

IN MEMORIAM.

"And when the stream
Which overflowed the soul was passed away,
A consciousness remained that it had left,
Deposited upon the silent shore
Of memory, images and precious thoughts
That shall not die, and cannot be destroyed."

WORDSWORTH.

The brave, large-hearted statesman was now at rest. To use Dr. Cochrane's eloquent words, "There has been laid in the grave, since last we assembled in the house of God, a kingly man; one who for many years has by unanimous consent been ranked among the princes of the land. Over his grave the people have wept, and a feeling of unfeigned sadness has possessed all hearts, because of his untimely end." The voice of censure and detraction was hushed; only what was generous and kindly in the nature of the departed was remembered. Tokens of universal sorrow were everywhere manifested, and found expression in the press of Canada and the United States; in public meetings where all parties attended; in church courts; and in the resolutions passed by municipal corporations. In nearly all the churches of Toronto reference was made to the lamentable event on the Sabbath he died; and on the succeeding Sabbath a very large number of sermons were preached in which his life and death were discoursed upon. Touching reference was made, in some of the ecclesiastical bodies of several churches at meetings held shortly afterwards, to the shocking occurrence by which one so prominent and generally beloved was stricken to the earth, and a family so harmonious and happy thrown into the deepest distress to which humanity is subject.

It was to be expected that the party he had led so long and so well in political warfare should in a special manner seek to do honour to the memory of the departed leader. This feeling naturally led to reform associations and clubs in all quarters calling meetings, at which resolutions were passed expressive of the deepest sorrow for his untimely fate, and kindly regard for his family in their grief. The sympathy for the family was genuine and hearty, and could public feeling have assuaged their grief, that grief had not lasted long. To that hour the domestic circle had been unbroken, and the genius of

domestic peace presided over the household as if it never would be broken. They were soon to learn that

"There is no fireside, howsoe'er defended,
But has one vacant chair."

Could brilliant talents, a splendid record as politician and publicist, an unblemished reputation in private life, have detained him, he had not left; but sometimes, as now, "Death loves a shining mark, a signal blow."

The manifestations of public sympathy were all that could be desired by Mr. Brown's warmest friends. Extracts now given from some of the sermons and proceedings at public meetings, and a selection from the numerous addresses of condolence sent, will show better than any description the extent and character of these public manifestations.

Shortly after his death there was a general desire expressed in favour of the erection of a monument to his memory in some public place in the city of Toronto. In accordance with this desire, a meeting was called in Shaftesbury Hall, which was attended by a large number of prominent citizens, including several members of the local government. After a number of gentlemen had addressed the meeting, all in favour of the proposed monument, a committee was appointed to carry out the proposal made. Subsequently the committee met and organized at the Board of Trade rooms, with John Macdonald, Esq., as chairman, James D. Edgar, Esq., as secretary, and David Blain, Esq., as treasurer. Subscription lists were sent to various parts of the country, and, generally speaking, were well signed. It was decided to erect a statue of Mr. Brown in the University Park, in a spot to be selected by the authorities. Mr. Brodie, the celebrated sculptor of Edinburgh, was selected to execute the work, but unfortunately Mr. Brodie was taken ill before he had well commenced the statue, and, after a brief illness, expired. There will not, however, be any serious delay in getting the work executed, as another artist has been engaged of equally high reputation.

It may well be said that no monument was needed to keep the name of George Brown in remembrance, even with those who did not always agree with him; but there seemed to be a general desire to do honour to his memory in the manner chosen in all ages to commemorate the name of the chief citizens whose names were already linked with the history of their country. His name and public labours will always occupy a large space in the history of Canada, and however men may differ as to the wisdom or unwisdom of his political views and the mode of giving them effect, all will admit that his record is an honourable one. His friends can boast also that the principles he

advocated from his first advent in Canada were crystallized in the statutes of the country before his death; very largely by his own efforts.

When the inscription on his marble monument will be worn away, the work he accomplished, the patriotism he manifested, will be held in grateful remembrance. The granite or marble will yield to the ravages of time, but the results of his labour will influence national life, stimulate individual effort, and exert a moral influence to the end of time.

CITY COUNCIL OF TORONTO.

At a meeting of the Council of the Corporation of the city of Toronto, held on Monday, the 10th day of May, 1880, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Moved by Alderman McMurrie, seconded by Alderman Close, and

Resolved.—That the death of the Honourable George Brown, senator of Canada, after a painful and lingering illness, caused by an attack by a misguided person on the 25th March, which, while not immediately fatal, has resulted in his demise on the 9th instant, is regarded by this Council with sentiments of no common emotion and sorrow.

That on an occasion such as the present all party feeling is hushed, and every dividing sentiment merged in the recognition of eminent talent, high patriotism, loyal citizenship, and a position proudly earned as one of the foremost of Canada's public and representative men.

That in the removal, under such appalling circumstances, in the full vigour of his commanding abilities, of one possessing so distinguished a hold on the sympathies of his fellow-countrymen and citizens, it is difficult to find words which will adequately express the profound feeling by which the Council are moved. They can but record a national loss of the gravest character, and a domestic bereavement of the most painful nature, and, while joining in the feeling of respect which pervades every class of society in contemplating the one, approach the other with still sadder feelings, in attempting to offer to his sorrowing widow and family an expression of heartfelt sympathy and condolence.

JAMES BEATY, Jr., *Mayor*.

ROBERT RODDY, *Clerk*.

SAMUEL B. HARMAN,

Treasurer, and Keeper of the Civic Seal.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, TORONTO,
May 10th, 1880.

BUFFALO CITY COUNCIL.

CITY CLERK'S OFFICE, BUFFALO,
May 11th, 1880.

I, W. P. Burns, City Clerk of Buffalo, New York, hereby certify that at a meeting of the Common Council, held at the Council Chamber in the City and County Hall on the 10th day of May, A. D. 1880, a preamble and resolutions were adopted, of which the following is a true copy:

Whereas, God in His providence has removed from earth, in the fulness of his years, the Hon. George Brown, of Toronto, Ont.—a man strong in

purpose, pure in heart and noble in life ; by whose death this country and the people of the world have lost a friend to the cause of freedom ; whose broad grasp and advanced ideas were ever exerted in the interests of liberty and humanity ; and as the Dominion of Canada in his death has lost a statesman and journalist who was wise in council and characterized for his courage and veracity, and who filled every position to which he was called with fidelity and honour—therefore, be it

Resolved,—That the Common Council of the city of Buffalo hereby record their tribute of respect to the memory of our deceased friend and the distinguished statesman, and with grief express in this feeble manner our sympathy with the bereaved family of the deceased, and with his countrymen in this their hour of trial.

Resolved,—That His Honour the Mayor be requested to cause the flag on the City Hall to be placed at half mast on Wednesday, the day of the funeral, as a token of respect to the memory of the deceased.

Resolved,—That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the City Clerk to the family of the departed.

Adopted unanimously.

[Seal.]

(Signed,)

W. P. BURNS, *City Clerk*.
ALEX. BRUSH, *Mayor*.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

REGISTRAR'S OFFICE, May 13th, 1880.

DEAR MADAM,—I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of resolution of the Senate of the University, passed at a meeting held on Thursday, the 13th instant.

I have the honour to be, Madam,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) W. G. FALCONBRIDGE, *Registrar*.

MRS. BROWN, Beverley Street, Toronto.

Moved by Dr. Wilson, and seconded by Professor Buckland, and

Resolved,—That the Senate of the University of Toronto, at this its first meeting after the death of the Honourable George Brown—a senator of the Dominion of Canada, a member of this senate, and throughout his long public career a consistent and faithful advocate of the highest interests of education and of the extension of its privileges to all, untrammelled by distinction of race or creed—record their profound sorrow at the loss which the university, in common with the province and the entire Dominion, sustains by his death.

Certified as a copy of a minute of a meeting of the senate, held the 13th May, A.D. 1880.

(Signed,) W. G. FALCONBRIDGE, *Registrar*.

FROM CANADIANS IN CHICAGO.

CITY OF CHICAGO, COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS,
May 13th, 1880.

To MRS. GEORGE BROWN, Toronto, Canada.

DEAR MADAM,—A large number of Canadian gentlemen, residing in this city, held a meeting in the exchange room of the Grand Pacific Hotel, on

the evening of the 12th instant, to give expression to their feelings on the receipt of the news of the death of the late Hon. George Brown, your lamented husband; and, as instructed by the meeting, we have the honour to convey to you a copy of the resolutions then adopted, with the assurance of our high regard and sympathy with yourself and family in the loss you have sustained.

We are, Dear Madam, very respectfully,

(Signed,) ALEXANDER C. BELL, *Chairman*,
CLEMENT D. GRASETT, *Secretary*.

Mr. C. R. Brooke, formerly of Toronto, after giving a *resumé* of the principal events connected with Canadian history during the last half century, moved the following memorial resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Hugh Innis, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved,—That the Canadian residents in Chicago have heard with profound sorrow of the death, by the hands of an assassin, of the Hon. George Brown, of Toronto, the founder and editor-in-chief of the *Globe* newspaper, for nearly forty years one of the most prominent statesmen of the Dominion of Canada.

He was the indomitable advocate of many great reforms, and had the rare fortune of living to see them all accomplished, and the country of his adoption finally united in a confederation, which will in future years enable her to rank among the most independent and happy nations of the world.

Resolved,—That so useful a life should be thus struck down is to the Dominion of Canada a national calamity, and to his numerous friends who have observed his political and literary life, a cause of the deepest regret.

Resolved,—That the meeting instructs its chairman and secretary to forward a copy of these resolutions to his bereaved family, with an expression of its sympathy with them in the great and irreparable loss they have sustained, and as a mark of respect entertained by the Canadian residents of Chicago for one whose name as a statesman has been so intimately connected with every movement for constitutional reform in a country which will remain endeared to them by early recollections.

Done at Chicago, Illinois, this 12th day of May, 1880.

(Signed,) ALEXANDER C. BELL, *Chairman*,
CLEMENT D. GRASETT, *Secretary*.

CITY COUNCIL, OTTAWA.

Moved by Alderman Scott, seconded by Alderman Jamieson,

That this Council hereby expresses its deep regret at the untimely death of the Hon. George Brown, senator, and to place upon record its appreciation of his services as a public man during the past quarter of a century.

Furthermore, this Council expresses deep and sincere condolence with the widow and relations of the deceased gentleman.

Resolved,—That a copy of this resolution, under seal, be sent to the widow of the late Hon. George Brown.

Certified true copy of a resolution of the Council of the Corporation of the city of Ottawa, passed on the 12th day of May, 1880.

[Seal.]

W. P. LETT, *City Clerk*.

CITY COUNCIL, GUELPH.

Moved by Alderman McLagan, and seconded by Alderman Chadwick,

That this Council, acting for and representing the citizens of Guelph, at this its first regular meeting after his death, expresses its great sorrow at the loss the country has sustained in the untimely death of the Hon. George Brown, so suddenly cut off in the prime of his manhood by the dastardly act of an assassin.

Senator Brown, for a period of upwards of a quarter of a century, occupied an exalted position as a statesman, journalist and citizen of his adopted country; was an unflinching advocate for the political, social and religious liberties of the people; British connection, equal rights to all classes, irrespective of nationality, creed or colour; a sincere and devout Christian, who throughout his whole career was an upholder of truth and those great moral principles which enabled him to carry with him to the tomb the white lily of a blameless life; whose services to his country will be handed down to generations yet unborn as those rendered by one of the greatest and best of our public men who have adorned our legislative halls and our country.

Be it resolved,—That a copy of the foregoing resolution be sent to the family of the late senator, tendering to his sorrowing widow, his fatherless children and his relatives, the deep and fervent sympathy of the citizens of Guelph in their sad bereavement.—*Adopted*.

JNO. HARVEY, *City Clerk*.

[Seal.]

GALT TOWN COUNCIL.

May 12th, 1880.

It was moved by Mr. Richard Blain, and seconded by Mr. Hugh McCulloch,

That this Council desires publicly to express its deep regret at the tragic death of the Hon. George Brown, a gentleman whose name has been associated with the history of Canada for the past forty years, and whose name has been a "household word" with its people.

In his lamented death it is felt that the country has lost a sincere friend and devoted servant; the profession of journalism one of its most vigorous and able writers; his widow and family a loving husband and father; and his friends and acquaintances a noble and generous man.

And, to give expression to these sentiments, this Council desires further to express to the widow and family of the deceased their heartfelt sympathy with them in the loss they have sustained, and to express the hope that He who doeth all things well will extend to them His consolation and support.

And that a copy of this resolution be engrossed, and forwarded to Mrs. Brown.

TORONTO PRESBYTERY.

Toronto, 90 Maitland Street, May 21st, 1880.

MRS. GEORGE BROWN.

DEAR MADAM,—The accompanying copy of a minute adopted by the Presbytery of Toronto—which came into my hands only to-day—I now

transmit to you, as instructed by the Presbytery so to do. And I beg to say that with all that is contained in said minute I heartily concur.

I have the honour to be, Dear Madam,
Yours with respect and sympathy,

(Signed,) R. MONTEATH,
Presbytery Clerk.

The Presbytery of Toronto agree to record their deep sorrow at the death of the Hon. George Brown.

In common with the entire community, they recognize his great intellectual abilities and pure character: his uprightness and zeal for the public welfare; his consistency, and indomitable perseverance and courage in the advocacy of all measures which approved themselves to his judgment; and the great services which, thus endowed, he was enabled to render Canada. The healthful moral result of the manifold and earnest labours of Mr. Brown will now also be heartily recognized by all, and his powerful advocacy of interests dear to all who seek the good of society and have respect to the Divine law. To all well directed efforts made for the relief of the suffering and wronged, for the advancement of education, for the protection of the Sabbath, for the establishment and extension of Christianity, he devoted his powerful influence and generous aid. As a member of the presbyterian church, holding with strong conviction its characteristic principles, he did much both directly and indirectly to promote its work in the land; especially was he honoured to illustrate and defend the freedom which the church of Christ, in all its branches, is entitled to enjoy, while at the same time he zealously guarded the civil prerogatives against all ecclesiastical encroachment. By his pure life and conversation he commended the religion of Christ; and the Presbytery rejoice to know that he was sustained, during his last trying illness, by his trust in God and in the blood of the Redeemer, and was enabled calmly to submit himself to the will of the Almighty.

The Presbytery desire to express their deep and respectful sympathy with all the members of the bereaved family, and their earnest prayer that grace may be given to sustain them under the pressure of their great affliction, and to sanctify it to their spiritual and eternal welfare.

In name and by appointment of the Presbytery of Toronto,

(Signed,) J. S. SMITH, *Moderator.*
R. MONTEATH, *Clerk.*

Toronto, 11th May, 1880.

COLOURED CITIZENS OF TORONTO.

At a meeting held in the Baptist Chapel (corner of Victoria and Queen Streets) by the coloured citizens on this date, the following resolutions were ordered to be sent to the family of the late Hon. George Brown:

Resolved.—That the death of the Hon. George Brown, late senator of Canada, has caused another vacancy in the ranks of the noble and disinterested champions of freedom which can never be filled, and that we recognize that loss with the deepest and most heartfelt feelings of sorrow and regret, knowing that the Summer of Canada has passed away, whose voice and pen was always ready, able and willing to do battle for the cause of the downtrodden and oppressed of all peoples.

That we tender our earnest and heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved family, and that we ever pray that the Divine blessing may comfort them in this their dire affliction.

HENRY LEWIS, *President*.
F. G. SIMPSON, *Secretary*.

TORONTO, May 11, 1880.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

TORONTO, May 12th, 1880.

MRS. GEORGE BROWN.

DEAR MADAM,—The Central Association of Congregational ministers— assembled this day in Zion Church, Toronto—passed the following resolution, and desired me to forward the same to you.

Moved by the Rev. John Burton, B.A., seconded by the Rev. J. J. Hindley, M.A., and unanimously

Resolved,—That this Association would record its deep sense of loss sustained by the country in the death of the late Hon. George Brown.

They would recognize with gratitude the important part he has taken in the formation of our Canadian nationality and liberties, his energy as a journalist, and his worth as a private citizen. They would express their deep sympathy with his bereaved widow and family, commending them to the consolation of a sympathizing Saviour, and the hope of the reunion hereafter.

May the God of all comfort comfort them in their deep affliction.

J. I. HIXLEY, *Secretary*.

COBDEN CLUB, ENGLAND.

At a meeting of the committee, held on the 22nd May, 1880, it was resolved that an expression of the great regret felt by the committee on hearing of the death of the Hon. George Brown, of Toronto, an honorary member of the club, should be placed on the minutes of the proceedings of the committee.

(Signed,)

RICHARD GOWING, *Secretary*.
THOS. B. POTTER, *Hon. Secretary*.

Extract from the Proceedings of the County Council of the County of Oxford.

COUNTY COUNCIL CHAMBER, WOODSTOCK,
18th June, 1880.

Moved by Mr. Wm. Peprs, seconded by Mr. B. Hopkins, and

Resolved,—That this Council embrace the first opportunity to express their profound regret at the loss the Dominion of Canada has sustained by the death of the late Hon. George Brown, a gentleman who formerly represented this county in parliament, and has, as a journalist, statesman, agriculturalist and a man, for many years laboured with distinguished ability and zeal to serve his adopted country according to his best judgment.

And we desire also to express our deep disgust and horror at the crime which led to his death; and our sincere sympathy with his widow and bereaved family and friends.

And that a copy of this resolution, signed by the Warden and Clerk, with the corporate seal attached, be forwarded to Mrs. Brown.

[Seal.]

A. L. WILCOX, *Warden*.
JAMES WHITE, *County Clerk*.

"CLUB NATIONALE," MONTREAL.

At a largely attended meeting of reformers and members of the "Club Nationale," held on Friday evening in the club's rooms, the following resolutions were passed on the sad death of the deceased senator:

It was moved by Messrs. R. Profontaine, M. P. P., Hon. J. R. Thibaudau, Ald. Thomas Wilson, Joseph Duhamel, Q. C., Chs. Berger, J. N. Bieuvencu, Chs. Meunier and Raoul Dandurand.

That this meeting has learned with regret of the death of the Hon. George Brown, who, as a journalist, legislator and statesman, figured in the front rank of the defenders of the reform and progressive party of Canada.

That by his remarkable talents, his love of work and energy, Mr. Brown proved himself an honour to his adopted country, and his name will be perpetuated in its history during this century for elevating to its highest rank the Canadian press, procuring the secularization of the clergy reserves, and the abolition of certain privileges of caste.

That the friends of the liberal party leave to history all the weight of impartial judgment which it will carry on certain acts of Mr. Brown; and it will become recognized that this distinguished man was imbued with patriotic sentiments and ideas really in harmony with the liberalism and professions that we, as a party, know them under the British constitution.

It was moved by Messrs. Ernest Tremblay, N. W. Trentholme, Q. C., F. X. Archambault, Q. C., Euclide Roy, Chs. Ouide Perrault, H. Beaugrand, N. Lefebvre, A. P. Globepsky, G. A. Morrison and P. R. Martineau.

That the name of Hon. George Brown will remain engraved on the national monument, which is called responsible government of Canada.

That Mr. Brown was one of those courageous men, one of those clear-minded patriots, who contributed to obtain for Canadians the fulness of responsible government, to acclimate it to Canada, to fight against the encroachments of the Crown, and to inspire the population with love and respect for the institutions which we have fully enjoyed since 1847.

It was moved by Messrs. A. E. Poirier, C. A. Geoffrion, Q. C., E. C. Monk, Ald. Robert, P. G. Martineau, P. H. Roy, A. P. Cariveau.

That this meeting offers its condolence to the family of the Hon. George Brown, fallen under the bullet of the cowardly assassin at the moment when his contemporaries, rising above political passions, were rendering just homage to the philanthropy, to the patriotism which was so greatly personified in the regretted deceased.

It was moved by Messrs. A. P. Morin, A. S. Mackay, Louis Perrault, F. O. Rinfret, L. Forget, P. Durandand, and J. D. Ledue.

That a copy of the present resolutions be transmitted to the family of the deceased, to the liberal press of the Province of Quebec, to the *Globe* of Toronto and the *Free Press* of Ottawa.

D. MESSIER, *President*.

P. R. MARTINEAU, *Secretary*.

BROCKVILLE TOWN COUNCIL.

BROCKVILLE COUNCIL CHAMBER,
17th May, 1880.

Moved by Mr. W. H. Cole, seconded by Mr. G. A. Dana, and

Resolved,—That we, the Town Council of Brockville, take the opportunity of this our first meeting to express our regret at the untimely death of the late Hon. George Brown, one of Canada's greatest statesmen, and whose name has been so long identified with the best interests of our country; and whose death will be an irreparable loss to the Dominion.

And we would also express our horror at the dastardly act which caused his death, and we beg most respectfully to tender to his bereaved family our heartfelt sympathy with them in this their sad affliction; and that the Clerk do forward a copy of this resolution, with the seal of this Corporation attached thereto, to the widow of the deceased.

WM. HENRY COMSTOCK, *Mayor*.

JOHN DARGAVEL, *Town Clerk*.

[Seal.]

PORT HOPE TOWN COUNCIL.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, PORT HOPE,
May 11th, 1880.

MRS. GEORGE BROWN, Toronto.

MADAM,—I am desired by the Mayor and Council of the Corporation of the Town of Port Hope to forward you a copy of the following resolution which was passed at the meeting held on Monday, the 10th May, 1880:

Moved by Councillor B. D. Deering, seconded by Councillor C. A. Hagerman, and

Resolved,—That this Council having heard with regret of the death of the Hon. George Brown, and being deeply sensible of his great public services, desire to express its sincere sympathy with the widow and family of the deceased, and instructs the Clerk to forward to them this expression of condolence with them in their great affliction.

H. V. SANDERS, *Town Clerk*.

WOODSTOCK TOWN COUNCIL.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, WOODSTOCK,
May 10th, 1880.

Moved by Henry Parker, seconded by Warren Totten, and

Resolved,—That the members of the Council of the town of Woodstock avail themselves of this opportunity of expressing their profound sorrow

at the demise on Sunday last of the Hon. George Brown, who has been at different times the representative in parliament of both ridings of this county. The occurrence which prostrated that hon. gentleman sent a thrill of horror throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion, and it was hoped, in the merciful dispensation of Providence, no disastrous effect would follow. It has been ordered otherwise, and one of Canada's greatest statesmen has fallen. We desire to extend to the bereaved widow and family of the deceased our heartfelt sympathy in their sore affliction, and we co-operate with our fellow-countrymen, of every political party and creed, in paying a tribute of respect to one whose energies were ever devoted to his country's good, and whose example will be ever remembered in the future of our country's progress; and that this Council, as a token of respect to the memory of the lamented deceased, do now adjourn; and that a copy of this resolution, with the corporate seal affixed thereto, be transmitted by his Worship the Mayor to his family.

[Seal.]

JAMES SUTHERLAND, Mayor.

GAELIC SOCIETY, TORONTO.

TALLA SHAFTESBURY,

10mh latha d'on 5mh Mios, 1880.

Aig coimeamh mhiosail comunn Gailig Thorontó chaidh na ruinean a leanas a leughadh a's a dhainneachadh le lan aonta:

Rùn I.—Gur h'ann le mulad annabarrach a chuala sinn mu bhas brònach an Urramaich Deorsa Brunn, duine uasal a bha re iomad bliadhna a saothrachadh gu misneachail, durachdach, agus gu bitheanta le mòr shoir-bheachadh ann an aobhar na duthcha so s'an robh a enomhuuidh, agus a bha daonnan a nochdadh cairdeas blath do'n ghineal do'm buin sinne.

Rùn II.—Gum bheil sinn a co-mhothachadh gu trom fòmhain le teaghlach an fhir-stata nach maireann, agus gur e ar dochas durachdach gum faigh iad am measg am bròn dìomhair a's an creach, solus agus furtachd anns an 'Ti as airde, far an robh an caraid ainmeil cluinteach riamh a seall-tuinn airson enideachadh agus treorachadh.

Rùn III.—Gum teid ath-sgrìobhadh do na ruin so a chur a dh' ionnsuidh teaghlach an fhir a chaochail, agus mar an ceudna do'n Phaipeir-naigheachd ris an robh e an comh-cheangal.

DONUILL MAC EOGHAIN,

Rùn Chèirreach.

(Translation).

At their monthly meeting, held at Shaftesbury Hall, on Monday, May 10th, 1880, the Gaelic Society of Toronto unanimously passed the following resolutions:

First,—"That it is with extreme sorrow we have heard of the tragic death of the Hon. George Brown, a gentleman who for so many years exerted himself strenuously and often successfully in the cause of his adopted country, and always showed a warm friendship for the race to which we belong."

Second,—"That we deeply sympathize with the bereaved family of the deceased statesman, and earnestly hope that they may find amid their profound grief consolation in that great Being to whom their distinguished relative ever looked for help and guidance."

Third,—"That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of the departed."

KINGSTON REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Moved by Mr. John Carruthers, seconded by Mr. William Ford, and

Resolved,—That the Reform Association of Kingston deplore the national loss sustained by his adopted country in the death of the Hon. George Brown—a great journalist, who founded and conducted to eminent success the leading organ of public opinion in Canada; a distinguished statesman, whose public life was devoted to the fearless advocacy of civil liberty; whose determined efforts contributed largely to the establishment of responsible government in this province; to whose lofty patriotism, rising above mere party considerations, the confederation of the British North American Provinces was mainly due; and one who unselfishly dedicated his tireless energies and great talents to the furtherance of the public good and the dissemination of the principles of the great reform party.

Moved by B. M. Britton, Esq., seconded by C. F. Gildersleeve, Esq., and

Resolved,—That this Association desire to express their deepest sympathy with the widow, family, and other relatives of the Hon. George Brown in the hour of their great grief, and to convey to them a heartfelt expression of profound sorrow that a life so blameless in all its domestic relations, and so eminent in its services to the state, should have had so sad and untimely an end.

Moved by Alexander Gunn, Esq., M.P., seconded by William Robinson, Esq., and

Resolved,—That a copy of the resolutions just moved be forwarded by the secretary to the widow of the Hon. George Brown.

ST. THOMAS REFORMERS.

ST. THOMAS, May 18, 1880.

DEAR MADAM,—I have been instructed to communicate to you the resolutions passed at a meeting of reformers held at this town on the 11th inst. A copy of the minutes of the meeting is accordingly subjoined. I have the honour to enclose herewith copies of the *St. Thomas Journal* of May 11th and May 14th, 1880, and to remain

Yours respectfully,

JAMES H. COYNE, *Secretary*.

Mrs. G. Brown, Beverley Street, Toronto.

A meeting of reformers, which was attended by a large number of representative gentlemen belonging to the town and county, was held in the Town Hall this afternoon for the purpose of expressing their sympathy with the relatives of the late Mr. Brown in their sad bereavement, and to record their admiration of his great qualities.

Mr. Walter E. Murray, of Aylmer, was appointed chairman, and James H. Coyne, of St. Thomas, secretary.

