubt, however, that Mr. Brown felt a personal slight was offered him when Mr. Howland was sent with Mr. Galt on a mission to promote reciprocity—when Mr. Howland, who was not a member of the confederate council on commercial treaties, was sent on such a mission, although Mr. Brown and Mr. Galt were the members of that council.

Mr. Brown felt that in leaving the government then he was not jeopardizing the confederation scheme. To use his own words, he thought "that confederation had even then reached that point where "no danger of its failure need be apprehended." It was true the great question had reached such a stage, but it is equally true that some important changes were afterwards made, and action in other matters adverse to the liberal party taken, which his presence would probably have prevented. Still, the resignation was not only justifiable but unavoidable. Strenuous efforts were made by some of his colleagues to induce him to remain. The following letter was sent by Mr. Cartier:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER,
OTTAWA, 19th Dec., 1865.

MY DEAR BROWN,—I have just called at your hotel with Campbell, with a view to have with you a friendly interview. We were very sorry and much disappointed to find that you were out. Both of us left our cards. We intend calling again this afternoon in the hope of being more successful. If perchance you happen to be in when this note reaches you, be kind enough to send me word that you are at your hotel. I hope, and every one of your colleagues hope, that after a friendly interview you will be induced to reconsider your present intention.

Believe me, my dear Brown, your devoted colleague,
(Signed), G. E. C.

HON. GEO. BROWN.

To this letter Mr. Brown sent the following reply:

RUSSELL HOUSE, 19th Dec.

MY DEAR CARTIER,—I have received your kind note, and think it right to state frankly at once that the step I have taken cannot be revoked. The interests involved are too great. I think a very great blunder has been committed in a matter involving the most important interests of the country, and that the Order in Council you have passed endorses that blunder and authorizes persistence in it . . . . I confess I was much annoyed at the personal affront offered me, but that feeling has passed away in view of the serious character of the matters at issue, which casts all personal feeling aside.

I desire to leave you in perfect harmony. I shall, of course, place in writing my grounds of resignation, but seeing the prejudicial effect their present publication might have on the negotiations, I propose that no reason be given for my resignation until the reciprocity question is settled one way or other. I propose to state in to-morrow's *Globe* that my resignation has occurred from a grave difference in the cabinet, in which I stand alone on an important public question; that the explanations will be given in parliament in due time, and that it would be inexpedient for the public interests that they should be given sooner. I make this suggestion believing it the best thing for the public interest, *and on that ground alone*; but any other proper course of procedure I am ready to adopt at the wish of my late colleagues.

In conclusion, let me say that if you stick to the compact you made with me when Sir Narcisse came into the government, my being out of the government will not change my course in the slightest, and that you will have my best aid in carrying out the constitutional changes we were pledged to.

Believe me, my dear Cartier, faithfully yours,

GEO. BROWN.

HON. G. E. CARTIER.

OTTAWA, 10th Dec., 1865.

MY DEAR BROWN,—I feel very sorry at your telling me that this step you have taken cannot be revoked. Whatever might be, at this moment, the strength of your determination, I flatter myself that after a friendly interview with you, Campbell and myself, this evening, you might be induced to change your mind. Mr. Campbell happens to be at the same hotel with you; arrange with him the time and place at which we may meet after dinner; Campbell will let me know when and where, and I will not fail to hasten to the rendezvous. Until we see you try and bring your mind to a listening mood. I must frankly say, that if unfortunately you cannot be induced to retrace the step you have taken, the terms and mode your suggest to make known your resignation, by a telegram to the *Globe*, are the most consistent with the public interests. The same announcement will have to be made by us. Allow me to say to you that whatever may be the result of our interview this evening, I will always feel very thankful to you for the patriotic and generous sentiments you are so kind to express in your note to me.

Believe me, my dear Brown, yours very truly,

HON. GEO. BROWN. GEORGE ET. CARTIER.

The personal interview with Messrs. Cartier and Campbell did not affect the decision Mr. Brown had arrived at. To use his own words, he stood alone; Mr. McDougall was not in Canada, and even had he been it is more than probable he would not have stood by his leader in resignation; Mr. Howland had committed himself to the policy of the government on the reciprocity question, and there was a possible danger ahead of his getting himself committed to a perpetuation of the coalition after the cause and justification for its existence had passed away.

As already stated, Mr. Brown entered the coalition government reluctantly, and only on the urgent representation of a party caucus. That the circumstances were such as justified a coalition of political parties no one will doubt, unless indeed it be affirmed that no circumstances will justify such a movement. That there were strong reasons to be urged for his entering the government as leader of the Upper Canada liberals cannot be denied. He was the originator of the revolutionary movement just commenced. The strongest man in the cabinet, Mr. John A. Macdonald, only accepted the proposed policy as an immediate political necessity. He was opposed to a federal union, and made no secret of his preference for a legislative union. It was therefore feared that, if Mr. Brown, with two strong colleagues, were not in the cabinet, the opposing power would render the federative system about to be adopted more or less incomplete, with a view to an early return to the other system, which was then abandoned. He felt himself the greatest repugnance to joining the government, and this feeling was shared by his most intimate friends, but the force of the reasons on the opposite side were at last admitted and acted upon. One prominent member of the assembly, now dead, wrote to Mr. Brown

as follows: "How can you hope to secure the settlement of the con-"stitutional questions without your own personal participation in the "preliminary and advanced stages of the negotiation. The negotia-"tion must go on during recess and session, 'hail, rain, or shine.' "But you, unless a minister, cannot be on the spot, cannot enter the "council chamber—cannot, in short, speak, think or act for yourself, "unless you are a member of the government."

The general feeling amongst liberals was one of pleasure that their leader had retired from a position which was by them regarded with more or less dislike from the first. The promise made by Mr. Brown to Mr. Cartier, to give the government his "best aid in carrying out "the constitutional changes" if they adhered to the compact, was religiously kept. He gave the ministry his full support in getting the address through the House.

The government did not, however, adhere to the determination formerly arrived at, to avoid any unnecessary legislation which could place any section of the combined forces in a false position, or force them to divide. Legislation on banking, the tariff, and other questions, which forced Mr. Brown to oppose the government, was proposed at the ensuing session. His intention was that as soon as the Confederation Act became law the two parties should resume their normal position, and that the general election which must be held would determine which party should succeed to power for the first parliamentary term. The existing administration of Canada would necessarily, so far as the provinces of Quebec and Ontario were concerned, have the organization of the local governments in their hands, as well as the provisional arrangements for the Dominion, though nominally all this might be supposed to be done after the first day of July, 1867. That administration might now be said to be conservative, though there was a nominal representation of the reform side still in it, and the determination of these representatives to remain in Sir John Macdonald's government only realized previous apprehensions. Some reformers thought that Mr. Brown should have made an effort to remain in the government until the time came for the inauguration of the new system, to guard the interests of his political friends. Much might be said in favour of his doing so, since he had consented at all to enter a coalition government by those who urged that step. Those who were behind the scenes knew that this would have been a matter of extreme difficulty, and the great mass of the liberal party never liked the coalition even for the special purpose in view, and were glad when Mr. Brown was constrained to leave it by a difference with his colleagues on another subject. Had his reform colleagues left it promptly when its work was done, probably little harm would have been done by their remaining after he left. As

it was, they became members of Mr. Macdonald's ministry, thereby owning his leadership, making the pitiful and sham plea, that they remained to secure the safety of the union and set the "new machine" working; and the little influence they possessed, when thrown into the Tory scales, sufficed to cost the liberal party a number of constituencies. The first day of July, 1867, saw the great reform accomplished for which Mr. Brown had toiled so many years, and saw also the conservatives who opposed it to the last now reaping the fruit of their opponent's labour. Thenceforward Mr. Macdonald would be able to boast that he was the father of confederation, on the same ground that he boasted of carrying the measure to secularize the clergy reserve lands. He strongly opposed both measures, on principle, as long as it was possible to do so, and then joined the men who initiated and carried forward the movement of both, and declared the work was all his own. Having no great work of his own to boast about, he bravely plucks the laurel from the brows of the actual combatants and real victors, and fastens it on his own head.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mr. Brown's Work in Achieving Religious Equality and Colonial Union.—Correspondence with Dr. Ryerson.

Although not in office, no one rejoiced more over the accomplishment of confederation than Mr. Brown. No political objects lay nearer his heart than the union of all the British provinces and perfect religious equality. Both objects were now accomplished. No church could lay claim to any superiority in the eye of the law; no man could say that he was not represented in parliament. Every one could feel proud of being a citizen of a new colonial nation, about to work out its destiny in copartnership with the motherland. To use Mr. Brown's eloquent words: "The history of old Canada, with its contracted "bounds and limited divisions of Upper and Lower, East and West, "has been completed, and this day a new volume has been opened; "New Brunswick and Nova Scotia uniting with Ontario and Quebec "to make the history of a greater Canada, already extending from the "ocean to the head waters of the great lakes, and destined ere long to "embrace the larger half of the North American continent from the "Atlantic to the Pacific. Let us gratefully acknowledge the hand of "the Almighty disposer of events in bringing about this result, preg-"nant with so important an influence on the conditions and destinies "of the inhabitants of these provinces, and of the teeming millions "who in ages to come will people the Dominion from ocean to ocean, "and give it its character in the annals of time. Let us acknowledge "too, the sagacity, the patriotism, the forgetfulness of selfish and "partisan considerations, on the part of our statesmen, to which under "Providence are due the inception of a project of a British American "confederation, and the carrying of it to a successful issue. Without "much patient labour, a disposition to make mutual concessions, and "an earnest large minded willingness to subordinate all party interests to "the attainment of what would be for the lasting welfare of the whole "people of British America, the result we celebrate this day would "never have been achieved. It has taken just three years to accom-"plish, not certainly an unreasonable period of time for a work of such "magnitude."

Mr. Brown might indeed say that, chiefly by his own labour, the work of his life had been accomplished. Deeply attached to the

mother country as a matter of interest as well as sentiment, neither the blunders of British governors or colonial ministers, nor the ridiculous assumptions of leaders of the governing class at home, that colonists were unequal to the task of working responsible government, for a moment shook his ardour for the continuance of good relations with the empire, or his faith in the possibility of the permanence of a union mutually beneficial. He felt that, with a central government possessing wider powers and more extensive application, the chances of any collision were more remote; that the desire to interfere in strictly American business, not involving the interests of the empire, would be reduced to a minimum. As an Ontario citizen he frequently referred with great satisfaction to the freedom of action obtained by the provinces. Ontario could now, unhampered by the less progressive province, take an independent course in developing the vast resources of the country, and adjust taxation to suit its own interests. The immediate acquisition of the North-West Territories, to attain which he had done so much, he looked forward to with great pleasure, as affording a large and almost limitless field for the enterprise of Canadians to fully develop. The removal of matters relating to education from the domain of Dominion political discussion, and the limitation of the powers of local governments to maintain the systems of education as they existed at the time of the union, so far as sectarian schools were concerned, was peculiarly welcome to Mr. Brown, who had at one time incurred some odium in one quarter for the strong ground he had always taken in favour of a non-sectarian system. This was one of the questions he was bound to deal with and settle when he formed his government in 1858. It was one of the difficult points which had to be dealt with in the confederation compact. The settlement might not be exactly all that he desired, or that his opponents on the education question demanded, but it was loyally accepted by all at the time as a fair compromise. The effects of the long and sometimes bitter controversy did not, however, at once disappear. Some disputes were afterwards brought before the Dominion parliament, and some local irritation prevailed for a time in some provinces. In Ontario the last incident in that connection occurred in a correspondence between Mr. Brown and Dr. Ryerson. The controversy respecting Lord Metcalfe's struggle for absolutism necessarily involved sharp comment from the *Globe* on Dr. Ryerson's course as his principal—we will not say defender, but apologist. The disputes concerning the establishment of separate schools, which continued for many years, also resulted, ultimately, in the *Globe* blaming Dr. Ryerson for allowing himself to be made the instrument in ministers' hands in extending and perpetuating a system which he had frequently denounced as unsound; and charging him with being substantially rewarded by

the minister for yielding when principle, opinions and duty counselled him to resist. An article in the *Globe* of December 8th, 1858, reviewing the question and the superintendent's various opinions on it, provoked a lengthy reply from Dr. Ryerson, addressed to Mr. Brown personally. Mr. Brown, while not admitting the authorship of the article, replied in person; both letters were published in the same number of the *Globe*. This reply was a severe one, but as the severity consisted chiefly in references to former expressions of opinions by Dr. Ryerson, and in references to questions of fact which had transpired in the committees of parliament, the doctor had no special ground of complaint. This was the only occasion on which Mr. Brown was personally brought into contact with Dr. Ryerson, and that was caused by the doctor addressing him in person, and introducing matter which had no connection with the subject of separate schools, such as accusing Mr. Brown with forming a political alliance with Thomas D'Arcy McGee. The chief superintendent was bold enough, while at the head of the school system, to express himself freely on political topics and even to publish electioneering pamphlets. He was a hard hitter, but preferred to give blows rather than take them; he was never known to turn the other cheek to the smiter. Nevertheless, so impatient was he of contradiction, that he was disposed to regard those who did controvert his opinions, and did so in decided and severe terms, as personal enemies. An acknowledgment of his admitted services in the cause of education, to use the language of Mr. Brown's letter, would not alone satisfy the pugnacious superintendent. An amusing proof of this disposition was shown in the terms of a letter he wrote to Mr. Brown in 1868; which, however, while showing the disposition referred to, was tempered by an offer of forgiveness. The following are copies of the letter and Mr. Brown's reply, which are published to show the views held by Mr. Brown of the *Globe's* battles with Dr. Ryerson:

TORONTO, March 24, 1868.

To the HON. GEORGE BROWN.

DEAR SIR,—I desire on this, the 65th anniversary of my birth, to assure you of my hearty forgiveness of the personal wrongs which I think you have done me in past years, and of my forgetfulness of them, so far at least as involves the least unkindness or unfriendliness of feeling.

To express free and independent opinions on the public acts of public men; to animadvert severely upon them, when considered unavoidable, is both the right and duty of the press; nor have I ever been discourteous or felt any animosity towards those who have condemned my official acts or denounced my opinions. Had I considered that you had done nothing worse in regard to myself, I should have felt and acted differently from what I have done in regard to you—the only public man in Canada with whom I have not been on speaking and personally friendly terms. But while I wish in no way to influence your judgment or proceedings in relation to myself, I beg to say that I cherish no other than those feelings of

good-will towards you with which I hope to—as I soon must—stand before the Judge of all the earth, imploring as well as granting forgiveness for all the wrong deeds done in the flesh.

Yours very sincerely.

(Signed,) E. RYERSON.

The following reply was sent by Mr. Brown. The writer is not aware whether it was followed up by any further correspondence.

TORONTO, 24th March, 1868.

SIR,—I have received your letter of this day and note its contents. I am entirely unconscious of any "personal wrong" ever done you by me, and had no thought of receiving "forgiveness" at your hands. What I have said or written of your public conduct or writings has been dictated solely by a sense of public duty, and has never, I feel confident, exceeded the bounds of legitimate criticism, in view of all attendant circumstances. What has been written of you by others in the columns of the *Globe* has been always restrained within the limits of fair criticism towards one holding a position of public trust.

As to your personal attacks upon myself—those who pursue the fearless course of a public journalist and politician, as I have done for a quarter of a century, cannot expect to escape abuse and misrepresentation, and assuredly your assaults on me have never affected my course towards you in the slightest degree. Your series of letters printed in the *Leader* newspaper some years ago were not, I am told, conceived in a very Christian spirit. But I was ill at the time they were published, and have never read them. Your dragging my name into your controversy with the Messrs. Campbell, in a matter with which I had no concern whatever, was one of those devices unhappily too often resorted to in political squabbles to be capable of exciting more than momentary indignation.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

REV. DR. RYERSON, Toronto. GEORGE BROWN.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REFORM CONVENTION OF 1867.—RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO MR. BROWN.—MR. BROWN'S REPLY.

The near approach of the day on which the new system was to be put in operation necessarily caused some anxiety in Mr. Brown's mind. As leader of the liberal party, he was desirous of securing joint, harmonious action at the coming elections. As on two former occasions, he desired to accomplish this object by full consultation with the party. He accordingly issued a call for a convention of reformers, through the Reform Association Committee, on the 13th June, 1867, to meet at Toronto on the 27th June; the executive committee first communicating with and obtaining the approval of members of parliament and candidates, as well as other local associations.

The object to be attained was briefly stated: "To rejoice over the "great success attending their past labours, and to adopt measures "for securing the correction of the abuses so long deplored by the "reform party, and for the infusion of those sound reform principles "into the daily administration of public affairs, to secure which the "constitutional changes now achieved were so long and earnestly "laboured for. . . . For consultation and friendly intercourse "amongst prominent men of the party; and to afford an opportunity "of consolidating the party and harmonizing the views of those who "were temporarily estranged by the events of late years."

The response to the proposal was cordial all over Ontario, and on the appointed day about 650 leading men from all quarters met in Toronto. In this magnificent gathering Mr. Brown took the greatest possible interest, though he made no attempt to control its proceedings. It was his desire at this time to retire from Parliament, if this could be accomplished. One gentleman, in a brief speech at the convention, expressed a fear that it was called "to make one man the leader of the "reform party without consideration." Mr. Brown, in presenting the report of a committee, of which he was chairman, a few minutes afterwards, alluded to that remark as follows: He said "he scorned "the imputation. He stood here at the end of twenty-five years "service to the reform party, and he defied any man to show the first "act of selfishness of which he had ever been guilty with reference "to that party. He defied any man to show one word that had ever "crossed his lips, as the representative of the people—one motion

"he ever made—one speech he ever delivered—one vote he ever "gave—which was not in harmony with the principles of the reform "party of Upper Canada. So far from there being any ground for "that imputation, one great cause of this convention being called was "that he might deliver up his trust to the members of the reform "party of Upper Canada, and that they should start with the new "machinery in a position, in respect of unanimity and distinctiveness "of purpose, at least equal to that it occupied when he first took the "responsibility of leading the reform ranks. It was unfortunate that "there were some reformers who took up these ideas of the conserva-"tive press who, when they could not attack a man because of his "votes and speeches, took hold of these flimsy things, 'Oh! George "'Brown wants to be the dictator of his party.' And it seemed as "if some reformers, by hearing this so constantly repeated in the "Tory press, really fancied there was some foundation for it. He "thought if any answer were necessary to be given to all this trash, "it was to be found in the fact that he gave his vote in the executive "council that there should be a meeting of the representatives of the "people throughout the country, to take the responsibility off the "hands of individuals of declaring what were the principles and "measures on which the party should go to the country." These remarks were received with the greatest applause and evidences of sympathy. The silly and stale accusation implied in the speech that Mr. Brown replied to had the effect of evoking their enthusiam for and confidence in him which all popular gatherings manifested as occasions occurred.

At a subsequent stage of the proceedings this feeling was more strongly shown, when Mr. Currie moved the following resolution, with a view to induce Mr. Brown to withdraw from his declared purpose of not entering parliament again: "That this convention cannot sepa-"rate without expressing to the Hon. George Brown the gratitude of "the reform party, of which he has been so long the able leader, for "his services to the people of Canada, and also the earnest hope that "he will reconsider his intention of retiring from parliamentary life, "and accept a position in the legislature of the country."

When the chairman put this motion to the meeting all the people sprang to their feet and gave utterance to their feelings by prolonged cheering, showing how very heartily the whole convention appreciated Mr. Brown's past labours and desired their continuance in parliament. He replied briefly, apparently being taken by surprise, and so overpowered by emotion, as to be unable for some time to control his feelings. The following extracts from his speech have some public interest, apart even from their connection with himself:

I hope the members of the convention will grant me their indulgence in the position in which I find myself. I have had but little sleep for several successive nights, and was totally unprepared for the high honour you have done me by the passing of this resolution. But I think it is due to you, and an act of justice to myself, that I should explain the reasons which induced me to decide on retiring from parliamentary life. There were many reasons which, in my opinion, made it desirable, not only on personal but on public grounds, that I should adopt this course. One of these was very strong, and was the reason on which I mainly based it. I entered parliamentary life, in 1851, strongly against my will, inasmuch as I entertained the conviction that the editorship of a leading party journal was, to some extent, incompatible with holding a leading position as a member of the legislature. And I have since learned by many years' experience that the incompatibility is vastly stronger then I had conceived. So strongly have I felt this, that years ago I would have resigned my position in parliament, but that I feared that my doing so might have injured the cause of constitutional reform for which I had struggled so long. As a general rule, the sentiments of the leader of a party are only known from his public utterances on public occasions. If a wrong act is committed by an opponent, or by a friend, he may simply shrug his shoulders and say it is very bad, but no one need know his opinion of the transaction unless it is forced on the consideration of the legislature. But this is not the case with the public journalist. If true to his country, and true to his position, he must speak out, and say wrong is wrong and right is right, no matter whether it offends friend or foe. You have often seen attacks on myself, even by some portions of the reform press, for my having acted firmly in this way. They say, "Mr. Brown has fiercely assailed public men;" but I tell you, if the daily thoughts and the words daily uttered by other public men were written in a book, as mine have been, and circulated all over the country, there would have been a very different comparison from what now exists as between them and myself. I have been in the peculiar position of having a double duty to perform. If I had been simply the leader of a party, and had not controlled a public journal, such things would not have been left on record. I might have passed my observations in the confidence of private life, and nothing more would have been heard of them. But as a journalist, it was necessary I should speak the truth before the people, no matter whether it helped my party or not; and this, of course, reflected on the position of the party. How often have I had several political friends candidates, for the same office all equally urgent for the support of the journal under my control—and totally unwilling to believe that the candidate supported was the right man in the right place, and best entitled to the office. Frequently, when I have seen a man doing a wrong thing, I may have felt sorry for him as an individual; I may have known the circumstances of temptation under which he was placed, and as a man have felt deeply for him. But as a journalist, I had but one duty to the public to discharge, and that was to maintain a high standard of political morality. And I do not doubt that, when the political history of this country comes to be written, and justice is done to me, as I am sure it will be, it will be seen that when I have been compelled to denounce the conduct of public men, it was because the public interests were at stake—and that the verdict of public opinion has sustained me in every case. Consequently, I have long felt very strongly that I had to choose one position or the other—that of a leader in parliamentary life, or that of a monitor in the public press. And the latter has been my choice, being probably more in consonance with my ardent temperament, and at the same time, in my opinion, more influential; for I am free to say that, in view of all the grand offices that are now talked of—governorships, premierships, and the like—I would rather be editor of the *Globe*, with the hearty confidence of the great mass of the people of Upper Canada, than

have the choice of them all. No one will fancy that I claim for a moment that in my long career there have not been many mistakes. Human nature is liable to err, and I have a full share of human frailties. But of this I am quite sure, that when the twenty-five volumes of the *Globe* are examined to find what has been the political history of this country during the last quarter of a century—and a better record of that history does not exist than is to be found in those volumes—it will be found that fair play between man and man, justice and earnestness with regard to all public questions, and an ardent desire to serve the people of Canada, have marked that record from the beginning to the end. In this resolution which has been read to me, I find the confirmation of that which has been my stay and comfort during many years of arduous political contest, when we were hoping almost against hope, when we hardly dared to hope that we would be able to accomplish our great ends within any reasonable period. During those contests, it was this which sustained the gallant band of reformers who so long struggled for popular rights, that, abused as we might be, subjected to reproach and slander as we might be, we had this consolation, that we could not go anywhere among our fellow-countrymen from one end of the country to the other—in Tory constituencies as well as in reform constituencies—without the certainty of receiving from the honest, intelligent yeomanry of the country—from the true, right-hearted, right-thinking people of Upper Canada who came out to meet us—the hearty grasp of the hand, and the heartfelt greeting that amply repaid the labour we had expended in their behalf. That is the highest reward I have hoped for in public life, and I am sure that no man who earns that reward will ever in Upper Canada have occasion to speak of the ingratitude of the people. I have received, at the hands of the yeomen of Upper Canada, far more kindness than my services deserved, and far more than any public man could have a right to expect. But I had another urgent cause for retiring from parliamentary life. You are aware that daily journalism is no light task. A daily journalist has to consume the midnight oil, not only from year to year and from month to month, but from day to day. Seldom does he lay his head upon the pillow until the late hours of the morning; and, with a near relative—who has for a number of years greatly lessened my labours, and taken many responsibilities off my hands—now in infirm health, it seemed to me impossible that I should think of continuing the burden of the two positions. I had looked forward to the triumph of representation by population as the day of my emancipation from parliamentary life, and now that it has come, I resolved to take advantage of it. But I am free to admit that what has now taken place—the announcement of this new coalition—this secession from our party—somewhat alters the case. Where work is to be done for the reformers of Canada, and for the people of Canada, I shall not shrink from it. And I am free to state what is the course I now intend to pursue. I think it is desirable that the members of parliament, and the candidates, who are present, as well as those not here who agree generally with the resolutions we have passed, should have communication together at the earliest moment, and that we should arrange for the political campaign on which we are about to enter. And if it shall be found, in the course of this communication among ourselves, that my services for a short while in parliamentary life can be of use to the party, I shall not refuse. At the same time, I repeat that my determination is not in the slightest degree altered. There is this further difficulty that I encounter in going into parliamentary life, and if my doing so can be dispensed with, I strongly desire that it should be. It is absolutely impossible that I could in any way take upon me an official position—and this was one of the reasons which made me think it exceedingly desirable that I should retire at once—that I might not sit in parliament in the way of those who would become leaders of the party when it assumed office. I thought it would not be just or generous to stand there

as the leader of a party in opposition, taking, perhaps, some popularity away from others who might be called upon to assume the reins of office. But if there is work to be done, and a hard fight to be gone through, probably this can be arranged. We will have a communication with the representative men of the party, and whatever decision is arrived at, I am prepared to bow to their judgment. I again heartily thank the convention for the great compliment they have paid me. I value it above all the testimonials I have received in my public life.

THE PROPERTY OF
SCARBORO MECHANICS'
INSTITUTE.

CHAPTER XX.