A letter was read by the secretary from Mr. T. M. Nairn, M.P.P., regretting his inability to be present, and expressing his high regard and esteem for the deceased statesman, and his sorrow for the loss the party and country had sustained in his death.

It was intimated by the chairman that Dr. Wilson, ex-M.P.P., had been unexpectedly called away by telegram, and desired to express his sympathy with the objects of the meeting.

Moved by Rev. Mr. Fraser, and

Resolved.—That by the death of the Hon. George Brown Canada has lost a statesman, who perhaps more than any other has contributed to the upbuilding of our Canadian nationality in all that tends to make a great and noble people; a citizen who has always laboured for the advancement of every worthy and beneficent cause; a man who, throughout his career "wearing the white flower of a blameless life," has left a memory to his fellow-countrymen which they will always cherish as a most valued inheritance.

The motion was seconded by Rev. D. Rowland, and supported by Rev. R. C. Parsons and Rev. George Simpson.

Moved by Mr. Colin MacDougall, and

Resolved.—That whereas the late Senator Brown was for many years the trusted leader of reform principles in this province, and by his great ability, energy and eloquence, and by his lofty character, he won for himself the love and esteem of his party and the respect of his political opponents, the reformers of St. Thomas and county of Elgin desire on this sad occasion of his death to offer their tribute to the memory of their great statesman and leader, and to express their profound grief at the loss of a life so valuable to the reform party and to the state.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Joel Lewis, of Yarmouth, and supported by Dr. McCarthy, ex-Mayor, and by Mr. Mayor Smith.

Wm. Coyne, J.P., then moved, seconded by Mr. James Stewart,

That we tender to the widow and children of the deceased our heartfelt sympathy in their great and irreparable loss.

It was then moved by Rev. J. E. Laneely, seconded by John Farley,

That a copy of the resolutions passed at this meeting be forwarded to Mrs. Brown by the secretary.

The several resolutions were carried unanimously.

It was announced that special arrangements had been made with the Great Western Railway on behalf of those who desired to attend the funeral of the Hon. Mr. Brown. A large number intimated their intention of being present to pay the last honours to the great reform leader.

JAMES H. COYNE, *Secretary.*
W. E. MURRAY, *Chairman.*

NORTH GREY REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Moved by A. Gifford, seconded by James Cleland,

That at this, the first meeting of this association since the death of the Hon. George Brown, we desire to place on record the regret we feel at the loss to the country of so able a statesman, so eminent a journalist and champion of liberty as the deceased gentleman was.

That this association deeply sympathize with his bereaved family and relatives; and that the secretary be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to his family.

LIFE AND SPEECHES OF
REFORM ASSOCIATION, WINDSOR.

WINDSOR, May, 1880.

At a meeting of the Reform Association of Windsor, Ont., held on Tuesday the 11th day of May, 1880, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

Whereas, the Hon. George Brown has, after many weeks of suffering, yielded up his life a sacrifice to the diabolical act of an assassin, against whom he had committed no offence ;

Whereas, the deceased was for many years the regularly recognized, trusted and esteemed leader of the reform party of Canada, alike in and out of the legislature ;

Whereas, in George Brown we beheld the great champion of civil and religious liberty in Canada, and the genuine patriot through whose courageous advocacy, manly conduct and unflagging exertions, our fair land, after long struggling, attained to the full measure of freedom which the people of this vast Dominion happily now enjoy ;

• Whereas, we utterly detest and abhor a resort to violence by individuals as a means of removing real or imaginary grievances ; more especially to that species of heartless crime which at once sacrifices human life and robs nations of their most worthy, useful and best honoured sons ;

Therefore be it Resolved,—That the liberals of Windsor tender their heartfelt sympathy to the widow and other relatives of that distinguished patriot, statesman and journalist, whose unprovoked murder we so deeply deplore.

That a deputation be appointed to represent us at the funeral of the deceased at Toronto, May the 12th.

That we severally wear for one month, upon the left arm, a badge of mourning to show how sensible we are of the great loss which we as members of the liberal party have sustained by the untimely death of Mr. Brown, and how thoroughly we venerate his memory.

That, guided wholly by a desire to see our public men shielded as far as possible from a calamitous end like that which overtook our lamented friend, and uninfluenced by a spirit of vindictiveness, we venture to express the hope that speedy justice may be meted out to the person whose act accomplished Mr. Brown's death.

That this resolution be immediately engrossed, signed by the secretary and chairman of this meeting, and transmitted to Mrs. Brown.

(Signed,)

GEORGE E. KILLEN, *Secretary*,
JAMES DOUGALL, *Chairman*.

ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY, TORONTO.

"Relieve the distressed."

At a meeting of the above society, held on Thursday, June 10th, 1880, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

That the members of this society take this the earliest opportunity of recording in the minutes their deep sense of the loss they have sustained by and of the regret they feel at the removal by death of the late Honourable George Brown, who was for so many years a member of the society, and who twice filled the office of president of the society.

Mr. Brown by his many estimable qualities had gained the confidence of all nationalities, but was especially dear to those of his own nationality and the members of this society; and while bearing himself with dignity in office, he was ever willing to counsel those who sought his advice and to relieve the distressed where necessity required.

While the society express their own feelings, they also take occasion to offer their heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved members of the late Mr. Brown's family, and commend them to the care of Him who alone can give true comfort in their sore trial.

(Signed,)

WM. RAMSAY, *President*,
JOHN DAVIDSON, } *Vice-Presidents*,
JAMES GRAHAM, }
KENNETH A. MILLER, *Secretary*.

TORONTO, June, 1880.

WHITBY PUBLIC MEETING.

At a public meeting held at Whitby—Mr. James Holden in the chair—the following resolutions of sympathy and condolence were passed:

Moved by Mr. J. E. Farewell, seconded by Mr. D. Ormiston,

That this meeting has learned with deep regret of the death of Hon. Senator Brown from the effect of the wounds received by him on the 25th of March last. That by the dastardly outrage then committed, Canada has lost her foremost statesman and leading journalist—one who by his earnest and praiseworthy efforts to improve the agricultural and develop the commercial interests of the Dominion, has merited the esteem of its people, no less than by his earnest and powerful advocacy of all measures tending to improve the moral and social condition of the people of the Dominion.

Moved by Mr. W. H. Higgins, seconded by Mr. King,

That this meeting, in recording its sincere sorrow at the sad and untimely death of Mr. Brown, desires also to convey to his bereaved widow and family the profound expression of our deep sympathy at their irreparable loss, and that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to Mrs. Brown.

Moved by Mr. Higgins, seconded by Mr. Ferguson,

That all who from Whitby attend the funeral of the Hon. Geo. Brown, on Wednesday, be a delegation from the town, and that they join with those who attend from other parts of the county, so as to give the county of Ontario a representation in the funeral procession.

PUBLIC MEETING, BRANTFORD.

At a public meeting of the inhabitants of the city of Brantford, held in the City Hall on the fourteenth day of May, 1880—at which Dr. Henwood, Mayor, presided, and Allen Cleghorn, Esq., acted as secretary—the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

Moved by Alfred Watts, Esq., seconded by William Paterson, Esq., M.P., and

Resolved,—That the people of the city of Brantford, in the county of Brant, in public meeting assembled, irrespective of party, nationality or creed, do hereby give expression to their profound grief and heartfelt sorrow at the recent death of the Honourable George Brown, senator of this

Dominion. In the death of the honourable senator they feel that Canada has lost one of her most gifted public men—one noted for his patriotism, and for his earnest, conscientious and energetic advocacy of all measures and enterprises which he deemed calculated to promote the social and material interests of Canada, the land of his adoption. While they deeply mourn his early demise, they have the assurance that his name will ever be held in affectionate remembrance by the Canadian people, as he was one whose well-stored mind and indomitable energy were constantly exercised, according to his views, in promoting the welfare of his country, and in ameliorating the condition of humanity. They feel that to the honoured and departed gentleman Canada owes a debt of gratitude for his able and fearless advocacy of the rights of the people, both as a journalist and statesman, for a period of nearly forty years, and as a leader of one of the great political parties of the country.

Moved by H. McK. Wilson, Esq., seconded by Hon. A. S. Hardy, and

Resolved,—That in view of the irreparable loss sustained by the bereaved widow and children and relatives of the deceased statesman, the citizens of Brantford, in the county of Brant, here assembled, respectfully tender to Mrs. Brown, her children, and their relatives, their heartfelt sympathy in their severe affliction, and offer their most fervent prayer that they may be enabled, through divine aid, to endure the painfully sad and unexpected calamity which has befallen them, and in which they have the earnest assurance of the most sincere regret and condolence of all present.

Moved by Thomas McLean, Esq., seconded by William Watt, Jr., Esq., and

Resolved,—That the foregoing resolutions be properly engrossed and transmitted to the widow of the deceased senator.

REGINALD HENWOOD, *Mayor*.
ALLEN CLEGHORN, *Secretary*.

PUBLIC MEETING AT STRATHROY.

In response to a requisition presented to the Mayor, a public meeting was held in the Firemen's Hall, on Tuesday evening, May 11, composed of people of all shades of political opinion, to take into consideration resolutions of condolence to the family of the late George Brown. His Worship the Mayor acted as chairman, and Mr. J. B. Winlow as secretary.

The following resolution was moved by Col. John English, seconded by Dr. Thompson, and carried unanimously:

Resolved,—"That this meeting deeply deplores the great loss inflicted upon Canada by the sad and tragic death of the Hon. George Brown, who, both as a journalist and a statesman, devoted himself for over thirty-five years to the welfare of his country, and who, under all circumstances, was loyal to what he believed to be her best interests, ever anxious to see her enjoy in the fullest degree that constitutional liberty and natural dignity which are the peculiar birthright of a free people."

Besides the mover and seconder, Messrs. Jas. English, Robert Brown (of Metcalfe), and G. W. Ross, M.P., spoke on the resolution.

The following, moved by Mr. E. Rowland, seconded by Mr. Stevenson, was also unanimously adopted:

Resolved,—"That we express our deep sympathy with the family of the deceased, and trust that the memory of his usefulness will in some degree tend to soothe their sorrow, knowing that with them the whole country

weeps over the grave where lies a patriot, a statesman, and a public benefactor."

Messrs. D. M. Cameron, T. L. Armstrong, A. Auld, J. H. English, D. W. Vary and G. W. Francis, also supported the resolution.

The meeting was unanimous in the expression of esteem for the late Mr. Brown as a journalist, a statesman, and a patriot, as well as of sympathy with his family and friends.

COBOURG REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Cobourg, May 12th.

At a special meeting of the Cobourg Young Men's Reform Club, held at their room yesterday, for the purpose of appointing a deputation to attend the funeral of the late Hon. George Brown, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved,—"That we feel deeply the irreparable void caused by the demise of the Hon. George Brown, not only as a statesman, but as a journalist and leader of public opinion. We feel a useful life is closed. The lifelong and earnest advocate of the liberal party in the Dominion, the great promoter of liberal principles, the fearless upholder by voice and pen of social progress and reform, the champion of civil and religious liberty, one who had ever at heart the best interests of his country—the great patriot is now no more. The music of his speech will be heard no more in the halls of the living. He speaks now and henceforth only through the past. In his hand truly the pen was mightier than the sword. In this hour of our loss it behooves us to give expression to our feelings: therefore, be it

Resolved,—"That we deeply lament the tragic death of the Hon. George Brown, the great representative of our liberal institutions, for whose development and advancement his whole life was given with a zeal and energy never surpassed in the history of any country. The duties in which he was engaged, the high position he occupied in the councils of the nation, his far-reaching judgment, his thorough knowledge of men and principles, all unite in his death in making an irreparable loss to this Dominion.

Resolved,—"While recognizing the greatness and extent of the services rendered his country and party, and feeling the difficulty of adequately filling his position, the great principles he advocated will ever be cherished by all liberals, the fruits of his earnest and devoted life will live to perpetuate his memory, and the lessons of his noble character will ever remain for our guidance and emulation.

Resolved,—"That we deeply sympathize with the family of the honoured deceased, and assure them in this their hour of affliction that they have the sincere condolence of every member of this club; and that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to them."

REFORM ASSOCIATION, GODERICH.

At a special meeting of the Reform Association of the town of Goderich, held on the 12th of May, 1880, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Moved by M. C. Cameron, Esq., M.P., seconded by A. M. Ross, Esq., M.P.P., and

Resolved,—That the members of the Reform Association of the county of Huron hereby desire to express their profound sorrow at the death of the Hon. George Brown, by whose demise Canada has lost one of her ablest, purest, and most patriotic statesmen; one whose powerful influence was always effectively used to further the moral, intellectual, and material interests of his adopted country, and to strengthen the bonds of union with the motherland; whose voice was ever raised in support of constitutional government and human freedom. His unswerving integrity of purpose, commanding eloquence, and honest advocacy of everything he deemed for the welfare of his country and humanity, have won for him the love, respect and esteem of the whole people of the Dominion. In him the reform party has lost its most able and trusted guide and leader.

Moved by Mr. S. Sloan, seconded by Mr. Joseph Williams, and

Resolved,—That we tender to the bereaved widow and family our sincerest sympathy with them in their sad affliction, and that a copy of these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and sent to Mrs. Brown.

ELLIAH MARTIN, *President*.

Goderich, May 12th, 1880.

HAMILTON REFORM ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the Reform Association, held in their rooms, May 11th, 1880, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Moved by the Hon. Adam Hope, and seconded by A. T. Wood, Esq.,

That in the death of the Hon. George Brown, not only his family, but his party and his country, mourn the untimely end and the premature grave of one of the noblest men of his day and generation. His patriotic labours are written in the history of his country. He was at all times the unflinching friend of civil and religious liberty, and in that may be summed up his political faith. He was throughout life the warm and consistent supporter of British connection, and no uncertain sound ever escaped his lips on that subject, yet he was ever true to the interests of his adopted country, and fearlessly advocated all the rights and privileges due to a great and self-governed people. He laid the foundations broad and deep of that great confederation of provinces which stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and proudly resting upon that great and essential cardinal principle of all Anglo-Saxon institutions, the local authority, and self-government of the various parts of the great confederacy. In life he was beloved by his friends, and in death he has not left an enemy behind him.

Moved by Mr. J. M. Gibson, M.P.P., and seconded by B. E. Charlton, Esq.,

That while deeply deploring the great public loss that has been sustained in the untimely removal of the distinguished statesman and journalist who has so long filled so prominent a position, and exerted so wide and useful an influence in this country, it is our desire to express, as an association, the feeling universally prevailing in the community of sincere sympathy for the widow and family of the deceased in the hour of their great affliction.

Moved by Charles Magill, Esq., and seconded by A. Copp, Esq.,

That the secretary is hereby instructed to forward a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the family of the deceased.

WM. E. SANFORD, *President*.
J. C. McKEAND, *Secretary*.

HAMILTON, Ont., May 12th, 1880.

HON. GEORGE BROWN.

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BOTHWELL TOWN COUNCIL.

Moved by Councillor Swalwell, seconded by Councillor Johnson, and

Resolved,—That this Council, representing the residents of the town of Bothwell, beg to express their heartfelt sorrow at the lamentable death of the late Hon. George Brown, and our sincere regret that Canada has lost one of its most distinguished and able men. It adds to the grief of many when we recall the pleasant social intercourse and kindly aid rendered by him to us when he founded what is now this prosperous and important town.

PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH—TORONTO DISTRICT.

QUEEN STREET PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH,
TORONTO, May 12th, 1880.

We, the members of the Toronto District meeting of the Primitive Methodist Connection, being in annual meeting assembled, desire most respectfully to offer the widow and family of the late Hon. George Brown our heartfelt sympathy in this their season of sad bereavement.

While we do not wish to intrude on the privacy of their sorrow, we cannot refrain from expressing our high appreciation of the noble character of the deceased gentleman.

By the too early removal of Mr. Brown, we feel that Toronto has lost one of its most distinguished ornaments and most useful citizens; and the Dominion has lost a statesman whose unselfish patriotism and far-seeing sagacity have done not a little to shape its destiny.

We feel it is unnecessary to remind Mrs. Brown and her family that in seasons of trial God is a refuge and strength to His people; and we most sincerely pray that the God of all consolation will most graciously sustain them, so that they may be enabled to bow submissively to His wise though mysterious providence.

Signed on behalf of the District meeting,

WILLIAM BEE, *President*,
JAMES COOPER ANTLEIF, *Secretary*.

To MRS. GEORGE BROWN AND FAMILY,
154 Beverley Street, Toronto.

PORT ELGIN REFORM ASSOCIATION.

PORT ELGIN, May 12.

At a meeting of the Reform Association of the North Riding of Bruce, held at Port Elgin on the 11th inst., it was

Moved by Dr. Sinclair, seconded by M. F. Eby,

“That the Reform Association of the North Riding of Bruce take this opportunity to put on record how exceedingly they deplore the loss sustained not only by the great liberal party of this province, but the entire Dominion, in the death of the Hon. George Brown, one of the most patriotic and distinguished statesmen and journalists of his adopted country, the great and unceasing advocate of civil and religious liberty, and also his untiring efforts for long years to secure responsible government; and that his death has left a void not easily filled in the hearts of all true patriots in this country.”

Moved by A. H. Cannel, seconded by N. M. White,

"That this Association deeply sympathize with the bereaved wife and family of the distinguished statesman in the irreparable loss they have sustained, and would commend them to the care of Him who has promised to be the husband of the widow and the father of the fatherless."

TORONTO REFORM LITERARY AND DEBATING CLUB.

At a meeting of the Toronto Reform Literary and Debating Club, held on Monday the 17th May, 1880, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

It is with profound sorrow that this club is called upon to record a great national calamity. That under circumstances most painful and appalling, the Honourable George Brown, while in the full vigour of life, has been removed by death from the midst of our community.

With a knowledge of the man, we can with confidence point to a life nobly devoted to the service of his country: to the advocacy of all the great reforms intended for the people's good for the last thirty-seven years; to a heart pure and a character stainless, which in all the heat and temptations of a prominent public career never swerved from the line of stern, unflinching integrity: to an energy and courage equal to the great occasions of which he formed a part: a mental power and breadth of thought attested by the results which he achieved; a geniality and kindness of bearing which will make his form long missed from our streets. He was a man who deemed life's exertions best rewarded by a consciousness of having done right, who regarded a title to a place in the hearts of his countrymen as a Canadian's highest rank; who encouraged in younger men the exercise and development of those talents and virtues so marked in himself.

Therefore, Resolved,—That the Toronto Reform Literary and Debating Club expresses its deep and sincere grief at the loss to his country, his fellow-townsmen and his family, of him who was at once a statesman and patriot, the respected neighbour and citizen, a kind husband and father; whose example has been an inspiration to so many of those who, following after him, have battled in the cause of justice and freedom.

Resolved,—That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the afflicted widow of the honoured dead, with an earnest expression of the hope that she and her family may be supported in this terrible hour of trial by that overruling Providence whose mercy, however mysteriously bestowed, is over all His works.

(Signed,)

G. B. SMITH, *President*,
W. MALLOY, *Secretary*.

Toronto, May, 1880.
[Seal.]

CALEDONIAN SOCIETY, TORONTO.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Caledonian Society, held in their room at Shaftesbury Hall, on Tuesday, the first day of June, 1880, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

This society mourns the loss of the Hon. George Brown, one of its most active members—one who held the office of president for several years; who was intimately known to us all, and who always took a warm

interest in everything connected with this society; one who was always ready to assist the poor and needy, to give advice to strangers, to befriend the friendless, and to promote the well-being of all with whom he came in contact.

The members one and all desire to express their deep sympathy with Mrs. Brown and her family in their sad bereavement, and to commend them to the care of Him who has promised to be the husband of the widow and the father of the fatherless.

(Signed,)

WM. ADAMSON, *President*,
A. G. HOBGE, *Secretary*.

TORONTO, June, 1880.
[Seal.]

COUNTY COUNCIL, HALDIMAND.

Moved by Mr. Nelles, seconded by Mr. Montague, and

Resolved,—That the Council, at their first meeting since the sad event, the death of the late Honourable George Brown, desire to place on record their deep regret for the loss the country has sustained in the death of one of our leading statesmen and one of its ablest journalists, a friend of the agriculturalists, a true patriot and an honest man; and also to express their deep sympathy for his bereaved family.

Resolved further,—That a copy of this resolution be signed by the Warden and Clerk and transmitted to Mrs. Brown.

ADAM A. DAVIS, *Warden of the County of Haldimand*,
F. S. STEVENSON, *County Clerk*.

CAYUGA, June 3rd, 1880.

BOARD OF TRADE, MONTREAL.

OFFICE BOARD OF TRADE, MONTREAL.
May 15th, 1880.

DEAR MADAM,—I have been desired by the President and Council of this Board, to communicate the accompanying extract from minutes of Council meeting of last Tuesday, the same being a resolution expressing sorrow at the untimely decease of the Honourable George Brown, and also sympathy for yourself and family.

To the official utterance of the Council, I beg respectfully to add my own regret for the sad event that occasions this communication, and my condolence with you and other relatives.

I am, Dear Madam, your obedient servant,

MRS. GEORGE BROWN, Toronto, Ont.

WM. J. PATTERSON, *Secretary*.

Extract from Minutes of Council meeting of the Montreal Board of Trade, held May 11th, 1880.

Moved by Mr. James P. Cleghorn, seconded by Mr. Thos. White, M.P., and unanimously

Resolved,—That the Council of the Montreal Board of Trade have learned with the most profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. George Brown, and avail themselves of this their first meeting after the sad event, to express, on the part of the Board, their sense of the great loss which the

country has sustained through his death, and to convey to Mrs. Brown and the members of his family their condolence and sympathy in their terrible bereavement.

GALT REFORM CLUB.

At a large meeting of the Galt Reform Club, held on Monday evening, May 10th—James McFeiggan in the chair—the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Moved by James Young M.P.P., seconded by John Goldie, Esq.,

That the deplorable death of the Honourable George Brown is not simply a loss to the liberal party, but to the whole Dominion of Canada, whose architect he largely was, and whose interests, in union with those of Great Britain, ever found in him an able, patriotic and zealous advocate. The members of the Reform Club of Galt, therefore, in meeting assembled, take the earliest opportunity to place on record their high sense of his great and disinterested services to Canada as a statesman and journalist during the last thirty years; their exalted opinion of the good advanced by his unswerving advocacy of sound, moral and political principles; as well as their profound sorrow at the untimely death of one who was not only a sincere patriot, ever desirous of promoting the best interests of Canada and the mother country, but who possessed many noble qualities of head and heart, which endeared him as a public-spirited citizen and a generous warm-hearted friend.

Moved by J. G. Mowat, Esq., seconded by Gavin Hume, Esq.,

That whilst this meeting gives expression of sadness on this mournful occasion, they would not forget those related to the deceased statesman and patriot, who have been plunged into the deepest sorrow, but would request the president and secretary to send a copy of these resolutions to his afflicted family, conveying to them the assurance that they have the profound and heartfelt sympathy, not only of this association, but of all classes of this community in their sad and unexpected bereavement.

Signed on behalf of the club,

JAMES McFEIGGAN, *President*.
THOS. D. WARDLAW, *Secretary*.

GALT, May 10th, 1880.

MOUNT FOREST TOWN COUNCIL.

MOUNT FOREST, May 12th, 1880.

Moved by the Reeve, James McMullen, seconded by the Deputy-Reeve, Josiah Hampton, and

Resolved,—That we, the members of the Municipal Council of the town of Mount Forest, desire to express on behalf of ourselves, and also the residents of this corporation, our utter abhorrence of the dastardly act that has resulted in the untimely death of one of our most distinguished journalists and statesmen, the Hon. George Brown.

We regard the removal of the departed senator as a national calamity, knowing as we do his true patriotism and untiring zeal for the progress and prosperity of this his adopted land.

Be it further Resolved,—That the Mayor and Clerk convey to the departed senator's partner in life the entire sympathy of this corporation in her sad bereavement.

[Seal.]

THOS. SWAN, *Mayor*.
WILLIAM C. PERRY, *Clerk*.

PUBLIC MEETING, HARRISTON.

TOWN HALL, HARRISTON, May 17th, 1880.

A meeting of the citizens of the town of Harriston and township of Minto assembled in the Council Chamber this afternoon for the purpose of passing resolutions of condolence at the death of the Hon. George Brown, which, owing to the absence of the Mayor last week, and other uncontrollable circumstances, was not held until to-day—A. Meiklejohn, Mayor, in the chair, and M. P. Empey, Secretary. The following resolutions were passed:

Moved by Mr. Prain, Warden of the county of Wellington, seconded by Mr. S. Robertson,

That this meeting of citizens of the town of Harriston and township of Minto, hereby desires to express deep sorrow at the untimely death of the Hon. George Brown, senator of the Dominion, and the great regret felt by this community at large in the demise of one of Canada's most patriotic and distinguished statesmen. This meeting recognizing the greatness and extent of the services rendered by the deceased as a journalist and statesman, as well as the efforts put forth by him in advancing Canadian agriculture—giving his whole life with zeal and energy to the best interests of his adopted country, an unceasing advocate of civil and religious liberty of the people—Canada has, therefore, in the opinion of this meeting, lost one of its most able and talented public men, and looks upon the loss of the great senator as a national calamity.—*Carried.*

Moved by Mr. T. G. Lambert, seconded by Mr. George Preston,

That the mayor and secretary of this meeting convey to the widow and family of the deceased a copy of the resolution, expressing the warm sympathy felt by this meeting and of this community at large in their severe and trying affliction.—*Carried.*

A. MEIKLEJOHN, Mayor.
M. P. EMPEY, Secretary.

ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY, BARRIE.

BARRIE, 18th May, 1880.

At the regular meeting of the St. Andrew's Society of Barrie, it was

Moved by Wm. Hunter, Esq., seconded by Wm. Milne, Esq., and

Resolved,—1st. That we, the members of the St. Andrew's Society of Barrie, have learned with profound regret of the death of our fellow-countryman, the Hon. George Brown—a man whose life has been an honour, alike to the land of his birth and of his adoption. By the energy, consistency, and indomitable pluck with which he advocated every measure which he deemed calculated to advance the material interests of his country, by the hearty support which he gave to every cause tending to better mankind, his name has become among us a household word, and we feel that in his death Canada has suffered an almost irreparable loss.

2nd. That this Society desire to express their deepest sympathy with the widow and relatives of the deceased senator in the hour of their great grief, and to convey to them a heartfelt expression of profound sorrow that a life which had been spent so far above reproach, so kindly among his friends, and so eminently useful to his country, should have such a sad end.

3rd. That the secretary be instructed to send to the family a copy of these resolutions.