MR. BROWN CONTESTS SOUTH ONTARIO.—HIS BOW PARK FARM.—HIS INTEREST IN CONFEDERATION.

As the foregoing extracts show, Mr. Brown promised to reconsider his expressed intention of retiring from parliament. Several constituencies were at once offered for his acceptance, where the seat would be perfectly safe. His chivalric disposition was shown in his acceptance of an invitation to contest the riding of South Ontario. This county, for various reasons, which need not be here discussed, had politically degenerated from being a strong reform constituency to be a very doubtful one. Mr. Brown's opponent was a strong local man, who had previously been elected on some pretensions to be more or less in sympathy with the liberals. He had now the full support of the government and the whole Tory party, as well as the local support which he would naturally command where he carried on an extensive business. The contest was a keen one on both sides, and resulted in Mr. Brown's defeat by a majority of 69.

His best friends strongly objected to his acceptance of the candidature in any weak constituency when perfectly safe ones were at his command; but their remonstrances were overborne by his enthusiastic confidence in his ability to carry the contest to a successful issue. His exclusion from the first parliament of the Dominion was a public loss, and was deplored by not only his own political friends and followers, but by many who did not claim to be either. On the other hand, it afforded great satisfaction to the Tory leaders and the Tory press. One gentleman, aspiring to be a historian, and who occupied a seat in the House of Commons for a time as a member enjoying an official salary but having no cabinet office, had the bad taste, in his work on Confederation, to speak of Mr. Brown's defeat as "his suicide," and also wrote that "throughout the vast province of Ontario, in which he had been wont to be a moving power, no constituency returned him." Mr. Gray knew—every one knew—that Mr. Brown could have made a selection from twenty constituencies had he so desired; with his wonted bravery and patriotism he left the safe counties to be won by weaker men, and devoted himself to a brilliant attempt to win a county from the enemy. Mr. Gladstone pursued precisely the same course in accepting a nomination for Midlothian, a notoriously dangerous county for a liberal candidate; he succeeded, Mr. Brown failed. Both leaders were bold, and both were imprudent, though Mr. Glad-

stone's friends took the precaution of electing him for another constituency; Mr. Brown's friends insisted on adopting the same course, but he refused his assent. There is no doubt Mr. Brown considered his parliamentary career teminated by this defeat, and equally little doubt that he intended, out of parliament, to take that part in public life for which he was so eminently fitted, in support of the principles he had so long struggled to maintain, and of the party he had so long led. The leadership which he had resigned in 1861 had never really been committed to other hands, and when he again appeared in parliament in 1863, he was tacitly acknowledged to be leader. After the election of 1867 no one was for some years formally chosen as leader, not indeed until after the general election of 1872, when Mr. Mackenzie was chosen to fill the vacant place. Mr. Brown very properly refrained from expressing any opinion, either personally or in the press, as to the choice of his successor, his opinion being that the selection rested in the hands of members of parliament.

After the general election in 1867, Mr. Brown, with his family, paid a visit of some months duration to Europe, but made no public appearance anywhere except at a reunion of the old students of his academical time, at the High School, Edinburgh. At this meeting he met many of his old college companions from all parts of the world. Some were in prominent positions in Australia; some were filling high offices in India; and many were amongst the prominent men of their native country. Mr. Brown afterwards often spoke with delight of this meeting, and the personal pleasure it afforded him; also of the healthy influence of the thorough, though severe, educational system of the school in which he had been trained for the active duties of life.

After his return to Canada Mr. Brown devoted much of his time to his Bow Park farm, where he had made great improvements, and commenced the formation of the short-horn herd of cattle which in latter years became so famous, and was deemed one of the finest in the world.

As in 1861, when defeated in Toronto, Mr. Brown had offers of several constituencies. He was not, however, desirous of remaining in parliament, and therefore resolved firmly, as he was defeated, to decline election elsewhere, at least for a time, or until circumstances should show an urgent reason or necessity for his reappearance there.

In a letter to a friend shortly after the election, he wrote as follows: "I am not a bit discouraged by the result of the elections, and "did not feel two minutes' chagrin at my own defeat. Our friends "behaved very generously to me. I had at once several offers to "make way for me—even Mr. —— and Mr. ——, on whom I had no "particular claim, wrote me—but I was too glad to be a free man "to think of accepting these kind offers. But if out of parliament

"definitively, I don't by any means intend to be out of public life, "and will work for the ascendancy of my friends, federal and local, "as cordially and enthusiastically as ever; indeed, far more so, as I "shall be entirely free from official responsibility." Two years later there was an opportunity afforded of obtaining a seat in the Commons. In response to an inquiry whether he would allow his name to be used, he wrote: "I have in no manner changed the views I expressed to "you on a former occasion; I have not the slightest desire or inten- "tion of re-entering parliamentary life, and nothing but the most "imperative party necessity would induce me to do so." No further effort was made to induce him to change his views and re-enter parliament. Nor did he ever in after years attempt to control or influence parliamentary proceedings as conducted by the liberals in opposition, or in the government; while always willing to give his opinion when asked on any particular question, he never volunteered his advice. His opinions of course received free utterance in the *Globe*, which was more unfettered by reason of his absence from parliamentary leadership, though even there it was rare indeed that any articles were published which were calculated to inconvenience or discomfort those who occupied his former position.

In farming generally he took great delight; no recreation was to him equal to a ramble over his magnificent farm, examining the crops and animals. The cultivation of high bred stock was to him a novel undertaking, lacking, as he necessarily was, in the knowledge of the breeds of animals, and the excellences of each class or family. This knowledge he soon acquired by his perseverance. The steadily improving character of the farm at Bow Park and the stock of all kinds, gave abundant evidence of the intimate knowledge the proprietor had of the science of farming. With all this, however, it took many years to bring his fine short-horn herd to perfection, and of course it involved a heavy expenditure which could only be very gradually realized again. The farm, which he commenced to operate more as a recreation than as a serious business, gradually developed into a very large undertaking, which it was evidently impossible for Mr. Brown to manage alone, considering the extent of other business engagements. This led to the formation, in 1875, of a joint stock company, under the auspices of which the business has since then been conducted, though Mr. Brown retained a large portion of the stock, and was president of the company until his death. No more enthusiastic farmer could be found in Canada. He was always delighted to meet farmers at Bow Park, and go over it with them to see all that could be seen; many availed themselves of the privilege of examining freely his system of farming and feeding, as well as the fine animals with which he had stocked the now famous farm at very great expense.

The minutiæ of scientific farming was doubtless more attended to at the government model farm, but farming on an extensive scale, and thorough-bred stock-raising, could only be seen at Bow Park. That this was a public benefit of a large character no one can doubt; that it was not productive, in his time, of any adequate return to the enterprising projector, every one will regret. It is to be hoped, however, from recent appearances, that the company will now reap a golden harvest, as the result of embarking in an enterprise which has been so beneficial to Canada.

Mr. Brown, as the enthusiastic advocate of a political union of all the British American provinces and the consolidation of British power on the continent, was, very naturally, much pleased at the prospect of British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland joining the confederate provinces, and he worked hard, by correspondence and personal intercourse with public men, from the two latter provinces especially, to promote their accession to the union. On one occasion he had a long interview with two Newfoundland public men which pleased him much, as he considered all obstacles to the union practically removed; meeting the writer shortly afterwards, he asked, "What is the public event desired that would give you most satisfaction at "the present time?" Not receiving an immediate reply, he asked if the complete consolidation of the confederacy, by the acquisition of Newfoundland at an early date, would not be the most pleasant event that could be looked for? On being answered that the pleasure would be qualified by the attendant conditions, he said scarcely any conditions could prevent him rejoicing over such a consummation. Similarly on another occasion, when some one suggested the expense of building the Intercolonial Railway as a serious condition to the union of the provinces, Mr. Brown replied that he would rather build six Intercolonial Railways than fail in the project. Of course this was only an exaggerated form of expression to convey his hearty advocacy of the new political movement. He fully believed that the time had come when political changes of some serious kind were inevitable; that concerted action from all the provinces in relation to colonial office management, and the foreign relations of the empire, where the North American colonies were chiefly or wholly concerned, would be difficult without a union of these provinces. He believed that the public men of the colonies were more likely to negotiate, under the Crown, in their own interests with certain foreign powers, and that the union of all the provinces would naturally carry with it an accession of power which could not be disregarded by any colonial secretary sitting in Downing Street, and therefore lessen the probabilities of any serious complications occurring between the imperial and colonial authorities. He, in common with all colonial statesmen who have had to arrange colonial business in

Downing Street, knew how incapable the average colonial secretary is to comprehend nice colonial questions, and how satisfied he is of the superiority of British ministers, even in matters where the colonist must necessarily be better informed. The North American colonies had now reached a stage of maturity which forbade any administration of their affairs from the colonial office other than that involved in its being the channel of communication between the provinces and the supreme authority. Their consolidation into one dominion, with a federal constitution and central authority, would, in Mr. Brown's opinion, add to their importance, and relieve all anxiety at home as to the course of events on this continent. Mr. Brown, in his speech on the confederation project, after pointing out its effects on general industrial pursuits and political importance, said: "I ask any member "of the House to say whether we will not, when thus united, occupy "a position in the eyes of the world, and command a degree of respect "and influence, that we never can enjoy as separate provinces! . . . "I am persuaded that this union will inspire new confidence in our "stability . . . . it will raise the value of our public securities, it "will draw capital to our shores." His closing words in that memorable debate contained the following passage: "The future destiny of "these great provinces may be affected by the decision we are about "to give to an extent which, at this moment, we may be unable to "estimate; but assuredly the welfare, for many years, of four millions of people hangs on our decision. Shall we then rise equal to "the occasion? Shall we approach this discussion without partisanships, and free from every personal feeling but the earnest resolution "to discharge conscientiously the duty which an overruling Providence "has placed upon us? It may be that some among us will live to see "the day when, as the result of this measure, a great and powerful "people may have grown up in these lands—when the boundless "forests shall have given way to smiling fields and thriving towns—"and when one united government under the British flag shall extend "from shore to shore."

Mr. Brown himself lived to see the day he longed for. He saw the work of union all but fully accomplished; only one colony, and that one the least important, choosing to maintain its isolated position. This was a measure of success which he scarcely ventured to hope for in 1864; when it seemed probable that federal relations would be established at first only between Upper and Lower Canada. It might be said that he was too enthusiastic in his anticipations of benefits from the new system. He had, however, an abiding faith in the capacity of the Canadian people for self-government, and, in common with political thinkers, he knew that union meant an increase of moral strength, and believed that the measure of success was prospectively greatly increased by the hearty adherence of all the provinces.

CHAPTER XXI.

Letter to the Roman Catholic Committee.

Early in 1871 Mr. Brown had some correspondence with prominent Roman Catholics in relation to their position politically in the province of Ontario. The controversies respecting separate schools and ecclesiastical corporations had resulted in a serious secession of Roman Catholics from the ranks of the reform party. Now that these matters of difference were all removed by the new constitution, many of both sides were desirous of reaching an understanding. The following letter was published on the 9th March, 1871, in response to a paper laid before Mr. Brown by the Roman Catholic committee to whom it was addressed:

To John O'Donohue, Patrick Hughes, J. D. Merrick, and Thomas McCrosson, Esquires, a Committee acting on behalf of a Meeting of Prominent Catholics from all Sections of Ontario.

Gentlemen,—I have read with care the paper you have been good enough to place in my hands, with the request that I should reply to it in writing.

I am in no manner entitled to speak officially for the reformers of Ontario. At the convention of 1867 I voluntarily resigned the leadership of that party, and have not since then taken any action in that capacity. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie is now leader of the liberal party from Ontario in the House of Commons, and Mr Edward Blake is leader in the Ontario Assembly; they have my most cordial confidence and support, and to them I refer you for an official answer to your questions.

I explained this verbally to you when you did me the honour to call upon me, but you still thought it desirable to have a reply from me, as one who took a prominent part in the agitation which in past years separated the great mass of the Roman Catholic body from the liberal ranks, and who has reliable personal knowledge of the feelings and sentiments of the reformers of Ontario. From this stand-point I have no objection to answer your queries. Indeed, I am glad you have given me an opportunity of doing so, and at the same time of vindicating the policy which the party I had so long the privilege of leading in parliament felt it their duty to inaugurate, and carried to a successful termination.

In what I shall say I trust no offence will be taken if I speak frankly, and plainly as to matters of past history and the present situation. The action you and your co-religionists now take may affect most materially the future stability and prosperity of our young Dominion; and it would be but petty statesmanship to conceal from ourselves either the prejudices that have been created in the past, or the principles of justice and equality on which alone a lasting reunion of all sections of the liberal party can be formed.

Will you pardon me for making another preliminary observation? I am sure you did not mean to convey that it was either possible or desirable

that the whole catholic vote of Ontario could be transferred to one political party. God, for His own wise purposes, has created us of different minds, so that, with equal intelligence and equal honesty of purpose, different men will come to totally different conclusions from the same premises; and assuredly it would be most unwise and unjust to constrain catholics, or any others, to cast their votes in a manner contrary to their conscientious convictions. I quite understand that the entire scope of your present application is to enable you to lay before your catholic fellow-countrymen the principles and policy to be maintained by the liberal party of Ontario in the future, so that the large portion of them who hold reform principles, as contra-distinguished from conservative principles, may judge whether it is expedient for them to cast in their lot with the great liberal party.

In the early days of the political history of Upper Canada, the great mass of the Roman Catholics were earnest and reliable members of the reform party. They suffered from Downing Street rule, from family compactism, from a dominant Anglican church establishment, and from clergy reserves, rectories, and ecclesiastical disabilities, in common with the numerous protestant bodies who with them were insolently styled "dissenters;" and they fought the battle of civil and religious liberty and equality side by side with their protestant fellow-reformers. And had Upper Canada remained as it then was, a separate province, they would, I doubt not, have fought the same battle up to the hour of its final triumph. The union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841 was the commencement of a change. The French Canadian element then came into the political field, and gave the catholics a position of dominance they had not previously held. From 1843 (when Mr. Baldwin as leader of the Upper Canada reformers formed a political alliance with Mr. Lafontaine as leader of the French Canadians), up to the year 1850, the protestant and catholic reformers continued to act together harmoniously. The *Globe* was the recognized organ of the party in Upper Canada, and I remember with pleasure the intelligent and cordial manner in which the Irish catholics through these years sustained all liberal and progressive measures. We were then fighting the battle for responsible government in opposition to Sir Charles Metcalfe and his conservative advisers—which was closed triumphantly in the winter of 1847-48 by a grand success at the polls, and the complete establishment of the great reform for which we had so long and so earnestly contended.

Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine came into office in March, 1848; the reform party was all-powerful in both houses of parliament: and the reformers of Upper Canada had the right to expect that the principles and measures they (protestant and catholic alike) had contended for, and been taught by their leaders to expect, would now be carried into full operation. The French Canadian members of the cabinet and their supporters in parliament blocked the way. Not only were reformers refused that which had been promised for years, but principles and measures were urged or endorsed by the reform government in direct hostility to the views and feelings of the reformers of Upper Canada. A large section of the liberal party became alarmed, and remonstrated; but without effect. Indignation and estrangement followed. The French Canadians felt their power and used it relentlessly; a section of the Upper Canada reformers went into opposition, while another section adhered to the government; and the party became thoroughly disorganized.

Need I remind you of what followed? Although much less numerous than the people of Upper Canada, and contributing to the common purse hardly a fourth of the annual revenue of the united provinces, the Lower Canadians sent an equal number of representatives with the Upper Canadians to parliament, and by their unity of action obtained complete dominancy in the management of public affairs. Acting on the well-known adage

"*Nous avons l'avantage, profitons-en!*" the French Canadians turned the divisions among Upper Canadians to their own advantage in every possible way. Unjust and injurious legislation, waste and extravagance in every public department, increased debt and heavier taxation, were the speedy consequences, until the credit of the country was seriously imperilled.

A remedy had to be applied to this state of things; and it had to be such a remedy as would overthrow the unjust dominancy of the Lower Canadians over Upper Canada affairs, and remove from the public arena as far as possible all such questions as excited strife and heartburning among our own people. That remedy was believed to be found, first, in the adoption of population as the basis of parliamentary representation, thereby securing to Upper Canada her just influence in the legislature; and, second, in the entire separation of church and state, placing all denominations on a like footing, and leaving each to support its own religious establishments from the funds of its own people. The reform party became strongly impressed with the conviction that until these measures of reform were obtained, good government was impossible, and sectional and sectarian strife would continue to afflict the country. They as heartily believed that if legislation and the control over the public expenditures were placed by just representation in the hands of those who paid the taxes, and if the state were debarred from regarding the people in their sectarian character, but treated all alike without regard to their religious opinions, a day of solid prosperity and internal peace would dawn on Canada such as had not before been witnessed.

Acting on these strong convictions, and in the conscientious belief (rightly or wrongly entertained) that by no other measures could the end sought be permanently secured—the reform party entered on an organized agitation for a reformed system of representation, and for the sweeping away from the public arena of all sectarian issues. The men who led in that agitation fully comprehended the gravity of the responsibility they assumed, and the painful separations that it must entail; but they were upheld by earnest belief in the absolute necessity of the course they were taking: and they looked forward with hope and pleasure to the day when their policy would be vindicated by the results it would achieve. In parliament and out of it, the agitation was prosecuted with all vigour. The injustice of the existing system of representation was attacked on all occasions, and the practical evils flowing from it were pressed on the public mind; petitions for its reform were poured into parliament, and at every election throughout the land the hustings was made a battle-field for the promotion of the great end sought. At the same time, the most determined efforts were put forth for the final but just settlement of all those vexed questions by which religious sects were arrayed against each other, clergymen dragged as combatants into the political arena, religion brought into contempt, and opportunity presented to our French Canadian friends to rule us through our own dissensions. The clergy reserve injustice was assailed, the 57 rectories were exposed, the impolicy of separating the youth of our country, and studding the land with sectarian schools, was strongly enforced; and the waste and impolicy of using the public funds for sectarian uses was firmly maintained and enforced. On all these and many similar questions we were met by the French Canadian phalanx in hostile array; our whole policy was denounced in language of the strongest character, and the men who upheld it were assailed as the basest of mankind. We on our side were not slow in returning blow for blow, and feelings were excited among the catholics of Upper Canada that estranged the great bulk of them from our ranks.

But the cause advanced. Our annual motions for reformed representation got a stronger support every session, until hardly a candidate dared present himself for election without pledging himself to go for it. Our anti-sectarian motions were still more successful. The justice of them

commended itself to the public mind, and one after another all these vexed questions found permanent solution and disappeared from parliamentary discussion. And I call your attention to this fact, that settled though some of these questions were in a very unsatisfactory fashion, the day of their settlement was the last of their existence as topics of debate. Not in a single instance was it proposed to rake their ashes from the tomb, or make the mode of their settlement, after the event, the subject of party warfare.

Need I remind you how, year after year, the reform party stuck to their great purpose; and how, at last, by a party sacrifice having few parallels in party history, they won for the people of Upper Canada—protestant and catholic alike—that great measure of justice embodied in the Act of 1867. Under that Act the people of Ontario enjoy representation according to population; they have entire control over their own local affairs; and the last remnant of the sectarian warfare—the separate school question—was settled forever by a compromise that was accepted as final by all parties concerned.

I deny not that in this protracted contest words were spoken and lines were penned that had been better clothed in more courteous guise. But when men go to war they are apt to take their gloves off; and assuredly if one side struck hard blows the other was not slow in returning them. And looking back on the whole contest, and the ends it has already accomplished, I do think every dispassionate person must confess that had the battle been ten times fiercer than it was, and the words spoken ten times more bitter than they were, the triumphant success that has attended the long agitation would have sunk all the evils attending it into utter insignificance. We have obtained our just share in the administration of the affairs of the Dominion; we have obtained exclusive control over our provincial affairs; we have banished sectarian discord from our legislative and executive chambers; and we enjoy a degree of material prosperity, and have a degree of consideration for the religious views and feelings of each other, that no living man ever witnessed in Canada till now.

I claim that to accomplish these great ends was, all through our agitation, the avowed object for which we fought. I claim that the principles involved in our agitation were precisely those that the catholics of Canada held and firmly contended for in the olden time when they worked cordially in the liberal ranks. I repeat my conviction that, had it not been for the intrusion of French Canadian dictation in our affairs, the reform party might have remained intact until this day. And I ask those of you who can do so, to carry your minds back to the position held by catholics in times gone by, and say whether any other section of the people of Upper Canada has such good reason to rejoice in the banishment of sectarian issues from the political arena, and the perfect equality of all denominations now so firmly and so happily enjoyed, as have the catholics of Ontario.

There are tens of thousands of catholics throughout the province who can well remember the days when protestant and catholic reformers acted cordially together. They have had fifteen years trial of alliance with our opponents, and I ask them to say frankly how the position they have held, as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the high church and state Anglican party, compares with the just consideration they received when allied with us? How many Irish catholics have been elected for conservative constituencies? How much of the enormous patronage of the Crown in the past fifteen years has fallen into catholic hands? What pretence of consideration has been shown to the prominent catholics of the province, except the honour of marching up to the polls and voting for Tory candidates? Ay, and what disadvantages might not the catholics to this hour have been labouring under, had protestant reformers left them to the tender mercies of the men whom they are now striving to bolster up?

As I have already said, I am in no official position to entitle me to speak for the reformers of Ontario; but thirty years of journalism in close connection with that party, and many years of leadership in parliament, have given me a thorough knowledge of their principles, and feelings, and opinions; and I am persuaded I shall not err when I say that protestant reformers, with very trifling exceptions, would welcome with gladness the return of catholic reformers to their party, and that as they were treated in the olden time, so they would be treated now. All the vexed questions that caused the separation have been settled and swept away, and now all are free to act together for the advancement and prosperity of our country, and to treat all men alike, without regard to their religious opinions.

I believe it is the universal feeling of protestant reformers throughout Ontario, now that French Canadian interference in our affairs has been brought to an end—now that the protestant majority is completely dominant in our province, and the catholics placed by their scattered position at disadvantage—that it is the incumbent duty of the reform party, dictated as well by their most cherished principles as by justice and good policy, that a full share of parliamentary representation according to their numbers, and generous consideration in all public matters, should be awarded to the catholic minority. And they have shown their sincerity by placing Irish catholic reformers—not because they are catholics, but because they are good men and true all of them—as candidates for seats in the assembly in four most important constituencies, and with every prospect of success—with certainty of success should their fellow-catholic electors cast their votes in their favour. This the reform party has done voluntarily, gladly, without condition, although a vast preponderance of the catholic electors will in all probability cast their votes in the coming contest in favour of our opponents and against our candidates. I leave you to judge from this, how different your position as catholics would have been to-day, had we been able to bring forward liberal candidates in other constituencies where, from the strength of the catholic vote and its opposition to our candidates, we have been unable to make a move. In the position you now occupy, you get but the little you can extort from the fears of those you serve; but as members of the liberal party you would have all the influence and all the advantages that perfect equality and common interests can secure.

Now, don't mistake the drift of this paper. I am not assuming to advise catholic reformers as to the course they should pursue in public affairs. That is for them alone to judge and decide. Neither am I seeking to cloak over past feuds or apologize for past occurrences. The principles and measures my party contended for in the past I contend for still. I glory in the justice and soundness of those principles and measures. I am proud of the men who, amid long and bitter discouragement, stuck to the good cause until they carried it to victory—and I point with glad thankfulness to the banishment of religious jealousy and discord that so long rent our country, and to the peace and prosperity that now reign amongst us, as the undeniable fruits of the twenty years' conflict of the great reform party of Upper Canada.

I have written as I have done simply to show catholic reformers in plain language, from a reform point of view, how the separation between protestant and catholic liberals arose; the great ends for which the agitation was carried on; the signal success that has attended it; and the entire settlement and removal by it of all these questions that barred the way to a reunion of the old reform party. All I ask is that they shall forget for a few minutes whose name is attached to this paper, and read calmly what is written. Let them blaze away at George Brown afterwards as vigorously as they please, but let not their old feuds with him close their eyes to the interests of their country, and their own interests as a powerful section of the body politic. I am no longer in parliamentary life, and have no public favours to ask of anybody; but I confess it is with no slight

satisfaction I entertain the conviction that the day is near at hand, if indeed it has not already come, when even our catholic fellow-citizens will be ready to admit that the wisdom and patriotism of the policy of the reform party from 1854 to 1867 has been amply justified by the great results it has brought about.

I remain, Gentlemen, yours truly,

GEO. BROWN.

GLOBE OFFICE, Toronto, 9th March, 1871.

CHAPTER XXII.

MR. SANDFIELD MACDONALD'S "PATENT COMBINATION."—THE ELECTIONS OF 1872.—MR. BROWN AND MR. JUSTICE WILSON.

At the general election for the Ontario House of Assembly in March, 1871, as well as in the election for the Dominion in 1872, Mr. Brown devoted himself by pen and voice to advancing the interests of the liberal party with great success. The result of the election for the Ontario House was the defeat of the coalition government under Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, in spite of the strenuous support given that gentleman from his allies at Ottawa. It may here be stated that when Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was intrusted with the formation of the first Ontario administration Mr. Brown waited on him and assured him of the hearty support of the liberals if he formed a liberal government. It would appear he was not at liberty to do this by his Ottawa arrangements. Mr. Brown and the *Globe* therefore very properly vigorously opposed the small coalition as he opposed the larger one. The same principle was at stake in the existence of the one as in the other.

At no time was there any personal feeling existing between Mr. Brown and Mr. Macdonald, although the latter gentleman, to use his own words, had a crow to pluck with Mr. Brown because he had opposed the Macdonald-Dorion government in 1862. Mr. Macdonald imagined that he had, by taking conservatives into his government, for ever secured the adherence of that party to his standard. He was soon to be undeceived; immediately after the first decisive vote was recorded against him in the assembly, "they all forsook him and "fled." This ingratitude touched the fallen minister to the quick. Without him they never could have held the government; by adhering to him in his adversity they would have shown they had more than office in view; instead of this, "they all began with one consent "to make excuse." Mr. Brown, like many another opponent of Mr. Macdonald's, had a liking for his brusque and honest character, and many a set-to they had at chance meetings, half in jest half in earnest, about current events, and particularly about Mr. Macdonald becoming a Tory, as Mr. Brown would put it. The Ontario Premier invariably denied vehemently that he joined the Tories, and claimed that they joined him to form not a coalition but a "patent combina-"tion." (The phrase belonged to Mr. Hincks.)