D. FARQUHARSON, President.
G. McCUAIG, Secretary.

WEST ELGIN REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Moved by Peter Stalker, seconded by Col. C. A. O'Malley,

That this association takes this the first available opportunity, to express regret at the sad and untimely death of the Honourable George Brown, the staunch advocate of reform principles during a most important era of Canada's history. His honest and unswerving advocacy of every measure he deemed for the welfare of his country and humanity won for him the love, esteem and respect of all classes in the community. We take this occasion to convey to those nearest and dearest friends of the deceased statesman our heartfelt sympathy in their affliction and bereavement.

Signed on behalf of the Reform Association of West Elgin by

JOHN MCCALLUM, *President*,
THOS. URQUHART, *Secretary*.

COLLINGWOOD TOWN COUNCIL.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, May 11, 1880.

Moved by Mr. Burness, seconded by Mr. Lockerbie,

That this Council have heard with deep regret of the untimely end of the Hon. George Brown, who, as a patriot and statesman, has left his mark on the history of Canada.

That we sincerely lament his death, especially under the circumstances that has taken him from us, and that by it the Dominion has lost a true friend.

And that the Clerk be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to his afflicted family.

[Seal.]

A. BLIGH, *Clerk*.

FROM "GRIP."

The varying noises cease,
And pitying men, jaded or jubilant before,
Pall 'neath the common grief.
The cortege passes now in princely circumstance,
'Mid quiet thousands in the city's streets,
While the aspiring throb of anxious hearts,
Busy and buffeted in life's rough way,
Is mute in conscious widowhood.
Ah! he was noble who lay confined there—
A peer in Nature's aristocracy;
Bearing the unction of that generous grace, which in the life
Wins love from toiling men,
And, dying, summons them like children round the tomb.
So pass away, great spirit,
But thy work, so well and truly done,
Shall stand a witness to thy goodness and thy gifts.
On that enduring pile a superscription,
Written in letters that shall ever glow,
May tell the rugged grandeur of his life
In simple narrative;
How homespun worth and royal honesty
Braved the distempers of ambition's path,
From youth of filial love and lofty thought,

To sterling manhood and vice-regal place ;
How on that height he bore a manly front,
Lending his pen to freedom's sacred cause—
Counselling wisely for the nation's weal,
And smiling down the ills that menaced her ;
Then how at eventide his light was quenched
By base assassination, and his star
Went down 'mid clouds of pain and weariness,
While in its fading rays, ere yet 'twas gone,
Sad-visaged friends, drawn by the bonds of love,
And generous foes who knew and prized his worth,
Paid, side by side, the tribute of their tears.
His faithful fight is o'er ; his work is done ;
He lived sublimely, and his footsteps mark
A noble course upon the sands of time.
" He was a man, take him for all in all,"
But only man, and therefore had his faults,—
Not weaknesses that rise from recreant heart,
But such as mark and mar the best of lives ;
He hated falsehood with a burning scorn,
But may have erred, mistaking true for false ;
His nature was a rushing mountain stream,
His faults but eddies which its swiftness bred.
Yes, carve his name on marble monument—
'Twill mark his resting place to reverent eyes
Perchance of generations, until Time,
The tireless sculptor, with relentless hand
Has written an inscription over it
In weird, grim characters of mildewed moss,—
A grander line upon life's fitful dream.
Yet is his name deep graven in our hearts,
A more abiding record, that will pass
From sire to son as proudly-guarded pearl,
So long as Canada shall have true men,
Who love the memory of the great and good.
And may that ever cease ? Shall ages come
When man's frail memory is clouded o'er,
And history's page is shrivelled into dust ?
Comes there a day when all the lives of earth,
The thoughts and actions, yea, and earth itself
Shall vanish in eternal nothingness ?
So be it—yet our Statesman's name shall live !
There's an eternal tablet in the skies
Where names are written that shall never fade ;
Enrich, then, record on ephemeral stone,—
Fade, trivial ink on human history's page,—
For with the blood of God's anointed Son,
'Mid all the names of humble, faithful ones,
His name is written in the Book of LIFE.

FUNERAL SERMON.

PREACHED IN ST. JAMES' PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—WHERE MR. BROWN
USUALLY WORSHIPPED—ON THE SABBATH AFTER THE FUNERAL,
BY THE REV. DR. JOHN KING.

TEXT: John xiii. 7: "Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter."

In these words of the Saviour, first spoken long ago, and often since recalled by dark and sorrowful experiences in human life—recalled very forcibly by the event which is present to all our minds this morning—we may find a theme of meditation not unsuitable to the occasion on which we are met. They recognize the inscrutable mystery which surrounds in the meantime many of the dealings of God with His people: they convey the assurance that one day this mystery shall be dispelled, and the meaning of the divine procedure towards them made plain: and they carry, at least by implication, the promise of their entire satisfaction with this procedure, when its character and aim are fully understood. First, the words before us bear testimony to the mystery with which many of the dealings of God with His people are meanwhile invested. They assert their present ignorance of the aim and the significance of much which befalls them. On the occasion on which the words were spoken, the Saviour was about to leave in death the disciples whom He had attached to Himself by very strong and tender ties. With the distinct consciousness of His divine dignity, "knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands, and that He was come from God and went to God," and actuated by an affection for His own which knew no diminution as the appointed end drew near, "He began," previous to partaking of His last meal with them, "to wash the disciples' feet." To Peter this seemed an inversion of all that was proper, almost an indignity to which the Lord was subjecting Himself, and with characteristic warmth of feeling and forwardness of speech he remonstrated against the act being done in his case. "Lord, dost Thou wash my feet?" Wouldst Thou, my adored Master and Lord, perform for me, Thy unworthy disciple, a service which only the humblest of men thinks of rendering to his fellows? "Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do thou knowest not now." This act of mine, to which thou offerest opposition, has a meaning which thou dost not discern, which thou canst not now discern. It has a depth of condescension in it even greater than thou dost suppose. It possesses a moral instructiveness which it were too much to expect thee to perceive without my help. It has, moreover, a symbolical meaning, a meaning in relation to sin, and man's cleansing from its defilement, which only sufferings to be endured by Me, and illumination to be bestowed on thee as the fruit of these sufferings, can be expected to make plain. "What I do thou knowest not now."

The words spoken under these circumstances to the Apostle Peter have their application continually in human life. They find their application in events even which seem quite ordinary, which excite in us no surprise or wondering inquiry at the time of their occurrence, but which are afterwards seen to have wholly unexpected issues bound up with them. For let it be observed what the most proper force of the Saviour's words really is. It is not our ignorance of the motive of His action so much as of its significance that is affirmed in them. It is not why He does this, but what it is that He does, that the disciple is declared not now to know. And it is exactly here that our human ignorance is most affecting. It is not simply that we cannot discern the future or ascertain the purpose of God in reference to events which have actually befallen us in life; it is that we cannot give the exact significance to the most ordinary of these events. An

acquaintance is made, a friendship is formed, a sphere of life is opened up to us in the providence of God, how often with results for good or for evil not only undiscerned but undreamt of at the time. The issue has shown that the act had a wholly unsuspected meaning. Much, indeed, of the pathos and the poetry of human life springs from this very circumstance, the unknown possibilities that lie bound up, as in a closed bud, in some providential change, the incapacity to discover in what colour it will open out and into what fruit it will ripen.

While the words of the text have their application to many events in life which seem at the time of their occurrence quite ordinary and unimportant, they are brought home to us with peculiar force by other events which at once strike us all as strange and exceptional: as when a career of eminent public service is suddenly terminated—like that, for example, of Sir Robert Peel, by what appeared a chance occurrence; or as when a young man is cut down just as he is entering on a course of usefulness, for which long years of careful preparation had been fitting him; or again, as when one on whose active brain and busy hands infirm age or helpless childhood is wholly dependent is stricken down by disease—when the strong support is removed, and the weak, tender, leaning wife or child is left alone, like a vine deprived of the stay to which it clung, to creep henceforth upon the ground; most of all, when one who seemed to be the greatest earthly help to piety in another, husband, son, or friend; one whose influence seemed necessary not for that other's happiness, but for his faith and his goodness, is taken away in death; and the as yet only half-decided candidate for heaven is left to carry on the unequal struggle with the flesh, the world, and the devil without the one human presence which gave it visible support and promise of success. Then, indeed, in circumstances like these, the words of the text are forcibly recalled. He whose agency is as real and unmistakable in the world of human life as it was eighteen centuries ago in that guest-chamber, seems to say to us again, "What I do thou knowest not now."

The cloud of mystery, however, which in the meantime rests on so much of the divine procedure assumes the darkest form of all in connection with the power allowed to evil and the results which it is suffered to bring about. When we see sin permitted to assail weak virtue and to triumph in its fall; when we see men without piety and without principle raised to positions of authority and influence; when we see bad men permitted to become the oppressors of the weak and the wronged, or when we see evil allowed in the very wantonness of its folly to bring a life of great usefulness to a sudden close, and cover with desolation a once happy home, our inability to understand the nature and meaning of the dealings of God is most deeply felt. Then He may be said to throne Himself in thick darkness, and while defying our comprehension, to challenge simply our submission and our trust. There is, no doubt, an easy, off-hand solution of the difficulty which such cases raise offered to us, namely, the denial of any agency whatever of God in them, the tracing of all such occurrences to the operation of merely natural causes; this solution is one which agrees well with the view which it is becoming so common, under the influence of the science of the age, to take of the universe; but it is not one which the Holy Scriptures will allow, or which a mind at once wise and pious can accept. We cannot shut Him out from any phase of human experience without whom "a sparrow does not fall to the ground." If we find His will, as we are taught to do, in the crucifixion of the Saviour (Acts ii. 23), we can scarcely refuse to recognize it in the manifold and terrible, but surely less appalling, acts of violence and wrong which are happening in our own day and around ourselves.

And yet the mystery attending the power allowed to evil is very deep, and it has been very closely brought home to us in these sorrowful days.

A sudden arrest put by a mad act of violence on a course of unusual and beneficent activity; a public man cut down by such means in the midst of plans untried and enterprises unaccomplished; a life tenderly and widely loved, quenched, as we may say, in blood; a family stricken with sorrow. How should this have been permitted under the government of a righteous God? How is it consistent with justice and with mercy in Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will? What is its meaning, what ends are to be accomplished by it, what of grace is in it for the living or for the departed? Who shall tell? Here God acts, as so often in human life, as a God who hides Himself; One whose way is in the sea, and His path in the great waters, and His footsteps not known. Here He makes demands simply on our subjection and our faith; disciplining us to humility and to trust, as He says out of the darkness in which He shrouds His dealings. "What I do thou knowest not now," and mercifully adds, "but thou shalt know hereafter."

This leads me to speak, second, of the assurance of light as to the divine procedure which shall one day be given us. We are permitted to believe on the authority of Christ that the mystery in which the providential dealings of God towards us are in the meantime involved shall not be perpetual, that the cloud which covers now so much which we would wish to know shall one day rise, and the purpose and meaning of events which try our faith and perplex our hearts be made plain. In Peter's case the explanation came almost as soon as the strange and perplexing action of the Lord was over. It was begun by the statement almost immediately thereafter made, "Know ye what I have done to you? Ye call me Master and Lord; and ye say well, for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I leave you an example that ye should do as I have done unto you." The explanation was begun by this statement, and it was completed by the sacrifice offered on the cross, and by means of the closer fellowship into which thenceforth the Lord took His disciple through the Spirit. The meaning, literal and symbolical, of the Saviour's act became thereafter plain. It is thus no remote "hereafter" which is designated in the text, so far as the apostle's case is concerned, and hence some have proposed to translate the words, "Thou shalt soon, presently, know;" or to read them, as they would be literally read, "Thou shalt know after these things." In our case we must generally be content to wait longer for the light which is to clear away our perplexities in regard to the divine procedure. Sometimes, indeed, it is given us to see even in the present life the purport and the grace which belonged to some at first sight perplexing providence. We have all of us come to bless God for events which as they drew near awakened our apprehension and our sorrow, but which have developed into unsuspected issues of God, and in their light have learned the truth as well as beauty of the poet's words:

"We see but darkly through the mists and vapours
Amid these earthly damps;
What seem to us but sad funeral tapers
May be heaven's distant lamps."

More frequently, however, we must be content to wait for the light which is to resolve our doubts and our perplexities, and to walk even to the end of this earthly life by faith and not by sight. But the explanation is only delayed, and will without fail be given. When we come to stand at the close of this earthly course and look back upon life, not in the slow process of development, but in its completed form; when in the light of another world the missing links are supplied, and the subtle connections and far-off issues of things are discovered; when we come to know Him of whose wondrous plans the events which have perplexed us are the accomplishment, to "know even as we are known," and to be in possession of a

sympathy with Him in His aims which even the holiest do not attain here—then the mystery which in the meantime rests on the divine procedure shall be cleared up; we shall know the meaning and the motive of providences which for the present sorely try our faith. We must hold fast by this hope at all hazards. We must maintain the conviction that as certain as is the present darkness, so certain is the future light; that as no part of the procedure of God towards His people is purposeless, so no doubt shall be left as to what the purpose of God was in every part of that procedure. This word of Christ to His disciple Peter will be fulfilled in the experience of all His own, and in relation to all that has befallen them, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

There is, in the third place, the assurance, at least by implication, of the perfect satisfaction of God's people with His procedure towards them, when its purpose and meaning are made known. It is implied by the Saviour's words that the knowledge promised in them when it is imparted will remove all distrust of and dissatisfaction with the divine dealings; nay, that the dealings which now most perplex and try us will have our thankful acquiescence when their full meaning and far off issues are seen; that the purpose of God in the same will commend itself to us as equally wise and good, when that purpose is fully brought to light. The circumstance which seemed at first a discord in the life will be seen only to be a part of a higher and wider harmony, when the story of the whole life, and of other connected lives, is rehearsed. The change of view must be even greater than we can well conceive. As I have stood on the summit of a Swiss mountain, and looked down on a clear autumn morning on a floating sea of cloud covering the landscape for many miles, and marked its fleecy lightness, its distinct outline, its transparent purity, its fairy forms, etc., until the sun arose above the horizon, its motionless calm, an impression has been made and a memory left as of an object almost too wondrously beautiful to be a thing of earth. And yet to the dweller below, looking up at exactly the same object from his cottage door, it was only a thick, dark, gloomy mist, or perhaps a black and threatening cloud. Such difference does it make, from what side we view things, from above or from below, from the side which looks earthward or from the side which looks heavenward. Even so in life, circumstances which have filled us with apprehension or with gloom; events which have clouded our joy and tried our faith; may, or rather must, take on unexpected forms of grace and beauty to our life when they are looked at no longer from the earthward but from the heavenward side. And then, if not before, we shall be moved to exclaim in grateful adoration, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out. For of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen."

The application of the truths which have been now enunciated to the sorrowful event present to all our minds this morning is one which can be each made by any hearer, and which has no doubt been already made in thought by many.

It only remains for me to say a few words in regard to the personal character and public services of him who has been so suddenly and mysteriously removed from the scene in which he filled so large and so useful a place.

With the political principles and career of the deceased we have little to do in this place; we have to do with them at all only as they brought to light his moral qualities, or tended to promote the moral and religious well-being of the community. There is the less need of any attempt at a general characterization of the deceased; that testimony has been borne from so many different quarters, to the great vigour of his intellect, the kindling ardour of his enthusiasm, the force of his will, the largeness of his

views, the honesty with which they were held, and the marked degree in which they have promoted the public good. From those more intimately associated with the departed, equally strong testimony has been borne to the warmth of his friendship, the generosity and frequency of his acts of kindness, and the integrity and purity of his private life. The attendance at his funeral of so many of the older men from almost every city and town in our province is the best proof of the strong hold which he had early taken, and which he to the end held, of the affections of a large portion, and that neither the least intelligent nor the least worthy of his countrymen. In his death our country has lost the citizen whose influence has been more potent than that of any other, and who has left his mark deepest on its history. It is surely a matter for thankfulness that the influence has been throughout a beneficial one, and that the mark speaks of liberties extended, and civil rights confirmed, and religious equality secured, and provinces consolidated. This result has not been reached without great, we may say indeed herculean, effort. Thrown into the stream of active life at an age when most young men are only entering on the last important stage of their education, and ever since engaged with an amount of public and private business under the weight of which most men would have sunk long ago, we may safely say that no more active, no busier life, no life which has undergone more of hard though not ungrateful toil and struggle, has been led in this land than that which closed so peacefully last Sabbath morning amid its hallowed calm and opening buds.

In many of the reforms, in the accomplishment of which deceased bore a leading part, religion among us had a direct interest, and has been a great gainer; by no more perhaps than by that change which swept away invidious and offensive distinctions between various branches of the Church of Christ, and set them all on terms of perfect equality. I do not know, however, that any service rendered by the departed to the moral well-being of our country is of equal value with the establishment and maintenance in this city of a widely circulated newspaper, which has throughout preserved a healthful, moral, and religious tone. When I see how easily in our day and in all lands the daily newspaper can become the apologist for, if not the propagator of, sceptical views, the vehicle of sneers at religion, the caricaturist of ecclesiastical bodies, or at least of their weaknesses, then I can only feel thankful, as I have often done, that through the enterprise of him who has been so mysteriously removed we have had among us a powerful organ of opinion, which has been the defender of the Sabbath, the upholder of the divine truth against prevailing error, the fearless rebuker of immorality and lawlessness, which has on all the more important questions of religion and morality, and in its general tone, reflected the sentiments of the best classes of the community. This is a service which I believe it would be difficult to overestimate.

Regarded in a moral point of view, the spirit in which a public man has done his work, the qualities he has evinced in doing it, are of even greater moment than the work itself. In this respect we may claim a very high place for the departed. Large in his views, sincere in his desire for his country's good, noble in his aims respecting it, honest in the convictions which he entertained, and fearless in maintaining and acting on them, adding the exercise of private virtues to the exhibition of public spirit, he has left an example which we may well wish were widely imitated. Granted that he may have sometimes asserted his will too strongly, we have more to fear both on patriotic and religious grounds from the suppleness and the selfishness which can pocket principles for power or pelf than from the assertion of individual conviction which may not be always so deferential as it ought to be to the opinions and feelings of others. The alliance of a life of public activity with the exercise of private virtues and attention to the duties of religion, while happily not singular, is never-

theless not so general that we may not find even in this an additional cause for thanksgiving on behalf of him who filled so large a place in the public eye, and whose example will have its influence for many years to come. These considerations, however, to which I have thought it right to call attention, are not the vital ones after all. The service which the departed rendered to his country may have been valuable, the qualities he evinced admirable, but the question still remains—and standing where I do I must pronounce it the most important of all—from what did this service, these qualities, spring? What was the sustaining principle? Had the life which we have described a Christian root? There is every reason to believe it had. I cannot doubt it. In the first place his faith in and attachment to the doctrines of grace were very strong and decided. The interest with which he listened from Sabbath to Sabbath to the statement of them is well known to the members of this congregation. The negative views that are afloat in our day had taken no effect on his mind, except to make his attachment more pronounced to the simple and positive truths in which he had been trained, and of which, it is believed, he had gained more than a theoretical knowledge many years ago. He was for himself a firm believer in the depravity of the race and in the sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ as the one hope of the sinner, even while he was tolerant of diversity of opinion and numbered among his personal friends some who were far enough from sharing his religious views. The extent to which his time and energies were taken up in the absorbing demands of public and private business left him little leisure—too little, let us say, for the service of Christ's Church; and he was living in the desire and hope, not to be realized, alas! that in his later years he would be free to serve it to an extent and in forms which had been found previously beyond his power. The readiness with which he agreed to address the annual missionary meeting of this congregation in February last may be accepted as an evidence of the sincerity of this desire, as the earnest and lofty spirit with which he spoke on that occasion—probably the last on which he addressed a public gathering—will be remembered as a proof of how much he might have done for the cause of Christ had he been spared and free to advocate its claims. This, however, was not to be. Nearer to him than any of us dreamed was even then the night, when one can no more work.

When it came, or when the shot was fired that was to bring it in a few short weeks, the doctrines of the Gospel, the sacrifice and the mercy which they reveal, were his only and sure trust. Resentment towards the poor, guilty instrument of all this suffering, there was none. His person was soon dismissed from thought, and not even amid the utterances of wandering reason was a single allusion made to the mad and merciless act. But, united with submission to the will of God, there was the deep sense of his own sinfulness, of the imperfections attaching even to his better acts, and at the same time most earnest and humble recourse, revealed in many a brief but touching prayer, to the Saviour, to Him "whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." "Erect before men, on his knees before God"—that is the description which a gifted writer has given us of the Christian. You who have seen the departed in public life do not need to be told how fully he was the one; those who knew him in the home, those especially who saw his exercise of spirit under this mysterious visitation, can testify how completely he was the other.

These details are not given to satisfy a vulgar curiosity. They are stated to the honour of that grace which had brought him to the cross, and by which alone we are saved. Our loss as a congregation is very great in his removal. His connection with us had not, indeed, been long, but it was very cordial from the first. We lose in him the largest contributor to our missionary and college funds; one, indeed, who was ever ready to help with his means or his powerful advocacy any good cause. The very en-

doration, in his case so unmistakably given, by a mind of his grasp, of the views of truth stated from this desk was a source of strength which my brethren in the ministry present will readily understand. It has been the will of God that this should not be continued to us, and we bow to it, not without sorrow, but with a sorrow relieved by the thought that our loss is, as we trust, his gain.

Into the far more tender and sacred sorrow of the bereaved relatives, and especially of the desolate home, I would not venture to intrude farther than to give expression to the deep sympathy with it which you all feel. Here, where the prayer has often risen to God that if it were His will this loss might be averted, there can be no heart whose joy has not been sensibly clouded, none from which even now the prayer does not rise that God may be the light and the salvation of the bereaved in the night of their sorrow. For ourselves, let us hear in this, and so many other visitations of death among us since the year commenced, the summons of the Saviour to work "while it is day," as "the night cometh when no man can work." "Therefore gird up the loins of your mind; be sober, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ." "Now, unto Him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God, our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen."

FUNERAL SERMON.

PREACHED IN ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, SARNIA, ON SUNDAY MORNING,
9TH MAY, 1880, BY REV. MR. THOMPSON.

TEXT: Genesis xlix. 33: "And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people."

After some remarks explanatory of the event referred to in the text, Mr. Thompson proceeded as follows:

A week this morning one of our greatest and noblest men finished his earthly career, and on Wednesday his mortal remains were followed to the grave by such a multitude as no similar occasion in Canada ever brought together. The spontaneous outburst of sympathy and sorrow from all classes and creeds, and from every shade of political opinion, was truly marvellous, and told unmistakably how much the man was venerated and loved. His body was laid in the grave amid the sorrow of the nation, and the day was made sacred by a grief that covered the land. As the solemn procession wended its way to the city of the dead amid the assembled thousands, the look of reverence on every countenance, the audible stillness of the vast throng, the sober faces of the little children, the soft spoken word and silent tear, showed what a hold the man had on the affections of his fellow-countrymen, and how his character and work were valued by those who came from all parts of the country to pay the last tribute of respect to Mr. Brown's memory, and to show their appreciation of his life and labours.

And it was most fitting that thus it should be, for seldom have more valued services been rendered, and no country is more indebted to its leading statesmen than Canada is to Mr. Brown. This is not the place to discuss party questions in a party spirit, but it is both the place and the day to point to the life and labours of one of whom our country may well feel proud, and thankful for what has been done through his instrumentality.

He has been as a king among men, and has done the work of a giant. He was born to rule over men by the mastery of superior power. No one who has taken an intelligent interest in the shaping of our country's fortunes, or who is moderately acquainted with her past history, but will readily admit that Canada occupies a very different position to-day, politically and religiously, from what she did when, as a young man, he came forth into public life to do battle on her behalf. During those important years we have passed from feudalism to recognized citizenship. When a presumptuous oligarchy attempted to rule this country in their own family interests, as a family compact, unblushingly asserting that the many existed for the sake of the few; when a dominant church, backed by the prestige of an establishment at home, attempted to trample on the liberties of other churches, and actually punished with imprisonment ministers of other churches for performing their religious functions; when the bishop, in virtue of his office, took his seat in parliament and attempted to pass laws which made it a crime for Presbyterian or Methodist ministers to perform the marriage ceremony among those of their own flock; when none of the young men of our country were allowed to attend the college that was supported by public funds without first signing the Thirty-nine Articles; when a man was branded as a rebel if he dared to speak a word against these feudal enactments; this illustrious statesman who has just left us, then as a young man beginning his public career, erected his battery on the foundation of popular rights and common justice, and opened fire with speech and pen, and almost single-handed broke down one wicked defence after another, and wrung from his opponents concession after concession, till to-day it is safe to affirm that all are glad to shelter themselves behind the defences which he has set up. It is most fitting that the country should be grateful for what he has done. It is, moreover, an interesting study to watch the political progress of our country from those days to this, and to feel that the very things that bring us honour and wise liberty and a brightening future, are quite recent blessings extorted from determined opponents in many a hard fought battle. For example, our municipal institutions, with all the valued principles of self-government (which one of our wise governors characterized as sucking republics, which were to work such ruin to our country if granted, and overthrow the throne of the nation); the throwing open the university of the country to the young men of the country, irrespective of creed; the settlement of the clergy reserves; a perfect equality of all churches in the eyes of the law; representation according to population; the unification of these scattered provinces into one grand confederation, with many other measures in which our country rejoices to-day, have all been contended for by him in the face of bitter opposition, as many a speech or article of his will show. He has been a tower of strength on behalf of popular rights and liberties, on behalf of morality, and religion, in the land he loved so well and served so nobly. But not as a politician on the floor of Parliament alone, but as a journalist his services to the country have been no less valuable and distinguished. The press and pulpit must be the two great agencies in moulding the future character of our people, and they must stand shoulder to shoulder. And when we know what a power the press wields, and what a direct and immediate bearing it must have on the shaping of national and individual life and character; how it can both elevate and degrade, poison and nourish, the activities of human life, it is one of the greatest services rendered, that the leading journal of public opinion, controlled by him, has ever been pervaded by such a healthy tone, and has spoken so nobly on all questions where morality and religion were involved; how he has guarded the spiritual interests of the Christian church; how reverent towards God and all divine institutions; how nobly he has spoken on public and private morality—the temperance question, the Sabbath question, the social evil; how he has ever taken the side of

truth against laxity of opinion and practice; how steadfast and loyal he has been to the distinctive doctrines and polity of his own church, and how he has never hesitated to affirm and defend these matters who might approve or dissent. When we consider these things, it must be admitted that he has been a tower of strength to the church as well as to his country: indeed, his first endeavours as a journalist were in connection with the church, and all through he has never ceased to view with joy her increasing prosperity. Always liberal, one of his last acts was the contribution of an additional \$100 towards removing the deficit in the ordinary revenue of Knox College. Small men have often said he was dogmatic and domineering, while great men have greatly admired him for these traits of character that made him the man he was, and enabled him to do the work he did. He was a man of deep convictions, of intense individuality, of indomitable will, who never knew what it was to hesitate or fear in the presence of a foe; a man who put a great value on his convictions, as every noble man does, and like every man of great force of character and determination, who moves with heavy momentum along the line of his convictions, he was sure to have attached and ardent friends, as well as very decided opponents. But as the spontaneous outbursts of sympathy, and the sorrow of an afflicted people showed, he ever got credit, even from his opponents, for honesty of purpose, nobility of character, and the valued services he has rendered to his generation.