The Dominion elections in 1872 were fiercely contested by the liberals, and with every prospect of winning a large majority. Into this contest Mr. Brown threw himself with characteristic ardour, and his efforts were crowned with great success. Indeed, the success was greater than at first appeared, for the country was ignorant for a time of the great advantages enjoyed by the conservatives in the expenditure by their leaders of hundreds of thousands of dollars to carry the election. Shortly after the new House met rumours of the dark transaction reached the public ear; these were increased from time to time until the month of July, when the *Globe* appeared one morning with a "full, true and particular account" of the great election bribery. At no time in the history of the *Globe* did it show more power and ability than during the summer and autumn of 1873. Many of its articles were directed to the course of the Governor-General, and denounced his action in proroguing parliament, and agreeing to the appointment of a commission by his ministers to try themselves. It is said that some of these articles were never quite forgotten in vice-regal quarters. In addition to the specific acts complained of, the tone of the despatches to the English minister was such as invited comment, and the sending of the famous dispatch to parliament on the eve of an important discussion, so well calculated to aid the accused ministers, confirmed Mr. Brown in the opinion that vice-regal influence was used to an unjustifiable extent, considering the nature of the revelations which had then already been made. Time was to show that Lord Dufferin at least intended only to give his ministers as full an opportunity as possible to make good their "solemn assurances "that they were absolutely innocent of the things laid to their "charge." In the following five years of Lord Dufferin's term no paper did him fuller justice than the *Globe*, and Mr. Brown was among the first always to give him credit for being, what he undoubtedly was, a fair and constitutional Governor, though many continued to doubt the wisdom of all he did at the time when the shadow of the Pacific scandal hung over the land. Efforts were made by the Tory press to get a small offset to the notorious Pacific scandal revelations by bringing into great prominence a copy of a letter written by Mr. Brown towards the close of the election campaign to three or four friends, asking for a contribution towards meeting expenses of some elections yet to come off. Mr. Mackenzie stated publicly, when this letter was first published by the party who stole it from Mr. John Simpson's office, that the entire expenditure of the central authorities for election expenses in 1872 was only $3,750, all of which was expended for legitimate purposes, chiefly for printing documents and payment of travelling expenses, but he disclaimed any knowledge of what individual candidates might have spent on their own responsibility.

Early in 1876 a local paper made violent attacks upon Senator Simpson in connection with certain elections, and for having received and responded favourably to Mr. Brown's letter of August 15, 1872. Mr. Simpson applied for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not issue against the editor of the paper in question on three counts. On the 29th of June the application came before Chief Justice Harrison, Justice Morrison and Justice Wilson. The Chief Justice delivered the judgment of the court, which was in brief that a criminal information should be filed against the editor for two of the offences mentioned; the third was refused on the ground that a sufficient case had not been made out. Mr. Justice Wilson was not content with the Chief Justice's unobjectionable statement of the opinion of the court, but availed himself of his technical right to enter into a long account of his reasons for concurrence in that judgment. In this extra-judicial speech—it would be an abuse of terms to call it a judgment—he had the bad taste to assail Mr. Brown, who was not in any way before the court, on the ground that the letter referred to "was written with a corrupt intent, to interfere with the freedom of "elections." Mr. Simpson was similarly assailed, because he was *supposed* to have received this letter and had contributed money for the purpose asked. The Judge knew that the fact of such a letter being in existence was not legally ascertained, and was not in any way before the court. If he read the public journals—and he read some very diligently as his speech showed—he must have read Mr. Brown's statement, published months before this, respecting the now famous letter, which was as follows: "I have, then, to state "that the party subscription in question was got up to aid in defray- "ing the legal and necessary expenses of candidates unable to bear "the whole cost of hotly contested elections, or fighting for the liberal "cause in constituencies hopeless at the moment; and in defraying "the expenses of public speakers, circulating political documents, "and other similar legal and proper expenses of a great electoral con- "test. I believe that the whole of the money subscribed was applied "strictly to these purposes. I further state that the entire amount "so raised and so expended was $3,700, or the trumpery sum of $45 "to each of the eighty-two constituencies, had they all participated "in it. And I state still further that there was no general reform "fund but this for election purposes at the election of 1872, and, had "there been any other, I think I must have heard of it." Judge Wilson also had before him Mr. Simpson's statement that he "had "no recollection of having received or having seen any such letter; "and that he is quite certain he contributed no money to the fund "referred to."

Clearly Mr. Justice Wilson had no right to refer to a letter not

in any way before him; had no right to assume guilt to attach to the writer of the letter until it was proven. Nay, he was bound to accept the reasonable and true statement of its author respecting it, until he had legal evidence controverting it. Similarly he had no right to assume moral or political wrong in connection with Mr. Simpson's letter to the Finance Minister, for there was none; nor was there a particle of evidence to sustain such a contention. He propounded the extraordinary doctrine that because Mr. Simpson made no statement about a letter not in his possession, when it was not incumbent on him to make any, therefore "it must be assumed that "he cannot make any satisfactory explanation to the court concerning "it." There actually was, however, an explicit denial under oath by Senator Simpson, in his original affidavit making the application for the rule, in the following words: "I say that the statements, charges, "and imputations therein contained against me, are false, malicious, "and without foundation in fact. . . . I further say, that the "imputations against me of political intriguing, and of procuring "substantial aid for corrupt purposes, and that I have paid out money "for the purpose of bribery at elections, and that I used the money "of others corruptly, are untrue, false and malicious." He then proceeded, nevertheless, to give the letter a meaning of his own, and upon that interpretation, which was wholly unsupported by any evidence, to impute corrupt motives to Mr. Simpson. The only justification Justice Wilson gave for his political deliverance from the high seat he occupied was that he "might take notice of those matters "which every person of ordinary intelligence is acquainted with." It was an unfortunate circumstance that his "acquaintance" was wholly with what he thought would tell against the two senators.

It was no wonder that, a few days after Justice Wilson made this speech on the bench, an article appeared in the *Globe* from Mr. Brown's pen, headed "Justice Wilson on the War Path," in which the Judge was handled roughly. The article was a very long and able one, and was a complete answer to the ill-advised attack of the Judge. After a careful and critical analysis of the deliverance of Justice Wilson, combined with statements of fact to set himself right, the article proceeds: "According to Mr. Justice Wilson's new doctrine, that the "court may properly 'take notice of those matters which every person "'of ordinary intelligence is acquainted with,' whatever the matter may "be, and whether before the court or not at the moment, we suppose "we must accustom ourselves to such outrages from the bench. But "this Mr. Justice Wilson may rest assured of: that such slanders "and insults shall not go unanswered, and if the dignity of the bench "is ruffled in the tussle, on his folly shall rest the blame. We cast "back on Mr. Wilson his insolent and slanderous interpretation. The

"letter was *not* written for corrupt purposes—it was *not* written to "interfere with the freedom of elections—it was *not* an invitation to "anybody to concur in committing bribery and corruption at the "polls; and be he Judge or not who says so, the statement is "false.

"Does Mr. Wilson mean to say that no party fund for proper pur- "poses in election contests can exist—that there are no expenditures of "money in keenly contested elections which are absolutely necessary, "perfectly moral and legitimate, and highly conducive to good govern- "ment? Was there no such fund when Mr. Justice Wilson was in "public life? When the hat went round in his contests for the "mayoralty of Toronto, was that, or was it not, a concurrence in "bribery and corruption at the polls?

"Probably there never was another general election in Ontario, or "Upper Canada, that on either side of politics cost so small a sum for "general party purposes as the reform expenditure of $3,700 at the "election of 1872; and assuredly there was at it neither the design "that a penny of it should be spent for corrupt purposes, nor was "there a shilling to spare from the legitimate and necessary expendi- "tures for any such purpose. How could Mr. Justice Wilson, in his "hunt for things that 'every person of ordinary intelligence is ac- "'quainted with,' omit to state that while the entire general election "of the liberal party for that year (1872) was but $3,700, raised by "subscription from a few private individuals, the conservative fund "on the same occasion amounted to the enormous sum of $200,000— "raised by the flagitious sale of the Pacific Railway contract to a "band of speculators on terms disastrous to the interests of the "country?

"The law has been greatly changed since the election of 1872. "Every known method of spending money, under which even the "suspicion of corrupting the electors could lurk, has been most pro- "perly forbidden under severe penalties, and successfully enforced. "But do election contests even now cost nothing? Are there no pure, "legitimate, and legal modes of expenditure still remaining? Of "course there are. In Ontario, official returns on oath are made of "the total expenditure by each candidate in every contest for a seat "in the provincial chamber. And what do these show? Why, that "in the last electoral contest the declared cost of Mr. John Robin- "son's election for West Toronto was $893.75; of Mr. Platt's contest "in East Toronto, $972.76; of Mr. M. C. Cameron's contest in East "Toronto, $944.59; and of that of Mr. Crooks in East Toronto, "$957.10; or in all, for the expenses of these four gentlemen alone, "$3,778.20—more than the entire amount of the fund of 1872 for "the general conduct of the entire Dominion elections of Ontario.

"It is in the face of these facts that Mr. Justice Wilson had the "audacity—without any evidence that such a letter ever was written, "or sent, or received, or acted upon, and without the slightest evi- "dence as to the circumstances under which it might have been writ- "ten, or the special purpose to which the money was to be applied "—to denounce as a thing of monstrous depravity a request by one "reformer to another for a subscription to a general election fund of "probably $50, but at most $100.

"We deeply regret being compelled to write of the conduct of any "member of the Ontario bench in the tone of this article, but the "offence was so rank, so reckless, so utterly unjustifiable, that soft "words would but have poorly discharged our duty to the public."

The court or Judge so vigorously assailed did not take any formal notice of the article; and severe as it was, the general verdict of the country was that no man had a right to shield himself behind the judicial bench, the seat of justice, to make such assaults, and that if made they must be met.

Some months afterwards the editor against whom Mr. Simpson proceeded obtained a rule calling on Mr. Brown to show cause why a writ of attachment should not issue against him, or why he should not be committed for contempt of "this honourable court" for print- ing the said article. The case was tried before Chief Justice Harrison and Judge Morrison. Mr. Brown appeared in person and claimed, 1st, that the party obtaining the rule had no rights in the matter— that he was not charged with protecting the dignity of the court; 2nd, that five months had passed since the publication of the article, during which time the court was silent, and that Justice Wilson's judgment and the *Globe's* criticism were the subject of violent discus- sion *pro* or *con* over the whole Dominion; and that the time had elapsed within which the court could by any rule or usage call him to account for any offence against its dignity.

Mr. Brown then boldly justified the publication of the article, on the ground that he had suffered just provocation, and quoting one passage as follows: "No sooner had the Chief Justice finished than "Mr. Justice Wilson availed himself of the occasion to express his "views on the matter, with a freedom of speech and an indifference to "the evidence before the court, and an indulgence in assumptions, "surmises and insinuations, that we believe to be totally unparalleled "in the judicial proceedings of any Canadian court."

Then proceeding, he said: "I wrote so then, I say so now. I "have searched the law books in vain to find a case parallel to this, "and I defy the learned counsel on the other side to show any language "ever used in the last half of the nineteenth century by any British or

"British colonial Judge, that for indiscretion and injustice bears the "slightest parallel to that of Mr. Justice Wilson, for commenting on "which this complaint is made." . . . Mr. Brown further pleaded "that the article was written under compulsion; that it was absolutely "necessary to meet the bitter attacks on the government, on the "reform party, on public men on the reform side, and on himself, "by the conservative press, based on the official judgment of a Judge "of the court." He claimed that the ground could hardly be taken that a Judge could do no wrong—that he might say what he pleased of anybody, and if strong remonstrance were made, to summarily fine and imprison the offender without question or appeal. The speech was an able and eloquent one, and practically it justified the whole article.

Chief Justice Harrison decided against Mr. Brown on all the points. Judge Morrison decided, 1st, that the complaint was too late in point of time; 2nd, that the applicant failed to sustain the constructive contempt; and lastly, that the applicant, having failed to sustain his own complaint, was not entitled, under the colour of such a complaint, to ask the court to punish, at his suggestion, the publisher of the article, upon the ground that it contains a direct contempt of the court itself.

The motion, being supported by one Judge and opposed by another of the two present, fell to the ground. Mr. Brown, by his boldness and skill, succeeded in what he desired to do at the commencement of the case, to vindicate his right to defend himself against a gross attack made upon him by a Judge in court, where he was not present as a party to a suit or as a witness. In his day Mr. Brown had many a fight for popular rights and justice. In his journal he never hesitated to expose wrong-doing by high or low. In no case did he do such service as when he vigorously opposed and denounced the injustice of a Judge gravely attacking individuals apparently to gratify some personal feeling of hostility or political prejudice.

Mr. Justice Wilson had for years been supported by the *Globe* in municipal and parliamentary contests; he had, in fact, been made by the *Globe*, so far as his public life was concerned, and it is difficult to say what could have led to such an attack on his former patron. It is, however, charitable to suppose that he must have been labouring under some hallucination, and did not see the great wrong he had committed.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

MR. BROWN MADE SENATOR.—APPOINTED JOINT PLENIPOTENTIARY TO WASHINGTON.—DECLINES THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORSHIP OF ONTARIO, AND THE TITLE OF K. C. M. G.

A few weeks after Mr. Mackenzie's accession to office Mr. Brown was offered a seat in the senate, which offer he accepted. He was not anxious to take this position, or to enter at all upon parliamentary life again, but was induced to accept a seat in the body which he did so much to create under the new political system. At that time many of those who had sustained the proposal to have an upper House nominated by the Crown became convinced they had made a mistake. Mr. Brown, however, was firmly convinced still that if a second House existed at all it should not be elective. It was therefore peculiarly fitting that he should accept a nomination as senator. Other events prevented Mr. Brown taking his seat or performing any senatorial duties during the first session. Nothing had been done by the Canadian or British governments with the fishery clauses of the Washington treaty of 1871. Mr. Brown was asked by the government early in February, 1874, to proceed to Washington and ascertain what prospects there were of negotiating a commercial treaty which would also embrace a settlement of the fishery question. Mr. Brown was long and favourably known to prominent public men in the United States. The course he pursued as editor-in-chief of the *Globe* during the civil war in that country in upholding the national government and the anti-slavery party made him popular wherever his name was known. Mr. Brown from the first, as well as his brother, looked upon the struggle in the United States as one of vast interest to humanity—as involving the general interests of freedom all over the world. To him it seemed most revolting to see any Britons committing themselves to a support of the south, as that meant building up a slave power. The north might in some respects be wrong, but their cause was the cause of liberty. These views found eloquent advocacy in the columns of the *Globe* day after day until the battle was over. He was therefore peculiarly well qualified to act in this *quasi* ambassadorial capacity, apart from his possession of talents and tact to manage such inquiries. He met with a very cordial reception from the United States government and from many public men, including the lamented President Garfield, then a member of congress. He accord-

ingly reported to the government at Ottawa that he believed a very general desire existed in that country "for the establishment of better "commercial relations with Canada." The government at once determined to ask the Imperial government to accredit Mr. Brown to the Washington government as joint plenipotentiary with the resident minister. This step was taken in connection with the determination of Mr. Mackenzie's administration to have all questions of Canadian diplomacy dealt with by Canadians: of course acting under general arrangements with Her Majesty's Imperial government, and subject to their approval. Canada, to be sure, was represented by the presence of one Canadian amongst the six high commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Washington. The humiliating conditions of that treaty to Canada showed only too clearly that the Canadian representative was either utterly powerless to accomplish anything or utterly incompetent to point out the true line which should be adhered to. Some years after the negotiation of this treaty a Canadian gentleman was discussing its terms with Mr. Disraeli, then Prime Minister, and remarked to that gentleman, "I do not know what you think, Mr. "Disraeli, of that treaty, but in Canada it was looked upon as a great "humiliation." Mr. Disraeli, holding up both hands, replied, "It was "one of the most shameful things in our history." The Canadian remarked, "You never attacked it in public in that way, Mr. Disraeli." The response was, "How could I; Mr. Gladstone put North-"cote on the commission." The Tory leader had a just conception of what was wrong in the treaty, but Sir Stafford Northcote's presence on the commission sealed his mouth. Previous blunders of English diplomats respecting the Maine boundary and the North-West boundaries, were of a character which inflicted irreparable injury on British America, and could hardly have occurred if the negotiations had been conducted by an experienced Canadian statesman. So far as the determination of boundaries was concerned, all the mischief was done already that could be done; but questions respecting navigation, fisheries and commercial relations might be of vast importance still.

In this case the Imperial government, after a brief delay, assented to the request of the Canadian government, and appointed Mr. Brown joint plenipotentiary with Sir Edward Thornton. On no other terms would the Canadian government or Mr. Brown have entered upon the negotiations.

The negotiations were formally commenced late in the month of March, and terminated about the end of June. During this time Mr. Brown had to maintain a very heavy correspondence with the government at Ottawa, much of it by cipher telegraph. He also placed himself in communication with a large number of the editors of leading newspapers in the United States, and obtained their co-operation.

Excellent articles in favour of greater freedom in commercial intercourse with Canada were published in all the large cities in the principal newspapers. The "Memorandum on the Commercial Relations "Past and Present of the British North American Provinces with the "United States of America," published by the plenipotentiaries, was the work of Mr. Brown. It contained able summaries of the trade statistics of the two countries bearing on reciprocal trade, the figures of which were extensively published and produced a good effect. To use the official description of this paper by Sir Edward Thornton in his despatch to Lord Derby: "The greater part of this document is "occupied with the history of the past fifty years of the trade relations "between Canada and the United States, and shows the advantage "the United States, as well as Canada, would derive from greater "liberality in those relations." A draft treaty was ultimately agreed to by Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. Brown, also by Mr. Fish, on the part of the United States, on June 17th, and submitted by that minister to the United States senate for approval a few days afterwards. That body postponed action until the next session, for the ostensible reason that the time was too short for consideration. The United States government approved of the draft treaty, but did not exercise any of its legitimate influence in their submission of it to the senate for approval. Apart altogether from the attempt to negotiate a treaty of commerce, Mr. Brown's sojourn in Washington was highly beneficial to Canada. For reasons already stated, he was everywhere popular in the states, while he was equally well known as a devoted British American subject of Her Majesty. His presence helped materially to dissipate the feeling of irritation which existed during and after the war at the (erroneously) supposed sympathy of Canadians with southern rebels, and to produce a more kindly feeling towards Canada than had existed for many years. Mr. Brown's exposition and defence of the treaty submitted to the senate of the United States by Mr. Fish will be found in his speech delivered in the senate on the 6th of March, 1875.* (*See* "SPEECHES.") The proposed convention received the assent of the Imperial government, though wholly negotiated under the auspices of the Canadian administration. Its failure necessitated proceeding with the arbitration, provided by the treaty of Washington, to ascertain the value of the Canadian fisheries to citizens of the United States. This was, with much difficulty, reached two years afterwards, when Lord Carnarvon desired to name an English gentleman as commissioner. This Mr. Mackenzie declined to assent to, and he insisted that the Canadian government should nominate the commissioner to be formally appointed by Her Majesty's government, and also control the procedure of the commission. This demand was ultimately conceded. Mr. Brown was offered

the appointment, but declined it for private reasons, principally that he could not devote his whole time to the work so far from home.

Mr. Brown had, at great personal inconvenience, given four months of his time to the work at Washington, without making any charge against the government, or accepting remuneration of any kind, for the vast amount of labour he had undertaken and accomplished. Although Sir Ed. Thornton was joint plenipotentiary with Mr. Brown, the labour of preparing the tables of trade statistics, and placing the information into proper shape for publication, devolved naturally and necessarily on Mr. Brown. A sum of $10,000 was placed in the estimates to meet the necessary expenditure at Washington. Some time afterwards, when an attack was made by the opposition on the government and on Mr. Brown in connection with this vote, it transpired that the whole expenditure had only been $4,000; that all payments had been made by Sir Edward Thornton, and that the plenipotentiaries had not received one dollar of it for their own purposes or expenses. Any one who chooses can compare the Washington expenses of 1854 with those of 1874. More work was done in the latter year, but more *influences* (a mild term) were brought to bear in the former year.

It is not proposed to discuss here the effect this treaty, if ratified, would have had on Canadian commerce; that, of course, would be a matter of opinion. Up to a very recent period it was assumed by all that much benefit would necessarily be derived from participation in the trade of foreign countries. The wonderful development of British trade in consequence of the removal of all shackles on the intercourse with foreign nations, so far as Britain could remove them, and the retrogressive progress of the merchants of the United States, where efforts had been made for twenty years, by severe customs restrictive laws, to force business into the hands of their own citizens, seemed to be sufficient to satisfy any one of the evil effects of a system of "protection," so called.

The resurrection in Canada of a system of this nature, which Cobden and Bright buried thirty years before in Britain, was, however, as it turned out, imminent. The singular belief in a democratic country that it is desirable to discourage the very existence of foreign trade, in order that the wealth of the nation may be concentrated in the hands of the few at the cost of removing it from the hands of the mass of the people, is a craze which cannot last long. When the country returns to an enlightened commercial policy the efforts of Mr. Brown and the late administration to promote international intercourse between the great nation on our southern border will be better understood and appreciated. Mr. Brown was a firm advocate of perfect freedom of purchase and sale, as well as of personal movements. He was the firm opponent of attempts to compel the people to purchase from and trade

with certain persons only, or classes of persons—of all monopolies created for individuals—of all taxes imposed for any purpose except to meet the necessities of the state.

He had already, with others, encountered an oligarchy which monopolized political power. He was the principal opponent of an ecclesiastical oligarchy that insisted on being established as the sole guardians of the religious life of the nation. The result of the conflict in both cases was that power remains vested in the hands of the people, and that every church is equally protected by the state, and none have special privileges. If trade monopolies are of a different character they are not the less dangerous, and no one appreciated that danger more thoroughly. In neither speeches nor writings was an uncertain sound ever given on this subject, so important to a nation's welfare.

In the month of May, 1875, the Hon. John Crawford, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, died. Mr. Brown was known to entertain very strong views of the course pursued by the conservative government in appointing Mr. Crawford after they ceased to command the confidence of parliament and they had, in fact, resigned office, and of Mr. Crawford's course in accepting that office under the circumstances. He was invited to the inaugural ceremonies at Government House, but declined to accept the invitation for the reasons given in the following letter:

TORONTO, 11th Nov., 1873.

MY DEAR MR. CRAWFORD,—A note has been sent me requesting my attendance at Government House to-morrow on the occasion of your being sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor.

It would have afforded me great pleasure to be present on the occasion, could I have done so consistently with my views of the manner of your appointment. I hold that the Lieutenant-Governor should be regarded by all parties from a non-political stand-point, without reference to the side of the political arena on which he was ranged before his appointment; and there is no member of the conservative party whose appointment by his own political friends to the office would have been more agreeable to me than your own. But the circumstances attending your appointment appear to me so unconstitutional, so much to be deprecated, that it would be worse than inconsistent were I to attend the ceremony to-morrow.

While I feel thus in regard to the official ceremony of your inauguration, I trust you will believe that no change has occurred in our personal relations, and that when you are duly installed in your high office, no political feeling will stand in the way of those marks of respect and consideration to which you will be entitled socially and in public.

I am, my Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

GEORGE BROWN.

JOHN CRAWFORD, ESQ., Toronto.

The position was at once offered to Mr. Brown, and he was urged by many friends to accept it. While the offer of the chief office under the Crown in his own province was peculiarly gratifying to him, he declined the honour after one day's consideration, but without assigning any reason for his determination. There is, however, no reason

to doubt that he felt he could not, with his strict notions of propriety, be the principal proprietor, and, nominally at least, editor-in-chief of the leading political journal, and at the same time Lieutenant-Governor of the province. It was, however, as gratifying to his friends everywhere as it could be to himself, that his political friends at Ottawa had given him the offer of the highest place in the province for which he had done so much. Chiefly to his long labours was it due that it was possible to have such a position to place at his disposal, and there can be no doubt that had he accepted it the appointment would have been acceptable to all classes of the population. With this offer he had either received, or might have received, all the honours his fellow-countrymen could bestow. He had been many years in parliament as one of Ontario's representatives; he was Prime Minister of old Canada, and a senator of the Dominion; the Queen had already honoured him by appointing him a joint plenipotentiary at Washington; and a year afterwards he might have been elevated to the rank of knighthood as a K. C. M. G., had he consented to accept that honour.

There was no more attached adherent of the British monarchy—no more devoted admirer of Her Majesty as Queen of Britain—than Mr. Brown, and he was not disposed to regard with indifference the honours dispensed by the Crown, however much he might blame ministers for their distribution. Under appropriate circumstances he might, and no doubt would, have accepted a title of honour. In 1879 he was again proffered a title as K. C. M. G. For some reason it was then fully expected that he would accept it, and his name was actually gazetted on that assumption. His Excellency the Governor-General was commissioned by Her Majesty to confer the title, and he appointed a meeting at Montreal for the purpose of formally investing Mr. Brown and some others with the insignia of the order. He went to Montreal to meet His Excellency, but only to thank him in person for the offer and to give a formal declinature in writing. It was known that Mr. Brown was strongly urged by many liberals of the most pronounced character, such as the late Mr. Holton, to accept this second offer, but these influences failed to convince him that the circumstances would justify him in accepting the title which some men are so anxious to obtain and honour so little.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MR. BROWN'S ASSASSINATION.—UNIVERSAL SYMPATHY AND SORROW.—THE FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.

On the 25th of March, 1880, George Bennett, an employé in the *Globe* office, who had just been discharged by the foreman for habitual tippling and gross neglect of his duties, went to Mr. Brown's office to demand a certificate of character.