In my humble observations I have discovered that there are two great classes of public men: those who have convictions that mean something, and those who have none; men of expediency, who crawl into notice on the shoulders of other men as their parasites, and, as parasites, often feed on their large bounty; men who never denounced a wrong in their life, or defended the right; men who go as far as they think politic, and who turn back when the wind acts in their face; men without conscience, who have nothing worth defending, and are ready to shift their ground as expediency requires; men with no heart, but two faces, that look both ways at once. Such men have no opponents, nor have they friends, except what the exigencies of the hour call forth, and when they die, their names will rot, and those whom their false policy has blighted, will rot with them, while the righteous will be held in everlasting remembrance. John Knox has also been blamed for the very same features of character. Men who measure him by their own little rule, have spoken of his domineering severity and dogged resolution. Little puppies have often scratched on his illustrious grave, and barked their little bark. But an enlightened Christian sentiment feels grateful for what Knox was, and for what he did. Much of the civil and religious liberty of our day has had its root in those very features of his character which the puppets of an hour have professed to deplore. At such great moral junctures of a nation's life, men needed moral muscle and a strong back-bone of conviction, while snakes and vipers will crawl on their belly till the world ends. So was it with Mr. Brown; while politicians and public men generally discuss his character—the supposed strong or weak points in it—and canvass the nature of the services rendered by him to his country, I wish to emphasize the fact that the great central principle that formed his character, the very trunk around which his nature grew and blossomed, was his faith in God; the deepest of all his convictions was the fact of personal redemption through the blood of Jesus Christ: the strongest feeling of his heart was his feeling of loyalty to his Saviour, on whom he depended through life, and in whom he trusted at death. No man could be for any length of time in Mr. Brown's company without being convinced that he was not only a pure-minded man, but that he habitually lived under the power of the *world to come*; and as he lived, so he died, trusting in the sacrifice which Christ had made for his sins, and in trustful submission to the will of God. In all his manifold duties and labours that were most exacting, he never forgot his duty to his God and

Saviour. After a day of toil and exciting debate in the olden time, it strengthened one's faith to hear him at the family altar, in earnest, simple, trustful language, plead with God for His blessing to rest on his family, the labours of the day, his country, and on the Church of Christ in all her branches. I have made these remarks for the purpose of pointing to Mr. Brown as a noble example to all our public men, and to show that a life of public labour and manifold cares is not only consistent with, but even helpful to, the growth of Christian sentiment; that all the activities of our life may grow out of one root, and receive their noblest impulse from one centre, when Christ has laid His loving hand upon us, and we live as His servants, to do His will from the heart.

Public men require the prayers of God's people, for they are exposed to many and great dangers from which others escape who walk in the quieter paths of private duty. And political life especially makes such a great demand on men's time, and tends to engross the thoughts till the whole empire of feeling is swayed. And especially to men of ardent and impulsive temperaments, who pour out their life-forces on every undertaking, and work with both hands earnestly, the danger is great that the claims of the next world may be forgotten in the pursuits of this. And the world's work must be done, and it may be work sacred to Our Father in Heaven, who calls us to do it as loving service rendered to Him. It will be a day of unutterable ruin to our country if the conviction ever becomes general that politics must not be touched by Christian hands lest they be defiled, but must be left to the manipulations of those who have no conscience and no God. It is as much the duty of one man to be a politician as it is for another to be a missionary to China, nor is it a higher or lower kind of service, but simply different; and as the labourers are sent forth, the Great Husbandman reminds each of his responsibilities. Our public officers require, and our representative men should be, our bravest and truest, the most devout towards God, and ready to honour the Gospel in all their public relations and duties.

Many statesmen have been examples of earnest Christians in the honoured discharge of high public duties. We need only mention the late Abraham Lincoln, whom his countrymen delight to honour, not more sagacious as a statesman than earnest as a believer in the Lord Jesus Christ. Or Guizot, the philosopher and illustrious statesman of France, recently departed amid the fond regrets of his countrymen; or to Gladstone, the Premier of England; or to him over whose new-formed grave our land mourns. All these are proofs that the Lord can be honoured in the most engrossing walks of public life. And Mr. Brown's name is all the dearer to us as a member of the Presbyterian church, a church which has had its own work and influence in moulding public sentiment, and in gaining those civil and religious rights for which we rejoice. Take away the religious history of Britain, or of the Anglo-Saxon race, and what have we left? That which saved the nations of the Reformation was their faith in God; that which made them brave, resolute, noble, was the religious atmosphere they breathed. Their religion formed their policy, framed their laws, fashioned their character, and shaped their after fortunes, and it ill becomes men whom a Christian public has entrusted with the discharge of high public duties to turn their backs upon all that has made our country what it is, and has been the chief distinction of those noble men that have rendered the truest public service. The great statesman whom we buried last week never hesitated to say that the hope of our country, as of all other countries, depended upon a sound Christian sentiment among our people, and it is a pity that some of the smaller of our statesmen would not learn to act accordingly, and not wound the Christian sensibilities of their best friends. I would not encourage persecution for opinions, but if these men are resolved to set the law of Christ at defiance, and act according

to their supposed liberty, they must not complain if Christian people learn to act also according to their sense of propriety in not according political support to men whose example and influence tend to break down the institutions of God's appointment, and who systematically ignore all that is most vital in the judgment of Christ's loyal disciples.

But the grandeur of Mr. Brown's character is seen as much in the private relations and domestic duties of his life as in those that were more public. His personal friends were much prized, while the affection of his heart lit up the home, as sunshine resting amid spring blossoms. The life of Mr. Brown was a many-sided one. The general public think of him as a statesman and journalist. But Toronto will miss him who ever aimed at building up the interests of his adopted city; the down-trodden slave remembers his noble advocacy on their behalf years ago; the poor and friendless knew him as a sympathetic helper, for distress never appealed to him in vain; while in his own home he was known as the faithful father, the loving husband and brother. His was a home full of domestic comfort—a true Christian home; and now in these days of bereavement there is an air of quiet, subdued, chastened grief, a submissive, grateful yielding to the will of God, which is its chief glory. As I stood looking on the wasted features of the departed, and thought how still that brain was which once teemed with great resolves, I felt strongly what he himself said to his former pastor, on hearing of the death of his much-loved friend Mr. Holton: "How vain are all activities that are separated from the interests of our Redeemer, and how needful to keep the true aim of life constantly before us." For the last thirty-five years his name has been a household word, and like every man engaged in public affairs, he has met much severe criticism, but no stain has tarnished his honour, no cloud can rest upon his memory. He rests from his labours, and his works do follow him, while his record is before his God. It is a small matter to be judged by man's judgment; He that judgeth every man is the Lord, and His judgments are according to truth. When high intellectual powers, true devotion to one's country, sound judgment, a large ripe experience, are all clasped by loyalty of heart to the Redeemer, it makes a rich, noble character, and one much needed. Such a man our country had in Mr. Brown. And it is unspeakably sad that one who had lived to such noble purpose should have been cut down by the hands of a miscreant; a great national calamity, caused by what threatens to be a national curse. It is a mysterious providence that overhangs his departure, but we bow reverently to the disposals of an overruling hand; and to the question, "Who will take his place?" we reply, No man ever takes another man's place or does another man's work in the Master's vineyard; the man and his place, the labour and the labourer, pass away together, while each man is called upon to occupy his own place and do his own work. And yet a good man lives in the future as much as in the past. The principles he has inculcated, the forces he has set in motion, the influences he has exerted, go down through the ages and modify the results of the waiting years.

His last days were full of weariness and suffering, but cheered by a sense of the Divine presence. Nor was his Christian character a thing of recent years; he lived and died in the faith of Jesus Christ and in full reliance on His merits. During the later stages of his illness, when the cloud of delirium lifted from his mind for a brief period, it was unspeakable comfort to his sorrowing family and friends to hear his calm, clear, simple statement of his hope toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; his satisfaction that his labour should end if God so willed it. Such a statement from his lips is enough to baptise a nation's sorrow, and to assure us that the Lord hath taken another of His redeemed children from earth's day of toil into the rest where no strife of tongues can enter. As

his life lay in the balance, we hoped the result would have been otherwise; and now the issue is determined, and George Brown is no more. But his memory will long remain green in the affections of his grateful countrymen, for he is one whom the nation will delight to honour. His name is his grandest monument, and as we laid his wasted body amid the cold clods of earth—dust to dust, and ashes to ashes—we said: "King of Terrors, do thy worst; we know the limits of thy power; it is not much you can do, it is not long." Christ hath gotten the victory and robbed death of its sting. By His resurrection and triumph He has shed a blessed light over the darkness of the grave.

The day of a believer's death is a great day, and one long to be remembered, for it is the final application to the redeemed soul of the ransom which Immanuel paid; it is deliverance to the captive, it is joy in heaven and glory to God. The death of a believer is a great thing, but its greatness is turned toward eternity, and can neither be seen nor described by us; we leave its greatness to *the day* to reveal that eternal weight of glory. And knowing that all the grandeur lies on the other side that looks into eternity, we make no attempt to decorate this side that looks into time. But one thing we do urge you to consider, that the solemn hour of dissolution awaits us all, and how blessed it is to have our faith resting in Him who is the resurrection and the life. "And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, write, Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." "Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord." Amen.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letters are given because of the interest they possess, in a political or personal sense, as illustrative of Mr. Brown's life. The greater portion of them were written to the late Mr. Holton, in whom Mr. Brown placed unlimited confidence, though occasionally obliged to differ with him in his view of public affairs. To many of Mr. Brown's old associates the incidents mentioned in this correspondence will doubtless be of much interest, as they necessarily recall many of the old battles preceding the constitutional changes effected during his active political life.

Their chief value, however, consists in their autobiographical character. Mr. Brown's outspoken, frank manner will at once be recognized, while his manifest disinterestedness will be apparent where he deals with the position of political friends, and especially with reference to his own position in the liberal party.

As the correspondence is fragmentary, it has not been considered wise or necessary to arrange it so as to connect certain periods and events. It is therefore printed in chronological order.

LETTER TO THE HON. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD.

GLOBE OFFICE, TORONTO, August 16, 1854.

MY DEAR MACDONALD, — I congratulate you most heartily on the result of the elections. I had intended writing you for a fortnight past, but have been prevented by various causes from doing so. The loss of Cicero lessens your strength; but you must admit that he deserved richly to lose his election. Moreover, your tail will, I imagine, be much longer in this parliament than it was in the last, and the orator will hardly be missed from it. From what I have heard there is no doubt of this. Many independent reformers look to you as leader, and if you take your stand firmly and wisely, and without delay, the game is in your own hands. You will have seen that the *Leader* endeavours to make bad blood between you and me by ranging you among my followers. I have not noticed the thing in the *Globe* for two reasons. First, it would be attracting additional attention to it; and second, because I could not do so without defining my true position, which it would be inexpedient at this moment to do publicly. To you, however, I mean to speak plainly. Our long friendship entitles you to it, and your conduct to me in the Speaker's chair, and our compact at the breaking up of the House, also

demand it. I tell you frankly then that, far from having any ambition to be the head of the party, I would not take office under any circumstances were it offered me. All I desire is the success of the principles to which I have attached myself; and if you can form a government pledged to separation of church and state, representation by population, and non-sectarian schools, I will not only aid you in doing so, but will support your government with all my heart and vigour. I wish you to understand this, and to act upon it, as, with this knowledge, you may feel more at liberty to use my aid in carrying out your views. It is of course of much importance that an immediate understanding should be arrived at among independent reformers. If we go to the discussion on the address without previous concert, Hincks may frighten some reformers into voting for the government by the threat that they will lose their preserves. To meet this you must have it previously ascertained and shown that you can form a better and more thoroughgoing government, in which case nothing can save the government from defeat. If I were in your position, I would write to all the reformers I was on terms with, urging them to go down to Quebec by the Saturday evening boat, in order that the caucus might be held on the Monday before the meeting of parliament. In the meantime you should see Sicotte, Young, Dorion, and the other Lower Canadians you expect to act with, and to have matters thoroughly understood. They too should hold a meeting. I say nothing as to the speakership, taking it for granted that you will aim at higher game. One advantage of the course I suggest would be that you would thereby have an opportunity of judging beforehand as to the best mode of working the speakership vote. Of course, I think that in any case we must put you in as Speaker in order to show our approval of your closing speech last session. Your being in the chair would not, I suppose, interfere with your accepting the attorney-generalship, and forming a ministry in the event of a hostile reply to the address being carried. It is very clear that the present ministry are used up, even if they got over the hitch at the address. The new House will be far in advance of them. If Hincks, to please the Upper Canada members, should even change his position and liberalize his policy, he would thereby throw from him Moreau and the conservative section of the Lower Canadians. If, on the other hand, he plays as heretofore into the hands of his French friends, he will drive off from him the Upper Canada Radicals. It is clear that the natural allies of the reformers of Upper Canada are the Rouges, so called. Let me impress this on you in forming your alliance, that at this moment you can make any terms. Once your government is formed, there will be many difficulties found in the way of progressive measures. Let, then, the conditions of your accepting office be broad, and such as will secure credit to your government, if no more were done by it.

Yours ever truly,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. J. S. MACDONALD.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

GLOBE OFFICE, Jan. 29, 1858.

MY DEAR HOLTON, - I have to apologize for not sooner answering your note of last week, but absence from town and a crowd of engagements have prevented me from doing so before now.

I have since received yours of the 26th, which considerably relieved the disquiet produced by the other. I am very sorry our friends cannot feel themselves at liberty to take your clear view of our position, and resolve

to cut their way out of it. No honest man can desire that we should remain as we are; and what other way out of our difficulties can be suggested but a genuine legislative union, with representation by population—a federal union—or a dissolution of the present union? I am sure that a dissolution cry would be as ruinous to any party as (in my opinion) it would be wrong. A federal union, it appears to me, cannot be entertained for Canada alone, but when agitated must include all British America. We will be past caring for politics when that measure is finally achieved. I can hardly conceive of a federal union for Canada alone. What powers should be given to the provincial legislatures, and what to the federal? Would you abolish county councils? And yet if you did not, what would the local parliaments have to control? Would Montreal like to be put under the generous rule of the Quebec politicians? Our friends here are prepared to consider dispassionately any scheme that may issue from your party in Lower Canada. They all feel keenly that something must be done. Their plan is representation by population and a fair trial for the present union in its integrity; failing this, they are prepared to go in for dissolution, I believe, but if you can suggest a federal or any other scheme that could be worked, it will have our most anxious examination. Can you sketch a plan of federation such as our friends below would agree to, and could carry? If so, pray let us have it as soon as you conveniently can. I perfectly agree with you in all you say about Sandfield. He has assuredly put his foot in it. I had a letter from his brother to say that whatever Sandfield did, he would be found right side up.

The Hastings dinner has had a good effect. The ministerialists calculated confidently on ——— and ———, and were surprised to find they had made such a mistake. The truth is, I might say I feel alarmed at finding myself among so extreme a set of people!

Another day, and no government? We have strong rumours to-night that a government is formed, but I don't believe a word of it. Sidney Smith, Malcolm Cameron, and Cayley are the names of the hour, but very certainly neither of the first two can be returned, and where Cayley is to find a seat puzzles everyone. My own impression is that Mr. John A. Macdonald sees no further through the woods this night than he did a month ago, but I may be mistaken. John Hillyard Cameron says they will meet parliament with the offices unfilled so as to embarrass the opposition, and throw on us the responsibility of losing a session to the country. No doubt it would be much more difficult to arrange a new government with parliament in session than during a recess.

What say you to Bytown as the seat of government? I think it the second worst place in all Canada, and would a million times prefer Montreal.

Will it be possible to upset the decision? In our present position, with representation by population unsettled, I think the best move would be Toronto and Montreal alternately. With that conceded, I don't care much where the seat of government goes, provided Quebec and Bytown are not the places.

That was indeed a most amusing paragraph in the *Gazette*. How it got there I cannot conceive, but I am informed it has done me some good in Lower Canada, as people begin to hope that I am not so savage as I was supposed to be. No doubt the Starnes' conversation was the origin of the matter, but how that reached the proportions of a "proposal for political alliance" I cannot think. We were exercised here as to the best mode of opening communications with our friends in Lower Canada. Mr. Dorion and his friends have so frequently repudiated our policy, that we were unwilling to go direct to the mark by opening correspondence; your

arrival here ended all difficulty as to communicating with the Rouges. While at Belleville I got a telegram from John Simpson, to say Starnes was with him, and he would like that I would wait over a night as I returned; this I had to decline. As the train came up Starnes and Simpson came to the station and went to the junction with us. Starnes said he and his friends (Sicotte, I suppose) were prepared to adopt the full anti-state church ticket, and admitted representation by population must come, and they were prepared to concede it, but how to do that and be returned for Lower Canadian constituencies they could not see. I endeavoured to put the measure in the most favourable light, and said that so long as we had the principle admitted, we were willing to have reasons concerning details. We parted before much had passed; the idea of forming any alliance was not even spoken of for a moment. So far as I was concerned, my effort was to make Starnes a convert to our views, and the folly of resisting them; I was not thinking of the men to carry them, but of the thing to be carried.

The only remark that went beyond this was an observation by Starnes that if I supposed he and his friends thought any more of the Upper Canada side of the government than I did it was a great mistake. He added that our views on the *ad valorem* duties were much more to their minds than the others' views. Thus you have the whole of this famous "negotiation." If Starnes had not mentioned it to you I would not have felt at liberty to repeat what passed, though the affair was not worth secrecy or publication, in itself.

I will be glad to hear from you as soon as convenient.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

Toronto, Sept. 17, 1858.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—I am afraid you will never pardon my apparent carelessness—for it is only apparent.

I am out of health, worn out, driven to death, and cannot bring my mind to the most ordinary exertion. I ought to give up all business for a month at least, but it is very difficult to do so.

I entirely agree with you as to the necessity of sending a memorandum to the colonial office, and as to the propriety of the policy shadowed forth in your letter. I had arranged to go down to Montreal to discuss this matter; but I got so ill that I had to give it up and go to the St. Catharines baths.

I propose that we meet here before or after the great Hamilton demonstration, on Thursday next, to settle what we are to do. Dorion, Mettee, and yourself, will of course be there, but it would be very desirable that Drummond and Lemieux should also be present. Drummond's defeat was very provoking, but cannot be helped. It is very important to have him returned. If you have not seen your way to a seat, I will talk with you when you come about one here. Your splendid victory in Montreal has greatly strengthened us, and will help much in the House.

We are in trouble here about the Upper House election. Our friends are much divided on personal grounds; for myself, I shall vote for Romaine. The run will be close, as neither candidate carries much enthusiasm with him.

You can have no idea how earnest and general the enthusiasm is for the Brown-Dorion government all over Western Canada, west of Kingston. I have never seen anything like it. Head and his fellow conspirators are proportionately condemned.

McGee's course has made him eminently popular. He is received like a prince in every direction.

Be sure and bring our friends to the Thursday dinner.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

GLOBE OFFICE, TORONTO, July 8, 1859.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—I trust the Laberge affair did us no harm in Lower Canada, and especially that it did not affect Dorion injuriously, for that would indeed grieve me. He has always acted so manfully and generously that it would pain me deeply to know that I should have been the means of compromising him. I could not help coming out on that unfortunate tenure business. The ill-advised speeches of some friends on the back benches rendered it absolutely necessary. I should have been greatly damaged had I not spoken as I did. Between ourselves, Laberge did me the best service in attacking me as he did. People were beginning to believe that I had sold Western Canada to Lower Canada for the sake of party success. I think some of the actors rue it already. They thought that I had committed a grand error in coming out for the constitutional changes, and some of them freely denounced me and the whole scheme. But already the wonderful success the movement has met with from all parties has effected a change. I had a letter from Foley on Tuesday, in which he refers to the whole affair at the close of the session and since, and winds up thus: "You may rely upon it, that henceforth you will not have the shadow of a cause of complaint."

My firm conviction is that we should merge all our questions in the one great issue of a change of constitution. It will elevate the tone of politics, cast aside petty vexatious issues, and be a tremendous card at next election, come when it may. I cannot see why it should be less successful below than here.

We propose having a Convention here in the fall, and if representatives from Lower Canada could attend it, the effect would be admirable.

There is an impression among ministerialists that Sir E. Head has had notice he will be retired, but how the change will now affect matters remains to be seen. The ministry was nearly finished on Lake Huron without the aid of the Clear Grits. Little as I owe them, I would not like them to go off in that way.

Will the Whig government last? Have not the Reds been cruelly sold? If Bright and Cobden work their hands well I really think Pam. has done them a service. Did you see much of Cobden? I hope he will not accept. It is the case of Rolph and Cameron precisely.

The crops are looking on the whole well. Frost has done much damage, but as there was a greater breadth sown the yield will be an average one. There is an unusual anxiety about the crops this year; we are made to feel our dependence on the farm very directly in such times as these. Business

is very dull and money scarce, but the true elements of recovery are at work, hard labour and frugality.

I intend going to the sea coast for a few days, and will take Montréal in my way, as I much desire to have a long talk with you.

If the York vacancy occurs there will be no trouble in arranging for your return if you will accept a seat for a West Canada constituency.

Yours most truly,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, May 2, 1861.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—Except a short note to D. A. Macdonald, thanking him for keeping F.— straight, this is the first time I have put pen to paper for nine weeks. I tried to write in ink, but it was like the scrawl of an old man of eighty. You must therefore be content with pencil. I have had a hard time of it. The disease had fastened upon me long before it became fully developed, and was undoubtedly caused by the great exertions I had to make to put my house in order, for there was no mercy. I thank Providence, I was not driven to my bed until the ship was safe inside the breakers in comparatively smoother water than it has known for years.

The paragraphs that appeared in the *Globe* about me were utterly absurd. When the inflammation of the pleura was overcome and the congestion of the liver reduced, I was to be well immediately, and I really felt I would be astir in a few days. The feeling was only the buoyancy of fever; as it lowered, my utter prostration soon appeared. Then I had to take nourishing food; but the digestive powers were so sadly impaired, that stimulants alone could be used. At present I am greatly better, and am able to ride out for an hour. A frightful cough still hangs, and I suffered a slight return of the congestive attack. The doctors want me to be off the moment I can stand the fatigue of journeying. I have resolved to go to the water cure establishment at Clifton Springs, near Rochester. I think a week or two there will set me on my feet again.

I am ashamed of all this egotism, but I wanted to have some friends reconcile the statements of the *Globe* with my real condition.

May 8th.—So far I had written on the 2nd, when I had to stop from weariness. On Friday I had a consultation of physicians, which ended, I am sorry to say, unfavourably to my hopes of a speedy recovery. All concurred in saying I must consider myself laid aside from business for some months, and that the utmost care must be taken to avoid falling into a state of permanent ill health.

I need not say how distressed I am by all this for myself and the party, as ministers are sure to take advantage of it in their election arrangements. Well, there is no help for it—nothing but submission, with the determined resolution that nothing shall be wanting to secure as speedy a recovery as possible.

I need not tell you how disgusted I am that Galt's bundle of misstatements should have escaped scathless. Of all the scandalous productions I ever met with, his opening chapter to the Public Accounts and his speech in opening the Budget are the worst. Such downright deceit I never met with from any man in a high position. I dictated an article for the *Globe* on the true balance for 1860, and another on the amount of the public debt;

perhaps you noticed them. I intended following them up with a complete analysis of his other statements, but have not strength to go at it. Did you notice his division of the rise of the public debt into three epochs: the amount during Hincks' administration, the amount during Cayley's, and the amount during his own? By barefaced jugglery he makes his own show but \$5,000,000, when in fact it has been \$23,000,000. Observe he takes credit for the full amount of the Sydenham loan, though, in fact, more than one-half of it was lying in London when he took office, and so on. It is utterly scandalous that out of 128 men not one rose to cast his false statements in his teeth. That disclosure by Dorion is most frightful. In any well-governed country it would be enough to produce a revolution.

Yours ever faithfully,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

Toronto, Feb. 10, 1862.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—I congratulate you on the victory in the west. It really looked hopeless for some weeks, but now things promise well. There will be lots of northern men now; but, after all, have not the events of the last few months rather lowered your estimate of our neighbours? Has it not shown that there is something more needed to make up a great people than sharpness in business and agreeable social qualities? Has it not raised your estimate of the value of military power; of the faculty of commanding masses of men? Has it not proved the advantages of the people being taught to obey those placed in authority over them? I wish we had a chance to talk this over.

And so we are to have a session at last. What is to be the result of it? I am satisfied there is great disorganization in the ministerial camp. Vankoughnet has arrived by the *Asia*, and is expected to be gazetted Chancellor immediately. I greatly doubt his accepting it. If he does not Burns is to go into an equity court and Morris to become a puisne judge. John Ross openly declares he will not go to Quebec. He means to remain President of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, but he may lose that. Mr. Brydges is regularly installed in the Grand Trunk. He is trying to accomplish an increased postal subsidy by private arrangement with the members. I suspect the ministry have discovered they cannot carry it and are unwilling to risk trying it. What about the Intercolonial subsidy? The repudiation scheme, if they had one, has been fairly exploded. No one dreams here now that it can be touched, and even Hamilton is to cash up. I think the *Globe* has done good service to the state in that matter. The speakership is still subject of debate. I think Mr. Drummond the best man we can run, and I hope he will consent. What of Sicotte? Did you see or hear anything of him? I have seen a number of people from Waterloo county, and I feel confident he could be elected there without any trouble, should Foley elect to sit for Perth. I hear, however, that he talks of sitting for Waterloo. Singularly enough, I was strongly urging the necessity of having you in the House a few days ago among a party of our friends, when ——— offered to resign for you. I have no doubt he means it, but we will see when the House meets if Foley comes to that determination. The Midland Division Convention gave Mr. McMaster the nomination, and I think he will accept. Mr. McFlee was here some days, and I saw much of him; I was much pleased with him. He promised to see Dorion and you, and tell you all that is going on. What about the seat of government? Had our policy best be to stand

by Ottawa? It has been suggested to refuse more money to this government. What do you think I should do about the opening? Go down or write a letter? I am not inclined to go down, as it might be said I went to influence the choice of a leader or the adoption of some party policy. Pray advise. I hope it is true that you cross the Atlantic with Mrs. Holton in the summer. It would be so pleasant to go together and compare notes occasionally as to men and things. The session, I include, will not last longer than June, and if you take your seat this session, of course you could not leave till the House rose, and I could not wait so late, having business waiting me in England.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, May 29, 1862.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—I was delighted beyond measure at the receipt of your letter. It is so refreshing to find that one of the old set at any rate sticks to the ship.

Believe me, that though I have not written, you have not been out of my mind for two consecutive hours in the last two weeks, and I have been more than once on the point of running down to consult you as to the course I should take. I was only deterred by fear of the construction that would be attached to my going east at such a moment. As it is, I would like much to have two hours with you, for who else to consult with I know not. My only reason for not writing was the necessity of sending a well-considered reply to that strange letter of Mettee's. I am writing this at one o'clock in the morning, after a five hours' interview with Wilson and Foley. The conclusion I came to from all they have told me is that a greater set of incapables than the quartette was never got by accident into the government of any country. Would you believe it? They tell me their constitutional scheme is to be embodied in formal resolutions, and submitted for the adoption of parliament next session; that any modification of the plan will be adopted, and that they themselves will do their utmost to have representation by population made part of the scheme, and if necessary will resign, or take any other course the party desire! Foley says he will state the substance of this in his address, which he is to prepare to-morrow and submit to me, for consideration. McDougall is to leave Quebec to-night, and will be here to-morrow night. Foley's address will be held over until he arrives and joins our consultation, so that it will not appear before Monday morning. I would do anything to have you here; is it not possible for you to come? It would be an immense relief if you did; it is so hard to tell how to act. There is no doubt that if I go into it, and stump the four counties, three of them at any rate will be beaten. But that would split the party, and bring on once more a most disagreeable personal warfare, which I wish to avoid of all things. I am keenly desirous of sticking to my business for a couple of years, and especially of getting myself off to England for a few months. To go into such a fight would knock everything on the head; but then, if we don't kill them their conduct may yet kill us as a party. If we could get the arrangement put before the public as an open question, and have it understood that resolutions (on which the whole relations of Upper and Lower Canada would come up) were to be presented to parliament next session, the complexion of affairs would be entirely changed. Only fancy the folly of these men telling the House and the public that

the matter was closed, when they could with so much more advantage have told the truth, if indeed it is the truth.

Sicotte must have been very closely run on his side of the question, when he got the worst side proposed for his colleagues from Upper Canada, to strengthen himself in Lower Canada. I will write you from day to day to inform you of our negotiations, in case you don't come up. In the meantime, I need not tell you how much I would value any suggestions you have to make for the *Globe's* guidance.

Ever faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTOS, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTOS.

TORONTO, June 2, 1862.

MY DEAR HOLTOS,—I feel exceedingly obliged by your ready response to my unreasonable request, and only regret it was out of your power to come up. I cannot help feeling that the line of policy to be pursued by the *Globe* and by our staunch friends here was a question of no small difficulty and no light importance. Had I been able to discuss the whole matter with you, and we had arrived at a joint conclusion, all doubt would have been off my mind. The die is cast, however, and, right or wrong, I must stand by it.

Foley and Wilson, when with me first, both maintained they had sacrificed nothing, and were as ready to vote for representation by population now as ever. When I asked Wilson what he would do if a vote on it came up next session, he said he would vote for it unless it were put as a vote of want of confidence; and that if a majority of the West Canada members would vote for it in the latter shape he would resign. Foley doubted how they would act in the former case, but was clear that if the motion in the latter case came from Tom Ferguson or J. H. Cameron, they would not regard it. However, they both agreed that resolutions embodying the new policy were to be laid before parliament next session; that the whole question of the constitutional relations between Upper and Lower Canada would then come up; and that if an advance could then be obtained, or the party asked them to take a certain course, even at the risk of office, they would go heartily into it. I seized this declaration, and asked if they would put this in their addresses? They both agreed to do so. Foley was to write his address out and show it to me on Friday forenoon, and when McDougall arrived that evening, to have a consultation as to the best means of putting matters in a more satisfactory shape.

Foley did bring me his address on Friday, but he found it very difficult to put his ideas in such a shape as would suit the purpose here and not offend his Lower Canada colleagues. After a good deal of debate we agreed to let the matter rest until McDougall arrived. He arrived on Friday night, as arranged, and was with me from half-past eleven till near three o'clock. After telling him my mind very plainly, we discussed the whole subject fully. He repeated all that Foley and Wilson said, and agreed to stand by it, but he refused positively to put it in his address, or to have it in any address.

Our discussion had evidently opened his eyes to the difficulty of putting the double majority delusion in formal resolutions, and made him shrink from pledging himself to submit them to the House.

Would it not be rich to have the whole constitution changed by the simple will of twelve gentlemen who happened for the time to hold the

twelve state offices? McDougall evidently felt his oats, but Gordon caught a different impression. I was very candid with him and the others, but of course as courteous and friendly as the case would admit of. Among other things, McDougall stated that Howland only held office temporarily, and that I was looked for as his successor. I scouted this suggestion, and asked him how it came that you were not made Minister of Finance, as we had all intended in the event of a crisis. He said because Sandfield and Sicotte were against it. He admitted the concern could not go on as it was, and that he looked on it as a mere make-shift.

The question now was what course should be taken? Start candidates against all four, and run out as many as possible? or permit them to go in unopposed, and hold them up to the mark under the stimulus of bit and spur? I had nobody to consult with but Gordon. We deliberated long, and finally concluded that the latter course was the best for the country and the party under all the circumstances. Friday's *Globe* contained no allusion to the matter, and Saturday's gave a gentle hint to the North York meeting that there were two sides to the question of rejecting them. This morning's paper discussed the double majority humbug. We shall quietly fall into the attitude of independent but hearty support on all but the one question. I will ask no favours from them for anyone, and will stand ready heartily to aid them to the best of my ability, with the one reservation that on the constitutional question they are to be coerced on every occasion.

Now for the reasons that led me to this conclusion. To oppose the re-election of the new ministers would have been to split the party once more, not only in the five counties, but all over the province. The best men of the country would have gone with us, but a large section would have been estranged. It was no slight responsibility to face this result. Then, supposing that could be got over, where were the men to run? Several excellent men were available to run, but not such men as were necessary for the crisis. Suppose us successful at all the elections, who was there to carry out in the House the bold policy that such a result would render necessary? The worst of it is that nearly all our friends in the House had been committed to a partial support of the government, notwithstanding their retrograde policy, and might regard such success as a censure on themselves. I felt that to give effect to the movement I must run myself, and carry out in the House what had been begun in the country; this I was determined not to do. Then came the fear that our success might possibly kill the ministry, and bring back the corruptionists. I shrank from the responsibility of risking that. It could not be forgotten that the present men would certainly effect great practical reforms; and especially that while the old set would have been entirely beyond our reach if once reinstalled, the present men will always be less or more within reach if they stray from the right path. On the other hand, was there much chance of the present concern lasting long? And if it fell, would there not be a general election? With the party committed, partly, to this monstrous policy, would we not be swept from existence as a party? Moreover, was not the credit of the country and the honour of the liberal party at stake in the conduct of these four men and the reception given them by their constituents? And if returned unopposed, would it not be saying as plainly as possible that Upper Canada was quite content to set aside her claims for just representation and take a miserable delusion in its place? We weighed the whole matter seriously and maturely, and concluded to take the course I have already sketched. I hope our conclusion was right. Assuredly we arrived at it with a strong desire to do that which seemed best for the weal of the country.

Now, my dear Holton, the best news I have heard is that you are coming out for Huntingdon; I entreat you to do so; there could be no

doubt of your success. If you come out, I promise that the moment you ask me to come back to Parliament, I will at once respond. The present ministry will not last long. From the strongest of them, with the best of our friends outside, a higher and better policy might be carried out for our country than what is in prospect for us now. Don't think of accepting the Upper House.

I hope to start across the Atlantic in about three weeks, but will try and see you before I go. Your candidature may interfere with your trip, but it would be pleasant to meet you in England. I would give much for that opportunity.

Ever faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

EDINBURGH, Sept. 3, 1862.

MY DEAR HOLTON, — I got here at a very interesting time — I mean to London. I was fortunate enough to be present at the great debate in the Commons and at the great Grand Trunk meeting. It would be hard to say which disappointed me most. The ignorance of English politicians about Canadian affairs is as astounding as the helpless dependence of the capitalists on the word of a few bell-wethers. I cannot tell you how glad I am at having had an opportunity of seeing how affairs are managed here. It is very curious and very instructive. I have met many people in the political and financial worlds, and have received the greatest kindness from all. The truths told in the *Globe* for the last ten years have not prevented the Barings and Glyn's being very civil; and those who escaped Grand Trunk benefits particularly so. I have a great deal to tell you when I see you. It would be absurd to attempt it in a letter.

I had a most satisfactory interview with the Duke of Newcastle at his request. His scruples about representation by population are entirely gone. It would have done even Sandfield good to hear his ideas on the absurdity of the double majority. Whatever small politicians and the *London Times* may say, you may depend upon this, that the government and the leaders of the opposition perfectly understand our position, and have no thought of changing the relations between Canada and the mother country. On the contrary, the members of the government (with the exception of Gladstone) are set upon the Intercolonial Railway and a grand transit route across the continent! But for Mr. Gladstone's opposition, I have reason to believe that the scheme would have been announced by this time.

The meeting of the British North America Association, at which Mr. Galt spoke, was got up professedly to explain to the English public the present position of Canada and Canadian affairs, but in reality it was intended to force the Intercolonial Railway on public attention. I declined going because, in order to show our true position, I must have attacked some who were on the platform with me, and I did not think it fair to Sandfield and his colleagues to aid an agitation that might be embarrassing to them. So far I support the present government on everything else but the great constitutional issue and the school question; and that I may have more to say on these two, I shall earnestly aid them on all other questions.

I am delighted to learn that your election for the Upper House is quite safe, though, of course, it is coupled with regret that you will not be in

your proper sphere among the "Lords." Galt and I have made up the peace. By the way, he goes in now for constitutional changes stiff. He is to address the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on Canadian finances before he leaves. I have been asked to be present, and also to speak in several other quarters, but have steadily declined. I have no idea of *defending* Canada before the English people, and *defence* is the only possible attitude at this moment.

The bitterness against the United States here is remarkable, and the feeling is as senseless as it is bitter. The *Times* wields an astonishing influence over the length and breadth of the land. What it means by its present course I cannot conceive, and no one here can enlighten me. It seems to be meanly pandering to the passions of the people without regard to the inevitable hostile feeling that will arise in consequence of such writing in future years.

I got to this my native city a few days ago, and at once started off on an inspection of the old loved spots. I wandered from house to house and place to place where dear remembrances led me, and the mingled sensations were overwhelming. I have had many delightful meetings with old friends and cronies, but the sad, sad blanks tell the tale of twenty-five years.

Only one old friend recognized me, and he did so from having seen Gordon when here two or three years ago; all the others, though they had seen my brother and sister lately, failed to make me out.

I mean to stay here about a month, then, ho! for Canada. But for the sad thought that never more will I see my beloved mother ever recurring, my visit would have been one of intense pleasure throughout.

I needed nothing to "reconcile" me to Canada; but, after all I have seen, I say now as earnestly as ever, Canada for me!

Ever faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, Jan. 5, 1863.

MY DEAR HOLTON, -- Many thanks for your kind congratulations, and I assure you my friends may well congratulate me, for I am a new man in mind and body after my trip to England, and as happy as the day is long. I do not know when I may get down to Montreal, but whenever I do Mrs. Brown will accompany me, and I have promised her a great pleasure, and, I trust, the friendship of all your family circle. I quite weary to have a long talk with you on many subjects. I have much to tell. Is there any chance of your coming up? I may possibly be called to Montreal by business within three or four weeks, but it is not likely. I wish very much to have consultation also with Dorion. You would see an absurd article in the *Leader* of yesterday about new combinations. I need hardly say that, so far as I am concerned, there is not a shadow of truth in it. I never had any love for coalitionists, and certainly have as little now as I ever had. The *Leader* and its friends may rest assured that when I go to open war with the present ministry, it will be as a reformer and a party reformer, and that I shall take some small section of that party with me, sufficient at any rate to make war effectively for Upper Canada principles, whether the conservatives like it or not. But entirely re-established in health as I am, and free from nearly all business retardment, I have no desire whatever to re-enter parliamentary life, and would much rather

accomplish through others what the country wants than be a prominent participant myself. I have thought out a course for myself pretty clearly, but shall make no sign or say anything until I see you and discuss our affairs fully. I regretted much you could not come to Great Britain this summer. You would have enjoyed it intensely. But I trust there is a good time coming. I am happy to know that I can now give you notes to many of the friends in England and Scotland who will welcome you heartily from the knowledge they already have of you. I met many Canadians in London.

Ever faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. ———

Toronto, Feb. 12, 1863.

MY DEAR ———, —I was greatly gratified by Dorion's refusal to join the present ministry. I fear that sooner or later we will be forced to part company with them, and it is a great relief to have Dorion out of it. Indeed, I cannot see how they are to get on with any comfort. The Intercolonial Railway matter stands in a very awkward position. If they were willing to face borrowing the money to build the road, and the annual deficit in running it, I think they need not have scrupled about the sinking fund. It strikes me it was a very small loop-hole to escape by; but let us rejoice the country is saved the burden threatened. The postal subsidy to the Grand Trunk is another rock ahead. I hear the government has been pledged to arbitration. I hope this is a mistake; but if not, it will create trouble. The school question, too, stands out in a threatening aspect, but perhaps that may be avoided as well as the *Credit Foncier*; but from what I hear, Sicotte's strength in Lower Canada is far from what was expected, and will prove the weakest spot of the administration. Sandfield, it seems, has promise of a dissolution; but so far as Upper Canada is concerned, I am persuaded that if he tries he will find himself mistaken. There will be unavoidable divisions in the reformers' ranks where conservatives will be united, and the result may easily be seen. If an election were to come now, I would not move hand or pen except for the individual whom I knew to be reliable from every point of view. I confess I view the position of our party with some degree of alarm—more alarm than I have felt for ten years. Ministers may get supporters to vote down representation by population, or they may treat their vote on that question with indifference; but the country will not do so, and any attempt to speak against it as the late minister did, will cause a burst of indignation over the country. Divisions will spring up. In every store and bar-room of Upper Canada the contest will be waged; the best of our men will be found where they were. One set will be pitted against the other; and when the election comes, the result will be seen. I have no desire to enter parliament; on the contrary, nothing but the strongest sense of duty would tempt me to enter it at present; but sometimes when I think of the gulf before us, I am almost tempted to wish myself once more in the House. A little reflection, however, soon brings me back stronger than ever for quiet and happiness. All you have seen—if, indeed, you have seen the trash which has been published—about Oxford and my connection with it, is entirely fabulous. Several prominent electors wrote offering support and urging me to stand. I declined, after thinking the matter seriously over. I know less of South Oxford than of any county west of Belleville. Were I desirous of going in I suppose I could do so by stumping the county, but I never was in the

riding except at the village of Ingersoll. It is largely Hincksite, and has, I am told, nearly six hundred Roman Catholic electors. I would, however, get, besides many of the friends, a large number of Stephen Richards—and a little canvassing would, I dare say, make the thing sure enough. But I prefer keeping out. If the cabinet tumbled to pieces and I in the House—whatever I said or did—the doing of it would be thrown on my shoulders. Now, I do not want them to have any excuse for failure, but to stand or fall on their merits. I sincerely hope they will not fall this session; but I hope still more earnestly that my friends in the House will not ruin themselves by giving bad votes on these questions to keep the government in office. I see John A. Macdonald is reported to have arrived by the *Europa*. What course he may take I do not know; but whatever he does will very much affect the reliability or weakness of the ministry. Haultain, Cockburn, and others I wot of, in the event of the conservatives pursuing a different policy than what they have done, will not hesitate to act for themselves. Howland is still here. He seemed far from ill when I saw him a week ago, but they say he is not well enough to get through the work of the session. I hope you will write me from day to day your impressions of matters. On Monday I go back to the editorial chair, and mean to keep it during the session. I will be glad if you could have an opportunity of letting me know of Lord Monek as Governor-General. It is reported that the Ministry and he had some difficulty in November, and that they had placed their resignations in his hands in the full expectation of being out; but he thought better of it. The militia question is said to have been the cause of the trouble.

Ever faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

LETTER TO MR. ———

Toronto, March 7, 1863.

MY DEAR ———, — I got your telegram, and took your advice, and I am in. Had I consented to be a candidate three days earlier there would have been no contest, or, at least, nothing worth designating a contest. But the convention proceedings gave Bollwell something to talk about, and committed a great many people who regretted having to vote against me. South Oxford never was a constituency of my way of thinking exactly, and it was very gratifying to find how hearty and kind was the reception I got from men of all parties all over the riding, including those who voted against me. Not one harsh word passed during the contest; and were the fight to be gone over again to-morrow, I think we could carry it by one thousand majority. It is not true that I got all the Tory vote. The Tories in South Oxford number between six and seven hundred, including the catholics, who generally voted against me. Of the protestant Tories I got perhaps from one-half to two-thirds, but by getting them I lost as many hard old Radicals. So that while I got many votes from the conservatives, I am not indebted to them for my return. I entirely agree with you about McDougall's speech. It was the most reckless as well as the most foolish speech ever made by a man in his position. I see, too, he goes in for sectarian schools, and the whole animal generally. Well; he had better look out for another constituency than North Oxford. I regret also to hear that Ferguson Blair has accepted the Receiver-Generalship *vice* Morris, but it does not take me by surprise. I suppose he will get returned, but it is because no earnest reformer will oppose him under the present

circumstances. I do not intend going down for ten days unless you write me that there is necessity.

Ever faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, June 26, 1863.

MY DEAR HOLTON, —The elections are over. We have been as successful as we could hope to be, and now begins the real trouble. Were Sandfield a man of comprehensive mind and firm of purpose, all trouble would soon be overcome. But it is really sad to rejoice over victory at the polls as if we had nothing else to do but sit down and enjoy our spoils. I need not remind you that our very success in Upper Canada, and the complete rout of the old corruptionists, have rendered our future course more difficult than before. We cannot hold up the return of Sir John and Cartier as a scarecrow for those who insist on our carrying out our principles. We have men returned on our side firmly pledged to carry out our views, and what is more, all but two oppositionists returned are as earnest as we are in claiming the same reform. The vote for representation by population will be almost unanimous on the part of Upper Canada members, and the conservatives will now be most violent in their clamours for it, when they see that the country has completely adopted it. What is to be done—look the case fairly in the face, or wait the event? The former is very difficult after what occurred in Montreal, and the latter may throw the reform party into a defensive attitude not advantageous on such a question. (It is impossible to make Sandfield think or speak seriously. Your own particular troubles are in no way light, though I confess they would give me no uneasiness if I occupied your shoes. I would just form my conclusions as to what was right, and carry them out firmly and boldly. Much is expected from you, and I am conscious that if you only carry out your own well-considered purposes, you will not go astray. I need not say that you can always rely on my sincere and earnest counsel whenever you think it worth while to ask it. An immense card, politically, would be the renewal of the United States reciprocity treaty. If you can fix that for twenty years you will give our party a hold on the farmers that would be very difficult to over-estimate. Sandfield spoke of my going down to Washington to see how the land lay. I would gladly do so were there any necessity for it, but of course you will attend to that yourself, and no doubt with as much influence as I could possibly exercise at the Washington Court. There seems less hurry about the matter now that the democratic party have had a check, but I am persuaded that President Lincoln is favourable, and while he is in power the thing should be attended to. I am strongly of opinion that you should summon parliament for the earliest possible day. Announce that it is for the Supplies and the Militia Bill alone. Push them through in ten days, and call us at the regular time—the end of January; this will give you a chance of feeling the temper of the House. It will enable you to discard troublesome matters in your Supply Bill on the score of time being needed to consider, and it will enable you to prepare your plans coolly and considerately before your session next winter.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, Oct. 23, 1863.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—I have this moment received your letter of yesterday, and hasten to give you the reply you ask for. Of course, you are responsible for the financial steps to be taken at this moment. You and you alone will bear the burden if any error is made, and you have the credit if credit is won. It is therefore right that you should pursue the course that seems to your own mind the best; and in what I am about to write, therefore, you will understand that I am only giving you my own view of the situation at your request, and that I expect you will give it that influence, and no more, in making up your own mind, to which the arguments seem to be entitled. I understand your present inclination is to borrow from the Bank of Montreal a sufficient sum to secure your account with the English agents, and, in consideration of this accommodation, to transfer to the Bank of Montreal the government account. I admit that some advantage is to be gained from this arrangement. But on the other hand, there are very serious dangers that may arise from it. In the first place, you take from the commercial circles of the province a large portion of the capital of the Bank of Montreal that ought to be employed in developing the trade of the country. In the second place, you strike a blow at the Bank of Upper Canada that may be disastrous to that institution, and will certainly be most hurtful to the commercial interests of this section of the province. This bank is not in a condition to withstand a pressure, and a pressure will certainly come if you withdraw your government account. In turn they will press all their customers, and where that will end who can tell? I am led to believe that the board is gradually working through its difficulties, and that two years more would put it past serious trouble. If this is so, would it not be assuming a serious responsibility to take a step that may bring widespread ruin on Upper Canada? Let me add for myself, however, that I think the people of Upper Canada would have good cause to dread the accumulation of this great additional power in the hands of the directors of the Bank of Montreal. It is a Montreal institution, soul and body, and most hostile to Upper Canada interests. Its true spirit was displayed in the panic of 1857. I am persuaded that the removal of the government account to the Bank of Montreal at this moment, when the Bank of Upper Canada is struggling through its difficulties, would not only be an act of great injustice, but highly impolitic as regards the general interests of the country. It will certainly be viewed, coming from you, as a Montreal blow aimed at Upper Canada. I know well that no such feeling animates you, but assuredly this will be believed here, and it will very much surprise me if strong and excited feeling in Upper Canada does not flow from it. Frankly, the step would be a very grave one in my opinion, politically, financially, and every other way, and I would not like to have the responsibility of it on my shoulders. Nothing but absolute necessity could justify a step involving risks so serious, and I do not see the necessity. You are not responsible for the debt. No one will blame you for borrowing to secure accounts; and certainly, under better auspices, you can easily borrow in England. I have no doubt you can make what arrangements you like with Baring and Glyn's. But failing them, you could get whatever you want in London, for any length of time you wish, by hypothecating debentures on moderate terms. All the Bank of Montreal proposes is to do with the money of Canadian merchants what you can do with the money of English capitalists. From an Upper Canada point of view, I could fancy few acts on the part of the present government more suicidal. I have written you my full mind in this matter, but of course

with only partial knowledge of the subject. I am persuaded, however, I have expressed what will be the strong feeling of nine-tenths of the people of Upper Canada until the contrary is known.

Ever faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, Jan. 19, 1864.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—I dare say you are thinking, you are not to hear from me again, and perhaps you think I am out of sorts about the bank matter; but you are wrong if such is your notion. I did think you wrong in that matter. I think so still; but it was your own affair, and had I been in your place, I would have carried out my own ideas. But I decline to discuss, for it is *au fait accompli*. I did not look at it from your point of view; I did not think your arguments were satisfactory. But what will it avail for us now to argue it out; the thing is done, and let it rest there.

I hope Richards will be re-elected for Leeds. Knowing nothing of the constituency, I cannot say anything as to the chances. The opposition are cock-a-hoop; but the minister seeking re-election is hard to beat. I think the appointment was a very wrong one. Notman should have been Solicitor-General; failing him, Shuter Smith, or Ferguson Blair, or Mowat should have taken it, and allowed a new man, not a lawyer, to come into the cabinet. I think the appointment of Richards was not in harmony with the arrangement under which the cabinet was formed. Richards holds, and did hold, all the views of the Macdonald-Sicotte ministry. Mowat and Wallbridge were taken in to give confidence to those who did not hold those views, and Wallbridge's successor should certainly have been of like opinions. Of course there was no bargain to that effect, but I think the government would have felt the benefit of it had this been done.

I am much concerned about the reciprocity treaty. It appears to me that none of us are sufficiently awake about it. I see very serious trouble ahead if notice of the repeal is given. Such a feeling will be manifested here as will determine the United States to repeal it. They will see then, if they do not now, how essential it is to our prosperity here in Canada, and what many here are prepared to do to secure its re-enactment. I do think you are taking on a very serious responsibility in not opening negotiations at Washington, as well with the committees of the House and the senate as with the executive. It would be a thousandfold easier to negotiate before notice than after; before members have committed themselves, by speech or otherwise, than afterwards. I hear we are not to meet before Valentine Day. I am sorry, though it suits me personally much better than an earlier day.

But a truce to politics. Let me turn to more agreeable matters, and congratulate you heartily on the marriage of your daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Britton were here and spent an evening with us. They have all the prospects before them of as useful and happy a future as heart could wish, though it must have been a great trial to Mrs. Holton to part with her daughter. You would notice, perhaps, that Mrs. Brown had a little

daughter a week ago. They are both doing well, and we regard it as a vast addition to our happiness.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montréal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, January 29, 1864.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—Here's a pretty mess. Perhaps Sandfield will now have his eyes opened to the fact that it is only on the liberal constituencies the government can rely when the pinch comes, and that, convenient to him as it may be, and his friends in the ministry, it wants something more than his choice to get them there. I was astonished to hear that Sandfield had said I had consented to Richards' appointment. The very opposite is the fact. But both Gordon and I saw, as plainly as possible, that Sandfield was bent on making the appointment, and while I urged my views of the matter on him, I refrained from speaking against Richards. It was not for me to say that Richards' appointment would be a gross injustice and breach of faith, with the understanding at the formation of the government, while Sandfield was protesting all the time that he had no thought of appointing him and would do nothing without letting me know—a promise I had no wish for, and which was never thought of after it was uttered. What is to be done now? Can any single man in our party now fail to see that the policy you and I chalked out at the end of the session was the only safe one, and the only right one? If you come down with a weak speech, get defeated, and an election should follow, where would we be? And how about your tax scheme? Will you venture to go on with it in a House in which you are so weak as the present one? Don't you regret you had not made a stand before now? Sandfield will, I have no doubt, have shown you my answer to his letter about the reciprocity matter. You are the only man to go there. You can go with authority. I have no idea of going to Washington as a lobby agent, to be snubbed by Lord Lyons for meddling in a matter he was sufficiently able to settle.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montréal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, February 6, 1864.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—Your note of the 3rd has this moment reached me. I do not quite understand what you are driving at. Did my urging you to go into the government last May make me responsible, or impose on me the obligation of approving all that the government has done since? Did not you and I both see clearly at the end of last session that another such was not to be contemplated, but that a crisis during the recess was the wise and prudent mode of avoiding a great break-down in the coming session? Must I, whether I can honestly do so or not, approve of the course of the government on the bank matter, the seat of government matter, reciprocity, South Leeds, and the North-West business, on all of which I was consulted after the thing was done, or when it was too late to do anything; and

because I do not and cannot approve of the course of the government on these points, does it follow that I will not stick to my party, and will not aid to pull it through in spite of the course taken? Have I ever shrank from my share when the pinch came? You speak of the men with whom I cordially act as the main core of the party; but what one step has been taken by the government to strengthen us, or even to please us? No, not one step, except the first move about the York roads, and there it hangs to let a new government undo it. I think Mowat and you should not have allowed matters to get into the shape they have. I have done my duty in urging you both and warning you of coming troubles from my point of view. You have not seen proper to go upon it. But I did not take the pot on that account. The question is not what I thought ought to have been and might have been, but what is. However, we up here will exert ourselves to get through the coming session. I see you do not think a break-up imminent. Well, I sincerely hope you will prove right, for a break-up now is not only to lose the reins, but to ruin the party west. I don't want that; and little respect as I have for a portion of the government, I cannot separate them from the great reform party. You ask why I did not write to you, and you complain about Richards' appointment. I answer because Sandfield left me declaring it would not be made, and I heard not a word more about it till I heard the deed was done. I complained to Mowat; but, in truth, what is the use of complaining?