When Bennett was invited by Mr. Brown to come in he did so, and proceeded to shut the door behind him. Mr. Brown thinking his movements singular, stopped him and asked what he wanted. The man seemed to hesitate, but at last presented a paper and asked Mr. Brown to sign it, remarking that it was a statement that he had been employed in the *Globe* office for five years. Mr. Brown said he should apply to the head of his department for the certificate, as he (Mr. Brown) was not aware of the length of his services. Bennett replied that the head of the department would not give it to him. Mr. Brown then told him to apply to Mr. Henning, the treasurer of the company, who had the books, and could tell how long he had been employed. Bennett made no reply, but insisted upon Mr. Brown signing his paper with much vehemence.

On Mr. Brown continuing to refuse, Bennett began fumbling apparently at his pistol pocket, whereupon it passed through Mr. Brown's mind, as he himself said, "that the little wretch might be meaning "to shoot me." He got his pistol out, however, and then Mr. Brown seized him by the wrist and turned his hand downward. He had got the weapon cocked before his hand was seized, and at once pulled the trigger, the muzzle being pointed downwards. The ball struck Mr. Brown on the outer side of the left thigh, taking a slanting direction, and passing through four inches below and towards the back of the leg. Mr. Brown, to prevent more firing, closed with his assailant, and in the struggle they got outside the door of the office on the stair landing. Mr. Brown got Bennett firmly pressed against the partition wall of the waiting room and called for assistance. By this time the alarm was given in the office, and a number of employés rushed to Mr. Brown's aid and seized the assassin. It would appear that Mr. Brown himself took the pistol from him, while Mr. A. Thompson and Mr. Ewan held him fast. Mr. Brown walked back into the office, carrying the weapon, apparently not seriously hurt. There is little

doubt that Mr. Brown's struggle with the wretch alone prevented him finishing his work, as he tried repeatedly to fire off his pistol after Mr. Brown seized him.

The shock to the system from the shot, and the intense nervous excitement consequent on the struggle with the armed assassin, had a very injurious effect, and materially retarded his hoped-for recovery. Mr. Brown was removed at once to his private residence, and medical aid summoned. A fatal result was not anticipated by any one. Mr. Brown himself made light of the wound, and firmly believed that a few days' rest and care would set him all right again. His restless energy was probably quickened afresh by the nervous excitement, which never left him, as shown by his determination to transact business in his room. There was indeed no reason for apprehensions of evil, though the possibilty of a serious turn was clear to every one; he was still in the fulness of his strength, and his cheerful, hopeful, sanguine nature must have been a favourable element looking to recovery.

The excitement through the country was very great as soon as the murderous assault was made known. This was particularly the case at Ottawa, where so many of his old political friends were gathered together for their parliamentary duties. When it was ascertained that, though the wound was serious, there was no likelihood of the danger proving very great, a great sense of relief was felt by every one on both sides of the House. When two weeks passed with no improvement, an uneasy feeling again became predominant; and one evening, when evil tidings respecting the patient's condition reached the House, there was no disposition among his friends to pursue their ordinary legislative duties.

The next morning telegrams were received which stated that the former report was not warranted, and that his early recovery was confidently anticipated. The writer well remembers the feeling of unalloyed pleasure which was expressed on all faces by the reassuring messages. The hope and pleasure so inspired were soon to be dashed to the earth, not suddenly, but slowly, steadily and gradually. Bright intervals occurred, and seeming progress made now and then, only to be succeeded with deeper gloom. Like the descending of the sun in a cloudy evening, while passing behind a cloud, the earth is enveloped in gloom; presently an opening appears in the cloudy pall, and the light streams out lighting up glen and mountain. Nearing the horizon, the greater compactness of the vapoury shade makes the glimpses of sunshine more and more brief, while the waning daylight shows the inevitable and near approach of night. So with the invalid: day after day developed some new sign of possible progress; physician and friend thought, as some fresh display of reserved physical strength

and mental power was made, that there might be—there would be—a slow restoration. But soon the symptoms of increasing exhaustion would reappear, and close observers saw with sorrow that each day on the whole left him weaker than he was on the preceding one; and unless this continuous uniform loss of strength could be arrested, it was apparent to all that there could be but one result, though his own sanguine temperament and the illusive hopes of near friends buoyed the spirits of all inquirers to a belief that the probabilities were in favour of his recovery.

Hopes were entertained by the attendant physicians of his ultimate recovery up to within a few days of his death. His natural energy asserted itself in his illness, overcoming in the desperate struggle for life the nervous exhaustion and the waste of the system caused by the wound. The members of his family, who were in constant attendance upon him, were less sanguine as to the final result for the greater part of the time of his illness. Except for the first eight or ten days, he was afflicted by delirium and such clouding of his mental powers as made it unadvisable to add to his weakness by interviews with any but his medical attendants and members of the family. Throughout he hoped he would recover, but at the same time he felt that the chances were even, if not against him. Often in the stillness of his bed-chamber he was heard, when he thought that none but God was near, praying earnestly for recovery in order to finish his work, but always expressing his resignation to God's will if it should be otherwise ordered. About two weeks before his death, at a time when his family and medical attendants entertained the most serious apprehensions, he had a long conversation with Dr. Greig, his old pastor, and members of his family, all of whom he had gathered round his bed. In that conversation he spoke freely to them of his faith and hope, and, we are told, poured out his soul in a full and fervent prayer. He then asked them to sing some psalms or hymns, and in particular the well-known one, "Rock of Ages," in the singing of which he warmly joined. It was evident that his mind dwelt much on the future, and that while he desired that his life might be spared for his family, the hopes of the Christian burnt brightly within, and enabled him to look forward without fear to a possible unsuccessful issue of his illness. For about a week previous to his death it could scarcely be said that any one expected his recovery, though some of his physicians still thought it possible. The intervals of consciousness were gradually becoming less frequent and also more brief, but during their continuance they were characterized by inexpressible tenderness and love to the members of his family, all of whom he recognized almost to the last, even when, through growing weakness, the tongue refused its office of communicating to them his thoughts, hopes and desires. No

doubt the knowledge that he was walking very near towards the verge of the unseen world drew his mind away from all other things; his physical strength was also steadily waning and indisposing him to further exertion. The writer had the melancholy pleasure of seeing him on the Wednesday morning preceding his death, but the invalid was not conscious of the presence of any one. From this time forward he sank rapidly. He made no complaint, and no one could tell what his sufferings were. He lay quite still most of the time, neither inviting nor refusing the nourishment forced upon him, or conscious of the attempts made to minister to his comfort.

On Thursday and Friday there were still gleams of intelligence lighting up his countenance, and some hopes were even then entertained, soon to be clouded over, for on Friday evening the physicians ceased to press upon him nourishment or stimulants; as it became manifest any further effort would only do harm. After consultation the medical attendants were obliged to confess that the resources of their art were exhausted. Thenceforward all that could be done was to soothe the patient by the kindness of the grief-stricken but loving members of his family. On Saturday it was quite evident to all that the end was very near. The long struggle was at an end. The once strong frame became weak as an infant's. The massive head and expressive features indicated as much as ever the gigantic intellect and the warm heart, but the wasted form told at once the severity of the battle for life and the nearness of its close. The Angel of Death had entered the room and taken possession, and in the stillness of the quiet chamber his presence could be felt. Everything recalled Hood's description of a death-bed:

"Our very hopes belied our fears,
Our fears our hopes belied;
We thought her dying when she slept,
And sleeping when she died."

Early on Sunday, a beautiful May morning, shortly before the break of day, the sad scene closed. The Angel of the Covenant had come to convey the spirit home, and, to use Longfellow's words, "Two angels came out where only one went in," leaving in the room only that still, inanimate form to represent him who, but a few weeks before, strode through the rooms and halls of the happy home in all the vigour of matured manhood, rejoicing in his domestic peace and happiness. Many friends calling, as usual during his illness, on Sabbath morning learned of the sad event and spread the tidings through the city. Though a fatal ending was fully expected, yet it created the most painful and profound impression. In most if not all the churches, his death was referred to in solemn and touching terms. All felt that a great man had passed away, and that a great calamity had

overtaken the country. The tragic circumstances attendant on his death, and the high personal character of the lamented statesman, combined to evoke the most profound expressions of sympathy, and caused a feeling of deep gloom to pervade the city. Many eyes were suffused with tears in the several churches where reference was made to his character and death. Political and even personal differences were forgotten in the general desire to show kindness and sympathy. Every person showed themselves only anxious to say and do what could be said and done to assuage the grief and comfort the hearts of those who had been so suddenly and cruelly bereft of a tender husband and loving father.

Other cities, and the towns and villages, were informed by telegraph of his decease almost as soon as it was known in Toronto, and everywhere the same touching sympathetic feeling was shown. In many churches prayer had been publicly made for his recovery from the moment that danger was apprehended, while hope justified an expectation of recovery. The constant inquiries from all quarters could not be all answered, but the telegraph companies were good enough to give an extensive circulation to the physicians' reports from day to day. This in a large measure kept the country informed of the hopes and fears entertained. It should also be stated that the leading conservative journals showed the utmost kindness and good feeling throughout. A man so pronounced in opinion, and so energetic in expressing and giving effect to his views on all public questions, could scarcely be expected to escape much personal antagonism, more or less bitter and intense, but in the hour of his extremity few if any had the disposition to remember past feuds; while hosts of warm personal and political friends all over Canada felt a grief at his tragic death second only to that felt for intimate and near blood relations.

The arrangements for the funeral were made with the simple understanding that the friends of the deceased would themselves provide for order and regularity in paying the last mark of respect to his remains. Arrangements were made in many distant towns and villages to send deputations to represent the respective communities. The vast multitude that attended showed that the people of the nearer towns and country very generally attended. Many of Mr. Brown's old associates and opponents in public life were present. His old personal and political friends, Sir Antoine Dorion and Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, were placed at his head in the procession; the other pall-bearers were Hon. Edward Blake, Sir Alexander Campbell, Sir Richard J. Cartwright, Hon. Archibald McKellar, Professor Wilson, Judge Morrison, Hon. G. W. Allan, Hon. L. S. Huntington, Hon. David Christie, Hon. Wm. McMaster and Sir W. P. Howland.

The day was a beautiful May morning, and all without seemed bright and gay as the sad procession was formed. The streets in the vicinity of his late residence were so densely crowded by people from city and country that it seemed impossible to clear a way, yet a few moments sufficed to form into regular order. The various delegations promptly fell into line—that from the county of Lambton, led by Rev. Mr. Thompson of Sarnia, taking the lead, as the first county that had given Mr. Brown a seat in parliament. The streets by which the procession moved to reach the Necropolis Cemetery were lined the whole way by a multitude of sympathetic people, who reverently uncovered as the cortege passed.

With these manifestations of universal sorrow and regard all that was mortal of George Brown was laid to rest beside a revered father and mother. Canada mourned for her accomplished son. The voice which had swayed popular assemblies so long and so powerfully was hushed in the silence of the tomb. The commanding figure and kindly impressive face disappeared from public view. No one could be more missed from the social and political life of the country. The place he occupied in all relations of the citizen and statesman must remain vacant for the present. His death in the ordinary course of nature would have evoked much feeling and sympathy, but the violent and sudden rupture of all the ties of social, business, and political life made the bereaved home, the business office, and the council of the political party he was identified with, miss all the more the genial hearty face and the commanding intellect which had long been so well known and appreciated in almost every county in Ontario.

CHAPTER XXV.

Mr. Brown's Services to Liberalism in Canada.—Estimate of His Public and Private Character.

Mr. Brown's Canadian career extended over a period of thirty-six years. He came to the country in early manhood with little or no influence or fortune, depending entirely on his personal exertions. In one year he established his reputation as a journalist, and obtained the confidence of the leading men in the liberal ranks. All felt that in him the party had secured a potent ally, and his newspaper within a year became its recognized organ. At that time newspaper literature had not any special influence. The seat of government was in a small city, and the administration itself was not hampered or strengthened by keen criticism or warm support from the press. Political life was in a changing uncertain condition. The new constitution was yet in its infancy. The promoters of reform in former days were more concerned in the exposure of grievances than in the construction of a new political edifice broad enough to embrace all desirable reforms. Popular rights and religious equality had to a great extent been conceded, but much remained to be accomplished. A class of reformers, becoming less numerous every day, remained, who devoted themselves and their newspapers to fighting past battles, rehearsing old grievances, and denouncing the Family Compact. This class had a goodly portion of the "know-nothing" element; its members seemed to resent the coming from other lands of sterling reformers as almost an intrusion, and their advocacy of a building up, broad policy, establishing a really responsible government, was often met by carping criticism and personal attack.

Mr. Baldwin and some other leaders of the liberal party were, to say the least, timorous and undecided in their course, and the Governor-General exercised an improper influence in the administration of affairs. Into such elements the new candidate for popular favour precipitated himself with all his characteristic energy, sweeping aside the cobwebs of the past, taking his stand on the unassailable ground that all classes and creeds must enjoy equality in the eye of the law, and that all the class legislation of the past must be speedily repealed. The result was that he soon obtained an influence in the country generally which was unparalleled.