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

Toronto, January 17, 1867.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—I agree with you in your suggestion that it might not be a bad dodge for John A.'s purpose to shove off the confederation settlement, and that it would be characteristic; but he cannot do it. Nearly all the others consider it either now or never. It is immediate or political death certain. Cartier perfectly understands his position, and the sooner confederation comes the better. I never was so confident as at this moment that the movement was a right one, and will prove a great boon to the province; and how any liberal politician could doubt that any settlement of the constitutional question must place his party in the ascendant and give a new face to the whole politics of the country. I never could understand, and don't now. Of course, you in Lower Canada have a difficult card to play; but those who settle this question, it appears to me, are playing your game for you. Don't fancy there is any great change in public opinion here. There is a lull, a doubt, an uncertainty, but the moment the right chord is struck, the response will be as of yore, only more so, or I am no judge. In great haste,

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

Toronto, May 13, 1867.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—Yours of the 25th came duly to hand, but being busy since, I could not reply sooner. I think the ground you take quite

consistent, truly patriotic, and one on which we can all meet. I hope you will have entire success in your effort to carry the Rouge party with you. I quite understood what you said about control. I had no objections to it from your point of view, but my fixed determination is to see the liberal party reunited and in the ascendant, and then make my bow as a politician. As a journalist and a citizen, I hope always to be found on the right side and heartily supporting my old friends. But I want to be free to write of men and things without control, beyond that which my conscientious convictions and the interests of the country demand. To be debarred by fear of injuring the party from saying that — is unfit to sit in parliament, and that — is very stupid, makes journalism a very small business. Party leadership and the conducting of a great journal do not harmonize.

I had an hour's talk with Mr. Howland. He tells me Lord Monck told him John A. Macdonald would form the new government, and urged him to take a seat in it, but that he absolutely refused to come to any decision until he got out to Canada. Mat. Cameron writes me that McDougall is quite undecided how to act; that he was intensely disgusted at the reception given to John A. on their joint arrival.

The list of senators was to be settled on Saturday and telegraphed to London; the proclamation is to be issued as soon as it reaches England, or rather as soon as the Queen returns from Balmoral. The union is to come into operation on the 1st July, and the elections are to follow as soon as possible thereafter. I have given you all the news I heard. Write me what you have. Good-by.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

LETTER TO MR. HOLTON.

TORONTO, July 5, 1867.

MY DEAR HOLTON,—Yours of yesterday reached me this afternoon. I was much amused at the life-like picture it presented of Sandfield's position. I have no doubt your surmises as to his expectations from the enemy are well grounded. I am not quite so sure that he will refuse their overtures. The question now is what to do about the eastern counties. Shall I take their case in hand myself, and make a raid through them, or leave them to the chance of Sandfield's moving? I have several very strong letters from M., urging action and promising cordial co-operation, but he failed to come to the convention. I am offered addresses and invitations from several counties of central Canada to visit them and speak on public affairs, and if I thought Macdonald would not move soon, and move vigorously, I would accept some of them, and stir up the dead bones. The Tories are in alarm about the movement. If Currie accepts the nomination from Peel, the Grand Master will certainly be beaten. We have had no communication whatever with the Roman Catholic clergy, but they, of course, know all about the position, and have probably determined not to interfere. The fact is, that there has not a word been passed, or a demand been made, or inducement sought or offered, that might not be cried from every housetop in the country; and the most interesting part of the business is that the most pronounced of them heretofore show a moderation, common sense, and confidence in our good faith exceedingly satisfactory. I observe a Mr. Rodon by name is likely to oppose you in Chateauguay, but hope it will amount to nothing. Stories of all kinds are

circulated here by ministerialists as to the utter overthrow of the liberal party in Lower Canada. Tilley told myself that fifteen was the outside number of liberals that could get in. He had better look to his own following. I have a letter from one of his strong men, speaking for himself and others, entirely approving of our course up here, and declaring that the reform party of New Brunswick will never ally themselves with the Tory party. If you do anything respectable in Lower Canada, out they must go, and if you don't, I go for sticking to you until you can do better. But of all this when we meet. As you have given me all the news that I could hope to obtain from Sandfield, I shall not go down to Montreal for some days—perhaps not for a fortnight, as there is much to do here. Do not believe one word about my being deceived by some of our candidates. I know more about that than anybody else, and think I know all the shaky fellows pretty well, though I don't tell everybody of it. Good-by.

Ever yours,

GEORGE BROWN.

HON. L. H. HOLTON, Montreal.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. BROWN'S PRIVATE LETTERS TO A
RELATIVE, ON THE RECIPROCITY TREATY NEGOTIATIONS
CONDUCTED BY HIM IN 1874.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12, 1874.

It is really very hard work to see the leading spirits among 300 representatives, and carry on discussion with them. So far everything looks well, but one's heart sinks before the labour necessary to insure success. And after all the labour has been gone through, by some accident or whim the castle may be toppled over at the last moment. The government seems to be with us, and many of the most important men in congress. We know as yet of but few men who are bitterly against us. I saw General Butler, at his own request, on the subject, and I understand he will support us. Charles Sumner is heart and hand with us, and is most kind to me personally.

I shall try to get to the bottom of the general feeling as early as possible next week, and then return.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14, 1874.

Everything has gone on as well as we could have hoped for. It is always difficult to say beforehand what any legislative body will do, and this legislature is one of the most uncertain on commercial questions; but without overestimating the favourable symptoms, I feel confident that were a bill for the renewal of the reciprocity treaty (with some amendments) submitted to both Houses next week, it would be carried. Whether such a bill will get before congress, or what new influences may arise to affect its chances when it does, is a different thing.

On Monday I shall be able to get through all I can do at present, until the United States government take the initiative formally; they have already agreed unofficially. Consent from England has also to be obtained before further advance is made. I therefore propose to leave on Monday night and go by New-York direct to Ottawa.

WASHINGTON, May 10, 1874.

We have made a good deal of progress since I got back here. I had a long talk with Bancroft Davis, and he assures me they mean business, but

do not feel they can deal with it without advice. I am informed they have called in Dr. Young. He went over the list with me, and showed me what we would probably get and what we would not get. We will probably accept such a compromise.

I have visited several prominent men whose views were doubtful, among others Senator Conkling, who goes heartily for a treaty, and will urge Mr. Fish to go ahead; I also saw General Garfield and Secretary Schurz, both of whom are favourable.

I shall go to New York for a day to obtain, if possible, the *Herald*, the *Times*, and the *Sun*. We have already had articles in the *World* and *Evening Post*. I have sent off our first despatch to the *London Times*.

WASHINGTON, May 15, 1874.

I was able to do good work in New York, having secured the support of the *Herald* and the *Times*. The enclosed article was published by the *Tribune*, with some trifling changes. The *Chicago Tribune* had a grand article, and so had many other papers that I heard of but have not seen. What a provoking thing it was that my manifesto, prepared at the request of the Associated Press people, was not sent, as promised, to all the papers. They only sent a small part to the press generally, and the whole to the New York press only. I could have done better without their aid.

Don't, I pray you, come to the conclusion that all is safe for the treaty. We know of not one thing more against us than we did when you were here, and we know of much that is favourable which has turned up since. But political matters are in such a mess here that it seems hopeless to get anything satisfactory done this session, unless Mr. Fish signs a treaty, and to do that he seems more and more unwilling. He is frightened at his shadow, and seems to have neither knowledge enough of the subject, nor breadth of grasp sufficient to cast his fears aside. If he had, the treaty would be carried without much trouble. On Monday we are to see him, when we hope to bring him to the point.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1874.

I had a most pleasant interview with Mr. Fish on Monday. He promised to see us again in three or four days. We are making strength every day in the senate. I have issued a fly-sheet which, I think, will give us a hoist. Mr. Fish's four days are up, but we have not heard from him. I have just written him a note which, I hope, will bring him to the point. I hope now to know distinctly what he means to-morrow. Everything goes well meanwhile. The papers are coming out famously; the Chicago Board of Trade have passed excellent resolutions; the New York Board pass theirs to-morrow; the Boston Board of Trade on Tuesday; and the Detroit Board at the same time.

We had a cablegram to-day from Lord Derby, thanking us for our paper given to Mr. Fish, and declaring it an able document.

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1874.

We had a satisfactory meeting with Mr. Fish, who seems now to be thoroughly in earnest. I think we will get him to send the treaty to the senate for advice, as was done with the Washington treaty, and we think the senate will assent to it, but that is not certain. The bargain is not all we would like, but it will be a creditable treaty for us.

It looks very like winning. I had a long interview with Mr. Fish by myself at the state department, and settled everything as far as he is

concerned. I have telegraphed articles to Ottawa for approval. The moment I hear from them I am to see Mr. Fish, and he is to call a cabinet council to have it approved and sent to the senate. If it goes as we have it, it will be perfectly satisfactory to us and our people; but we may find it broken up in the senate, or before it reaches there. That will not, however, prevent our going at it again as long as the government endorses it.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1874.

There is a hitch at Ottawa. The articles sought to be introduced into the free list exceed the amount Mr. Mackenzie sees his way to relieve from paying duty. I am going on to try and put the matter right, and I hope to accomplish it.

There seems to be no doubt that the treaty will go through if this difficulty at Ottawa is overcome.

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1874.

We had a long interview with Mr. Fish yesterday morning, when I made the suggestion necessary to meet the views of the Ottawa government. The interview was, on the whole, pleasant, but he fought hard against any amendment. Finally, he conceded all demands subject to three concessions by us: 1st, That we surrender for ever to the United States the right of passage through the Gut of Canso; 2nd, That we make our canals 14 feet deep; and 3rd, That the tolls on the Welland and St. Lawrence canals shall not discriminate by lighter charges on through vessels than on vessels going only part of the way down. The second and third conditions, I suppose, can be arranged, but the first is a serious affair—in feeling. There is no reason why we should not concede perpetual passage through the Gut of Canso. The United States have always been allowed to use it, but not the right to fish therein; and they will always have it in fact, though not in name. It would, however, be a serious diplomatic concession. I thought the matter over after we left, and hit on a plan for meeting his demand. Sir Edward Thornton is enthusiastic about the suggestion. It is to propose to-morrow, as a counter demand, the opening to Britain in perpetuity of the Rosario and Douglas channels on the Pacific coast, lately declared by the Emperor of Germany, as arbitrator under the Washington treaty, to be United States waters.

If I hear from Ottawa in time, the draft treaty is to go to the senate to-morrow; appearances indicate a chance of success. I saw yesterday Messrs. Butler, Boutwell, Dawes, Garfield, and others; they are all willing to push it through this session. The President speaks openly and strongly for it.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1874.

I heard from Ottawa, two days ago, the difficulty there was arranged; but three days are absolutely lost, because Lord Derby has not signified his assent to the draft treaty. Sir Edward has in vain endeavoured to obtain from him an answer of yes or no!

Congress will certainly break up on the 22nd. We have hardly a moment to spare, still we cannot move. It is very provoking, but there is no remedy. We have ascertained pretty accurately that if the treaty were now sent to the senate it would be carried. Yesterday I saw Cameron, of Pennsylvania, our supposed great enemy, and had a long conversation with him. I found him extremely friendly; he told me he had read my pamphlet, and was much pleased with it. He said he agreed with its reasoning, and if he opposed our measure, it would only be because he was attached to the protectionist party. He thought I had made out an excellent case, and admitted the position of Canada was different from other countries.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1874.

Lord Derby was "graciously pleased" yesterday to cable his approval, and that we might proceed; so at it we went with Mr. Fish. Would you believe it? he was showing his timidity nearly as much as ever. "The difficulties were immense;" "the senate would certainly throw the draft treaty out." In short, there was no hope unless we made concessions now proposed for the first time. All this within ten days of the adjournment. We kept cool, made a memo. of his proposals, and retired to consider the situation. Sir Edward was downcast and angry; my bump of hope, as usual, kept me up, and determined me to make one more attempt to bring Mr. Fish back to reason; so it was determined I should go last night to see him at his house. I went, but found he was at the White House; I therefore went to the state department this morning to see him. I expressed to him my regret that it was my painful duty to say that his propositions were entirely out of the question; that I would, if he desired, communicate them to the Canadian government, and Sir Edward would to the Imperial government; but that, if they determined to accept them, they must find somebody else to act for them, for I would never sign a treaty that was not entirely reciprocal. I pointed out that the treaty he proposed would be entirely one-sided; that it would miss the end for which it was devised, and leave a strong feeling of dissatisfaction behind it. He seemed impressed by the argument. The people would not sustain his propositions. He asked me, after looking over his paper, "What I objected to so much." I told him—"The denial of the free navigation of Lake Michigan;" "The demand of fishery rights on the Pacific coast;" "The postponement of the free entry for lumber to the United States for three and a half years;" "The striking out of ochres, seal oil, and salt;" "The demand for 14 feet of water in our canals, that would cost millions;" "The demand for free perpetual navigation of the Gut of Canso, without the accompanying concession of the same right to us in the Rosario channel;" and "The construction of the Caughnawaga canal, without any compensating advantage." These were the things I decidedly protested against, and would not assent to without equivalent. After a long tussle he agreed to give up all but one or two of the demands. I compromised for twenty-one years of Lake Michigan, and agreed to the construction of the Caughnawaga canal. At last he hesitatingly accepted that arrangement, because he felt certain if salt were left in, the treaty would be lost. He suggested that if salt was struck out of the free list by us, he would strike out something as an offset, and no doubt it would be all right, and he would see me again this afternoon. Some hours have elapsed, but yet no sign; but I feel pretty certain it is all right, and if so, the bargain will be a good one for Canada.

June 13th.—I did not hear from Mr. Fish, as I expected, yesterday afternoon; but this forenoon Sir Edward and I went to see him, and had two and a half hours with him. We occupied that long sederunt with a final revision of the treaty, improving the language and making the sense of each sentence as clear as possible. Mr. Fish made no new demands, but made several sensible suggestions for the improvement of the paper, and was most courteous throughout. He hoped to get it completed, and ready for the senate on Monday. The thought occurs to me that he means to throw us over the session; I cannot believe it. He evidently had spent much time over the paper, and declared he had been at it till one o'clock this morning; therefore, I think he means to sign the treaty.

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1874.

The treaty did not go to the senate on Tuesday, in consequence of a new demand for canal tolls uniformity. It really looked as if Mr. Fish were willing to throw us over for want of time.

I dined at the White House last night, and remained behind to speak

to the President about the treaty. He spoke out most enthusiastically for it, and congratulated me on the great success that had been accomplished. He assured me he would take every means to have the senate endorse it. The treaty is now confidentially in the hands of the senate. It is being printed, and will be considered by the Foreign Relations Committee to-morrow morning.

WASHINGTON, June 20, 1874.

The President sent a message to the senate with the treaty, urging a decision before the adjournment of congress. I thought the message very good; but it has the defect of not speaking definitely of this particular measure as his own and his government's, and calling on the senate to sustain him. Had he done this the treaty would have been through now. But now, with a majority in its favour, there seems some considerable danger of its being thrown over until December. I told all this to Mr. Fish just as has happened, but he was quite set on having his own way. He may now have to regret it.

The first tussle in the congress was in our favour. Chandler tried to have the treaty sent to his committee. This the senate refused, and sent it to the Foreign Relations Committee. On that committee there are 7 to 2 in favour of a treaty. There were 6 present: 3 said to be for us; 1 against; and 2 for the measure personally, but wanted to hear from the country before acting. The committee adjourned without action. How it will end no one can tell. Had Mr. Fish signed the treaty and sent it down, it would have gone through without a doubt. *N'importe*; we have done all we could, and the United States Government must be responsible for what comes hereafter. If the senate concludes to throw it over till next session, I will leave soon; should an extra session be called, I may be delayed ten days.

Nothing, however, was done before the adjournment. The letters following have reference to what took place in the autumn of the same year:

WASHINGTON, December 15, 1874.

I found that on coming here Sir Edward's statements as to the treaty being dead and not having "ten supporters," rested wholly on Fish's bluff. The republicans are thoroughly demoralized, and know not what hand to turn to, and it looks as if they would continue not to know until the 5th of March arrives, with nothing done but talk and the democrats get to power. I find the democrats are stronger than ever with us, and will go for the treaty if the republicans propose it. The only grand scheme the republicans have is their transportation scheme, framed by Mr. Windom. The Caughnawaga Canal is its main feature. If they as a party go in for it, they will carry it; but they cannot separate the treaty from it; the two must go together. I did not see Mr. Fish to-day, as he was engaged with the King of the Sandwich Islands. I am to see him to-morrow; but I already know pretty well how the matter stands.

WASHINGTON, December 16, 1874.

I had a long interview with Mr. Fish this morning. He was kind and friendly. We discussed the whole matter in the best spirit, and while declaring his earnest desire that the treaty should pass, and his conviction that a treaty would be agreed to within a year or two, he confessed it seemed hopeless this session. "The money question occupied everyone's thoughts to the exclusion of every other subject." Parties were rent upon it. No one could see his way out of the woods; and what would be done

he could not tell. There was no great hostility to the treaty, but utter apathy. To get a two-third majority was hopeless; to get a majority vote in the senate he did not believe possible. This was sure, that nothing would be done until Congress met after the holidays."

I have now got his views, and will try and learn what the democrats will do.

I have not yet seen the President, but will call to-morrow, I have an appointment with Carl Schurz to-morrow morning, to get the state of the case from him. To-night I see Allison and Dawes.

EXTRACTS FROM FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE.

The following extracts are wholly from letters addressed by Mr. Brown to members of his family, and are given separately on that account. Most of them contain matter of more or less public interest, while some are wholly of a domestic character, and delineate him in his relations to his family—with whom he had daily correspondence during his absence from home—better than any words of the writer can.

The first two letters have reference to his canvass for the representation of South Oxford. He was elected by a large majority.

INGERSOLL, February 26, 1863.

Well, I am fairly into it, and I do assure you I wish I were once more quietly at home. I am persuaded that had I stayed out of it for a year longer I would never have returned, and I would have been right. However, I am into it for this struggle, however long I may remain in public life.

NORWICH, February, 1863.

It is very pleasant to find how kind every one is to me—even those who are going strongest against me—not a harsh word, except for coming to drive out Bodwell, and Bodwell himself is compelled to say all sorts of kind things. I got to bed at 2 o'clock in the morning, and am off immediately to speak 8 miles from here at noon, and 8 miles further on at night. No one knows how an election will end. Bodwell is a strong candidate—a very strong candidate; but turn and twist it every way, I don't think it possible he can beat me. I don't feel the slightest doubt as to the result, but I am fighting for a good majority.

BOTHWELL, April 4, 1863.

We have had fine weather, and I have enjoyed my rambles over the fields immensely—especially going among the sheep and cattle. The flocks of sheep make at present a fine sight, with their heavy fleeces and their lambs skipping around them. The oil wells are a great fact. There seems no doubt that oil in any quantity will be had here. Many people arrive daily from different quarters to inquire into the prospects, and already three or four new companies have been formed to open wells. Every dwelling-house in the village is occupied.

Parliament was afterwards dissolved. Mr. Brown again ran for South Oxford. Mr. Hope Mackenzie was the liberal candidate in the North Riding. The following five letters have reference to the contest in these ridings:

INVERKIP, June 4, 1863.

I dropped you a line yesterday morning just before starting for Platts-ville. We had a fine drive of 20 miles and a splendid meeting at Platts-ville—carried all before us. In the evening we had a meeting in Drumbo, very large but not so favourable, one of our discontented candidates having opened out on us in a very scandalous manner. We got through the meeting at 2 o'clock in the morning, and then had 8 miles to drive. It was very cold, and we did not get to Chesterfield till broad day light. We came here this morning, and have had a grand meeting—swopt all before us. I am sitting in the house of a substantial farmer: have just had a good dinner, and am off for Embro immediately (16 miles), where we speak to-night. Mackenzie will carry the election, but not without effort.

EMBR0, June 5, 1863.

A man is just starting for Inverkip, and I seize the opportunity to send a line. We had a glorious meeting in the evening; large hall crowded; good speeches—great enthusiasm. This is the township that turns the tide in all North Riding contests, and Mackenzie is no doubt quite safe now. I am writing at 8 o'clock in the morning, and the horses are standing at the door waiting to carry us to Harrington, a distance of 10 miles, where we speak at 10 o'clock. From there we go to Thamesford, where we hold a meeting at night, which ends my work here. To-morrow is my nomination.

NORWICHVILLE, June 10, 1863.

Here I am in the centre of the Quaker country, and a most beautiful country it is. You could not fancy in a young country more substantial comfort than the people enjoy. After dinner we drove to East Oxford, where my first meeting was held. It was a very good meeting, and went unanimously for me. We left East Oxford about 3 o'clock and came on here, calling on one or two prominent people as we passed. We saw a sheep that weighed 350 lbs.—very interesting to you as a piece of intelligence. We had a splendid meeting at night. I find all my friends staunch, and a great many of my opponents turned into friends. There is literally no contest here, and it is too bad to be compelled to hold meetings.

SPRINGFIELD, June 11, 1863.

Another day gone. We came here in time for our meeting, which passed off very successfully. We went on in the evening from Springfield to Otterville, and there had a splendid meeting; church crowded, and all perfectly unanimous. There was a majority against me in the township last time, but it will be very different indeed now. We came back to Springfield late last night, and I am staying with the principal farmer in this neighbourhood. He has been on this farm no less than 30 years. The country was an utter wilderness when he first settled. I had to get up to breakfast at 7 o'clock. I am writing this immediately after breakfast, and am half asleep now. I am going over the farm and dairy in a few minutes. I speak at Culloden at 10 o'clock, and in the evening at Tilsonburg. After that there will be but three meetings more, and then home.

TILSONBURG, June 12, 1863.

I have only a moment to send a line, as I start for Simcoe, county of Norfolk, in a few moments, to speak at the hustings to-day, and we have hardly time to get over. We had a capital meeting yesterday at Culloden, and a splendid one here last night. A deputation came here last night from Oxford and insisted on my going over to help them. My meetings here to-day are therefore to be taken by friends.

BOTHWELL, July 25, 1863.

I was up very early yesterday morning. Breakfasted at 7 o'clock, and off before the sun was hot to see a lot of outlying fields.

I have been very busy in the fields these two days—hard at work from 8 o'clock in the morning till 10 at night, examining the crops, the stock, and the buildings—planning new operations, arranging the fall work, settling with the hands, and making up the books. Lots to do. I could spend a fortnight here very profitably. Everything is looking well. The crops are very good—never so good before; and the cattle are all in excellent condition. You would be delighted with a herd of 52 calves in one field—beautiful smooth coats, elegant shapes, and as lively as crickets. The rain has been coming down in torrents. It will do some damage to the hay, and a vast deal of good to the corn, roots, and peas. I have 350 tons of hay secured in beautiful order, and there is any quantity to come yet.

I got to London on Tuesday night, telegraphed to some friends that I was coming, and got through a lot of business before going to sleep at midnight. Up at 3.15; off to Detroit; reached there at 8 o'clock. Beautiful morning; most lovely view in crossing the river. Detroit is an active, stirring business place, built of brick very substantially, with a great deal of shipping at the wharves. I know no river so beautiful as the river that runs from Port Sarnia to Detroit.

QUEBEC, September 29, 1863.

I am writing in the parliamentary committee room, with a fierce discussion going on about a Grand Trunk Railway bill, in which all the magnates of the House are at work. I have been working hard since I wrote. We have lost the St. Hyacinthe election, and our strength will be greatly affected by it in the coming contest. As we stand now the vote will turn on the Speaker's vote. However it is to end, I hope it will be soon, and let me off home. I am wearying to be back.

QUEBEC, February 20, 1864.

Matters are very queer here. The government are very confident, but I doubt much if they have good reason for it. There are several members of the opposition who feel inclined to support them, but they feel rather shaky, and hardly know yet how they will go. The Ottawa members have a caucus to-day to determine how they will go; and which way they may finally turn no one knows. The position of the ministry is very humiliating, trusting to the aid of men they utterly despise. For my part, I would a thousand times rather go out of public life for ever than be at the mercy of such people. I have been quite reserved with the government about the Bell matter, thinking it was their duty to speak first. But they have carefully avoided all reference to the subject. I have, however, spoken openly to others in strong condemnation, and it has no doubt reached their ears, as they have been excessively civil.

The "Bell matter" referred to was a rumour that Mr. Bell, the conservative member for Russell, was to be taken into the cabinet.

QUEBEC, February 22, 1864.

I have had a great blow up with Sandfield and Holton about Bell's rumoured appointment. He is not to go into the cabinet—indeed, I doubt if he ever intended going in—and the government, whatever he does, will have a majority on the address. Now that the fuss is over, matters are all serene between us, and I doubt not they are heartily glad that I put an impassable bar in the way of the proposal. Our friends in the House are heartily thankful for the escape they have had. I have been writing this by fits and starts, while the debate has been going on about the address to the Prince of Wales.

QUEBEC, February 29, 1864.

I cannot tell you how I hate this parliamentary work, because it keeps me away. I think what a fool I am to be here; and then come thoughts of the country and public duty, and the newspaper, and so I give a great sigh and turn away from the subject. What I would give to be able to set out for Toronto this afternoon, never to return! And yet, what hinders me? Are the reasons sufficient? Ought I not break through the meshes and be off?

QUEBEC, March 1, 1864.

Rose has just risen to speak, and he has said the only sensible thing that has yet been uttered in the debate; he hoped the debate would now be brought to a close without further waste of time, and that we may get to the business of the country. Would you believe it? Cartier commenced on Thursday at 4 o'clock and spoke till 6; he resumed at 8.30 and spoke till 11.15; resumed yesterday at 3 o'clock and spoke till 6; resumed at 7.15 and spoke till 1.15—thirteen hours in one speech. They used to charge me with being long-winded, but Cartier outdoes all the world, past, present or to come.

It is not at all unlikely that a crisis may be brought on this week—and it may come any day, and we may all get home much sooner than any of us anticipate. There is very little party spirit throughout the House—most of the members on both sides want to get on with the business, and how a crisis may end no one can predict.

QUEBEC, March 2, 1864.

I have delivered your message to Her Majesty's loyal opposition, and I am desired to say in reply that they entirely endorse your sentiments. They consider it highly improper that "L'Honorable membre de Saint-Oxford," as Monsieur Cartier hath it, should absent himself from his duty; they are convinced that whistling to little Maddie is the very thing he is cut out for, and are most willing to spare him for that purpose. Mr. Sandfield and his section of ministerialists heartily reciprocate for once the views of the opposition; and, in fact, since the idea was propounded, peace reigns in political circles.

It is very tantalizing of you to write such things about our little darling. Tell ——— that George, the father of Maddie, would rather be quietly at home than "President of the United States," and that he regards the "premiership of Canada" with supreme indifference; it would not be modest to use a stronger word.

I fully expect there will be a ministerial crisis before many days elapse; but to say the truth, they are all very wavering of purpose. Foley made a set speech last night, and came out strong and loudly for all the views I had been urging for years. McKellar followed in reply, and then Mowat, who did exceedingly well. His speech was manly, straightforward, and judicious; but some passages caused Sandfield to make wry faces.

QUEBEC, March 3, 1864.

I expect to introduce my motion for an agricultural committee to-night, and will say something in introducing it. I was very much tempted to make a speech on the address in reply to Galt, but refrained from fear of doing harm. A crisis will evidently come, and it would have been a pity to say a word calculated to do harm when it does come. I am very industrious these days; never go out till the House meets, and work like a beaver at letters and all sorts of things. I have a very comfortable room indeed, with a glorious view of the St. Charles; and I read a little, write a good deal, look out a little, and think and muse about home. It is very doubtful if there are many people in the world who have so much to be thankful for as I have. I sometimes tremble; and strive to pray: Lord, make me to know and feel from whom all this comes. Make me humble; teach me how to serve Thee; teach me how to use all these blessings aright.

The liberal government resigned before the close of the session, and were succeeded by a conservative cabinet. The following letters were written after this change:

QUEBEC, May 13, 1864.

I can scarcely tell you how matters stand here. When I got here, I found the party in an uproar—dissatisfied with the conduct of the leading men, and urgent for a test vote. I did not think this prudent; but urged that continual incidental votes should be recorded against them until all confidence was taken from them. The caucus had determined, however, before I got down, to take a direct test vote, and it was thought best to humour the rank and file, so a vote is to be taken on the canal toll question.

QUEBEC, May 16, 1864.

Our vote of want of confidence has commenced and will be continued to-night. What the result may be is still uncertain, but I expect we will be beaten by from 1 to 3 votes. Things here are very unsatisfactory. No one sees his way out of the mess—and there is no way but my way—representation by population. There is great talk to-day of a coalition; and, what do you think? Why, that in order to make the coalition successful, the Imperial government are to offer me the governorship of one of the British colonies! I have been gravely asked to-day by several if it is true, and whether I would accept!! My reply was, I would rather be proprietor of the *Globe* newspaper for a few years than be governor-general of Canada, much less a trumpery little province. But I need hardly tell you the thing has no foundation, beyond sounding what could be done to put me out of the way, and let mischief go on. But we won't be bought at any price, shall we?

QUEBEC, May 17, 1864.

We are in the middle of the debate on the vote of want of confidence. Heretofore, the speaking has been but ordinary—except Holton's speech of last night, which was very good—but this afternoon the debate has opened up much better. Scatcherd commenced with a very good speech, and Dr. Parker followed with a very able one from his point of view. I say from his point of view, for he went the whole figure for a coalition—a most dangerous and demoralizing resort of weak men. I shall probably speak to-night, but at no great length.

QUEBEC, May 18, 1864.

I brought on my motion for constitutional changes this afternoon, and

we had a capital debate upon it—the best debate on the question we ever had in parliament—calm, temperate, and to the point. I really believe there is a chance of my motion being carried—not a great chance, but still a chance. I am writing at 7 o'clock, just after dinner. The debate begins again at 7.30, and I must be at my post, so I have only a few minutes to spare. I feel a very great desire to carry the motion. It would be the first vote ever carried in parliament in favour of constitutional change, and even that would be some satisfaction after my long fight for it. But I have taken care not to set my mind on success, and so if I don't succeed I won't break my heart about it.

Don't say another word about giving up parliamentary life; that is all settled. I have announced it to friends and enemies here distinctly and beyond recall.

QUEBEC, May 20, 1864.

It was indeed a great success, and took Cartier, Macdonald, &c., by intense surprise. They had no conception that there was a probability of my motion being carried. It has excited great discussion this morning, and my committee had its first meeting at noon to-day. Sixteen members of the committee were present, and we had a very useful and harmonious discussion. Much that is directly practical may not flow from the committee; but it is an enormous gain to have the acknowledgment on our journals that a great evil exists, and that some remedy must be found.

QUEBEC, June 11, 1864.

Saturday morning, 1.30 a. m.—The ministry have just announced that they intend putting through the whole supplies before they adjourn, and that certainly will not be before daylight. There is no prospect of an immediate termination to the session. It will probably not close before two or three weeks.

Ministers are very weak, and dare hardly make a motion; but there is an unwillingness among the opposition to push things to extremities, and the probability is that ministers will go through the session without a defeat.

QUEBEC, June 18, 1864.

Past 1 in the morning.—We have had great times since I wrote you. On Tuesday we defeated the government by a majority of 2. They asked the Governor-General to dissolve parliament, and he consented; but before acting on it, at the Governor's suggestion they applied to me to aid them in reconstructing the government, on the basis of settling the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada. I refused to accept office, but agreed to help them earnestly and sincerely in the matter they proposed. Negotiations were thereupon commenced, and are still going on, with considerable hope of finding a satisfactory solution of our trouble. The facts were announced to the House to-day by John A. Macdonald, amid tremendous cheering from both sides of the House. You never saw such a scene; but you will have it all in the papers, so I need not repeat. Both sides are extremely urgent that I should accept a place in the government, were it only for a week; but I will not do this, unless it is absolutely needful to the success of the negotiations. A more agreeable proposal is that I should go to England to arrange the new constitution with the Imperial government; but as the whole thing may fail, we will not count our chickens just yet.

QUEBEC, June 20, 1864.

I intended writing you a long letter, but the negotiations have occupied

every moment since 5 in the morning, and I fear that I may not have the opportunity of doing so. It is now 5.30 and the mail closes at 6 o'clock; and I am waiting in the Governor-General's office for his Excellency, who has sent for me to meet him. If he is brief in his discussion, I will write you; if he is lengthy, I will not be able to do so. But meantime, I may say that I have closed the negotiations for the construction of a new government, pledged to carry constitutional changes, and that I have the offer of office for myself and others to be named by me. I call a meeting of the party to-night to accept or reject this offer, and I must abide by its determination. I am deeply distressed at having this matter thrust on me now, but dare not refuse the responsibility, with such vast interests at stake. I shall try to do my duty to the country. So far I have received the approval of the best men on both sides.

QUEBEC, June 20, 1864.

I wrote you half an hour ago, just before going in to see His Excellency. I have now a few minutes to spare before meeting the deputation from the Executive Council, and I shall try to use it in explaining, as well as I can, the position of matters at this moment. Cartier and all his party, by the compulsion of circumstances, have been driven into the necessity of taking up the representation question openly and vigorously. They have asked me to enter the cabinet with two friends: to conduct the negotiations with the Lower Provinces for a union of all British North America, and to conduct the negotiations in London with the Imperial government. They agree to bring down a measure next session to apply the federation principle to Canada alone, with population as the basis of representation, and with provision for the admission of the Maritime Provinces and the great North-West gradually into the union.

I reject the proposal to go into the cabinet, but offer all my aid outside. The government insist on my going in, and my party insist on my going in; but my party insist on our getting four cabinet seats instead of three, and the others are not willing to do so. I think the Governor-General is with me in this controversy, and that he will urge the cabinet to give us four seats, or at least three departments, and myself to be sworn in an executive councillor, without a department and without a salary. Whether they will yield to his urgent appeal I cannot say, but he is entirely with us.

QUEBEC, June 23, 1864.

We have had great doings since I wrote you on Monday. My negotiations with the government were successfully closed on Monday night. On Tuesday I called a meeting of the Upper Canada liberals, and submitted what I had done. You will see from the published proceedings (which I send you) that my course was sustained almost unanimously. You will see that the meeting passed a resolution urging me to go into the government, but that did not influence me wholly; private letters from many quarters did something more, and the extreme urgency of the Governor-General did still more. His Excellency sent a very kind letter, urging me to go in, of which I will send you a copy. The thing that finally determined me was the fact, ascertained by Mowat and myself, that unless we went in the whole effort for constitutional changes would break down, and the enormous advantages gained by our negotiations probably be lost. Finally, at 3 o'clock yesterday, I consented to enter the cabinet "as President of the Council," with other two seats in the cabinet at my disposal—one of which Mowat will take, and probably McDougall the other. We consented with great reluctance, but there was no help for it; and it was such a temptation to have possibly the power of settling the sectional troubles of Canada for ever. The

announcement was made in the House yesterday, and the excitement, as over the province, is intense. I send you an official copy of the proceedings during the negotiations, from which you will see the whole story. By next mail I intend to send you some extracts from the newspapers. The unanimity of sentiment is without example in this country; and were it not that I know at their exact value the worth of newspaper laudations, I might be pulled up a little in my own conceit. After the explanations by ministers I had to make a speech, but was so excited and nervous at the events of the last few days that I nearly broke down. However, after a little I got over it, and made (as Mowat alleges) the most telling speech I ever made. There was great cheering when I sat down, and many members from both sides crowded round me to congratulate me. In short, the whole movement is a grand success, and I really believe will have an immense influence on the future destinies of Canada. We are to be sworn into office on Monday. Immediately after I go up to Toronto for my re-election and to arrange matters; then return here for a week or two; then back to Toronto for a week or two; then go to Prince Edward's Island as one of the representatives of Canada in the Convention of Provinces; and from there to England as a delegate from Canada to the Imperial government.

We got home at 2.30. The House met this morning at 11, and we have been hard at work ever since trying to close up the business of the session. It is 1 o'clock in the morning, and the boat which is to take this letter sails six hours hence. The weather is fearfully hot.

I send you the Governor-General's letter and the formal statement of the late negotiations. I also send you a few extracts from some of the newspapers. They are not selected extracts, but simply a few that I picked up round the House; scarcely one of the papers friendly to me is among them.

UXBRIDGE, July 20, 1864.

On Monday at noon I left Bothwell for home and reached there in the evening. Next morning (yesterday) I left again by the early train for Whitby, took carriage there with Mowat and Edwards, and arrived here in time for the North Ontario nomination at 10 o'clock. There was an immense crowd present; McDougall and Cameron, his opponent, made good speeches, and I followed at no great length. We had the show of hands, and Cameron demanded a poll. In the evening I addressed a meeting here in the Town Hall; it was densely crowded, and I succeeded in converting a good few and strengthening others; Cameron was present, but did not venture to reply. This evening I speak in Scott, to-morrow at Wick, on Friday at Manchester, and on Saturday at Beaverton. I propose remaining there over Sunday, and on Monday returning to Toronto. On Wednesday or Thursday I go back north. I think the election is safe, but we must not leave a stone unturned to secure success.

I am staying with Joseph Gould, the old member for this county, in a splendid house.

The drought continues here to a most alarming extent, and fires are going on in the woods and fields over the country; while I write I can see three fires burping in the fields, looking from two windows. Fire in so dry a season catches very easily, from the ashes of a pipe or cigar, or the slightest cause.

This is a very thriving little town, with a stream running through it, driving various mills and factories. The population is about 1,500 to 2,000, and Mr. Gould owns a great part of the village. He is one of the self-made men of this wooden country, who go ahead in defiance of all difficulties.

TORONTO, July 28, 1864.

On Wednesday, after writing you, I held a meeting in the township of Scott; on Thursday at Manchester, in the township of Reach; on Friday at Wick, in the township of Brock; and on Saturday I spoke at Manilla and at Cannington, and held a monster meeting at night in Beaverton. The meetings were all largely attended, and very enthusiastic for Mowat and me, but very cold for McDougall. I never had such up-hill work; I never met such personal hostility against anybody as against McDougall. Had it not been for these meetings he would have been awfully beaten; but as it is, he has lost the race by a minority of 100. This result does not matter a great deal; McDougall will get another county, and the wheels will roll on. We did all we could for him, and it is to be hoped he has had a lesson that will do him good. I stayed at Beaverton over Sunday, and heard two capital sermons—no, one capital, and the other very fair for a young beginner.

UTICA, N.Y., August 1, 1864.

When I wrote on Thursday I expected to go down to Quebec the following day, but a telegram from Quebec rendered this unnecessary, the Governor-General's absence preventing any Council being held till the day after to-morrow. I can therefore utilize the interval by seeing after my dairy. I left Toronto on Saturday at noon, got to the Bridge at 5 o'clock, to Rochester at 8 o'clock, and here at midnight. I am now writing on Monday morning. Yesterday was a fearfully hot day, close on 100°, and not a breath of wind blowing. I hardly ventured across the door, the heat was so fearful, but lay upon the sofa and imbibed iced lemonade! This morning I am up betimes. It is now 5.30. A carriage is to be at the door at 6 o'clock to drive me round the celebrated cheese factories in this locality. I mean to visit Whitesboro', Vernon, Rome, etc., if I can overtake them all in time, then at 4.20 this evening take the train at Rome for Ogdensburg (150 miles), cross the St. Lawrence to Prescott, catch the Grand Trunk train through the night, reach Montreal in time for breakfast to-morrow morning, leave by the steamer at night, and be in Quebec on Wednesday morning. Pretty good work this hot weather; but it must be done so, or not at all.

QUEBEC, August 5, 1864.

After closing my letter to you on Monday, I started off in a carriage for Whitesboro' and a number of other places, and got complete insight into the working of the new dairy system. It is very profitable, and well calculated for adoption in Canada. I think, however, that very great improvements can be made on their mode of management.

I got to Rome at 4 p.m., got dinner, and off by the train to Ogdensburg, where we arrived at midnight. Took a wherry and crossed the St. Lawrence to Prescott, a thunder-storm going on at the time—a very splendid sight. Lay down for an hour, and at 2 o'clock in the morning went to the Grand Trunk Railway station to catch the Montreal train. Table time 2.30. Waited till 3 o'clock—no train; till 3.30—no train; till 4 o'clock—no train. Thought it time to kick up a row, and found a freight train had run off the track above Kingston, and stopped the way. Could not tell when the obstruction would be removed. Got back to hotel at 4 o'clock; lay down and slept till 8—no word of train; got breakfast, recrossed the St. Lawrence to Ogdensburg, and took passage by steamer *Lord Elgin* to Montreal. Had a fine run down the rapids. Telegraphed Quebec steamer to wait for us, which was kindly done, and so got on board at once on arrival at Montreal, and steamed down here on Wednesday morning. There now, you have the whole of my pilgrimage. Have taken possession of my official quarters; read up all the business; prepared

matter for council, and laid regular siege to my pile of unanswered letters. Been very industrious, and got through quite a lot of matters. I hope to-day or to-morrow to know when I shall sail for Liverpool. The meeting of provincial delegates is to be held on the 10th of September, at Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island, and we will either go direct from there to England, or return here first, and start for Liverpool early in October.

QUEBEC, August 8, 1864.

I am writing on Monday afternoon at 5 o'clock, and as the post closes at 6, and I have been in council for five hours, and the heat is very oppressive and sciatica very troublesome, I am sure you will pardon for this time only a short note.

I am so glad you approve of all I have done; at least I have a clear conscience in the premises, and if I have erred it has been the judgment and not the heart. It was a bitter pill to swallow going into the government, and nothing but a sense of duty could have forced me into it. It is very gratifying to see, however, that the public, not only here but in the United States and Britain, have given me full credit for patriotic motives.

We have been hard at work in council ever since I last wrote, and have got through a vast amount of detail business. I am happy to tell you that all fear of our compact not being carried out in good faith has pretty well passed from my mind, and I now feel very confident that we will satisfactorily and harmoniously accomplish our great purpose. Taché, Cartier, and their colleagues, have behaved very well, and show no inclination to swerve from their bargain. Cartier, John A., Galt and I are deputed to go to Charlottetown for the provincial conference, to be held there on the 10th of September. The seat of government is positively to be removed to Ottawa in October. It will be a great comfort to be within a few hours of Toronto.

TORONTO, August 15, 1864.

I left Quebec by the steamer on Thursday afternoon, and arrived at Montreal at 6 o'clock in the morning; took the train to Lachine at 7, and spent the day in ascending the Ottawa river. It is a most beautiful river; I think, considering its size and length, the most picturesque river I have ever seen. Reached Ottawa at 6 o'clock; went at once to the Parliament buildings, and went all over them. They are really very magnificent, fit for the British, French, and Russian empires, were they all confederated! A hundred years hence the people will fancy the men of these days were giants in imagination, if not in ability. The architecture is something like the Toronto University, but not the same style. The work is beautiful, and seems of the most substantial character. There is one main pile for the legislative departments, and two enormous side-piles for the departmental buildings. The three piles form three sides of a grand square. The whole will cover about twenty-three acres! The centre is to be laid out in ornamental grounds, fountains, and so forth. The whole stands on a high promontory 160 feet above the river, and is seen all around for a great distance, and amid scenery nowhere surpassed except in Quebec, if even there. We were all anxious to remove from Quebec this fall, but it seems to me impossible to have the buildings ready in time.

QUEBEC, August 26, 1864.

I have a piece of news for you to-day, the day on which we propose sailing for Liverpool! If all goes well, Galt and I leave by the *Persia* from New York on Wednesday the 6th October, and I hope to be in Edinburgh on Monday the 17th.

We have been hard at work with our constitutional discussion for two days, and everything goes as well as we could possibly hope for. I do believe we will succeed. The discussion to-day lasted from 12 o'clock till 5.45, and from first to last it was highly interesting, most deeply interesting. For perhaps the first time in my political life I indulged in a regular chuckle of gratified pride (no higher sentiment) at the thought of my presiding over such a discussion by such men, there not being one man at the table who had not openly derided the idea of such a scene ever occurring in our lifetime. I could not help recalling many furious scenes in which several of those around me had bitterly denounced me for even proposing the consideration of the very subject they were then engaged in settling under my presidency! It will be an immense thing if we accomplish it. I don't believe any of us appreciate in its true importance the immensity of the work we are engaged in. But there is one thing peculiar about our position. There is no other instance on record of a colony peacefully remodelling its own constitution, such changes having been always the work of the parent state and not of the colonists themselves. Canada is rightly setting the example of a new and better state of things.

HALIFAX, Sept. 12, 1864.

Now for my travels. We sailed down the St. Lawrence in the good steamer *Queen Victoria* on Monday night, 29th August; had fine weather all the way, and enjoyed ourselves greatly. On Wednesday morning we reached Gaspé, and went into that beautiful little fishing town amid firing of cannon and all sorts of rejoicings. So far our negotiations have gone most favourably. We are all in favour of federation, if we can agree on conditions, and we have good hopes that we can do so.

QUEBEC, Sept. 19, 1864.

We left Halifax for St. John, N. B., via Windsor. After a pleasant run by rail and boat, we got safely to our destination the same evening. St. John is a pleasant city of 40,000 people, the most thriving place in the Maritime Provinces. On the night of our arrival we had a grand entertainment by the citizens, at which we all made speeches. The affair went off splendidly, and we made quite a good impression. Next morning we took steamer for Fredericton, the capital of the province, 84 miles from St. John, up the St. John river. This a noble stream, very picturesque; hills rising on both sides high above it, and gradually sloping down to its level. On our arrival we found the Governor's carriage waiting for Cartier, Galt and myself, he having invited us to be his guests during our stay at Fredericton. He is a son of Lord Aberdeen, who was a few years ago prime minister of Great Britain. Next day we returned to St. John; the same night took a special train for Shediac, where our steamer was awaiting us. We got safely on board at midnight on Friday, set sail for Quebec, and had a delightful run up the St. Lawrence. Our expedition has been all and more than we could have hoped.

QUEBEC, Sept. 23, 1864.

I sat down at 9 o'clock to write you a long letter, but before I had made a commencement the correspondent of the New York *Herald* came in to ask some hints on the subject of federation. He consumed an hour and more. While he was still with me in came Mr. Philips Day, a freshly arrived commissioner from the London *Herald* and *Standard*—"Mother Gamp" and "Mrs. Harris," as *Punch* delights to designate them—on the same errand as the New York *Herald* man. I could not turn them out, so it was 12 before they went, and then came my messenger boy by appointment to take my letters and papers to the post office. Neither were begun,

so I set him to put up a lot of papers with my Halifax speech, and I addressed them to friends in Scotland and England. He is just gone, and is to come early in the morning for this. I have been up to the ears morning, noon and night since I wrote you, drawing up reports for council, framing minutes, and all sorts of things. My correspondence is fearfully in arrears.

I am happy to tell you that we won't have to sail from Liverpool until December. It will rejoice you to know that business claims will entirely harmonize with comfort, and that the first week in December will be our time of sailing. I intend, if all goes well, to sail by the *China* from New York on the 19th October.

I mark your crowing over the fine Arran weather, but cannot help noting the cautious wording, "Not a day lost!" Nothing about half days, and umbrellas and great-coats. What would the aboriginals of Arran think of ten weeks without a drop of rain or a cloud on the sky, night or day? That is a climate for you! The blessings we enjoy in Canada are unspeakable; though it must be confessed that such charming weather is hardly the thing for turnips!

I dined at the Governor-General's on Wednesday evening to meet Lord Lyons, the British ambassador at Washington. And whom else do you think I met! Why, the Earl of Airlic, the descendant of the lady of my song. I told him I had a great admiration for his great-great-grand-mother, whom "the fause Argyle" entreated to "come down and kiss me fairlie," or he would burn up the bonnie house o' Airlic—the unmannerly Covenanter that he was!

I enclose a confidential paper showing the outline of our federation scheme—it is for F. T.'s perusal. It will be published next week in the Canadian papers, to elicit criticism, without official sanction. It is, however, an accurate sketch of our scheme.

QUEBEC, Oct. 17, 1864.

For the first time since my return to Quebec, I have a quiet moment. Last week the council met at 9 o'clock, and sat till 11; the conference from 11 o'clock to 4. Council again from 4 o'clock to 6 or later, and after dinner came letter writing, resolutions, drafting, till all hours in the morning. This week we have council from 9 to 10 o'clock; conference from 10 to 2; council from 2 to 6; and conference from 7.30 as long as we like to sit.

The conference proceedings get along very well, considering we were very near broken up on the question of the distribution of members in the Upper Chamber of the federal legislature, but fortunately we have this morning got the matter amicably compromised, after a loss of three days in discussing it. We have eight or ten other points of great difficulty yet to be got over, and it is impossible to say when we will get through. If the conference lasts all next week, I am distressed to say that I must delay my departure till the 9th November. I hope and believe that this will not be necessary; but I know that you would not wish me to imperil all my work, and ruin myself with my political friends throughout the country, by abandoning this great scheme at the very moment when a firm hand was most needful.

QUEBEC, Oct. 15, 1864.

I have just come from a grand ball given by the Executive Council to the Maritime delegates in the parliament buildings. It went off very well; but I have come to my quarters weary and worn, and with a shocking headache. We have had such a week of it. Council from 9 o'clock to 11, conference from 11 o'clock to 4; council again from 4 o'clock to 6, and sometimes till 7 every day, and then letters and orders in council to

write at night. It has been very hard work; however, the deliberations of the council go on harmoniously, and there is no appearance yet of any insurmountable obstacle. We progress very slowly, however, and how soon some difficulty may show itself no one can tell. The probability is that at least another week will be consumed, which will forbid the possibility of my leaving before the *Scotia* sails—the 2nd November, my poor dear mother's birthday. It cannot be helped, and we must not repine at doing our duty.

QUEBEC, October 21, 1864.

Since writing I have received a whole batch of letters from you, and I am delighted to hear that you are well and enjoying yourself so very much, and that baby is not only able to say pa-pa, but to stand up in the corner with a little help. It is no little deprivation to have lost all the pleasure of watching her progress to such an advanced stage of babyhood; in fact, the little darling will have ceased to be a baby before I get over.

The conference is still sitting, and I am sorry to say there is no hope of our rising before the middle of next week. We have had pretty hard work to settle a number of knotty points, and have not done with them yet. We have settled the constitution of the federal executive, the federal senate, and the federal House of Commons; we have also settled the form of the local legislature and governments, but we have yet to determine the whole of the money questions, the school question, and the powers and functions of both general and local governments. There is yet plenty to do, and quite enough to split us up should we disagree. It is quite possible this may be the result, but we shall try to avoid it.

The position of matters is such that I cannot leave the conference at this moment. I must stick to the ship until the breakers are passed, and I see no hope of this being accomplished in time to let me off by the *Scotia*. It is quite possible that such a turn of affairs may occur as will render it necessary for me to see at once my parliamentary friends before finally assenting to the new constitution. It will therefore be safe to say that I cannot leave before the 9th November. I am more distressed than I can tell you, but it cannot be helped; I must do my duty in the position I have assumed. Nothing could save my reputation—more important still, nothing could ever restore peace of mind and self-respect to me—were this great movement to fail in consequence of my absence at the critical moment. The very moment I dare leave I will be off. We shall finish this business up, and retire, at least in the consciousness of having tried to do our duty.

TORONTO, Oct. 31, 1864.

We got through our work at Quebec very well. The constitution is not exactly to my mind in all its details; but as a whole, it is wonderful—really wonderful. When one thinks of all the fighting we have had for fifteen years, and finds the very men who fought us every inch now going far beyond what we asked, I am amazed, and sometimes alarmed lest it all goes to pieces yet. We have yet to pass the ordeal of public opinion in the several provinces, and sad indeed will it be if the measure is not adopted by acclamation in them all. For Upper Canada, we may well rejoice the day it becomes law. Nearly all our past difficulties are ended by it, whatever new ones may arise.

I think I wrote you about the entertainments at Quebec—the ball given by the Executive Council, the drawing room held by the Governor-General, the ball given by the bachelors of Quebec, and the endless dinners and feasts in honour of our guests. The same sort of thing is now to go off in Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. On Friday they go on to the Falls, and home by New York and Boston. From the day they left home till

the day they get back, the whole of the delegates, and the ladies accompanying them, are the guests of Canada. I am hard at work preparing for my departure, and there is much to do. I send you photographs of a number of the members of our conference. I will get the balance of them on Thursday, and send them to you this day week. We must keep them as a memento of the great occasion. If we live twenty years, we will prize them much as recalling stirring times—that is, provided the federation goes on.

TORONTO, Nov. 7, 1864.

I am very sorry for all the disappointments you have had from week to week, but indeed it could not be helped, and they will soon end now. One week from the day you receive this letter I shall be with you, if all is well. I am writing before breakfast on Monday morning. The mail goes to-day at 11.30, and this is my last day in Toronto. I go to Quebec to-morrow morning; reach there on Wednesday; leave for Montreal on Saturday; leave Montreal for New York on Monday; reach New York on Tuesday; and sail by the *Persia* on Wednesday.