Liberal statesmen felt that they had a powerful supporter in the

new journalist, but some of them also felt that a new power was put in motion which would compel them to move on or subject them to be trampled over in the inevitable onward movement. The journal commenced by the young Scotchman became immediately the recognized organ of the liberal party, and in little more than eight years after he became a resident of Canada, he was elected a member of the legislature for one of the largest counties. This success was partly owing to his great energy, partly to his power as a speaker, but mainly to the influence he wielded as editor of the *Globe*. The intense earnestness and vigour he displayed as a speaker at popular meetings, enhanced greatly by his fine presence, enabled him to communicate an enthusiasm to his audience which seldom failed to carry him through triumphantly.

His information on public questions of the day, and on historical facts bearing upon them, was very extensive; while his skill in debate, his rapid utterance and enthusiastic energy, often overwhelmed opponents who were themselves able men. There was no man amongst the public men of the past generation so effective as a political speaker; but the very qualities and circumstances which gave him his influence and power with the masses, and constituted him a natural leader, also conduced to raise up many bitter enemies. He was often assailed by members of his own party, some of whom objected to the rigid code of political morality as to measures which he inculcated. His path as a reform journalist was often crossed by time-servers who were willing to compromise principles, or postpone action thereon, for the sake of office. Sooner or later this class came under the lash of the *Globe*, and some of them never quite forgot what they conceived to be an injury. In some cases the denunciatory language was undoubtedly too severe, and possibly sufficient allowance was not made for the initial difficulties to be overcome in getting into working order the system of parliamentary or responsible government. On the other hand, no political leader ever was more disposed to welcome back members of the party who had been temporarily alienated from their friends. It became his duty, in pursuance of the policy he adopted, to condemn the course of the reform leader, Robert Baldwin. Nothing need be said here as to what was involved in that act, as their relations have been already dealt with in this volume. There was undoubtedly a considerable portion of the liberal party that more or less sympathized with the timid policy of this statesman, or rather who admired his personal character so much that they looked more lightly than they should upon his failure to carry out the pledges made or programme understood or adopted before the general elections of 1844 and 1847, but who were quite loyal to the party generally. For a time this class blamed the *Globe* as having been needlessly severe to an able and

upright but tho dilatory public man. It is elsewhere demonstrated that there was no just ground for this opinion, and long ago all sections of the party were satisfied that the leading journal only discharged a plain duty in pointing out Mr. Baldwin's unfitness to lead in carrying out the reform policy.

There was another class which sought shelter from the consequences of treachery by hiding under Baldwin's name. This class moved to the Tory camp under the name of "Baldwin Reformers." It was insignificant in numbers and ability, too insignificant as a class to be attacked—but there were individuals in it who had some standing in the country. These men were vigorously assailed and their election opposed by Mr. Brown. In doing so he incurred some censure and subjected himself to much misrepresentation, which remained to some extent in the public mind to the last. His line at that time was, as a matter of course, strongly condemned by both these classes. He was characterized as a tyrant and dictator, just as he was in later times by men who vacillated between the two political camps, between free trade and protection, between British rule and annexation to the United States. The question naturally arises, what did he demand as the duty of public men when he first made known his discontent at the leaders' course? The reply must be, that after years of patient waiting for the fulfilment of pledges given, he refused, and properly refused, to defend further or wait longer, and denounced the conduct of Baldwin, Hincks and others as suicidal and calamitous morally and politically, besides being unfaithful to their promises, and to the anti-state church policy held as a sacred principle by the reform party. The strong ground taken by Mr. Brown led to such expressions of hostile opinion that he at one time spoke of himself, when replying to charges of personal ambition, as a "governmental impossibility." There can be no doubt that he assumed a grave responsibility in adopting a course which resulted in an alienation, more or less complete, of many liberals and many liberal newspapers. It must be remembered, however, that the course of the liberal ministry of 1848 was such that it made a disruption of the party inevitable, and that long before Mr. Brown turned from them, the Toronto *Examiner* had vigorously denounced them, and that a party had even appeared in the liberal ranks in parliament hostile to the government. When this opposition first appeared Mr. Brown vigorously attacked it, and humorously designated Caleb Hopkins and Malcolm Cameron as "*Clear Grits*," this being the first time the phrase, now commonly applied to the party generally, was used. He hoped at the time that the indications of discontent then apparent among ministerial supporters would have a salutary effect. When this appeared hopeless he at once determined to adhere to principle by proclaiming his views, let the consequences be what they might.

It is impossible to condemn such a course, if wisely conducted. It would be rash to say that this was always the case; and, on the other hand, it would be unjust to say that Mr. Brown was not actuated by the best motives, and that success was not achieved at last for the principles he advocated mainly or very largely in consequence of his efforts at that early day. His course at that time, in vigorously opposing his own political friends when recreant to their principles, undoubtedly secured the complete triumph of those principles at a much earlier day than if he had allowed them to neglect these interests with impunity.

Every one will remember that he afterwards acted heartily with many public men of his own party whom he at one time opposed because they supported a policy of delay, thereby showing a proper but generous spirit, and a right appreciation of the necessities of political life. In no one thing did he sacrifice so much of his personal feeling as when he consented to serve in the same administration with Mr. John A. Macdonald: that gentleman had done him a grievous injury in making the charges he did concerning Mr. Brown's conduct while serving on the Kingston Penitentiary commission, which was never atoned for. Nothing could be more unpalatable than to have such a colleague, but Mr. Brown, at the request of his party, joined Sir E. Taché's government to carry out the confederation scheme. When he left the coalition government he resumed his former relations of non-intercourse with Mr. John A. Macdonald, though doubtless prepared at any time to accept in its right spirit any expression of regret for so unjustifiable an accusation as had been made. That expression never was uttered. It is known that Mr. Macdonald promised, when the coalition government was formed, to make a public retractation of the false charges he had brought against Mr. Brown in this matter. This promise he failed to fulfil, thereby lowering his own position, and justifying Mr. Brown in refusing any social recognition of him. Mr. Macdonald might possibly have pleaded, as many of his supporters did, that he had reason to believe the charges true when he made them; but when, with a committee of his own choosing, he failed utterly in establishing a single charge, he should at once have risen to the dignity of the occasion, and admitted he had been deceived, and apologized for the attack.

Hot words and bitter expressions are often doubtless exchanged in political warfare by most leaders, and Mr. Brown was no exception to the rule, but he never transgressed by making a purely personal attack, and many with whom he had fierce struggles in the arena of politics became afterwards his warmest friends. A man of strong feeling and warm enthusiastic disposition, he conveyed sometimes to those who met him occasionally the idea that he was intolerant of other

people's opinions, and resolved to have his own way. Those who thought so did not know him. He was often blamed by his close allies in the liberal ranks for too readily admitting into political confidence men who had shown something very like a wilful abandonment of party and principle. In council he was always disposed to listen to others' arguments, and defer much to the opinions of those in whom he had confidence. As a political leader he was always considerate to his supporters, but he would not lead on any doubtful policy, and when once a policy was adopted by his party, none was so resolute in carrying it towards a conclusion. A notable instance occurred in 1860, when he moved certain resolutions in the House of Assembly, in pursuance of the conclusions at which the Reform Convention of September, 1859, had arrived. Several powerful members, including the late J. S. Macdonald, H. M. Foley, and Dr. Connor, objected to his proceeding with the resolutions, but he resolutely adhered to the policy adopted, and the recusants were obliged to submit.

It must be admitted that many of the objections to his thorough system in political life between 1850 and 1865 were based on the belief that it would keep the liberal party out of power. He cared chiefly for a straight advocacy of essential principles, with the belief that every struggle brought them nearer his reach. He saw no special benefit in having a government called by the name of reform, composed of men who called themselves reformers, if they were either unable or unwilling to give effect to reform measures and principles. His principal opponent in the reform ranks, on the other hand, did not hesitate to say openly in parliament that he was prepared to join any combination of parties which would prevent any disturbance of the then existing union, even so far as to grant representation by population. This policy doubtless kept Mr. Hincks in power for some years, and so far kept in the background reforms which were inevitable, and which an honest perseverance in pursuing a liberal policy on his part might have anticipated by some years. The one gravitated naturally to the Tory camp on the (political) broad road, and after many years he became a minister again after the reforms had been accomplished which he had determinately resolved to prevent by "any combinations." The other had the proud satisfaction of knowing that to his efforts mainly was his party and his province indebted for the final triumph of the principles he had so long contended for. Long before he passed away there was no vestige of state-churchism in the land; all churches stood equal in the eye of the law. A just system of parliamentary representation had taken the place of one partial and unjust; and in addition to this, his long cherished hope of living to see a powerful British nationality in America was realized in connection with the reforms he had advocated. The "some joint authority"

of the modest convention resolutions in 1859 had developed into a powerful federal government, exercising supreme authority from Cape Breton to Vancouver, within the bounds of the "federative" system quietly suggested by Mr. Brown in his report from the House committee in 1864, already referred to.

Mr. Brown often remarked in his speeches, when replying to charges of being ambitious, that few men who devoted themselves to a pressing advocacy of reform and change lived to benefit personally by them, and that assuredly he did not expect to be any exception. This in his case was literally true. He was for eighteen months a member of a coalition government formed to carry out his programme of political changes, but left that government as soon as the proposed reforms were safe. If being a member of a government be a political reward, his was a poor one—a minister for eighteen months out of thirty-six years of continuous service. He had, however, an honourable pride in contemplating his achievements, and his name will ever be associated with the federal union of the British provinces and the obtainment of justice for his own province.

In the early years of his journalistic life, when heading the assault against the endowment by the state of any church, he was looked upon as the enemy of the favoured sects. Every person now knows that a church does not prosper necessarily because the state aids it. In Canada it was shown that those churches prospered most which did not touch the money or lands of the state; while the churches that did receive a share of the clergy reserve lands did not prosper so much. The sympathy of the masses was withheld, from college and church alike, as long as the injustice continued, and it was only after the lapse of years had sufficed to induce forgetfulness of the past that all the churches shared in the full sympathy and support of the people. Perhaps in nothing else did Mr. Brown rejoice so much in the latter years of his life as the settled state of public opinion as to the permanent nature of the relations of Canada and Great Britain. Twenty-five years before there was at least an uneasy feeling abroad; once or twice this feeling found expression in several parts of Canada; its existence was referred to in despatches from Canada to the Imperial government. Some classes of British politicians seemed disposed to look upon the colonial possessions of the empire as a clog and hindrance—a source of danger and expense. This latter class seemed to have only one consideration before their political vision, "Will it pay?" One Governor-General at least went so far as to tell Canadians that they might cut the connection as soon as they pleased, so far as Great Britain was concerned. The school of commercial politicians had obtained so strong a footing in Britain that they felt able to instruct or influence the Queen's representative in Canada to make

such a public declaration. Mr. Brown always maintained that perfect liberty and independence of action in everything of local concern was compatible with the colonial state of political existence. He felt an honest pride in the glory of the British empire, and he also felt that the cause of freedom over the world would be seriously injured by its disintegration, even so far as to sever any of its great colonies. It was with him both a matter of sound public policy and sentiment to remain a member of the great Anglo-Saxon power, to share in its growth and successes, and, if need be, to bear a share of its reverses.

Mr. Brown and the *Globe* did much to cultivate a national feeling, national in the broadest sense of the term, embracing Great Britain and all her colonies. He was, however, a true cosmopolitan in this sense, that he was a warm friend of the United States, Britain's child but also commercial rival, and of all other countries where the arm of the oppressor was broken. During the existence of the slave power in the United States there was no more outspoken friend of the poor slave than George Brown; no more eloquent defender of the fugitive than he when the slave-driver dared to pursue his human chattel into Canada.

True to his Scottish instincts, he was a strong friend of Sabbath observance. Though a strong voluntary in principle, he deemed a public recognition of the Sabbath by individuals and governmental departments as a sacred duty—an essential one in the maintenance of public morality.

The cause of temperance and every moral reform found in Mr. Brown a warm friend and courageous advocate. The *Globe*, under the management of the brothers George and Gordon, had therefore a firm footing with the better classes of the Canadian people, as all felt that, whether its political preferences were at all times acceptable or not, it was the consistent friend of public morality.

Mr. Brown was a member of the presbyterian church, devotedly attached to what was, before the union, the Free Church section of that body. Had he lived in the time of the Stuart persecutions he would have been, from his nature, among the first to sign the Solemn League and Covenant—among the first to repudiate allegiance to an untruthful and persecuting monarch. As it was, he was a devoted admirer of the noble men who fought for religious liberty in Scotland and secured the same blessing for England.

As to his domestic relations, the biographer may have no right to do more than say that they were singularly happy. Whatever clouds might cross his path outside, he carried the utmost cheerfulness and geniality to his home; a chief trait of character was his intense love of home. His meetings with wife and children, when the exacting day's duties and vexations were over, were perfect illustrations of

domestic happiness and enjoyment. No man could be more beloved than he was by his family; no man deserved that love more. It is pleasant for them to look back to, but it made the parting all the more painful. He left two daughters and one son, named after himself (George Mackenzie Brown), to mourn a loss to them irreparable, though Mrs. Brown, with her well-known excellent qualities of heart and head, will nobly fulfil many of the duties the lamented father would have discharged if he had been spared.