We have had great times in Toronto this week. The delegates arrived on Wednesday night, and only left for Montreal on Saturday. The *déjeuner* and Ball went off splendidly; I only looked in at the ball for ten minutes, having urgent business requiring my attention at the office that night. I send you a copy of the *Globe* with the speeches at the *déjeuner*. People are making a fuss about my speech, which they say was the best I ever made, but that is stuff. This was the first time that the confederation scheme was really laid open to the public. No doubt—— was right in saying that the French Canadians were restive about the scheme, but the feeling in favour of it is all but unanimous here, and I think there is a good chance of carrying it. At any rate, come what may, I can now get out of the affair, and out of public life, with honour, for I have had placed on record a scheme that would bring to an end all the grievances of which Upper Canada has so long complained.

QUEBEC, Nov. 11, 1864.

I left Toronto on Tuesday morning, and got here safely the next morning. Before leaving, among other things I bought a wall paper for dear little Maddie's room—a bright, lively pattern for the little darling to wonder at, and a pretty border round it.

LONDON, Dec. 5, 1864.

The government here has given a "most gracious" answer to our constitutional scheme. Nothing could be more laudatory. It outdoes anything that ever went to any British colony—praises our statesmanship, discretion, loyalty, and so on.

LONDON, Dec. 6, 1864.

I went to see Gladstone last evening, and had an hour and a half with him—a most delightful talk, frank, able, clear-headed, and most straightforward. I was glad to find we agreed in almost everything, and I was able to put him right on many points that he had not clearly understood about Canada. From his kind manner one does feel he is a tremendous length beyond all others intellectually, as he has really shown himself to be. I had been an hour and a half with the ablest man in England, and though (as he remarked) we had been discussing the highest questions of statesmanship, he did not drag me by any means out of my depth. He was immensely civil; regretted he was going out of town to-morrow, but hoped to have the pleasure of seeing me again before I left England, and urged me to look in on him at any time; and so on.

LONDON, Dec. 8, 1864.

About that little bit of my letter concerning Gladstone, I thought it quite natural that you should read it aloud, as another proof of Dundreary's profound enunciation that "every perthion maketh an ath of himthelf at times."

I am glad to hear that baby was very wild yesterday. Kiss her dear little fingers for tearing my letter; it was a proof of her agricultural tastes. She knew the letter was from Captain Taylor, and she was luxuriating in the rambles she is to have with papa through the woods of Bothwell, and wanted to know how matters were proceeding for her reception. Oh, the day when that shall come!

QUEBEC, Feb. 7, 1865.

John A. opened the confederation debate last night. Cartier is now addressing his countrymen in English, and he is to do it in French afterwards. I was to have followed him; but as I am not yet ready, and as there will not be time enough left for me after Cartier closes, Galt has kindly agreed to follow Cartier, and leave me all to-morrow (after 7.30) to myself. If I am in the right frame, I will make a vigorous speech! It is in my mind, if I can get it out; so look out for Thursday morning's *Globe*.

QUEBEC, Feb. 9, 1865.

I commenced my speech at eight o'clock, and spoke till 12.30. The House was well filled the whole time, and I was listened to throughout with earnest attention. I suspect it was pretty successful, and between you and me, the argument in favour of the scheme is perfectly irresistible. When I closed, the members of all sides came round me, warmly congratulating me on the speech. They say it was far the best speech I ever delivered; but of that I am not certain. Kisses dear for little Maddie.

QUEBEC, February 24, 1865.

The confederation debate goes slowly on. We have heretofore commenced it at 7.30 every night, but hereafter we propose to begin the debate every day at 3 o'clock until it is closed. We don't expect that over 30 will vote against the measure.

The weather is beautiful. I am wearying to be away, and looking out for another farm to which the select portion of the Bothwell flocks and herds may be carried.

Write all about little darling's daily doings. You cannot tell how much I enjoy all you say about her; kiss her for papa a thousand times.

QUEBEC, March 6, 1865.

It does pain me somewhat to part with Bothwell; I feel a blank. It supplied relaxation when I wanted to escape from the pressure of thought about things around me. I believe thinking of Bothwell has been of essential service to my mind, and the working it out was most enjoyable. I could readily, to-morrow, without regret or hesitation, give up politics and the press and go on a large farm. I might tire of it, of course, but I don't think I would.

We are to have a great scene in the House to-day, and I am writing this before going down to it. The government of New Brunswick appealed to the people on confederation by a general election, and have got beaten. This puts a serious obstacle in the way of our scheme, and we mean to act promptly and decidedly upon it. At 3 o'clock we are to announce the necessity of carrying the resolutions for confederation at once, sending

home a deputation to England, and proroguing parliament without any unnecessary delay—say in a week. Three o'clock is just at hand, and I must be off to the House, but I will not close this letter until I can tell you the effect of our announcement.

6 p.m.—We have had a stirring debate. Our proposals have all been accepted most favourably by the House; so the House will soon rise. I cannot say who will go to England, but I will not go as one unless there is an imperative necessity.

QUEBEC, March 7, 1865.

Our announcement was received yesterday favourably by the House. Our friends are greatly encouraged, and are anxious to have the business of the session brought to an immediate close. We have just made a second move that will probably shorten the session still more. We have moved the previous question, which prevents any amendment being moved, and will bring the debate much more speedily to a close.

I see everybody is expecting that I will be one of the delegates to England, and some members of the liberal party have spoken to me strongly on the subject, from learning that I would refuse to go; but that does not alter my purpose, and unless an absolute necessity arises, I will not go.

QUEBEC, March 8, 1865.

The affair in New Brunswick does not discourage us; we shall go on just as we have been going, and push the matter to a termination. If it fails after all legitimate means have been used, we will go on with our scheme for Canada alone. We expect that 38 or 40 will vote against confederation.

QUEBEC, March 9, 1865.

The confederation debate keeps wagging along, but there is some hope of its coming to a termination to-night. The division will be very much as I wrote you yesterday—from 35 to 40 against the measure, and all the rest for it. Amendments will be moved afterwards, however, on which our majority will not be so large. We are in some hope that the House may rise on Tuesday or Wednesday next, but we cannot of course be sure. A dead set has been made on me to go as one of the deputies to England, but I have decidedly refused; John A. refuses also, and there is a grave difficulty before us.

QUEBEC, March 13, 1865.

The confederation debate was kept up till 4.30 on Saturday morning, and it was 5.30 before I got to bed. I was at council from 1 to 3 o'clock, and then, feeling unfit for anything else, Fergusson Blair and I set off for a drive to Cape Rouge.

QUEBEC, March 14, 1865.

This morning at 2.30 we got through finally with our address to the Queen by increased majorities; and so is accomplished one of the grandest political revolutions ever peacefully accomplished in any country. Whatever happens now, my honour is safe in going into the coalition, and my fifteen years' labour is amply recompensed by the consent, recorded beyond recall, of a large majority of both sections in favour of representation by population. I feel now quite relieved of all uneasiness as to what may hereafter happen. Come what may, I have placed the question on such a basis as must secure its early settlement. I could not possibly have abandoned the trust that has gradually grown up and now rests upon me.

Would you not like that darling little Maddie should be able, twenty years hence, when we may be gone, to look back with satisfaction to the share her father had in these great events? for great they are, and history will tell the tale of them. I have been writing this while the defence debate proceeds, for I dare not leave my seat.

QUEBEC, March 15, 1865.

I am so glad you will allow me to get the bird for baby. What shall it be—a parrot, or a parrot and some canaries? I am glad she likes animals. By and by we shall have rabbits for her, and pigeons, and a pony, and all sorts of things to make her kind and gentle. Do you know, I think the care of little creatures has a most softening effect on all children. I recollect how I petted my rabbits, and ever since I have been unable to see, without extreme horror, even any rough usage of dumb creatures.

Since writing the above we have had a vote of want of confidence, and the government has been sustained by a majority of 93 to 23. We are now on the second motion. Rose has just spoken, and Street is firing away on the defence question, and I must close and take part in the debate.

Don't for a moment fancy that what I am now doing will unfit me for a quiet settled life. On the contrary, every day makes me more anxious to get quit of politics forever. I don't like it, and would with all my whole heart abandon it finally to-morrow.

QUEBEC, March 21, 1865.

I have been in council on special business from 11 o'clock till 1, and from 1 to 6 o'clock we have been in full conclave in regard to the English mission. It is 6 o'clock, and we are still discussing. It has been the gravest discussion I ever took part in, and I look forward to the result of the English negotiations with considerable apprehension! But of all this when I get up.

QUEBEC, March 22, 1865.

We have been closeted in solemn council since 12 o'clock, and it is now near 6. Our discussions are very grave. We are at it yet; and it is impossible to say what will be the result; possibly a break up.

6.15.—A solution of our difficulties seems to have been found since I commenced writing this note. I really believe it will harmonize everything, and is so simple, that it is amazing none of us thought of it before. I think we shall get through to-morrow.

ON BOARD THE "CHINA,"

April 21, 1865.

We are fairly off; the day is splendid; the wind fair, and the ship spanking along splendidly.

April 28, 1865,

240 miles from Queenstown.

You have crossed the Atlantic in the *China*, and will consequently understand why letters written on board of her cannot be models of penmanship.

We have had a very pleasant passage so far—not one storm. The wind has blown steadily from the east the whole way; we have not had 'sail up once except occasionally for an hour or so to steady her. But then the waves have not been high, and we have gone steadily on, making about

twelve miles an hour all the way. We have had a very pleasant party—have had throwing large balls, sword exercise, tig, scaunces, balls and concerts. I never saw a ship's company so full of life and good humour.

When we reached the Mersey the yellow flag was hoisted, a case of yellow fever having occurred on board during the voyage. We were detained several hours in consequence.

Macdonald and I left for London by the midnight mail, and here we are at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

Yes, I do regret being so much separated from wee Maddie in her baby days, but I must only try to make up for it by being great friends hereafter. What fun I promise myself, romping with her! What a life it will be when we have cut politics and settled down to quiet home and happiness.

BOTHWELL, October 13, 1865.

Bothwell village lots are in great demand, and selling from hand to hand at constantly increasing prices, and persons who bought from me ten years ago, and from whom I never expected to hear again, are coming in every hour, demanding what they owe and ready to pay up. You have no idea what a stir there is here, houses and stores and churches running up all round, as if by magic. People are absolutely sleeping in stables, and paying any sum for the privilege. And if another good well or two should happen to flow soon, the excitement will be prodigious. As it is, the streets are crowded with people, and money is flying about in thousands. The fifth part of a lot I sold a few months ago for \$200 was sold to-day for \$1,500 in gold.

TORONTO, June 8, 1871.

It gave me a sore heart to see you all sailing away from me, but I did not feel what it really was to have lost you till I got back to our home yesterday forenoon and found no one expecting me—no one in the drawing-room—no Maddie nor Oda to run out and meet me on the landing, and no little fellow to make his "Ba!" resound through the house. I wandered through the rooms and scanned all the little remembrances of the absent ones, and felt very disconsolate and woe-begone. But never mind; the few weeks will soon roll by, and then we will be all together again, never to have the ocean rolling between us any more, I fervently hope.

BOW PARK, June 25, 1871.

This place is looking magnificent at present. I cannot give you even an idea of the beauty of the woods and wilds. You have only seen them in the fall, but now they are out in all their spring glory. The wild grapes and the Virginia creepers, the clematis, the raspberries and nut trees, are all out in overwhelming abundance of foliage.

Coming up in the train last night there were two little girls of about the same age as Maddie and Oda. I tried to fancy a resemblance, and could gladly have kissed them and made of them for our pets' sakes.

TORONTO, July 2, 1871.

What a solitary house this is without you and our little romps; it is painful to live in it. There is a feeling constantly of something amiss; you hear the tick of the clock at mid-day, and speak under your breath. I am wearying to be off to you and have you all back.

TORONTO, August 22, 1872.

I have been so overwhelmed with business of all kinds that really I have not had even a moment to write to you. I have had to go down early, return late to dinner, and go back again to the office as quickly as possible, and stay till all hours. But I have had my reward. The elections have gone splendidly, and the final result does not now seem doubtful. I was unprepared for the grand triumph in South Brant. Evidently the people took the money and voted against Mr. H—; there is no other way of accounting for the result. The struggle in Centre Toronto yesterday was the keenest and bitterest I ever knew. To-morrow is our grand day! Ten elections come off all in one day; we feel sure of seven, pretty confident of eight, hope for nine, and won't be astonished if we get all ten.

TORONTO, August 29, 1872.

I telegraphed you half an hour ago the result of to-day's polling so far. We had a glorious victory yesterday, and to-day's will come fast on its heels. I think we have carried 14 out of the 16, and have a good chance for both of the other two. But no one can tell certainly about any election until the last vote has been polled. There is a great crowd round the office, and strong excitement throughout the country. The office is to be illuminated to-night in grand style, and Ginney and "the children" shall have the Chinese lamps for the harvest home.

STEAMER "ALGERIA," August 1, 1873,

200 miles from Queenstown.

I have found the rest and the sea air very beneficial already. The pain is very much less, and I feel more vigorous. I intended writing letters to Maddie, Oda and Ginney, but I feel hardly equal to it to-day. Tell them that I look at their photographs many times each day, and think about what they are doing. Tell them that papa would rather be back at Bow Park with them than have all the enjoyments of Europe.

OTTAWA, March 12, 1875.

My speech [on reciprocity treaty] is over and went off well enough, but it was an awful job. The senate is so quiet, and I had such a lot of facts and figures to arrange; and I had both sides of the line to satisfy, and had to be so careful of my words, that it was a very grave affair. The attendance of members of the Upper House and strangers in the gallery was a complete novelty. My speech would read well enough, I daresay, but it required great fortitude to sit it out as so many did. I spoke two and a half hours, and was very tired.

MOBILE, Aug. 27, 1875.

I had only a moment to get my letter on board the tender, but it went; and a telegram I wrote after it was gone I threw on board the tender, with a shilling wrapped in it, in hope of its reaching you; and just as this was done, I found that a small boat was still hanging to the ship for the purpose of being towed down to the mouth of the bay; and as that will take ten minutes more, I seize the opportunity of sending a line to say how vexed beyond belief I am at having missed sending you and all our darlings parting letters. Tell each of them it was not from want of will I have not written them, for I was eager to do it, and was looking forward to it as a delightful close to my day's work.

(Toronto, Sept. 12.)—I cabled you from Father Point, informing you of the safe arrival of the *Moravian* in the St. Lawrence, but I said nothing of the accident that happened to us on our voyage. I enclose slips of a despatch I have sent to the *Globe* from Father Point. This slip, I need hardly say, puts the affair in its most modest light. In truth, every soul on board escaped death by a hair's breadth. The iceberg was a very large one, and we ran straight at it; but fortunately it was washed away below, and had no ice protruding from it under the water; and better still, the *Moravian's* cutwater extends out very far and her bows are immensely strong, and she has an enormous bowsprit, stretching far out. Consequently the bowsprit struck the iceberg squarely, smashing it into splinters, forcing it from its strong socket, and crushing a number of the iron plates from the bow. We struck the iceberg just as the bell struck midnight. I had gone to bed fifteen minutes before, and was asleep, but the lurch instantly awoke me, and I knew at once what had happened. I jumped out of bed, and as I did so the vessel fell over on her side, all but on her beam ends, and I was thrown over against the settee, and all the things in the berth with me. The conviction flashed on me that this was the effect of the water pouring into the ship, and that we were fast settling. A million things rushed through the mind in these few dreadful seconds, but the feeling of joy and thankfulness overtopped all other thoughts that you and our darlings were safe and away in the coming struggle for life. It soon appeared, however, that this rolling over of the ship was caused by her sheering off from the iceberg, and she righted herself in a few long moments. I rushed on deck, and found myself the first passenger who had scrambled up stairs. I went at once on the bridge; learned the exact position from the captain; saw how promptly every step for emergencies was being taken; observed the perfect discipline among the men; and then went astern to aid in maintaining composure among the passengers. The forward compartment of the ship was at once closed off from the other compartments; the pumps were set to work to bail out the water that was rushing in; the cargo was moved from the forward hold, and the leaks stopped up as well as possible—the debris of the bowsprit and fore-rigging was cut off and thrown overboard—and by 10 o'clock peace and thankfulness reigned throughout the ship.

I have seen far more flutter on a railway train from a shrill whistle of "down-breaks," because a cow had got on the track, than there was among the 400 people on board. Some passengers were seen busy getting on swimming jackets and getting floating mattresses ready, and gathering things suited for the boats; but not a creature showed craven fear, or even manifest loss of self-control. Not a soul went into a boat, except the men at work getting them out; there was not even any eagerness displayed to get into them or keep near them. Captain Wylie and his officers are entirely blameless in the matter. From the moment we left Moville until we arrived, the anxious care and caution of them all could not have been surpassed.

Tell Maddie, Oda, and Ginney that I found the rabbits at Bow Park all right and the pigeons and the chickens, but I did not see one cat or kitten about the place; they must have emigrated to greener pastures. Tell them I gave Lady Thorne and Dexter three apples each (St. Lawrence's). I explained to them as I did it—"There, Dexter, that's from Maddie, and that's from Oda, and that's from Ginney;" and "they are very sorry they can't be here and at Oban too, to give it you themselves." And the same to Lady Thorne. They quite understood what I said; and bobbed their heads, meaning, no doubt, "All right."

Business is very good. It is very hard work night and day, but I like it immensely and enjoy it. I have a capital set of fellows in the office now, and the work is thoroughly well done.

OTTAWA, March 19, 1878.

I am very sorry to be absent on Oda's birthday, but it cannot be helped. I have telegraphed her, wishing her all happy things for the coming year, and I shall try and find some nice present for her, and bring it with me.

OTTAWA, March 21, 1878.

Tell Oda I got her dear little letter, and if I have time to-night I will answer it; if not, she will have it in person. I am writing in my place in the senate, and may have to speak any moment, and in that case may not be able to write to-night. I avail myself of the chance to have a few lines ready. I am all ready to speak, and have got myself pretty well up on the whole question. Tell Oda that I will telegraph her as soon as I know certainly, and that a royal proclamation must be issued postponing the great event and ordering preparations for the happy day. I was very sorry I was not at home when Oda's birthday came, and still more that I forgot a little love gift for her; but I will supplement your offering when I get home.

OTTAWA, May 9, 1879.

We are having busy times at last. The government is bringing down daily some new surprise for us. One day it was a list of supplementary estimates that called for over a million of money; the day following it was their Pacific Railway bill of fare, demanding no less than a hundred million of acres in addition to the fifty million of acres already granted, and thirty millions of cash; and last night the climax was capped by a demand for two million dollars to buy up and rebuild the piece of the Grand Trunk Railway below Quebec, that never has paid and never will pay a farthing! All these vast sums to be sanctioned at once, without the possibility of inquiry:—

TORONTO, July 4, 1879.

I am awfully sorry, but I cannot possibly help it. It is half-past two o'clock, and I see that with all my striving I dare not leave town to-day. There is not a creature here to see to the paper. Just this moment too comes a cable announcing that the Letellier matter has been referred back to the Canadian government, and something must be said about it; so I must forego my pleasure for another day, and work at the oar. I will come by the first boat I can escape by to-morrow morning, and we shall have a fishing bout to-morrow evening in the old spot (Niagara).

TORONTO, July 31, 1879.

I went off to Bow Park at 7 o'clock yesterday morning; met ——— there, and had a most satisfactory day with him; sat up half the night to regulate Bow Park affairs; got up at 5.30 this morning; went round the herd; had breakfast at 6.30, and off to the train that leaves Brantford at 7.30; got here at 10.10. Met ———, and went round for St. Andrew's subscriptions (for a ball to the Princess Louise); got \$550 more, completing our \$3,000 guarantee, before getting half through with our leading members. At 10 o'clock got off to business—last day of the month—and hard at it till 3 o'clock. Then to the seedsmen; turnip and rape seeds wanted urgently at Bow Park; got it; down to the express office, and made bargain to have it off at 3.20, and delivered at Brantford to-night; made it out without one moment to spare; and now, here I am writing to you, and then off home.

It is mentioned elsewhere that Mr. Brown was, when from home, in the constant habit of corresponding daily with his family. As soon as his children were able to make them out, they too received letters regularly—many of the earliest being written as if printed, somewhat similar to those written by Dr. Norman McLeod to his children. A few of these, in which, as in preceding letters, the “pet” names given to the children in their babyhood have been retained, are inserted here.

STEAMER SCOTIA,
QUEENSTOWN, Dec. 15, 1867.

MY DARLING MADDIE,—I am off on my voyage “over the sea”—away to New York and Toronto and Bow Park, and will soon see Bronte, and the Bow Park peacocks, and little calves and sheep. Won't that be nice? And I will tell them all about Maddie and baby, and Mena, and how nicely you are all getting on. And after a few weeks papa will be back again to dear mamma, and his own little Maddie and baby. Won't that be nice? And will Maddie think of papa sometimes while he is gone? and be glad when he returns? and will she be a good little girl all the while?—kind and loving to little sister and everybody, and trying hard to do all that dear mamma and grandmamma tell her? I am sure she will. And papa expects that Maddie will know all her letters, when he gets back, from A to Z. Maddie is getting a big girl now, and ought to know her letters. Good-by, my little darling; give baby ten kisses from papa, and tell her all that is in this letter.

YOUR LOVING PAPA.

OAK LODGE, Jan. 13, 1868.

MY DARLING LITTLE MADDIE,—I have received your two letters of the 19th and 26th December, and it was very kind of you to send them. Papa was greatly delighted to get a letter from his little pet, and is very sorry to be away from mamma and Maddie and baby so long; but he thinks of them all very often, and wonders what they are doing, and earnestly longs to be with them again. I am glad you enjoyed yourself so much at Christmas, and got such pretty things from the tree. What a good girl my little Maddie should strive to be, when mamma and grandmamma, and the aunties are all so kind and generous to her. Don't you think so? and won't you do so? Yesterday was my little Maddie's birthday. It was Sunday, and papa took dinner all by himself; but he did not forget whose birthday it was, and he drank Maddie's health and many happy returns of the day to his little pet. If papa had been in Edinburgh he would have made Maddie a nice little present on the occasion, but no doubt dear mamma remembered to do it.

Papa gave Maddie's message to Bronte, and Bronte wagged his tail and seemed very much pleased. Bronte is very lively at present, for there is a little boy at Oak Lodge who plays with him and has great romps with him.

Papa has not been at Bow Park yet, but will go soon, and write to his little Maddie about the peacock and the little lammies and the calves and the mouies! Good-by, dear wee Maddie; go straight to baby and give her three kisses from papa, and tell her to be very good, for you mean to love her very much.

YOUR OWN PAPA.

OTTAWA, March 18, 1875.

MY DEAR LITTLE ODA,—Many happy returns of the day to you! that

is, of the day this is intended to reach you, the ninth anniversary of your birthday!

I am very, very sorry that I cannot get home to-morrow, to be with dear mamma and you all at the rejoicings, and to find all those sixpences in the big cake tumbling out, for everybody, just as they are wanted! I tried very hard, indeed, to get off to-night, but was compelled to remain to vote to-morrow on an important question. I am very sure you will feel certain that papa would have come if he possibly could, for he loves his little daughter very dearly. Papa would have liked very, very much to have been at home to-morrow.

But never mind, Oda dear; I will be up, if all goes well, on the day after this reaches you; and we shall have such a time, shall we not? You must keep a large piece of the cake for papa.

I wished to buy a little present for my Oda on her birthday, but could not accomplish it this morning; so I enclose a bank bill, with which Oda must buy something for herself from papa.

Tell mamma that the senate refused to sit after dinner, as a number of the members wished to go to the Governor-General's party, and that I had consequently to postpone leaving until Friday night.

Good-by, dear Oda. Make Maddie and Ginney kind little speeches from papa, and accompany them with dear little kisses on each cheek from

YOUR LOVING PAPA.

LONDON, Aug. 18, 1875.

MY DEAR LITTLE ODA.—I got your two dear letters at the *Globe* office yesterday morning, and was delighted to do so. I read them joyfully; and though your name was not signed to them, I knew very well the little hand that wrote them.

Yes, the little dog, with the other fellow's head, was very glad to see us at Abden House, and barked and frisked about at a great rate, and so did Bronte and the little hounds. I hope you enjoyed your visit to Scam-dale very much, and that Freddy killed a great lot of grouse for you, and that Uncle James caught lots of salmon and trout for you and Mena and Ginney.

I am glad you are enjoying the bathing so much. You should bathe every day, for it will make you strong and vigorous. The weather here is very warm, and I would like to have a plunge in the sea off Oban rocks very much.

I expect to be in London all this week, and go to the North of England on Saturday night or Monday morning. I shall be in Edinburgh on Tuesday night probably, but will leave again on Wednesday morning; and on Thursday will sail for Canada by the *Moravian*.

I am very sorry to part with mamma and you, and Maddie and Ginney, and it will be very lonely at Wellington Street; but the weeks will soon run round, and we shall be all together again. Won't that be delightful?

Give my loving regards to grandmamma and Auntie Jessie, and say how sorry I am not to have been with them longer, but that I trust we will meet again ere long.

Good-by, my own dear little Oda. Give Ginney six kisses from papa, and think of me always as your own fondly loving

PAPA.

TORONTO, September 20th, 1875.

MY DEAR WEE BOY,—I received your letter that Auntie Jessie was so kind as to write for you, but which you signed with your own very hand, and was delighted to get it.

That must have been a very fine silver haddie you caught at Kerrera : next time you go you might catch one or two more, and send them over by the captain of the *Polynesian*. Eh ! that little hint about Edie's pony was nicely brought in. We shall see about it when the wee girls and boys that have run away from their papa get home.

Good-by. Love to mamma and grandmamma, and all the uncles and aunties and cousins, and all the good little girls and boys, and all the rest of the people, from your much-loving

PAPA.

TORONTO, March 26th, 1877.

MY DEAR GINNEY,—Your letter came safe to hand and made me very happy. It was a great pleasure to receive a real letter, in the very own handwriting of my big boy. I mean to keep it carefully, and by comparing it with the letters I hope to get often from you hereafter, be able to judge of the progress you make in writing and composition ; and I am very anxious that my Ginney shall strive hard to make rapid progress in these accomplishments.

OTTAWA, May 7th, 1879.

MY DEAR BOY,—I was very much pleased to get your funny little letter an hour ago, and as the debate is going on upon the Coteau Bridge Bill, I scrawl off this line to say so to you. I am so glad you have been getting up in your classes again, though I confess I have found it very difficult to make out the figures. What does "Latin 5, 6.50" mean? What does "Reading 9, 6.75" mean? What does "Grammar 6, 7.18" mean? What does "History 12, 12.50" mean? I quite comprehend "1 in Geography"; that is the right sort of marking—so is "Head in Latin," and "1 up in History and Reading." Suppose you send me another letter explaining these mysteries?

The debate is just finished and the House about to rise, so I must close, or the gas will be put out and papa left in the dark. Good night, my dearest little Ginney. Give papa's love to Maddie and Oda, and three cheers for Hanlan !

YOUR LOVING PAPA.